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Language Policy and Multiple Transnational Identity: The Case of Russian Immigrants in Montréal

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This paper discusses the transnational identity of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Montréal. The changing language policies of Québec with regard to French and English are shown to create a complex situation for immigrant groups, which have historically assimilated into the population. The earlier motivations for this outcome are considered, while the impact of language policies on the assimilation patterns in terms of both acquisition and use are discussed. The changing educational policies regarding the historically Anglophone Jewish schools are also examined with respect to impact on the Russian Jewish immigrant population. The overall language policy and planning goals of Québec, the well-established Jewish population, and Russian Jewish immigrants, are then considered. It is concluded that these immigrants' identity is tied to the acquisition of *five* different languages.

Introduction¹

Language policy issues have often been at the fore in Québec. The dichotomy that has arisen from the linguistic tension between French, the numerical majority language of the province, and English, the dominant language of the country, has created a complex situation for English and French speakers alike in Québec. Immigrants have complicated this picture by forming a group that historically has almost unanimously opted for entry into the English-speaking population. Immigrants from the former Soviet Union have been among the most likely to join the English-speaking group, in part because many of these immigrants are Jewish. As will be discussed in this paper, the large Jewish population of Montréal is overwhelmingly English speaking, and constitutes one of the major ethnic groups of English speakers in Montréal.

Language legislation of the past few decades has attempted to overturn the power differential that had placed French in a disadvantaged

¹ I would like to thank Nancy Hornberger, the participants of the Spring 2006 Education 927 seminar, and three anonymous reviewers, as well as Saran Kaur Gill, Gillian Sankoff, and Charles Shahar.

position in Québec with respect to English. One of the major groups that this recent legislation has affected is immigrants, who are viewed as the most likely potential pool from which to draw new French speakers in Québec.

In this paper, I describe the various populations with which Russian-speaking Jewish immigrants to Montréal, Québec's largest and most cosmopolitan city, tend to identify and interact. This study is unique in considering the particular perspective of this group within the linguistic community of Montréal. These immigrants define their distinctive identity through the different groups with which they share a sense of belonging. The information presented here is compiled primarily from analysis of language policy and news reports. My understanding of the situation has been enriched through the preliminary results of field work conducted with first- and second-generation Russian Jewish Montréalers, as well as Francophone and Anglophone Montréalers, in the form of hour-long sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 1984) with four informants. I consider these populations' stances past and present with regard to issues of language. I then focus my attention on a few aspects of Russian-speaking immigrants' linguistic experience in Montréal. First, I consider the conflicting identities of Russian-speaking immigrants in Montréal which draw them to a number of different languages. Next, I examine the success of language legislation in converting new Russian-speaking immigrants into French speakers rather than English speakers. Finally, I consider the reasons that transnational identity, as well as other overt and covert language planning goals that affect this group and which often conflict with those of the French-speaking majority in Québec, allow for greater language maintenance and acquisition, and may ultimately be more influential in language choice for later generations within this community.

The Major Players

The population of French Canada has traditionally been categorized into three separate groups: the French speakers, known as Francophones; the English speakers, known as Anglophones; and speakers of other languages, known as Allophones. This last group is a heterogeneous group that consists of the Aboriginal population (First Nations people and Inuit) and immigrants—the oldest and newest populations. The indigenous and immigrant Allophones tend to share an affinity to English, but in other respects there are large differences in their experiences (e.g., Hamers & Hummel 1998) both because of their different background and because of their different legal status in Canada. The experience of indigenous peoples will not be considered further in this paper.

As far as their relative sizes, Francophones constitute approximately 82% of the population of the province of Québec (Salvatore 2001). On the

other hand, according to the 2001 census, Francophones only constitute 64% of the population of the city of Montréal, whose population is nearing 2,000,000 (or 4,000,000 in the entire metropolitan area).² Nearly 28% of the population of Montréal is composed of immigrants, and among those, Russia was the tenth-most frequent country of origin of immigrants between 1996 and 2001. Anglophones in Québec are heavily concentrated in Montréal.

The figures regarding language refer to primary language of use, or language used in the home. However, as Poplack, Walker & Malcomson (2006) report, Anglophones recognize that knowledge of French is necessary for success in Québec in most realms. According to most estimates, approximately two thirds of the English-speaking population of Montréal knows French (whatever “knowledge” of a language entails), while only one third of the French-speaking population knows English (e.g., Salvatore 2001). This fact, which may seem on the surface to reflect deference to the numerical majority and thus recognition of the superior status of the French language, actually seems to help increase the state of inequality between Anglophones and Francophones. It is clear that those living in Québec who master *both* English and French have the most opportunities. Thus, by not acquiring English, Francophone Quebecers limit their chances for success. According to the literature, the motivations behind non-acquisition of English are in some cases conscious—a political statement of the supremacy of French or a feeling that English is not needed since the majority of Québec residents speak French—and in others are unintentional—lack of educational opportunities or lack of English-speaking friends or co-workers with which to practice even if there has been exposure to English in school. In the case of immigrants, recent writing has suggested that they are at an even greater advantage, since they often acquire both of the languages of Québec in addition to the language of their country of origin (Proujanskaïa 2002; Salvatore 2001). I return to this question later in this paper.

