

**Shades of Identity: Exploring Cultural Identity Construction of Allophones and
Francophones in French-medium Schools Post Bill 101**

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Abstract

Shades of Identity: Exploring Cultural Identity Construction in French-medium

Schools Post Bill 101

Caroline Chwojka

When Bill 101 was implemented, the issues relating to language retention and acquisition became paramount in defining culture identity in Quebec. In education, Francophones and Allophones, now sharing French-medium schools, created a hub for inevitable cultural and linguistic interactions. This study explored the impact of these educational changes on the cultural identity construction and language acquisition of four Allophone and four Francophone young adults. This research was inspired by a need to explore my own cultural identity and its relation to Quebec. Eight participants discussed various issues relating to language, culture, identity, education and politics. According to this study, whether Allophones identified with Francophones depended on their social interaction in schools and on their socio-cultural background.

There were three main findings in this study. The first was that all the participants' cultural identity was, in fact, influenced by their schooling experience. However, this most significant impact was informal in nature, i.e. peer relations and school environment. The formal school system and curriculum did not seem to have affected their identity. Second, the schooling experience for Allophones and Francophones was somewhat similar. Attending a multiethnic school tended to create an open mind toward diversity while attending a homogenous school created closed mindedness.

Also both groups agreed that a strong multicultural presence in a school overshadowed the presence of the Quebecois culture. However, Francophone participants complained of poor English skills resulting from weak courses and a tense political atmosphere stemming from the newly implemented language laws. Third, most participants agreed with the goals of the current Reform, i.e. student-centered teachings and citizenship consciousness. However, they also expressed concerns regarding the necessity and suitability of implementing the Reform in Quebec's homogenous areas.

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Chapter I - Introduction

There are a variety of elements that reflect the changing status and relations between the different groups that make up Quebec society. Central to these is education, particularly in Montreal, due to the uniquely diverse character of its student and teaching population. The nature of education in Montreal provides a laboratory for exploring the manner in which not only educational policies but also Quebec society has evolved. Such inquiry also gives insight into the historical relations that Quebec has had and still has with the rest of Canada. An enduring discussion about Quebec's identity in larger Canada has revolved around the issues of language, and related closely to that, culture. More specifically, there has been a three hundred year struggle between the speakers of English (Anglophones) and the speakers of French (Francophones) in Canada, one that has been much more vigorous in the last fifty or so years.

For the purpose of this paper, the word *Francophone* will be used to describe the Quebecois French-speakers from French ancestry, *Anglophone*, to describe the Quebecois English-speakers from British ancestry, and *Allophone* to describe the Quebecois that are from neither of those ancestries, and whose first language is neither French nor English.

Divisions between the Francophones and Anglophones were historically drawn along socio-economic, educational, religious and geographical lines. Socio-economically, Anglophones, although a numerical minority, controlled much of the economic and political sectors. On an educational level, the system was divided along religious lines, i.e. French Catholic and English Protestant. For example in Montreal,

geographically, Francophones and Anglophones were strategically separated by St-Laurent Boulevard, the longest street dividing Montreal into an east and west side. While a majority of Anglophones lived west of St. Laurent, with little need for French in daily life, Francophones lived on its east side, exclusively in French.

Francophones considered Quebec a *nation*. The *patrie* was rooted in mostly rural areas sharing a culture distinct from the English one, with common ancestry to France. This culture was reinforced by the power of the Roman Catholic Church, a French Catholic school system and a very high birthrate. Thus, the French word *nation* has a broader and more personally meaningful connotation than does the English word *nation*. In sum, the concepts of *nation* and the *patrie* can be defined as the physical land to which the Quebecois contribute to and identify with. Since the Quiet Revolution, this land has been defined as a culturally and linguistically specific space, awaiting political freedom.

Several events provoked what has been called the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. The birth rate among Francophones began to fall, the control of the Church declined and in 1964 a more secular, bureaucratic government school system replaced the church dominated system. In relation to this, Francophones began to attain higher levels of education and the education system expanded to allow for post secondary education for all (Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel – CEGEP). Elsewhere in the world the rights of minorities (blacks in the USA and women) were being negotiated, at times violently, in the public space. Canada and Quebec in particular did not escape this social upheaval. In Canada we saw a number of federal and provincial measures to address and re-dress the position of the French language and culture specifically as

it affected Quebec. These measures will be elaborated on later. It is within this broadly defined context that this study seeks to explore the experience of a small group of young adults whose origins are neither French nor English. They are called Allophones, young adults who have been raised in Quebec and are in the majority the children of the European post World War II immigrant population. These adults attended French-medium schools (where the language of instruction is French) under the terms of perhaps the most significant piece of social legislation, Bill 101. Briefly, Bill 101 was passed in 1977 as part of the effort to reinforce the role of the French language in Quebec society. It also illuminated the fact that Francophones had increasingly acquired the status of a social and numerical majority, in charge of the society's government and other institutions. In education, Bill 101 established French as the official language of schooling in Quebec with the exception of a small minority of Anglophones who retained a historical right to English-medium education (where the language of instruction is English). This law meant that virtually all immigrant children would attend French-medium schools. For children who began school with no French speaking ability, special welcoming classes were established to provide intensive French instruction for a year or two before being integrated into regular classes (Genesee, 1987).

The focus of Quebec's public debate has been on both language culture. This may well be the case for the Francophone student however it may not be the case for the Allophone student whose cultural roots are not French. The immigrant to Quebec is faced with the unusual dilemma of choosing which language and culture into which to assimilate. While the intent of Bill 101 is to restrict that choice, this thesis examines whether or not that in fact occurs. The question remains: What happens to the cultural

identity of minority language children when schooled in French-medium schools in Quebec? This general inquiry prompts more specific questions involving the notions of cultural identity and language acquisition. When Allophones learn French in the French-medium school system do they acquire an identity as a Quebecois? Is it possible to be accepted by Francophones as a Quebecois if one's family does not have its roots in this *nation*? If language and culture are tied together for the Francophones, how are they linked for the ethnic, linguistic and racial minorities? Was Bill 101 strictly a way to keep French in Quebec or did it seek to covertly reproduce Quebecois people via the linguistic abilities of immigrants? These are the initial questions that prompted this study of the experience of a few young adults who have gone through the system just described.

This comparative study of 22-35 year old Allophone and Francophone adults gives us an idea of the impact of Bill 101 and its linguistic measures, on their cultural identity construction. Furthermore, it seeks to discover how these groups perceive their own linguistic abilities and language acquisition in relation to this law through questionnaires and group discussions. It is important to acknowledge that these two groups are now contributing to the fabric of Quebec society. One may not deny that these young adults will, in 10-15 years, form a large percentage of their age group living and working in Quebec. Thus, it is imperative to analyze the overall values that these young adults place on linguistic and political issues in Quebec as well on how these values might influence the cultural, linguistic, political, economic and social structure of the Quebecois society. Specifically, it is crucial that we study their past and present linguistic experiences as well as their identity construction because they

are indirectly but in some cases directly connected to the evolution of their society, i.e. Quebec and Canada.

Chapter two focuses on research in the areas of cultural identity and language. This chapter is broken down into three parts. The first section deals with Quebec's policies that directly relate to educational matters such as Bill 101, Interculturalism, and Cultural Development Policy for Quebec. The second part focuses on various language issues and theories in regards to education and to the value that they hold in our society. The third part examines the written work on cultural identity and how factors such as schooling, languages, interculturalism, and politics play an important part in developing one's identity. Chapter three explains the methodology of the study in two sections. The first part talks about the exploratory and qualitative nature of this research, and how appropriate theories were used to frame the discussion. The second part discusses the research design and the steps that I took to find my participants and collect my data. Chapter four discusses the manner in which the data were categorized and ordered. Then, the results from the group discussions were analyzed according to these categories. Chapter five, the conclusion, is divided into two parts. In the first part, based on the group discussion results, I answer the three main questions by offering the main findings. In the second part, I present implications for future research and other comments regarding the overall topic of this study.

Historical Background

In the early 1960s, a radical change came about in Quebec's political sphere. For the first time in sixteen years, Quebec's conservative reign of the Union Nationale was defeated by a new and modern Liberal Party. The Quiet Revolution was a catalyst to a

number of political moves in Quebec. Furthermore, the arrival of the Liberal Party in Quebec brought on a series of societal changes. First, Quebec decided to cut the state's umbilical cord from the clergy. Then, a series of intensive and substantial changes occurred in a few years: a reform in the educational system, the implementation of medical insurance, a large public service, the nationalisation of electricity and a general openness to the world (Leboeuf, 2000 in Bouchard 2002). Quebec's society was taking action and arming itself with the tools to enter the modern world.

The Liberal Party's intention was to give power back to the Quebecois majority, by involving the Quebecois in political, economic and social decision-making processes. Its slogan *Maîtres chez Nous* was a clear message that indicated Quebec's readiness and right to decide on its own. However, this slogan along with its meaning was interpreted in a number of ways and created disparities among its members. Once united to battle against the Duplessis regime, the members of the Liberal Party separated into different political parties. A new wave of nationalism was built on the sense of belonging to Quebec. In fact, these independence movements were based on the cultural Francophone ascendance among the Quebecois, who wanted to differentiate themselves from the other provinces that were colonized by the English (Bouchard, 2002). These actions scared the more conservative parties and created a crevice in the political parties: the sovereignists, who fought for Quebec as a unilingual province, and the federalists, who wanted Quebec bilingual and who fought in the 1966 election. At this point, the sovereignty movement, led by the Parti Québécois, picked up some speed with 10% of the vote (Leboeuf, 2000 in Bouchard 2002).

Bill 63

As Quebec's society gained political power, the French Canadians, now calling themselves Quebecois, were demanding linguistic rights. This is because the increasing arrival of immigrants along with the declining Quebecois birth rate created an apprehension and worry for the propagation of the French language. On November 20, 1969, Bill 63 was adopted under Jean-Jacques Bertrand. This law was instilled after the St-Leonard crisis, where nationalists demanded that Italians go to school in French. While being more *inviting* than *coercive* (http://archives.radio-canada.ca/IDD-0-17-1300/politique_economie/loi_101/Radio-Canada, 2005), this law gave parents permission to send their children to an English school as long as their children learned French. For most of the Quebecois citizens, this law was insufficient to preserve the language. In fact, the sovereignists demanded that French be the official language at work and in Quebec in general. Even if fiercely contested and quite rudimentary, this law was the backbone to Bill 101 (Radio-Canada, 2005).

Bill 22

Adopted July 20, 1974, this law officially proclaimed the French language as the official language of Quebec. Inspired by the demands of the Gendron Commission, it tried to create a middle ground between the rights of the Francophone majority and the immigrant minorities. While it created more francophone public domains such as public administration, business and education, it still held a substantial inclination for bilingualism in Quebec (Radio-Canada, 2005). General discontent brought the Bourassa government to a political defeat in 1976.

Bill 101

On November 15, 1976, the Parti Québécois led by René Lévesque won the election. The next day, Lévesque appointed Camille Laurin to be the Cultural Development minister. He gave him the most difficult mandate, the one on Quebec's official language (Radio-Canada, 2005). After many discussions and re-evaluations, Lévesque accepted the White Book. At the end of March 1977, Bill 101 was adopted. In general, this law dictates that the language used in all public and some private affairs such as justice, administration, commerce, and education must be French. In the educational sphere, Bill 101 abolished the right to choose the language of school attendance (Radio-Canada, 2005). It mandated that all Francophones and Allophones attend French-medium schools. For Anglophones, the rule dictates that one needs to prove that a close kin attended English school. Thus, from 1977 on, all immigrants' children were to be schooled in French along with the Francophones. From that moment, French became the most important pillar in the formation and retention of a Quebecois identity.

Chapter II – Literature Review

Quebec's unique history created a backdrop for the development of a vast and complex literature on topics such as politics, language and identity. In order to examine the interaction between politics, language and cultural identity construction, it is crucial to review the particular era in which political, societal and educational spheres were drastically transformed due to the implementation of Bill 101 in 1977. Quebec at the time was entering a new social atmosphere and this affected, directly and indirectly, the linguistic and cultural expression of the Quebecois people.

The implementation of Bill 101 altered the linguistic orientation of the educational system in Quebec, especially in regards to the Allophone and Francophone population. The effects continue to be felt to this day. On a general basis, this policy has created a language transfer with most of the Allophones and Francophones attending French-medium schools. Undoubtedly, this has affected their identity construction and the way in which these groups interact with their milieu. Sadly, only a handful of studies have analyzed the impact of Quebec's biggest political move on the overall social development of this important cohort. In fact, studies on education in Quebec focus on the integration of newly arrived immigrants' children through specialized educational programs from the MEQ (Gaudet & Lafortune, 1997; Ouellet 2002; McAndrew, Toussaint & Galatanu 1995). For example, welcoming classes have been conceived to prepare the newly arrived immigrants into the pluralist Quebecois society. While these studies and programs are of extreme importance, the consequences of these implementations have never been scrutinized. Tackling this subject is not only crucial for future program and curricular development, but also for evaluating the ways in which such a change has affected this population. On a more

global level, the interaction between the members of this cohort in relation to their identity, culture and ethnicity needs to be studied because it will have a significant impact on the future of the entire collective structure of this province.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first part deals with some of Quebec's linguistic and cultural policies, and their implications on the educational system. The second part tackles general language issues, such as its symbolism, and its relation to culture. It also demonstrates the importance of the French language as a cultural and societal broker in Quebec. The third part deals with cultural identity theories. It examines the literature that explains the way in which Francophones and Allophones construct their identity, whether civic or ethnic, in relation to Quebec's communal culture. It also examines the complex notion of cultural hybridity a type of cultural identification. The fourth part of the literature review presents some of the critical literature pertaining to the educational policies resulting from the implementation of Bill 101. This last part offers alternatives or additions to Quebec's interculturalist model, through the presentation of other areas of literature.

The passage of Bill 101 in 1977 created a distinct linguistic cohort: a whole generation of Allophones who have acquired French due to Bill 101, called *generation 101* (Gousse, 1998). This group of 400,000 is aged approximately between 25-35 (Gousse, 1998). These young adults, having attended French-medium schools and speaking another language at home, are predominantly trilingual. However, Gousse argues that this cohort is under-represented in Quebec's political, social and economic arenas. He contends that "leurs réalités sociales, culturelles, linguistiques, scolaires et autres sont bien différentes de celles de leurs parents" (Gousse, 1998, para

2). Thus, in order to gain more political power and properly represent the diversity of the Quebecois, and in order to stay true to the intercultural ideology, politicians may need to acknowledge this important cohort in their future political plans. This can only start when their needs, comments, and experiences are fully assessed and given meaning.

Bill 101 and Educational Linguistic Policies

Until the advent of Bill 101, religion dictated where immigrants' children attended schools. For example, Catholic schools (led by Francophones) welcomed only students from Catholic faith while Protestant schools (led by Anglophones) welcomed students from all other faiths. This means that many Allophones attended English-medium schools and thus may have developed a stronger affiliation and identification with Quebec's Anglophone community. This produced significant number of English-speaking immigrants which exacerbated the fact that the birth rate amongst the French-speaking population was plummeting very quickly. These were amongst the factors that promoted the Quebecois government to pass Bill 101 (Genesee, 1987; Cleghorn, 1981).

Cultural Development Policy for Quebec

Generally, when a society lives through demographic changes, adjustments need to be made on all societal levels. In the 1960s, the Quebec government took into account the new composition of the Quebecois society which was now becoming more culturally diverse. Therefore, it proposed the Cultural Development Policy for Quebec (CDPQ) (Ministère d'État au Développement Culturel, 1978), a policy that would create an atmosphere of cultural exchange and respect. This policy maintains

that people, not the state, are responsible for creating their own culture. It propounds that “culture designates certain ways of speaking, thinking, living, and as a corollary, languages, beliefs, and institutions common to a given group of people, small or large” (p. 11). The CDPQ argues that the government should have little to do with the substantive construction of Quebec’s culture and identity. It feels that the role of the government should be to support and not to dictate people’s culture and identity.

The policy exposes and explores the cultural dilemma that Quebec has been facing for decades. It poses an existential question about Quebecois culture. The CDPQ (1978) asks, “is there such a thing as a Quebec culture? If so, can it be characterized? The very fact that these questions must be asked illustrates, in the clearest possible fashion, the precarious bases on which Quebec’s cultural development rests” (p. 41). The issue of culture is directly related to Quebec’s diverse population because it means that individual and collective identity is constructed from these various cultures. A query that the CDPQ propounds is whether these differences should be cherished or assimilated. The policy states that if a community’s culture is not acknowledged or “if the state condemns its culture, substitution such as propaganda and imposed ideologies will appear” (p. 42). Thus, it is understood from this quote that Quebec’s policy will not impose a certain culture on the members of its society. However, is it clear that through new legislation, a state does have the power to change the nature of relations between members of different groups within a society?

Bill 101 has had far reaching effects on the cultural and linguistic make up of Quebec society. The CDPQ stresses that, “a language is not simply syntax or a string of words. It is an expression of the more meaningful aspects of community life”

(Ministère d'État au Développement Culturel, 1978, p. 42). Thus, language *is* part of a cultural expression. In fact, the policy affirms that “a language cannot survive in a foreign cultural milieu; French has held its own in Quebec because it expresses the way of life of the community in which it tenaciously remains” (p.43). In other words, Quebec focuses on the French language as the core element in defining Quebec’s way of life, and general societal identity. In sum, if we advance this theory further, learning French might lead to acquiring a certain Quebecois identity.

