Linguistic Asymmetries, Relative Deprivation, Discrimination, Cosmopolitanism, and Localism Among Official Language Minorities: Three Studies on the Anglo-Quebecer and Franco-Ontarian Communities

by

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Abstract

This dissertation comprises three studies on the Anglo-Quebecer and Franco-Ontarian communities using original survey data collected in 2017. The first study assesses Canada's two official languages with updated census data, then compares how their status is perceived. Evidence reveals that, while Canadian society is becoming increasingly multilingual, and while English and French are both losing ground as mother tongues and languages used most often at home, both are not equally used at work. English is making progress in the province of Québec as a language of work, whereas French is only rarely used by workers outside the province of Québec and is becoming increasingly marginal in the province of Ontario. A group comparison shows that Franco-Ontarians are much more likely than Anglo-Quebecers to judge that the language of the outgroup (or the language of the majority group) is "useful". Conversely, Anglo-

Quebecers are much more likely than Franco-Ontarians to judge that their own language, or the language of the ingroup, is “useful”. The second study finds that there is evidence of a state of relative deprivation among Anglo-Quebecers respondents. The latter judge that their group is at a disadvantage in comparison with francophones and consider their minority group to be the victim of discrimination in the province of Québec. Updated census data on family income of the majority and minority groups reveal that Anglophones are over-represented in the lower income brackets and under-represented in the middle categories, thus challenging conventional wisdom about Anglophones being a wealthy class of citizens in Québec. Predictive models show that, contrary to expectations, the higher the state of relative deprivation and perceived discrimination, the lower the likelihood of being an organizational activist. The third study compares the strength of local, provincial, federal, and global affiliations of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians and examines whether organizational engagement is a determinant of belonging. Results reveal that organizational activists among both minority groups are *less* likely to identify as cosmopolitan than rank-and-file members and *more* likely to identify with other, more local types of affiliation. As a whole, the dissertation highlights the relevance of language in understanding Canadian politics.

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1 An Introduction to Canadian Language Politics

Whether as a defining feature of groups constitutive of society or as an explanatory variable, language has been considered a structuring factor of Canadian politics throughout most of the twentieth century. Albeit having lost influence to the benefit of studies on regionalism (Blais 1991), perhaps due to the gradual decline of "mega-constitutional politics" (Russell 2004), language has been and remains key to understanding multilingual polities such as Canada[1]. Since the early twenty-first century, a host of scholars from disciplines ranging from philosophy to education, history, linguistics, psychology, and sociology have embraced language politics and policy as a research topic of enduring importance (e.g. Siegfried 1906, Alford 1963, Breton 1964, Schwartz 1967, Meisel 1975, McRae 1975, Levine 1990, and Blais 1991, Van Parijs 2002, 2011, Laponce 2001, Ricento 2006, 2019, Corbeil 2007, Rocher 2007, Cameron and Simeon 2009, Haque 2012, Kymlicka 2012, Richez 2012, Bilodeau, Turgeon, and Karakoç 2012, Williams 2013, Fournier and Medeiros 2014, Landry 2014, Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014, Cardinal and Léger 2019, McDougall 2019, and Noël 2019). Yet, as will be shown further below, language politics do not seem to occupy an important role in the flagship journals of Canadian political science. Conversely, neither does political science research represent a significant share of the publications addressing language politics when compared with other disciplines.

1 Despite its official bilingualism policy, Canada is more accurately described not as a bilingual, but a multilingual society. As Statistics Canada (2017) points out, over 215 languages were reported in the 2016 Census.

Despite this neglect, the study of language politics is important in understanding Canadian politics because language has a significant impact on public opinion, attitudes, and behaviour.

For instance, recent research has found, among other things, that "perceiving French as threatened positively influences Quebecers' support for independence and negatively impacts their feelings towards Canada" (Medeiros 2017a, 375); that Francophones from Quebec are less likely to identify with Canada than are Francophones from other provinces (Medeiros 2017b); that positive information on the linguistic vitality of French decreases the level of perceived linguistic threat among Francophones in Quebec (Medeiros, Fournier, and Benet-Martínez 2016); that "cultural threat impacts outgroup attitudes in both the national minority and the national majority" (Medeiros 2019, 3); that attitudes towards language policies have a significant impact on vote choice (Medeiros, von Schoultz, and Wass 2019); that the integration of immigrants in Quebec follows a different pattern than observed in other provinces, a pattern explained through linguistic integration (Bilodeau, White, and Nevitte 2010); and that "new Quebecers who use French more frequently in their daily lives have a more positive relationship with the Quebec political community" (Bilodeau 2016, 43).

Language politics is a recurring theme within the jurisprudence of Canada's highest court, the Supreme Court of Canada, which reinforces its centrality to Canadian politics. One recent doctoral dissertation, for instance, has identified no fewer than thirty-one rulings by the SCC from 1975 to 2016, thirteen of which were made in the last two decades (Chouinard 2016).

This dissertation, comprising three studies of Official Language Minority Communities (hereafter "OLMCs") – specifically of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians – contributes to advancing

knowledge on Canadian politics, and tests hypotheses emerging from the literature on political participation, relative deprivation, perceived discrimination, cosmopolitanism and local affiliations, and language policy theory. Its findings contribute empirically to recent normative debates on "linguistic justice" and the question of local solidarities in a context of globalisation.

Furthermore, the research takes advantage of quantitative methods, which, in addition to providing good potential for replicability, are increasingly used in Canadian political science[2]. Three studies constituting the core chapters will shed light on the cases of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians – two important, but under-studied cases in mainstream Canadian political science journals (Cardinal and Bernier 2017) – with regards to three sets of research questions:

1. What is the current state of linguistic power relations between official languages in Canada? Is this state reflected in the perceptions of Official Language Minority Communities (hereafter "OLMCs")? Specifically, how do the latter compare among Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers? (**Study #1**)

2. Despite the enviable position of English as the current *lingua franca* and language of the "citizens of the world" (as evidenced in Study #3), despite its widespread use in the workplace, and its being perceived as more "useful" than the other official language even in a minority setting (as evidenced in Study #1), is there significant

2 See Héroux-Legault (2017) for evidence that quantitative methods using regression models have seen an increase in recent years), such as logistic regression (Long and Freese 2014), generalized ordered logit, partial proportional odds models (Williams 2016, 2006), and ideal-types predictions (Long and Freese 2014).

discontent among Anglo-Quebecer communities? If so, how can it be measured and conceptualized? Can discontent predict mobilization? (**Study #2**)

3. In the context of globalisation wherein some argue that Canadians have become "citizens of the world", implying the irrelevance of more local forms of loyalties, how do local, provincial, national, and global affiliations compare among francophone and anglophone OLMCs? Are the individuals most engaged in their communities more likely or less likely to claim a cosmopolitan affiliation? Are Anglo-Quebecers more likely to be cosmopolitans than Franco-Ontarians? Are Anglo-Quebecers more likely to be localists than Franco-Ontarians? (**Study #3**)

The studies use original survey data generated and collected in 2017. The two cases selected constitute the two largest populations among "official language minority communities" and are considered important cases for Canadian politics, since they are, so to speak, the "last constitutional standard-bearers" (Richez 2012) of Canadian duality from within; that is, as minority groups in provinces where the other official language is spoken by a majority of the population.

This chapter proceeds in two steps to further justify the relevance of this dissertation, from both a disciplinary and a substantive perspective. From a disciplinary perspective, the chapter reviews evidence showing that language politics are marginal as a research topic within mainstream Canadian political science. Narrowing the focus down to the cases of OLMCs, it then goes on to conduct a cross-disciplinary bibliographic analysis of the literature on OLMCs, drawing from the database provided by the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (2019). The data show that, within the literature indexed by the Institute, the work of political scientists on

OLMCs also represents a relatively marginal contribution. In other words, such empirical evidence means that while language politics are marginal within Canadian political science, political science is marginal within research on language politics (in this case specifically within research on OLMCs). Instead, it appears that researchers from the disciplines of education, history, and linguistics are dominating the OLMCs scholarship. Legal scholars do show a strong interest in the topic, although most of their work seem to be published in French or be published by francophone scholars.

As for the substantive perspective, the chapter frames the study of OLMCs in the broader context of the study of language politics and policy. The literature reviewed follows and expands on the classification proposed by Sonntag and Cardinal (2015a): sociolinguistics studies, political philosophy debates on the normative implications of language policy, and the "state traditions and language regimes" framework. While the sociolinguistic literature contributes to understanding a variety of processes and explains the consequences of language policies, it is argued here, along with Sonntag and Cardinal (2015, 3) and Royles and Lewis (2019), that it remains largely descriptive. The void left in terms of inference is not filled by normative political philosophy, which, while proposing interesting avenues for the defense of linguistic minority rights and noteworthy observations on the implications of language policies (e.g. Kymlicka and Patten 2003), often falls short of evaluating the empirical bases of its claims, a weakness also identified in some of the sociolinguistics literature (Bourhis et al. 2019). The state traditions and language regimes literature does a better job on this front, but is mostly interested in the political origins, not the political consequences, of language policies. OLMCs, to some extent, are a political consequence of language policies, since they would not have such a special status

without the existence of the Official Languages Act. Consequently, so do their perceptions regarding the current well-being of their group, as well as the way they identify with other political entities. Along with provincial language policies, the federal language policy shapes linguistic power relations, perceptions within and between linguistic groups, and linguistic group affiliations. This dissertation thus conducts an empirical investigation of the political consequences of language policies that goes beyond mere description and delves into prediction, a form of statistical explanation (6 Perri and Bellamy 2012). This should be of interest notably to scholars of the policy feedback literature, for whom the consequences of policies constitute a primary concern (e.g. Béland and Schlager 2019, Hacker and Pierson 2019, Larsen 2019, May and Jochim 2013).

The last section of this chapter details the research design and its limitations. It is argued that a comparison drawing on the cases of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers holds great promise, given the tension between the legal symmetry created by the Official Languages Act (Cardinal 2017) and the asymmetry of linguistic power relations, the latter of which is further discussed in Study #1. The case of Anglo-Quebecers is introduced as a "special case" (Yin 2013). They constitute one of the only significant and well-organized anglophone minority groups in a North American continent where anglophones are a linguistic majority in a position of political predominance. Considerations of demographic weight, proportions, and geographic proximity are included as further justifying a comparison between the two cases selected.

Broadly construed, this dissertation proposes an original contribution in two respects. On one hand, it makes a foray into the study of OLMCs using tools increasingly popular in contemporary political science, an approach only rarely adopted in research addressing those cases. On the

other hand, it foregrounds a research topic little explored in both French Canadian political science (Cardinal and Bernier 2017) and English Canadian political science (as shown by the evidence reviewed further below). The dissertation will be of interest to scholars researching language politics, linguistic minorities, political participation, relative deprivation, discrimination, language policy theory, and cosmopolitanism.

As will be argued further below, all of the three studies presented in this dissertation focus on "explaining the present"; they do not tackle the history of- or the path towards- language policy, but rather the consequences of language policy. In a sense, the latter may nonetheless be considered – and thus the dissertation should be of interest to scholars of – policy feedback effects (e.g. Pierson 1993, 2000, Mahoney 2000). Years ago, Pierson (1993) pointed out that several scholars who contributed to an understanding of the consequences of policy-making did not explicitly use the policy feedback framework. Much like Pierson's observation, the work of the scholars reviewed in the third section of this chapter, "decompartmentalizing studies on language politics", have advanced knowledge on the political consequences of language policies while not explicitly acknowledging that these may constitute policy feedback effects. This dissertation thus acknowledges the relevance of the policy feedback framework for the studies conducted here. Specifically, the studies may have implications for two of the three streams of policy feedback literature identified by Béland (2010, 569): the study of the relationship between policy feedback and (1) political behaviour, specifically behaviour such as political participation, which means a focus on "the study of individual behaviour as related to specific policy legacies (Béland 2010, 578), and (2) ideas and the symbolic implications of policy feedback. By investigating participation among OLMCs (Study #2), the dissertation indirectly contributes to the

first stream. Its analysis and group comparison of loyalties (Study #3) and of attitudes towards official languages (Study #1) indirectly constitute contributions to the second stream. Future research directions in terms of policy feedback are discussed in the concluding chapter.

1.1 Justifying the Project from a Cross-Disciplinary Perspective: Bibliographic Analyses

1.1.1 Is language political? The relative neglect of language politics in mainstream Canadian political science

Language politics have been relatively neglected by mainstream Canadian political science. This neglect is surprising, because as Phillipson (1999, 94) observes, "linguistic identity is of central importance for the individual, the group, and the state and [...] language is a major defining characteristic of ethnicity [...]". Similarly, Grin (2004, 71) observed that "political scientists, who had for a long time been writing about 'ethnicity', have (with exceptions) only recently discovered language.'' It is indeed an oddity that much of our discipline seems to overlook this key variable in the study of polities and policies. Some even go as far as to say that "the classic masters and founders of the social sciences disciplines generally ignored language altogether, considering it a constant (like breathing)" (Fishman 1999, 449).

The English Canadian context appears no different than what these authors observe. Rocher (2007), for instance, recalls an anecdote of a student at the University of Ottawa who wanted to take a course, taught in English, in either sociology, political science, history or literature, addressing francophone-anglophone relations in Canada. The student quickly found that there was no such thing available. Rocher (2007, 833) aptly stresses the paradox: "in Ottawa, the

'national' capital of Canada, it was impossible for a student to learn about one of the main aspects of Canada's social, cultural and political life."[3] Similarly, researchers have concluded that a foreign reader would not be able to learn about Quebec-Canada relations – of which language is an important component – if they relied on the French-language publications of the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, which offers barely any content on that topic (Cardinal and Bernier 2017, 72). Others have noted that, while language-related topics make the headlines of French Canadian news media on a regular basis (Remysen 2017), English Canadian media show much less interest in the matter (Vessey 2016).

Royles and Lewis (2019) have recently argued that, although language policy has been increasingly salient as a result of dynamics highlighting the linguistic diversity of the world (such as the increase of migration fluxes in a context of globalisation), this policy area remains a neglected topic within public policy studies. Along the same lines, Grin (2003) argues that language should be just as important a research topic for public policy scholars as education, transport or energy, the latter of which have been the object of significant attention. Scholars (e.g. Sonntag and Cardinal 2015b) have agreed and called for political scientists to engage with research on language policy and linguistic diversity.

Such observations raise questions about the place of language politics and language policy in mainstream political science. Since only four articles published in French on francophone

3 This is, however, meant to be just a side note and the main finding of the article is that there is a "systemic and chronic under-representation" (Rocher 2007, 842) of French-speaking authors referenced in the Canadian Politics literature.

minorities outside the province of Québec have been published in *CJPS* between 1968 and 2011 (Cardinal and Bernier 2017, 70), it is likely that Anglophone political scientists have not contributed more than their Francophone colleagues on the same topic. In order to verify the existence of this expected dearth in the English-language Canadian political science literature, a bibliographic analysis replicating Thompson's (2008) approach to the study of race[4] is conducted below[5]. Table 1 summarizes the number of articles addressing language politics published in three leading journals in the field of Canadian politics, since 1969.

Bear in mind that the language divide has been one of the most structuring factors in Canada's political development (e.g. Martel and Pâquet 2011, Blais 1991). Accordingly, it is striking to discover, as shown in Table 1 below, that mainstream English-language Canadian political science has devoted only 1.2% of its attention to language politics. In absolute terms, just fifty-eight articles have been published in a time period of almost fifty years. This amounts to just 1.1 articles per year, or 0.4 articles per year per journal. Borrowing Thompson's words, such evidence suggests some kind of disciplinary silence that does not pay justice to the place language should have as a variable and a factor constitutive of units of analysis. Recent scholarship has started

4 Selecting the three same journals as indicators of the boundaries of mainstream English-Canadian political science, that is, the *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *Canadian Public Policy*, and *Canadian Public Administration*, I have thus searched for research articles using in their title either of the following words: "language", "linguistic", "French", "English", "francophone", or "anglophone". Then, I have reviewed every article and took a decision as to whether it was relevant for the question examined here. For instance, I have excluded articles analyzing the case of France (resulting from the inclusion of the word "French" in the search), since I wanted to learn more on the evolution of the literature that focuses on Canadian cases. I have included articles using language as either defining feature of the unit of analysis (e.g. linguistic groups) or as a variable. For more details, I can send the Excel file, which contains additional information such as the critera used for the searches and the databases used.

5 The data, compiled in an Excel file, may be sent by the author on request, by email at po.rivestbonin@mail.utoronto.ca.

breaking this pattern, however. Notable examples include the work of Medeiros (2019), who compared linguistic intergroup attitudes, including of Francophone Quebecers towards Anglophones, and Anglophone Canadians towards Francophones, as well as Fournier and Medeiros (2014), who compared the attitudes and values of Franco-Ontarians and Franco-Quebecers. This dissertation seeks to pursue a similar path by using linguistic distinctions as the units of analysis. The comparisons undertaken shed light on the perceptions and affiliations of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers, two linguistic minorities in a symmetrical legal setting (under the Official Languages Act), but asymmetrical sociolinguistic setting (given unequal linguistic power relations).

Table 1. Number of research articles related to language politics published in mainstream English Canadian political science, 1969-2016[6]

	1969-1981	1982-1995	1996-2006	2007-2016	Total	
Journal	#	#	#	#	#[7]	%
CJPS	6	6	2	7	21/1442	1,5
CPP	8*	8	4	5	25/1657	1,5
CPA	5	2	3	2	12/1869	0,6
Total	19	16	9	14	58/4968	1,2

* The JSTOR database only includes publications from 1975 to present.

6 Just like Thompson, I have chosen to divide the period analyzed in four sections, each corresponding to important institutional developments. In 1969, the Official Languages Act is adopted. In 1982, the government of Canada proceeds to the patriation of its constitution and entrenches the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, with many repercussions for language rights. The year 1995 signals the end of what Russell (2004) famously coined the era of "mega-constitutional" politics. In 2006, the Court Challenges Program is terminated by the newly elected Conservative government of Stephen Harper. In 2015, the newly elected government of Justin Trudeau promised to reinstate the program. News reports indicate that funding has been restored and the program reopened as of 2019 (e.g. Nowicki 2019).

7 The denominator is the total number of articles published in the journal. However, it is worth noting that the total number of articles published unfortunately include articles in French as well, since there was no function allowing the user to select language in the search criteria. All total percentages thus should be interpreted as slightly underestimated, since this bibliometric analysis is looking at English Canadian literature only.

If scholars have paid less attention to language politics than other fields of study, one might argue the reason is that they are less worthy of study. Yet, even in identity-related fields, such as gender studies, research finds that in the last decade, eight per cent of the articles published in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* and the *Australian Journal of Political Science* had gender content (Vickers 2015, 14)[8]. If, as may be argued, this proportion is insufficient and scholars should dedicate more of their energy to gender studies, then the figures presented in the tables above and below should also allow to: (1) make the case for a greater place for language politics within the field of Canadian politics, and conversely (2) encourage political scientists to engage in research on language politics, among which is research on OLMCs. To do so, this dissertation offers three studies focusing on OLMCs and contributes to the literature on Canadian politics, social movement theory, cosmopolitanism, language status, language ideologies, and linguistic justice.

1.1.2 Are Official Language Minority Communities political? The relatively insignificant share of political science among OLMCs studies

OLMCs have been studied through the lenses of historians, education sociologists, sociolinguists, and psychologists. Yet, as shown in **Table 2** below, political scientists remain marginal when it comes to this research topic. Indeed, the disciplines of education, history, and linguistics represent the bulk of the literature on OLMCs, with respectively about 44%, 21%, and

8 The author cited (Vickers 2015, 11) determined "gender content" by assessing the publications and judging whether it covered "aspects of 'gender relations' (heterosexual or in relation to minority sexualities) and/or gender discourses as its primary, secondary, or tertiary focus".

18% of the publications indexed in CIRLM's database. The remaining 17% is shared by political science (6%), psychology (1%), sociolinguistics (6%) and sociology (4%). Anthropologists seem to show barely any interest in the subject, with only 9 publications (0.46% of the total) over the last five decades[9].

Table 2. Literature on Official Language Minority Communities, Comparison by Discipline

	1969-1981	1982-1995	1996-2006	2007-2019	Total	
Discipline	#	#	#	#	#	% (total)
Anthropology	0	1	5	3	9	0.46
Education	78	273	308	200	859*	44.01
History[10]	62	135	106	111	414	21.21
Linguistics	49	123	107	63	342	17.52
Political Science	8	25	45	33	111	**5.69**
Psychology	2	6	3	12	23	1.18
Sociolinguistics	8	48	20	35	111	5.69
Sociology	2	34	27	20	83	4.25
Total	209	645	621	477	1952	100

Data compiled and retrieved from the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities' bibliographic database, available at: https://www.icrml.ca/fr/recherches-et-publications/references.
*The total number of publications in education differs slightly from that provided by the bibliographic database, because duplicate entries were found while breaking down and computing the publications by decades. The corresponding figure should thus be understood as an estimation. All of the figures provided in other disciplines, however, matched the total number of publications reported by CIRLM.

Taken together, the empirical data reviewed so far are likely to leave a layperson interested in both political science and language politics under the impression that (1) language is not political,

9 It should be noted that the criteria used by the CIRLM to classify the literature by discipline are not detailed. Therefore, the evidence presented in Table 2 should not be understood as definitive; further research is advised.

10 The Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities indexed this literature under the theme "history and folklore".

and (2) OLMCs are not political. Respectively, these impressions coincide with the observation, evidenced above, that (1) language politics as a theme represents an insignificant fraction of the mainstream literature in Canadian political science, and (2) among disciplines studying language politics (the study of OLMCs being here considered a subfield of the latter), political science is marginal.

Language should be considered political because it influences political behaviour, political attitudes, as well as intergroup relations, as shown by the literature cited above. In Lasswellian terms, language politics may be defined as the study of who gets to speak what language, when, and how[11]. OLMCs should also be considered political because, as *de jure* official language minorities, they are the direct consequence of the creation of language policies. Language policies thus had not only a significant impact upon the status and identity of OLMCs, but have tipped the scales in these groups' favour by enshrining constitutional language rights that they could thereafter defend against governmental actions deemed detrimental to their interests.

Now that a cross-disciplinary bibliographic analysis has been conducted, the next section will justify the research project of this dissertation from a substantive perspective.

11 "What" language is self-explanatory, but the two other manifestations of language politics may be less so. In this case, "when" would refer to the context where the use of a language is deemed appropriate. Societal norms, formal or not, influence the linguistic behaviour of individuals and are imposed intersubjectively. The "how" of language use is thus a continuation of such normativism. Not only does society impose norms determining what language is legitimate and in which situation, society also dictates which variety of language is preferable to another variety. Scholars of different disciplines use the notion of "linguistic ideology" (e.g. Woolard and Schieffelin 1994) to further describe the latter phenomena. As an illustration, one can think of the *Académie française*, a French institution based in Paris and exercising a great deal of power in shaping the way individuals "should" be speaking or writing their language. It has historically played an important role in propagating linguistic insecurity among Francophones in Québec and Canada because many deemed the vernacular spoken in Québec an inferior, if not incorrect, variety of French.

1.2 Justifying the Project from a Substantive Perspective: Literature Review

Sonntag and Cardinal (2015a, 2015b) have proposed that the most prominent studies of language policies published so far can be grouped under the rubrics of sociolinguistics studies and normative approaches. Although this dissertation is not only about language policies, but rather about language politics broadly considered and OLMCs as a consequence (or creation) of language policies, Sonntag and Cardinal's classification is a useful point of departure. Sonntag and Cardinal (2015a) purport to add a third category, that is, the state traditions and language regimes framework. Sonntag and Cardinal (*ibid*) observe that the literature has so far been mostly limited to the study of the consequences of language policy choices; their framework allows for a better understanding of the political origins of language policy choices. The state traditions and language regimes framework has been adopted by an increasing number of scholars of late (e.g. Turgeon and Gagnon 2015, Dupré 2015). Thus, research on language policy and language politics may now be categorized according to a threefold distinction between (1) the state traditions and language regimes framework, (2) sociolinguistic studies, and (3) normative approaches. This section reviews the first two literatures and overlooks the third, which instead is mobilized in the three studies in relation to certain hypotheses and in the concluding chapter of the dissertation. The present section argues that, while the three streams of research mentioned above have done their share respectively in (1) explaining the past, (2) describing the present, and (3) theorizing the implications of language policy and language politics and prescribing solutions, much remains

to be done when it comes to (4) *explaining* the consequences of current language policy and language politics.

1.2.1 Explaining the Past: The State Traditions and Language Regimes Framework

To define the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework, one must first break down its components. The notion of state traditions takes its roots in historical institutionalism (e.g. Hall and Taylor 1996, Steinmo 2003, cited in Sonntag and Cardinal 2015a). It is based on the assumption that states have a degree of autonomy in their relationship with society. States are thus sensitive to demands from civil society and pressure from interest groups, but nonetheless exert leadership in the policy process. In the words of Sonntag and Cardinal (2015, 3), the autonomy of states "is best defined in terms of state traditions – the institutional and normative baggage and patterns of state action." As for the notion of language regimes, they are rooted in Jane Jenson's scholarship on citizenship regimes (e.g. Jenson and Philips 1996, cited in Sonntag and Cardinal 2015a, 5), which emphasizes institutions and rules, but also practices and conceptions. Following Jenson's logic, Sonntag and Cardinal (2015a, 6) posit that language regimes should be understood as "language practices as well as conceptions of language and language use as projected through state policies and as acted upon by language users."[12] The

12 To clarify the distinction between language practices and language conceptions, Sonntag and Cardinal (2015, 13) illustrate with a hypothetical example: "Consider, for the sake of simplicity, a monolingual language regime informed by a Herderian state tradition of one language equals one nation. Such a regime would define language use

notion of language regimes is a bridge between state traditions and language policy choices. In the words of Sonntag and Cardinal (2015b, 5), language regimes allow us to "conceptualize how and why these choices are made and how and why they change." Alternatively, a broader application of the language regimes concept is provided in Gazzola (2014), where it is applied not only to states, but to organizations as well.

In light of the wide-encompassing field of language policy and politics (Ricento 2019, 2006), proponents of the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework (e.g. Sonntag and Cardinal 2015, Royles and Lewis 2019) take note of the predominance of sociolinguistics and normative approaches, as already mentioned above. Since little has been done so far with regards to explaining what drives language policy choices – in other words, explaining the past of- and path towards- language policy – with specific attention to the role of the state, they argue that there is room for more research on the matter. Their development of a new theoretical framework thus constitutes a response to research needs, but there is more to it.

In addition to the research goal of better explaining language policy choices, proponents of the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework are concerned about what they deem is a conservative bias within most of the political science literature on language policy. That bias is to be found in the assumption, explicit or not, that monolingualism is the norm in most societies (Sonntag and Cardinal 2015a). They notably cite the work of Pool (1990, 257) as an example,

in terms of a single national language. Language policies would reflect that definition and, for example, restrict the medium of instruction in schools to the national language. Most language users would adhere to the conception of a single language as the national one and would act accordingly. Speakers of languages other than the national language would most likely experience language shift – that is, the intergenerational abandonment of one language by its speakers for another." In other words, language practices may be understood as how language conceptions are acted upon by citizens under a common language regime.

since the author makes an explicit assumption that “each citizen has one and only one native language”. Unfortunately, the critique seems unwarranted, to the extent that Pool is not claiming that such an assumption reflects reality; rather, it is part of a game-theoretic modelling strategy that seeks to derive explanatory mechanisms from predictions based on sets of simplified assumptions. Apart from highlighting a discrepancy between approaches, the critique is useful here, because it shows that the explanatory stance adopted in the State Traditions and Language Regimes literature does not preclude an explicit normative preference, in this case in favour of linguistic diversity. Scholars of the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework thus explicitly take a stance in favour of linguistic diversity, considered both “an empirical reality and a normative preference” (Sonntag and Cardinal 2015a, 14).

Such a preference reflects a European sensibility. In the European context, linguistic diversity has become a more salient policy topic in recent years (Royles and Lewis 2019). Among the contributing factors, a host of public policies is aimed at recognizing and promoting minority and regional languages across the continent (Williams 2013). Launched in 2008, the Network to Promote Linguistic Diversity, for example, brings together national governments, regional governments, universities, and associations to “raise awareness at [the] European level of the vital importance of linguistic diversity” (NPLD 2019). In practice, the network facilitates “the exchange of best practices among governments, policy makers, practitioners, researchers and experts from all over Europe” (*ibid*). Another notable factor is that the European Union itself was created with the protection of cultural and linguistic diversity in mind. For example, article 3 of the Treaty of the European Union, states that the Union “shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe’s cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced”

(quoted in Piris 2012, 72). All things considered, the contrasting features discussed above may partially explain why the interest of North American scholars in language politics is less pronounced. At the state level, Europe is indeed more plural than North America; a much larger number of languages is institutionally represented and supported by official state policies and language regimes. Linguistic diversity may therefore be more salient in Europe than in North America.

The State Traditions and Language Regimes framework has thus been applied to the European side of the institutional development of language policies, but its proponents have started applying it to non-European cases as well. For example, contributors to Cardinal and Sonntag's (2015) edited collection proposed an exploration of language regimes and state traditions in national contexts where the research topic is less prominent, including cases such as Canada (Cardinal 2015), the United States (Sonntag 2015), Poland (Szul 2015), Taiwan (Dupré 2015), and India (Sarangi 2015).

In the Canadian context specifically, the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework has been used to analyse and explain a variety of policy developments. Raymond Breton's (1964) seminal article may be seen as a precursor of the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework. Breton's article introduces the notion of institutional completeness, originally conceptualized as a factor impacting the "direction of the integration" of immigrants (Breton 1964, 193), that is, whether they "become interpersonally integrated within the 'native' community, within [their] ethnic community, or within a group of immigrants of an ethnicity other than [their] own" (*ibid*). Breton defines institutional completeness by simply suggesting that a situation wherein it would be fully realized would be one in which "the ethnic community

could perform all the services required by its members" (*ibid*, 194). Breton's concept has had a major influence on the subsequent work of political scientists (see Cardinal and Léger 2017), in particular for the study of francophone minorities in Canada, but also for the study of linguistic minorities in other polities ranging from Germany (Carbonneau 2017), to Taïwan (Dupré 2017) to France (Itçaina 2017). Breton's concept has also found resonance within Canadian jurisprudence on linguistic minority rights (Chouinard 2016).

Kenneth D. McRae (1975, 1978, 1998) stands out as one of the precursors of the State Traditions and Language Regimes as well. McRae (1975) retraced the historical roots of the principles of territoriality and personality: the Finnish inspiration underlying the notion of bilingual districts (McRae 1978), and reflected in the conditional territoriality of minority language rights "where numbers warrant" (as per Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms). He proposed an historical review of the development of Canada's language policy at the end of the 1990s (McRae 1998). McRae's work has been critiqued as being limited to a description of the institutional features of language politics and offering no proper institutional analysis (Sonntag and Cardinal 2015a). Hence the efforts of more recent scholarship to provide a more thorough and comprehensive institutional analysis.

Cardinal (2015a), for instance, shows that Canada's language regime draws from the state tradition of political compromise. Rooted in a particular conception that the founders of the country had in mind at the inception of the federation, political compromise embodied a covenant between what was referred to as "the founding peoples" as well as between the founding provinces (*ibid*). However, since the enactment of the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the language regime has become a court-driven language regime, informed by both

the state traditions of political compromise and federalism (see also Cardinal and Foucher 2017). Research has shown that, while at times upholding minority official language rights, the two state traditions have also been instrumental in protecting the right of provincial jurisdictions to limit language rights under certain circumstances (e.g. Chouinard 2014, Foucher 2008).

Other research has charted the path of "official language governance" over the last decades (e.g. Léger 2013). Léger has proposed a conceptual distinction between the "horizontal requirements" of the Official Languages Act and what the author terms the "new official languages governance". Léger's review of the successive policy statements stemming from the implementation of the Official Languages Act sheds light on the possibility of an unrealized alternative institutional pathway, in which "community governance" would have prioritized the direct involvement of stakeholders from the official language minority communities.

On the same theme, and building on previous work from Cardinal and Juillet (2005) and Cardinal (2007), Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger (2015) have analysed change within Canadian official language policies and identified four "generations" among them, focusing on the most recent one, language roadmaps. The fourth generation of official language policy emphasizes the social and economic benefits of official languages in a context where an increasing number and proportion of the population have a mother tongue other than the official languages (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015).

All things considered, the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework represents an important milestone in the development of a coherent theoretical approach to the study of language politics and policies, the latter of which is a very interdisciplinary field (as notably shown in Ricento 2019, 2006). Yet, scholars have not been unanimous with respect to what the

framework is able to achieve. For instance, Royles and Lewis (2019, 711), while appreciative of the efforts deployed by their colleagues, note that the current framework might not adequately capture the policy process underlying the development of regional and minorities language policies specifically[13]. They add that the primary "state" focus leaves under-examined "sub-state political dynamics that condition policy choices for regional and minority languages" (*ibid*). Stressing the importance of supra-national governance structures as well, the authors therefore propose a "multi-level institutionalist framework" to "analyse policy decisions taken in relation with [regional and minority languages]" (*ibid*, 712). Royles and Lewis apply their new framework to the case of language policy decisions taken with respect to the Welsh language in Wales (United Kingdom). They conduct a preliminary examination of regional and minority languages in Spain and France as well, to finally conclude that "domestic institutional environments at the state, sub-state and local levels [have] a greater influence than international level structures on language policy choices" (*ibid*, 723).