Jews in Montréal

The Jewish population of Montréal is estimated between 80,000 and 100,000 (Boberg 2004; Shahar & Magonet 2005; Smith 1998). Jews constitute over one-tenth of the Anglophone population and are thus one of the most important ethnic groups of Anglophone Montréal along with those of British, Irish, and Italian descent. The Jewish community in Montréal is alive and well, with thriving communities of Chassidic, Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and Reconstructionist Jews; a large number of Jewish schools; a level of maintenance of the Yiddish language that is virtually unequaled anywhere else in North America; and a growing population of recent immigrants. On the other hand, it is true that the

² Information about the 2001 census comes from Direction de santé publique de Montréal (2003).

Jewish population of Montréal has been decreasing in recent decades, presumably at least in part due to the assault on English, which has led some Montréal Jews to fear discrimination, and the prospect of Québec's secession from Canada, which would challenge the economic prosperity of Montréal (Castonguay 1998). The population reached its peak in the 1970's at around 120,000 (Smith 1998). While Montréal has experienced an influx of Jews from around the world, notably from the former Soviet Union and North Africa, since the first failed referendum for independence in 1980, the city has suffered more losses than gains, with many Jewish families moving to Toronto or the United States.

The members of the established Jewish population of Montréal complicate the language issue in a number of ways. First of all, they are ardent Anglophones, with a feeling of pride in use of English as a necessary means for preserving their unique identity within Montréal society. Second of all, they tend to be well educated, having the opportunity not only to acquire the French language, but also to gain advanced academic degrees more frequently than other groups. Both of these credentials are useful on the job market (Boberg 2004). Finally, the Jewish community of Montréal adds a lot of other languages to the mix: many Jewish schools teach Hebrew, which is an important cultural link with Jews around the world and which aids in understanding the liturgy, and there is more maintenance of Yiddish than in other parts of the Jewish world.

Russian Jewish Immigrants in Montréal

Immigrants started coming to Canada from the Soviet Union at the beginning of the Communist Revolution (Cohen 2000).³ Montréal is the Canadian city that attracts the second highest number of Russian immigrants. Jews constitute approximately one third of the immigrant population from the former Soviet Union to Montréal. There are somewhere between 7,000 and 10,000 Russian Jewish immigrants living in Montréal (Cohen 2000; Shahar & Magonet 2005). This figure is a rough estimate, since many Russian Jews are reluctant to self-report as Jewish on official forms for a variety of reasons ranging from fear of Anti-Semitism to a sense of greater affinity with a Russian identity rather than a Jewish one, as explained by Shahar & Magonet (2005). Some of these immigrated directly from the areas that now form part of the former Soviet Republics. Others immigrated to Israel initially and then came from there to Canada.

Russian Jewish immigrants to Montréal tend to be drawn to neighborhoods that have a high concentration of Jews. The three neighborhoods that attract the most Russian immigrants are Côte-Saint-Luc, Snowdon, and Côte-des-Neiges (Shahar & Magonet 2005). These neighborhoods are located to the west of the so-called East-West dividing line that separates the predominantly Francophone East Island from the more Anglophone

³ Henceforth I shall use the term "Russian immigrant" to refer to all Russian-speaking immigrants, a category which subsumes virtually the entire Jewish population of the former Soviet Union.

West Island.⁴ According to my informants, this fact plays a role in these immigrants' determination of which local language would be useful to acquire: in these neighborhoods, as opposed to many others in Montréal, day-to-day interactions can be conducted successfully using English alone.

Russian Jewish Immigrants as Compared to Other Russian Immigrants

The source material, as well as my informants, explain that the immigrant experience of Russian Jews differs from that of other Russian immigrants in a number of ways. First of all, their reasons for immigrating are often different. Non-Jewish Russians tend to immigrate in search of greater economic opportunity and greater intellectual or political freedom. Jewish immigrants may have these motivations in mind, as well, but in the past their primary reason for immigrating had usually been to escape the oppression and prejudice experienced in the Soviet Union. Thus, Russian Jewish immigrants may have less of a desire to assimilate to the new culture, since they immigrated for negative reasons and not necessarily for positive ones. This suggestion may be evidenced by the fact that Jewish immigrants tend to maintain and use the Russian language more than other immigrants from the former Soviet Union (Cohen 2000). In some ways, however, Russian Jewish immigrants may have an easier adjustment period than other Russian immigrants because they are used to being a minority group and to experiencing oppression.