In addition, by refusing to adopt the federal policy of Multiculturalism, and by implementing its own cultural policy of Interculturalism, Quebec’s government created a series of events. The next part describes the differences between Multiculturalism and Interculturalism and the reasons the former was not accepted within the Quebecois cultural and educational framework.

Federal Multiculturalism vs. P.Q. Provincial Interculturalism

The demographic diversity of Canada could not be ignored as the cultural communities demanded political, cultural and linguistic recognition. Multiculturalism became a federal policy after the Official Languages Act, which proclaimed official bilingualism. According to McAndrew (1991), the Multiculturalism Act passed in 1988 was “a response to the major goals of political socialization in the turmoils that characterized Canadian society in the 1970s” (p. 133). Multiculturalism’s aim is “to foster national unity by giving ethnic groups a sense of belonging to Canada, which is defined as a multicultural, tolerant and egalitarian society” (p.133).

Kymlicka (1998) argues that in Quebec “immigrants are not only granted citizenship, under relatively easy terms, but are encouraged by Quebec’s own ‘interculturalism’ policy to interact with the members of other ethnic groups, to share their cultural heritage, and to participate in common public institutions” (p. 75). Further, he calls Quebec’s Intercultural policy “a sort of hybridic multiculturalism”, with the difference being in the nature of the integration and welcoming process. Clearly, this process takes place in French, the common medium, and hopes to lead to a completed process of integration (CDPQ, 1978). According to him, Quebec is adopting a “postethnic multiculturalism” where “Quebec nationalists are actively seeking people of other races, cultures, and faiths to join them, integrate with them, intermarry with them, and jointly help them build a modern, pluralist, distinct (French-speaking) society in Quebec” (p. 76).

Educationally, according to the policy of Multiculturalism,

Educational systems are required to use cross-cultural teaching and learning to facilitate intercultural understanding and collaborative interdependence. Moreover, multiculturalism brings useful insights from ethnicity and culture, tradition and change and different histories and heritages. (Dhand, 2001, Section II, para. 2)

While Multiculturalism focuses on what each cultural community brings to the Canadian society and encourages the respect of that diversity, Quebec’s intercultural on pedagogy focuses on “la nécessité de tenir compte de la culture des autres, d’apprendre à se connaître et à communiquer, ce qui vaut autant pour les membres de la culture majoritaire que pour ceux qui appartiennent à des cultures minoritaires” (Gaudet & Lafortune, 1997, p. 6).

Applying intercultural policy to education, the Quebec government desires to convey a precise set of rules and values common to all Quebecers. The MEQ publication, *A School for the Future: Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education*, clearly states its intentions, “although students in the education system come from different languages and hold various religious beliefs, they must master the elements of a common framework of learning and a common set of values” (MEQ, p. 5, 1998). In other words, the government seeks to create a universal set of beliefs that will be common to all children and that will instill citizenship awareness and a sense of respect for cultural differences. In sum, the MEQ attempts to adapt to the needs of the cultural communities by offering them the required services and training. In turn, this facilitates the French language and culture acquisition. It therefore permits part of the Quebec culture, along with its precise set of values, to thrive within these cultural communities. This reveals the difficulty in distinguishing between the two policies. However, one might argue that it is a matter of emphasis. Whereas Quebec’s intercultural policy focuses on the preservation of Quebecois culture first, in concurrence with the minority cultures, Canada’s multicultural policy seems to put emphasis on the promotion of immigrant cultures, delegating a distinct Canadian identity to the background.

Heritage Languages

Along with the Multiculturalism Act, the Heritage Languages Programs (HLP) were created. These federally funded programs aimed at rendering ethnic minorities comfortable in Canada by offering them the possibility of preserving their ethnic language. This way, the process of acculturation and integration into the French and English educational systems would be facilitated.

The research has shown that Heritage Languages (HL) training tends to facilitate rather than hinder the acquisition of literacy and communicative fluency in the dominant languages, to enhance the children's cognitive development and academic performance, and to promote a favourable outlook on one's ethnocultural background and on the cultural differences of others. (Danesi, McLoad & Morris, 1993, Introduction).

Even if this seemingly integrative program has given good academic results among Canadian students, Quebec denounced the multicultural basis of these programs. In fact, "le gouvernement du Québec a alors surestimé la capacité de la majorité francophone à s'adapter à la nouvelle réalité multiethnique car celle-ci n'a jamais réellement accepté les principes du multiculturalisme" (Azzam, p. 113, 1995). This means that the HLP ended up working against what Quebec was trying to develop, creating instead a nation with many cultures but without an intercultural bond. In other words, such programs separated ethnic groups from each other and from the French culture. For example, while schools offered after-school programs and lunch-time language learning programs, these foreign languages and cultures were not part of the school system. McAndrew (2003) calls this *additive multiculturalism*. In sum, these language programs "leave unchallenged the general functioning of schooling, notably its ethos, values and informal practices" (p. 60). The MEQ finally realized that these programs were outdated. Thus, the MEQ began re-organizing and restructuring its entire curriculum.

This culminated in the New Reform (1997-1998), a newly conceived Quebec school curriculum, which has been fully implemented in the primary school system and is now being administered in the secondary schools. Its student-centered approach and focus of a competencies-based grading system has been both applauded and criticized by educators and the public. While the New Reform offers interesting insights into the

present educational system, it remains a work in progress and of marginal importance to this thesis.

Language: Theories and Realities

Culture, identity and language are difficult to analyze as individual concepts. In the post-modern and post-structuralist era, there are many scholars who have philosophized about these three notions and linked them to one another. In fact, these concepts are often involved in the social, political and educational sphere of the society and thus are entrenched in its *symbolic power* (Bourdieu, 1977 cited in Norton, 2000). Furthermore, Norton (2000), whose research on identity and language learning is based on traditional educational theory, argues that theorists such as Freire (1970, 1985 cited in Norton, 2000) and Giroux (1988, 1992 cited in Norton, 2000) have “debated that language teaching is not a neutral practice but a highly political one” (p. 7). Thus, if language is a political matter then it automatically becomes a symbol of power. Similarly to Foucault (1980 cited in Norton, 2000), Norton argues that language brings in a “relation that is constantly being negotiated as symbolic and material resources in a society change their value” (p. 7). This type of negotiation is noticeable in Quebec, where language has been central to political and social upheavals. When the political atmosphere is tense, linguistic issues become more sensitive and the symbolic power of the language, more meaningful. Thus, when the society experiences this linguistic importance, then it is clear that the meaning of language will have a direct impact on the definition and construction of the self.

Using West’s (1992) theories, Norton (2000) claims that “the formation of identity is directly related to the access of resources and thus of power” (p. 8). If we take this

theory and apply it to language, we can argue that those who have more access to language, as a resource, have more power. The question “Who am I?” which is closely related to “What am I allowed to do?” (p. 8) becomes a primordial issue in identity formation especially in reference to a particular place and time. Thus, “a person’s identity will shift in accordance with changing social and economic relations” (p.7). This means that identity will change depending on the *access* that one has to language and its surrounding components. Once again, this can be used in Quebec’s instance where people’s interest towards their language changes depending on the political, social and economic climate. However, if the symbolic power, which is language, is acquired and not innate, then the power relations between the individuals of that society are always negotiated. “Speech always owes part of its values to the values of the person that utters it” (Bourdieu, 1977 in Norton, 2000). Thus, the speech cannot be separated from the person who utters the words. In the same line of thought but on another level, the person cannot be separated from the social environment that he/she belongs to (Norton, 2000). This means that language is related to the person that utters it and to his/her environment. And this will undoubtedly affect his/her place in society and the creation of his/her identity.

Language, being at the core of symbolic power in a society, plays an immense role as a forum of various societal discussions. Weedon argues that “language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organizations and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested” (Weedon, 1997 cited in Norton, 2000, p. 21). In Quebec the language of politics and negotiation is French. Does the fact that many Montrealers are also English speakers affect the power that they have in the public space debates? Does one’s linguistic competences and hence overall

identity, compromise the quality of one's utterances? In other words, do Allophones have as much power as Francophones in the public space? Do their *words* have as much value as the ones of Francophones? I am asking these questions because I am curious to find out whether the government has taken into account the presence of an important Allophone population when developing social, political and educational policies. This brings us to the next topic which examines the values of languages in the context of culture, education and politics.

Symbolic and Communicative Values of Language

"It must [...] be recognized that language, inextricably bound with identity, culture, and heritage, embodies the deepest personal values of individuals" (Ashworth, 1988 cited in Majhanovich, 1995, p. 85). This quote suggests that a language is one of the crucial markers in the definition of one's cultural identity. It is important to note that this statement implicitly suggests the monolingual nature of a country and/or an individual. In a culturally pluralistic region such as Quebec, and where many of its citizens are bilingual and multilingual, the relation between culture and language becomes more complex.

According to Edwards (1993) there are two values in a language: the symbolic and the communicative. The symbolic one is associated with groupness, traditions and culture, while the communicative one is defined as the language used for daily conversational purposes. If the intention is to pass on the wholeness of a culture, one may argue that the two values of language need to be present. From an educational perspective, this holistic character of language can only be retained if the teacher has

the same language and culture as the children. In this case, both the language and the culture will be reinforced (Byram and Leman, 1990).

It is possible that for most Allophones in Quebec, there is a disconnection between the communicative and symbolic value of language. In this sense, as French becomes the main tool of daily communication, use of the first language becomes increasingly restricted to the home setting with the result that, the integrity of the home culture may be diluted. What remains is the symbolic value of the home language, which might create a complex identity. Clearly, when the language use patterns within a society as a whole and within individual groups being to shift, then it is reasonable to expect identity, at the level of individual, to shift as well.

French in Quebec: A sensitive matter

The issue of language is more sensitive in Quebec than in many parts of the world. French does not only define linguistic choices of Quebec, but also represents a crucial factor in the identification with the province's culture and heritage. As previously mentioned, linguistic issues in Quebec surface when the political atmosphere becomes tense. "Each time the provincial government pushes for a referendum on separating from the rest of Canada, they turn up the heat on the language debate by pointing to the lamentable state of French" (Salvatore, 2001, Sec. II, para.2).

According to Salvatore (1995), the French language all over Quebec and even in Montreal is still very healthy. Since the implementation of Bill 101, the French language among immigrant minorities appears to be thriving. Furthermore, he found that there was a large number of ethnic minorities who were dropping their mother

tongue and adopting French rather than English as their lingua franca. About 95% of Quebec residents use French on a daily basis. Therefore, Salvatore questions why 55% of Francophones think that French is in danger throughout the province (Salvatore, 2001). It may be that the misconception was handed down from the generation that lived through political debates in the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, with the ever visible increase of ethnic minorities in Quebec, the makeup of Quebec's francophone society is transforming. However, as the status of French in Quebec may still be strongly linked to the sense of the stereotypical Francophone Quebecois identity, one may argue that the line between the impression of losing French in the province and losing the *homogeneity* of the Quebecois identity is a fine one.

Schools unquestionably form children's cultural identity. Since Bill 101, nearly all Allophone children have attended French-medium schools. In fact, according to the MEQ, more than 90% of Quebec's newly arrived students attended such schools (Salvatore, 2001). This means that Bill 101 has changed the way that Allophones communicate in school. And even though it has no control over their linguistic practices outside of school, the children seem to continue speaking and playing in French with each other (Salvatore, 2001). The next section analyzes language acquisition for an Allophone in relation to his/her construction of a Quebecois cultural identity.

Language Acquisition and Quebecois Identity

According to Byram and Leman (1990), "the acquisition of a culture involves the acquisition of a language and vice versa" (p. 127). Looking at the case of the Allophones in Quebec, one may argue that this statement is not always valid. Using

once again Edwards' language values, one may question the transmission of the Quebecois culture in light of Bill 101 and the Intercultural Policy. Because the aim of the intercultural education is to exchange ideas within the Quebecois culture using the French language, one may argue that the Ministry of Quebec's intention is to pass on some elements of the Quebecois culture to Allophones. However, for the first generations of Bill 101 and Interculturalism Policy, schools have been transmitting the Quebecois culture through only basic courses, such as Quebec history and geography. With the New Reform, courses such as Citizenship Consciousness, Quebecois Literature and Art, and World History have been implemented in order not only to ensure proper integration of immigrants into the Quebecois society but also to prepare all students for a multicultural society (McAndrew, Toussaint & Galatanu, 1995). Thus, until the implementation of the Reform, one may argue that French has been used for mainly communicative purposes, which raises the next point.

Knowing that most Allophones have *symbolic* ties to their communities, were Quebec's educational processes sufficient to offer a similar symbolic value of the French language? In other words, for the *generation 101*, was teaching in French a sufficient tool in transmitting the deeper elements of a culture, such as art, music, ideologies and way of life in general? Before the Reform, were Quebec's educational institutions offering appropriate possibilities in exploring Quebec's culture and not just its language? In fact the MEQ has recognized that there has been a lack in the representation of the Quebecois and other cultures in the programme. Now that the New Reform offers a more well-rounded and holistic curriculum, it would be necessary to explore, in a future study, its effects on today's generations.

Language: Impact on Quebec's Collective Cultural Identity

John Edwards (1993) argues that language is an important component of group identity and “is a visible feature, and can provide a rallying-point for nationalistic and ethnic movements” (p. 124). In fact, it can be contended that such active movements along with policy implementations have been the source of Quebec’s collective identity redefinition over the past forty years. For example, after Bill 101’s educational policies, ethnic minorities were populating Quebecois schools, causing, what Edwards (1993) and Ouellet and Pagé (1991) call a *language shift*. Using the above statements, one can conclude that many Francophone and Allophone students have gained additional language skills and cultural knowledge throughout their relationship with one another.

According to McAndrew (2003), we are presently living a phenomenon of *multiple identities*. She argues that this phenomenon is as omnipresent in minority cultures as in majority ones. Thus, the Quebecois culture and its people are not as homogeneous as they used to be. They have been influenced by foreign languages and cultures, creating the presence of heterogeneous identities. The concept of cultural hybridity will be explained in more detail further on in this thesis. While Quebec society presently encompasses people from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and has created new identities through cultural hybrids and multiple identities, some of its leaders have unfortunately not recognized Quebec’s new face. An example of this occurred in 1995. In an intense moment, after receiving the final referendum results, Jacques Parizeau expressed an opinion in regards to Quebec’s multiethnic feature. He stated, “it’s true we have been defeated, but basically by what? By money and the ethnic vote” (<http://www.geocities.com/capitolhill/lobby/4652/parizeau.html>).

Trilingualism

The interconnection between language and culture becomes more complex when a third language/culture is introduced as in the case of Quebec's *generation 101*.

Because multilingualism is a fairly recent phenomenon, there are only a few studies conceived on trilingualism. Barron-Hauwaert (2003) contends that trilingualism has in fact become a topic of interest in many disciplines such as neurology, linguistics and education. Also, she argues that in some fields, trilingualism is still being considered as a *type* of bilingualism. However, this author claims that "trilingualism is unusual because the languages (or cultures) cannot be 'balanced' or equal, as in bilingualism. One (or two) languages are always at risk of becoming underused or 'passive'" (p. 131). In this sense, Byram and Leman's (1990) notion relating acquisition of culture to language and vice versa might not be valid in a pluralist society where multilingualism is omnipresent.

In reference to education, since the passing of Bill 101, there has been an increase of trilingualism in the Quebec population (Salvatore, 2001). Specifically, this increase has been more prevalent among the Allophone communities. This is because attending French schools, grasping the English language from the media and their surroundings, and the ever-presence of a third language at home has created a perfect environment for multilingualism. On the other hand, the possibilities for Francophone students' to learn English formally were decreasing. In fact, according to Salvatore (2001), "only about 38 percent of the French Quebecois are bilingual" (Section III, para.2). In sum, there is a lack of studies focusing on trilingualism, especially in Quebec schools and in the realm of intercultural education.

Culture and Cultural Identity

During colonialism, the inevitable encounter of other cultures created an opportunity for their exploration. In disciplines such as Anthropology and Sociology, the notion of the *other* is explained by the recognition and acknowledgment of cultures other than one's own. While studying the other, Anthropologists were presented with the opportunity to extensively analyse the culture of the other and by default, their own. This mirror effect, looking into someone's life, created introspection and self-exploration among theorists in that era (Abdallah-Preteuille & Porcher, 2001). When one defined the other, it became easier to define one self. When applied to the contemporary world, one may argue that, "l'altérité définit la condition de la minorité au sein de la société majoritaire et permet en retour l'identification de cette dernière" (Guillaumin, 1972 cited in Abdallah-Preteuille & Porcher, 2001, p. 193). In other words, the definition of the majority/minority depends on the presence and self-definition of the minority/majority culture within a region or a country.

Culture of the Culture

There are two definitions of culture that are appropriate for the analysis of this study's data. Culture is sometimes defined as a dynamic concept that is in constant evolution and change. Shiose (1995) calls this type of description *la culture de la culture*. The proponents of this concept, such as Weber and Barth, study the processes of production, reproduction and evolution of cultural identity. For Weber, "l'intérêt réside non dans ce qui constitue l'identité culturelle *en soi*, mais bien dans le processus de la formation des groupes 'culturels' et cela surtout dans la relation de pouvoir entre les acteurs sociaux" (as cited in Shiose, 1995, p. 14). This means that cultural identity is shaped by the interaction of the actors and their relations of power.