Other limitations of the States Traditions and Language Regime framework pertain to its scope of analysis. In particular, the framework is not geared towards scrutinizing questions "such as whether the new modes and modalities of language interaction in new electronic media platforms change the linguistic landscape, change attitudes to language and nudge people to behave in different ways which are significant" (Williams 2013, 2). Rather, studies of attitudes

13 Study #2 (chapter 3) contributes to overcoming this limitation by offering a brief comparison of the provincial language regimes of Québec and Ontario.

towards language(s) and linguistic behaviour are within the ambit of sociolinguistics, a literature anchored in the study of the present, which will be examined in the next section.

Before proceeding to the discussion of sociolinguistics, let the stance adopted here with regards to the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework be clearly spelled out. While acknowledging the importance of contextualization, of which a review of the historical background (including the role of institutions and state actors) of the phenomena studied is an essential part, history will neither be the main focus nor the main explanatory mechanism of the issues tackled in the three studies of this dissertation.

1.2.2 Describing the Present: Canadian Sociolinguistics and the study of OLMCs

Sociolinguistics is the study of "the intertwining of language and society" (Edwards 2013, 1), or more precisely "the systematic study of the social uses of language, [which] proceeds by observing the way people use language in different social settings" (Chambers 2015, 1). One of sociolinguistics' first influences can be traced back to 1919. In that year, Henry Louis Mencken, a journalist, published *The American Language*, in which he undertook a study of American English as opposed to "proper" English as defined in England. Interested in "the large and important subject of American pronunciation", American spelling, and American grammar, he comments that the extant literature at the time is only "fugitive" and "inconsequential" (Mencken 1919, vi). Worse still, Mencken writes,

> an important part of the poor literature that I unearthed was devoted to absurd efforts to prove that no such thing as an American variety of English existed – that the differences I

> constantly encountered in English and that my English friends encountered in American were chiefly imaginary, and to be explained away by denying them. (Mencken 1919, vi)

In 1952, Haver Currie, an assistant professor of English in Houston, observed that, in keeping with Mencken's observations, the United States "lagged behind Europe in the study of 'folk' or 'common' speech". Currie consequently suggested the creation of the scholarly field of "socio-linguistics", a term that Currie failed to observe had already been coined by the anthropologist Thomas Hodson in 1939 (Edwards 2013, 2). Even though the definitions are many, and despite the emergence of a discipline being difficult to track down, Bayley, Cameron and Lucas (2013, 1) contend that sociolinguistics truly begins as a discipline in the 1960s, with a combination of different academic traditions including linguistics, anthropology, and sociology.

Sociolinguistics is not primarily concerned with how language policy choices were made or what led to them being made, which is in contrast with most historical institutionalist approaches to the study of language politics (with the exception of the policy feedback literature). Rather, its primary locus lies in the consequences – or what may at least be considered partly a consequence of – language policies. In other words, though not thoroughly devoid of historical insights, sociolinguistics most often adopts a synchronic rather than diachronic approach[14] to the study of current, ongoing phenomena. In the Canadian literature, sociolinguists focus on linguistic insecurity (or anxiety) and linguistic vitality. For the purpose of this dissertation, the rest of this

14 Synchronic means that the analysis focuses on a specific time or event in time. Diachronic means that the analysis is conducted on how a phenomenon has changed (or not) over a specific period.

section will now review a few recent sociolinguistic studies on these themes, drawing from Canadian cases such as OLMCs.

Linguistic insecurity (or linguistic anxiety) may be defined as the "speakers' feeling that the variety [of language] they use is somehow inferior, ugly or bad" as well as the "negative attitudes to one's own variety expressed in aesthetic or moral terms" (Meyerhoff 2011, 181). To fully grasp the notion of linguistic insecurity in the Canadian context, a quick review of historical antecedents is in order. Although on a smaller scale in demographic terms, the case of the French language in Québec or in French Canada as a whole bears many resemblances to the case of American English. On the one hand, Mencken, writing from the United States, formerly a colony of England, compared what he observed to be common linguistic practice in American life with what was considered the "correct" linguistic norm, as reflected in England's prescriptions. On the other hand, in Québec, the same kind of comparison has been made with France, its former colonial authority, since the linguistic variety (notably, but not only, the spoken variety) has evolved and differed from the "standard" linguistic norm practiced in Paris. A classic example often cited in Québec's historiography is that of Jean-Paul Desbiens, who in 1960 published in *Le Devoir* a series of opinion letters under the pseudonym of *Le frère Untel*, in which he criticized the quality of the teaching provided in the province's schools. Specifically, Desbiens attacked *le joual*, a vernacular language spoken only in Québec and French Canada – and still spoken to this day, with many regional variations – which he considered a "primitive" or uncivilized language (Desbiens 1960, cited in Martel and Pâquet 2010, 121). To make a long story short, with Québec's Quiet Revolution, *le joual*, the *Québécois* linguistic variety, as well as what has been termed "canadianisms" have been increasingly accepted in Québec society. Better yet, Premier Jean

Lesage's creation of the *Office de la langue française* (since 2002 renamed the *Office québécois de la langue française*) has fostered the institutionalization of Québec's linguistic norms (Beauchamp 2018). Among the normative tasks it set out to accomplish, the *Office* has indexed "canadianisms" and other unique regional expressions, and under the impetus of the Robert Bourassa's government undertook to translate many English-language expressions ("*anglicismes*") heretofore prevalent in the workplace of a sizeable share of the working population.

The work of the *Office québécois de la langue française* can be seen as having contributed to legitimizing the *Québécois* variety of French, thus limiting the extent to which linguistic insecurity spread in Québec society. Yet, some contend that its prescriptivist approach has contributed to the proliferation of anxiety over the quality of (the French) language in other francophone minority communities, for example, in Acadie[15] (e.g. McElgunn 2017). McElgunn finds that recurrent media controversies over the quality of the French variety used in Acadie are favouring the spread of linguistic insecurity among young Acadians. Such controversies are an enduring phenomenon, dating back to the 1880s (Boudreau 2009). While largely documented in the case of Acadian populations, other francophone minorities across the country also face a degree of linguistic insecurity; these minorities include Franco-Ontarians (Jean-Pierre 2017). Some have pleaded to raise awareness among francophone Canadian postsecondary teachers and professors alike about the existence – and legitimacy – of linguistic diversity across francophone

15 In keeping with McElgunn's explanation, "Acadie" is used here in place of "Acadia", in conformance with "norms of referring to this francophone region of Eastern Canada in English language media and scholarly publications."

communities (e.g. Fédération de la jeunesse franco-ontarienne 2014, Larouche and Hinch 2012). The now-defunct Office of the French Language Services Commissioner (now transferred under the responsibility of the Office of the Ombusdman of Ontario) notably recommended the creation of a Franco-Ontarian university[16] as one way to foster linguistic security among the francophone minority community. It is seen as a means to provide this OLMC with a more accessible environment and a safe space where they could study and socialize in French (Jean-Pierre 2017). Young Franco-Ontarians indeed report that they are facing linguistic intimidation in their daily lives. Francophone students experience both linguistic rejection and discrimination. Some even say that they fear speaking French publicly in school because they could be bullied and physically assaulted for doing so (Leal 2015). Linguistic insecurity is thus largely detrimental to the well-being of OLMCs. As a concept, it has been used to explain the prevalence of certain linguistic representations (Labov 1976, Boudreau and Dubois 2001, Boudreau 2009) as well as hyperconsciousness of the (linguistic) norm (Boudreau 1998, 2005) and heightened sensitivity to regional variation (Boudreau and White 2004). Canadian sociolinguistics researchers have also used alternative approaches to assess the well-being and current status of OLMCs.

Linguistic vitality, also referred to as ethnolinguistic vitality, is one such alternative approach. In a seminal research article, Giles et al. (1977, 308) propose a definition of ethnolinguistic vitality as follows: “the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations.” The authors argue that a group with little to no vitality, for example, would eventually disappear, whereas one that has

16 In January 2020, a funding agreement between the Ontario and federal governments was signed.

plenty would "thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context" (*ibid*). Three main indicators are generally thought to determine the strength of ethnolinguistic vitality: status factors, demographic factors, and institutional support (Giles et al. 1977, Bourhis and Landry 2012).

Researchers have distinguished between ethnolinguistic vitality, interpreted as measuring "objective vitality", and "subjective vitality", based on subjective indicators such as perceptions and attitudes (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981, Landry and Allard 1994). Introduced as part of the "Subjective Vitality Questionnaire", researchers considered that "group members' 'subjective' vitality perceptions may be as important in determining interethnic behaviours as the group's objectively assessed vitality" (Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal 1981, 145). The subjective version of linguistic vitality introduced by Bourhis and colleagues (*ibid*, 1981) has failed to correctly predict expectations with regards to second-language learning, usage, and attitudes toward the outgroup (Hardwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994). Other models were thus developed. Worth mentioning is the work of Labrie and Clément (1986, cited in Hardwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994), who proposed a socioaffective model, which in turn prompted Allard and Landry (1986) to introduce a model of subjective vitality as a belief system.

Without going into further detail on each concept, both the objective and subjective vitality frameworks have been used in a multiplicity of cases across national contexts. A literature review has shown that, more often than not, ethnolinguistic minorities' subjective vitality assessments were consistent with "objective" vitality measures (Hardwood, Giles, and Bourhis 1994). Such results were found in a number of cases ranging from English Canadians and Italians Canadians in Hamilton (Bourhis and Sachdev 1984), to Anglo-Australians and Greek Australians (Giles et al. 1985), the Welsh (Giles and Johnson 1987), Chinese Canadians in Toronto (Sachdev et al. 1987),

and Arabs and Jews in Israel (Kraemer and Olshtain 1989). The objective vitality framework has been used across a quite impressive range of cases too. A few examples, cited in Bourhis and Landry (2008) include: Anglophones and Francophones in Québec (Bourhis 2001, Hamers and Hummel 1994), Acadians in New Brunswick (Landry and Allard 1998), Francophone minorities in Canada (Gilbert 2010), Cajuns in Louisiana (Landry, Allard and Henry 1996), Francophones in Maine (Landry and Allard 1992), Hispanics in the United States (Barker et al. 2001), Catalans in Spain (Atkinson 2000), and Basques in Spain (Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabatela 2001).

One of the main concerns of scholars of linguistic vitality has been the threat of linguistic assimilation (e.g. Castonguay 2010) or "assimilative linguistic behaviour" among OLMCs. "Linguistic assimilation" has been defined as "a group's convergence to the linguistic norms or standards of another culture" (Allard and Landry 1986, 9). In the case of francophone minorities outside Québec, this would mean, to put it bluntly, that a minority group of francophones would gradually make a complete linguistic transfer by ceasing the use of French in favour of English in their daily lives. The idea of assimilation has been critiqued, however, because of its assumptions with respect to identity. Assimilation indeed postulates rigidity with regards to identity, such that, in the case at hand, either one is a Francophone, or they are not; hence the notion that one could "lose" their identity. Instead, others have considered identity a more flexible phenomenon, open to changing over time and across individuals, but more importantly, open to hybridity and additivity. Francophones in minority settings, following the latter logic, would therefore reconsider their identity in light of their personal linguistic development. Ethnographic studies (e.g. Gerin-Lajoie 2003, 2011) have found many instances among Anglo-Quebecer and Franco-Ontarian communities where individuals would increasingly identify as bilingual, thus leaving

behind the dichotomous frame underlying the very notion of Canadian linguistic duality. Researchers have nonetheless kept using the notions of assimilation (e.g. Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2013), linguistic vitality (e.g. Medeiros 2015), community vitality (Floch et al. 2017a, Floch et al. 2017b), and language community vitality (Bourhis and Landry 2012). Some of this research has been produced by federal government agencies, notably the Official Languages Branch of Canadian Heritage (e.g. O'Keefe 1998, Floch et al. 2017a, Floch et al. 2017b).

In relation to the cases studied in this dissertation, one of the most interesting findings in Canadian sociolinguistics pertains to the rural-urban divide and its asymmetrical effect. As Landry, Allard, and Deveau (2013) point out, in the case of Anglo-Quebecers, whose demography is heavily territorially concentrated, specifically in the Greater Montreal Area, urban life favours linguistic vitality, because English is quite salient and often used in the public realm as well as in the workplace. Anglo-Quebecers thus have plenty of opportunities to use English when they live in an urban area. On the contrary, in the case of francophone minorities outside Québec (who are more sparsely distributed across provincial territories), urban life contributes to linguistic assimilation because francophones living in urban areas tend to use English more often, since French is marginal in the public domain (Beaudin 1999, Landry and Beaudin 2003).

There are some differences in the two subgenres of Canadian sociolinguistic literature reviewed so far. In contrast to studies on linguistic insecurity, which often employ discourse analysis and are classified as pertaining to critical approaches in sociolinguistics (Remysen 2017, 15), studies on linguistic vitality favour sociodemographic and survey data over text and speech. The use of quantitative methods is thus more common. While studies of linguistic insecurity most often are case studies of a "micro" scope of analysis, studies of linguistic vitality, while also mostly case-

oriented, rely on larger units of analysis (e.g., groups) and are more often of a “macro” scope of analysis.

All things considered, linguistic vitality has been and remains to this day an important research topic and framework used across a variety of disciplines, ranging from linguistics, to education, to sociology and political science. It is not without limitations, however. In the words of two of the most prolific contributors to the linguistic vitality literature, the objective vitality framework has been used primarily “to *describe* the relative position of language communities in numerous bilingual and multilingual settings” (Bourhis and Landry 2012, 33, emphasis added). While the authors emphasize the rather large number of cases where the framework has been applied, their statement inadvertently underlines one of the limits of the sociolinguistics literature, that is, description. Such a critique had been voiced by Sonntag and Cardinal (2015, 3) as well as Royles and Lewis (2019), hence their designing theoretical frameworks geared towards (historical) explanation. Richard Bourhis, one of the important contributors to the linguistic and group vitality literature, and his colleagues have acknowledged that there exists a “need for [the] theoretical integration of the vitality framework” (Bourhis et al. 2019, 409). Speaking of the large set of theoretical models developed over the last decades, the authors note that “for the most part, these frameworks are only infrequently subjected to empirical scrutiny or testing, with causality an ignored or an underdeveloped feature”(Bourhis et al. 2019, 418; see also Ehala 2010, cited in the aforementioned).

Specifically, two examples of government-sponsored research may clarify the limits of descriptive studies and highlight the contributions made in this dissertation. A first example is the very detailed portrait of the linguistic vitality of Quebec’s English-speaking community by Landry,

Allard, and Deveau (2013). Using surveys to provide a source of quantitative data for their analysis, their method is limited to presenting descriptive statistics in the form of frequency distributions and mean scores. The explanatory leverage thus finds itself restricted by methodological choices. A second example is the series of community vitality portraits published by Floch and colleagues (e.g. 2017a, 2017b). While their studies do provide state-of-the-art, detailed, thorough, replicable, and comparable empirical portraits of OLMCs, they were designed – understandably, given their government-sponsorship – to potentially result in policy recommendations. No hypothesis testing is offered, thus limiting the potential for theoretical advancement or development. A significant share of the literature on linguistic vitality is in fact designed accordingly, hence the relevance of more theoretically oriented research taking advantage of tools increasingly used in political science (Héroux-Legault 2017), such as provided in this dissertation.

1.2.3 Explaining the Present: Decompartmentalizing Research on Language Politics and OLMCs

As shown above, Canadian sociolinguistics scholars have presented analyses that are more often than not descriptive, be it in the qualitative tradition of linguistic insecurity studies and linguistic discrimination (e.g. Jean-Pierre 2018, not discussed above) or in the more quantitative tradition of linguistic vitality studies. As Gorman and Johnson (2013) point out, this amounts to taking a snapshot of the phenomena under scrutiny, a rather limited ambition beyond which contemporary social science should try to reach. Instead, researchers should seek to "evaluate hypotheses about the connections between linguistic behaviour, speakers, and society" (Gorman and Johnson 2013, 1). This dissertation is, broadly taken, a step in the latter

direction. By offering three studies in which hypotheses from a variety of literatures are tested, it contributes to decompartmentalizing the study of OLMCs and brings to the fore an approach that, albeit less common, holds great potential for theory development and explanation of social phenomena.

In a nutshell, the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework has made great strides in explaining the past, by tracing the institutional path towards language regimes, and scholars of linguistic insecurity and linguistic vitality have made great strides in describing the present, by uncovering sociolinguistic phenomena among OLMCs that would be otherwise intangible to the unacquainted. This dissertation seeks to explain the present, by testing theory-informed hypotheses that could potentially shed light upon current and upcoming sociopolitical phenomena of importance to both OLMCs and Canadian society. While this dissertation engages with some of the themes reviewed in the literature discussed above, it departs from the approaches used in said literature.

Each of the three studies in this dissertation introduces the relevant literature for each research question tackled. To avoid redundancy, the present chapter does not deal fully with the specific theories used in the three studies. Instead, the following paragraphs present a few studies that contribute to explaining current language politics phenomena, while furthering theory development, and that inspired and informed the methodological approach adopted in this dissertation.

One of the earliest pieces of scholarship that scrutinized relationships between variables to test extant theory was provided by Guimond and Simard (1983). Social psychologists Guimond and Simard surveyed Francophones in Québec, asking them to compare the socioeconomic status of

their own linguistic group with that of Anglophones. With a small number of observations, their study did generalize results to a larger population; rather, it examined relationships between variables, such as whether perceived intergroup inequality could drive sociopolitical attitudes and nationalism. Guimond and Simard (1983, 533) found that "both perception of inequality and fraternal relation deprivation[17] are related to nationalism". In terms of theoretical contribution, their study added to the literature on protest and mobilisation, which would later be important in research on social movements. Specifically, Guimond and Simard's evidence supported Runciman's (1966) distinction between egoistic relative deprivation and fraternal relative deprivation, showing that only the former was "directly related to a positive attitude toward the Quebec nationalist movement" (Guimond and Simard 1983, 533). Methodologically speaking, Guimond and Simard's effort had the limited inferential leverage associated with correlational analysis, conveyed in today's commonly accepted view that correlation does not equal or entail causation. A similar approach is found in Sniderman et al.'s (1989) study of attitudes towards language rights, which provides hypotheses and hypothesis testing, but relies exclusively on descriptive statistics and correlational analysis.

In the 1990s, André Blais (1991) published an article in which he addressed attitudes towards language and intergroup relations. Blais' study did not delve into theory development or hypothesis testing, but was based on a more generalizable design, drawing on large samples from the 1988 Canadian Elections Study dataset. Relying mostly on descriptive statistics and differences in mean scores (see Fournier and Medeiros 2014 for a more recent, but similar

17 See chapter 3 for an explanation of the notion of fraternal relative deprivation.

research design), it nonetheless has the merit of giving center stage to an under-studied topic, the language divide, a topic the author contends had been trumped by studies on regionalism in the 1970s under the influence of Schwartz (1974), among others.

It seems therefore that, with the notable exception of Guimond and Simard (1983) mentioned above, researchers have only recently begun to re-engage in theory development and hypothesis testing with regards to language politics-related issues. One of the major contributors, who drew notably on the linguistic vitality literature to develop and test a theory is political scientist Mike Medeiros and his colleagues. Medeiros (2015, 627) first sketched out a curvilinear theoretical model in which low and high levels of linguistic vitality were associated with lower conflict intensity, and moderate levels with higher conflict intensity. The author acknowledged, however, that his results could not quite determine a causal relationship and called for more research to be done around the same topic. Medeiros and colleagues have thus pursued a research agenda along the lines described above in recent years.

Notable findings of such recent scholarship include evidence that: “perceiving French as threatened positively influences Quebecers’ support for independence and negatively impacts their feelings towards Canada” (Medeiros 2017a, 375), a finding corroborated in another study as well (e.g. Medeiros 2017b); Francophones from Quebec are less likely to identify with Canada than are Francophones from other provinces (Medeiros 2017b); positive information on the linguistic vitality of French decreases the level of perceived linguistic threat among Francophones in Quebec (Medeiros, Fournier, and Benet-Martínez 2016); “cultural threat impacts outgroup attitudes in both the national minority and the national majority” (Medeiros 2019, 3); and

attitudes towards language policies have a significant impact on vote choice (Medeiros, von Schoultz, and Wass 2019).

Worth noting is the fact that, in the latter study, non-results (e.g. statistically non-significant results) are reported. For example, the authors state that "a general pattern of determinants is not indicated by the results" when it comes to support for bilingualism. Such an approach to social scientific inquiry has been heretofore rather unusual, with many journals reporting mostly, if not only "positive" results: that is, statistically significant evidence supporting non-null hypotheses, a phenomenon depicted as a "publication bias" (Esarey and Wu 2016, Gerber and Malhotra 2008). This constitutes one of the main features of the literature reviewed in this section. Several of the articles cited above indeed prioritize transparency and replicability over the appeal of sensational, magnified, or even simply "positive" results. Another major feature of this literature is that, in many cases, the research presents itself as an examination of the relationship between a few select variables, and often pairs of variables. Once again, while this may make for less bombastic claims as to the scope and generalizability of the findings obtained, it has the advantage of offering replicable research designs that allow for cumulative findings, arguably a prerequisite for theory development.

The literature reviewed in this section so far often focuses on groups targeted by one of the three pillars of diversity policies identified by Kymlicka (2007, 2012), that is, French-Canadians[18]. By

18 Here is an excerpt where Kymlicka (2012, 251) summarizes his one of his arguments in light of the three-pillars perspective: "I noted earlier that Canada's approach to diversity involves differentiating between three pillars or tracks: Aboriginals, French-Canadians and imigrant-origin ethnic groups. In each case, I believe that progress towards greater justice has depended upon keeping the categories distinct and reassuring Canadians that accommodations made in one track do not necessarily create a precedent in other tracks."

contrast, another group of scholars has studied phenomena of relevance to language politics that give center stage to the targeted group of another pillar of diversity policies, “immigrant-origin ethnic groups” (Kymlicka 2012, 249). This different focus is exemplified by the contrast between the work of Guimond and Simard (1983) and Blais (1991), on one hand, and the work of Bilodeau, White, and Nevitte (2010), and Bilodeau (2016), on the other. The first group of scholars tends to compare official language groups: Francophones in Québec and Canada, and Anglophones in Québec and Canada, and how both groups relate to and perceive one another. The second group of scholars shifts the focus to new Canadians (or “visible minorities”, to employ governmental terminology), their attitudes towards official languages, and their political affiliations and loyalties, among others.

Among notable findings of such recent research, Bilodeau, White, and Nevitte (2010) find that the integration of immigrants in Quebec follows a different pattern than observed in other provinces. The difference is explained through the role of linguistic integration. “Immigrants who speak French at home tend to develop political loyalties that are similar to those of the local population. By contrast, those who speak English or another language at home tend to exhibit orientations that are more federal than those of the local population” (Bilodeau, White, and Nevitte 2010, 531). Bilodeau, Turgeon, and Karakoç (2012, 583) test the “the social identity perspective of group conflict theory” (e.g. Brown 1995, Capozza and Brown 2000), in line with Tajfel (1982) and Tajfel and Turner’s (1986) work. They find evidence supporting the social identity perspective in that “French-speaking communities in New Brunswick and Quebec tend to be less positive toward racial minorities and to some extent to immigration” (Bilodeau, Turgeon, and Karakoç 2012, 596). Similarly, Turgeon and Bilodeau’s (2014) findings show that

cultural insecurity (a notion used interchangeably with linguistic insecurity) leads to more negative attitudes towards immigration. Echoing some of the findings previously obtained in Bilodeau et al. (2010), and Bilodeau et al. (2015) find a connection between language, on one hand, and views about Canada, regional grievances, and institutional evaluations, on the other. Additional research confirms the importance of the language variable, echoed in previous findings, with notably Bilodeau (2016) concluding that "new Quebecers who use French more frequently in their daily lives have a more positive relationship with the Quebec political community". They attribute this effect also to attending French-language education institutions.

Some of the most recent publications tackle somewhat different subtopics, albeit still of relevance to language politics. For instance, in a study about attitudes towards religious accommodation, religiosity, and racism, Dufresne et al. (2019) show that linguistic group membership matters. Specifically, their evidence shows that "while opposition to religious accommodation is higher in Quebec, and higher among francophones, it is rooted more in the low level of religiosity of the francophone population than in racial animus" (Dufresne et al. 2019, 673). Another recent publication addresses attitudes toward language policy, in particular towards bilingualism policies in Canada. Turgeon and colleagues (2019) find that there exists a principle-implementation gap in public opinion when it comes to official bilingualism policies. This finding is reminiscent of Sniderman et al. (1989, 282), whose research unveiled a double standard with respect to language rights, with "the anglophone majority [being] more likely to support language rights for anglophones in Quebec than for francophones outside it". Turgeon and colleagues' (2019) results shed light on a different kind of double-faceted reality, with symbolic predispositions driving principled support and implementation being most opposed by

"those whose interests might clash with the imposition of bilingualism requirements for senior federal public servants" (*ibid*, 1).

In conclusion, this section has reviewed a literature that fosters what is called here the decompartmentalization of research on language politics and OLMCs. Drawing from multiple theoretical frameworks, such scholarship advances knowledge by way of hypothesis testing, which results in research of both theoretical and sociopolitical relevance that contributes to explaining the present. The next section now turns to the specifics of this dissertation's research design.

1.3 Research Design: Epistemological Stance and Case Selection

This section will first expand on the epistemological stance underlying this dissertation. It will then discuss case selection. The method applied will only be briefly discussed in order to avoid repetition, since each chapter has been written as a standalone study ready for publication and comprising its own methodology section.

1.3.1 Epistemological Stance

"When we study our own country, we do more than test a general theory. We seek to explain, and also understand, an aspect of our collective experience and do so with the hope of producing usable knowledge and of engaging in the social and political life of our own society" (Noël 2014, 653). Such is the epistemological stance adopted here, in keeping with the considerations discussed in the last section of the literature review.

This dissertation strives to make a contribution that is of value in and of itself (Noël 2014), for the sake of better understanding Canadian and Quebec language politics, as well as OLMCs. To borrow from Flyvbjerg (2001), it seeks to make social science that matters. Such research pertains to the domain of *phronesis*, or practical wisdom. Situated between purely theoretical knowledge (*episteme*) and applied or technical knowledge (*techne*), this approach tackles issues of importance to fostering the common good.

While such issues are widely discussed in the normative philosophy literature on language politics (e.g. Kymlicka and Patten 2003), among others, the latter contributions remain largely theoretical and empirically untested. The studies presented here thus constitute an opportunity to inform debates pertaining to language-related issues in political philosophy, such as debates on "linguistic justice" (e.g. Van Parijs 2011) and the linkage between cosmopolitanism and the English language (e.g. Ives 2010, 2019; Schaffer 2012), which rarely delve into the empirical side of the premises underlying their analyses.

To achieve this objective, the three studies partake in what has been identified as "the comparative turn" (Vipond 2008) in Canadian political science. Hence, they aim to "integrate the study of Canadian politics into the field of comparative politics and, reciprocally, to signal to comparativists that Canada is fertile territory for testing comparative theory" (*ibid*, 4). Notably, comparisons allow departure from stereotypes and shed light on what constitutes singularities and what does not (Paquin 2011). The next subsection will thus provide a justification for the selection and comparison of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians as the two main cases studied.

1.3.2 Case Selection: Comparisons in Language Politics and the "Special Case" of Quebec's English-Speaking Minority Communities

Nearly two decades ago, Morris (2003) reviewed the literature comparing linguistics groups. Such comparisons were then and have since remained quite sparse. Paillé (1989, 2002, 2003) has made some brief comparisons from a strictly demographic perspective; Edwards (2010) has published a volume, *Language in Canada*, that permits comparisons from the reader's perspective, but takes the form of single-case studies presented as distinct chapters; McRae (1983, 1986, 1988) has made a few group comparisons, though his three volumes are presented as single-case studies as well. Laponce (1987), while not focusing on linguistic minorities, critiqued Canadian language policies for their implications with regards to the latter communities. Building on Morris' (2003, 29) judgment, it seems that what had been heretofore published was far from systematic when it comes to comparison. Retrospectively, such literature may be considered an attempt at "comparing by replication of single case studies" (Dogan 2002, 65-67). However, others argue that case studies, though not entirely devoid of comparative merit, should not be considered as employing the comparative method (Sartori 1994, cited in Dogan 2002).

Methodological contention aside, a few scholars have lately contributed more systematic and direct comparisons of Canadian language politics. For instance, researchers have conducted pairs and small-*n* comparisons of francophones in Québec and anglophones in the rest of Canada (e.g. Medeiros 2019b), and francophones in Ontario and New Brunswick and the Welsh-speaking minority in Wales (Normand 2015). To the best of the author's knowledge, the only recent

systematic comparison involving the cases of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians is that of Forgues and Traisnel (2012).

Forgues and Traisnel (2012) offer a comprehensive overview of the social engagement of OLMCs across all provinces and territories of Canada, with an emphasis on Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick. Albeit rich in empirical data, the authors' study remains mostly descriptive. At best, Forgues and Traisnel discuss the results of their correlational analysis, but no statistical indicator measuring the strength of the correlations (e.g. Pearson's *r*) is included, and the reader is left to rely on the authors' interpretation. Although Forgues and Traisnel gathered evidence that a majority of Franco-Ontarians (57%) and nearly three out of four Anglo-Quebecers (73%) ignore the existence of OLMC organizations in their province, their research design has completely overlooked the existence of virtual social media organizations. This dissertation remedies this problem[19].

Another shortcoming of Forgues and Traisnel's (2012) approach is that they provide some theoretical background, but it is rather thin and does not lead to any formalized hypothesis, nor result in hypothesis testing, thus limiting potential for theory development. When it comes to

19 By typing the appropriate keywords on social networks such as Facebook, for example, it is easy to find several groups that clearly identify as a social hub for Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Such groups bring together thousands of OLMC members. In contrast with traditional organizations, which required aspiring members a minimum of political awareness, time investment, sense of solidarity, and sometimes a membership fee, OLMC members may now join virtual social network groups today at barely any cost. It suffices that a friend or colleague of theirs sends an invitation to join such groups, if the targeted recruit is not already aware of the existence of such groups. For the sake of this dissertation, the researcher has contacted a number of both traditional OLMC organizations and Facebook groups, which allowed him to indirectly and directly recruit participants, who filled out an electronic survey questionnaire in the respective language of their community. More details are provided notably on sample size in the methods section of each study. The reader may also want to consult the survey results, provided in the Appendices after the concluding chapter of the dissertation.

hypothesis testing, the approach adopted here, it is recommended to use a few well-selected cases rather than large multistate, or multi-group datasets (Laponce 2008). As Laponce (*ibid*, 234-235) puts it, comparing a few cases,

> while less exciting than the handling of large data sets with a vast amount of states and communities, even if producing summaries of lesser beauty for their lack of simple mathematical expressions, will be more rewarding to prediction and to prescription, hence to theory building and to public policy.

Along the lines of Forgues and Traisnel (2012), this dissertation examines the attitudes of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Unlike Forgues and Traisnel (*ibid*), however, it focuses solely on these two cases, and conducts statistical testing of formalized hypotheses, with the dual objective of empirical and theoretical development, using the comparative method. An advantage of the latter approach is that "binary comparison[s] permit a kind of detailed confrontation that is almost impossible when the analysis encompasses too many cases" (Dogan 2002, 70).

To ensure a higher likelihood of obtaining interesting results in single case studies, one recommended strategy is to choose a "special case" (Yin 2013). Although this dissertation does not constitute a single case study, the notion of a special case, defined below, is useful for the comparisons undertaken in Study #1 and Study #2. To be clear, the strategy here is to compare a special case with a more common case among similar cases; the case of Anglo-Quebecers among other OLMCs. This raises the question of why Anglo-Quebecers should be considered a special case. A "special case" may be defined as:

> some distinctive event or condition, such as the revival or renewal of a major organization, the creation and confirmed efficacy of a new medical procedure, the discovery or a new way of reducing youth gang violence; a critical political election; some dramatic neighborhood change; or even the occurrence and aftermath of a natural disaster. By definition, these are likely to be remarkable circumstances. To do a good case study of any of them may produce an exemplary piece of research. (Yin 2013, 4)

The anglophone minority community in Quebec constitutes a special case to the extent that it is one of the only demographically large and well-organized anglophone minority groups on the North American continent, English speakers usually being part of a linguistic majority in position of political predominance. An indication of that position of power, for example, is the fact that the English-mother-tongue population represented 72.9% of the total Canadian population outside Quebec in 2016 (Statistics Canada 2017). Similarly, in the United States, census data show that, in 2011, 79.2% of the population aged five years and over spoke only English at home[20] (Ryan 2013, 3).

When conceptualized as a group whose speakers have English as their mother tongue[21], another exception of a significant anglophone minority is found in the province of Nunavut, where Anglophones formed 32.9% of the population in 2016 (Lepage and Langlois 2019, 20). Although it would be worthwhile to include the latter case in future research, reasons of demographic

20 Unfortunately, the U.S. census data have not included the question of mother tongue anymore since the 1980 Census (Ryan 2013, 4). This omission makes for a less precise comparison with the Canadian census data used in this paragraph.

21 The author is aware of the existence of other measures to determine the demolinguistic features of a polity, but the sake of readability, these will not be discussed here. Rather, they will be discussed notably in Study #1, where it is the most contextually appropriate place to do so.

weight (as a % of the total provincial population), population (in absolute numbers), and geographic proximity justify giving priority to the Anglo-Quebecer and Franco-Ontarian minority communities for the direct comparisons undertaken here.