Jewish immigrants to Montréal also have more help upon arrival. There is an established local community which usually takes them in and which they have the option of partaking in—the strong, established Jewish community described earlier. Many of the Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union are sponsored to come to Canada by Jewish organizations, such as Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS). This fact encourages integration into at least a subculture of the larger community. Weinfeld (1996) suggests that Jewish immigrants experience a three-step process of integration: subcommunity, community, and mainstream society. While some immigrants may not go through all of these steps, there does seem to be what he calls a “nested process” of integration. This is to be expected, since “integration” constitutes a number of processes: acquisition of a local language (or of both local languages), employment involving daily interaction with natives (as opposed to working at a Russian bookstore, for example), a social circle including Canadians, etc.

It is important to note that Russian immigrants, Jewish and non-Jewish, share a common language and, to some extent, a common culture. Many Russian Jews do ultimately find that they identify more with other Russian immigrants than with Canadian, Israeli, or North African Jews,

⁴ Montréal directions are given with regard to flow of the Saint Lawrence River. Thus, what is known as “east” is actually NNE, while “west” is SSW.

with whom they share a religion to which they did not even have much exposure until leaving the Soviet Union (Cohen 2000). In this paper, however, I focus my attention on the experience of Russian Jews who do choose to identify as Jewish.

The Background of Language Politics in Montréal

Québec has a long history with issues of linguistic inequality. In order to understand the motivations behind language policy and planning with regard to immigrants, it is important to have familiarity with the history of issues surrounding the two predominant languages of the province—French and English.

Québec's History of Linguistic Inequality

In the 1960's and 1970's, French speakers in Québec, though the numerical majority, at approximately 80% of the population of the province as a whole, suffered a clear disadvantage in comparison with their Anglophone neighbors. English speakers tended to be wealthier, better educated, and more successful. Knowledge of English was a requirement for many jobs, especially white-collar jobs, while French was required for relatively few jobs. Some positions, such as those in the government, were virtually inaccessible to non-English speakers. Coulombe (1995) explains that "French was used in the lower echelons of economic life, while English was used in the upper echelons (94)." Even as recently as the mid-twentieth century, many Francophones did not even have an elementary school education.

Another often-cited fact that furthered Francophone Quebecers' sense of a threat to their language is the low birth rate of French speakers. Barbaud (1998) explains that since 1970, the birth rate in Québec has been at 1.63 children per woman, well below the Canadian average (1.86) or the necessary threshold for population replacement (2.1) suggested by Duchesne (1993). Duchesne (2000) indicates an even lower birth rate as of 1999, namely 1.45 children per woman; thus, the birth rate seems to be continuing to decrease. Barbaud explains that Allophone women have a birth rate of 2.1 and Allophone language transfers were almost always to English rather than French in the 1960's and 1970's. Thus, this disparity in birth rates would predict a continued increase in the number of English speakers with continued immigration, and a consequent decrease in the percentage of French speakers in Québec.

Language Laws and Improving the Status of French

Ruiz (2006) introduces the concept of "threat inversion" in discussing language policy regarding English in the United States. This concept can be appropriated quite well to the case of French in Québec. The idea is that when a linguistic group feels threatened, there will be a disproportionate

retaliation against other languages in order to empower the language that is perceived to be threatened. This perceived threat can reflect a sense, whether real or imagined, that the language in question is in danger of dying out or that it is in danger of diminishing in status.

In 1960's Québec, French was already the minority language in terms of power, but there was an increasing fear that, due to the reasons discussed above, French might become the numerical minority language, too. Something had to be done. As Rajagopalan (2005) points out, a threat to a nation's symbolic language is usually seen as a "threat to that nation's very integrity (105)." Gill (2006) argues that if there is a mismatch between the power differential and the numerical differential with regard to language groups, power redistribution and social reconstruction is inevitable. This is especially true if the numerical majority language group is also perceived as more local to the area.⁵ As Coulombe (1995) explains,

The rationale for state intervention in linguistic matters is no different from the rationale for intervening in matters such as social welfare, education, the environment and security: market forces benefit the powerful, and, in this particular case [of Québec], are incapable of sustaining linguistic minorities and of fostering proper relations between the various language groups of a given polity (89).

Thus, Coulombe continues, non-intervention of the state in such an instance serves only the interests of the most powerful, dominant group.

The way this played out in Canada involved the enactment of a series of laws intended to improve the status of the French language and to encourage its acquisition (Barbaud 1998; Coulombe 1995; and Magnet 1995). The first of these were Bill 63, the Official Languages Act, passed in 1969, and Bill 22 in 1974, which made French the official language of Québec. As far as education is concerned, Bill 22 made demonstrated English competence a prerequisite for schooling in English. If such competence was not shown, students would be required to attend a French-medium school. Thus, this was the first of the state interventions in Québec with regard to language of education.