Consequently, it is active and in constant redefinition. In fact, critical theorists such as Trifonas (2003), Spivey (cited in James 1999), Kondo (cited in James 1999), May (1999), and Ghosh (1996) argue that “culture cannot be conceptualized in terms of unified systems of meanings, but rather as conflicting, contradictory, ambiguous, dynamic, and full of contending discourses, all of which are mediated by power” (James, 1999, p.21). Thus, similarly to language, it is in a constant atmosphere of power struggle, arbitration and negotiation, that cultural identities are constructed, transformed and mediated.

In terms of education, because power relations are constantly redefined, “unequal power relations [may] have an impact on the construction of students’ identities” (McLaren, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977 paraphrased in Ghosh, 1996). Thus, it is important to understand that until power relations in the pedagogical realm are managed properly, the construction of children’s cultural identities will be problematic and fragmented (Spivey, 1998, cited in James, 1999).

This definition, *la culture de la culture* (Shiose, 1995), is useful when analyzing the construction of the cultural identity in the educational but also political, social and economic spheres. More specifically, it is directly linked to the examination of my participants’ discussions in the sense that their cultural identity was formed in a specific time in Quebec, i.e. after the Quiet Revolution and during the implementation of Bill 101. Thus, this definition represents an ever changing character of cultural identity where it is shaped and formed in relation to dominant institutions, languages, people and cultures. Other concepts linked to the constantly evolving feature of

identity formation, such as cultural hybridity and multiple identities will be explained shortly.

Nature of Culture

Shiose (1995) coins the other definition of culture as *la nature de la culture*. This particular concept of culture and cultural identity “*en soi*”, a static, rigid, innate and monolithic definition where attributes, such as race, ethnicity, and biological traits, are pre-constructed. “Harold Isaacs est longuement cité, parce qu’il typifie bien la perspective naturaliste et que son style d’argumentation qui fait constamment appel à l’instinct plutôt qu’à la raison” (p. 9-10). This notion of culture was also used by anthropologists such as Boas, Mead, Benedict and Malinowski. Shiose summarizes the nature of culture by claiming that this definition facilitates the application of *difference* in the *different* populations (p. 12).

Classification

The concept of classification is, according to Bourdieu, a natural process in human beings. Most human beings learn to classify components that they have acquired in their own *habitus*. *Habitus*, a term coined by Bourdieu, is defined by Abdallah-Pretceille and Porcher (2001) as,

[*Habitus*] est, à son origine, hérité des “inculcations” familiales, c’est-à-dire de cette éducation informelle par laquelle notre entourage nous forme dès notre naissance, nous confère des habitudes, nous lègue des goûts et des attitudes, nous transmet des comportements et surtout, des manières de classer et de hiérarchiser. (p. 38)

This includes the uncontrollable dimensions such as sex, family history and age, as well as the personal history which makes every person unique.

In reference to education, Abdallah-Preteuille and Porcher (2001) bring up the notion of classification in intercultural education. They conclude that if children can acquire one means of classification, which is defined by their first language and culture, they can certainly acquire another means of classifying. Thus, in a classroom where interculturalism is applied, children will learn how to classify the cultures of other children. According to these authors, this is called *cultural competence*.

La compétence culturelle étrangère consiste, dans ces conditions, à connaître les modes de classement de l'autre, à les comprendre, tout en conservant les miens propres, mais cette fois en sachant clairement qu'ils sont les miens seulement (et non pas absolument valides) et que d'autres cohérents existent. (Abdallah-Preteuille & Porcher, 2001, p. 37)

In order to learn about various cultural modes of classification, one may need to freeze in time the studied culture and create a map with the various beliefs and traditions. Thus, for the purpose of the multicultural classroom, using the concept of nature of culture (Shiose, 1995) can be more appropriate than the dynamic model of culture.

The Educational Debate in the Cultural Realm

One of the main debates in the area of education is related to the role of the school in society.

L'école doit-elle se contenter de l'objectif de reproduire la culture, d' "adapter" (pour reprendre un terme jugé odieux) un enfant à tout ce qui fait que l'on est un jeune Américain ou un enfant Japonais? [...] L'école doit-elle au contraire, prenant compte les bouleversements que nous connaissons de nos jours, se donner pour mission l'objectif tout aussi périlleux et idéaliste de préparer les élèves à affronter le monde changeant dans lequel ils sont appelés à évoluer? (Bruner, 1996, p. 5)

In other words, should school passively reproduce the reality of the world by concealing its sexism, racism and other types of cultural discriminations, or should it be an active partaker in creating a forum where students can use critical thinking and

analyze the world with all its defects, in order to make it a *better place*? Teaching the children the *status quo* might render them blind to the fact that there are cultural differences and more often than not, two significant groups in the society: the majority and the minority.

According to Bourgeault and Pietrantonio (1996), the existence of these two groups is related to a covert and implicit relation to power. This established power rapport is understood in the *common symbolic universe* (in French in the original text, p. 248). And because teaching and learning experiences take place in a symbolic order, as language does, it is important to bring these rapports out in the light. If not, these unequal social relations may be confirmed in the schooling experiences.

Les savoirs particuliers du majoritaire sont alors enseignés et le plus souvent appris comme savoirs objectifs et, pourtant, décontextualisés et tirés hors de leur particularité, comme savoirs universels. (p. 248)

This is the reason, according to them, that many educational systems with a high percentage of cultural minorities have adopted or should adopt an interculturalist or multiculturalist approach to teaching, where all cultures and cultural identities are treated equally. Generally, one of the goals of intercultural education would be to go against the status quo and adequately represent the variety of cultures in the classroom and school using concepts such as citizen consciousness, critical thinking and respect of difference, as presented in the New Quebec Reform.

Difference

The concept of *difference* has been studied by many scholars such as Derrida (1978), Giroux (1994), Trifonas (2003) and Boler and Zembylas (2003). Boler and Zembylas

blame the *we are all the same* attitude to this liberal individualism, which “denies the ways in which power shapes and seeks to erase difference” (p. 120). In other words, this type of attitude does not deal with the differences around us, but blends them into the dominant culture. The problem with this approach is that it denies the ethnicity and the cultural identity of individuals, which may be the main *catalyst of disuniting* (May, 1999). On an educational level, it is important for schools to acknowledge power structures by facing the ever-presence of difference in society.

Ethnic and Civic Nationalism and Identity

According to Rudolf Kalin (1995), there are two types of nationalisms: ethnic and civic nationalism. First, “ethnic nationalism (also called cultural or primary) is founded on cultural unity” (Kalin, 1995, Section II, para. 3). Furthermore, “the inclusion in a community is based on ethnic factors, such as common ancestry, language, religion and cultural ethnic distinctiveness” (Section II, para 3). Second, “civic nationalism (also called political, territorial or secondary) is based on pragmatic and utilitarian factors as forming the basis of the collectivity” (Section II, para. 3).

One may safely claim that most Francophones people have a sense of *ethnic nationalism*. Most are born with an emotional attachment to this land because of their ties to their French ancestry. Such emotion and nationalism are difficult to replicate in an immigrant or an Allophone. Thus, the MEQ government’s goal is partly to instill a sense of *civic nationalism* in students through policies, and with lengthy educational program developments. According to the MEQ’s *Plan of Action* (1998),

The Ministère de l’Éducation will ensure that the following objectives are incorporated into the new general and vocational education programs: the promotion, among immigrant students or students born of immigrant parents, of a stronger sense of belonging to Quebec society; a recognition of

a Francophone character of Quebec society; adherence to shared civic values, and consideration of ethnocultural pluralism. (p. 8)

Cultural Hybridity

Similarly to McAndrew's notion of multiple identities (2003), May (1999) uses the post-modernist notion of *cultural hybridity* to explain the ever-changing nature of cultures, and hence of identities. In fact, one may argue that Quebec is a hub of intercultural exchanges where, "ethnicity and culture are recognized as being continually negotiated and recreated" (p. 21). With Quebec's population being so multicultural, differentiating oneself as a Quebecois *pure laine*¹ or a *pure* Italian, for example, is an over-simplification. Quebec's acceptance of other cultures should render it to adopt the notion of a *new plurality* instead of an *old singularity* (Gilroy, 1993, cited in May, 1999, p. 21). Gilroy thinks that general categorization according to pure race is outdated and that *ethnic absolutism* is over-simplistic due to social cross-pollination in a globalized world.

Critiques of Quebec's Policies

Gaudet and Lafortune (1997), Fernand Ouellet (2002), McAndrew (1991, 2001), and McAndrew, Toussaint, and Galatanu (1995) have written *manual type* books proposing specific teaching strategies on intercultural education. They catalogue guidelines, examples, activities, sketches, tests and elaborations of thinking patterns that would help teachers, educators and school commissions integrate minority language students. Specifically, these authors deal with various issues such as lack of adaptation, conflicts and partnerships within different contexts. Generally, they discuss the obstacles and problems particularly relating to the integration of ethnic

¹ In English, the literal translation would be *pure wool*. This colloquial word used by the Quebecois themselves and others, refers to the Quebecois that have French ancestry from the colonial period. Use interchangeably with *de souche*, which means from the roots.

minorities in the Quebecois educational system. However, they did not consider the positive aspects of a pluralist society. More specifically, it does not examine the effects of intercultural affects on either Allophone or Francophone Quebecois students with regards to cultural identity construction. In addition, the dynamic between these two groups of students was not analyzed.

Fernand Ouellet and Michel Pagé (1991) offer another look on *pluriethnicity*. They implicitly claim that Bill 101 was an insufficient formula for the maintenance of Quebecois culture. Thus, they offer another approach called *convergence culturelle*, through which the French language becomes “un foyer de convergence pour les diverses communautés qui peuvent par ailleurs maintenir et développer leur spécificité” (Ouellet et Pagé, 1991, p. 66). Even though they acknowledge that Quebec’s multiethnic character is the basic element in defining this society, they nevertheless claim that a perfect pluralism will happen only when Quebec’s identity is unequivocally defined. Until then, the immigrant population may destabilize the clear definition of a national Quebec. Thus, Ouellet and Pagé (1991) suggest that Quebec define itself as a welcoming country. The definition of Quebec as a *host* country will undoubtedly need to incorporate elements of *immigrant* cultures because it is now composed of these various cultural and linguistic elements.

In his earliest work, Ouellet’s (2002) book *Les défis du pluralisme en éducation* analyses Pagé’s criticisms to lay down the ground work of what interculturalism should be and what is missing from the current wave of intercultural education. While it does not offer a new definition for Quebec, it does offer new and interesting theories in *dealing* with Quebec’s pluralism.

It is common understanding that the knowledge of other cultures would help in creating a more culture-friendly environment in the school. Pagé (1992 in Ouellet, 2002) argues that there is a problem with this idea and that it is a *courant isolationniste*. In other words, isolating other cultures into a separate shell so that students can learn more about them creates negative consequences. Pagé enumerates three *effets pervers* that such a mentality might cause in society in general: 1. closing off individuals in a fixed cultural identity, which hinders the development of their own identity; 2. increase of boundaries between various groups and rejection of others (Steele, 1990; Pagé, 1992 in Ouellet, 2002); 3. the emphasis on the difficulties for immigrants and minority groups in terms of equality in society (Steele, 1990; Simard, 1991 in Ouellet, 2002). More specifically, this will have (or already has) effects in the school milieu. These are: 1. stigmatization and marginalization of minority students, which are assigned to a devalued identity; 2. reification and folklorization of cultures that become still and non-realistic and who adhere to an instruction manual type of cultures; 3. breaking down of the school programs (Ouellet 2002, p. 14 translated by C. Chwojka).

Pagé (1992 in Ouellet, 2002) offers three alternatives to the current intercultural programs: 1. rapport between individuals is more important than openness to cultures; there must be mutual respect; 2. there are large character variations between members of one culture, thus culture should not dominate over personality (p. 14). Pagé offers a more student-centered pedagogical framework where the character and personality of the student has priority over his/her cultural background.

In the next part of this review, I will discuss certain alternatives or additions to Quebec's interculturalist model presented in other areas of the literature. Additional options are proposed by the research participants. This data will be presented and analyzed in the next chapter.

Alternative Actions

Quebec's intercultural educational system along with the New Reform might appear very well planned and coherently organized. Unfortunately, theory is not always put into practice. In fact, Marie McAndrew (2003) propounds that even if the goal of Quebec's *Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education* is to adhere to the needs of a pluriethnic society, there are still drawbacks. According to this author the situation is complex. She mentions that there have been studies that have "noted a gap of some significance between official policies and programs and their local interpretation and implementation, especially regarding the intercultural dimension" (McAndrew, 2003, p. 60). Moreover, this writer argues that the goals relating to intercultural education in various programs are not perceived as a priority and thus are not always covered by educators, especially outside of Montreal.

What exactly is the problem: Do the intercultural educational system and policies create appropriate, functional, and culturally relativistic educational programs which are simply not followed appropriately by school commissions, administration and teachers, or is the concept of intercultural education generally not suitable for our culturally diverse Quebecois society?

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is an approach based on a social awareness theory used in certain schools where students are invited to share their experiences and to fully participate in the classroom and in school life. Concerning the notions of the *status quo* as mentioned on page 28, critical pedagogy seeks to challenge this *status quo* by “exposing inequities and inconsistencies between the stated intentions and realized commitments of existing social institutions such as schools” (McMahon, 2003, p. 3). In fact, critical theory argues that most social institutions are set by the majority population which often reproduce social imbalance. Specifically, educational establishments reproduce these inequities in their curriculum, programs and overall educational systems. “The ethical challenge, according to critical pedagogists, is to make education more responsive to the human and social rights of all” (Starratt, 1994 cited in McMahon, 2003). In sum, this theory seeks to criticize the present state of society by awakening teachers and students. Their involvement and participation is crucial to the development and the change of a more fair and equal society.

Anti-Racist Pedagogy

Quebec’s *Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education* dictates that all Quebecois have to share their common democratic values, civil rights and freedom through the French language (MEQ, 1998). This *curriculum of sameness* (Johnston & Carson, 2000) seeks to produce people who appear to be different on the outside, “stomp, chomp and dress up” (McMahon, 2003, p. 257), but in fact are all categorized under the same umbrella of being *different* and thus, the *same*.

In education, this type of approach alienates those who are different by putting them in a melting pot called *different*. In the anti-racist pedagogical approach the importance of acknowledging all forms of identities, histories and ways of life is crucial (Wotherspoon, 2004; Schick & St Denis, 2003; Zina, 2002; Ouellet, 2002, Moodley, 2000). Anti-racist pedagogy facilitates individual development rather than one common collective identity. In understanding one's own identity, learners respect and recognize other forms of knowledge. Ideally, an anti-racist pedagogy creates an environment where each student becomes critically aware of his/her biases by learning his/her historical and cultural background. In turn, it will create a more active, critical and participatory classroom.

Chapter III – Research Methodology

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part reviews several of theories that underlie exploratory qualitative research. I briefly touch on phenomenology, symbolic interaction theory and research as self reflection in order to locate my methodological stance. The second part of this chapter deals with the research design. In this section, I explain the procedures related to the questionnaires, participant recruitment and group discussions.

Exploratory and Comparative Qualitative Research

Bogdan and Biklen (2003) declare that there are five major components in qualitative research: naturalistic, descriptive, concerned with procedure, inductive and attentive to meaning. In this thesis, while there was interplay among all those elements, inductiveness and attention to meaning were particularly important.

First, this thesis is of inductive nature because it does not seek to categorize the data into a pre-planned schema. In other words, there are no pre-determined categories in which the information is classified. Thus, in this research, it is only when data is analyzed that the details of the research become more visible. “The qualitative researcher plans to use part of the study to learn what the important questions are. He or she does not assume that enough is known to recognize important concerns before undertaking the research” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 6). This means that the researcher adapts to the data that he/she finds without attempting to skew it in a particular or desired direction.

Second, as a qualitative research, this thesis pays attention to *meaning*. This suggests that as a researcher, I am interested in the perspectives of my participants and the way that they give meaning to their lives. In other words, I seek to discover, “what they are experiencing, how they interpret their experiences, and how they themselves structure the social world in which they live” (Psathas, 1973 in Bogdan & Biklen, 2003, p. 7).

Emic and Etic Perspectives

Anderson and Arsenault (2001) contend that a good qualitative researcher needs to interpret data from two different perspectives, the *emic* and the *etic*. The *etic* viewpoint “requires that the researcher constantly look at phenomena and ask, ‘What does this event or interaction mean to the individual?’” (p.125). Concomitantly, the researcher must realize that he/she will unwillingly understand and categorize participants’ data based on his/her own conceptual framework, the *emic* perspective. Being a participant in these discussions, I had to be aware of both of those contributing elements. However, this awareness helped me to use both elements and in my attempt towards a balanced perspective.

Phenomenology

Social philosophers such as Edmund Husserl and Alfred Schultz have been the initiators of phenomenology, a fairly recently devised research method (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Phenomenology has also found place in the Weberian tradition through *verstehen* which is literally translated as “the interpretative understanding of human interaction” (p. 23). In fact, the goal for researchers using phenomenology is to “attempt to understand the meaning of events and interaction to ordinary people in particular situations” (p. 23). Emerging from this thinking is the variety of ways of

interpreting experiences to build meaning. In a general sense, the *meaning* and *interpretation* of social interactions, life events, upbringing, and schooling has an effect on how people talk about these experiences. In my study, where my questions and interests lay in uncovering my participants' definition of their cultural identity, I analyzed how their interpretation of their schooling had affected their cultural identity construction.