In 2016, Anglophones in Nunavut represented 32.9% of the province's population, for a total of 11 690 individuals, while Anglophones in Quebec represented 8.9% of the province's population, for a total of 718,990 individuals (Statistics Canada 2017). The latter group is thus much larger than the former in absolute demographic terms and much smaller in proportions. Franco-Ontarians, while representing a smaller proportion of their province's population (4.0%), totaled 527 690 individuals in 2017 (Ontario 2017). The sheer population size of Quebec Anglophones and Franco-Ontarians thus justifies the decision to compare them. Another advantage of comparing Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians is that these cases are geographically contiguous; they have a common provincial border.

Other pairs of geographically proximate pairs of cases—such as Anglo-Quebecers and Francophones (most often referred to as "Acadians") in New Brunswick, and Franco-Ontarians and Francophones in New Brunswick—also fail in terms of demographic weight and proportion of the population. Although the proportion of the population that Francophones in New Brunswick represent, 31.4%, is much larger than that of both Anglo-Quebecers (8.9%) and Franco-Ontarians (4.0%), a comparison between Franco-Ontarians and Acadians in New Brunswick would sacrifice the potential of a special case-common case comparison among OLMCs.

Comparing a "special case" with another, more "common" case[22] of the same kind, seems indeed to be a promising strategy. In the Canadian context, both cases studied here constitute "official language minority communities" (OLMCs), a legal status granted under the Official Languages Act of 1969 [1988]. The latter is a core policy component of the Canadian language regime (see Cardinal and Normand 2011 and *supra* for other sources). The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom of 1982 also grants the same linguistic rights in the education sector to official language minorities of both languages, notably through the notion of rights holders (section 23). Thus, there exists a *de jure* symmetry at the federal level between the cases of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers[23]. However, there is a stark asymmetry when it comes to both the historical background and the current community vitality indicators of the two cases.

The anglophone minority in Quebec has historically been in a more advantageous position than francophone minorities in other provinces. For instance, until the 1970s, consociational arrangements prevailed in Quebec (Stevenson 1999, 15), allowing Anglophones to wield considerable political influence. On the economic front, they were even at an advantage over the francophone majority, occupying a disproportionate share of high-level positions in the workforce (Levine 1990). Such benefits to the anglophone minority were unmatched in other provinces outside of Québec, where language regimes have been more restrictive. For instance,

22 To be clear, the intention here is not to dimish the importance of any other francophone minority community in the country. Rather, the francophone minority studied here is qualified of a "common case" in the sense that there any many other francophone minority communities across Canada, whereas the anglophone minority community in Quebec stands out as one of the rare occurrences where an anglophone group is in a minority setting on a given delimited territory in Canada, with the exception of Nunavut, and likely other unexamined cases at the municipal level.

23 However, provincial language regimes differ in some respects (see Study #2 for more details on the matter).

the early twentieth century was marked by linguistic crises in education policy. The most cited and infamous episode in Franco-Ontarian history undoubtedly resides in the enactment in 1912 of Rule XVII, which forbid French-language instruction in public schools beyond the second year across Ontario (Cardinal and Normand 2011, Martel and Pâquet 2010). Teaching in French was re-allowed about fifteen years later, in 1927, but what has been called the "schools crisis" was only resolved in 1944 (*ibid*)[24].

The latest empirical indicators show that, to some extent, times have changed, however. While they once were in a better socioeconomic position than Francophones in Quebec, recent data point to "very low socio-economic vitality" (Floch et al. 2017a, 7-8), an indicator taking into account education, employment, and income, to describe the Anglo-Quebecers' current situation. By contrast, the Franco-Ontarian community's socio-economic vitality is higher, being classified as "medium" (Floch et al. 2017b, 7-8)[25].

Historical precedents and the relative dearth of data on Anglo-Quebecers, the latter likely a symptom of the little interest shown by political scientists in language politics, have been used to discard the anglophone minority from research on OLMCs. For example, Chouinard (2014, 143) states that:

> extensive comparative research (Fédération des Francophones hors Québec 1978) and Canadian census analyses have proven beyond doubt the gap in demographic vitality (*ibid*, 26), median revenue (*ibid*, 32) and respect of education rights (*ibid*, 33) between the two minorities, with Anglo-Quebeckers being favoured in each of these categories. For all these

24 Many other cases of legal restrictions forbidding or limiting the use of French in schools have been observed in other provinces as well. For example, the Northwest Territories in 1892, Manitoba in 1916, and Saskatchewan in 1931 all enact legislation making English the only permissible language of instruction (Martel and Pâquet 2010, 61).

25 The indicators used by Floch and colleagues are relative indicators that

> reasons, the legal claims of this minority are deemed irrelevant to the discussion of demands for [non-territorial autonomy] and are excluded from our study.

While it may have been the case that Anglo-Quebecers were still favoured one year after the adoption in 1977 of Quebec's main language policy instrument, the Charter of the French Language, recent reports (e.g. Floch et al. 2017a, 2017b, Landry, Allard ,and Deveau 2013) suggest that their community should be included as one of the relevant cases to be analyzed along with other OLMCs. The English-speaking communities in Quebec may be facing different challenges than their francophone counterparts in the rest of Canada; this, rather than being considered a reason for exclusion, should be considered an opportunity to learn about a special case and a unique occasion for comparative research.

To summarize, the current section has argued that a comparison of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians is promising for several reasons. Firstly, the literature reviewed shows that linguistic group comparisons have been few and far between. Single case studies being more common, it is only in recent times that scholars have engaged in direct comparisons. Secondly, an example was provided to show that often, such recent scholarship engaging into direct comparisons has limits associated with its methodology. Although very informative and rich in empirical data, it remains limited in scope given its mostly descriptive orientation and absence of theoretical embeddedness. Thirdly, it has been argued that comparing a special case and a more common case among OLMCs holds the potential to result in interesting discoveries and insights. Fourthly, Anglo-Quebecers were presented as a special case whose features make it the perfect case to be compared with Franco-Ontarians. Among such features are its demographic weight, proportion of the population, and geographical proximity. Lastly, it has been argued that scholarship on

OLMCs has sometimes neglected, if not outright rejected, the case of Anglo-Quebecers for misguided reasons.

All things considered, this chapter has provided a justification for the research conducted from both a cross-disciplinary perspective and a substantive perspective. It has also detailed the rationale underlying the selection and comparison of the two cases. In broad terms, this dissertation aims to move beyond the ambit of description and provide a replicable contribution that fosters theory development and challenges received wisdom on official language minority communities. The following will now break down the components of each of the three studies.

1.4 Dissertation Overview

Chapter 2, Study #1, assesses linguistic power relations between the two official languages in light of the latest census data, and then compares how official languages are perceived in terms of status. Evidence shows that, while Canadian society is becoming increasingly multilingual, and while English and French are both losing ground as mother tongue and language used most often at home, English is in excellent shape as a language used at work. English is increasingly used in the province of Québec as a language of work. By contrast, French is only rarely used by workers outside the province of Québec and is becoming increasingly marginal in the workplace in the province of Ontario. A group comparison allows measuring perceived language status. Results from original survey data show that Franco-Ontarians are much more likely than Anglo-Quebecers to say that the provincial language of the majority is “useful”. Conversely, Anglo-Quebecers are much more likely than Franco-Ontarians to judge that their own language is “useful.”

Chapter 3, Study #2, finds evidence of a state of relative deprivation among Anglo-Quebecer respondents, who also consider themselves the victims of discrimination in the province of Québec. Predictive models show that, contrary to expectations, the higher the state of relative deprivation and perceived discrimination, the lower the likelihood of being an organizational activist.

Chapter 4, Study #3, analyses the solidarities of organisational activists and rank-and-file members of the OLMCs studied. Evidence shows that those who are volunteering or working for an OLMC organisation are less likely to be cosmopolitan. This effect is attributed to the structure of OLMCs, which constitute the last standard-bearers of Canadian dualism. Furthermore, the study compares the strength of local, provincial, federal, and global affiliations of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. Findings show that Franco-Ontarians are (1) less likely to be cosmopolitan than Anglo-Quebecers, (2) about equally likely to be attached to the Canadian national identity as Anglo-Quebecers, (3) more likely to identify with their province than Anglo-Quebecers, and (4) more likely to have a strong affiliation with their local polity than Anglo-Quebecers.

With regards to the literatures reviewed, Study #1 takes advantage of empirical data typically used in sociolinguistics but takes the additional – and often neglected – step of using the data to build hypotheses and test the latter using appropriate statistical methods. It shows how sociolinguistics can move beyond description by linking census data with more theoretical constructs, such as perceived utility. Study #2 and #3 both put to use the State Traditions and Language Regimes framework to contextualize the cases studied and build relevant hypotheses.

Both studies leverage literatures outside of the latter framework, thus contributing to the decompartmentalization effort discussed above.

In a nutshell, the reader may want to retrieve three main take-aways from this dissertation: (1) English is perceived as more "useful" than French, even in a minority setting (which constitutes an "*a fortiori*" type of evidence) , consistent with data on language use in the workplace, (2) this symbolic advantage does not translate to immediate economic benefits for the Anglophone minority in Quebec (as demonstrated with census data), who, at least judging from the sample surveyed for this study, are perceiving their group as discriminated against and disadvantaged in comparison with the Francophone majority, and (3) cosmopolitanism, often associated with the English language, has yet to dislodge territorially-bound forms of belonging, contrarily to the contention made by certain elites. As a whole the three studies show that there is much to learn from the study of official language minorities, whether through the lenses of intergroup relations, symbolic power, attitudes or behaviours, and that scholars of Canadian politics should attempt to further incorporate those under-examined cases into the discipline.

2 Linguistic Equality Among Canadian Official Languages: A Failed Experiment? Evidence from an Ontario-Québec Comparison of Perceived Language Utility Among Official Language Minorities

As official language minorities and official languages policy expert Linda Cardinal (2005, 493) puts it, "official language policy has been, and continues to be, an important dimension of Canadian politics". The year 2019 marked the fiftieth anniversary of Canada's main language policy instrument, the Official Languages Act. Except for a few amendments in 2005, the Act was only reviewed once, in 1988 (Canada 2019). In 2019, the Liberal government, responsible for the original version of the language policy, thus mandated the Commissioner, Raymond Théberge, with holding country-wide consultations to update the Act. Seven topics[26] structured the consultations, and three "changes" were cited to justify an update to the language policy: "social and demographic transformation; the significant contribution of immigration in official language communities; and the impact of technological development on delivering services to the public and work arrangements in the federal public service" (*ibid*). One of the more ambitious purposes of the Act was conspicuous by its absence on the agenda of the consultations. Section 2.b of the Official Languages Act states that the legislation would seek to ensure "the development of English and French linguistic minority communities and generally advance the *equality of status*

26 Those seven topics are as follows : access to justice, advent of new technology and delivery of federal government services, federal public service, development of Canada's linguistic minorities, mandate and role of the Commissioner, official languages and Indigenous languages, governance.

and use of the English and French languages within Canadian society"[27] (*ibid*). Half a century after the original Official Languages Act became law, how far has linguistic equality come?

Using original survey data collected in 2017, this study probes the two largest official language minorities in Canada – Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians – to tackle the latter question through an exploration of perceived language status. This paper takes the opportunity of the fiftieth anniversary of the Official Languages Act to revisit the language policy instrument and compare how English and French are used and perceived nowadays. For the policy goal of linguistic equality to be considered at least partially met, it is proposed that, at least somewhere in Canada, both languages should be of equal perceived status. In the present case, equal perceived status will take the following form: (1) in Québec, where the majority speaks French, it should be possible to be anglophone and value French as much as English, just as (2) in Ontario, where the majority speaks English, it should be possible to be a francophone and value English as much as French. By and large, evidence reveals that the status of English is in a much more advantageous position than French, even in a province where the latter language is the most likely to be used and valued. Results show that, albeit both groups being in a minority setting, Anglo-Quebecers are nearly nine times more likely than Franco-Ontarians to deem their own language "useful". Conversely, Franco-Ontarians are nearly thirteen times more likely than Anglo-Quebecers to deem the other official language "useful". To be sure, this is a rather astounding difference. Such results provide strong support for the notion that Canadian linguistic equality is a failure. In light of the census data presented in Study #2 showing that, in Québec,

27 Emphasis added.

the French language is in fact more "useful" in terms of economic benefits than the English language, the results of the present chapter (Study #1) make two main contributions: (1) it challenges the conventional wisdom that, regardless of context, the English language is more "useful" and economically beneficial, and (2) it provides empirical evidence that the notion of instrumentalism, a concept used in the theoretical literature on languages (e.g. on language ideologies), has relevant applications in Canadian politics. The next sections will now introduce the hypotheses, method, and data that led to such conclusions.

2.1 Hypotheses: Instrumentalism and Perceived Language Utility in a Context of Rising Linguistic Diversity

This section first offers an overview of the history of official language policies since the Official Languages Act of 1969. Since "those in the political ascendancy tend to determine the status and use of [languages]" of public life (May 2016, 1), it is appropriate to delve into the available empirical data (here mostly census data) and lay out an overview of the current state of official languages in Canada. A nuanced portrait of the latest developments in linguistic demography is therefore provided, drawing on census data from Statistics Canada since the 2000s. The analysis reveals at least three trends: while multilingualism in Canadian society is increasing (trend #1), the shares of population for whom one official language was the first language learned at home – also termed "mother tongue" – or is still used most often at home are decreasing (trend #2). A composite index of "linguistic vitality" based on the two aforementioned indicators shows that, nevertheless, more individuals are using English at home than those who learned it as their first language, highlighting the extent of the drawing power of

the Canadian majority language. As a minority language in Québec, English seems to be gaining ground in the workplace, whereas French is slightly losing ground in both provinces (trend #3). The latest iteration of official language policies, "language roadmaps", have framed official languages primarily as an economic benefit for the country and for individuals (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015). Accordingly, hypotheses will compare perceptions through an instrumentalist lens (De Schutter 2007), hence the notion of perceived language utility, the latter of which will be unpacked further below.

2.1.1 Historical Context: Policies of Bilingualism in an Increasingly Multilingual Society

In Québec, from 1996 to 2016, the proportion of citizens who had a non-official language as their mother tongue ("allophones") increased from 9.7% to 13.7% (Québec 2019). In Ontario, the same phenomenon can be observed; the share of allophones increased from 26.6% to 27.9% from 2011 to 2016 (Ontario 2017). In Canada as a whole, the number of languages spoken at home or that were the mother tongue[28] increased from 200 to 215 between 2011 and 2017 (Statistics Canada 2011a;Statistics Canada 2017). .

Such figures are provided here to convey the growth of linguistic diversity across the federation and its increasingly multilingual character, despite the common misrepresentation that Canada

28 Statistics Canada (2011b) defines the "mother tongue" as "the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the census."

constitutes a bilingual society. As Jean-François Lepage (Statistics Canada 2017a) puts it, however, linguistic diversity does not mean "that more and more languages are being reported in the Census as a mother tongue or language spoken at home. Instead, it means that more and more respondents are reporting a language other than English and French". In a context where Canada is becoming an increasingly multilingual society, it may seem a paradox to the external observer that bilingualism nonetheless retains a privileged place in the state apparatus. A review of the recent history official languages policies may therefore prove useful.

Canadian governments have committed to bilingualism since the recommendation, made by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism for the sake of national unity, that both English and French be official languages (Cardinal 2005). Bilingualism as a policy, however, took different forms over the years. Four "generations" of official language policies have been enacted from the 1960s to the 2000s (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015). Initially, the policy has taken the form of institutional bilingualism, with the enactment of the Official Languages Act, in 1969. Institutional bilingualism meant the enshrinement of "equal status, rights and privilege of English and French in all federal institutions. It also gave Canadians the right to communicate with and to receive services in either official language from federal institutions in the National Capital Region" (*ibid*, 4) or where numbers warranted. The second generation came with the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which constitutionalized institutional bilingualism and linguistic rights in the education domain for official language minority communities (*ibid*, 4). The third generation consisted in the addition, in 1988, of Part V and Part VII to the original Official Languages Act. These additions respectively asserted the right of federal public servants to work in their official language of preference and marked the government's

commitment to “promoting the recognition and use of official languages in Canadian society but also to enhancing the vitality of OLMCs [Official Language Minority Communities] and supporting their development” (*ibid*, 5). Noteworthy, the latter development represented a shift from *institutional bilingualism* to *societal bilingualism*. That is, “the scope of the federal government’s intervention [...] [went] from offering public services in both official languages to promoting bilingualism in civil society” (*ibid*, 5).

Last but not least is the fourth generation of official language policy, which took the form of “language roadmaps”. Language roadmaps are both “policy statements that allow governments to identify policy objectives and earmark funding for specific departments and programs” and meant “to promote broader and more fundamental political goals” (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015, 2). Language roadmaps were a new policy instrument introduced under the Liberal government of Jean Chrétien in 2003 and renewed in 2008 and 2013 under Stephen Harper’s Conservative government. As a policy instrument, language roadmaps have been sufficiently flexible to be embedded in both Conservative and Liberal political agendas (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015, 14). But under the leadership of Harper’s successive Conservative governments specifically, “language roadmaps as policy instruments have largely transformed official languages spending and initiatives into tools to promote the economy, jobs and prosperity” (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015, 18). It thus comes as no surprise that official languages have been “increasingly framed [since the coming of language roadmaps] as means that can bring about economic benefits to both new and settled Canadians." (*ibid*, 18).

While policies likely influence the status of languages (May 2016), it seems reasonable to expect that so does the extent to which languages are used in society. The next section therefore charts

the evolution of the linguistic structure of Canadian demography over the past twenty years using the notions of mother tongue, language used at home, linguistic vitality, and language used in the workplace.

2.1.2 Preliminary Evidence: Asymmetrical Linguistic Power Relations

The notion of mother tongue is an essential component of the evaluation of the status of languages. In the present cases, one may expect that individuals born in an official language minority community do not require much incentive to learn the other official language, since the latter is used by the majority. Learning French in Québec, just as learning English in Ontario, should thus by default be considered valuable. Yet, in the context of increasing multilingualism, both official languages are now in competition not only with each other, but with a plethora of other languages. The relative weight of each official language is thus likely to be affected, but it remains to be seen whether they are affected equally.

There is evidence indeed that, with the linguistic diversification of Canadian demography, linguistic groups traditionally associated with the country's official languages are slowly, but steadily shrinking as a proportion of the total population, in terms of mother tongue. Table 3 below presents the census data since the 2000s[29]. The table highlights what may be interpreted as a slight decline of official languages, with a decrease of 3.32% Canadians having English as a mother tongue and 2.14% French as a mother tongue, between 2001 to 2016. English thus seems to be slightly more in decline than French.

29 Data compiled by and computations made by the author.

Table 3. The steady decline of official languages as mother tongue since the 2000s

Year of Census	Official Languages, Mother Tongue (# and % out of total population)			
	English	French	English and French	Total
2001	17,572,170 59.29%	6,741,955 22.75%	122,660 0.41%	29,639,035 100%
2006	17,882,775 57.24%	6,817,655 21.82%	98,626 0.32%	31,241,030 100%
2011	18,858,980 56.94%	7,054,975 21.30%	144,685 0.44%	33,121,175 100%
2016	19,460,855 55.97%	7,166,705 20.61%	165,325 0.48%	34,767,255 100%
% change (absolute)	**-3.32%**	**-2.14%**	+0.07%	*n/a*
% change (relative)	**-5.60%**	**-9.40%**	+17.07%	*n/a*

Sources: census data compiled by the author from Statistics Canada (2001a, 2006a, 2011b, 2016a).

An alternative empirical indicator that one may expect to be more favorable towards official languages, is language spoken most often at home. The assumption here is that there is likely a larger share of the population using official languages at home than who have official languages as their mother tongue. **Table 4** below presents the census data on language spoken most often at home since the 2000s. Evidence reveals that, while there are more Canadians speaking English most often at home than those for whom it was the first language learned at home, it has been consistently the opposite pattern for French. Such a pattern is of relevance for the construction of hypotheses regarding the status of official languages among official language minorities. Notwithstanding their linguistic background, more Canadians are remaining and/or becoming anglophones in their daily lives than are remaining and/or becoming francophones.

Table 4. The steady decline of official languages as language of use since the 2000s

Year of Census	Official Languages, Language Spoken Most Often at Home* (# and % out of total population)			
	English	French	English and French	Total
2001	–	–	–	29,639,035 100%
2006	20,584,770 65.89%	6,608,125 21.15%	94,055 0.30%	31,241,030 100%
2011	21,457,075 64.78%	6,827,865 20.61%	131,205 0.40%	33,121,175 100%
2016	22,162,865 63.75%	6,943,800 19.97%	160,185 0.46%	34,767,255 100%
% change (absolute)	**-2.14%**	**-1.18%**	+0.16%	*n/a*
% change (relative)	**-3.25%**	**-5.58%**	+53.33%	*n/a*

Sources: census data compiled by the author from Statistics Canada (2006b, 2011c, 2016b). *The language spoken most often at home variable was not yet included in Statistics Canada's census questionnaires back in 2001.

Different notions of "vitality" have been in scholarly debates touching upon language politics. While Bourhis and Landry (2012) use the notion of "group vitality", and Rodgers and colleagues (2012) speak of "cultural vitality", the Linguistic Vitality Index[30] parsimoniously captures both of the indicators reviewed in the tables above. Used notably in the work of Castonguay (e.g. 2011), it is the ratio of the number of individuals using a language to the number for whom it is the mother tongue. Such an indicator attests to the relative power and status of languages insofar as some of them are able – and some are unable – to attract and retain a larger pool of users than the original pool of its native speakers. **Table 5** below presents Linguistic Vitality scores for each official language by year, obtained by dividing the proportion of individuals using the language at home by the proportion of individuals for whom it is the mother tongue.

30 Personal translation from "*indice de vitalité linguistique*".

Table 5. Comparison of Linguistic Vitality Index

Year of Census	Linguistic Vitality Index		
	English	French	English and French
2001	–	–	–
2006	1.15	0.97	0.94
2011	1.14	0.97	0.91
2016	1.14	0.97	0.96
Change	**-0.01**	***null***	+0.02

Although the differences observed between the scores of English and French in **Table 5** may appear small at face value, they translate into a significant impact in the demographic world. That is, for example, a linguistic vitality score of 1.15 means that for every 100 "native" English speakers, there are 115 individuals who speak English most often at home. Conversely, a linguistic vitality score of 0.97 means that, for every 100 "native" French speakers, only 97 keep speaking the language most often at home. On a scale of millions, such dynamics take much greater proportions. In a nutshell, the linguistic vitality score captures a demographic dynamic that means that it is likely, if nothing is changed, the balance of power of the two official languages will remain one that favours English over French.

Lastly, **Table 6** below further illustrates the unequivocal power differential of both official languages, this time in the workplace. Even though both are in a minority setting on a provincial level, English was used at work by 42.5% of Québec's population in 2016, up from 40.4% in 2006, whereas French was used at work in Ontario by only 5.6% in 2016, down from 5.8% in 2006. The second major discrepancy is to be found in comparing both majority official languages. While Québec workers use "French only" 56.5% of the time, down from 58.6%, Ontario workers use "English only" 88.9% of the time, up from 88.8%. The trends thus could not be clearer. On the one hand, while in Québec, the minority official language is occupying an increasingly large place

in the workplace, the majority official language is being increasingly used along with another language, most likely English. On the other hand, in Ontario while the minority official language is used at work by slightly fewer individuals, the majority official language is consistently the only language used nearly nine times out of ten.

Table 6. Language Used at Work (% out of total population), Interprovincial Comparison

	Québec				Ontario			
Language used at work (%)	English (minority official language)		French (majority official language)		French (minority official language)		English (majority official language)	
Year	*2006*	*2016*	*2006*	*2016*	*2006*	*2016*	*2006*	*2016*
All instances	40.4	42.5	94.3	94.4	5.8	5.6	98.7	98.7
Only	4.6	4.6	58.6	56.5	0.5	0.4	88.8	88.9
Mostly	7.8	7.4	23.4	23.2	0.9	0.8	7.0	6.4
Equally with another language	4.7	7.4	4.7	7.4	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.9
Regularly (in addition to the main language)	23.3	23.1	7.7	7.2	3.8	3.5	1.6	1.5
No mention*	59.6	57.5	5.7	5.6	94.2	94.4	1.3	1.3

Sources: Census data from Statistics Canada (2017c, 2017d). Tables compiled by the author.
*"No mention" here does indicate missing data. Respondents were asked to indicate which language they used at work. If they did not check "English", then their observations were coded as "no mention", indicating that they do not use English at work. Hence every percentage in the "no mention" row is the difference between the total population (100%) and the answers provided in "all instances".

Statistics Canada explains that the decline of French as the predominant language at work is primarily due to two factors: "a decrease in the predominant use of French by workers whose mother tongue is French and a decline in their demographic weight, which fell from 80.1% to 77.2% of all Quebec workers" (Statistics Canada 2017b).

A final example that succinctly captures the power differential of official languages is the fact that "in Canada outside Quebec, 48.1% of people with a mother tongue other than English or French speak primarily English, and 21.2% speak it as a secondary language [whereas] only 1.1% of

people with an 'other' mother tongue speak French at home" (*ibid*). This is a striking contrast, with a 47% advantage of English over French.

Taken together, the statistics presented in the previous paragraphs, along with a number of others available from the latest census data[31] "show the drawing power that the majority official language has on other mother tongue groups" (Statistics Canada 2017a). As far as the advancement of "the equality of status and *use* of the English and French languages within Canadian society" (the policy goal of the Official Languages Act mentioned at the beginning of this paper) is concerned, evidence points towards a clear failure, at least when it comes to language use.

The next section tackles the other part of the policy goal statement, language status, and develops hypotheses resulting from the preliminary evidence reviewed so far. The notion of perceived language utility is then introduced.

2.1.3 Resulting Hypotheses: Instrumentalism and Perceived Language Utility

Given that (1) English, the majority official language, scores higher than French in terms of linguistic vitality despite its decline in proportion of the total population when measured as mother tongue and language used at home, (2) English fares decidedly better than French in both provinces studied when it comes to being used in the workplace, (3) Anglo-Quebecers, contrary

31 For the sake of brevity, the reader is invited to consult the appendix, where a long quotation aptly summarizes the asymmetrical power relations of official languages.

to Franco-Ontarians, can on many levels be considered members of a linguistic majority (as explained in the first chapter of this dissertation), (4) English is considered the current or main *lingua franca* (May 2012, Laponce 2004), an influential status that French does not have, then the following hypotheses follow:

> Holding constant other sociodemographic variables,
>
> **H1)** Anglo-Quebecers are more likely to perceive higher *ingroup* language utility than Franco-Ontarians, and
>
> **H2)** Franco-Ontarians are more likely to perceive higher *outgroup* language utility than Anglo-Quebecers,
>
> where "ingroup" represents the minority official language of respondents and "outgroup" represents the language of the majority in their province.

As for the notion of perceived language utility, it emerges out of two main considerations. First, it is endogenous to "language roadmaps", the most recent version of official bilingualism policies, which put the emphasis on the economic benefits of official languages (Cardinal, Gaspard, and Léger 2015). Second, the concept directly draws from recent theoretical advancements in the broad and interdisciplinary literature on language policy and planning (see Ricento 2006 for a good overview of the field), including philosophical work on linguistic justice and anthropological research on the linkage between language and identity.

An important distinction found in those literatures lies in the opposition between "instrumentalists" and "constitutivists" (De Schutter 2007). Simply put, instrumentalism considers language to be neutral, a simple tool to express thoughts and communicate them. According to De Schutter, very few theorists defended the instrumentalist perspective at the time he wrote the article. An exception he cites is Barry (2001, 107), for whom "it can be said of language as of no other cultural trait that it is a matter of convention", thus rendering language

devoid of any constitutive function. De Schutter cites notably Levy (2000), Pogge (2003), and Weinstock (2003) as proponents of an instrumentalist perspective in philosophical debates on linguistic justice. In a nutshell, the latter authors, representing the instrumentalist side, acknowledge the importance of language for one's identity, but argue that "on the level of policy, non-identity-related ends (such as opportunity maximization) override the identity interest" (De Schutter 2007, 10). The corollary in terms of policy-making is that languages should be regulated "in such a way that (only or primarily) the non-identity-related goals are realized" (*ibid*).

By contrast, constitutivism is the notion that "language constitutes who I am, that my language and my identity are inextricably intertwined, that I cannot have concepts of views for which I do not have language, and that language allows to me express or articulate things that I could not have without having language" (De Schutter 2007, 8). Sociolinguist Florian Coulmas (2013, 189) thus proposes that the "language-identity link, rather than being an inalterable fixture, is historically contingent and can be either foregrounded or downplayed." In relation to the distinction explained above, instrumentalism downplays the language-identity link whereas constitutivism foregrounds it. In terms of language policies, the corollary of constitutivism is that, since language is important to the identity of many groups in a given polity, these groups should be granted language rights and protection (De Schutter 2007).

To reiterate, the instrumentalist conception of language is in line with the policy instrument of language roadmaps. Official languages are thus likely to be construed not as ends in themselves, but as a means to an end, tools at the disposal of individuals for the fostering of their own (mostly economic) interests. The present study therefore constitutes an opportunity to put to use

theoretical concepts of importance to debates on linguistic justice and language policy by examining and quantifying the asymmetrical character of linguistic power relations among official languages from the perspective of official language minorities. Next are clarifications as to the method used to reach the latter objectives.

2.2 Data, Method, and Operationalization

In order to measure the perceptions of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians with regards to the status of each language, survey data from members and sympathizers of official language minority organizations in Québec and Ontario were collected throughout the year 2017. The researcher first asked organization employees for an anonymized semi-directed interview[32]. After each interview, he then asked for the collaboration of the interviewee's official language minority organization in distributing to its members an invitation to fill out an online survey questionnaire. To encourage participation, a cash prize of $100 was awarded to one respondent, selected randomly across both samples. On the Anglo-Quebecer side, a total of 12 organizations and Facebook groups participated in the study, resulting in a sample of 305 respondents. On the Franco-Ontarian side, a total of 10 organizations and Facebook groups participated in the study, resulting in a sample of 249 respondents.

32 The interview data are not used here.

2.2.1 Dependent Variables

To measure perceived language utility, Table 7 below shows the questions that were included in the survey questionnaire.

Table 7. Structure of the Dependent Variables

Ingroup Language (Anglo-Quebecers)	How useful do you think English is nowadays? Answers: 0 = not at all, 10 = extremely. [Regrouped: Low = 0-7, Moderate=8-9, High=10]
Outgroup Language (Anglo-Quebecers)	How useful do you think French is nowadays? Answers: 0 = not at all, 10 = extremely. [Regrouped: Low = 0-7, Moderate=8-9, High=10]
Ingroup Language (Franco-Ontarians)	How useful do you think French is nowadays? Answers: 0 = not at all, 10 = extremely. [Regrouped: Low = 0-7, Moderate=8-9, High=10]
Outgroup Language (Franco-Ontarians)	How useful do you think English is nowadays? Answers: 0 = not at all, 10 = extremely. [Regrouped: Low = 0-7, Moderate=8-9, High=10]

The dependent variables have been recoded into ordinal variables for the purpose of the regression analysis in light of the frequency distribution (see *infra*). Since the parallel regression assumption did not hold across all variables (see Long and Freese 2014, UCLA 2019), a partial parallel regression model was also included in the table, as recommended by Williams (2016, 2006). The two survey questionnaires were constructed in a strictly symmetrical manner, with each question following the same order and being adapted to the context of the linguistic minority. For example, Anglo-Quebecers were queried in question #12 as to how useful the English language is nowadays while Franco-Ontarians were queried in question #12 as to how useful the French language is nowadays. Each questionnaire was presented in the first language of each group (English for Anglo-Quebecers and French for Franco-Ontarians).

2.2.2 Independent Variables

For the hypothesis of this paper, the independent variable is a dummy variable distinguishing between respondents who belong to the Anglo-Quebecer sample and those who belong to the Franco-Ontarian sample. For the purpose of regression analysis, Anglo-Quebecers form the reference group and thus are assigned the value of "0" whereas Franco-Ontarians are assigned the value of "1".

2.2.3 Control Variables

Socio-demographic variables usually included as "control variables" in the political science literature on behaviour and attitudes to test for the robustness of models were included in the present chapter's ordered logit regressions. Table 8 provides a summary of their operationalization.

Table 8. Structure of the Control Variables

Age	How old are you? Answers: 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 65-74, 75 or older.
Gender	What is your gender? Answers: [dummy variable coded as] male=0, female=1.
Education	What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? Answers: [less than high school, high school or college/CEGEP degree = college or less], [bachelor's degree = undergraduate], [master's degree or doctorate = graduate], prefer not to answer (coded as missing).
Area of Residence	Where are you currently living? Answers: an urban area, a suburban area, a rural area (a small town or village), prefer not to answer (coded as missing).

2.3 Results

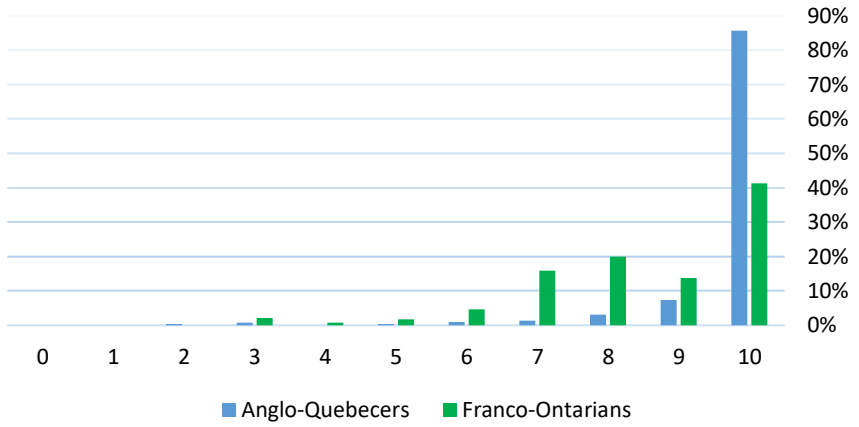
The empirical evidence shown below in **Figure 1** leaves no doubt that English is more strongly associated with utility (*i.e.* the language being perceived as "useful") than French among both the official language minorities sampled. To be specific, over 85% of Anglo-Quebecers judged that their own language is "extremely" useful, with a score of 10. The rest of them are split between 11% who attribute a score of 7 to 9 and an insignificant fraction of them who score ingroup language utility lower than 7. By contrast, only 41% of Franco-Ontarians judged that their own language is "extremely" useful, with a score of 10. Respectively 14%, 20%, and 16% of them attributed French a score of 9, 8, and 7 out of 10. The rest of the sample is distributed across the lower scores. No respondent in either group thought that their own language was "not at all" useful.