In 1977, a far more sweeping law was passed—the famous Bill 101. In terms of education, this law made French the language of schooling in Québec. Only those students whose parents had attended an English-medium school *in Québec* could be schooled in English. This was the most far-reaching of the Québec language laws, which was only slightly modified in 1982 to allow Canadians from other provinces (but no other non-Quebeckers) to send their children to English schools.

⁵ But, note that there is some animosity towards aboriginal groups who use English, although they cannot be argued to be "less local" than the French Canadians. These groups are exempted by law from the requirement for education to be in French (Hamers & Hummel 1998).

Since the narrowly failed referendum for Québec independence in 1995, the previously mounting linguistic animosity has abated. Québec has experienced more economic prosperity and there is not as much pro-Separatist sentiment as there was in the 90's. This change could also be due in part to the success of the language laws. This suggestion will be considered later in the paper.

The Effects of the Language Laws on Non-Quebeckers

While Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms protected the rights of Anglophone Canadians living in Québec, the rights of Allophones were not protected. According to current laws, all immigrants must send their children to English-medium schools, even if they immigrate from an English-speaking country. The only exceptions to this law are allowances for those in the country only temporarily and certain costly private schools, which do not receive funding from the state. Canada differs from the United States in not having had the notion of separation of Church and State in educational matters (Weinfeld 2000). Thus, most religious schools in Canada receive some funding from the state and are therefore subject to the language laws that apply to public schools. Those private schools that do not receive state funding are typically prohibitively expensive for most immigrants. For this reason, the language laws have been effective in tipping the scales of language of education for immigrants, the history of which will be discussed in the next section.

Linguistic Assimilation of Allophones as Anglophones

In the 1960's, over 90% of immigrants' children went to English schools (Magnet 1995). This statistic taken by itself is somewhat surprising, since in terms of numbers, English is the minority language. Why, then, have immigrants traditionally assimilated into the minority Anglophone community? One of the main reasons ties into the notion of language as economic capital (Vaillancourt 1996). Coulombe (1995) notes that "[A]llophone immigrants will choose to learn English as the dominant language in order to maximize their chances of integration and upward mobility (89)." English has historically been both sufficient and necessary for financial success in Québec, and there has been no less access to acquisition of English as opposed to French in Montréal. Moreover, French was *not* necessary for financial success. Given these facts, it seems obvious that Allophones would choose English as the priority local language to acquire.

Other factors are at play besides simple economics. Historically, French Canada has been a typical example of a one-culture, one-language case. French Canadians had been happy to have schools in which there was a common culture shared amongst all pupils (Salvatore 2001). With most immigrants attending English-medium schools, French-medium schools were felt by many Quebeckers to be of higher quality, since these schools

would not have to face the challenges posed by the presence of nonnative speakers in the classroom. In contrast, the English-speaking population of Montréal has always been ethnically diverse, in terms of religion, native language, and country of origin. These notions are evidenced by the fact that large-scale sociolinguistic studies of Montréal French (e.g., Sankoff, Blondeau, & Charity 2001; Thibault & Vincent 1990) do not examine ethnicity as a factor, while studies such as that by Boberg (2004) on Montréal English have shown that the Anglophone Montrealers of Jewish, British-Irish, and Italian descent differ more widely in their speech patterns than English speakers in almost any other city in North America studied to date.

Along with this notion of one-culture, one-language comes the fact that the Francophone population is overwhelmingly Catholic. In terms of education, French schools have traditionally been associated with the Catholic Church. Thus, non-Catholic immigrants often would not attend these schools. To take an extreme example, although many immigrants from North Africa already speak French but not English before coming to Montréal, they historically have tended to gravitate to English-medium schools, since many of these immigrants are Muslim or Jewish (Salvatore 2001). In the next section, I assess the effectiveness of the language legislation in reversing these facts.

The Effect of Language Laws on Immigrant Schooling Language and Language Use

Language laws have had a huge effect on immigrant language transfers. Instead of 80-90% of immigrant language transfers in Québec being to English, the figure is now down to 50-60% (Castonguay 2003). This is aided, of course, by the schooling laws, but it seems also have to do with the increase in perceived value of knowing French for daily life in the province, as suggested by Poplack et al. (2006). In addition, the oft-cited policy of recruitment of Francophone immigrants has helped. The Jewish population of Montréal, for example, is no longer solidly Anglophone, as there are quite a few Jewish immigrants from North Africa and France. Nonetheless, English remains important on the job market.