Symbolic interaction theory

Bogdan and Biklen (2003) say that the symbolic interaction theory is the “assumption that *human experience is mediated by interpretation*” (bolded in text, p. 25). In other words, the meaning that a participant gives to a particular event, conversation or debate, is the variable examined by the researcher. Moreover, as with phenomenology, interpretation does not take place on its own. It involves the influence of social factors such as upbringing, schooling and relationships. “Through interaction the individual constructs meaning” (p. 24). This suggests that people reconstruct and redefine meanings in all social settings. Symbolic interaction theory investigates the way in which such transformations occur.

In my study, interpretation and change in meaning was prevalent among the participants where a plethora of ideas was in constant exchange and negotiation. Specifically, analyzing my participant's interpretations and the meaning they give to culture, identity and language was more important than mere analysis. Furthermore, change in meaning as a consequence of social interaction was also an important aspect of my research. According to the Symbolic Interaction Theory, one may partially see oneself in the reflection others give them (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003).

Consequently, this opens an internal dialogue and creates a flow of ideas, information exchanges and sometimes shifts in meaning. Thus, it is through the eyes of others that we are able to construct different meaning and reconstruct a new *self*. In my study, the discussion group forum was a great meeting point for meaning recreations and self redefinition.

Research as Self-Reflection

Part of my goal in this study is to use this opportunity to self-reflect about my *own* cultural identity. My Polish background, my birth in Gaspé and my multicultural environment has inspired me to explore the way I feel about that identity in regards to cultural and linguistic issues in Quebec. Thus, I have chosen my Allophone participants because their educational background was similar to mine. Although we have different ethnicities, we share a common experience as children of immigrants. This gave me an opportunity to examine not only their knowledge, and opinions through their meaningful experiences, but also my own. Shank (2002) calls this the *Reflector* observation method. According to him, the Reflector sees “observation at least as part of self-discovery, and so constantly monitors the impact of these observational experiences on himself or herself” (p. 27). An ideal Reflector’s opinions and experiences are almost translucent in his/her study, without being overly pretentious or narcissistic.

Tape-recorder

Because my study primarily revolved around a group interview, the use of the tape-recorder was most sensible and practical. According to Shank (2002), the advantage of the tape recorder is that “speech is critical for most human interactions, and the Tape recorder is well-situated and well-disposed to taking full advantage of the richness for such speech” (p. 23). However, he also mentions that when a researcher transcribes the interview, it sometimes becomes difficult to remember eye contacts, glances, body movement, and voice tonalities when participants utter certain words. Consequently, this might create skewed results. I realized that this could be a drawback in my study. Because I transcribed the conversations soon after the group discussions, I minimized the chances of missing out on the details. Being aware of the possibility of observational errors in my research, I believe that I grasped most facial expressions and vocal intonations of my participants.

Research Design

In order to gain a sense of the impact of schooling on the construction of young adults’ cultural identities and linguistic abilities, I decided to divide this research into two phases.

Phase I required the completion of a short survey with questions relating to language use in daily life, cultural identity, and linguistic and cultural influences in high school. After having collected and analyzed the data, I formulated more general questions for the group discussion section, depending on the answers that I received. This permitted me to expand on certain topics during the group discussion.

In Phase II, I contacted the participants and we met for a group discussion. There were two groups. Group 1 had three participants while Group 2 had five participants. The questions for both discussion groups were very similar except for some minor details that concerned one group and not the other.

Main questions

Because of the exploratory nature of my study, my group discussions centered around three general questions that were related to aspects of education, cultural identity and language. These general questions developed into seventeen more detailed questions used for the discussion group. This permitted the participants to clarify their answers, state their opinions and communicate their experiences with a certain leeway.

Qualitative measurements of the participants' responses to various questions formed the foundation of this research. In general, the three main questions that I desired to have answered were the following:

- a. How have these eight adults' schooling experiences contributed to their identity construction?*
- b. How was the schooling experience in a French-medium school different for Francophone and Allophone adults?*
- c. Does the Policy of Intercultural Education and the Reform answer the reflections and concerns of these young adults?*

Participants

This research investigated the concerns and reflections of these young adults and questioned the impact of Quebec's educational system and policies on them. More

specifically, it attempted to identify the potential differences between the Francophone and Allophone adults. This permitted me to compare the cultural identity of these two groups. There were four Francophones and four Allophones. They all are between 22-34 years of age. All of them went to a French-medium school in Quebec, specifically in Montreal and its suburbs. Furthermore, these participants were all enrolled in undergraduate or graduate programs in either a French or English university. In the first discussion group, there were two Francophones and one Allophone. In the second, there were three Allophones and two Francophones. All participants were born (with one exception) and raised in Quebec.

Recruitment

Initially, I wanted all participants to have been raised on the island of Montreal, because of its multicultural uniqueness in Quebec. However, it was getting unexpectedly difficult to find participants fitting this specific profile. Therefore, some of my francophone participants grew up in the suburbs of Montreal, such as Longueuil which is very multicultural, while others are from cities like Granby and l'Assomption, which are more homogenous.

I recruited participants by way of word of mouth, and by posting an advertisement at the Department of Education bulletin board on First Class in Concordia University. Once I had a sufficient number of participants in my group, I organized a meeting. The final obstacle was to find a suitable timeslot for everyone. My participants were highly cooperative and involved in the research.

Because they are so few, I have the luxury to summarize their ethnic and educational background. I used pseudonyms to protect their identity. I also referred to them by their ethnic or cultural background. For example, “Patricia, the Allophone from Chilean background mentions that...” This makes it easier for the reader to identify the different participants.

In the first group, I had three participants: Patricia (an Allophone), her husband Fernand (a Francophone), and Christine (a Francophone). Patricia is born in Chile and came to Montreal with her parents when she was only three. She grew up in St-Lambert, a fairly multicultural outskirts of Montreal, and went to a French-medium, private and multiethnic school there. Her husband Fernand was born and brought up in Granby, a homogenous Quebecois region in the Eastern Townships. He attended French-medium school there. He came to Montreal to study at the collegial level. Christine was born and raised on the South Shore. She attended a multicultural high school.

In the second group, I had five participants. Maya (an Allophone), Marc (an Allophone), Catherine (a Francophone), Pierre (a Francophone) and Diana (an Allophone). Maya’s parents are Vietnamese but she was born and raised in Montreal. She went to a multicultural high school in Westmount. Marc’s father is French from France and his mom, Spanish from Spain. He was born and raised in the West Island but attended high school in Park Extension. Catherine was raised in Laval. She went to a multiethnic school in primary school but to a homogenous high school. Her boyfriend Pierre was raised and schooled in l’Assomption, where he attended a multiethnic school. Diana’s parents are both from Polish background but were not

raised in Poland. Her father was raised in the US and her mom in Argentina. Diana was mostly schooled in a multiethnic environment.

Unfortunately I was not able to locate Allophone participants from English-speaking backgrounds for example Indian or Jamaican, or Allophones from different linguistic backgrounds who may have closer affiliations to the English language. Admittedly, having participants from various ethnic backgrounds may have yielded richer data because it would be more representative of Montreal's ethnic make up. This was beyond the scope of the study.

Chapter IV – Data Analysis

The Literature Review was used as the theoretical foundation in the analysis of the group discussions. When reviewing the participants' responses, I coded certain topics according to the main themes of the existing literature. These topics formed the focal themes of my data analysis: General cultural identity; Quebecois cultural identity; Hybrid or multiple cultural identities; Schooling experience and formation of cultural identity; Bill 101; Language, culture and education; French language in Quebec; Policy of Interculturalism; Propositions to the MEQ.

In this investigation, when analysing the various themes, I used pieces of conversations from both discussions. Also, in order to keep the dialogues as real as possible, I transcribed them as closely as I could, using colloquialisms and vernacular expressions.

General Cultural Identity

Starting from a general approach, the first question I asked was “C’est quoi une identité culturelle – de quoi est composée une identité culturelle?” I analyzed these answers according to Shiose’s different notions of culture. Christine and Fernand used the *culture of the culture* notion which states that culture is a dynamic concept in constant change and evolution. Christine said,

C’est ça, c’est le milieu de vie, c’est tout les apports culturels, de vie, la nourriture, la musique, les médias, c’est tout ce qui nous entoure, et puis aussi, c’est les parents, c’est l’histoire telle qu’elle est véhiculée, au moment où on est présent.

Fernand said something similar and more concise but that projects the intention of evolution,

Une identité culturelle, c’est ce qu’on est en fonction de l’environnement dans lequel on vit, oui.

Both responses refer to an identity as something specific at a certain moment in time but that evolves and changes depending on the influence of external factors such as parents, school and environment.

However, Patricia, coming from a Chilean background, described cultural identity similarly to the *nature of culture* notion. This concept is in opposition to the latter one because it is a rigid, static, and innate definition of culture. It is more related to race, ethnicity and biological traits. Patricia said,

C'est peut-être quelque chose de très instinctif pour moi la culture et moi j'en ai deux et je ne pourrais absolument pas me définir avec juste une, parce que ça dépend des aspects de ta vie, il y a des choses que c'est le Québec qui prévôt, et d'autres choses, il y a un Chili en moi qui prévaut.

A similar response related to the static aspect of culture was also given by Marc.

Moi je dirais plutôt, c'est euh, c'est lié aux traditions et aux coutumes, que tu as, que tu es...que t'entretiens, comme les cérémonies que tu fais dans ta vie, les fêtes que tu célèbres.

These participants define their identity according to the nature of culture concept where its traditional and symbolic aspects are more valued.

The above excerpts, from discussions with the participants suggest that there may be a more dynamic concept of culture amongst Francophones and a rather static conception among the Allophone participants. This would be an interesting point to pursue with a larger number of participants.

Hybrid or Multiple Cultural Identities

Once the conversation turned to cultural identity, the topic of the influence of other cultures was quickly brought up. The posed question was, “Quand vous dites que vous vous identifiez à une ou plusieurs cultures, qu’est-ce que cela veut dire pour vous? C’est quoi votre niveau d’identification?” Before the central question was addressed, the concept of cultural hybridity had become the focus of the discussion. According to May (1999), cultural hybridity is a post-modern concept which explains the ever-changing nature of culture, where its elements are in continuous negotiation. Multiple identities, a term coined by McAndrew (2003), is a concept similar to hybridity.

Before the discussion with my participants, my understanding of the two terms was vague as I could not clearly distinguish between them. However, my participants expressed themselves in a way that clarified that distinction.

Specifically, there was an interesting conversation in one of the groups about the difference between multiple and hybrid identities. In this case, Fernand expressed a hybrid culture, not a multiple one.

Ben, c’est parce qu’une culture, à mon avis, comment dire ça, je peux pas avoir plein de cultures, en fait, moi pour moi, ça va être un mélange de plein de choses. Pour moi, j’imagine difficilement, deux cultures, c’est un mélange. Tu peux pas exprimer ou expliquer deux cultures.

Similarly, Pierre says,

Surtout aujourd’hui plus que jamais, avec l’Internet, avec la mondialisation, on est capable de se construire une identité culturelle en tant que personne, qui est pas, qui a pas nécessairement rapport au milieu dans lequel on est. Contrairement, dans les années 50, ben, les Québécois ne savaient pas nécessairement ce qui se passait au Japon, en Chine, au Mexique, là

aujourd'hui, on sait, alors on est capable de se construire notre propre identité culturelle.

From these two excerpts, the participants seemed to express a hybrid cultural identity where they acknowledge the influence of other cultures on their own and the fact that culture is in constant redefinition. For example, the fact that Pierre mentions globalization as a factor in the construction of a cultural identity signifies the importance that media, internet and traveling has on one's sense of self.

On the other hand, Patricia mentioned that she clearly identifies herself with two distinct cultures.

Mais comme moi, j'aurais de la difficulté à me définir dans UNE² expression culturelle. Je suis pas une culture, j'en suis deux, pis il y a vraiment une distinction nette entre le fait de m'intéresser à pleins de culture, chose que je fais, et c'est pour cela que j'adore Montréal, parce que je peux découvrir pleins d'aspects de différentes cultures, mais ça c'est pas mon identité culturelle. Pour moi, mon identité culturelle c'est chilien et québécois. Pis le reste, c'est comme...si j'irais au Viêt-Nam, je triperais connaître la culture vietnamienne, je l'intégrerais pas à mes instincts.

Patricia's cultural identity is composed of the two cultures in which she was raised. The way she separates the two cultures even though they are both part of her, is indicative of McAndrew's multiple identities. Similar to the static notion of culture, discussed above, Patricia would not consider traits of other cultures, experienced through travel or media, as part of her own identity because they are not innate of instinctual.

Maya, the participant from a Vietnamese background, suggests that her identity reflects the specific cultural context in which she finds herself. In this way, she also demonstrates the concept of multiple identities.

² Capitalized words means that this word was emphasized or uttered louder than the others.

C'est vraiment le contexte vraiment, parce que j'ai un groupe d'amis, disons québécois, si vous voulez, j'ai un autre groupe d'amis asiatiques. Rien que dans le groupe asiatique, je me sens asiatique, c'est juste l'influence sans t'en rendre compte, c'est juste... je me sens asiatique, mais je me mets dans le groupe québécois, je suis différente des autres. (...) Alors ça dépend des gens avec qui tu es. Puis c'est inconscient, tu t'en rends pas compte.

Similarly, Diana said,

Moi d'un certain côté, je me considère québécoise, mais tsé quand je vais dire que je viens de, en tout cas, mon origine est la Pologne, c'est compliqué là, on va pas nécessairement me considérer... les gens qui vont me dire, ok ton nom de famille est pas québécois, fait que t'es pas québécoise, mais tsé moi quand je m'en vais ailleurs et les gens me demandent d'où est-ce que je viens, je viens du Québec, puis je me sens québécoise. Alors, ça dépend de quel contexte.

Here, Diana not only expresses multiple identities, but she also refers to how she is perceived by others, and how this could potentially influence her own identity construction. In other words, a person *alters* one's identity according to one's environment and social interaction. On the other hand, Fernand says that this is not necessarily due to plural identities. He believes that all human beings change behaviours in different contexts.

Fernand: Oui et non, dans le sens que, je crois beaucoup plus à la culture hybride qu'à la culture plurielle... euh. Je regarde deux de mes collègues, c'est des Asiatiques. Sophie et Catherine. Catherine, oui quand elle est dans sa famille, elle est d'une certaine façon, puis quand elle est au bureau, elle est d'une autre. Mais, il reste que c'est assez similaire, c'est au même titre que euh, moi qui bon. Mes parents sont québécois, mes grands-parents sont québécois, je suis né à Granby, et puis on vient de Granby depuis à peu près trois générations. Fait que, ils ont juste allongés ma chaîne là... Mais quand je vais ailleurs, oui je vais me comporter d'une autre façon, mais j'ai pas deux cultures.

Caroline: Donc, toi tu mets l'emphase plus dans le comportement que dans l'identité en tant que telle.

Fernand: Oui, mais c'est dans le comportement de l'être humain, de toute façon, on va s'adapter quand on s'en va ailleurs...

Again, one can observe how the Francophone participants (Pierre and Fernand) defined identity using May's concept of hybrid cultures while the Allophone participants (Maya and Diana) understood themselves in multiple identity terms. In light of this, I would be curious to see if this difference in the conception of identity would be expressed by additional number of participants. Then we would be more able to explore a plausible explanation for this dichotomy. It may be that Francophones' hybrid concept of culture stems from having a singular dominant cultural identity (Quebecois) while Allophones are negotiating between two or more cultural identities (Quebecois and immigrant cultures).

Quebecois Cultural Identity

Referring to their answers on the questionnaire, I asked to discuss their opinion on this statement, "Tous ceux qui habitent au Québec sont des québécois." For example, Christine said,

Moi, j'étais totalement d'accord avec ça. Tout ceux qui sont au Québec sont des québécois, mais j'aimerais ça nuancer ça, c'est sûr que si ça fait une semaine que tu es arrivé, t'es pas québécois. Il y a comme une PARTICIPATION à la VIE ici, une implication, une intégration, un échange culturel, qui fait que oui tous ceux qui sont au Québec depuis un certain temps sont des québécois pour moi.

Similarly Patricia adds,

Moi je pense que dès que tu as un intérêt à participer à un projet de société, la société étant le Québec, pour moi tu es un Québécois, et puis un projet de société, ça peut être, ça peut aller tout aussi gros que de t'impliquer dans ta communauté, ou ça peut aller à aussi petit que t'es dans un quartier et tu parles à tes voisins québécois et puis il y a un échange, ben, là t'es québécois et la société québécoise est une société dynamique...

These answers were related to the level of participation with the Quebecois in society in the form of interaction and integration. More specifically, they referred to the civic

aspects of Quebecois cultural identity rather than to the ethnic, as Kalin (1995) defines. However, Kalin's paradigm is challenged at the linguistic level because although he places language in his ethnic identity concept, my participants regarded the French language as a civic element in Quebec. Interestingly, I asked whether a person needed to speak French in order to be labeled *Quebecois*. They answered that ideally, speaking French is a requirement for a Quebecois cultural identity.

Patricia brought up a phenomenological criticism relating to the right in identifying who can be a Quebecois. For her, there might be a danger in defining the identity of other people, as that might be ridden with prejudice. One can only safely claim to express one's own cultural identity.