While some may argue that such perceptions accord with reality, evidence shows (for instance, in Study #2, see chapter 3, Figure 6) that anglophones in Québec are over-represented in the lower income brackets and under-represented in the middle-income brackets in comparison with francophones. Similarly, despite conventional wisdom that bilingualism is an effective way for individuals to obtain better economic prospects, empirical data show that the effect of being bilingual[33] is not linear. For example, Quebecers who have both English and French as their first official language indeed are over-represented among the lower income brackets (from $0 up until $10 000) in comparison with francophones and they are under-represented in the highest

33 The author acknowledges, however, that bilingualism may be measured differently. Here, it is construed as a kind of "natural" official language bilingualism wherein the speaker has learned both official languages simultaneously.

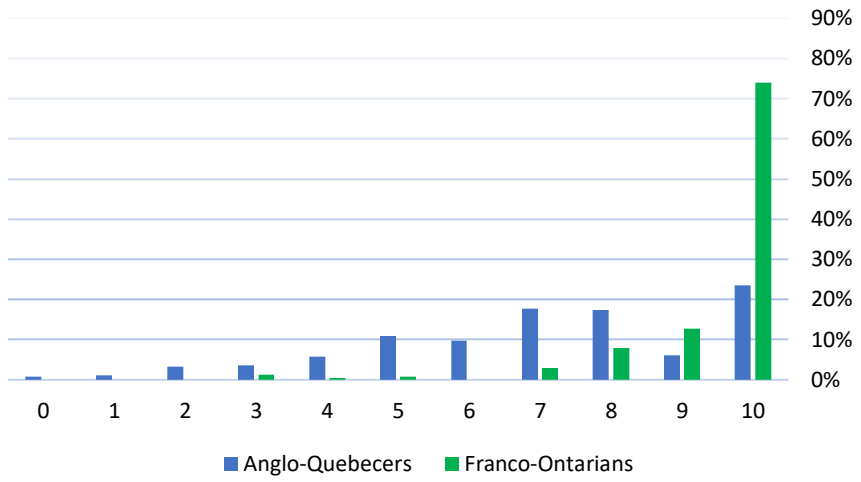
income brackets (from $120 000 to $250 000 and over) in comparison with both francophones and anglophones[34]. The only income brackets where bilinguals are over-represented in comparison with both francophones and anglophones are the middle categories ranging from $25 000 to $85 000. These data thus challenge the popular misconception that official bilingualism automatically leads to better revenues in Canada. It seems instead that bilingualism, while not precluding the possibility of staying among the lowest income brackets, grants a better chance for individuals to become part of the middle classes insofar as the latter are defined as the families whose income is similar to the statistical majority of the population.

Figure 1. Perceived Utility Score, Ingroup's Language ("How useful do you think English [French] is nowadays? (0 = not at all; 10 = extremely)")



34 Source: 2016 Census of Population [Canada] Public Use Microdata File (PUMF): Individuals File. Data compiled by the author using the recommended weighting factor.

Figure 2. Perceived Utility Score, Outgroup's Language ("How useful do you think French [English] is nowadays? (0 = not at all; 10 = extremely)")



Interestingly, the perceived utility scores for the outgroup's language display a very similar, albeit reversed, pattern of frequencies distribution. In Figure 1, the distribution of Anglo-Quebecer respondents was heavily skewed towards the highest scores of the scale whereas Franco-Ontarian respondents were more evenly distributed, whereas in Figure 2, it is precisely the opposite. Over 74% of Franco-Ontarians judge indeed that the outgroup's language (English) is "extremely" useful. Respectively 13% and 8% attributed a score of 9 and 8, and the rest of the sample is distributed across lower scores. No respondent thought that the English language was "not at all" useful. By comparison, only 24% of Anglo-Quebecers judged that the French language was "extremely" useful, with a score of 10. The majority of Anglo-Quebecer respondents (56%) scored the French language from 5 to 8 out of 10. A few respondents, this time, said that the outgroup language (French) is "not at all" useful.

Taken together, these data constitute preliminary evidence that both official language minorities perceived their own, and each other's language in a very different (utilitarian) light. The samples

used here, however, were not built out of a concern for representativeness. Such a research design therefore precludes any attempt to generalize to the whole populations of official language minorities. Yet, it does allow for statistical inference based on predictive models, which will in turn allow to confirm of dismiss the hypotheses of this research paper.

In the previous section, let it be recalled, it was hypothesized that: **H1)** Anglo-Quebecers are more likely to perceive higher *ingroup* language utility than Franco-Ontarians, and **H2)** Franco-Ontarians are more likely to perceive higher *outgroup* language utility than Anglo-Quebecers. Table 9 below thus presents results for **H1**.

Table 9. Perceived Ingroup Language Utility, Predicted by Group Membership

Predictor & Control Variables	Model 1: Proportional Odds	Model 2: Partial Proportional Odds	
	Odds Ratio	M/H vs. L[a]	H vs. L/M
Franco-Ontarians	.113***	.	.
Age (in decades)	1.186***	.	.
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.658***	2.045***	1.516***
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)	.	.	.
Undergraduate	.995	.	.
Graduate	1.064	.	.
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)	.	.	.
Suburban	1.153	.	.
Rural	.954	.709***	1.081

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. L = low, M = moderate, H = high

As recommended (Williams 2016, 2006), a test of the parallel regression assumption was conducted[35]. Given its failure on two variables, a partial proportional odds model was included in the table, so as to distinguish between the variables that do or do not violate the assumption. Holding constant the sociodemographic variables of age, gender, education, and area of

35 Williams (2006, 60) defines the proportional odds assumption as the "requirement that β's be the same for each value of *j"*, where *j* stands for the level of the ordinal variable. In the present case, the ordinal variable has three levels: low, moderate, and high perceived language utility.

residence, results show that Franco-Ontarians have 0.113 lower odds of judging that their own language is useful (across all *j*'s, under the proportional odds assumption) than do Anglo-Quebecers. In other words, Anglo-Quebecers have 8.850 higher odds (*i.e.* the reverse of an odds ratio of 0.113) of doing so than Franco-Ontarians do. The effect is statistically significant at the $p<0.001$ level. Such evidence strongly supports the first hypothesis (**H1**). Model 2 relaxes the proportional odds assumption for gender and rurality. This allows to gain the additional understanding that female respondents have higher odds of attributing moderate or high utility (2.045 higher likelihood than male respondents) to their own language than simply high utility (1.516 higher likelihood than male respondents). Both coefficients are significant at the $p<0.001$ level. As for respondents living in a rural area, model 2 shows that, while a proportional odds model yielded insignificant results, distinguishing between the levels of the ordinal variable changes the outcome. Holding other variables constant, rural respondents have 0.709 lower odds of attributing moderate or high utility to their own language than do urban dwellers.

As for the second hypothesis (**H2**), results in Table 10 show that, holding constant sociodemographic variables, Franco-Ontarians are 12.618 times more likely than Anglo-Quebecers to judge that the other official language is useful (across all *j*'s in the proportional odds model, statistically significant at the $p<0.001$ level). Once again, tests of the proportional odds assumption fail, thus justifying the inclusion of a partial proportional odds model. The main finding lies in the difference between the effect of group belonging across levels of the ordinal variable. Model 2 shows that, whereas Franco-Ontarians have higher odds (12.439) of allocating high utility to the other official language than do Anglo-Quebecers, they have even higher odds

(19.280) of attributing high or moderate utility than do Anglo-Quebecers. Both effects are significant at the p<0.001 level.

Table 10. Perceived Outgroup Language Utility, Predicted by Group Membership

Predictor & Control Variables	Model 1: Proportional Odds	Model 2: Partial Proportional Odds	
	Odds Ratio	M/H vs. L[a]	H vs. L/M
Franco-Ontarians	12.618***	19.280***	12.439***
Age (in decades)	1.036	.	.
Female (ref. cat.: male)	2.073***	1.592***	2.586***
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)	.	.	.
Undergraduate	.768***	1.139	.532***
Graduate	.852	1.021	.690***
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)	.	.	.
Suburban	.448***	.	.
Rural	.709***	.744***	.632***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. L = low, M = moderate, H = high

In sum, the regression analyses conducted yielded quite impressive results, showing a very large discrepancy between the perceived utility of official languages. Anglo-Quebecers were 8.86 times more likely than Franco-Ontarians to deem their own language “useful”, while Franco-Ontarians are 12.62 times more likely than Anglo-Quebecers to deem the other official language “useful”. Both hypotheses are thus strongly supported. This may seem unsurprising to most readers, but it should be surprising in light of empirical data on the socioeconomic conditions of Francophones and Anglophones in Quebec, as shown in the next chapter. Indeed, an analysis of Statistics Canada’s 2016 census data reveals that, in Quebec, those who have English as their first language are under-represented in the middle categories of family income and over-represented in the lower brackets. This is contrary to conventional wisdom, which has long depicted Anglophones in Quebec as a privileged class of citizens, a perception that stems from historical antecedents and the fact that they are currently over-represented in the highest income brackets.

2.4 Discussion and Conclusions

This study made three main contributions that should be of value to those interested in language politics, language policy, linguistic justice, official language minorities, and linguistic diversity more broadly considered. First, it has analyzed and compared the latest census data from both the federal level and in the two provinces where the two largest official language minorities reside. The empirical evidence reviewed has shown that, while linguistic diversity is on the rise across the federation, official languages are both losing ground in terms of mother tongue and language used at home. However, English retains a very strong drawing power, with linguistic vitality scores consistently higher than French, indicating more individuals are joining the ranks of the English-speaking population than the original pool of native speakers. As a language of work, English is clearly dominating, being used nearly nine times out of ten in Ontario, and being increasingly used, even when in a minority setting, along with French in Québec. Second, this study constitutes the first direct comparison of perceived official languages status among the two largest official language minorities in Canada. In a nutshell, it has shown that Franco-Ontarians are much more likely than Anglo-Quebecers to judge that the language of the majority (on a provincial level) is useful and that, conversely, Anglo-Quebecers are much more likely than Franco-Ontarians to judge that their own language is useful. As public consultations were being held across the country, and as policymakers considered revisions to the Official Languages Act, this chapter has thus provided much needed empirical data that further document the extent of linguistic inequality among official languages. To be sure, it does not take an expert in Canadian language politics to know or suspect that one official language is more equal than the other, as it were. Yet, this analysis was an opportunity to quantify just how much

more English is valued than French, even in a context where the latter is the language of a minority of the population on a provincial level. While French certainly remains an important language in Canada, thanks notably to the institutional support it continues to receive, the trends observed in census data point to challenges lying ahead for the minority official language.

A third contribution this study has made lies in its empirical application of important concepts in theoretical debates on language policy and linguistic justice. The distinction between instrumentalism and constitutivism proposed by De Schutter (2007) is promising and should be incorporated in further empirical research on language policy.

More broadly, the findings presented in this chapter highlight the difficulty of promoting linguistic equality and countering dynamics which, were they left to the forces of the "free market", would open the door to the demise of linguistic diversity. In fact, available data show that the decline of linguistic diversity is already well underway. For example, UNESCO's *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2010) identified ten years ago no less than 88 languages – mostly Aboriginal languages – that are either "vulnerable", "definitely endangered", "severely endangered", "critically endangered", if not already "extinct". In a recent effort at remedying this situation, the government of Canada has created the Aboriginal Peoples' Program, which seeks notably to "promote, revitalize and preserve Indigenous languages and cultures" (Canada 2018). Some may argue that it is too little, too late. In any case, the results presented here have one clear implication for linguistic diversity: if French, one of the official languages of Canada, is losing ground despite all of the institutional support it is receiving, then it will likely take massive resources to give Aboriginal languages – an important and often forgotten component of linguistic diversity – a chance to survive in the years to come.

3 Relative Deprivation and Perceived Discrimination among Quebec's English-Speaking Minority Communities: Does Discontent Lead to Action?

Political actors, decision-makers, community leaders, journalists, and commentators alike have acknowledged that many Anglo-Quebecers have felt like "second-class citizens" in the last decade (2010-2020). For example, in discussing the possibility of establishing a special office for anglophone affairs (much like the *Office québécois de la langue française*) in 2016, then-Quebec Premier Philippe Couillard declared that: "For the moment, I don't see the necessity of doing this. They [English-speaking Quebecers] are first-class Quebecers and I want them to feel that way" (Boissinot 2016). And, when Kathleen Weil was named first minister responsible for relations with English-speaking Quebecers, Helena Burke, executive director of the Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders, welcomed the appointment as a means to remedy several issues, such as "[the] fact that [Anglophones] don't have access to a lot of services in English" (Page 2017). This sentiment was reaffirmed in recent years during the English language leaders' debate of the 2018 provincial election when the debate's moderator asked the four candidates (Manon Massé, Jean-François Lisée, Philippe Couillard, and François Legault) what they would do to enhance the inclusivity of Anglo-Quebecers in the public sphere. She prefaced the question with the following declaration: "Let's be clear: the English community recognises that French is the official language of Quebec, but despite the gestures of goodwill and the reassurances, many English-speaking Quebecers say they feel like second-class citizens here" (Quebec Votes 2018: English Debate). Although one may think this represents a novel depiction of the linguistic minority, a quick search

in media archives[36] reveals that the term was already used in the 1980s and thus has only been resurfacing.

This article presents the results of a case study about Anglo-Quebecers. Drawing upon original data from an online survey conducted in 2017, it investigates the sense of disenfranchisement among members and organisational activists from the English-speaking communities living in Quebec. The first section uses census data to discuss the uniqueness of the case analyzed: a linguistic group with a fourfold, multi-layered linguistic status of minority and majority, in a context of institutional asymmetry. It takes advantage of Statistics Canada's Data Liberation Initiative, which provides researchers with access to the latest Census microdata, to update and compare the socioeconomic conditions of Francophones and Anglophones in the province of Québec. Some data on the current organisational network of Anglo-Quebecer activists are offered as well. The second section then turns to the two hypotheses that are tested, namely the Relative Deprivation Hypothesis, and the Perceived Discrimination Hypothesis. It posits that there exist significant indications of relative deprivation and perceived discrimination among the Anglo-Quebecer communities, and that those features predict engagement in linguistic minority organizations. The third section examines the operationalization of the data, which is a complex task given the controversies around the Relative Deprivation framework. Results are presented in the fourth section. Evidence supports hypothesis H1, which predicted that there were symptoms of a state of relative deprivation among Anglo-Quebecers. However, contrary to

36 In the Canadian Newsstream database, for example, the Montreal Gazette's publications are archived back to 1985 and testify to that observation.

theoretical expectations, such an indication of relative deprivation predicts lower likelihood of organizational engagement. As for perceived discrimination, evidence supports H3, which predicted that the anglophone minority felt that their community is facing discrimination on a regular basis in the province of Québec. However, and against theoretical expectations, models predict that Anglo-Quebecers who perceive lower levels of discrimination against their group are more likely to be organizational activists. The fifth and last section proposes a *posthoc* explanation based on the notions of self- and collective- efficacy, and discusses the limitations of the research design.

Taken together, the evidence presented in this chapter suggests that there exists a state of "relative deprivation" among members of the English-speaking minority communities in Quebec. A strong majority of the respondents surveyed judged that their group is facing discrimination often, if not most of the time. However, contrary to expectations, the relative deprivation indicators used here predict a lower, not a higher, likelihood of engagement in Anglo-Quebecer organizations. Similarly, those who perceive high levels of discrimination are slightly less likely to be engaged in organisational work or volunteerism. The study thus proposes a threefold contribution consisting of (1) the provision of new empirical data on a unique case for Canadian and Quebec language politics, (2) the refinement of relative deprivation models through their application and testing, and (3) an application of the perceived discrimination hypothesis.

3.1 Sociopolitical Context, Socioeconomic Comparison, and Preliminary Evidence of Discontent Among Anglo-Quebecers

3.1.1 Sociopolitical Context and Socioeconomic Comparison

The English-speaking communities living in Quebec have historically constituted and remain the largest linguistic minority of all provinces in Canada. In the 2016 census, the total number of citizens declaring English as their first language in the province was estimated to be 1.103 million, an increase of 45,230 since 2011 (Statistics Canada 2017a). This represents an increase in the relative weight of the official language minority in Quebec, from 1,058,250 people (13.5%) in 2011 to 1,103,480 people (13.7%) in 2016.

Anglo-Quebecers are in a unique situation as a linguistic minority. While they may consider themselves a linguistic minority, since the vast majority of Quebec's population speaks French at home, they may simultaneously develop a sense of belonging to a linguistic majority, since a majority of Canadians speaks English at home, and since English remains the language of public life in Canada (Laponce 2006) and North America. Such a sociolinguistic context may be described as one of asymmetry, a term also applicable to the institutional architecture of the Canadian federation, where different language regimes are coexisting at the federal and provincial levels (Cardinal and Sonntag 2015, Cardinal and Normand 2011)[37]. This multi-layered reality gets further complicated when adding municipalities to the portrait. For instance, the data show that the English-speaking demography is heavily concentrated in the Greater Montreal area, with four

37 As a reminder, language regimes are defined as "language practices as well as conceptions of language and language use as projected through state policies and as acted upon by language users" (Sonntag and Cardinal (2015a, 6).

out of five (79.4%) Anglo-Quebecers living on that territory as of the 2016 census (Statistics Canada 2017b)[38]. Interestingly, "approximately half of Quebec's Anglophones […] comprise between 30% and 49.9% of the population of the municipality in which they live" (Corbeil, Chavez, and Pereira 2010, 15) and about one in five Anglophones live in municipalities in which they constitute the majority (*ibid*). In other words, an Anglophone living in the province of Quebec may have a triple linguistic status, namely that of a member of a linguistic majority group at the municipal level, of a linguistic minority group at the provincial level, and of yet another linguistic majority group at the federal level. A definition of the notions of majority and minority that would depart from purely quantitative considerations and delve into the more qualitative notions of power relations and status (e.g. Vandycke 1994) would lead to the addition of a fourth layer. At the global or international level, where their language is the *lingua franca*, the most prestigious and influential language, Anglo-Quebecers might thus be considered members of a "majority"[39]. Not unrelatedly, it is conventional wisdom nowadays that learning the *lingua franca* opens individuals up to the world and constitutes a major economic advantage. Native English speakers thus presumably benefit from their linguistic status, especially in North America, since it provides them with significant economic mobility and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1997). As already seen in Chapter 1, English indeed has significant influence in the workplace, even in a

38 Calculations made by the author using the Montreal "census metropolitan area" and "first official language spoken" variables.

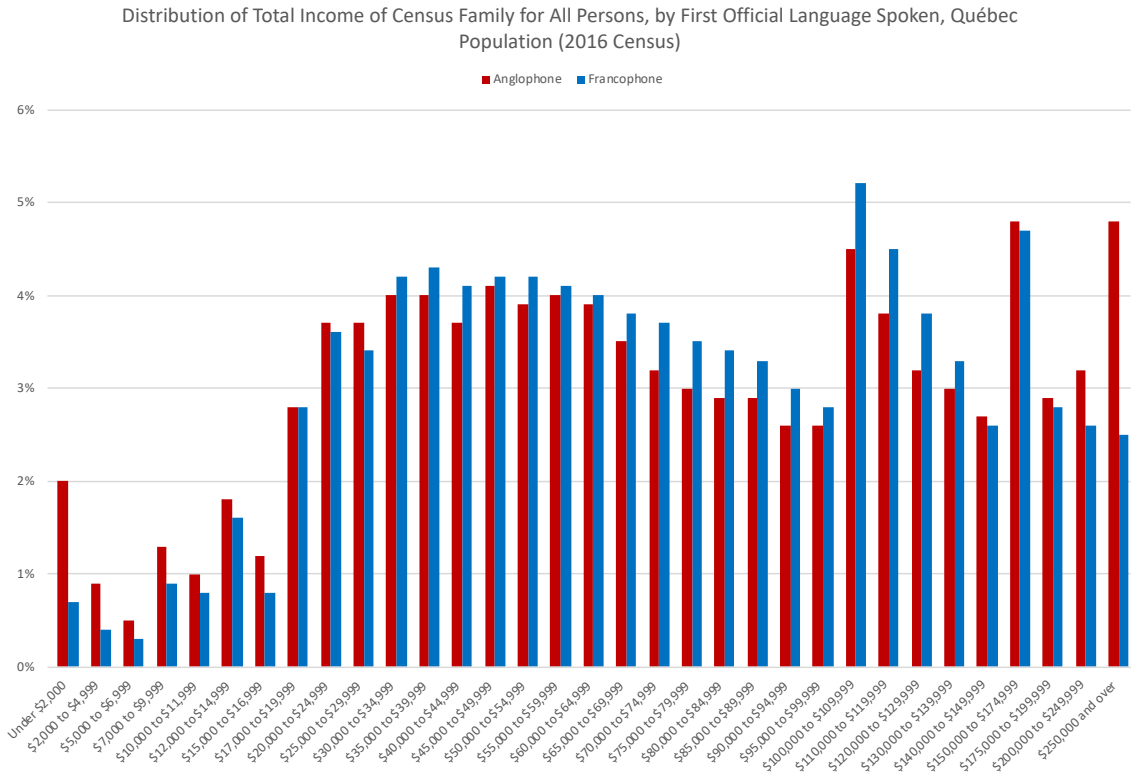
39 Although even in a strictly quantitative argument about notions of majority and minority, it is possible to contend that English speakers are members of a "majority" group on the international level, to the extent that that language, albeit not spoken in a strict majority of states, is spoken in the largest plurality of states. Indeed, despite the fact that English-as-a-first-language speakers constitute the third largest linguistic group in the world behind Mandarin and Spanish speakers, English remains the language spoken in the highest number of countries, with 65 countries across the five continents (Leclerc 2017).

province like Québec, where French is the only official language. Yet, evidence suggests that despite the enviable status of the English language on a global scale, most members of the English-speaking minority are not at an advantage over their francophone fellow citizens. In fact, most are at a disadvantage in terms of income.

Here, a comparison of Anglophones and Francophones as to their mean and median income is most enlightening. Census data revealed that, in 2006, "the mean income of persons with English as their only first official language spoken (FOLS) [was] $3,080 higher than that of persons with French as their sole FOLS, whereas the median income of Anglophones [was] $1,806 lower than that of Francophones (Corbeil, Chavez, and Pereira 2010, 86). The author of this dissertation has taken advantage of Statistics Canada's Data Liberation Initiative[40] to access its microdata and update the socioeconomic portrait of both groups. Figure 3 details the comparison by linguistic group and shows the total income brackets of aggregated census families.

40 The author would like to thank Statistics Canada and Marcel Fortin, Head of Map and Data Library at the University of Toronto for his assistance with accessing the data.

Figure 3. Group Comparison of Income, Anglophones vs. Francophones in the province of Québec



Caveat: n= 25 795 Anglophones and 179 437 Francophones. Statistics Canada warns that "in order to obtain estimates that describe the population, the weighting factor must be used." The weighting factor has thus been applied to obtain an accurate estimate of the populations studied.
Source: "2016 Census of Population [Canada] Public Use Microdata File (PUMF): Individuals File" database and transformed the output in Excel.

As shown above, the latest census data confirm the same pattern as observed in previous census data with regards to median income. Computations (not shown) reveal indeed that the median income of Francophones is higher than that of Anglophones, the former in the $70,000 to $74,999 bracket and the latter situated in the $65,000 to $69,999 bracket. Because the data did not specify the exact income or income bracket of individuals in the $250,000 and over category, it was not possible to compute and compare the mean income for each group, but it is likely that the pattern observed in previous years has remained. In other words, while the median family income is higher among Francophones, the mean family income is higher among Anglophones.

Looking at the graph more closely, a clear pattern emerges: in Québec, there are proportionally more Anglophones than Francophones in the extreme brackets of income. Put differently, a higher proportion of Anglophones is either poor or wealthy than Francophones. Specifically, there are larger proportions of Anglophones than Francophones in the income brackets ranging from the "under $2,000" to the "$25,000 to $29,999". Then, up until the $139,999 limit, there is always a higher proportion of Francophones than Anglophones. Then, and only then, Anglophones take back the upper hand over Francophones. Such patterns are in continuity with the finding that, in 2006, "22% of Anglophones [had] an income that put them below the low-income threshold, compared to 16% of Francophones" (Corbeil, Chavez, and Pereira 2010, 86). The trend thus seems to have persisted over the decade from 2006 to 2016. Coincidentally, Anglophones in Quebec have been found to have higher rates of unemployment than Francophones (Cooper et al. 2019, Floch and Pocock 2012). As a consequence, it is unsurprising that some have observed a trend termed the "brain drain", that is, outmigration (Official Languages Support Programs Branch 2011). Such a pattern of outmigration has been observed since the enactment of the Charter of the French Language. In addition to likely being a policy feedback effect, outmigration constitutes significant evidence of the existence of discontent among the English-speaking minority community. Its members are indeed drawn towards other provinces, where they are not at a disadvantage when it comes to annual income, and not likely to be more unemployed than the members of other linguistic groups.

Lastly, another major aspect to consider is that of institutions. Research suggests that the higher the levels of institutional completeness (Breton 1964) a community possesses, the more

satisfaction is likely to ensue among its members[41]. Since the Quebec English-speaking community is endowed with "very high institutional presence", "very high institutional proximity", and "very high presence of federal offices" (Floch et al. 2017), it should be expected that high levels of satisfaction would ensue. Yet, it is far from certain that the minority community is benefitting from "full" institutional completeness[42]. Canadian Heritage (2011), for instance, reports that the minority community has lost governance to the benefit of the majority group in the health sector over the years. The minority is also facing severe difficulties in the education sector, with a steady drop in enrolment rates. News reports show, for example, that, from 2008 to 2013, total enrolment in English schools (elementary + high schools) dropped from approximately 114,000 students in 2008 to 102,000 students in 2013, representing about 10.9% of the clientele (CTV News 2013). Such low enrolment rates led the Quebec government to transfer two schools from the English Montreal School Board to a French-language school board in 2019 (Laframboise 2020). The English Montreal School Board "is now considering merging and closing several schools in Montreal's east end" (ibid).

Altogether, the sociopolitical context in which the English-speaking communities of Quebec are situated is a nuanced one. On one hand, their unique status as a linguistic minority who shares the language of the majority on multiple levels, the prestige of their language, and their high level

41 In his seminal article, Breton (1964) proposes that institutional completeness would consist in a context wherein an ethnic community (here a linguistic minority) "could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs, such as education, work, food and clothing, medical care, or social assistance" (194).

42 And, as will be seen further below with the introduction of relative deprivation theory, it is also far from certain that objectively satisfactory situations bring about satisfaction among members of a group. Satisfaction seems to be about more than that; it seems to be related to favorable or unfavorable perceptions of group comparisons, among other things.

of institutional completeness constitute an advantage over other Canadian official language minority communities. (For a detailed comparison, see the series of empirical portraits of official language minority communities' vitality drawn for each province and territory by Floch and colleagues 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, 2017d, 2017e, 2017f, 2017g, 2017h, 2017i, 2017j, 2017k, 2017l, 2017m.) On the other hand, despite the advantages mentioned above, a significant part of the English-speaking communities in Quebec does not seem to be reaping the socioeconomic benefits of being speakers of English as first official language, and some experts judge that some of their institutions (in the education sector, for instance) are in decline (e.g., Bourhis 2012). Discontent is thus to be expected within the minority community. Below are a few symptoms of such discontent.

3.1.2 Preliminary Evidence of Discontent

Apart from the already mentioned and quite salient notion of "second-class citizens" conveyed in various media outlets and in the televised English-language leaders debate during the 2018 provincial election, dissatisfaction can be observed through online petitions as well as online forums such as Facebook groups (not examined here, because the ones that participated in the study have done so anonymously). For example, La Presse (2015) reported in September 2015 that "discontent [was] on the rise among Anglo-Montrealers"[43] and cited an online petition titled "It is time to close down the *L'Office Québécois de la langue française* (sic)" that had gathered over 6,000 signatures. Three months later, that number had already reached 10,000 signatures. The growth was steady until April 2016, when there were 21,000 signatures. By

43 Personal translation.

January 2020, it had seemed to have reached a plateau at nearly 22,000 signatures. While it is difficult to verify the authenticity of the participants, it is nonetheless significant that several thousand citizens would take action to protest against the existence of one of the core language policy instruments of the province. On the other hand, it is no surprise that a policy instrument that is part of a language regime making French the only official language would be criticized by the anglophone minority. La Presse (2015) also cites, as instances of activism, city councillor Ruth Kovac, from Côte-Saint-Luc, and lawyer Harold Staviss, from Hampstead, urging private business owners to grant the English language a more important place on commercial signage. Such pieces of evidence show that, to some extent, a part of the anglophone minority feels excluded.

After the survey data for this dissertation were collected in 2017, there was additional evidence that English speakers in Quebec remain worried about their community's well-being and their future in *la belle province*. For example, a public opinion survey found that in 2019, two out of three anglophone respondents (64%, n=126) said they were "more worried about their rights as an English-speaking citizen of Québec than they were 2 years ago" (Forum Research 2019, 4).

Despite – or perhaps because of – the symptoms of exclusion or discontent examined above, the minority group remains well organised and politically active. There exists a plethora of organizations, associations, and charities structured around the English-speaking minority communities in Quebec. One of them, the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN)[44], is

44 QCGN defines itself as follows: "Founded in 1995, the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN) is a not-for-profit organization linking more than 50 organizations across Quebec. As a centre of evidence-based expertise and collective action, the QCGN identifies, explores and addresses strategic issues affecting the development and vitality of the English-speaking community of Quebec and encourages dialogue and collaboration among its member organizations, individuals, community groups, institutions and leaders" (QCGN 2019). Member

described as “an umbrella group with 36 members representing 15 of Quebec’s 17 administrative regions […] recognised as the official representative of [Quebec’s English-speaking] community”. In 2019, the QCGN’s official website listed over 57 organizations/associations as members across the province, an indication of organisational growth of nearly 60% over the past few years. Whether its organizations are able to effect the desired political change is a different question, but the creation of the Secretariat for relations with English-speaking Quebecers, under the responsibility of the Executive Council of Quebec, suggests the linguistic minority’s grievances have gained at least some traction on the provincial political agenda[45].

On the basis of the empirical data, and assuming that members of the English-speaking minority are aware of such data, one would expect significant discontent in this minority community. However, theory provides reasons to doubt that the empirical data are sufficient to predict discontent. The present study will therefore inquire into the following two sets of questions: **1)** Beyond the evidence examined so far, what can be expected of the perceptions of Anglo-Quebecers regarding their group’s well-being? and **2)** If they are dissatisfied, does this dissatisfaction play a role in driving their political engagement?

To answer those questions, the chapter will examine two possibilities through which dissatisfaction might be expressed and how it might lead to action. The first possibility is embodied in the concept of “relative deprivation”, a concept broadly used in social psychology

organizations of QCGN, although at times providing services and networking in both official languages, identify with the anglophone minority community across a variety of areas.

45 It remains to be seen, however, whether the degree of importance granted to the needs of the minority group will remain the same on the agenda of the *Coalition Avenir Québec’s* provincial government.

(e.g. Stouffer, Lumsdaine, et al. 1949, Smith et al. 2012, Pettigrew 2015) and social movement theory (e.g. Runciman 1966, Gurr 1970, Gurney and Tierney 1982, Guimond and Simard 1983). The second possibility is that of perceived discrimination, a concept used notably in social psychology (Oskoii 2016, 2018) and in research on political participation (e.g. Bilodeau 2017). The next section will now provide a brief account of the theoretical underpinnings of each of those possibilities and will then offer a set of hypotheses tailored to the case of Quebec's English-speaking minority community.

3.2 Hypotheses: Relative Deprivation and Perceived Discrimination as Predictors of Organizational Activism

The notion of Relative Deprivation has its roots in social psychology, in the work of Samuel Stouffer and his *American Soldier* studies (Stouffer, Lumsdaine, et al. 1949; Stouffer, Suchman, et al. 1949; Stouffer 1962, cited in Pettigrew 2015). Stouffer used the concept to explain "anomalies" observed in empirical studies. One of those anomalies was that "the military police were more satisfied with their slow promotions than the air corpsmen were with their rapid promotions"; another was that "African American soldiers in southern camps were more satisfied than those in northern camps despite the fact that the racist South of the 1940s remained tightly segregated by race" (Pettigrew 2015, 11). Relative deprivation offered a solution to such puzzles by suggesting that satisfaction with one's conditions should be construed as *relative* to the comparisons that are *immediately* available. In the two cases mentioned above, for example, "the military police compared their promotions with other military police – not air corpsmen whom they rarely encountered"; "black soldiers in the South compared their lot with black

civilians in the South – not with black soldiers in the North who were out of view" (Pettigrew 2015, 11).