What seems to be the prevailing linguistic pattern for immigrants is acquisition of both of the local languages. Salvatore (2001) discusses the “trilingual allure” that seems to reign among immigrant communities in Montréal today. This proliferation of multilingualism may help break down barriers amongst the different linguistic and ethnic groups in Montréal and soften the antagonistic atmosphere. Even the meaning of the term “Québécois” seems to be changing. As Fontaine (2003) discusses, there has been a redefining of the term as referring to a Canadian of French descent, a French speaker residing in Québec, or, increasingly, any resident of the province of Québec.

It is also suggested in the literature that there is more maintenance of

heritage languages in the province of Québec than in other parts of Canada (cf. Kralt & Pendakur 1991, cited in Barbaud 1998). In Poplack et al.'s (2006) sample, 32% of the Montrealers cite heritage languages as their native language either alone or in conjunction with English, including nearly 70% of those born before Bill 101 and nearly 20% of those born after. Barbaud proposes that this maintenance is reflective of a linguistic tolerance in Québec that is found to a lesser degree in other parts of Canada which are largely monolingual. In contrast, I theorize that the language laws lead to a stronger psychological link between language and identity for those residing in Québec. Thus, in forming a transnational identity between home country and Québec (and Canada), immigrants to Québec recognize that if they give up their heritage language, they renounce a significant part of their own identity.

Language Laws and Jewish Education

Jewish schools in Montréal have had a long history of difficulty with regard to state recognition and funding. As was mentioned earlier, Canadian religious schools usually receive funding from the government. What this used to mean in practice, however, is that Catholic and Protestant schools received economic support, while other religious schools were left out of this scheme. The according of the right to state funding for Jewish schools is entrenched in the issue of language.

In the 1960's, Jewish schools initiated the process to request funding from the state, allocated by the Protestant School Board (Corcos 1997). In the political climate of the time, however, allocating state funding to Jewish schools was not a priority. Since these schools catered primarily to the Anglophone population and were not French-medium schools, allocation of funding could be viewed as a means of further empowering the Anglophone population. This would thus run antithetical to the political efforts to tip the scales of linguistic inequality in favor of French.

What ensued was a series of legislation and mandates from the Ministry of Education for changes in the curriculum of Jewish schools in an attempt to meet the goals of all parties involved. The most important mandate formed part of a compromise reached in 1974: the amount of hours per week of French exposure would have to be increased. Jewish schools thus faced the language issue a few years before the strictest language legislation was put into place. Initially, the request was fairly modest: an increase from five hours a week to eight. By 1980, however, after Bill 101, these schools were required to have fourteen hours a week in French, as they were classified by the government as "in transition to French" ("en voie de francisation"). This created a situation that seems rather overwhelming, in terms of number of school hours a day needed in order to accommodate teaching of French skills, English skills, regular school subjects, and Jewish studies. Monette Ulline, then-director of the

Association of Jewish Day Schools, pleaded, "We seem to have reached a ceiling [...]. We cannot lengthen our primary school students' school day any longer" (cited in Corcos 1997: 199, translation mine).

In the period following the adoption of Bill 101, some English-medium Jewish schools had to close their doors. Those that survived were obliged to make drastic changes to accommodate the language laws in order to be eligible for state funding and to be allowed to admit immigrants. Many Jewish schools have adopted an officially bilingual curriculum, or even a trilingual or quadrilingual curriculum, incorporating Hebrew and Yiddish. Several studies of multilingual education in Montréal have found that academic achievement and English and French academic skills are not impaired by this demanding system (cited in, e.g., Weinfeld 2000). Thus, perhaps this encouragement of multilingualism is not detrimental. It certainly prepares the Jewish students for success in Québec society, and Brodbar-Nemzer, Cohen, Reitzes, Shahar, & Tobin (1993) report that most Jewish students in their sample have no intention of leaving Québec.

To summarize the language situation for Jewish schools today, many of them have incorporated a large focus on language in their curricula. The schools have adapted to the language laws, due to a legal obligation and to secure funding, for sure. However, they have gone further. The role of language in these schools is not only tied to obeying the laws, but also to ensuring the economic success of its graduates, in recognition of the importance of knowledge of French for success in Québec. Also, language is taught and used as a means of reinforcing the unique identity of the schools' students as Quebecers, Canadians, and cultural and religious Jews.

I undertook a brief examination of eight Jewish schools recommended to new immigrants by Jewish Immigrant Aid Services (JIAS) on their web site (<http://www.jiasmontreal.org>). My exploration of these schools' informational web sites yielded a number of interesting findings. First of all, children in these schools are, in fact, expected to acquire and use a multitude of languages. At least four of these schools use three languages as a medium of instruction (French, English, and Hebrew), while all schools expect acquisition of English, French, and in most cases Hebrew and/or Yiddish. All but one of the web sites provide information in both English and French (one is only in English), and two of these also provide information in Hebrew. However, the English sections of most of these web sites are more extensive, which implies that the parents of the children are not necessarily multilingual, but rather are overwhelmingly Anglophone. Some of the schools' web sites explicitly acknowledge that parents may not know the languages that (or in which) their children are learning, but that this should not be viewed as problematic. Finally, all but one of the schools' names are reported in English, compared to four which have Hebrew names and only one which reports a French name. This finding suggests that Jewish identity in Montréal is still resolutely Anglophone.