Patricia: Moi je pense que il y a un...tout le temps, un danger à dire, "est-ce que tu penses que telle personne ou telle personne doit être considérée comme des québécois", parce que l'identité c'est quelque chose de propre puis c'est toi-même qui dit, ça y'est j'ai atteint le niveau.

Christine: C'est comme une autodéfinition.

Patricia: C'est ça. C'est pas... moi, qu'on me dise, j'accepte pas... pas que j'accepte pas parce que je trouve ça plate, mon identité, c'est moi qui dit...je suis ça et je suis ça, et c'est pas quelqu'un en face de moi qui va me mettre des critères parce que...

Christine: T'es pas québécois parce que ci, parce que ça.

Caroline: Mais, tu ne penses pas que la manière que les autres te voient affecte la manière que toi tu vas te définir.

Patricia: Absolument, mais c'est quand même être moi, au bout de la ligne qui va me définir...

Christine: Oui, oui.

In other words, Patricia was more cautious about defining a Quebecois cultural identity than others. What is noteworthy about this group discussion was that both Allophone and Francophone participants seemed to agree upon the importance of

participating in a *projet de société*, and French language in defining Quebecois identity. I will discuss the topic of the French language in Quebec more thoroughly later in the analysis.

Quebecois 'Pure Laine'

When I asked whether all people who live in Quebec are Quebecois, the topic of Quebecois *de souche* was brought up. Pierre mentions that immigrants who come here, will be affected by this particular aspect of Quebec identity, which may not be accessible to the immigrant. .

Pis en tant que québécois, parce que bon, c'est évident que tout les québécois *de souche*, ben ils ont quand même une histoire, qui a influencé les comportements de masses et ainsi de suite. Pis oui, mais c'est clair que les personnes qui arrivent au Québec, elles vont quand même être bombardées par ces tangentes là.

Moreover, Pierre's emphasis on the Quebecois *de souche* might suggest that the heterogeneity of Quebec is a separate entity in the conception of Quebec's society. The participants also mentioned that when an immigrant is living within a homogeneously Francophone environment outside of Montreal, his/her chances of being influenced by the Quebecois *pure laine* culture increase. Thus, in a multicultural area such as Montreal, that influence might not be as strong as in Quebec's regions.

Montreal Cultural Identity

Outside Montreal and its immediate outskirts, the percentage of cultural minorities diminishes significantly. In Quebec regions, it is uncommon to find communities of various cultural groups like we find in Montreal. This makes Montreal stand out from the rest of the Quebecois regions.

Many of the participants mentioned the distinct character of their city. For example,

Marc states,

Je pense que c'est un trait surtout à Montréal, entre autres là, je trouve qu'on est quand même un mixe incroyable de cultures différentes et étant élevés là-dedans, étant...habitant là-dedans, je pense qu'on a beaucoup plus de facilité à prendre ce qu'on aime de différentes cultures et de laisser ce qu'on n'aime pas finalement. On devient multiculturel (rire).

He says that living in a multiethnic city like Montreal exposes us to more cultures and makes us more *multicultural* or in other words, culturally hybrid. In general, the participants argue that the ease that we have in mingling with people from various backgrounds gives us not only the openness that a multiethnic country's population should have but also the possibility to learn from these cultures and integrate some of their values into ours. For example,

Christine: Moi, je trouve qu'à Montréal, l'apport des cultures d'ailleurs fait partie de la culture montréalaise...

Fernand: C'est ça.

Christine: En étant quelqu'un d'ici quand je me dis montréalaise, ça implique que ça fait partie de ma culture d'avoir des apports de partout dans le monde.

Patricia declares, "On s'identifie à quelque chose d'aussi petit que Montréal". People identify themselves not only to a country or a province but also to a region and a city. The participants agree that the notion of *culture* or *cultural identity* is expandable and may be related to a country or even to something as small as a club. Finally, from the discussion, it emerged that both Francophone and Allophone participants agree that Montreal's cultural identity is distinctive from the rest of the province.

Vote Ethnique

When asked to comment about this statement, “Tout ceux qui habitent au Québec sont des Québécois”, Marc, an Allophone from French and Spanish origin, without hesitation said, “Vote ethnique”. At this point, the five participants paused and shifted in their seats. He was clearly referring to Parizeau’s speech in the 1995 Referendum. Marc’s discomfort in answering this question is indicated by the cautious qualification below.

Ah c’est difficile parce que ça dépend vraiment des individus, je pense parce que... aux yeux de certains québécois, des québécois c’est blanc, c’est francophone, c’est *de souche*. Aux yeux de, je dirais plutôt, la jeunesse québécoise, c’est plus comme ça. Mais, il y a des éléments partout qui passent des deux façons.

Although it was not articulated, my impression was that the other participants were uncomfortable with this particular statement. In fact, this issue is sensitive even for me. It reminded me of my own experience when I was young.

Schooling Experience and Formation of Cultural Identity

The school experience question that I posed was, “L’école affecte souvent la construction de l’identité culturelle. Si elle l’a fait pour vous, comment l’a-t-elle fait? Et si non, pourquoi pas? Christine’s quote about the impact of school is general but thorough. She referred to school as a *cultural mold*, a very appropriate expression.

Moi, je pense que l’école vraiment c’est un moule, puis c’est un moule culturel, parce que souvent tu te retrouves avec des gens avec qui t’as été à l’école, puis tu as des références communes, tu as des souvenirs communs, tu as des parties, on se reconnaît quasiment là, peut-être pas tant au secondaire mais quand même tsé. Il y a un processus là. Puis à l’école, c’est comme si c’était la société qui met de l’avant, voici ce qui est important, tsé. Voici ce que de base, on veut que tu saches. Voici où on veut niveler c’est quoi ce que tout le monde devrait connaître. (...) Pis, c’est un lavage de cerveau culturel, je trouve...qui est bon, qui est sympathique, parce que vraiment c’est une transmission, entre générations de ce qui est la vision, de ce qui est important, et puis d’une vision culturelle, de groupe, tsé. Mais en

même temps, c'est sûr que ça me surprendrait que quelqu'un me dise qu'il n'ait pas été moulé culturellement à l'école. C'est le véhicule par excellence, je trouve.

Christine thinks that school is the number one *vehicle* in cultural transmission. Similar to McLaren, Ghosh and Bourdieu, she says that school molds the child in believing and in learning the dominant society's *facts*. This means that the majority decides what is to be taught and objectifies it as the *real* truth in school. This directly relates to Bourgeault and Pietrantonio's statement (1996) about the knowledge of the majority being represented in schools and rendered universal.

Christine also brought up the evolutionary nature of school. She stated that school is a reflection of society because of the knowledge it represents. Christine hit an important point. One the controversial educational debates of our times is: should academic institutions replicate the contents of society at the present moment in time or should school be a forum where students can use critical thinking and analyze the world in order to improve it? According to the New Reform, the latter theoretical foundation is prevalent, but this might not necessarily be practiced in schools.

On the other hand, Patricia's school experience brought consciousness to her cultural identity. She believes it happened because of the *mirror* effect. The notion of the recognition of the *other* made her conscious of her own self,

Patricia: Ben moi, c'est drôle, l'école...et puis si la mémoire me joue sûrement des tours là mais, de ce que je me souviens, mon identité s'est consolidée à l'école...mon identité chilienne s'est consolidée à l'école, parce que j'allais dans une école privée, où il y avait à très très forte majorité, des québécois, et québécois ça s'explique quand même facilement, québécois qui avaient quand même assez d'argent, donc québécois qui sont là depuis peut-être...c'est pas des nouveaux arrivants. Donc, ce n'est pas par exclusion, parce que je ne suis pas sentie exclus...

Christine: Par effet miroir.

Patricia: Par effet miroir, exactement. C'est ça. Je voyais que ah, c'est bon, moi j'ai quelque chose de quelque chose de spécifique, mais c'est pas du tout bête, j'ai comme eu des flashes quand j'allais chez mes amies ou ne serait-ce que voir le lunch de mes amies, les différences, que ça fonctionne pas de la même façon ou voir les comportements éducatifs des parents face aux enfants, les permissions qu'ils avaient, euh, le niveau de liberté qu'ils avaient. Aussi comme le niveau de responsabilité que les amis à l'école semblaient avoir face à leurs familles.

First, Patricia's explanation of the mirror effect resembles the sociological concept of the *other*, where the exploration of another person creates an opportunity for self-reflection. Second, Patricia unwillingly classified her friends and realized that certain values and lifestyles were not hers. In fact, she was applying Abdallah-Preteuille and Porcher's (2001) notion of *cultural competence*, which is defined as understanding others' culture while still retaining one's own. Patricia discovered who she was in relation to others who were different from her. She was also able to distinguish herself despite the influence of the majority population.

These two participants express the sentiments of the other participants even though they answered the question differently. Both refer to *informal* schooling experiences when discussing the effect of education on cultural identity construction. However, there is difference between Christine's and Patricia's understanding of the *nature* of the school's influence. Christine, a Francophone, regards it as a cultural mold, where her identity was smoothly constructed within knowledge of the dominant culture. Patricia, an Allophone, responds to the same question with reference to her multiple cultural identities.

Peer Influence

Many of the participants declared that the location and the environment of the school were important factors in influencing their overall cultural identity. This is because each neighborhood in Montreal reflects a different cultural mosaic. For example, Catherine said,

La façon dont l'école m'a influencée c'est par les GENS que j'ai rencontrés là. Dans le fond c'est les autres élèves qui étaient là. Tsé, au primaire, je suis allée dans une école où euh...justement c'était très multiethnique, il y avait beaucoup de classes d'accueil, j'avais des amies...j'avais une amie Iranienne, une amie Polonaise, euh...puis tsé vraiment des enfants d'immigrants là, dont les parents avaient immigrés récemment là. Euh, fait que...j'ai été comme...quand j'allais chez eux, ben là, je mangeais des trucs que je ne connaissais pas, quand ils parlent, je ne comprenais rien, tsé, fait que j'ai été initié à ça, puis ça fait qu'aujourd'hui je m'intéresse tsé aux langues, aux cultures...

Maya, an Allophone from Vietnamese descent, agreed and added,

Je pense que quasiment tout le monde est d'accord avec elle. Ça dépend du quartier dans lequel l'école est. C'est le quartier qui fait qu'ils aient différentes cultures qui sont là, là. Tu as les contacts, des différents amis, donc t'apprends beaucoup d'eux.

These two statements are related to Weber's statement about cultural identity being influenced by external factors and constantly mediated by relations of power. To them, the influence was of an informal nature, wherein the students allowed themselves to explore other cultures without fear. This, according to them, is an important trait that children should develop.

Until now, the participants' responses seem to indicate the effectiveness of the intercultural policy, even through informal processes. However, there are instances where schooling did not produce the desired outcome. For example,

Pierre: Moi, je mettrais un bémol à ça parce que moi j'ai été dans une école privée où, je détestais l'ambiance, donc indirectement oui mon école m'a...

a affecté ma culture dans le sens que, au lieu de dire, “Je vais incorporer leurs valeurs”, moi, “Je veux rien savoir d’eux autres” (Rires).

Caroline: Toi tu as réagi contre.

Pierre: C’est comme, je vais aller de mon propre côté.

They seem to be saying perhaps if intercultural education were more rigorously and formally incorporated in the school, the knowledge and the power of the teacher and his/her acknowledgement of various cultures may have changed the way that Pierre felt about other cultures at the time.

Presence/Absence of Quebecois Culture at School

In a multicultural city like Montreal, there are areas such as Côte-des-Neiges and Parc Extension where the population of ethnic minorities is relatively high to that of Francophones, which may signify an absence of a strong *pure laine* Quebecois culture. So it is very common to find multicultural schools across the island of Montreal. Marc gives us an example of his school.

Moi personnellement au secondaire je dirais que la culture québécoise n’était presque pas du tout représentée dans mon école. J’étais à une école...l’école secondaire Mont-Royal, c’était TRÈS multiethnique parce que c’était surtout des gens de Parc Extension, qui avaient là. Alors le tiers de l’école était grec (rires). Après ça, tu avais toutes les ethnies représentées et j’étais considéré comme le seul québécois de l’école malgré que j’étais québécois que de naissance [with French and Spanish parents].

Interestingly, attending a French-medium school under Bill 101 exposed Marc to a variety of cultures, whose informal language of communication was mostly English. He also says that the composition of the school and the lack of a presence of a Quebecois culture shaped his identity. He sees a big difference when he attended a homogeneously Francophone CEGEP,

Si j'étais par exemple, si j'avais été dans un milieu purement québécois, je sais que j'aurais été influencé plus par la culture québécoise. Ça m'est arrivé au CEGEP, c'était presque purement québécois, c'est-à-dire *pure-laine* là (rire), très homogène, et vraiment c'est là que j'ai vraiment appris sur la culture québécoise, je me suis ramassé un peu l'accent québécois et tout... Mais au secondaire, c'était tellement mélangé que... il y avait pas vraiment l'opportunité d'adhérer à une culture en particulier. Tu deviens plus ouvert à plusieurs cultures.

Marc experienced Quebecois homogeneity in his CEGEP, where he was able to learn about that culture.

Pierre theorizes about a homogenous school atmosphere,

Plus c'est homogène, plus, dans le fond, le facteur culture québécoise va être présent de manière CLAIRE. Donc, c'est sûr que tu vas être en position de, oui de l'accepter, pis tsé comme, je vais m'incorporer, tsé comme, on en prend plus ou bien carrément de dire, je le rejette non pas pantoute, je me sens pas... Donc c'est vraiment quand le groupe est homogène, plus il va être défini clairement.

In other words, these participants believe that it is in a homogenous environment that you will create a sense of self by either inculcating the values of the dominant culture or by rejecting them. According to critical theorists such as Trifonas (2003) and Ghosh (1996), this analysis simplifies the idea that cultures are in constant flux.

In the Classroom

While the previous section was related to the general school environment, this question involves the participants' experiences in the classroom in terms of cultural representations: "J'aimerais que vous élaboriez sur la représentation de la culture québécoise et des cultures diverse à votre école: parce cela je veux dire dans les cours, par les profs, l'atmosphère multiculturelle? Donc comment l'école a-t-elle affectée votre identité?"

Here I was inquiring about the specific details in the classroom, such as subjects taught. Marc, Diana and Maya, all Allophones, encountered similar experiences in their multicultural school. They mention that other than a few lectures in history and geography classes, the Quebecois culture was not felt in the classroom or in the school atmosphere.

Marc: Alors, c'était assez vide de culture québécoise. Il y avait certains profs qui étaient québécois et on apprenait certains aspects de l'histoire, surtout, québécoise, à travers les cours mais, la culture ressortait pas du tout de l'enseignement. Pas du tout, du tout, du tout.

Diana: Mais moi, dans mon école, je dirais que le trois quart des profs étaient québécois, puis à ce niveau là on sentait, ils étaient québécois, donc inévitablement ils parlent de la culture, en tout cas, on la sentait. Les étudiants, en tout cas, 95%, c'était des étudiants de partout, il y avait comme 5% des québécois. Fait que, j'imagine que le peu de culture québécoise ça venait des profs, pis des cours là mais, cours d'histoire.

Maya: Ok, puis, c'est juste des immigrants, genre. Il faut dire ça souvent là. La façon de la culture québécoise c'est les cours. Vraiment, le cours d'histoire Secondaire IV, la guerre des anglais et français, c'était le moment où tout le monde se levait...

Pierre: C'est là que tu sens que le professeur est nationaliste là...

Maya: Oui. Il l'était, il l'était. Mais à part de ça, il y a rien d'autre de culture québécoise que j'ai remarqué à l'école.

This might be related to Byram and Leman's (1990) notions of language. They argue that the holistic character of language can only be retained if the teacher has the same language and culture as the children. In this case, both the language and the culture will be reinforced. In the case of the Allophone students, their culture was not the same as the teachers'. Could that be the reason of the lack of Quebecois cultural awareness? Or was the Quebecois culture simply not reinforced enough in the classroom?

Bill 101

When the conversation turned to the topic of Bill 101, the atmosphere became more animated. For the Quebecois people, Bill 101 was a pivotal moment in history. Due to this law, the Quebecois people affirmed their unique Francophone identity. This has not only had an impact on the definition of Quebec as a *nation*, but also on the cultural identity construction of its people.

After having given details about Bill 101's implication in education, I asked the partakers,

Comment pensez-vous que la loi 101 a eu un impact sur votre identité culturelle? En 1977, tout les francophone et allophones du Québec devaient s'inscrire dans des écoles où la langue d'enseignement est le français. Quel impact cette loi a-t-elle eu sur les habiletés linguistiques de ces deux groupes? Si non, quels changements apporteriez-vous à cette loi?

Most of the Francophones said that it was a natural progression for them to attend a French-medium school. So, the impact was not felt since their parents decisions would have been the same.

Catherine: Ben moi ça l'en a pas eu parce que c'est ça, ben j'étais envoyé dans une école francophone pis moi j'ai jamais eu...

Caroline: ...à penser que...

Catherine: ben tsé, c'est pas comme...je voulais aller à l'école à l'anglais et je ne pouvais pas tsé. J'ai pas eu le désir incroyable de...

Caroline: Tu veux dire c'est tes parents plutôt qui...

Catherine: C'est ça, mais tsé au secondaire aussi je n'ai jamais, je ne me suis jamais dit: "Oh oui, je pourrais aller à l'école en anglais."