The reference group to which individuals are affiliated as well as the group with whom they compare themselves are thus key to understanding whether a state of relative deprivation exists. So, to reformulate, Relative Deprivation [RD] posits that "the negative affect associated with judgments of one's own status is not simply a function of one's objective status. Instead, [it varies] with the subjective assessment of one's status" (Bernstein and Crosby 1980). One of the major following implications is therefore that "focusing on what individuals have or do not have can be misleading without understanding how they subjectively interpret the availability of resources" (Smith and Huo 2014, 232). Part of that subjectivity hinges on the reference group and the group used for social comparison.

Given its relatively old age as a concept in applied social science, RD has survived its lot of controversies. Once the groundwork was laid, researchers started to introduce RD as an independent variable in statistical models to predict social and political phenomena. As Pettigrew (2015) explains, after Gurr's (1970) seminal *Why Men Rebel* posited RD as a predictor of collective protest and violence, others set out to put the concept to further empirical scrutiny. Among others, Davies (1962) elaborated the J-curve model, which held that, in the context of social change, initial improvements breed expectations of continued improvements. If it turned out that the expected pace was not followed, then the discrepancy between expectations and the objective situation could lead to protest. Davies' (1962) model came under fire when Snyder and Tilly (1972) produced a 131-year time series investigation that failed to provide supporting evidence (see Pettigrew 2015, 19). Yet, Pettigrew (*ibid*) argues that Snyder and Tilly's (*ibid*)

critique of RD, as well as others' (e.g. McPhail 1971) was unwarranted. Pettigrew argues that the critique constituted a form of ecological fallacy, since they resorted to macro-level indices to discard RD "as a potential determinate of individual behaviour" (Finkel and Rule 1987, 58). Scholars nonetheless acknowledge that RD may not be a core determinant of collective protest and violence (Pettigrew 2015), but claim that it remains important as a predictor of participation (Pettigrew 2015) and collective action (Smith et al. 2012).

Collective action studies using RD have however also found mixed support for the theory that RD increases the likelihood of participation. For example, Leach, Iyer, and Pedersen (2007), Pettigrew et al. (2008), and Walker and Mann (1987) found support for their models; Gaskell and Smith (1984), Snyder and Tilly (1972), and Thompson (1989) did not. Others concluded that the theory should be rejected altogether or has failed to meet any scientific consensus (e.g. Gurney and Tierney 1982, Brush 1996). A recent meta-analysis found, however, that "higher quality measures yield significantly stronger relationships" (Smith et al. 2012, 203). The authors of the latter study argue that it is therefore too early to completely discard the theory and that, on the contrary, it is still a valuable tool for the appraisal of a variety of phenomena, including collective action.

While the present study concurs with Smith et al.'s (2012) stance, the above conflicting evidence and controversies suggest a prudent theoretical expectation would be that RD has modest predictive power with regard to participation in collective action. Consequently, the current case study does not purport to offer a comprehensive model of participation in collective action among Anglo-Quebecers. Rather, it tests a model of participation in organisational collective

action, hereafter simply termed "organisational activism"[46], that distinguishes between different dimensions of relative deprivation. A similar study, conducted on nationalism among a sample of Quebecer francophones (Guimond and Simard 1983, see below for a more detailed discussion of its application here), confirms the relevance of RD theory in the context of the present case study. This chapter takes the analysis to the next step by including more dimensions in the models tested.

As for the relationship between perceived discrimination and participation, empirical evidence in political science research shows that individuals experiencing discrimination are more likely to get involved in politics, discrimination being a motivating factor (Oskooii 2016). Yet, psychological research has found evidence of stark effects on the mental health of members of a variety of minority groups exposed to intolerance and discrimination (e.g. Finch, Kolody, and Vega 2000, Whitbeck et al. 2002). Given such effects, researchers thus found conventional wisdom puzzling – how could individuals subject to depression, for instance, be *more* motivated to take action – and judged that the measurements heretofore used may need some refinement (Oskooii 2016).

Through several case studies conducted on Muslim-Americans and ethnic minorities in Great Britain (Oskooii 2016, 2018 respectively) as well as among the Hispanic minority in the United States (e.g. Ono 2002, Michelson 2003, Schildkraut 2005, Kam, Zechmeister, and Wiking 2008), findings have allowed to propose indeed the required conceptual refinements. Along with studies by Oskooii (2016, 2018), Bilodeau (2017)'s Canadian empirical case study introduces important

46 The author's term.

distinctions, such as that between electoral and non-electoral political activities. Bilodeau's findings reveal that perceived discrimination among visible minorities in Canada has a double effect. While it decreases the propensity to engage into traditional political activities, such as voting, it simultaneously increases the propensity to engage in alternative channels of political action.

But recent research has also revealed the multidimensional character of discrimination and specifically pointed towards the need to distinguish between its political (systematic) and societal (interpersonal) iterations (Oskooii 2016, 2018). Political discrimination may be defined as "laws, policies, practices, symbols, or political campaigns and discourse that aim to deprive some citizens of resources or rights based on group membership" (Oskooii 2018, 2). By contrast, societal discrimination may be defined as "negative actions taken by individuals in the form of verbal or nonverbal antagonism, intimidation, avoidance or physical assault"; it is perpetrated by individuals on a personal basis and constitutes "a personal attack between peers, colleagues or community members int he course of everyday life" (Oskooii 2018, 2). In terms of political participation, research shows that, while political discrimination increases the likelihood of registering and voting, societal discrimination decreases these behaviours (Oskoii 2016). However, Bilodeau (2017), while not distinguishing between the two types of discrimination, has found contradictory evidence, with visible minorities who experienced discrimination in Quebec being *less* likely to vote. Still– and this speaks to the usefulness of Oskoii's distinction – it was found that experiencing discrimination also tended to bolster their propensity to engage in non-electoral political activism (*ibid*).

Unfortunately, the author of this dissertation was not aware of such conceptual distinctions when he designed his survey questionnaires, in 2016. This constitutes one of the limitations of this research design. While the results presented in this chapter do not directly stem from a replicated extant research design, they nonetheless add to the literature by providing material on an additional and under-studied case. Specifically, the question wording of the discrimination variable used here ("Do you think that the following groups are facing discrimination in their respective province..." [Answer: Anglophones in the province of Quebec]) points towards the political type of discrimination. Indeed, it did not ask respondents whether they *personally* experienced such discrimination, but whether they thought their group as a whole did, and how often. The definition used here thus joins Oskooii's notion of political discrimination, which emphasizes group membership.

Hypotheses are thus proposed based on the considerations invoked so far and the preliminary evidence reviewed above. Table 11 below summarizes the set of four hypotheses that will be tested:

Table 11. Summary of Relative Deprivation and Perceived Discrimination Hypotheses

Four Main Hypotheses
(**H1**) There exists a measurable state of relative deprivation among Anglo-Quebecers.[47]
(**H2**) The more respondents are relatively deprived, the more they will be active in official language minority community organizations.
(**H3**) A significant fraction of Anglo-Quebecers perceives that their group is facing political discrimination in Quebec.
(**H4**) Those who perceive political discrimination will be more likely to be active in official language minority community organizations.

These are reasonable hypotheses, given the evidence reviewed above. Firstly, given public use of the term by prominent political actors, as mentioned earlier, it is possible that the perception of constituting "second-class citizens" is widespread among Anglo-Quebecers. Furthermore, the notion of "second-class citizen" has a strong family resemblance to the notion of relative deprivation. The idea of "second-class" indeed implies that there exists another class of more privileged citizens, that is, "first-class" citizens. Former premier Philippe Couillard made this clear when he stated that he wanted Anglo-Quebecers to be considered "first-class" citizens, as did organizational leader Helena Burke when she publicly expressed the idea that they are not, for

47 Should it be reminded, the sample collected here is nonprobablistic, so the intention is not to generalize to their entire population, but rather to test whether there is evidence for the claim that such a state exists. If the evidence is sufficiently strong and reveals a clear pattern, then it will at least be possible to conclude that such a state of relative deprivation is likely to exist within a significant fraction of Quebec's English-speaking communities.

the moment. And as with relative deprivation, such sentiments imply the existence of a reference group and a different group used for social comparison. In the present case, the latter is clearly designated as those who are “first-class” citizens, that is, the francophone majority group.

In sum, considering that the notion of “second-class citizen” has been used by many key political figures, media outlets, and community leaders in the past years to describe Quebec’s English-speaking communities; that there are significant discrepancies between the linguistic majority and the linguistic minority across the family income brackets, with Anglophones being over-represented in the lower brackets and under-represented in the middle ones; that public opinion polls show symptoms of dissatisfaction; that there exists evidence of recent protest actions undertaken and activism from political actors on the municipal level; that some of the anglophone minority’s institutions are judged to be in decline; and that the provincial language regime has made French the only official language since 1977 and led to patterns of outmigration that seemingly revealing negative policy feedback effects, hypotheses H1 and H3 are reasonable expectations[48]. As for H2 and H4, they stem directly from the literature on collective action and political participation, as explained earlier in this section.

It should thus be established by now that the notions of relative deprivation and perceived discrimination are relevant theoretically for the case being studied. Let the research design now be operationalised.

48 Recall that, the sample collected here is nonprobabilistic, so the intention is not to generalize to the entire population, but rather to test whether there is evidence for the claim that such a state exists. If the evidence is sufficiently strong and reveals a clear pattern, then it will at least be possible to conclude that such a state of relative deprivation is likely to exist within a significant fraction of Quebec’s English-speaking communities.

3.3 Data, Method, and Operationalization

The data analyzed here were collected in 2017 using an online survey questionnaire distributed to participants and activists who were members of official language minority organizations and Facebook groups across the province of Québec. The researcher first conducted several semi-structured interviews with employees of organizations and administrators of Facebook groups. He then asked the interviewees for their permission to send through the organizations' Facebook page, email list, or any other appropriate means, an invitation to their members and sympathisers to fill out the online survey questionnaire. All respondents were guaranteed anonymity and were invited to read a consent form prior to their participation in the study. A prize of 100 Canadian dollars was offered to one randomly selected respondent as an incentive to take part in the research project. The final English-speaking minority community sample comprised a total of 12 organizations and Facebook groups, whose members, followers, and sympathisers total 305 respondents who filled out the online survey questionnaire.

3.3.1 Dependent Variable

To construct a dependent variable, the questionnaire included a question that determined whether respondents were simply sympathisers or whether they were organisational activists. The question was labelled as follows: "Are you currently working or volunteering for an anglophone organization in Quebec [or Ontario] (choose "yes" if you do one,

or both, of these)". A binary categorical variable of organisational activism was conducted on the basis of answers to this question. Those who answered Yes to this question (N=98 of the 305 respondents) were defined as "organisationally active" while those who answered No to this question (N=207) were defined as organisationally inactive. The two subgroups of the sample allow predictive analyses. As for its theoretical mooring, this dependent variable constitutes a type of non-electoral political engagement (Bilodeau 2017).

3.3.2 Independent Variables

While the independent variable for perceived discrimination has already been detailed above, the task is much less straightforward when it comes to the Relative Deprivation construct. Since the concept is multifaceted, Gurney and Tierney (1982, 40) warned researchers against using a "one concept-one indicator" strategy. This case study therefore adopts a multi-indicators approach to the measurement of relative deprivation. Such an approach seems appropriate, since the idea of "second-class citizens", which embodies the notion of relative deprivation here, indeed allows for a multiplicity of interpretations.

A first important distinction is that between Individual Relative Deprivation (hereafter "IRD") and Group Relative Deprivation (hereafter "GRD"), which originates in the work of Runciman (1966). This distinction was later used in the context of a study on Quebec nationalism by Guimond and Simard (1983, 526), who distinguished between egoistic (individual) and group (fraternal) relative deprivation:

> Egoistic RD is a type of personal discontent that occurs when an individual compares his or her own situation to that of others (in-group or out-group members), whereas fraternal RD

> is a more social discontent that occurs when an individual compares the situation of his or her group as a whole to that of an out-group.

Similarly, other researchers have defined fraternal deprivation as "the perception that one's reference group as a whole is deprived (usually relative to other groups)", whereas egoistic deprivation would be "the perception that one's own outcomes fall below a subjective standard (usually based on other individuals' outcomes)" (Olson and Hazelwood 1986, 2). Research has provided evidence highlighting the utility of distinguishing between the two above-mentioned constructs, with fraternal deprivation – and not egoistic deprivation – being linked to protest (Guimond and Simard 1983, Walker and Mann 1987). The hypotheses presented here will thus include sets of variables to test both constructs of fraternal deprivation and egoistic deprivation[49].

A second important distinction lies in the notions of "ingroup" and "outgroup", a distinction used in the literature on intergroup relations, attitudes towards immigration, relative deprivation, and discrimination (e.g. Guimond and Simard 1983, Tajfel and Turner 1986, Turgeon and Bilodeau 2014, Medeiros et al. 2016, Oskoii 2018). Examining the survey data (see Appendix) confirms that the group used for social comparison (*i.e.* the outgroup) by the respondents is that of the francophone majority in Quebec, not other official language minority communities. A striking indication of this lies in the patterns of missing answers of respondents. The survey questionnaire had included several questions implying group comparisons with one of the most comparable cases (as explained in chapter three), that of Franco-Ontarians. For example, questions #26.1,

49 These expressions will be preferred in order to avoid any potential negative connotation.

26.2, 26.3, and 26.4 asked respondents to evaluate how the Ontario government, the Quebec government, and the government of Canada perform at protecting the language rights of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers. Systematically, every time respondents were asked to answer with regards to Franco-Ontarians, about 100 respondents (roughly a third of the sample) dropped the question and decided not to answer, even if there was no "I don't know" option. By contrast, there was no such dropoff observed when probed about the living conditions of the francophone majority group in Quebec (see questions Q29.1, Q29.2, Q29.3, and Q29.4 in the Appendix). Interestingly, a significant drop of about 70 respondents (roughly a quarter of the sample) was observed when asked about the anglophone majority in the neighbouring province of Ontario. This solidifies the idea that the most immediately available group for social comparison by members of the English-speaking minority community (hereafter the ingroup) is that of the francophone majority group (hereafter the outgroup) as opposed to alternatives such as other official language minorities or the anglophone majority in Canada.

A third dimension relevant to the operationalisation of Relative Deprivation models lies in the evaluation of the current situation as against the past condition of the individual/group. As Buechler (2008, 1032) puts it,

> […] strain emerges on the social–psychological level as people assess their current situation against reference groups or past or anticipated future situations. Whenever they find a benchmark that implies they could or should be better off, relative deprivation exists, and this psychological strain can trigger collective behavior.

Along the same lines, Pettigrew (2015, 14) stresses that "imagined alternatives, past experiences, and comparisons with similar others also strongly influence such feelings [of relative deprivation]". Part of the Relative Deprivation literature has "focused on people's comparisons

of their present situation with either their past, future, desired, or deserved selves" (Smith et al. 2012, 204). Here, this will be termed the *temporal* dimension of relative deprivation, which will be incorporated in the models fitting the hypotheses as well.

As a result, a set of four variables will be used as indicators for the Group Relative Deprivation Hypothesis (H1 and H2). Each of those variables measures a distinct dimension of a same potential outcome of group relative deprivation. The first variable is an evaluation by respondents of their ingroup's current situation ("Ingroup Present" in the regression tables); the second, of the outgroup's current situation ("Outgroup Present" in the regression tables); the third, of the ingroup's past situation ("Ingroup Past" in the regression tables); the fourth, of the outgroup's past situation ("Outgroup past" in the regression tables). Four standard socio-demographic control variables (age, gender, education, and living area) are added to test for the robustness of the models[50].

As for the individual dimension of relative deprivation (hereafter "IRD"), two indicators[51] will be used. The first is the respondents' current state of happiness regarding their personal life in the province of Quebec ("Individual Present" in the regression tables).The second is an evaluation of the respondents' personal situation over the last years (whether it has improved, remained

50 Research has shown that gender is a moderating factor with regards to phenomena such as discrimination (Assari and Lankarani 2017). Other than that, there is no particular hypothesis behind the control variables. As is common practice in quantitative social science (e.g. Medeiros 2019, Milan 2005, Oskooii 2018), a set of "standard" and thus, commonly used, control variables – or confounding variables – are thus integrated into the models to test for their robustness. Although hypotheses are not formulated specifically for each of those variables, implications of the findings are nonetheless discussed in the Results section.

51 Unfortunately, the survey questionnaire only comprised two questions operationalizable as indicators for the egoistic relative deprivation hypothesis. This is likely to result in a weaker model, thus showing one of the limitations of this study.

unchanged, or deteriorated, “Individual Past” in the regression tables). The same four standard control variables are added to test for the robustness of the models.

Lastly, a final conceptual arrangement stemming from the Relative Deprivation literature, namely the notion of double relative deprivation, requires the testing of an additional model. Double Relative Deprivation, simply put, is a combination of both GRD and IRD. Foster and Matheson (1995), for example, found in studying the case of women’s collective action that individuals who experienced double relative deprivation were more likely to take action. It thus seems appropriate to test the double relative deprivation model as another variant worth examining for the relative deprivation hypotheses.

Table 12 below summarizes the operationalization of each independent variable. It details how the variables have been operationalised on a five-point scale. The direction of each scale was coded so as to fit the conceptualized relative deprivation constructs. For example, when the question is about the ingroup, a value of “1” was attributed to the answer that indicated a positive evaluation, thus pointing to a low level of relative deprivation, and conversely (a value of “5” for the higher end of the spectrum). The reverse logic was applied for the outgroup, with a value of “1” when respondents judged that the living conditions of the francophones (the outgroup) are “very poor”, for example, indicating a low level of relative deprivation, and “5” when they thought it was “excellent” or had “improved” in the case of the “Past Outgroup” dimension of Relative Deprivation.

Table 12. Operationalization of the Independent Variables by Corresponding Construct

Constructs		Question label	Variables Coding
Group Relative Deprivation (GRD)	Ingroup RD	Current (Q29_1): "The current living conditions of *Anglophones in the province of Quebec* are…"	*"Excellent" = 1, "Above average" = 2, "Average" = 3, "Below average" = 4, "Very poor" = 5*
		Past (Q33): "Would you say that, in the last years, the general situation of *Anglophones in Quebec* has…"	*"Improved" = 1, "Somewhat improved" = 2, "Remained unchanged" = 3, "Somewhat deteriorated" = 4, "Deteriorated" = 5*
	Outgroup RD	Current (Q29_2): "The current living conditions of *Francophones in the province of Quebec* are…"	*[reverse coding]* *"Very poor" = 1, "Below average" = 2, "Average" = 3, "Above average" = 4, "Excellent" = 5*
		Past (Q37): "Would you say that, in the last years, the general situation of *Francophones in Quebec* has…"	*[reverse coding]* "Deteriorated" = 1, "Somewhat deteriorated" = 2, "Remained unchanged" = 3, "Somewhat improved" = 4, "Improved" = 5
Individual RD (IRD)		Current Happiness (Q45): "In general, would you say that you are personally…[choose answer] with your life in the province of Québec?	*"Happy" = 1, "Rather happy" = 2, "Neither happy nor unhappy" = 3, "Rather unhappy" = 4, "Unhappy" = 5*
		Past (Q34): "Would you say that, in the last years, your personal situation has…"	*"Improved" = 1, "Somewhat improved" = 2, "Remained unchanged" = 3, "Somewhat deteriorated" = 4, "Deteriorated" = 5*

Note: The Double Deprivation construct is not mentioned in the table because it is simply the addition of GRD and IRD.

It is worth noting that previous research has employed wording directly asking respondents to make an intergroup comparison and providing pre-established categories as to what constitutes the ingroup and what constitutes the outgroup. For instance, in their study on the relative deprivation of the structurally advantaged, Leach and colleagues (2007, 195) asked their respondents "Do you think non-Aborigines are advantaged, or disadvantaged, compared to Aborigenes?". This effectively prevents respondents from choosing contradictory answers if they

want to do so. In the current case, instead of concatenating two such questions (*i.e.* Do you think non-Aborigenes are advantaged/disadvantaged? + How do they compare with Aborigenes?), the researcher has left respondents with the freedom to judge simultaneously that both Francophones and Anglophones have seen their general situation improve over the last years. This leads to the construction of Relative Deprivation models that may be construed as additive partial effects that need to be kept in mind for the interpretation of results.

Such partial effects take their roots in the multiplicity of conceptual arrangements resulting from the inclusion of the ingroup-outgroup distinction as well as the temporal distinction in the Relative Deprivation literature. Consequently, this paves the way for five models of Group Relative Deprivation, three models of Individual Relative Deprivation, and one model of Double Relative Deprivation, as summarized in Table 13 below:

Table 13. Summary of the Relative Deprivation Models

RD Theory Version	Dimensions Tested	Models & Their Components
Group Relative Deprivation	Temporal	Model 1: Ingroup Current + Outgroup Current Model 2: Ingroup Past + Outgroup Past
	Ingroup vs. Outgroup	Model 3: Ingroup Current + Ingroup Past Model 4: Outgroup present + Outgroup Past
	Combined (Temporal + Ingroup vs. Outgroup)	Model 5: Ingroup Current + Ingroup Past + Outgroup Current + Outgroup Past
Individual Relative Deprivation	Temporal	Model 6: Individual Current Model 7: Individual Past
	Combined	Model 8: Individual Current + Individual Past
Double Relative Deprivation	All Combined	Model 9: GRD (Ingroup Current + Ingroup Past + Outgroup Current + Outgroup Past) + IRD (Individual Current + Individual Past)

3.3.3 Control Variables

Here is a breakdown of the standard socio-demographic variables included in the regression models, summarized in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Structure of the Control Variables

Age	How old are you? Answers: 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 65-74, 75 or older.
Gender	What is your gender? Answers: [dummy variable coded as] male=0, female=1.
Education	What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? Answers: [less than high school, high school or college/CEGEP degree = college or less], [bachelor's degree = undergraduate], [master's degree or doctorate = graduate], prefer not to answer (coded as missing).
Area of Residence	Where are you currently living? Answers: an urban area, a suburban area, a rural area (a small town or village), prefer not to answer (coded as missing).

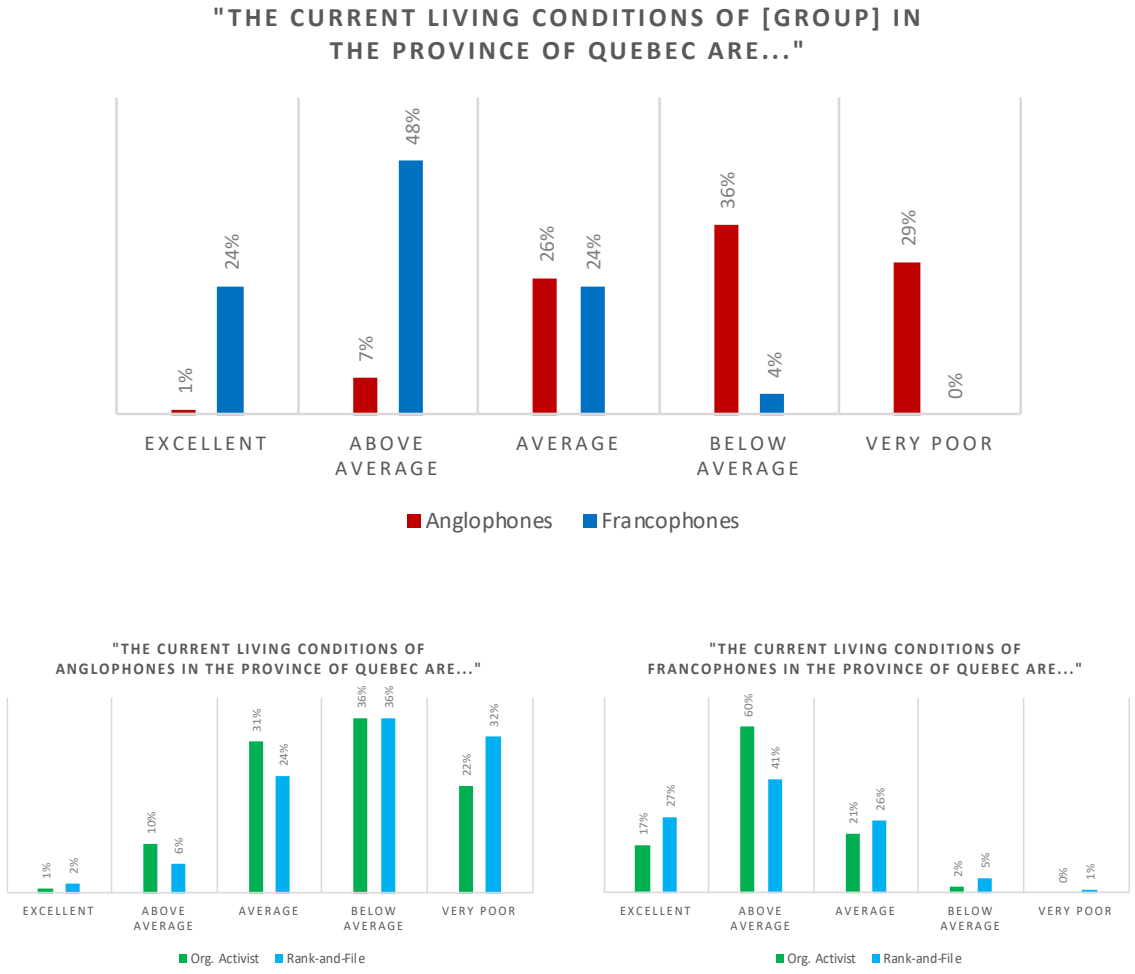
The survey questionnaire design, the sampling, the dependent variables, the independent variables, and the models have now been detailed. The next section will present results, starting with descriptive statistics from the survey data to verify whether the evidence supports H1 and H3, and then turning to the multivariate logistic regressions conducted to test hypotheses H2 and H4.

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Descriptive Statistics: Relative Deprivation Hypotheses

First, a look at descriptive statistics tackles the temporal and "ingroup vs. outgroup" dimensions of Group Relative Deprivation. Figure 4 combines the results of two identical questions asking respondents to evaluate the current living conditions of a group (the ingroup, and then the outgroup). The histogram located in the upper half thus shows results for the [Current + Ingroup] and [Current + Outgroup] dimensions. Concerning the former, a large majority of Anglo-Quebecers (65%) judge their ingroup's current living conditions as "very poor" (29%) or "below average" (36%). This is a first piece of evidence suggesting a state of relative deprivation as it relates to the implicit comparison with the other linguistic majority group (the "average") at the present time, a comparison made more explicit in the second question.

Figure 4. Comparison of Anglo-Quebecers' Perceived Ingroup and Outgroup Current Living Conditions



In the same histogram, by contrast, the blue bars show that a large majority (72%) of Anglo-Quebecer respondents judge that the current living conditions of the other linguistic group are either "excellent" (24%) or "above average" (48%). This is another piece of evidence suggesting the existence of a state of Group Relative Deprivation, since it relates to the explicit comparison with the outgroup, that is, the francophone majority. Taken together, a striking feature of the two sets of bars presented in the same histogram in the upper half of Figure 4 is that they are showing almost perfectly symmetrically opposed patterns of frequency distributions. As for the

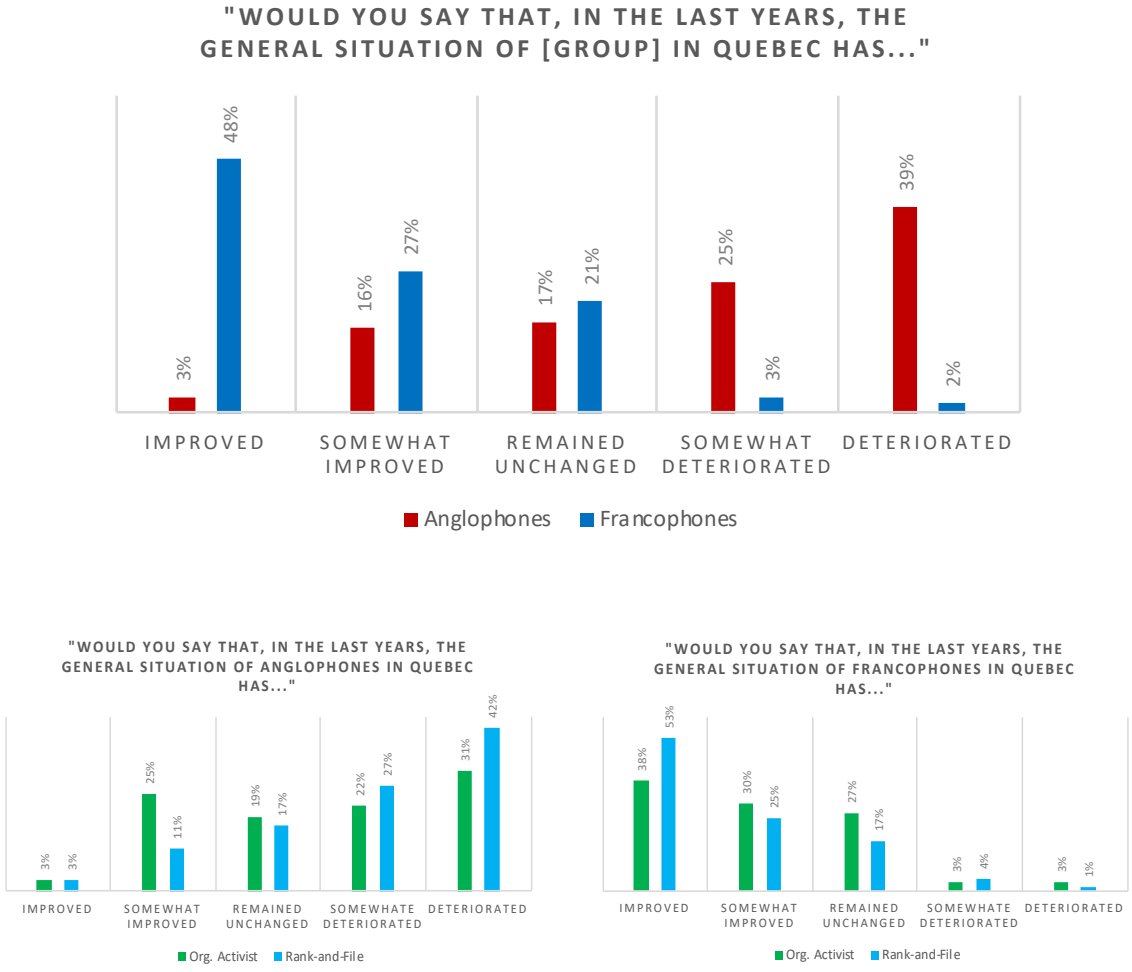
distinction between rank-and-file members of the minority community and its organizational activists, the evidence contradicts expectations insofar as it was hypothesized that the higher the state of relative deprivation, the higher the likelihood of participating in an organization. While the differences are not sizeable, but it seems that organizational activists are slightly *less* relatively deprived than rank-and-file members.

The next graphs in the lower half of Figure 5 show the evaluation of respondents with regards to each group's situation over the last years. Nearly two thirds of them (64%) judge that the ingroup's situation has "deteriorated" (39%) or "somewhat deteriorated" (25%) whereas slightly over a third (36%) believe it has "remained unchanged" (17%), "somewhat improved" (16%) or "improved" (3%). As for the explicit outgroup comparison concerning the same temporal dimension, three quarters of Anglo-Quebecer respondents (75%) judge that the outgroup's situation has "improved" or "somewhat improved" in the last years, whereas about one fifth (21%) believe it has "remained unchanged" and only a handful think it has "somewhat deteriorated" or "deteriorated". This is in stark contrast with the evaluation they make regarding the evolution of their ingroup's situation over the past years.

Once again, the patterns displayed are striking. Just as observed above with regards to the comparison between the present situation of the ingroup and outgroup, the blue and red bars in Figure 5 are mirroring a symmetrically opposite pattern of frequency distribution. In other words, when it comes to evaluating the ingroup's and the outgroup's condition, in the present just as retrospectively, Anglo-Quebecer respondents judge that their group is at a clear disadvantage by contrast with the majority group. Taken together, the indicators suggest the sampled Anglo-Quebecer respondents are in a state of group relative deprivation, both when measured as an

evaluation of past and present situations. This concurs with the expectations developed above and thus supports H1.

Figure 5. Comparison of Anglo-Quebecers' Perceived Ingroup and Outgroup Past Living Conditions

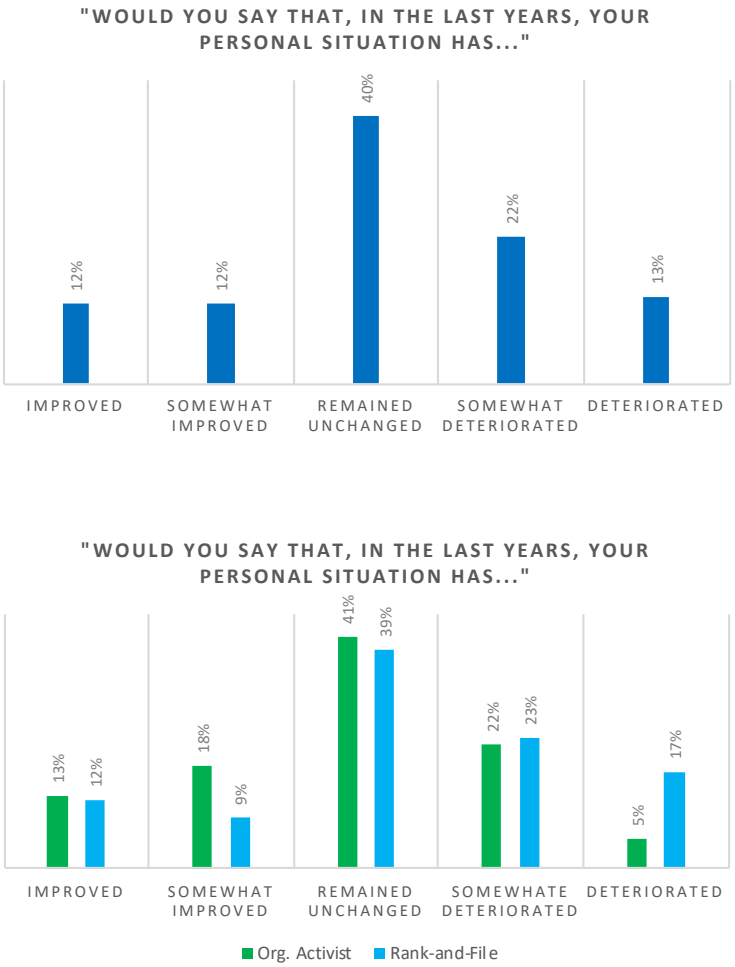


However, evidence once again contradicts expectations developed for H2. In the lower half of Figure 5, about half of organizational activists (53%) judge that the general situation of the ingroup (anglophones) has "somewhat deteriorated" or "deteriorated" over the last years. By comparison, almost seven out of ten (69%) rank-and-file members of the minority community make the same judgement. In the right-side histogram, evidence does not support H2 either.