Language Planning Goals of the Major Players

Cooper (1989) and Hornberger (2006), among others, lay out a framework of language policy and planning that proposes a tripartite division in the categorization of language planning efforts: they can be instances of corpus planning, related to questions of which variety of language should be used and how the language can be reformed or standardized; status planning, related to increasing the uses of the language in question and the respect accorded to it; or acquisition planning, related to increasing the number of users of the language. In most language planning efforts, more than one of these types of planning comes into play. In this section, I offer, based on the information gleaned from the literature, some suggestions as to specific ways in which each of these types of language planning is taking place, or might take place, in Montréal on the part of the major players in the case considered in this paper—Québec, the Anglophone Jewish community, and the Russian Jewish community. In the final section, I assess whether these goals have been successfully met so far with regard to language education and language use among Russian Jewish immigrants.

Québec's Perspective

Québec's language planning goals in general have been examined throughout this paper. With regard to immigrants, these goals take on a special flavor. Québec's language policy, while respecting the established English-speaking population of the province in most cases, has had a somewhat antagonistic feel with regard to the Anglophone numerical minority. In these cases, the preexisting power differential justifies policies which are anti-English inasmuch as they are pro-French. The need for education in both French and English for both groups in order for them to have access to economic success has been discussed in this paper, as well. However, Québec's goals with regard to Allophones must fall primarily in the realm of acquisition planning, in order to "sway" Allophones to their side. This is viewed as the easiest way to increase the proportion of French speakers in the province.

Corpus planning efforts with regard to immigrants are minimal in comparison with other types of language planning. The goals include expansion of the stylistic range of Canadian French in order to make it an effective medium of instruction for nonnative speakers.

In terms of status planning, Québec hopes to increase the perceived value of knowledge of French amongst the immigrant population. To that end, the Québec government hopes to make French a necessity for a successful life and career in the province. Thus, proficiency in French ought to be a priority for new immigrants, both because of an increase in the economic value of French and an increase in the practicality of knowing French.

Acquisition planning would seem to be Québec's most difficult obstacle. In order to increase the ratio of French speakers in the province, the government aims to steer immigrants towards French as the local language of choice, rather than English. This must involve providing resources for immigrants, children and adults alike, to acquire French, which, according to information disseminated to immigrants, is done in a number of ways. This acquisition of French could exist alongside English language courses or attempt to replace them. This issue comes back to the realm of status planning: if the hope is for Allophones to assimilate to the Francophone population, then there ought to be negative acquisition planning as well, i.e., a decreased opportunity for them to acquire English. Without limiting individual freedoms, this can be accomplished through economic incentives, such as free French courses and concomitant employment assistance and training. Nonetheless, there is no guarantee that in acquiring French, immigrants will see it as more valuable than English, nor will they necessarily tend to acquire French at the expense of English. This concept will come into play in my later assessment of the success of these planning efforts.

Anglophone Jews' Perspectives

From the perspective of Anglophone Jews, language planning involves adapting to a society in which French is of increasing importance, while resisting religious, cultural, and linguistic assimilation, and ensuring equal rights for English speakers in Québec. It must be noted that while the language planning efforts favoring French have been both top-down and bottom-up, the efforts of Anglophone Jews have primarily been bottom-up in Québec.

Corpus planning efforts involve making French an appropriate medium of instruction and expression for discussing ideas that have perhaps never been discussed in a Francophone context. Jewish educators must develop curricula that incorporate an appropriate variety of French in which to conduct education for Anglophones. They also need to devise an appropriate vocabulary in French for discussing North American conceptions of Judaism, such as those of the Reformed and Reconstructionist movements, which at times differ markedly from the conceptions of Judaism that exist in other French-speaking countries.

As far as status planning, Anglophone Jews hope to maintain the importance of English, while recognizing the increasing value of knowledge of French in Québec society. In addition, maintenance of the status of Hebrew and Yiddish is important and should not fall by the wayside despite the already plurilingual situation that obtains.

Acquisition planning involves maintaining educational standards regarding the imparting of academic skills in English, so that English-speaking students are able to acquire the same level of skill in written English as previously, when a larger percentage of the curriculum was

devoted to such skills. French must be added to the curriculum, so that acquisition planning involves creating French programs for younger students that will allow them to function in French-medium classrooms, and ultimately to have the French skills needed to do business in French, if these children choose to remain in Québec for their adult lives, as most plan to do. For many, the acquisition of Hebrew and/or Yiddish is also a priority. Brodbar-Nemzer et al. (1993) report that 55% of young people among the Jews they surveyed (those between the ages of 18 and 29 in 1993) are “totally fluent” in French. In addition, an impressive 22% of the subjects report fluency in spoken Hebrew, as well, with only 46% reporting no knowledge of Hebrew. Even Yiddish survives better in Montréal than in most other places, with 26% of respondents claiming fluency in Yiddish. While the acquisition of Yiddish is declining, 9% of young respondents claimed fluency in Yiddish, so its presence is not disappearing.