Caroline: C'était un chemin normal d'aller dans une école francophone.

On a similar note, Fernand also says that his choice of school would not have been different, “C’est parce que moi de toute façon là, où je serai allé? C’était l’école française ou rien.”

Most of the Allophone participants also replied that attending French school was an inevitable choice for them. For example, Maya states,

Maya: Eum, moi j’ai vraiment commencé en français, puis j’ai vraiment eu aucun désir d’aller en anglais. Si on me demande, est-ce que je veux aller en anglais, non, jamais penser à ça, tsé je suis à l’U de M, j’aurais pu appliquer à McGill et à Concordia, mais non. Juste par habitude...c’est vraiment juste...par habitude...

Caroline: Un cheminement naturel qui te mène là...

Maya: Pis, mes parents ont voulu ça. Que ce soit la loi, je ne savais pas pour la loi avant ça là, c’est juste que le Vietnam, c’était une colonie française, alors mes parents connaissaient un petit peu le français...aussi un peu donc je suis un peu biaisée dans mon cas. C’est vraiment normal que je sois allée en français...pour eux c’est correct.

On the other hand, Patricia mentions, as brought up at the beginning of the thesis, that before Bill 101 was instilled, many Allophones chose English as the academic language for them and for their children.

Patricia: Moi, je pense qu’il a été énorme parce que...je suis pas certaine, je ne peux pas parler à la place de mes parents...puis même je pense que leurs opinions a évolué depuis 20 ans. En tant que nouveaux arrivants, un peu insécurisés par toutes les...qui vivait une insécurité financière, si tu leur avais donné le choix entre une école anglophone et francophone, pour leur enfant, à cette époque là, je suis sûre que ça a évolué sûrement, ils auraient peut-être pris l’école anglophone. Pour eux peut-être que l’anglais, selon ce qu’on recevait comme message à ce moment là donnait plus de perspectives d’avenir pour leur enfant. Fait que d’après moi, ça peut-être changé du tout au tout, ce que j’ai vécu par après, parce que...oui avoir eu le choix...je peux pas parler pour eux, mais je pense...voyant les décisions qu’ils ont pris, je soupçonne ça leur aurait peut-être trotter dans l’esprit, et puis euh, donc, énorme. Parce que sinon, moi je pense que j’aurais été anglophone...

Fernand adds another interesting twist to Bill 101 when he mentions that exclusive English school should have been abolished and that the majority of the teaching should have and should have been done (should be done) in French.

Fernand: Je m'excuse là, mais j'ai rien contre l'enseignement de l'anglais, l'enseignement de l'espagnol, ces choses là, je trouve ça primordial, ok, mais ça s'est pour aussi, pour enchaîner, mais, être cohérent avec ce que je disais tout à l'heure, c'est que, pour moi, la culture québécoise, un des...fondements, c'est la langue.

Caroline: Donc, par exemple, euh, il y a beaucoup d'anglophones-québécois, et puis ça fait des générations et des générations qui sont ici, et ils se considèrent québécois, mais ils sont anglophones. Tu crois pas qu'ils devraient avoir le droit d'aller dans des écoles anglophones?

Fernand: Je crois qu'ils auraient dû aller dans des écoles francophones, ok, pour au moins, être en mesure de se débrouiller en français. Comme moi, il y a un gros point que je déteste que l'école primaire dans laquelle j'ai été: c'était l'enseignement de l'anglais, c'en était ridicule. Je veux dire, pour moi, si vous y allez dans cette qualité là, faites-la pas, ça sert à rien. Tsé, je veux dire, j'aurais préféré avoir autant de cours d'anglais que de français.

Caroline: Donc, toi, t'es pas satisfait ni d'un côté, ni de l'autre...de la loi 101?

Fernand: Au niveau de la langue? Non.

Caroline: Parce que toi tu aurais voulu plus de cours d'anglais?

Fernand: Nettement, nettement.

Caroline: Puis cela aurait eu un impact sur tes habiletés linguistiques aujourd'hui.

Fernand: Ben oui, ben oui, nécessairement. Puis, ça,veut, veut pas, ça fait en sorte que...comment je me débrouille en anglais à cette heure.

For Fernand, Bill 101 should have been applied to all members of Quebec's society, Francophone, Anglophone and Allophone. He believes that the language of instruction should be only French, and English should be offered as an additional yet effective language course. Ultimately, Fernand views the French language as a main component of the Quebecois culture.

Marc makes a similar comment about Bill 101 and its functionality towards the English population in Quebec.

Marc: Personnellement, je pense que la loi 101, a comme bien réussi au niveau *allophone*. Et je pense vraiment qu'il doit y avoir quelque chose qui...il faut penser à quelque chose pour le côté *anglophone*. Moi ça me touche, parce que je vis dans ce milieu là. Et je suis chef scout, par exemple. J'ai 10-15 jeunes qui sont à DDO (Dollard des Ormeaux – a borough in the West Island), et il y en a peut-être UN qui parle français. Ils sont tous dans des programmes d'immersion. Alors, il y a un gros problème avec le programme d'immersion. Alors, peut-être que la loi devrait...peut-être pas la loi 101 mais le système d'éducation devrait peut-être être restructuré pour pas avoir une immersion... fictive et...vraiment les gens...il faut qu'ils puissent garder leur scolarité anglaise...parce que bon... Canada. Sauf que on devrait faire un plus grand effort de....leur apprendre le français...les méthodes, je ne sais pas...peut-être la moitié de l'année serait en française et l'autre moitié serait en anglais....

There is controversy over the issue of teaching French in Quebec to Allophones and Anglophones.

Christine alludes to the time before Bill 101 when many of the immigrants and Allophones tended to identify with the English population, which diminished their possibility to mingle with the majority Francophone population.

Christine: L'insécurité économique du fait d'être immigrant, le poids est énorme, pour être capable de remonter la marche, tsé, faisait que t'avais envi de parler anglais. Fait que la communauté italienne était toute vers...fait que on grossissait l'anglais au Québec, pis, alors que la majorité des gens étaient francophones, tsé. Donc, moi je suis contente de ça. Pis je suis contente aussi de ça parce que ça a fait que dans les écoles publiques FRANÇAISES, francophones, il y avait des immigrants. Donc, il y a eu un échange. Il y a pas eu de ghettoïsation. Pis euh, et puis j'aurais pas voulu que ça soit autrement.

Although Christine reiterates Fernand and Marc above, her tone is more positive. She sees Bill 101 in terms of the Interculturalism policy which states that there should be

an intercultural exchange between Allophones and Francophones and that those exchanges should happen in the French language.

Christine: Mais c'est vrai que l'anglais aurait pu être mieux enseigné. Je suis d'accord avec toi, parce que je pense que, au moment où on a passé au système scolaire, il y avait tellement une identité nationale québécoise FORTE et une négation de l'anglais parce que il y avait toute le bagage historique qui allait avec, qu'on a démonisé la LANGUE. Alors que la langue c'est un outil et puis c'est intéressant de la connaître. C'est intéressant, même de connaître le côté anglophone, le côté historique anglophone, on était dans un jeu de pouvoir à ce moment là tsé. On peut pas se défaire de son histoire non plus là. Il faut contextualiser tsé.

The historical and political atmosphere of that time created resentment towards the Anglophone community. In a similar fashion, Pierre explains that the affirmation to speak French created a schism between Quebec and Canada.

Pierre: Mais ce que je trouve avec la loi 101 c'est dans le fond, en terme de bagages culturels, je trouve que ça a vraiment créer un schisme entre le Québec et le reste du Canada. Dans ce sens que c'est vraiment à partir de ça, mais pas à partir de ça, mais je trouve que ça a donné un gros coup dans notre affirmation de dire "OUI" on parle français. Et on VEUT continuer à parler français. Donc, moi je trouve que ça serait plus à ce NIVEAU là, puis là tu vois dans l'actualité comment ça se développe.

On a more personal note, Marc argues that Bill 101 ironically increased his exposure to the English language.

Marc: Mais moi c'est justement...mon cas ça a été le contraire dans le sens que je suis francophone à la maison, alors j'allais toujours y aller à l'école francophone, sauf que tout les allophones qu'il y a eu dans mon école s'ils avaient eu le choix, je pense que la plupart auraient été à l'école anglaise. Alors je me serais retrouvé dans un milieu beaucoup plus francophone je pense.

(...)

Marc: C'était JUSTE en anglais. Mes amis je ne leur ai presque jamais parlé en français. Justement à cause de ça. Mais s'il n'y avait pas la loi 101, cette école n'existerait sûrement pas et j'aurais été dans une école francophone. Et j'aurais eu beaucoup plus d'influence francophone.

He is saying that if it was not for Bill 101, a majority of the Allophone population from his school would have gone to an English-medium school. In their opinion, Bill 101 has produced some multiethnic French-medium schools where English is extensively used between the students.

Language, Culture & Identity

One of group discussion questions was based on this controversial assumption that, “the acquisition of a culture involves the acquisition of a language and vice versa” (Byram & Leman 1990, p. 127). My question was: “Est-ce que la langue fait automatiquement partie de la culture? Est-elle automatiquement associée à la culture de celle-ci?” Most of the participants answered “No”. And then I continued by asking, “Ou peut-elle vivre indépendamment des valeurs culturelles?”

Marc: Complètement. C’est un OUTIL... je pense que pour beaucoup de gens c’est un outil et pour certaines personnes c’est une partie de la culture.

Caroline: Donc est-ce que ça veut dire que ces personnes...est-ce qu’il y en a d’autres qui veulent...avant que je continue...

Diana: Moi je suis d’accord.

Catherine: De toute façon, je pense que...c’est sûr que la langue sert à transmettre une partie de la culture. Je pensais à ça, bon à cause des autochtones, bon tout les enfants autochtones qui ont perdu leur langue autochtone maternelle parce qu’ils ont justement été forcé à aller à l’école en français ou en anglais, puis ils reviennent à la maison, ils parlent plus le Cri, le Montagnais, peu importe, puis là ça devient difficile pour eux d’acquérir la culture autochtone parce que bon ce sont des cultures surtout ORALES, fait que là si tu parles plus la langue qu’est-ce que tu fais? Fait que tsé je pense que oui, la langue pis la culture sont un peu reliés au sens où ça peut être un véhicule, mais...oui tu peux parler, tu peux vivre au Québec, parler français mais être très, très grec dans tes valeurs. (She acts *Greek* and *macho* when she says these words – everyone laughs). On parle beaucoup des grecs, donc c’est ça, mais tu peux...il y a des gens qui...tsé si pour toi c’est un outil de travail, ça te permet d’aller à l’épicerie, à travailler tout ça.

In other words, in their opinion the Greek students that went to Marc’s school only learned the communicative aspect of language and not the symbolic one (Edwards,

1993). According to Catherine, this suggests that they do not identify with the Quebecois culture. According to these participants French should be taught in school as a tool for work and other daily activities. Again, the emphasis was on the fact that the French language can be a useful tool.

Pierre: Donc c'est surtout ça, puis je trouve que à ce niveau là, je trouve que la loi 101, oui ça... je trouve que c'est un bon outil pour maintenir justement le français au Québec.

Caroline: Mais pas nécessairement la culture québécoise...

Pierre: Non.

Catherine: Bah, ça n'a rien à voir. (Everyone talks at the same time.)

Catherine: Tu peux avoir le "fait français" mais ta culture personnelle, ça dépend de ton environnement pis de plein de choses.

Pierre: Mais parce que ça reste un outil. Tsé comme à ce moment-ci c'est le monde, ça revient à la décision du monde...

Therefore, Ashworth's (1988 in Majhanovich, 1995) notion of language as an element of cultural values and identification is not always applicable in this study. It is interesting however that when I asked whether Bill 101 was a tool to teach not only the French language but also Quebecois culture, the conversation becomes animated. These participants argue that language may stand on its own, unattached to culture. However, Christine argues that with language being a tool, one may *access* a culture.

Christine: Ben, tu y as ACCÈS. C'est sûr que pour moi une langue ça définit une culture, parce que si c'est un milieu de vie, pis c'est des lieux d'échanges, pis...tu disais tantôt, le côté artistique et intellectuel, si t'as pas la CLÉ de la culture, qui est la langue, t'as pas accès. Pis quand t'apprend une langue étrangère, comme t'apprend l'espagnol, t'as une clé pour ouvrir pis découvrir la culture. Donc, t'as accès aux films, t'as accès, tsé à la musique, t'as accès aux restos.

Her analogy of language being the *key* to a culture is relevant to the aims of the intercultural policy, which propounds the interaction between the minorities' cultures

and Francophone Quebecois. Once one has the key, one has the possibility of accessing the culture. And for some people, being able to access a culture gives them an opportunity to discover other values and traditions that might then be incorporated into their lifestyle. According to Pierre, this depends on the open-mindedness of students.

Pierre: C'est que ça reste toujours une question d'ouverture d'esprit aussi. Si mettons comme un allophone qui a été à une école française à cause de la loi 101, mais oui, en même temps il va avoir, il va parler français, peut-être pas toute sa vie mais, c'est que pendant son secondaire, pendant son CEGEP...ben il va avoir la chance...euh...peut-être d'avoir des amis francophones. C'est vraiment comme dans cette éventualité là, ben oui à ce moment-ci, c'est vraiment...c'est pas vraiment l'école, c'est juste le fait de dire, "Oui je peux avoir des amis francophones." Mais c'est là à ce moment là que tu pourrais véritablement être imprégné de la culture québécoise...si on veut...québécoise francophone.

In other words, the student must be willing and motivated to learn about the Quebecois culture. The notions of willingness and enthusiasm have to be prevalent in the members of society in order for them to *want to* participate. Many participants argue that in order to participate in the Quebecois society, one should want to learn the dominant language, which brings us to the next topic.

Le Français au Québec

The French language in Quebec is closely tied to Quebecois cultural preservation. The pride of having kept this language regardless of political and historical struggles has rendered the French language a pillar in the definition of the Quebecois cultural identity. However, my research demonstrates that young Quebecois adults do not all adhere to this conviction as Catherine mentions above.

In one group, the specificity of relating French to a societal project spurred this question, “Est-ce que vous pensez que si une personne veut devenir québécoise, est-ce que le fait d’apprendre le français est un facteur important?”

Fernand: Pour nous, définitivement.

Christine et Patricia: Oui.

Christine: Incontournable.

Caroline: Donc, est-ce que vous dites que si une personne vient ici euh, est ici pendant 10-15-20 ans, ne parle pas un mot de français, est-elle québécoise cette personne là?

Christine: Elle est québécois pareille mais...

Fernand: Pas culturellement.

(...)

Christine: Oui, et puis bon, pour revenir à la question de la langue, moi je pense vraiment que c’est une question...et puis il y a plein de gens qui le voient comme cela aussi là, en échangeant, t’intéresser au français et puis d’essayer de l’apprendre quand tu arrives en arrivant, ben, c’est une question d’ouverture, dire “oui” j’ai envie d’être avec vous autres puis j’ai envie d’échanger avec vous et donc je vais essayer de prendre les moyens pour le faire. Puis c’est une question aussi de respect. De dire, j’arrive ici chez vous et puis je m’intègre. Je vais participer DONC je vais apprendre la langue dominante.

They are arguing that no matter what your culture is, speaking French and being able to interact with the French population of Quebec should be conceived of as the main element in the definition of a participant of the Quebecois society. This is because for the Francophone Quebecois, French is part of the cultural identity. There seems to be an understanding from the part of the Francophone Quebecois that *transmitting* the Quebecois identity is a difficult task. This can only happen when one is completely integrated into the society. French may thus be a symbol for the openness and accessibility to the Quebecois culture. However, some participants think that there might be people living in Quebec who will not adhere to the Quebecois culture. They

will be completely functional French speaking members of society but it does not mean that they will express interest in identifying with the Quebecois culture. They will solely practice the communicative aspect of language (Edwards, 1996). In this piece of conversation, the participants are comparing a French immigrant to a non-French speaking one and how the process of integration might be different.

Patricia: Moi, j'impression qu'il [Frenchmen from France] va plus avoir de la facilité à FONCTIONNER, mais peut-être que justement étant donné qu'il a plus de facilité à fonctionner, il aura pas à S'IDENTIFIER...tu fonctionnes...tu arrives à...rapidement... juste par la langue à comprendre un peu, à fonctionner mais ça veut pas dire que ton identité va se développer...ton identité en tant que québécois va se développer...peut-être même au contraire, tu vas te sentir vraiment à l'aise juste pour fonctionner dans cette société là que, tsé, tu as pas le petit extra émotif à mettre. Quand moi j'ai habité un an au Mexique, je me suis jamais, jamais identifiée à la culture mexicaine, c'est comme quelque chose de différent de moi, différent de moi québécoise, différente de moi chilienne, mais je fonctionnais super bien. Je ne suis pas sûre que PARCE QUE tu fonctionnes bien, que tu t'identifies nécessairement à la culture.

Patricia is saying that adapting functionally to a society versus assimilating to one is completely different. One may be completely functional, in terms of environmental adaptation, without necessarily adhering to the Quebecois principles, values and ways of life or even without being interested in participating in any type societal project. It would be interesting to determine the percentage of immigrants or people born from immigrant families who are *functional* in the Quebecois society, and who are *culturally* Quebecois.

In regards to the importance of the French language in Quebec is the fact that in North America, Quebec is the only region that is in majority Francophone. Pierre states that a culture defines itself in comparison to another culture and describes its differences.