When respondents were asked about how the situation of the outgroup (francophones) has evolved, over two thirds (68%) of organizational activists judged that it has “improved” or “somewhat improved”, whereas over four out of five rank-and-file members (82%) did.

As for the indicators of individual relative deprivation, Figure 6 shows that the largest proportion (40%) of respondents judge their personal situation to have remained stable in the last years. However, more respondents judge it to have deteriorated (36%) rather than improved (25%).

Figure 6. Individual Relative Deprivation Indicator, Past Evaluation: “Would you say that, in the last years, your personal situation has…”



In the lower half of Figure 6, evidence does not support H2 here either, since expectations would associate higher levels of relative deprivation (IRD in this instance) with higher propensity for activism. Yet, organizational activists display slightly lower levels of IRD, with 27% declaring that their personal situation has “deteriorated” or “somewhat deteriorated”, whereas it was the case for 40% of rank-and-file members.

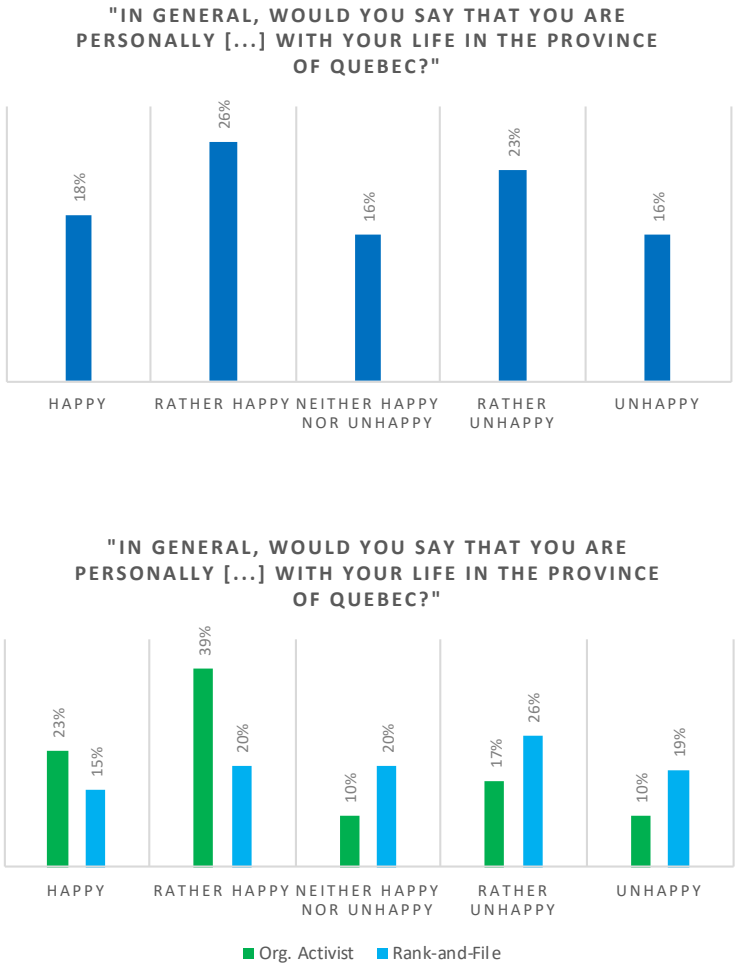
Lastly, Figure 7 below further shows a much more even distribution of respondents when it comes to individual self-reported current state of happiness (IRD, current dimension). Approximately 39% of individuals declared being personally “unhappy” or “rather unhappy” with their life in the province of Quebec. Slightly more (45%) declare being personally “happy” or “rather happy” with their life in the province of Quebec. And about 16% declare being personally “neither happy nor unhappy” with their life in the province of Quebec. Taken together, these indicators provide much weaker evidence that the respondents as a whole are in a state of individual relative deprivation (H3), albeit providing an adequate basis for the statistical testing of the models. As for H4, the evidence once again goes against expectations. While nearly over a quarter (27%) of organizational activists declared being “unhappy” or “rather unhappy”, almost half (45%) of rank-and-file members said as much.

Since a majority of Anglo-Quebecer respondents did not indicate that they were personally unhappy, it is rather puzzling to observe that they feel relatively deprived as a group. Such evidence gives credence to Oskooii’s (2016, 2018) distinction between political and societal discrimination, the former being based on group membership. Since over four of five (81%) respondents indicated that their group is facing discrimination “often” or “most of the time” (as seen in Figure 8 further below), group discrimination might have less impact on individual

happiness than other factors such as societal (interpersonal) discrimination. This points to a potential avenue for future research that will not be tested here.

Taken together, the evidence found in descriptive statistics is supportive of H1, but goes against H2. The next section now turns to the analysis of the logistic regressions and provides further testing of H2.

Figure 7. Individual Relative Deprivation Indicator, Current Evaluation: "In general, would you say that you are personally […] with your life in the province of Quebec?"



3.4.2 Multivariate Logistic Regressions and Predicted Probabilities: Relative Deprivation Hypotheses

Tables 15, 16, and 17 below present results for each of the Relative Deprivation models developed above. Table 15 presents results only for Group RD models, Table 16 presents results only for Individual RD models, and Table 17 presents results when combining both Group RD and Individual RD, which embodies the Double Deprivation model. Models 1 and 2 are testing the *temporal* dimension while Model 3 and 4 are separating the ingroup and the outgroup predictors. Hypothesis 2 did not specify different expectations for each model since not are specified in the existing literature. The hypothesis thus only proposes that when indicators show that Anglo-Quebecers are in a state of relative deprivation, they should more likely to be organizational activists. To test for the robustness of each model, two columns per model are presented, with one including only RD predictors and the other one adding socio-demographic control variables of age, gender, education, and region of residence.

Contrary to expectations, results in Table 15 and Table 16 provide support for the proposition that the *less* Anglo-Quebecers are relatively deprived, the *more likely* they are to be organizational activists. Such findings constitute evidence against H2. While Guimond and Simard (1983) found a difference between the effect of Group Relative Deprivation and Individual Relative Deprivation indicators, the former being more strongly linked to collective action, Models 6 to 8 show that the effects of IRD predictors are similar to those of the GRD construct. As for the Double Relative Deprivation model, which was found to predict collective action better than more simple models of Individual and Group Relative Deprivation (Foster and Matheson 1995), Model 9 in Table 17 shows that combining all of the previous predictors cancels out the effect of Ingroup Present and Ingroup Past indicators; they become statistically non-significant.

Table 15. Group Relative Deprivation Models Predicting Organizational Activism

	Model 1 (Present RD)		Model 2 (Past RD)		Model 3 (Ingroup RD)		Model 4 (Outgroup RD)		Model 5 (Combined)	
	Odds Ratio (95% C.I.)									
Ingroup Present	.743*** (.682 – 808)	.742*** (.679 – .810)			.868** (.789 – .956)	.846** (.766 – .934)			.875** (.794 – .965)	.870** (.786 – .963)
Outgroup Present	1.095 (.987 – 1.214)	1.066 (.957 – 1.187)					1.095 (.987 – 1.214)	1.105 (.989 – 1.234)	1.115* (1.003 – 1.241)	1.131* (1.011 – 1.266)
Ingroup Past			.760*** (.709 – .814)	.793*** (.736 – .855)	.781*** (.723 – .844)	.805*** (.742 – .874)			.797*** (.737 – .862)	.834*** (.767 – .906)
Outgroup Past			.847*** (.774 – .926)	.749*** (.679 – .827)			.777*** (.711 – .849)	.686*** (.623 – .757)	.846*** (.771 – .927)	.746*** (.674 – .826)
Age		1.023 (.966 – 1.083)		1.085** (1.021 – 1.152)		1.047 (.987 – 1.110)		1.068* (1.006 – 1.134)		1.090** (1.025 – 1.158)
Gender (Female)		3.225*** (2.613 – 3.982)		3.426*** (2.765 – 4.245)		3.233*** (2.616 – 3.996)		3.493*** (2.821 – 4.325)		3.427*** (2.765 – 4.246)
Education		.970 (.900 – 1.045)		1.006 (.934 – 1.084)		.989 (.917 – 1.066)		.997 (.926 – 1.074)		1.004 (.930 – 1.083)
Living Area (ref.: urban)										
Suburban		.713** (.577 – .882)		.674** (.542 – .840)		.768* (.619 – .952)		.585*** (.473 – .725)		.685** (.549 – .854)
Rural		1.427** (1.162 – 1.752)		1.327** (1.080 – 1.631)		1.392** (1.132 – 1.711)		1.325** (1.080 – 1.626)		1.347** (1.095 – 1.658)
Constant	1.267 (.779 – 2.063)	.582 (.289 – 1.172)	3.202*** (2.113 – 4.851)	1.275 (.723 – 2.249)	2.497*** (1.755 – 3.552)	.847 (.487 – 1.473)	1.144 (.694 – 1.886)	.589 (.296 – 1.175)	2.922*** (1.661 – 5.142)	1.115 (.534 – 2.331)
Pseudo-R^2	0.014	0.065	0.027	0.079	0.025	0.072	0.010	0.069	0.030	0.082
Number of observations	233	233	233	233	233	233	233	233	233	233

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, N.B.: guidelines usually applied for the interpretation of the OLS R^2 may not be applicable to pseudo-R^2 (Smith and McKenna 2013). Use with caution.

Table 16. Individual Relative Deprivation Models Predicting Organizational Activism

	Model 6 (Present RD)		Model 7 (Past RD)		Model 8 (Combined)	
	Odds Ratio (95% C.I.)					
Individual Present	.719*** (.675 – .765)	.753*** (.705 – .803)			.751*** (.700 – .805)	.815*** (.757 – .878)
Individual Past			.768*** (.715 – .825)	.729*** (.674 – .789)	.897** (.826 – .974)	.820*** (.749 – .989)
Age		1.014 (.958 – 1.074)		1.067* (1.006 – 1.132)		1.051 (.990 – 1.116)
Gender (Female)		2.981*** (2.415 – 3.681)		3.497*** (2.826 – 4.328)		3.213*** (2.591 – 3.983)
Education		1.010 (.937 – 1.088)		.972 (.902 – 1.047)		.994 (.922 – 1.072)
Living Area (ref.: Urban)						
Suburban		.748** (.604 – .927)		.720** (.582 – .890)		.766* (.618 – .950)
Rural		1.315** (1.070 – 1.616)		1.339** (1.090 – 1.645)		1.312* (1.066– 1.614)
Constant	1.475*** (1.217 – 1.786)	.515** (.321 – 1.826)	1.307* (1.034 – 1.652)	.506* (.315 – .813)	1.827*** (1.420 – 2.351)	.651 (.400 – 1.059)
Pseudo-R^2	0.034	0.074	0.016	0.070	0.036	0.065
Number of observations	233	233	233	233	233	233

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, N.B.: guidelines usually applied for the interpretation of the OLS R^2 may not be applicable to pseudo-R^2 (Smith and McKenna 2013). Use with caution.

Table 17. Double Relative Deprivation Model (All Dimensions Combined)

	Model 9 (Double RD Model)		Model 10 (Improved DRD Model)
	Odds Ratio (95% C.I.)		
Ingroup Present	1.009 (.907 – 1.122)	.979 (.876 – 1.094)	
Outgroup Present	1.140* (1.023 – 1.271)	1.166** (1.039 – 1.307)	1.165** (1.041 – 1.304)
Ingroup Past	.881** (.805 – .964)	.938 (.854 – 1.032)	
Outgroup Past	.837*** (.762 – .919)	.736*** (.663 – .816)	.724*** (.655 – .801)
Individual Present	.772*** (.714 – .835)	.853*** (.784 – .927)	.838*** (.777 – .904)
Individual Past	.961 (.876 – 1.055)	.845** (.764 – .935)	.817*** (.746 – .894)
Age		1.108** (1.041 – 1.180)	1.105** (1.039 – 1.176)
Gender (Female)		3.427*** (2.754 – 4.266)	3.460*** (2.782 – 4.303)
Education		1.016 (.940 – 1.098)	
Living Area (ref.: Urban)			
Suburban		.708** (.566 – .885)	.687** (.552 – .854)
Rural		1.292* (1.048 – 1.594)	1.277* (1.041 – 1.566)
Constant	2.638** (1.484 – 4.689)	1.024 (.483 – 2.168)	1.000 (.539 – 1.853)
Pseudo-R^2	0.044	0.092	0.092
Number of observations	233	233	233

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001, N.B.: guidelines usually applied for the interpretation of the OLS R^2 may not be applicable to pseudo-R^2 (Smith and McKenna 2013). Use with caution.

Given that most Relative Deprivation indicators are statistically significant in the nine models presented so far, it seems difficult to judge whether one is better suited to predicting organizational activism than another. To overcome this hurdle, Raftery (1995) has proposed the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), which allows comparing nested and non-nested models. Table 18 below summarizes the comparisons made between some pairs of nested and non-nested models[52] and provides which model provides the best goodness of fit.

Table 18. Comparison of Goodness of Fit Across Relative Deprivation Models

Models Compared	**Verdict (based on difference in BIC)**
Model 1 vs. Model 2	Very strong support (>10) for Model 2
Model 3 vs. Model 4	Very strong support (>10) for Model 3
Model 2 vs. Model 3	Very strong support (>10) for Model 2
Model 2 vs. Model 5	Positive support (2 to 6) for Model 2
Conclusion: across GRD models, Model 2 has the best fit. This means that the construct of Group Relative Deprivation is better suited to predicting organizational activism when it is based on a social comparison of past *dimensions (Ingroup Past + Outgroup Past).*	
Model 6 vs. Model 7	Very strong support (>10) for Model 6
Model 6 vs. Model 8	Very strong support (>10) for Model 8
Conclusion: across IRD models, Model 8 has the best fit. This means that the construct of Individual Relative Deprivation is better suited to predicting organizational activism when it is based on a comparison involving both the present and the past situations of individuals (Combined model).	
Model 2 vs. Model 8	Weak support (0 to 2) for Model 8 ("barely worth mentioning")
Model 2 vs. Model 9	Very strong support (>10) for Model 9
Model 8 vs. Model 9	Very strong support (>10) for Model 9
Conclusion: across the best performing models tested above, Model 9 has the best fit. This means that the construct of Double Relative Deprivation is better suited to predicting organizational activism.	

52 As indicated by Long and Freese (2014, loc. 3687), here are the guidelines based on Raftery (1995) for the interpretation of results of the BIC comparisons: when the absolute difference between BIC1 and BIC2 is of 0 to 2, the evidence in favour of the model with the lowest BIC is said to be "weak"; from 2 to 6, "positive"; from 6 to 10, "strong"; and over 10, "very strong".

Across all models, Model 9 has the best fit, suggesting that Double Relative Deprivation has the best predictive potential of all the models proposed. To further improve Model 9, to make it more parsimonious and ensure that all of its predictors be statistically significant, likelihood ratio tests can determine whether some coefficients can be excluded. Results (not shown) indicate that the hypothesis that the "Ingroup Present", "Ingroup Past", and education variables on organizational activism be simultaneously equal to 0 cannot be rejected at the 0.05 level (LR chi2 = 2.37, p = 0.4998). It is therefore appropriate to exclude those variables, and to build a final model, Model 10, in which all predictors are statistically significant.

Model 10 thus suggests that a better performing Double Relative Deprivation construct would only include the two outgroup indicators (past and present) of the Group Relative Deprivation model as well as both predictors of the Individual Relative Deprivation model. Such results directly contribute to the literature on Relative Deprivation, while making use of Guimond and Simard's (1983) ingroup-outgroup distinction and Buechler's (2008) temporal distinction. The evidence here shows that, to predict organizational activism, a form of collective action: (1) outgroup matters more than ingroup, and (2) it is important to include the distinction between present and past evaluations.

Next, to both substantiate the meaning of results and to examine the possible interactions between indicators and dimensions of the relative deprivation constructs used in the regression models, the ideal types method (Long and Freese 2014) is used. Ideal types are defined as "hypothetical observation[s] with substantively illustrative values" (Long and Freese 2014, location 7614). Six ideal types are thus conceptualised along the lines of the hypotheses formulated in this chapter. Recall that the general guiding hypothesis was that the higher the

state of relative deprivation, the higher the likelihood of organisational activism. It should thus be expected that adding indicators of relative deprivation would yield predictions of higher likelihoods of activism (hence the ordering of ideal types #1 to #6 are gradually adding RD indicators). An exception is made for the outlier indicator (Current Outgroup) discovered in the logistic regression results presented above; it will be isolated in a separate ideal type, since it was shown to be the only variable having an effect in the expected direction. Holding the four sociodemographic control variables at their means, Table 19 below shows predictions made with regard to each ideal type constructed.

Table 19. Predicted Probability of Organizational Activism by Ideal Types of Respondents and Indicators, Control Variables Held at Their Means

Ideal Types	Group Relative Deprivation (GRD)				Individual Relative Deprivation (IRD)		Predicted Probabilities (95% C.I.)
	Current Ingroup	Current Outgroup	Past Ingroup	Past Outgroup	Current Happiness	Personal Past	
1. ¬GRD*, ¬IRD	✗	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	.633 (.581 – .685)
2. ¬GRD, ¬IRD	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	✗	.470 (.410 – .530)
3. ¬GRD, IRD	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	.375 (.289 – .461)
4. GRD, ¬IRD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✗	✗	.339 (.293 – .384)
5. GRD, IRD	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	.258 (.224 – .291)
6. GRD*, IRD	✓	✗	✓	✓	✓	✓	.151 (.120 – .183)

Notes: (1) checkmarks (✓) denote the presence of a Relative Deprivation indicator, whereas "X"s denote its absence.
(2) "¬" denotes "no state of"
(3) "GRD*" denotes the GRD model modified in accordance with the evidence laid out in the logistic regression table; e.g. in Ideal Type #1, it includes the "current outgroup" indicator whereas in Ideal Type #6, it excludes the "current outgroup" indicator.

Ranking from highest to lowest predictions, here is a portrait of how ideal types of relatively deprived individuals can predict organisational activism. An Anglo-Quebecer would be most likely

to be an activist (Ideal Type #1), with a likelihood of 63.3% (58.1 – 68.5%) when they feel that: their linguistic minority group's condition is currently average or better than average while the francophone majority's condition is better than average; their own group's condition has remained unchanged or improved over the last years while the francophone majority's has remained unchanged or deteriorated; they are either indifferent or happy with regard to their life in the province of Quebec while their personal situation has remained unchanged or improved over the last years. Ideal Type #6 has the lowest likelihood of being an organisational activist (15.1%, with a confidence interval of 12.0 – 18.3%), with a symmetrically reversed set of dispositions[53].

Two additional features of the table are worth noting. First, the ranking of ideal types displays more or less of a linear effect. That is, the more RD indicators are added, the lower the predictions. It should be reiterated that such results go against expectations. Second, only the following pairs of predictions have overlapping confidence intervals: ideal types 2 and 3, and ideal types 3 and 4. Generally, however, the predictions are statistically significant and, most importantly, substantially significant, since they range from 63% to 15%, a difference of nearly 50%. Overall, the predictions made using the ideal types method show a clearer picture of the interactions between relative deprivation indicators.

Lastly, an interesting part of the regression models lies in the control variables. In most models, introducing control variables does not alter the effect of Relative Deprivation predictors, which

53 For the sake of space, Ideal Type #6 will not be described here. For their convenience, the reader can nonetheless use the description provided in the appendix.

confirms that RD indicators do play a distinct role in predicting organizational activism, even though the direction the effects observed goes against the grain of theoretical expectations of relative deprivation theory (Davies 1962, Geschwender 1968, Guimond and Simard 1983, Foster and Matheson 1995).

A few additional observations are worth noting. First, holding other variables constant, Anglo-Quebecer women are consistently more likely than Anglo-Quebecer men to be organisational activists. Specifically, women are 3.0 to 3.5 times more likely to be organisational activists than are men (statistically significant at the $p<0.001$ level across all models). These findings contribute to research on the relationship between gender and participation.

Second, holding other variables constant, respondents living in suburban areas are consistently less likely to be organisational activists than are their peers living in an urban area, with odds ratios ranging from 0.59:1 to .77:1. Across all models, the effect is at least significant at the $p<0.05$ level. By contrast, holding other variables constant, respondents living in a rural area are consistently *more* likely to be organizational activists than their peers living in an urban area (as well as those living in a suburban area, under the transitivity assumption). Odds ratios range from to 1.28:1 to 1.43:1. Such findings shed light on the importance of geography and the urban-rural dwelling spectrum, a factor often left unaddressed in the literature on participation.

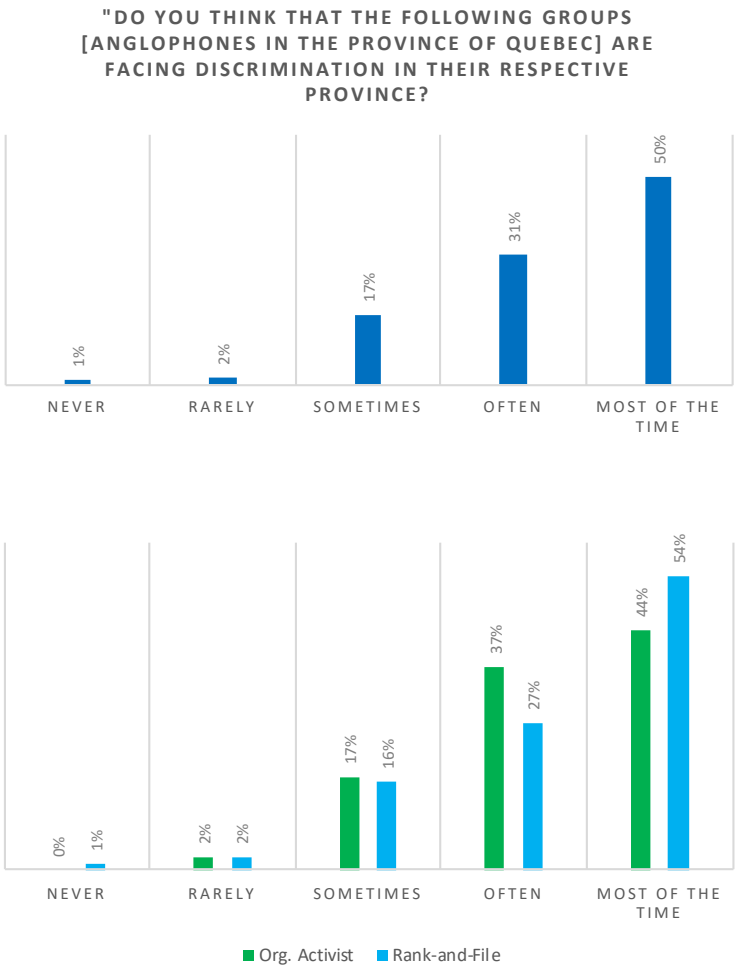
3.4.3 Descriptive Statistics: Perceived Discrimination Hypothesis

Recall that it has been hypothesised that *Anglo-Quebecers who perceive discrimination against their group are more likely to engage in organisational activism*. The underlying

assumption here is that volunteering or working for Anglo-Quebecer organizations is a non-electoral type of political participation. Since Bilodeau (2017) found that visible minorities experiencing discrimination are more prone to engage in the latter kind of activity, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the same should apply to the linguistic minority studied here[54]. Indeed, as a minority group, Anglo-Quebecers (as already shown in the previous sections above) are over-represented in the lower income brackets and under-represented in the middle income brackets. Much like visible minorities, they also have higher rates of unemployment. They are thus, as a group, at a socioeconomic disadvantage in comparison with the Francophone majority. The following figure thus first provides some descriptive statistics.

54 Although there likely are remaining differences between linguistic minorities and visible minorities – language and racialization are indeed likely to have different effects upon intergroup relations – for the sake of this chapter, it will be argued that the reasons provided below and the socioeconomic disadvantage of the average English-speaking individual living in Quebec are sufficient to justify such a hypothesis.

Figure 8. Perceived Discrimination, Univariate and Bivariate Frequency Distributions



Respondents from the Anglo-Quebecer sample leave no doubt that they believe their group is facing discrimination. Over half of them judge that discrimination is the case “most of the time”, a strong statement that might be surprising to some analysts. About 31% say it happens “often”, and 17% “sometimes”. Only about 3% of respondents declared that their group is facing discrimination “rarely” or “never”.

3.4.4 Multivariate Logistic Regression Analysis and Predicted Probabilities: Perceived Discrimination Hypothesis

To test whether there is any difference as to the likelihood of organisational activism according to levels of perceived discrimination, and given the skewness of the frequency distribution[55], as shown in Figure 8, the variable was recoded into three categories representing three levels of perceived discrimination. Taking into account the distribution of respondents across the initial five categories of answers, the "low" level category now includes all respondents (~20% of the sample) who chose either "never", "rarely", or "sometimes"; the "moderate" level includes respondents (31%) who answered "often"; the "high" level includes respondents (50% of the sample) who answered "most of the time". Table 20 below shows results from the logistic regression for the Perceived Discrimination hypothesis.

55 Too few observations in the "never" and "rarely" categories did not allow for the logistic regression to be computed, hence the need to regroup response categories.

Table 20. Logistic Regression: Perceived Discrimination Predicting Organisational Activism Among Anglo-Quebecer Respondents

Two Levels of Perceived Discrimination	Odds Ratio	95% C.I.
Discrimination Levels		
Low (ref. category)	(.)	(.)
Moderate	1.151	(.916 – 1.446)
High	.785*	(.630 – .978)
Control variables		
Age	1.007	(0.954 – 1.063)
Gender (Female)	2.656***	(2.185 – 3.228)
Education	0.948	(0.885 – 1.015)
LivArea= Urban area (ref. cat.)	(.)	(.)
LivArea= Suburban area	0.685***	(0.561 – 0.836)
LivArea= Rural area	1.197	(.990 – 1.448)
Constant	0.332***	(0.214 – 0.515)
Number of observations	267	

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001
Pseudo-R^2: 0.042

Holding other variables at their means and using the low level of discrimination as a reference category, Table 20 shows that respondents who judge their group to be experiencing a high level of discrimination are significantly less likely to be organisational activists than are respondents who perceive a low level of discrimination by a factor of 0.785, significant at the 0.05 level. To convey a better sense of the magnitude of the effect, Table 21 below presents the marginal effects. Two different models regrouping the same variables into either two or three categories are shown.

Table 21. Marginal Effect of Perceived Discrimination on Organizational Activism (control variables at their means)

Levels of Perceived Discrimination	Model 1 (dichotomous)	95% C.I.	Model 2 (original)	95% C.I.	Net Change (%)
Low-Moderate	.372***	.346 – .399			-7.3%
High	.299***	.274 – .323			
Low			.364***	.321 – .408	+3.6%
Moderate			.390***	.357 – .424	
High			.295***	.270 – .320	-9.5%

***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Results in Table 21 show that respondents who perceive that their group is facing high levels of discrimination are between 7% to 10% less likely to be organisational activists than those who perceive low-moderate (see first column), low, or moderate (see second column) levels of discrimination for their group. This difference represents a small effect, but nonetheless a significant one, both statistically and substantively. It does not seem to make a difference whether the model operationalises perceived discrimination as a dichotomy or a trichotomy. Yet, the trichotomous model remains interesting, since it shows that the effect is not linear; those who perceive moderate levels of discrimination towards their group are more likely to be activists than those who perceive low levels of discrimination. However, the latter effect is not statistically significant. With regards to the hypothesis, the evidence contradicts expectations. While it was conjectured that Anglo-Quebecers who judged that their group is facing high levels of

discrimination would be those most inclined to engage into organisational activities, a non-electoral type of political participation, results show that it is in fact the opposite.

3.5 Discussion and Conclusions

In undertaking the analysis of Anglo-Quebecer activism in light of relative deprivation theory and the notion of perceived discrimination, this case study has attempted to straddle the fence between theoretical advancement and idiographic research. Such an endeavour concurs with Noël's (2014) research stance, which stresses the importance of producing usable knowledge about one's own polity.

In the first decades of the development of Relative Deprivation theory, Guimond and Simard (1983) found Group Relative Deprivation to be more important than Individual Relative Deprivation in explaining propensity to join protest movements. The analysis conducted here shows their finding is not replicated in the case of Anglo-Quebecer organisational activism. Indicators of Group Relative Deprivation (what Guimond and Simard termed "fraternal" RD) did not perform better than indicators of Individual Relative Deprivation (or "egoistic" RD).

Unexpectedly, however, the empirical evidence goes *against* traditional Relative Deprivation hypotheses based on the distinction between individual- and group- RD. In other words, the effect observed goes in the opposite direction to what was hypothesised; indicators used to measure relative deprivation across three different models showed that Anglo-Quebecer respondents were more likely to be activists when they were *not* in a state of relative deprivation. Herein lies the first theoretical contribution of this chapter.

A possible shortcoming of the above-mentioned contribution and an explanatory path to be further explored, however, takes its source in the parameters of the research design. Indeed, the variable on the basis of which organisational activism was conceptualised here constitutes only a post hoc measurement of the transition between the demand-side and the supply-side of mobilisation. In plain language, this could mean that a state of relative deprivation might have led Anglo-Quebecer respondents to get involved in organisational activities way before they could fill out the online survey questionnaire, and that, from then on, levels of relative deprivation may have decreased. The effect of relative deprivation might have been more salient if the researcher had collected data that captured the transitional period in the life of a politicised individual who makes the decision to take a step further in their engagement and get directly involved in organisational activism. This highlights the importance of timing, which is also considered a limitation of extant research on discrimination (e.g. Oskoii 2018, 21).

An additional example of a mechanism that might also explain organisational activism is self- and collective- efficacy. Anglo-Quebecer organisational activists, for instance, may revise their opinions about the current state of their ingroup's condition after some time, to the extent that their direct political engagement is empowering them. Relatedly, alternative explanations indeed posit, drawing on previous research (e.g. Bandura 1997), that "the conjoint influence of perceived collective political efficacy and trust in the governmental system predicts the form and level of people's political activity" (Bandura 2000, 78). This provides an interesting direction for future research.

A second theoretical contribution consists in the findings about the relationship between perceived discrimination and organisational activism. Low levels of perceived discrimination

were revealed to be better at predicting organisational activism than high levels[56]. While research has been done on the relationship between perceived discrimination and mobilisation among visible minorities in Quebec (Bilodeau 2017), this is the first study to tackle the same issue among official language minorities in Quebec[57].

This chapter makes a contribution, as well, to empirical studies of official language minority communities. While the research design did not use randomized sampling of the population – and so

precludes generalizations to the whole population of the case studied – it nonetheless provides additional evidence of the existence of a feeling of exclusion, if not alienation, among Québec's anglophone minority. The question remains open as to whether that sentiment is shared by a majority of the linguistic minority's population. Current and recent events discussed above, in addition to the evidence provided here, suggest that many Anglo-Quebecers are concerned about the future of their communities and that some even consider themselves to be "second-class citizens".

With the recent creation of the Secretariat for relations with English-speaking Quebecers, the Quebec government has taken a step forward towards greater recognition for the linguistic

56 Closer inspection of the data revealed however that the effect is not linear. Hence the study conducted here highlights the need to take into account the multidimensionality of constructs. More specifically, (1) the logistic regression analysis conducted in this chapter and the models developed from the literature show the multidimensionality of abstract concepts such as "relative deprivation", thus stressing the need to use multiple indicators in statistical hypothesis testing, and (2) the present application of Long and Freese's (2014) Ideal-Types approach using predicted probabilities, such as in Table [X], shows that within-concept, single indicators, sometimes do not conform to assumptions of linearity implied in many dichotomous concepts of political science.

57 Empirical indicators used, however, differ from those used by Bilodeau (2017).

minority. But much remains to be done for all Anglophones to feel like full-fledged "*Québécois*" and not "second-class citizens" in a polity that prides itself on being the hub of the French fact in North America.

4 The Last Standard-Bearers of Biculturalism: A Quebec-Ontario Comparison of Cosmopolitan, National, Subnational, and Local Affiliations among Official Language Minorities

> "There is no core identity, no mainstream in Canada[.] There are shared values — openness, respect, compassion, willingness to work hard, to be there for each other, to search for equality and justice. Those qualities are what make us *the first postnational state* [emphasis added]." – Justin Trudeau to the New York Times, shortly after forming a majority government after the 2015 elections.