Russian Jews' Perspectives

From the Russian Jewish perspective, there are a number of aspects of transnational identity that come into play. Inasmuch as Russian Jews wish to maintain a link with their home country and culture, there are goals that relate to the continued respect for Russian culture. Appreciation of Russian literature and cultural heritage is especially strong among Russian Jews, according to Cohen (2000). The language planning goals considered in this section are not as explicit as those of Francophones or Anglophones in Québec. Nonetheless, they constitute language planning on the local level for Russian Jewish immigrant families.

The corpus planning goals of Russian Jews exist particularly with regard to the adaptation of the Russian language to a new culture with two new dominant languages. For example, there are several web sites devoted to Montréal's Russian community, and several Russian cultural institutions. Materials provided for this community typically feature quite a bit of code mixing of Russian, French, and English.

With regard to status planning, Russian Jews usually hope to maintain the status and value of Russian within the immigrant community. For some Russian Jews, there is also a desire to ensure a renewed sense of Jewish identity, given the freedom to do so in Canada.⁶ This is linked to a desire to recognize the value of Hebrew and Yiddish. As for French, Proujanskaïa (2002) suggests that despite the relatively high status accorded to the French language in Russia, Russian immigrants in Montréal do not seem to view the French language as something of value.

⁶ Cohen (2000) suggests that there is a decreasing link between Russian Jews and the Canadian Jewish community, other than in the period immediately following initial immigration. She suggests that this is the result of changing motivations for immigration due to the break-up of the former Soviet Union. Thus, recent Russian Jewish immigrants tend to come for reasons more similar to those of other Russian immigrants, especially for economic opportunity.

As for acquisition planning, Russian Jews in Montréal today often hope to have children who grow up fully trilingual in English, French, and Russian. Concerning adult acquisition goals, Russian Jewish adults hope to attain sufficient levels of proficiency in English and French to gain employment. Another motivation for adults to acquire English and French involves a desire to assist their children with their studies (Proujanskaïa 2002). For Russian Jews who tend to associate most with the Jewish community and those who immigrated first to Israel before coming to Canada, acquisition of Hebrew may also be a goal.

Language and National Identity from a Complex Transnational Perspective

Many authors have noted the important psychological link between language and national identity. The connection between national identity and language planning goals has also frequently been noted. Blommaert (2006), in a discussion of these topics, urges scholars to distinguish between the notions of “nation” and “state” in discussions of language planning goals. Although he does not discuss the Québec case in much detail, he cites it as a good example of a case in which “nation” and “state” are not synonymous. In fact, the Canadian *state's* planning goals and those of the French Canadian nation within Canada more often run counter to one another. Thus, language planning in Québec is informed by separate notions of Canadian identity and of French Canadian identity.

The situation with immigrants to Québec ties in with the notion of transnational identity, suggested by Glick Schiller et al. (1992) and Utakis and Pita (2005), among others. Cohen (2000) points this out for the Russian Jewish case. Russian Jews in Montréal negotiate a culture that is uniquely their own. They maintain links with their relatives that they have left behind, and they also forge new links within the immigrant community, with families who share their language and history. According to Cohen, they also increasingly maintain their citizenship in the post-Soviet republics and their apartments there, planning to return for visits or for work. There is even a movement known as “Russians Go Home,” cited by Proujanskaïa (2002), among others, which urges immigrants from the former Soviet Union to return to Russia.

As a result of this complex interplay of identities, Russian Jews experience motivations to learn a number of languages. Canadian identity is associated with knowledge of English, the dominant language of the country. Canadian Jewish identity is also associated with English, and, to a lesser extent, Hebrew and Yiddish. Jewish religious identity is associated with Hebrew. Québec identity is associated primarily with the French language. Québec immigrant (allophone) identity is associated historically with English, but increasingly with French. Finally, the Russian identity that is maintained is associated with the Russian language. As a result of

this complex transnationalism, there are no fewer than *five* languages relevant to the identity of Russian Jewish immigrants in Montréal. Language acquisition planning must necessarily be a priority if there are so many languages involved in the maintenance of the identities of all the groups with which these Russian Jews are associated.

Have The Language Planning Goals of Various Groups Been Met in the Case of Russian Jews in Montréal?