Fernand: En tout cas, peut-être parce qu'au Québec la langue à laquelle, la culture québécoise, ce qui fait en fait qu'on est une société distincte par rapport à, je te dirais, la moitié de l'Amérique du Nord, parce que le Mexique

ça fait partie quand même de ça, mais c'est pas une culture...c'est pas des Anglophones qu'il y a là. C'est le fait du français. Parce qu'une culture se définit toujours en fonction d'une autre. Ce qu'il fait qu'une culture est quelque chose parce qu'elle est différente d'une autre. Le français c'est un des éléments incontournables à mon avis.

Pierre's words resemble to Guillaumin's (1972 in Abdallah-Preteuille & Porcher, 2001) statement about the definition of the majority depending on the presence and self-definition of the minority culture within a region, country or a continent.

Growing tensions between the English and the French in the 1970s had an impact on the educational system and on the students. Pierre's reactions towards Anglophone people is still until this day antagonistic. He borrows a word previously used by Christine, *demonization* of the English language, where there is an irrational sentiment that is hard to reason.

Fernand: Le mot *démonization* j'aime bien ça parce que moi, c'est vraiment le sentiment que j'ai, pis c'est pas rationnel mon affaire. Un anglophone qui vient me voir et me pose une question en anglais, je bloque, je fais juste parler en français...et je mets un accent tellement FORT pour l'énerver tandis qu'une madame ou un monsieur chinois, ou euh...espagnol ou euh...peu importe, m'aborde, dans leur langue, ben là, je vais être plus relaxe, je vais essayer de les aider.

Caroline: T'es sur la défensive.

Fernand: Ah, c'est incroyable! Puis, c'est même pas quelque chose que je peux raisonner.

Caroline: Eh puis ça, tu penses que ça vient de l'école...pis de...

Fernand: Nettement, nettement.

In a more general fashion, Christine argues that the entire political and historical ambiance of this era influenced the way people react toward the French and the English language.

Christine: Il faut pas oublier qu'au Québec il y a eu un moment où les anglophones qui étaient une minorité, étaient au pouvoir économiquement pis politiquement. Pis que nous, il fallait s'assimiler à cette minorité là. Et c'est de là toute l'agressivité, c'est de là les espèces de trucs irrationnels pis le contre courant, les mouvements de masse, vraiment les barricades qui se sont levées.

Caroline: Tu veux te dissocier de cette culture là et de la langue.

Christine: Mais pas juste ça. Tu veux les confronter. Tu veux dire, "Non, j'accepte pas ça." Puis, la langue était la façon, aussi qui était très PALPABLE de cette oppression là De la minorité sur la majorité. (...) Pis, on a eu des acquis historiques, la loi 101, puis ça a MODELÉ la société québécoise, ça fait que la majorité francophone est restée.

This statement clearly relates to Norton's (2000) and Foucault (1980), where language and culture are continuously in negotiation, especially in tense political atmosphere. Language becomes a tool of power. This situation eventually has an impact on the population's identity. In this sense, both the English and the French language had immense symbolic power which resonated in school yards like in Fernand's case.

The Policy of Interculturalism

I wanted to explore their opinions on the overall educational system in Québec. I asked them, "Pensez-vous que le système éducatif aujourd'hui avec l'interculturalisme, la réforme et les cours de citoyenneté, s'est bien adapter à la réalité du pluralisme au Québec?" There were some discussions about the difference between interculturalism and multiculturalism. For Fernand, a Francophone, multiculturalism seemed to be a better solution than interculturalism because he believes that interculturalism is an assimilative policy.

Fernand: Moi, personnellement, euh, je ne crois pas que ça apprend le français à tout le monde. Ça va crée ce qu'on appel l'interculturel. Il faut se le dire. Ça, j'y crois vraiment pas. Euh, à mon avis, ça va... en tout cas...ça l'arrangera pas la ghettoïsation. Je crois beaucoup plus au multiculturalisme, parce que l'interculturalisme, tu crées une culture, c'est de l'assimilation pure et simple. Tandis que du multiculturalisme, là c'est, à mon avis,

beaucoup plus, une ouverture, vers le monde. Sauf que, ça empêche pas que des communautés culturelles, quand ils arrivent au Québec, puissent aller, pas puissent mais vont à l'école française, pour au moins avoir un élément de base, pour les échanges...

In the other group, Marc said something similar,

Mais le but de l'interculturalisme, c'est quoi? D'en parler pour finalement uniformiser la culture? Ou c'est quoi tsé? C'est vague un peu dans mon esprit. Si le but c'est d'en parler pour être au courant des autres cultures pour moi ça revient au multiculturalisme.

Christine, a Francophone, adds to Fernand's comments by saying that his definition seems to be that of interculturalism. She argues,

Christine: Donc c'est pas une uniformisation, c'est PAS, "Regarde, c'est ça mes valeurs, ma cuisine, ma musique, ma culture, puis ma langue, pis c'est ça que t'adopte, pis je veux rien savoir de toi, ton bagage." (...) Puis ça permet, c'est que, en ayant cette langue là commune, ça veut pas dire qu'on est fermé aux autres cultures, c'est juste, une façon d'échanger.

François: Pour moi, c'est parce que le multiculturalisme n'empêche pas ça.

Christine: Le multiculturalisme, c'est comme un patchwork, c'est que tu peux avoir...c'est que ça ne parle pas d'inter, ça ne parle pas d'échange, C'est un multi- quelqu'un chose. Plusieurs cultures. Ça ne dit pas que tu vas échanger, c'est comme plus...

Caroline: Je veux dire tu peux échanger mais...

Christine: Oui tu peux...

Caroline: Mais ce qui arrive c'est que ce n'est pas encouragé.

Patricia: Ce n'est pas la condition de base. La condition de base de l'interculturalisme, c'est comme, il faut se donner un outil de base pour communiquer entre nous. Et prenons le français pour communiquer entre nous. Ça empêche pas que les grecs continuent à être encouragés dans la propagation de leur culture, mais c'est juste donnons nous un langage commun, pis là on est au Québec...

Christine finally answers the question and says,

Moi je pense que oui. Moi je pense que...que on est rendu, pis, je pense que l'école est rendu, puis j'en ai pas beaucoup d'écho, mais les échos que j'ai, je me dis, mon Dieu, c'est tellement plus ouvert aux autres cultures qu'avant. Parce que dans le temps où on était là, comme je disais tantôt, on...on...c'était une levée de bouclier, c'était une identité québécoise là,

ÉNORME qui prenait toute la place parce que c'était en réaction à quelque chose, et donc il y avait une certaine fermeture à ça. Maintenant que ce danger là, on le sent moins fort, il y a une ouverture, et puis ça, ça se traduit par l'interculturalisme, ça se traduit par des cours comme ça. Puis ça se traduit dans la vie de tous les jours, je trouve, tsé. Puis, ça se traduit en ayant une autre lecture, sur notre histoire, en ayant une OUVERTURE, sur les cultures qui étaient là avant qu'on arrive, tsé, puis à cette transmission là, de savoir aussi. Il y a des associations maintenant, amitié autochtone, euh, il y a...pis je trouve que c'est ça, français-anglais, il y a cette ouverture là, aussi beaucoup. Pis j'aime beaucoup ce concept là d'interculturalisme parce que à quelque part, il y a comme une idée de base que, "Regarde, on veut que notre culture soit respectée." Pis ça, j'aime ça. J'aime pas, "Je veux tellement respectée la tienne, qu'oublions la mienne."

There seems to be a debate about interculturalism and multiculturalism specifically related to the integrationist nature of the former. While some participants believe that multiculturalism is the acceptance of other cultures and that interculturalism tends to assimilate people into the dominant culture, others think that it does not offer the possibility of exchange as the interculturalist approach does.

Outside of Montreal

Fortunately, my participants were from varying backgrounds, not only ethnically, but also regionally. The lack of recruitment of purely Montrealers was a blessing in disguise since it made me realize the cultural differences between a heterogeneous and/or metropolitan area and a homogenous and/or regional one in regards to cultural diversity. Fernand seemed to be worried about an appropriate approach that would motivate homogenous cities, like his own, to learn about cultural diversity.

Fernand: Ben justement quand on parle de...de...comprendre les autres cultures, là je pense que c'est un peu...on est à Montréal. Ça va bien. Moi je me rapporte quand j'étais à Granby, euh, je me rappelle de peut-être un noir, un asiatique, dans mes classes, pas plus que ça, euh, quelques témoins de Jéhovah. Même, je me rappelle, deux amis, c'est tout. Euh, la diversité ce n'était pas fort, vraiment pas fort là. Fait que, ça va bien enseigner ça à Montréal, on fait juste aller dans la deuxième plus grosse ville au Québec, à Québec. Aye, je m'excuse là, mais les communautés culturelles là, tu les

vois juste à l'université, tu ne les vois pas ailleurs, tu te promènes sur la rue Cartier là...

Caroline: Ça, ça veut dire qu'on ne devrait pas l'enseigner?

Fernand suggests that more immigrants should immigrate to homogenous regions: a massive integration strategy to get minorities into more rural areas. In fact, there have been a number of debates about this subject at the governmental level.

Fernand: Non, on doit l'enseigner...même c'est parce que...tout ça, ça va aussi dans...un autre...l'éducation va être la culture, c'est un projet de société. Pourquoi les communautés culturelles viennent toutes à Montréal? En grande partie à Montréal? Pourquoi on n'encourage pas à aller ailleurs? Au même titre que pour nous, je veux dire, pourquoi nous, on veut tous venir à Montréal, je ne le sais pas. Nos parents reviennent à Montréal. Fait que, ça c'est une des premières choses, mais bon. Je ne le sais pas comment ça, ça peut se vivre à Chibougamau euh, à Sept-îles. Je sais pas comment ça peut se vivre.

As an example, Pierre talks about his aunt, a teacher who invited to her classroom a guest speaker to incorporate some diversity in a very homogenous town.

Pierre: Je pense que on peut en parler c'est possible d'en parler dans des projets par exemple, bon, ma mère est gaspésienne, ma tante enseigne...en fait la majorité des mes tantes sont enseignantes en Gaspésie...Elles viennent toutes de Caplan, New Richmond, puis c'est euh...comme ma tante à Caplan, ce qu'elle a fait, elle est professeur en sixième année, pis bien justement, elle a organisé un genre de safari, puis elle a invité quelqu'un de la ville qui lui était déjà allé en Afrique, puis ils ont fait...pis après les étudiants ont présenté un exposé sur l'Afrique en général, fait que, oui c'est possible de faire de des projets...des projets comme ça.

Catherine: Même si t'as pas d' "Africains" de souche...

Pierre: En fait, à Caplan, tu as UN Africain, qui est un Sénégalais, tsé. Fait que, ma cousine ben, c'est le seul noir qu'elle a vu dans toute sa vie... en vrai.

Caroline: Wow.

Marc: Ben je pense qu'une chose que les profs peuvent faire qui serait très positif c'est d'encourager cette ouverture au monde. D'encourager les voyages, encourager le goût de découvrir d'autres cultures qui est pas souvent fait...

Interestingly enough, in this conversation, the importance of the teacher's knowledge is emphasized. To encourage students to learn about other cultures and traveling, the teacher should be somewhat knowledgeable culturally. Catherine, who studies in Educational Technology, made an interesting suggestion about using the internet by offering the possibility for students to chat with other students from other parts of the world. Under controlled supervision, this activity could open the students' minds to different situations, and cultural contexts. Marc, Catherine and Pierre think that even in homogenous areas of Quebec, it is important to integrate elements of minority cultures into the classroom even if they are not physically represented. In light of this, a good question would be whether most young adults have similar values regarding the integration of other cultures.

Propositions to the MEQ

The last question was to find out whether they had any other suggestions in terms of the educational system in Quebec.

Caroline: Pensez-vous que le système d'éducation aujourd'hui est plus respectueux des "autres" cultures et inclut toutes les cultures ainsi que la culture québécoise dans le curriculum? Si non, pourquoi? Quels sont les ajustements que vous avez proposés pour le futur des enfants d'aujourd'hui et des votre?

Through the dispersed comments, such as Fernand's, it is clear that most participants agreed that promoting bilingualism in both the Anglophone and Francophone communities would be crucial to students' overall development.

Some participants believed in the importance of the basics in education like French, Quebec history, geography, and physics.

Patricia: Puis c'est l'histoire aussi, comment tu peux transmettre quelque chose que toi-même t'as pas assimilé. Pis là je ressors une affaire épouvantable que mon grand-père et mon père sortent, mais on connaît pas notre histoire au Québec. Comment tu veux espérer la transmettre quand tu la connais même pas. Tsé, on connaît 50 ans en arrière d'histoire, c'est tout, on s'arrête là. Donc, tsé, je pense qu'il y a comme un travail de fond à faire avant... (...) Pis, ça c'est un...encore une fois, je dis ça, puis probablement que n'importe quel pédagogue pourrait détruire ce que je viens de dire, mais...avant qu'on enseigne...aux jeunes au secondaire des cours qui se rapprochent de l'anthropologie, de la sociologie, avant d'en arriver à ce niveau d'analyse, ok, c'est assez raffiné. À l'université, tu fais des bacs là-dedans là, ça te prends des connaissances de base...je trouve qu'on s'est éparpillé dans ce qu'on voulait, euh...tout est important, c'est sûr que tout est important là, mais il faut y aller plus par urgence des choses...

Patricia seems to believe that there is a lack in basic teachings such as Quebec history.

She also thinks that certain courses or concepts might be too demanding for teenagers.

On the other hand, Marc believes that the method of grading should not be based on competency but on old-fashioned grades because it brings the quality of education to a lower level.

Marc: On dirait...on dirait qu'au Québec des fois on prend pour acquis que les gens sont pas très intelligents puis c'est un peu le nivellement vers la baisse, tsé. C'est comme...euh, je ne connais pas le nouveau système de l'éducation en détails mais on parle de...une réforme complète des évaluations, il y a plus de pointage, il y a plus de...c'est plutôt... personnellement comment tu t'améliores et tout ça. Ben, on dirait qu'on essaye...d'enlever complètement le côté...je ne sais pas comment je pourrais dire...le côté...

Caroline: académique?

Marc: Académique, oui. Le côté performance, académique, parce qu'on considère que ça ferait trop mal à quelqu'un de pas être assez bon dans quelque chose. Alors, c'est un peu la même chose avec la langue. On considère que tout le monde n'est pas tout à fait capable d'apprendre deux langues, donc on ne veut pas trop pousser. On dirait que c'est un petit peu du nivellement vers la baisse, qu'on fait et c'est pour ça que moi personnellement, les nouvelles réformes, je ne les connais pas en détails mais, ça me semble pas être super positif.

It is worthy to note that although Marc admits that he does not know much about the MEQ reform, he has the sense that it underestimates student capabilities and lowers academic standards. For Mark, it seems that the Policy of the Intercultural Education

does not comply with his views about an improved system of education. It would be interesting to know if he would think the same if he were more informed about the reform.

Other participants like Christine below, think that the Interculturalism Policy of the MEQ Reform is successful and should be further developed.

Christine: Oui plus de français, oui plus de math, puis mon éducation physique fait partie des bases aussi mais, je pense qu'on a pas le choix de...je veux que la société à laquelle j'appartiens, transmette ça à l'école, le respect de la différence, pis comment négocier avec une différence, puis comment négocier avec des VALEURS, parce qu'une culture c'est aussi beaucoup des valeurs, avec des VALEURS différentes parce que on a pas le choix, en tout cas à Montréal, on le vit tellement, avec des communautés culturelles d'ailleurs, pis il y en a qui ont des différences assez fortes, au niveau culturel et au niveau des valeurs, puis il faut être capable de discuter, dialoguer pis d'échanger là-dessus parce que...la confrontation est grande là, tsé.

What Christine propounded relates directly to one of the statements from the Personal Development section in the Reform. Some of the goals are: reflecting on one's own culture and the openness to cultural diversity, developing attitudes for one's personal and social life, and concern for the other and the environment.

Others add on by giving practical examples relating to cultural diversity, such as,

Catherine: (...) Je suis d'accord que la meilleure façon d'intégrer une culture se serait de s'imprégner de cette culture là. C'est sûre qu'on ne peut pas aller vivre dans tout les pays du monde là pendant six mois là, pour s'imprégner, mais tsé au moins de faire travailler les gens ensemble pis bon, participer dans des projets dans des communautés culturelles. À Montréal, on est privilégié pour ça là, tsé, il y a plein d'organismes, il y a plein de trucs, fait que justement dans la veine de la réforme, si justement c'est populaire d'aller faire des projets communautaires...

In fact, one of the goals in the New Reform is to incorporate students into their community by doing volunteer work and by developing various projects. Overall, there were three types of propositions made by the participants: course-related, value-

oriented, and practical. Theoretically, these are now all part of the New Quebec Reform.

The group discussions brought out some highly interesting and sometimes contradictory data. This has produced rich material that made me appreciate the complexity of this sensitive topic. In light of this, I will present my cautious results and findings in the following chapter. I also address some crucial limitations in my research methods, particularly with regards to the nature of my interview questions and with regards to my own biases in interpreting the data. Due to the self-exploratory character of this study, I found it hard to separate my own experiences and assumptions from those of the participants. Moreover, the emic perspective I carried made it difficult to rise above the data in the interpretation process. Finally, the data analysis inspired various propositions for future research.