Québec's Quiet Revolution called into question the myth of the "two founding peoples"–French Canadians and English Canadians–once construed strictly along linguistic lines (Martel 1998, 25). Non-territorial linguistic/cultural duality thus gave way to territorially concentrated binationalism embodied in the Québec-Canada opposition, a conception of the federation that heavily shaped Canadian "mega-constitutional politics" (Russell 2004) over the next decades. Among other things, the creation of the Pépin-Robarts Commission (otherwise known as the "Task Force on Canadian Unity") testified to the centrality of the "national unity" question in the face of the perceived threat posed by Québec's sovereigntist movement at the time. Canadian society as a whole has been "subjected to pressure for change with [the] double thrust […] [of] nation building within Quebec [and the search for] greater equality between French and English within pan-Canadian institutions" (Cameron and Simeon 2009 174). Among the changes brought about during the political turmoil of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, under the impetus of Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, the modern representation of the Canadian federation as a compact between "two founding peoples" was gradually replaced by a multicultural conception of Canadian citizenship (McRoberts 1997) within a bilingual framework.

Despite such a paradigm shift, biculturalism and binationalism continue to have a lasting impact upon Canadian institutions, group identities, and group loyalties. While the francophone and Acadian communities constitute the "last constitutional standard-bearers of Trudeau's language regime" (Richez 2012), it may be said, analogously, that official language minorities constitute the last standard-bearers of biculturalism (or more broadly dualism). Symptoms underlying this phenomenon include an enduring cognitive footprint, as it were, among francophone populations across Canada, described variably as a "vital intention" (Thériault and Meunier 2008), a "societal culture" (Landry 2014), or a "common reference to a French-Canadian cultural space"[58] (Chouinard 2012, 204). Notably, language regimes (e.g. Cardinal and Sonntag 2015, Cardinal and Normand 2011) and the constitutional entrenchment of provisions designed to protect two "official languages" embody the institutionalization of the binational worldview and attest to the legacy of biculturalism as laid out previously in the work of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Fifty years after the "Bi- and Bi- Commission" and the adoption of the Official Languages Act, and forty years after the Pépin-Robarts Commission on national unity, much remains unsaid as to how "national unity" unfolds today among official language minorities in a context that decision-makers are framing as "postnational"[59], multicultural, and globalized.

58 Personal translation.

59 As exemplified in the Justin Trudeau quotation at the beginning of this chapter.

Over the years, “Canadian federalism, with its scheme of minority rights, allowed multiple loyalties and multiple identities to flourish; it thereby enabled Canadians both to live together and to live apart in one country” (La Selva 2014, 17). While MacDonald’s Tory union is now judged as a “failed constitutional experiment” and Cartier’s project has yet to be entirely fulfilled, the country’s complex and diverse sociological landscape is now a core feature of the Canadian polity, as widely acknowledged by political theorists and constitutionalists. Federalist thought thus reflects the “diversification of diversity” (Hollinger 1995) in its contemporary depiction of the federation as comprising “two nationalities and the four (or more) regions [with] self-governing territories as well as provinces, multicultural citizens and Charter Canadians, French- and English-speaking Canadians as well as Aboriginal and Québécois nationalists” (La Selva 2014, 17).

In contrast to such nuanced portraits found in constitutional theory and the federalism scholarship, the sociological reality of multiculturalism is often pitched as opposed to French-English dualism. Coincidentally, the former trumps the latter when it comes to scholarly attention. For instance, while recent empirical research has scrutinized the development of loyalties among immigrants and their integration amidst Canadian regional dynamics (Bilodeau, White, and Nevitte 2010), the development of territorial and non-territorial affiliations among official language minorities has been less explored.

This study investigates the prospects for the decline of linguistic identities based on their majoritarian-minoritarian status as language groups. Cosmopolitanisms typically counts on the death of nationally demarcated territorial identities. Canada’s own history and political institutions of federalism have reified territorially based (including provincially-based) identities. Justin Trudeau suggests these identities are no longer salient, but the evidence suggests wishful

thinking on his part. This study offers a unique systematic empirical comparison of the multiple affiliations of the two largest official language minority communities inhabiting the two original provinces of the Canadian federation. Drawing upon two original surveys of rank-and-file and organizationally- engaged members of the two linguistic communities, the study investigates and compares how socio-territorial belonging unfolds in official language minority communities. Comparing the extent to which the affiliations of the two groups are rooted in a binational/bicultural worldview should prove fruitful, not least because prominent Canadian decision-makers have recently rejected this very dualism in favour of cosmopolitanism. If Canada has truly become, as Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has argued, a "post-national" polity, then even the last standard-bearers of Canadian dualism, who are arguably among the least likely to be cosmopolitan given evidence presented earlier and in light of their minority status, will be at least as cosmopolitan as they are attached to their country, province, and localities.

The study does not support characterizations of Canadians as cosmopolitan. Rather, it finds that the Canadian language regime and the principle of duality it embodies have produced policy feedback effects that tend to nurture identities based on territorial identities with national, regional, and/or local communities rather than identities that transcend territorially-based communities. More broadly, the findings also point to the idea that cosmopolitanism may be working better for majority groups than minorities. By and large, both the English and French OLMCs display stronger attachments to Canada, to their province, and to their municipality than they to "the world". A group comparison then conducted shows that Franco-Ontarians are (1) less likely to be cosmopolitan than Anglo-Quebecers, (2) about equally likely to be attached to the Canadian national identity as Anglo-Quebecers, (3) more likely to identify with their province

than Anglo-Quebecers, and (4) more likely to have a strong affiliation with their local polity than Anglo-Quebecers. It also finds that those most engaged in OLMC organisations and networks are less likely to be cosmopolitan. These findings corroborate most expectations and may be explained through three types of considerations: institutional variation, geography, and language.

The next section examines the literature on cosmopolitanism and socio-territorial modes of belonging to specify hypotheses and operationalize cosmopolitanism. The methods used, the data, and the results are subsequently presented.

4.1 Hypotheses: Asymmetric Affiliations Among Official Language Minorities in a "Postnational" Federation

Justin Trudeau's characterization of Canada as a "post-national" federation made a direct reference to cosmopolitanism. Yet, empirical research on whether Canadians are indeed post-nationalists is sparse. Canada is not alone in this respect; with the exception of a few scholars, (e.g., Portes 2000, Skrbis and Woodward 2007, cited in Schaffer 2012), "there have been relatively few case study-based analyses or theoretical discussions about the ways in which cosmopolitanism operates on the ground" (Schaffer 2012, 129). The few existing studies have ignored Canada. For example, a study conducted by former leader of Canada's Liberal Party and political philosopher Michael Ignatieff (2017) conducted a study on "moral globalization" in seven cases across six countries. This study did not include Canada. Its findings, that "ordinary people"

do not reason using abstract, universal principles ("available universals", as the author puts it) on a daily basis[60], are nonetheless relevant to Canada.

While Ignatieff (2017) refers to cosmopolitanism as a moral disposition, Strijbis and Teney (2017) and Teney and Helbling (2014) instead measure attitudes towards "denationalization issues", including questions on "immigration, supranational political institutions (EU and UN), international trade and development aid" (Teney and Helbling 2014, 263). Such a discrepancy reflects the polysemic character of the concept of cosmopolitanism. For example, Vertovec and Cohen (2002, 7) distinguish six ways to conceive of cosmopolitanism: "(a) a socio-cultural condition; (b) a kind of philosophy or worldview; (c) a political project towards building transnational institutions; (d) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; (e) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/or (f) a mode of practice or competence." In the hitherto rather sparse applied research available, Pichler (2009, 705) summarizes the different approaches to the study of cosmopolitanism under two broad categories: the "'subjective approach' [...] based on affiliations, and a more 'objective' one grounded in relevant attitudes". Since the current study is focusing on the affiliations of official language minorities, it will be grounded in the subjective approach to cosmopolitanism.

Ulrich Beck (2002) argued that there can be no cosmopolitanism without localism, thus speaking rather of "rooted cosmopolitanism". Contemporary Canadian political philosophers seem to have embraced Beck's logic (e.g. Kymlicka and Walker 2012), thus acknowledging the importance of more local modes of belonging. In the words of Roudemetof (2005, 124): "cosmopolitans and

60 See Appendix for the full excerpt.

locals occupy the opposite ends of a continuum consisting of various forms of attachment." Therefore, "cosmopolitanism does not imply the negation of local (regional and national) affiliations and identities" (Pichler 2009, 707). Previous research has indeed confirmed the "persistence of localism" (Pollini 2005) in the context of globalization[61]. In *Elements of a Theory of Place Attachment and Socio-Territorial Belonging,* Pollini (2005) laid out the building blocks of a theory that provides general insight as to how a multiplicity of affiliations played out over the last decades in many Western countries. Pollini (2005, 510) found notably that, while "localism is not incompatible with the sentiment of national belonging", there has been a shift "from 'nationalism' on the one hand, to 'Europeanism' and 'localism' at the same time on the other". Pollini (2005, 511) states that his fifteen-year-long survey studies in Italy "confirm some of the results from surveys carried out in other countries." Similarly, more recent research has shown that even the elites, as sometimes presumed, are not more cosmopolitan than the masses. For example, Helbling and Teney (2015) have found that the German elite is in fact more attached to their nation than rank-and-file Germans.

The two Canadian cases studied here offer an opportunity to study the affiliations of linguistic minorities across the cosmopolitan-local scale. If Pollini is correct and if Canada is to be included in the range of cases where a cosmopolitan shift is evident, then the general expectation that local and cosmopolitan types of affiliation in Canada should be stronger than national ones may be derived. Consequently, the study looks not only at cosmopolitanism, but at three other more

61 Indeed, individuals are deemed to be able to hold the dual, seemingly opposite, loyalties of cosmopolitanism and localism.

local types of affiliation as well: the federal (or national), provincial (or subnational), and municipal (or local) affiliations.

The dearth of empirical studies on cosmopolitanism (Schaffer 2012) represents a hurdle for such an endeavour, however. While many researchers have addressed the question of linguistic identity and its relationship with other variables such as linguistic vitality (e.g. Freynet and Clément 2015, Landry, Allard, and Deveau 2007), much remains to be done to address the broader question of socio-territorial belonging among official language minorities. In order to tailor hypotheses adapted to the cases studied here, the challenge lies in finding appropriate literatures.

Two bodies of scholarships will be used. First, the study draws on literature on the relationship between participation and identification, which shows that participating in a group increases identification with that group. Second is political science research that has shown that institutions anchor allegiances (Simeon and Elkins 1974), but do not determine them alone (Henderson 2004). Indeed, the degree to which Canadians identify with local, provincial, national, and global institutions varies across the country. Mendelsohn and Matthews (2010), for example, found that over half of Quebecers identify more strongly with their province than with the country as a whole. They found that only 10% of Ontarians had similar identification patterns. Institutional variation and geography will thus be examined, since they likely play a role in the affiliations of Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians.

The next subsections will thus take a look at the theoretical and empirical literature, before turning to the institutional context. Then, the data on the geographical distribution of the linguistic minorities studied in each province, an element judged important in characterizing the

asymmetric reality of official language minorities across the country (e.g. Chouinard 2012), will be considered.

4.1.1 The Participation-Identification Nexus: How Does Partaking in OLMC Organisational Life Impact Identities?

Scholars of political participation and social movements have developed different explanations as to how identifying with a group increases the likelihood of political participation, as well as partaking in collective action and protest activities endorsed by the group (e.g. Fowler and Kam 2007, Klandermans 2014). The present study turns the question on its head and asks whether participating in a group leads to increased identification with the group. In the context of the issue tackled here, the question thus becomes whether Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians who directly participate in OLMC organisations and networks identify with possible territorial and non-territorial identification. These identifications are: global/"citizens of the world", federal/"Canada", provincial/"your province", and municipal/"Your city/town/village".

Extant research shows that participating in group-relevant activities heightens social identification with such groups. Among others, Khan et al. (2016) have found that participants in a Hindu festival identified more strongly as Hindus than comparable others who did not, even one month after the event. Another study, more comparable to the cases analysed here, has looked at identity shifts among immigrants to Québec. Cardenas and de la Sablonnière (2020) found that when immigrants participate in the new cultural group of Quebec society, their identification with that group is increased, but only when if they view their participation positively.

Given that the research parameters of the present study were designed at a time when Cardenas and de la Sablonnière's findings were not available, it is not possible to test for the conditional hypothesis they propose. The first hypothesis (**H1**) will thus be, simply put, that *OLMC members engaged in OLMC organisations and network activities will have stronger national, subnational and local affiliations than rank-and-file members, and cosmopolitan dispositions will be similar.* In keeping with Beck (2002), Pichler (2009), and Pollini (2005) there should be no reason to expect that organisational activists will be more cosmopolitan than rank-and-file members, since cosmopolitanism is not expected to act as a subtractive effect on localism. Hypothesis H1 is a sensible hypothesis because official bilingualism (as well as official languages) has become a core component of Canadian national identity (Iguarta 2006, Mann 2016, Turgeon et al. 2019) and subnational identities, such as the *Québécois* and Franco-Ontarian identities, are part of the Canadian identity. As the consequences of official language policies, OLMC organisations and networks embody such national and subnational identities. Those most engaged in their activities should thus display stronger local, provincial, and national affiliations than cosmopolitan ones. The exception is the provincial affiliation of Anglo-Quebecers, which can be expected to be weaker, for reasons detailed in the next section. The discussion will now turn to the reasoning behind the construction of hypotheses relevant to a group comparison of the affiliations of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers.

4.1.2 Contextual Variable #1: Institutions–Federal and Provincial Language Regimes

The institutional context of official language minorities can best be described through the notion of language regimes. Policy regime scholarship defines the concept of "regime" as "a

bundle of laws and regulations established to regulate a specific field" (May and Jochim 2013, 426-28, Jochim and May 2010, cited in McDougall 2019, 78). The notion of "language regimes" therefore designates "laws and regulations governing involvement in official languages with an eye to safeguarding the linguistic community's wellbeing and managing threats of assimilation" (McDougall, 2019, *ibid*). In the Canadian federation, a number of language regimes coexist, with the federal regime applying across all provinces. The federal language regime, based primarily on the Official Languages Act, is founded upon the "principle of personality," which promotes the individual's right to interact in the language of their choice with federal institutions and offices in the national capital region as well as where there is sufficient demand (as per Part IV of the Official Languages Act). In Quebec, the provincial language regime is based on the "principle of territoriality", which protects the collective right of a majority to live in its own language in a given territory (Cardinal and Normand 2011). The Ontario language regime, for its part, seems like a hybrid version of these two language regimes. Its main policy is guaranteeing "an individual's right to receive services in French from the Government of Ontario ministries and agencies in 26 designated areas" (Office of Francophone Affairs 2018). Recent public policy research has compared the language regimes of Canada, Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nunavut and judged that the power of the Ontario regime is "low", while that of the Quebec regime is "high" (McDougall 2019)[62]. However, such a perspective takes the standpoint of Quebec's francophone majority, and thus French as the target language to be protected. The

62 McDougall (2019, 4) describes "the range [of power] these regimes can have, from quite weak (primarily for proposing cultural events in the public sphere), to very strong (direct intervention in the language of the private sector workforce)."

literature still lacks a portrait of the inner, minority language regime within Quebec. Table 22 below thus complements this portrait. It builds on McDougall (*ibid*) to compare the architecture of the Ontario and Quebec language regimes from the perspective of official language minority communities, and to inform the hypotheses tested below.

Table 22. Compared Architecture of the Provincial Language Regimes Supporting Official Language Minorities in Quebec and Ontario, 2019

Minority Language Components	Quebec's Language Regime	Ontario's Language Regime
Dedicated ministry?	**No, but…** A Secretariat for relations with English-speaking Quebecers was created in 2017[a].	**Yes, but…** The Ministry of Francophone Affairs was downgraded into an Office of Francophone Affairs soon after Doug Ford's election as Ontario Premier, in June 2018. After significant political backlash[f], the Office got turned back into a Ministry.
Dedicated position within governmental apparatus?	**Yes** Mr. William Floch is the current Secretary for Relations with English-Speaking Quebecers and is in direct contact with the Executive Council.	**Yes, but…** In December 2018, the Ontario government abolished the Office of the French Language Services Commissioner. Then, a few days after significant political turmoil, Commissioner François Boileau's got transferred under the umbrella of the provincial ombudsman's office[b]. As of January 2020, the Minister of Francophone Affairs has announced the appointment of a new French Language Services Commissioner[g].
Dedicated policies?	**No**	**Yes** The 2004 *Politique d'aménagement linguistique de l'Ontario* (officially translated as "Ontario's Aménagement Linguistique Policy")[c]. The 1986 French Language Services Act.
Municipal component?	**Yes** Since 1977, over 102 municipal bodies are recognized as bilingual and provide services in both French and the minority language[d], under section 29.1 of the Charter of the French Language	**Yes** The French Language Services Act lists 26 designated areas and 243 designated agencies providing services in the minority language[e].

Sources : a. Ministère du Conseil exécutif (2017); b. CBC News (2018), The Canadian Press (2018); Office of Francophone Affairs (2018) Ontario (2005; 2004); d. Office québécois de la langue française (2018); e. Ontario (2018); f. The Canadian Press (2018); g. Ministry of Francophone Affairs (2020).

The data shown in Table 22 imply that the interests of francophones, at least on paper, are better represented within their provincial state apparatus than are those of their anglophone counterparts in Quebec.[63] While the main focus of this study is not to offer a systematic comparison of official language minority institutions, the evidence discussed so far provides reasons to expect that *Franco-Ontarians will have a stronger provincial affiliation than Anglo-Quebecers*, owing to the latter having less institutional representation of their interests in the provincial government apparatus.

Anglo-Quebecers, however, will be expected to display a stronger cosmopolitan affiliation than Franco-Ontarians, given that the English language, currently the world's *lingua franca* (Laponce 2001), is likely to be conducive to a cosmopolitan affiliation. It is indeed likely easier for Anglophones to conceive of themselves as "citizens of the world", granted that their language has more influence across the world and is spoken more often and in more places than a Francophone's. Such a hypothesis is also in keeping with empirical findings on cosmopolitanism showing that "people from developed countries perceive their group as more prototypical for the world population than they perceive from developing countries" (Reese et al. 2012, 683). Drawing upon Reese and colleagues' logic, the assumption here is that English speakers are self-representing as more "prototypical" of the world population than francophones – as they put it,

63 This does not entail that they are in more a favourable situation as a whole, however. On the contrary, while Franco-Ontarians have been battling for a fully francophone university in the province (which turned out to be unsuccessful when the current government put a halt to the project), the anglophone minority in Quebec has long had a well-developed and well-funded network of post-secondary institutions, including three universities (Bishop, Concordia, and McGill). These three universities, for example, receive over $626 million a year from the government of Quebec, whereas the *Université de l'Ontario français* project would have cost the province $12 million a year over the next seven years and was judged too costly by the new provincial government (Radio-Canada 2018).

it is as if English speakers were thinking “we are the world—and they are not.” The next section examines the second factor of importance, geographical distribution.

4.1.3 Contextual Variable #2: Geographical Distribution of Official Language Minorities

The geographical distribution of the two cases examined here of Quebec Anglophones and Ontario Francophones reveal a stark contrast in demographic terms. To be specific, “more than 70% of Anglophones (714,000) in Quebec live in a municipality where the Anglophone group represents at least 30% of the population [and about] 20% of the total live in municipalities in which they constitute the majority” (Corbeil, Chavez, and Pereira 2010, 15). Strikingly, nearly four out of five (79.4%) Quebec anglophones live in the Montreal metropolitan census area (Statistics Canada 2017).[64]

By contrast, the Franco-Ontarian minority is concentrated mostly in the South-East, Ottawa, and the North-East region of the province, where respectively 14.4%, 25.2%, and 23.0% of its population lives. The remaining 28.8% is distributed across the “rest of Ontario” (Corbeil and Lafrenière 2010). The francophone minority in Ontario is thus much more scattered across the province than the anglophone minority in Quebec, and it is much less often in a situation where it forms a majority or a substantial proportion of the population at the municipal level. The implication in terms of expectations is that higher territorial concentration should entail stronger local affiliation. Indeed, it seems reasonable to postulate that the higher the proportion a

64 Computations made by the author.

minority group represents out of the total population in a given area, the stronger the feeling amongst its members of belonging to a larger geographical group. Thus, stronger local affiliation is expected for Anglo-Quebecers, who have a high degree of territorial concentration, than for Franco-Ontarians. Taken together, the considerations discussed in the previous paragraphs result in a set of hypotheses (H2[x]) summarized in Table 23 below. The next section will now provide more information on the data and will detail how each indicator is operationalized.

Table 23. Summary of Expectations and Resulting Hypotheses (H2[x])

Dimensions	Expected strength for Anglo-Quebecers	Expected strength for Franco-Ontarians
Local (municipal) affiliation	**Strong,** since: the bulk of the English-speaking community is living in Montreal, a territorially-concentrated area; studies have shown how strong their attachment is to the city; more than a hundred "bilingual" municipal bodies are providing services in English across the province; and in many municipalities, they constitute a majority.	**Moderate**, since the Franco-Ontarian population is much more evenly distributed across the Ontario territory than the anglophone minority in Quebec; and they only rarely constitute a majority in their municipality.
Provincial affiliation	**Weak**, given a lack of institutional representation (until very recently) and a history of conflicts with the francophone majority (e.g. Saint-Léonard crisis; Bill 63, Bill 22, Bill 101, Bill 104, Alliance Quebec, the Equality Party, etc.), and a feeling of exclusion as expressed in recent public debates (e.g. the notion of Anglo-Quebecers being "second class citizens" and as invoked during the English-language televised leaders debate of the 2018 provincial election)	**Moderate**, since the minority has good institutional representation (Office/Ministry of Francophone Affairs, Office of the French Languages Services Commissioner), and services provided in "designated areas" by provincial agencies, but moderated by a conflicted relationship with some provincial governments in modern history (e.g. Rule XVII, the Montfort hospital crisis, and the Ford government's budget cuts).
Federal (national) affiliation	**Strong**, given consistent support by federal governments through legislation and funding (e.g. Official Languages Act, the Charter, Language Roadmaps, the Court Challenges Program)	**Strong**, given consistent support by federal governments through legislation and funding (e.g. Official Languages Act, the Charter, Language Roadmaps, the Court Challenges Program)
Global (cosmopolitan) affiliation	**Moderate to strong**, given the historical importance of the provincial and national dimensions of language politics (-), the status of the English language as a *lingua franca* (+), and the fact that most Anglo-Quebecers (over 80%) are living in the cosmopolitan metropolis of Montreal (+).	**Weak to moderate**, given the historical importance of the provincial and national dimensions of language politics (-), the status of the French language as an unequivocally minority language in Canada (-), and the fact that most Franco-Ontarians are not living in the cosmopolitan metropolis of Toronto (-).

Hypothesis H2 *Holding sociodemographic variables constant, Franco-Ontarians will thus be:(H2a) less likely to be cosmopolitan than Anglo-Quebecers, (H2b) about equally likely to be attached to the Canadian national identity as Anglo-Quebecers, (H2c) more likely to identify with their province than Anglo-Quebecers, and (H2d) less likely to have a strong affiliation with their local polity than Anglo-Quebecers. The reason is that Franco-Ontarian communities are less territorially concentrated.*

4.2 Data, Methods, and Operationalization

The results presented in this study rely on original survey data collected in 2017. The author first contacted employees of official language minority organizations and conducted a series of individual semi-structured interviews with them.[65] He then invited each participant to use their organization's network in order to recruit further participants who would fill out an online survey questionnaire. Interviewees who agreed to do so were sent an invitation by email to their members/followers/sympathizers or through a simple publication on social media (e.g. a Facebook group managed by the organization). A hyperlink providing access to a consent form was included in the invitation to ensure that each participant was fully aware of the study's configuration and implications. Each participant was granted a chance to win a $100 cash prize in exchange for filling out the online survey questionnaire. The cash prize was then awarded to one randomly selected participant across the two samples. For the Anglo-Quebecer sample, a total of 12 organizations and Facebook groups, and a total of 305 respondents filled out the survey questionnaire. For the Franco-Ontarian sample, a total of 10 organizations and Facebook groups, and a total of 249 respondents filled out the survey questionnaire. The total sample used here thus comprises 554 respondents.

In the case at hand, the organizations (which will remain anonymous) that participated in the study were selected on the basis of the description of their mission. If the organization clearly

65 The interview data are not used in this article.

identified as representative of the English-speaking minority community in Québec, the organization and its members were invited to participate in the study. The questionnaire then inquired as to whether the respondents were working or volunteering for an official language minority organisation at the time when they were filling out the questionnaire. Affirmative responses were coded as "1" and negative ones as "0", effectively making "rank-and-file" members the reference group. Whether the organizations that participated truly constitute "the most important organizations" remains unverifiable and thus constitutes a limitation of the present study. Different operationalisations may lead to different results.

Since the sampling method was non-probabilistic, the representativeness of the samples cannot be guaranteed. However, for the sake of this study, which seeks mainly to compare groups and test hypotheses, the samples should provide a sufficient basis on which to draw conclusions. It is nevertheless advisable to remain cautious in interpreting the results. The author thus acknowledges the need for findings reported here to be replicated in order to gain more confidence in their external reliability.

Two actions have been undertaken to verify the plausibility of the sample. First, to check whether the respondents could truly be considered Franco-Ontarian and Anglo-Quebecer, their geographical location was confirmed[66]. The vast majority of Franco-Ontarian respondents were

66 To protect the identity of respondents and maintain the relationship of trust that was established, and to respect the consent form signed by each respondent that guaranteed that they would remain anonymous, details will not be disclosed here. Here is, however, how the procedure was completed. Qualtrics, the online survey platform used to collect the data for the present study, provides the latitude and longitude coordinates of each respondent in the datasets created. Using Google Maps, it was possible to enter those coordinates in a custom map created by the author(s) of this study. Once this was done and the verification was complete, the maps were erased to protect the respondents' identity.

in Ontario when they filled out the survey questionnaires, and the vast majority of Anglo-Quebecer respondents were in Quebec when they filled out the survey questionnaires. These observations suggest that the respondents are indeed residing in the two respective provinces. Second, the author examined the distribution of observations across sociodemographic variables. He found the samples are diverse in terms of age, education, and region of residence. In terms of gender, however, he found the sample distributions were skewed such that around two thirds of each sample were constituted by women and one third by men. All of the sociodemographic variables are thus included in the regression models to account for the possibility the are confounding variables.

4.2.1 Dependent Variables

Table 24 below shows the questions that were included in the survey questionnaire to measure cosmopolitanism and other forms of affiliation using the subjective approach identified by Pollini (2005).

Table 24. Structure of the Dependent Variables

Local (municipal)	How much do you identify with : your city/town/village? Answers: not at all, a little, moderately, strongly.
Subnational (provincial)	How much do you identify with : The province of Québec [Ontario]? Answers: not at all, a little, moderately, strongly.
National (federal)	How much do you identify with : Canada? Answers: not at all, a little, moderately, strongly.
Global (cosmopolitan)	How much do you identify with : The world (you are a “citizen of the world”)? Answers: not at all, a little, moderately, strongly.

The dependent variables are considered to be ordinal variables, granted that further regression analysis confirms that the parallel regression assumption[67] holds (Long and Freese 2014, UCLA 2019). It is to be noted that each of the two survey questionnaires used was constructed in a strictly symmetrical manner, with each question following the same order and being adapted to the context of the linguistic minority. For example, one questionnaire queried Anglo-Quebecers as to how much they identified with the province of Quebec and the other asked Franco-Ontarians how much they identified with the province of Ontario. Each questionnaire was presented in the language of each group (English for the former and French for the latter).

4.2.2 Independent Variables

For hypothesis **H1**, the independent variable is a dichotomous variable distinguishing between respondents who are engaged in their community either through volunteering or as employees of OLMC organisations and networks. The survey questionnaire has assigned a value of "0" to respondents who were not volunteering or working for such organisations and networks, and "1" to those who did, thus making the former the reference group

To test hypothesis **H2**, the researcher has assigned value "0" to the Anglo-Quebecer sample and "1" to the Franco-Ontarian one, thus making the former the reference group. In other words, all results relating to **H2** should be interpreted in relation to the Anglo-Quebecer sample.

67 The notion of parallel regression assumption is defined in the context of its application; see further below, on page 15.

4.2.3 Control Variables

Standard socio-demographic variables, summarized in Table 25 below, were included in the ordered logit regressions.

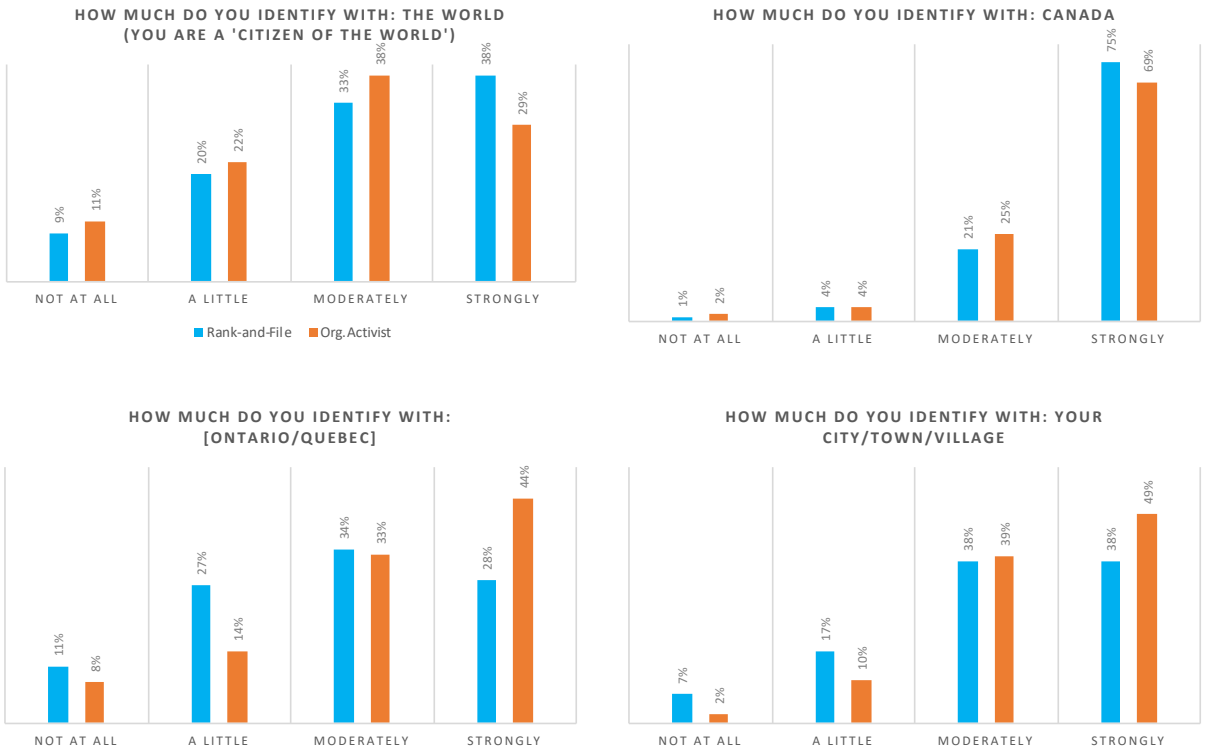
Table 25. Structure of the Control Variables

Age	How old are you? Answers: 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 65-74, 75 or older.
Gender	What is your gender? Answers: [dummy variable coded as] male=0, female=1.
Education	What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? Answers: [less than high school, high school or college/CEGEP degree = college or less], [bachelor's degree = undergraduate], [master's degree or doctorate = graduate], prefer not to answer (coded as missing).
Area of Residence	Where are you currently living? Answers: an urban area, a suburban area, a rural area (a small town or village), prefer not to answer (coded as missing).

4.3 Results

An examination of descriptive statistics is the first step towards the testing of H1 and H2. Figure 9 breaks down the data regarding the difference between organisational activists and rank-and-file members of the OLMCs studied.

Figure 9. Comparison of Affiliations: Rank-and-File vs. Organisational Activists



Recall that **H1** postulated that *OLMC members engaged in OLMC organisations, and network activities were expected to have stronger national, subnational and local affiliations than rank-and-file members, and similar cosmopolitan affiliations.* The frequency distributions provide moderate support for the hypothesis. Indeed, a slightly higher proportion of the rank-and-file strongly identifies as “citizens of the world”, but by and large, both groups are approximately equal in their cosmopolitan dispositions. Identification with Canada is similar. The only major differences seem to be on the provincial and municipal levels, where a higher proportion of “strong” identification is observable among organisational activists.

Regression analysis will now provide a statistical test of hypothesis **H1**. Since the dependent variable – cosmopolitan affiliation – is ordinal, an ordered logit model should be considered[68]. Table 26 below[69] presents the results of both an ordered logit model and an adjusted model termed "partial proportional odds" (Williams 2016), where the proportional odds assumption is relaxed only for the variables that violate it. In the present case, a Brant test revealed that all of the variables except "age" violated the proportional odds assumption.[70] Hence there is only one odds ratio in the table for the latter variable.

Table 26. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Organisational Activism x Strength of Cosmopolitan Identification

	Model 1: Proportional odds	Model 2: Partial proportional odds		
Predictors	Odds Ratio	L, M, S vs. N[a]	M, S vs. N, L	S vs. N, L, M
Org.Activist	.836**	.797*	.927	.763***
Franco-Ontarians	.580***	.500***	.506***	.666***
Age (in decades)	1.098***	1.100***	(*ibid*)	(*ibid*)
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.027	.867	1.261**	.887
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)				
Undergraduate	.840**	1.255*	.903	.702***
Graduate	1.038	1.340*	1.277**	.840*
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)				
Suburban	1.459***	5.106***	1.315**	1.353**
Rural	.726***	1.295*	.640***	.699***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. N = Not at All, L = A Little, M = Moderately, S = Strongly.