With all these language planning goals in mind, I turn to an assessment of the success of these goals. I consider in particular whether the Québec government's goals have been met in the Russian Jewish immigrant community. As for education, almost all Russian Jews go to schools in which at least 50% of the school day is conducted in French. In addition, parents often study French in order to help their children with their schoolwork. Many Russian Jews do speak French at home. Nevertheless, there still seems to be a preference for Russian Jews to use English or Russian in the home rather than French, which may be tied in to their Jewish identity. Job training and job contacts for adults, especially when provided via official bodies or contacts encountered through the Montréal Jewish community, are still primarily English-focused.

The result of the situation described above is that Québec's language planning goals with regard to *acquisition* of French have been successful, especially with the children, who learn French and use French in school. There is a large degree of trilingualism among Russian immigrants in Montréal (Proujanskaïa 2002). On the other hand, *status* planning has not been nearly as successful. English still seems to be the local language of choice for employment and social interactions, according to the literature, as well as the majority of my informants.

If status planning has not been successful with this immigrant group, and other studies suggest similar results for many other immigrant groups, then has the change in educational policy with regard to immigrants truly reversed the perceived threat to French in Québec? The reviews are mixed. Some authors attribute these laws, and the concomitant increase in multilingualism, to a decreased amount of tension and increased harmony across different language groups in Montréal (e.g., Barbaud 1998). On the other hand, Salvatore (2001) refers to a study supposedly conducted in 2000 by the newspaper *Le Devoir* that concludes that "55 percent of all Quebecers are convinced that French is in danger throughout the province." If this is so, then language planning has done little to assuage Francophones' worries that their language is threatened. It is possible that this pessimism is partially a result of the failure of language planning efforts to increase the status of French as well as its acquisition. On the other hand, the reverse scenario could also be true, namely, that the pessimism of the French-speaking population is sensed

by Allophones to such an extent that they feel less motivation to use a language that, while necessary for the present time, is doomed to decrease in importance again eventually. This pessimism is a kind of unintentional bottom-up planning on the part of Francophones.

The difference in language planning goals and in the way they play out for adults and children also encourages use of English. While there are laws encouraging use of French in the workplace, Anglophone companies tend to conduct business in English without a problem, and English is increasingly the international language of business in any case. Thus, if adult immigrants often use only English, and children who immigrate are educated in both languages but see their parents functioning perfectly well with only one of the local languages, there is demonstrably more utility to the English language as opposed to the French language.

Finally, the identity of Russian immigrants in Montréal is tied to two communities that are not associated with French: the Russian community, which uses Russian or English, and the Jewish community, which uses English. Then, if Québec's acquisition planning goals lead to bilingualism rather than monolingualism in French, they are not truly successful, since these immigrants have other reasons to feel more Anglophone than Francophone, all things being equal regarding linguistic ability.

Whether French is used outside the classroom at all by these immigrants is under debate. There are, of course, friendships and even marriages between Allophones and Francophones, but authors differ in their estimations of how much French is actually used by Allophones. For example, two papers in the same volume have drastically different takes on whether French is used by Allophones in social interactions. Thus, Hamers and Hummel (1998: 394-395) state that "[l]anguage legislation seems to have had a major impact on the use of French in the home by allophone groups" with a switch from 71% of Allophones using English in the home to two thirds of them using French. In contrast, Barbaud (1998: 192-193) argues that while some claim that the switch to French as the language of schooling of most immigrants has led to a similar change outside the classroom. In Montréal as of 1995 "only 13 per cent of allophone students in the French network adopt French as a home-language." My informants tend to socialize with Anglophones, and those educated in French-transitioning schools, while fluent in French, tend to feel more comfortable in English and speak French with a demonstrably English accent. Also of note is that even after a secondary education conducted in French. In 1990 Allophones were drawn to English-medium universities (57%) more frequently than to French-medium ones (43%). Proujanskaïa (2002), in considering the Russian population of Montréal in particular, asks and answers the following question:

How can we then explain the fact that despite the generosity of the Québec system of "Francisation" and the wide array of efforts put forth,

[the French language] has not become, for the majority, the principal instrument of communication and has yielded its place to English? In attempting to explain this paradox, one must rely on the reality of the Montréal labor market, in which “conquest” constitutes the primary goal of the new arrivals. (translation mine)

The ultimate conclusion is that the acquisition of French by Allophones is secured as a result of language legislation. But while language of schooling can be mandated by law, actual language use cannot. If the perceived value of French does not remain high, use of French will continue to be low among immigrants and it is possible that there will be an outcry among immigrants, as they become more numerous, to initiate changes to the current legislation. The policy of recruitment of Francophone immigrants may keep these in check, but that remains to be seen. Nonetheless, when considering a group whose multiple identities draw its members to many different languages, it is not clear that there will be a place for the French language, the language that perhaps forms the weakest element of their identity, indefinitely.

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