Chapter V – Conclusion

As this is a qualitative study, I present my results as hypotheses rather than conclusions. This chapter is in two parts. The first section presents what I have identified as my three major hypotheses. The second section discusses the implication of future research that might emanate from these hypotheses. These three major areas that I will address are cultural identity, linguistic abilities and the integration of these in the overall educational system.

Three Major Hypotheses

The first hypothesis was related to the participants schooling experiences in relation to their cultural identity. The question was: how have these adults' schooling experiences contributed to their identity construction? This general hypothesis is that schooling had an impact on the construction of all the participants' cultural identity. Specifically, this influence happened through *informal* schooling, such as peer relation and living in a multiethnic neighborhood. The actual school system elements such as teachers, classrooms did not have much of an impact of any of the participants. However, most participants agreed that the learned material in school pertains to a Quebecois culture and implicitly passes on this mainstream knowledge.

When describing their cultural identity construction in general terms, Francophones in this study tended to ascribe to the more dynamic concept of culture while the Allophones ascribed to the more static concept of culture. Moreover, some of the Francophone partakers described schooling as having an overall influence of all students culture by being *a vehicle in cultural transmission* that related to the objectification of the majority knowledge. On the other hand, some Allophones referred to the affirmation of their *own* cultural identity. Members from both the

Allophone and Francophone groups agreed that they learned about other cultures through informal peer interaction, which created an openness to cultural diversity.

The second question that emerged was how the schooling experience in a French-medium school differed for Francophone and Allophone adults. The schooling experiences of Allophone and Francophone students were quite similar in the sense that generally the exposure to various cultures creates open-mindedness while the lack of exposure created a closed mind towards diversity. Some participants seemed dismayed by the fact that the presence of great number of cultures muffled the Quebecois one in the school environments. As for Francophone students having lived in a homogenous environment, the presence of the Anglophone culture was a disturbing reality during the 1980s.

The Francophone sentiment of these young adults towards a cause that they did not understand but yet participated in, shaped the way they behave in certain linguistic and cultural contexts. In particular, their dislike for unilingual Anglophones along with a weak linguistic pedagogical approach for the English language was a concoction for feeble language abilities. On the other hand, the Allophones, not particularly conscious of these issues, acquired superior linguistic skills. Still, all agreed that the importance of acquiring the English language should be a priority in schools. Some went as far as saying that the school system in Quebec should create more bilingual educational institutions for all Quebecois to attend, whether they are Allophones, Francophones or Anglophones. The attendance to these schools should not necessarily be forced but strongly encouraged.

The last hypothesis was related to the changes in the educational system since the participants were students. The question was: does the Policy of Intercultural Education and the Reform answer the reflections and concerns of these young adults? Some of the partakers believed that the competency-based system was too non-academic and lacked traditional ways of teaching. According one of the participants, this system lowered academic standards. They thought most participants agreed that the Quebec Reform has been successful in implementing more student centered teachings while opening the learner to various cultures, through citizenship education. However, some of them were worried about the implementation of this curriculum in Quebec's regions. The lack of cultural diversity might create aloofness in terms of applying this curriculum.

According to all of the partakers, participating in community and societal projects should be the priority of all Quebecois students and citizens. This is because these undertakings will create a hub for social interaction, cultural exchanges and common understanding. Furthermore, the participants generally agreed with the implementation of the Policy of Interculturalism in all Quebec. They think that it should be actively applied in homogenous areas by incorporating elements of minority cultures.

Implications for Future Research

Because of limitations related to the exploratory design of this thesis, there were issues that were insufficiently examined. Thus, I compiled six possible topics for future research that are connected to the main findings.

First, a study examining the processes of cultural identity construction comparing Bill 101 generations and today's generations. Using the New Reform as a variable, it would be interesting to analyze whether an increase of cultural awareness would change the process of identity construction. This would demonstrate the difference and similarities across the two groups. A research question for investigation could be: Are the students from today's generations faced with similar issues when constructing their cultural identity and when facing the Quebecois society? Or has change in the curriculum and hence society created more possibilities for the present generation?

Second, a longitudinal study would be necessary to examine the impacts of the Reform and Interculturalism on the overall Quebec society. In the introduction, I criticize the gap between the overall context of the educational system and the societal system. This means that the teachings at school might not be reflected in the general society. This is the reason it would be useful to follow students from their school years into adulthood. This type of research would permit to assess the crevice between the educational sphere and the *real world*. For this proposition, this hypothesis is projected: in 10-15 years, the teenage students from Quebec will be better prepared to deal with any type of diversity personally, academically, professionally, and globally.

Third, a linguistic research linking knowledge of languages to openness to diversity would be essential. According to my participants, language is the *key* to a culture. Hence, if one has many keys, one has more access and more possibilities in terms of exploring various cultures. This exposure might create a more respectful look on other societies and even influence one's cultural identity or character. Thus, the hypothesis could be: the more languages a person speaks, the more open-minded he/she is in

regards to diversity; the more languages a person speaks, the more easily he/she adapts to a new cultural environment.

Fourth, a comparative research on Allophone identification to the Quebecois culture would be crucial. In this study, adults from various cultural backgrounds but with similar immigrant/birth status would be questioned on the nature of their sentiment of belonging to Quebec. As mentioned in this data analysis, there are, simply put, two ways that a person can adapt to a culture: by adopting the society's values and adhering to that culture or by adapting only functionally to that culture, i.e. linguistically and socially without creating any bonds with the host culture. There are various elements that can be studied: 1. What cultures are tend to identify themselves with the Quebecois culture? And why? 2. What is the percentage of people who feel a type of sentiment, whether civic or nationalistic, toward Quebec? This research would have a phenomenological stance where participants would analyze their life events and their understanding of the world around them. This complex analysis would be influenced by major factors such as: language, career opportunity, financial background, family bonds, marital status, skin colour, etc.

Fifth, it would be imperative to investigate teacher-training programs in order to analyze their similarity to the changes in the Reform. Have the teacher-training programs across Quebec included the new concepts that were implemented in the New Quebec Reform? Are they up to par with this new curriculum? Furthermore, if indeed these changes were implemented, it would be crucial to verify whether the teachers are teaching accordingly to the new teacher-training programs. As mentioned by McAndrew (2003), in many regions of Quebec where cultural homogeneity reigns,

implementing intercultural concepts is not a popular trend. Thus, there would have to be a tighter investigation around the teachings in these regions.

In conclusion, this study created an opportunity for a group of people to be heard. While it is impossible to draw any conclusive statements from this work, it has brought up interesting questions pertaining to schooling, Bill 101 and cultural identity construction. According to these participants, the French language is the most important pillar in Quebec culture. In this study, there seemed to be a distinction between the functionality in communicating in the French language and adopting French cultural values. The significance of this study is that we are at the beginning of the process of examining this generation. What lies ahead are discussions relating to culture, language and social policy.

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Appendix A

FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT POUR PARTICIPER À UNE RECHERCHE

Ce document déclare que j'accepte de participer à un programme de recherche dirigé par Caroline Chwojka des Études de l'Éducation de l'Université de Concordia.

A. BUT

Il m'est informé que le but de la recherche est comme suit:

Cette étude cherche à explorer les expériences et les discours des jeunes adultes de 20-35 ans, premières générations à voir subi la loi 101, à propos de leurs pratiques linguistiques et leur lien avec la construction de leur identité culturelle.

B. PROCÉDURES

La première partie de la recherche requiert la complétion d'un questionnaire. Je vous envoie le questionnaire ainsi que ce formulaire de consentement à lire. Si vous acceptez de remplir le questionnaire ainsi que de participer à une discussion de groupe, remplissez-le et renvoyez-le moi le par courriel. Le questionnaire vous prendra un maximum d'une heure à compléter.

La deuxième partie de la recherche sera une discussion de groupe enregistrée par audiophone. Les participant(es) seront contactés afin d'organiser une heure et un lieu convenable à la discussion. Au début de la séance, les participants signeront les formulaires de consentements.

Il n'y a aucun risque associé à cette recherche. Si vous voulez annuler votre participation, il n'y aura aucune conséquence négative.

C. CONDITIONS DE LA PARTICIPATION

- Je comprends que je peux retirer ma participation à n'importe quel moment sans subir de conséquence négative.
- Je comprends que ma participation dans cette recherche est: CONFIDENTIELLE (i.e., que la chercheuse connaîtra mon identité, mais ne la dévoilera pas).
- Je comprends que les données de cette recherche peuvent être publiées.

J'AI BIEN ÉTUDIÉ LES INFORMATIONS CI-DESSUS ET JE COMPRENDS CET ACCORD. JE CONSENS VOLONTAIREMENT MA PARTICIPATION À CETTE ÉTUDE.

NOM (en lettres moulées) _____

SIGNATURE _____

SIGNATURE DU TÉMOIN _____

DATE _____

Si, à tout moment, vous avez des questions à l'égard de vos droits, SVP contactez Mme Adela Reid, Officier de l'éthique et de la conformité de la recherche, Université Concordia au 514.848.2424, x. 7481 ou par courriel: Adela.Reid@Concordia.ca.

Appendix B - Renseignements personnels

1. Nom, prénom:
2. Sexe: F M
3. Date de naissance:
4. Lieu de naissance:
5. Lieu où vous avez été élevé(e):
6. Nom de votre école secondaire:
7. Lieu de naissance de vos parents:
 - a. Père:
 - b. Mère:
8. Lieu de naissance de vos grands-parents:
 - a. Paternels:
 - i. Grand-père:
 - ii. Grand-mère:
 - b. Maternels:
 - i. Grand-père:
 - ii. Grand-mère:
9. Langues parlées:
10. Niveau d'éducation:
11. Courriel:
12. No. de téléphone:

Si vous avez des questions concernant le questionnaire ou autres, n'hésitez pas à communiquer avec moi:

Caroline Chwojka:

Cellulaire: 514-912-2182

Courriel: caroline_chwojka@hotmail.com.

Appendix C - Questionnaire

1. Quelles langue(s) parlez-vous avec vos parents et/ou votre famille proche?
2. Quelles langue(s) parlez-vous avec votre famille étendue?
3. Quelles langue(s) parlez-vous avec vos connaissances?
4. Si vous détenez un emploi, quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus fréquemment à votre poste?
5. Si vous êtes aux études, dans quelle(s) langue(s) étudiez-vous? Pourquoi?
6. Êtes-vous allé dans une école secondaire publique, semi-privée, ou privée? Pourquoi?
7. Dans quelle(s) langue(s) avez-vous fait vos études postsecondaires? Pourquoi?
8. Quelles langue(s) parlez-vous (ou parliez-vous) avec vos ami(e)s aux études?
9. De quelle ethnie ou origine ethnique sont la plupart de vos connaissances? (Vous pouvez encercler plus d'une réponse.)
 - a. Franco-canadienne ou québécoise
 - b. anglo-canadienne ou québécoise
 - c. québécoise ou canadienne d'origine immigrante (né(e) au Canada)
 - d. autre ethnie (né(e) à l'étranger)
 - e. mixte (famille bi-culturelle)
10. À quelle(s) culture(s) vous identifiez-vous?
11. Quand vous lisez des journaux/revues/livres, dans quelle langue le faites-vous le plus souvent?
 - a. français
 - b. anglais
 - c. autre, spécifiez: _____
12. Quand vous naviguez sur l'internet, quelle langue utilisez-vous le plus souvent?
 - a. français
 - b. anglais
 - c. autre, spécifiez: _____
13. Quand vous regardez la télévision/aller voir un film, dans quelle langue le faites-vous le plus souvent?
 - a. français
 - b. anglais
 - c. autre, spécifiez: _____

14. Quand vous écoutez de la musique, dans quelle langue le faites-vous le plus souvent?
- français
 - anglais
 - autre, spécifiez: _____

En utilisant cette échelle ci-dessous, répondez aux questions le plus honnêtement possible. Encerle la réponse qui vous convient le plus. Ce sont des questions personnelles. Il n'y a pas de "bonnes" ou de "mauvaises" réponses. Ce sont vos propres opinions!

Échelle:	
1	- Tout à faire d'accord
2	- D'accord
3	- Ni en d'accord, ni en désaccord
4	- En désaccord
5	- Tout à fait en désaccord
6	- Pas sure / Je ne le sais pas.

15. La loi 101 instaurée en 1977 (i.e. l'obligation de m'inscrire à une école où la langue d'apprentissage est le français) m'a avantagé(e) dans le développement de mes habilités linguistiques.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6
 1. Tout à fait d'accord 3. Ni en d'accord, ni en désaccord 6. Pas sure / Je ne le sais pas
16. La loi 101 a eu un impact sur la construction de mon identité culturelle.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6
17. Au niveau de l'éducation, la loi 101 est une politique de rang primordial dans la construction et la prolifération de l'identité québécoise.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6
18. À mon avis, les écoles à Montréal diffusent la culture québécoise de façon appropriée.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6
19. À mon avis, les écoles à Montréal diffusent les autres cultures de façon appropriée.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6
20. À mon avis, mon école secondaire représentait bien la culture québécoise.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6
21. À mon avis, mon école secondaire représentait bien les cultures diverses.
- 1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

22. À mon avis, les professeurs nous enseignaient l'histoire, les traditions et les valeurs du Québec.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

23. À mon avis, les professeurs nous enseignaient l'histoire, les traditions et les valeurs des autres cultures.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

24. L'atmosphère à mon école me permettait d'exprimer mon identité culturelle sans gêne et sans intimidation.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

25. Les valeurs sociales et culturelles de l'école ressemblaient aux miennes.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

26. En général, mon identité culturelle, ma personne et la culture que je représente étaient respectées dans le milieu scolaire.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

1. Tout à fait d'accord
pas

3. Ni en d'accord, ni en désaccord

6. Pas sure / Je ne le sais pas

27. Mon école a eu beaucoup d'influence sur mon identité culturelle.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

28. Mes parents ont beaucoup d'influence sur mon identité culturelle.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

29. Mes amis ont beaucoup d'influence sur mon identité culturelle.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

30. Avoir une identité culturelle vis à vis le Québec est quelque chose d'important pour moi.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

31. S'identifier culturellement à une autre partie du monde (ex.: Japon, Pologne, Brésil, Arménie) est quelque chose d'important pour moi.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

32. Tous ceux qui habitent au Québec sont des Québécois.

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

33. Une identité culturelle peut être composée de plusieurs cultures ou d'ethnies (par exemple, canadien-polonais, québécois-chilien, canadien-québécois-haïtien).

1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

Appendix D - Questions pour le groupe de discussion

1. C'est quoi une identité culturelle – de quoi est composée une identité culturelle?
2. Quand vous dites que vous vous identifiez à une ou plusieurs cultures, qu'est-ce que cela veut dire pour vous? C'est quoi votre niveau d'identification?
3. Quel est votre opinion sur la phrase: Tous ceux qui habitent au Québec sont des québécois? Expliquez.
4. Un couple d'entre vous avait répondu que vous vous identifiez juste à la culture québécoise, mais à la fin du questionnaire vous aviez répondu que vous vous identifiez à une autre partie du monde? Pourquoi?
5. Quelque uns d'entres vous ont écrit qu'une identité culturelle peut être hybride. Pour vous, c'est quoi une identité hybride? Qui sont les personnes qui peuvent avoir cette identité. Les québécois *pure laine* peuvent-ils avoir une identité culturelle hybride?
6. L'école affecte souvent la construction de l'identité culturelle. Si elle l'a fait pour vous, comment l'a-t-elle fait? Et si non, pourquoi pas?
7. J'aimerais que vous élaboriez sur la représentation de la culture québécoise et des cultures diverses à votre école: parce cela je veux dire dans les cours, par les profs, l'atmosphère multiculturelle ou pas? Donc comment l'école a-t-elle affectée votre identité?
8. En classe, les enseignants incluaient-ils vos expériences culturelles?
9. Vous sentiez vous inclus dans des cours d'histoire, de géographie ou d'autres sciences sociales?
10. Comment pensez-vous que la loi 101 a eu un impact sur votre identité culturelle?
11. En 1977, tout les francophone et allophones du Québec devaient s'inscrire dans des écoles où la langue d'enseignement est le français. Quel impact cette loi a-t-elle eu sur les habiletés linguistiques de ces deux groupes et des vôtres? Si non, quels changements apporteriez-vous à cette loi?
12. La langue fait-elle partie d'une culture? Est-elle automatiquement associée à la culture de celle-ci ou peut-elle être indépendante des valeurs culturelles?
13. En général, la connaissance d'une langue mène à la connaissance de la culture de cette langue et vice versa. Mais mène t-elle à l'identification de cette culture?
14. Si le fait de connaître plusieurs langues n'est pas forcément un facteur pour la connaissance de la culture associée, pensez-vous que les allophones ou enfants d'immigrants qui vont à l'école en français s'identifie automatiquement à la culture québécoise? Pourquoi?
15. Pensez-vous que le système éducatif aujourd'hui avec l'interculturalisme, la réforme et les cours de citoyenneté, s'est bien adapté à la réalité du pluralisme au Québec?
16. Est-ce que vous croyez que le MEQ a pris en considération les suggestions et les critiques des premières générations de la loi 101 pour améliorer le système d'aujourd'hui?
17. Pensez-vous que le système d'éducation aujourd'hui est plus respectueux des *autres* cultures et inclus toutes les cultures ainsi que la culture québécoise dans le curriculum? Si non, pourquoi? Quels sont les ajustements que vous proposez pour le futur des enfants d'aujourd'hui et/ou des vôtres?