68 Such a regression model, however, comes with complications associated with its underlying assumption, variably termed the "proportional odds assumption" (Williams, 2016), "parallel regression assumption" (Long and Freese 2014, loc. 9715), and "parallel-lines assumption" (Norusis, 2005). Williams (2006, 60) defines the proportional odds assumption simply as the "requirement that β's be the same for each value of *j*", where *j* stands for the level of the ordinal variable.

69 The table is formatted in keeping with Williams' (2016) recommendations.

70 The Brant test resulted in p=0.692 for the age variable. When statistically significant, the p-value provided by the Brant test means that there is evidence of a violation of the proportional odds assumption. All the other variables included in the model were statistically significant at the p<0.05 level.

Table 27. Logistic Regression Model for Organisational Activism x Strength of Identification with Canada

Predictors	Odds Ratio
Org.Activist	.794***
Franco-Ontarians	1.054
Age (in decades)	1.205***
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.410***
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)	
Undergraduate	.968
Graduate	.844*
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)	
Suburban	1.249**
Rural	.935

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 28. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Organisational Activism x Strength of Identification with Province

	Model 1: Proportional odds	Model 2: Partial proportional odds		
Predictors	Odds Ratio	L, M, S vs. N[a]	M, S vs. N, L	S vs. N, L, M
Org.Activist	1.698***	1.248	1.788***	1.769***
Franco-Ontarians	10.712***	36.034***	15.525***	9.062***
Age (in decades)	1.154***	1.008	1.183***	1.185***
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.531***	1.786***	1.838***	1.259**
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)				
Undergraduate	.779***	.790***	.790***	.790***
Graduate	1.022	.713**	1.224*	.936
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)				
Suburban	.736***	.568***	.708***	.969
Rural	1.092	1.422**	1.378***	.887

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. N = Not at All, L = A Little, M = Moderately, S = Strongly.

Table 29. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Organisational Activism x Strength of Identification with Municipality

	Model 1: Proportional odds	Model 2: Partial proportional odds		
Predictors	Odds Ratio	L, M, S vs. N[a]	M, S vs. N, L	S vs. N, L, M
Org.Activist	1.557***	1.762**	2.101***	1.391***
Franco-Ontarians	1.633***	1.464*	1.967***	1.504***
Age (in decades)	1.079***	1.172**	1.171***	1.044*
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.350***	1.582**	1.651***	1.203**
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)				
Undergraduate	.849*	1.577**	.572***	.994
Graduate	1.298***	2.162***	1.229	1.361***
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)				
Suburban	.549***	.839	.416***	.602***
Rural	1.215**	.859	.864	1.383***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. N = Not at All, L = A Little, M = Moderately, S = Strongly.

The proportional odds model (Model 1) shows that, holding constant group (EngQc vs. FrOnt), age, gender, education, and area of residence, organisational activists among official language minorities have 0.836 lower odds of identifying themselves as cosmopolitan (across all *j*'s under the proportional odds assumption) than do rank-and-file respondents. The effect is statistically significant at the $p<0.01$ level. Model 2 relaxes the proportional odds assumption for all variables but age.[71] Controlling for other variables, organisational activists have 0.797 lower odds of identifying themselves as a little cosmopolitan, moderately cosmopolitan, or strongly cosmopolitan than do rank-and-file respondents, statistically significant at the $p<0.05$ level. The effect almost completely vanishes (0.927 lower odds, with a large confidence interval of 0.816–1.053) and becomes statistically non-significant when comparing those who identify themselves as [moderately or strongly] cosmopolitan with those who identify themselves as [not at all or a little] cosmopolitan. Lastly, organisational activist respondents have 0.763 lower odds of identifying as strongly cosmopolitan than do rank-and-file respondents, statistically significant at the $p<0.001$ level. Such findings go against the cosmopolitan part of hypothesis **H1** and provide interesting additional information on the effects observed across categories. It seems indeed that being an organisational activist matters most with regards to the extremes. In sum, organisational activists have lower odds of considering themselves as strongly cosmopolitan and higher odds of identifying not at all as cosmopolitan than do rank-and-file members of official language minorities.

71 Age has been identified using a procedure termed "autofit" that automatically determines on which variables the proportionality constraint should be relaxed (Williams 2006).

Among other findings, the control variables provide valuable insights as well. Without going into as much detail as for the main predictor tied to the hypothesis, it is worth noting that Franco-Ontarians are roughly half as likely to express a cosmopolitan affiliation as Anglo-Quebecers. The latter result will be further tested below in a model adapted to hypothesis **H2**. Aging by a decade increases the odds of identifying oneself as cosmopolitan by a factor of 1.098, significant at the $p<0.001$ level. Women have 1.261 higher odds (significant at the $p<0.01$ level) than men of identifying as moderately or strongly cosmopolitan, a finding made possible only by the use of the proportional odds model. Undergraduate-level and graduate-level alumni have respectively 1.255 and 1.340 higher odds of identifying as a little, moderately, or strongly cosmopolitan than do respondents with less than a high school, a high school, or a collegial degree, a finding confirming past research (Strijbis and Teney 2017). Interestingly, the effect reverses when it comes to the extreme end of the continuum, with respectively 0.702 and 0.840 lower odds of identifying as strongly cosmopolitan. Perhaps surprisingly, respondents living in a suburban area have higher odds of identifying as cosmopolitan across all levels than do respondents living in an urban area. Perhaps less surprisingly, respondents living in a rural area have lower odds of identifying as either “moderately or strongly” or “strongly” cosmopolitan than do respondents living in an urban area.

Results in the subsequent tables do not need to be discussed in the same level of detail as the above[72]. Instead, it will be sufficient to note that, in general, the evidence is consistent with hypothesis H1, which expects the local and subnational attachment of organisational activists to

72 The reader can apply the same logic as applied above and interpret the models accordingly.

be more pronounced. The only unexpected, but marginal, difference is that regarding identification with Canada. The difference indeed seems substantively insignificant – although statistically significant – since it distinguishes between activists and rank-and-file only as far as they "strongly" or "moderately" identify with Canada[73]. Broadly considered, both organisational activists and rank-and-file individuals are about equally likely to display a strong and moderate attachment to the country.

Additional testing concerning the interactions of affiliations shows that global and local loyalties are countering each other's effect when it comes to predicting the status of organisational activist. Indeed, the most accurate predictions of such status are a combination of the strongest local affiliation with no global affiliation (see Appendix for detailed table of predicted probabilities).

Before proceeding to the predictive models for hypothesis **H2**, an examination of descriptive statistics is in order. **Figure 10** provides a comparison of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers on different questions tapping cosmopolitanism. Quadrant 1 (from top left to bottom right) shows that the two groups share a number of elements, although more Franco-Ontarians than Anglo-Quebecers identify strongly with their local polity. Quadrant 2 shows a large discrepancy between the two groups. A large majority of Franco-Ontarians (60%) are strongly attached to their province, but only about 16% of Anglo-Quebecers declare themselves to be strongly attached to the province of Quebec. Both groups are almost identical when it comes to their

73 Indeed, an insufficient number of observations prevented the conducting of a generalized ordered logistic regression. The dependent variable had to be dichotomized to provide a sufficient number of observations for the model to be computed, which is why a simple logistic regression was proposed in Table 27.

attachment to Canada, with around 70% of respondents identifying strongly with their country. And lastly, there is a notable difference--of over 10%--between Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians who identify strongly as “citizens of the world”. At first glance, such evidence contradicts the expectation that local and global affiliations are stronger than national ones for linguistic minorities that are global linguistic majorities (Pollini 2005). But since it is likely that descriptive statistics obscure more complex processes–just as was the case with those differentiating between rank-and-file and organisational activists –a proportional odds model, and, if needed, a partial proportional odds model, are considered further below.

Figure 10. Comparison of Affiliations: Municipal (Local), Provincial (Subnational), Federal (National), Global (Cosmopolitan)

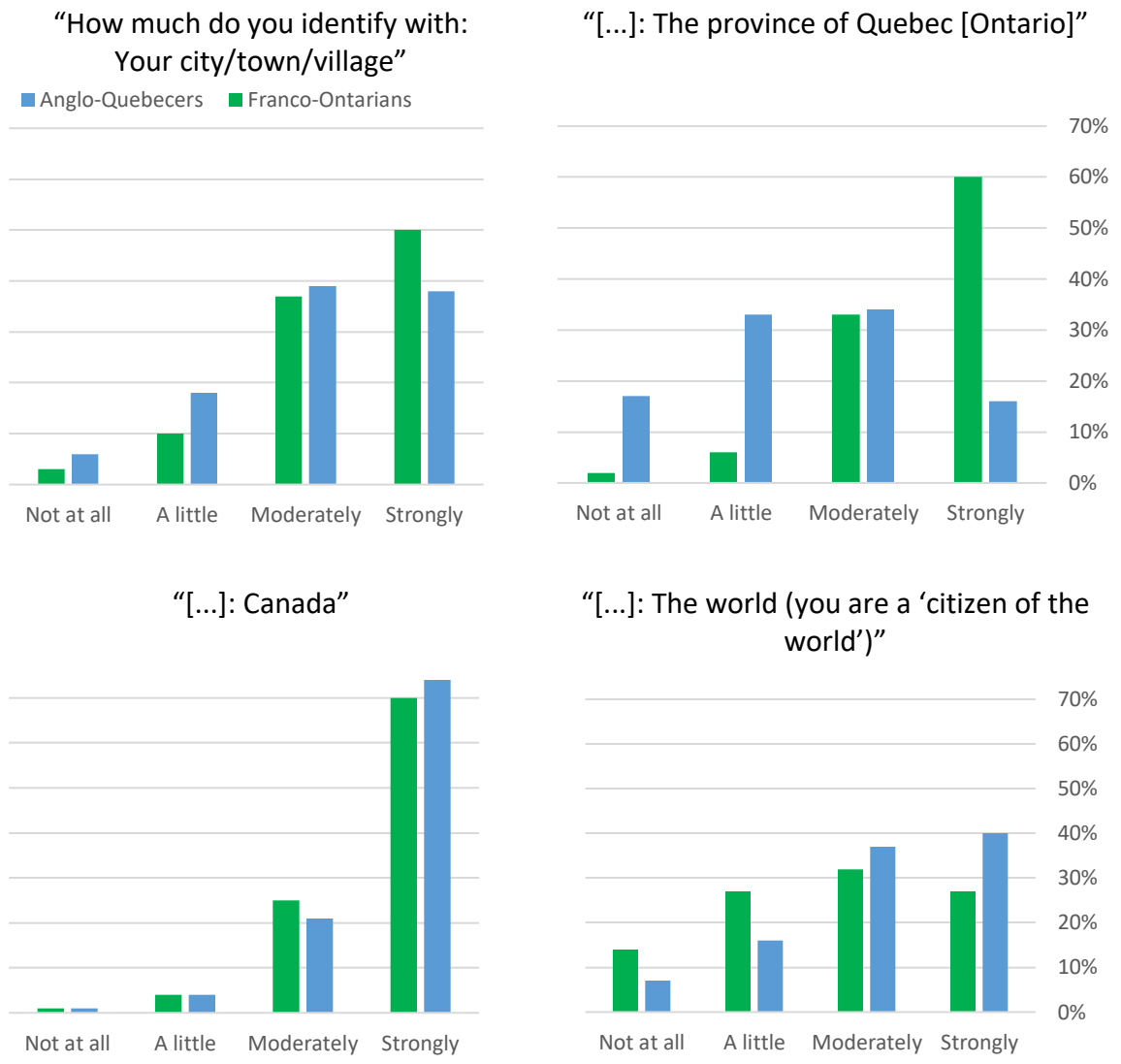


Table 30. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Group x Cosmopolitanism (H2a)

	Model 1: Proportional odds	Model 2: Partial proportional odds		
Predictors	Odds Ratio	L, M, S vs. N[a]	M, S vs. N, L	S vs. N, L, M
Franco-Ontarians (ref.: Anglo-Quebecers)	.559***	.479***	.500***	.630***
Age (in decades)	1.097***	1.096***	.	.
Female (ref. cat.: male)	.997	.829	1.249**	.847*
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)				
Undergraduate	.828**	1.233	.902	.692***
Graduate	1.027	1.331*	1.295**	.825*
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)				
Suburban	1.457***	5.062***	1.326**	1.349***
Rural	.713***	1.248*	.637***	.686***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. N = Not at All, L = A Little, M = Moderately, S = Strongly.

For the group comparison, results seem to be straightforward. As shown in Table 30, evidence supports hypothesis **H2a**. Franco-Ontarians have a consistently lower likelihood of identifying as cosmopolitan across all levels of the ordinal dependent variable, and the effect appears to be linearly diminishing, the closer the estimation gets to the most extreme category (“strongly”). Results for the control variables are extremely similar to those in Table 29, hence there is no need to repeat their description. To illustrate the magnitude of the effect of group belonging in predicting cosmopolitan affiliation, Table 31 provides predicted probabilities for each group, controlling for sociodemographic variables. Following Model 1, which regroups both moderate and strong affiliations, Anglo-Quebecers have about a 77% chance of identifying as citizens of the world while Franco-Ontarians have about a 60% chance to do so. These probabilities drop to 39% and 28% respectively following Model 2. Predictions thus show a difference of 11% to 17% probabilities of cosmopolitan affiliation between the two groups.

Table 31. Predicted Probabilities of Cosmopolitan Affiliation, Comparison by Group, Sociodemographic Variables Held at their Mean

Models	Sample	Pr(Cosmopolitan), 95% CI
Model 1[a]	Anglo-Quebecers	0.768 (0.751-0.784)
	Franco-Ontarians	0.603 (0.582-0.625)
Model 2[b]	Anglo-Quebecers	0.391 (0.372-0.410)
	Franco-Ontarians	0.277 (0.258-0.297)

a. model 1 = moderate + strong affiliation; b. model 2 = strong affiliation only

The next steps consist in analyzing the "lower" levels of affiliation, starting with the national and moving onto the provincial, then municipal spheres. Table 32 presents results for identification with Canada by group. Due to perfect predictions, the statistical software could not compute a generalized ordered logit model, hence the table only shows a proportional odds model.

Table 32. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Group x National Affiliation (H2b)

	Proportional Odds Model
Predictors	Odds Ratio
Franco-Ontarians (ref.: Anglo-Quebecers)	1.014
Age (in decades)	1.212***
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.374***
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)	
Undergraduate	1.015
Graduate	0.851
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)	
Suburban	1.308**
Rural	0.882

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Evidence supports hypothesis **H2b**, since the group variable is not statistically significant, meaning that both Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians are about equally likely to identify with Canada. Among other findings, age, gender, and area of residence have a significant impact on affiliation. As respondents age a decade, they have 1.212 higher odds than previously to identify with Canada. Female respondents have 1.374 higher odds of identifying with Canada than male respondents. And those living in a suburban area have 1.308 higher odds of identifying with Canada than respondents living in an urban area.

Table 33 below presents results for provincial affiliation. A Brant test shows that the proportional odds assumption is violated across all variables, thus justifying the use of a generalized ordered logit model (see Long and Freese 2014). Evidence very strongly supports hypothesis **H2c**. Indeed, holding other variables constant, Franco-Ontarians have from about 39.7 to 10.1 higher odds than Anglo-Quebecers to identify either [a little, moderately, or strongly] or [strongly] with their province. The group variable has therefore quite a large effect. Among other interesting discoveries, it seems that age increases the likelihood of identifying either [moderately or strongly] or [strongly] by a factor of 1.184 and 1.174 respectively, significant at the $p<0.001$ level. Across all the levels of the ordinal variable, female respondents have higher odds of identifying with their province than male respondents. Those who have an undergraduate or a graduate degree have respectively 0.770 and 0.731 lower odds than those who have a college degree or less to identify [a little, moderately, or strongly] with their province. Respondents with a graduate degree, however, have 1.287 higher odds of identifying [moderately or strongly] with their province than those with a college degree or less. Undergraduate degree holders have 0.755 lower odds of identifying strongly with their province than those with a college degree or less.

Finally, area of residence seems to matter as well. In comparison with respondents living in an urban area, those who reside in a suburban area have 0.567 lower odds of identifying [a little, moderately, or strongly] with their province. These lower odds increase slightly to 0.721 when combining moderate or strong affiliations only. By contrast, residents of rural areas have 1.452 higher odds of identifying [a little, moderately, or strongly] with their province than those living in urban areas. The odds are very similar (1.494) when combining moderate or strong affiliations only. And there is no evidence of a statistically significant association between any area of residence and a strong provincial affiliation.

Table 33. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Group x Provincial Affiliation (H2c)

	Model 1: Proportional Odds	Model 2: Generalized Ordered Logit		
Predictors	Odds Ratio	L, M, S vs. N[a]	M, S vs. N, L	S vs. N, L, M
Franco-Ontarians (ref.: Anglo-Quebecers)	11.588***	39.690***	16.333***	10.074***
Age (in decades)	1.152***	1.011	1.184***	1.174***
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.677***	1.857***	1.996***	1.414***
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)				
Undergraduate	.816**	.770*	.939	.755**
Graduate	1.036	.731*	1.287**	.898
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)				
Suburban	.755***	.567***	.721***	1.003
Rural	1.172*	1.452**	1.494***	.964

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. N = Not at All, L = A Little, M = Moderately, S = Strongly.

The last hypothesis to be tested is **H2d**, which concerns the most local type of affiliation, that is, the municipal level. Once again, a Brant test shows that the proportional odds assumption is violated across all variables, so a generalized ordered logit model is appropriate.

Table 34. Proportional Odds and Partial Proportional Odds Models for Group x Local Affiliation (H2d)

	Model 1: Proportional Odds	Model 2: Generalized Ordered Logit		
Predictors	Odds Ratio	L, M, S vs. N[a]	M, S vs. N, L	S vs. N, L, M
Franco-Ontarians (ref.: Anglo-Quebecers)	1.748***	1.682**	2.269***	1.565***
Age (in decades)	1.074***	1.173**	1.164***	1.039*
Female (ref. cat.: male)	1.430***	1.671***	1.771***	1.263***
Educ. (ref. cat.: <=college)				
Undergraduate	.865*	1.537**	.576***	1.019
Graduate	1.266**	2.069***	1.151	1.342***
Area of Res. (ref. cat.: urban)				
Suburban	.544***	.833	.423***	.591***
Rural	1.281***	.919	.933	1.429***

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; a. N = Not at All, L = A Little, M = Moderately, S = Strongly.

Evidence contradicts **H2d**, since, holding other variables constant, Franco-Ontarians have proportionally 1.748 higher odds of identifying with their city/town/village than Anglo-Quebecers. Removing the proportional odds assumption, Model 2shows that the likelihood of local affiliation remains higher for Franco-Ontarians across all *j*'s, statistically significant at the p<0.001 level. The most notable category is that of [moderate or strong] identification, with 2.269 higher odds for Franco-Ontarians. Other notable results include the effect of age as a predictor, which slightly, but consistently increases the likelihood of local affiliation across categories. Female respondents also are significantly more likely to identify with their city/town/village than male respondents, with the highest odds being 1.771 that of male respondents who do so [moderately or strongly]. And suburban dwellers are the least likely to either identify [moderately or strongly] or [strongly] with their local polity, with odds roughly twice as low as urban dwellers. Respondents living in a rural area have similar odds as those living in urban areas, except when it comes to strong affiliation, where they have 1.429 higher odds, significant at the p<0.001 level.

4.4 Discussion and Conclusion

In sum, most of the hypotheses in this study were supported. The first hypothesis (**H1**), expecting that *holding other variables constant, official language minority* organisational activists *are less likely to be cosmopolitan than rank-and-file members of the same communities*, was supported. Then, three out of the four sub-hypotheses in **H2** were supported. Holding constant other variables, Franco-Ontarians were expected to be:

(H2a) less likely to be cosmopolitan than Anglo-Quebecers: supported,

*(H2b) about equally likely to be attached to the Canadian national identity as Anglo-Quebecers: s*upported,

(H2c) more likely to identify with their province than Anglo-Quebecers: supported,

(H2d) less likely to have a strong affiliation with their local community than Anglo-Quebecers: not supported, contrary evidence was found.

One of the contributions of this study lies in its empirical investigation of the multiple loyalties of official language minorities. While there had previously been research conducted on the dual loyalties of immigrants across the provinces in Canada (e.g. Bilodeau et al. 2010), this study was one of the first, if not the very first, to systematically scrutinize and directly compare the affiliations of two official language minorities on four levels.

As for the broad question of cosmopolitanism, as Calhoun (2008, 440) puts it, “as a social condition [or in this case affiliation], cosmopolitanism is not universalism; it is belonging to a

social class able to identify itself with the universal. Belonging to the global cosmopolitan class is structured by social institutions [...]". In the cases at hand, it has been argued that Canadian official language groups, be they minority groups or majority groups, are embedded in biculturalism, or more broadly, dualism. Such a perspective is a legacy of the intellectuals and decision-makers that profoundly shaped the historical development of Canada and its constitutional architecture. Since cosmopolitanism is structured by social institutions (Calhoun 2008), and since official language minorities constitute the last standard-bearers of biculturalism, the findings presented here are in line with the expectation that individuals most engaged in official language minority organizations tend to nurture affiliations consistent with the subnational and/or local character of their minority group. A valuable contribution of this study therefore lies in its provision of original data and evidence shedding light upon such an understudied phenomenon.

In addition, the study corroborates the "persistence of localism" (Pollini 2005) in the face of globalization. Insofar as the federation is concerned, and insofar as official language minorities constitute important groups in Canadian society and are part of its diversity, it seems that national, subnational, and local modes of belonging remain essential for many Canadian citizens. The claim to "post-nationality" thus seems empirically invalid.

In terms of normative implications, such conclusions entail that "we need to be global in part through how we are national. And we need to recognize the ways national–and ethnic and religious [and one may add linguistic]–solidarities work for others" (Calhoun 2008, 445). In other words, cosmopolitanism cannot be "ignoring or wishing away national and local solidarities" (*ibid*). Its claimed openness towards the world needs to "transcend simply being willing to try an

Other's food" (Schaffer 2012, 151). Canada has been a champion of multiculturalism and a strong proponent of diversity, yet some judge that "the unique needs of official language minority communities (OLMCs) are not adequately recognized in the constitution, and often fall through the cracks of the 'Canadian model'" (Kymlicka 2012, 248). If Canada is to keep claiming its title of protector of diversity, it needs to be coherent and include linguistic diversity as well. As was shown in the second study (Chapter 3), there exists evidence that some members of official language minority communities feel excluded from their subnational polity (e.g. in Quebec). Cosmopolitanism and "post-nationality", through their denial of the importance of national, subnational, and local attachments, are likely to serve as a pretense for political inaction. It would be a matter of coherence for proponents of cosmopolitanism to acknowledge the existence (and thus relevance) of a multiplicity of solidarities, and refrain from grand claims implying the end of history through a post-national order that transcends all purportedly defunct group loyalties. In that respect, "rooted cosmopolitanism" (e.g. Kymlicka and Walker 2012) may represent a more contextually sensitive alternative to cosmopolitanism.

5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary of the Contributions

One of the first studies of its kind, this dissertation has contributed to better understanding the relevance of language politics for Canadian political science, as well as advancing knowledge on official language minority communities – specifically Anglo-Quebecers and Franco-Ontarians. The contributions may be summarized mainly from two perspectives: an empirical and a theoretical one.

From an empirical perspective, the three studies have introduced new data from multiple sources to shed light for the first time on disciplinary and cross-disciplinary bibliographic trends in Canadian language politics. First, the intra- and cross- disciplinary data presented in the introduction showed that language politics occupy a relatively limited role in Canadian political science. Coincidentally, the amount of attention that political scientists have dedicated to OLMCs pales in comparison with that of other disciplines such as education, history, and linguistics. Such observations speak to previous research that had reached similar conclusions. For example, Cardinal and Bernier (2017) found that OLMCs are under-studied in French Canadian political science. The introductory chapter of this dissertation has shown that this neglect is also true for Canadian political science literature written in English.

Second, the original survey data collected and the two original data sets created have contributed new evidence that challenges conventional wisdom on perceptions regarding the

status of official languages among OLMCs as well as sentiments of relative deprivation and discrimination among the unique case of Anglo-Quebecers. While many still think of Anglophones in Quebec as a well-endowed group, and while they are often depicted as the most privileged of all OLMCs in the country, evidence of discontent and reports of discrimination have emerged. As shown in Study #1, the English language indeed benefits from a high status even in a minority setting, a corollary of the prestige of being the language of the majority, the language of one of the world's superpowers, the language spoken in the greatest number of countries across the globe, and the *lingua franca* (Laponce 2004, May 2012,). Yet, such a characterization of the status of English is misleading. Despite the popular misconception that English is the most "useful" of all languages currently – one that presumably brings about the highest economic benefits for individuals who learn it or were born with it, and one that grants access to the largest audience for professionals such as researchers – contextualizing this perceived utility leads to different conclusions. In the context of Quebec, for example, the data do not support the common misinterpretation of linguistic "utility", which presupposes greater economic benefits. Indeed, as shown in Study #2, Anglophones in Quebec are over-represented in the lowest income brackets and under-represented in the middle ones. This pattern is reflected in the fact that the median income of Anglophones is lower than Francophones while their mean income is higher. Such trends have been observed for some time, with previous research drawing similar conclusions and finding notably that Anglophones in Quebec have higher rates of unemployment than Francophones (e.g. Cooper et al. 2019, Floch and Pocock 2012). Yet, the common misconception of "wealthy Anglophones" in Quebec persists.

In the present context, where important actors of the political arena seem to be influenced by a post-national conception of Canada, the comparison of multi-level affiliations of Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Quebecers has led to findings that challenge another popular misconception: the notion that cosmopolitanism is a form of universalism. In other words, with the exception of the provincial identification of Anglo-Quebecers – which can be explained notably through the historical precedents and the negative policy feedback effects of the Charter of the French Language – the fact that both linguistic minorities identify more strongly with their municipality, province, and country than with "the world" suggests that cosmopolitanism might work better overall for majorities than minorities. Furthermore, the dissertation highlighted the role of language in identification processes. Anglophones being able to self-represent more easily as "citizens of the world" – even in a minority setting – supports the notion that the English language is more commonly associated with cosmopolitanism than other languages. This may be an indication of "prototypicality", which in simple terms means that anglophone individuals are judging their ingroup to be more representative of what they conceive as cosmopolitan citizens, or as Reese and colleagues (2012) put it, "We Are the World—and They Are Not".

From a theoretical perspective, the three studies have tested hypotheses emerging from a wide array of scholarly literatures. Study #1 (chapter 2) has mobilized the philosophical literature (which itself borrows from economic theory) on language policy and provided an empirical test of the notion of perceived utility, argued to be a core component of instrumentalism, one of the two main forms of language ideologies as per De Schutter (2007). Results confirmed the expectation that English is more valued than French even in a minority

setting, thus suggesting the failure of linguistic equality between official languages, one of the policy goals of the Official Languages Act.

Study #2 (chapter 3) has utilized constructs of relative deprivation and perceived discrimination to examine the case of Anglo-Quebecers. Contrary to expectations, when relative deprivation and perceived discrimination indicators were high, predictions yielded lower likelihood of organisational activism. Models were tested and refined using statistical tests. One of the theoretical contributions thus lies in the evidence supporting the Double Relative Deprivation model, which had the best performance in terms of goodness-of-fit. Likelihood ratio tests were conducted to develop an adjusted Double Relative Deprivation model (Model 10). It revealed that the ingroup-present and ingroup-past dimensions, as well as the sociodemographic control variable of education, did not matter in predicting organisational activism. As such, the results speak to the importance of the form of participation analyzed. They confirm the importance of distinguishing between different types of discrimination (e.g. Oskooii 2016, 2018) as well as different forms of participation (e.g. Bilodeau 2017). In the present case, for example, different results might have been obtained from examining the impact of relative deprivation on voter turnout in Quebec politics.

Finally, study #3 (chapter 4) has investigated feelings of cosmopolitanism, a widely debated topic in political theory, as compared to more local forms of affiliation. Articulating hypotheses around linguistic minorities and contextual variables of institutions and geography, the study has highlighted the importance of language, an often neglected variable, in explaining variation in multi-level affiliations.

From a broader perspective, this dissertation has made the case that language matters for Canadian politics, and thus should matter for Canadian political science. It has made the case for future research endeavours in the discipline of Canadian political science to incorporate research on language policy and language politics, but also a case for decompartmentalizing relevant literatures, as discussed in the next section.

5.1.1 Some Limitations, and Future Research Directions

One of the limitations of this study is that, the sampling method not being probabilistic, the survey data are not necessarily representative of the populations studied. Generalizations to these populations are therefore not possible. Nevertheless, several steps were taken to ascertain the plausibility of the identity of survey participants. First, to check whether the respondents could truly be considered a Franco-Ontarian or Anglo-Quebecer, their geographical location was confirmed. Second, the distribution of sociodemographic control variables was evaluated and judged sufficiently diversified to constitute a sample for limited inferential ambitions. Notwithstanding its non-generalizability, the dissertation has contributed to research on linguistic minorities by adding new evidence that could potentially be replicated in future research. Future endeavours may consider examining other official language minority communities and conducting additional group comparisons. Non-probabilistic samples of the kind used in this dissertation allow testing for relationships between variables, which was one of the objectives met here. Conducting case studies and group comparisons while testing relationships between variables seems like a fruitful approach that is likely to lead to interesting findings in the future.

Another limitation is that, as is most often the case in studies on discrimination, this dissertation has overlooked ingroup discrimination: that is, discrimination towards other members of a same, or another, minority group. Sanchez and Espinosa (2016) and Lavariega Montforti and Sanchez (2010) have provided evidence that would require researchers to consider in-group discrimination in future studies. Indeed, they have found high rates of in-group discrimination based on accent or skin colour in the case of Latino minorities in the United States. Such a limitation is to be found and acknowledged in recent scholarship (e.g. Oskooii 2018) as well. At the same time, and somewhat ironically, the case study on Anglo-Quebecers has *not* overlooked ingroup discrimination, to the extent that Franco-Quebecers do constitute another minority group. This speaks to the complexity of minority-majority group relationships in a context where some may identify as members of both a minority and majority group, depending on the scope of analysis chosen.

Future research directions should consider more thoroughly integrating the policy feedback framework into language politics research. To the best of the author's knowledge, concepts and insights from the policy feedback literature are scarcely if ever used in language politics and linguistic minority studies, despite their relevance for the subject matter. For instance, in the historical institutionalist approach developed by Cardinal and Sonntag (2015) to analyze language regimes and state traditions, policy feedback conceptual tools are ignored. While the language regime scholarship is often centered around explaining the principles and the historical paths that led to their implementation in policy, less attention is paid to explaining the consequences of language policies. A cross-fertilization of the literatures thus seems promising. Scholars of language politics and language policy could, for instance, take

advantage of recent insights in the policy feedback literature such as the findings regarding factors provoking policy backlash (Hacker and Pierson 2019).

Conversely, a similar observation can be made that scholars of the policy feedback framework have shown little interest in language policies. There is a strong tradition in political economy where the framework has been mobilised on topics ranging from biofuel policy (e.g. Skogstad and Wilder 2019, Skogstad 2017) to industrial policy (Wilder 2019) to pension politics (Haüsermann 2010), social security (Campbell 2002) and social policy more broadly (Campbell 2003). As Campbell (2012) points out, it is now clear from years of research that policy has a strong impact on society or, as the author puts it, that “policy makes mass politics”. It seems unlikely that language policy and language politics are exceptions to the capacity of policies to reshape the political landscape through their material and ideational effects on political actors.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Franco-Ontarian Survey: Method and Sampling

Note méthodologique

Les données des deux ensembles de données ont été recueillies à l'aide d'un sondage électronique au cours de l'année 2017, grâce à la collaboration de plusieurs organisations et groupes Facebook s'identifiant à la communauté franco-ontarienne. Ces derniers ont permis au chercheur d'inviter leurs membres/abonnés/sympathisants en envoyant des courriels ou en publiant l'invitation directement sur les médias sociaux. Un hyperlien était fourni à chaque répondant(e) afin de s'assurer qu'il ou elle ait obtenu l'information nécessaire à un consentement libre et éclairé quant à sa participation au projet de recherche. Au total, 10 organisations et groupes Facebook, ainsi que 249 individus ont répondu au sondage en ligne. Chaque participant(e) avait une chance de remporter un prix de participation de 100$. Ce prix a été remis à un(e) participant(e) sélectionné(e) de façon aléatoire. Le chercheur tient à remercier tous ceux et celles qui ont accepté de se prêter à l'exercice et/ou lui ont permis de joindre et inviter les membres/abonnés/sympathisants d'une organisation.

Appendix B. Anglo-Quebecer Survey: Method and Sampling

Methodological Note

These survey data were collected during the year 2017. Individuals were contacted by the researcher and/or by an organization through the use of the organization's network (*e.g.* an email invitation was sent by the organization to their members/followers/sympathizers) or through a simple publication on a Facebook group affiliated with or identifying with Quebec's English-speaking community. A hyperlink was provided to each participant so as to ensure that they were fully informed of the study's configuration and implications. A total of 12 organizations and Facebook groups were involved in the study. A total of 305 respondents anonymously filled out an online survey questionnaire and were granted a chance to win a $100 cash prize in exchange for their participation. The cash prize was then awarded to one randomly selected participant. The researcher is very thankful to all who participated and/or allowed him to send an invitation to members/followers/sympathizers using an organization's network.