



**DOCTORAL THESIS  
2015**

**“Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation  
Processes within European Origin Groups in  
the Canadian Prairies: Generational  
Differences among Francophone Minorities  
in the Province of Alberta”**

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FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

**UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE EDUCACIÓN A DISTANCIA**



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## INTRODUCTION

Canada, which was officially declared a bilingual nation after the proclamation of the Official Language Act (1969), counts on a low percentage of French speaking population who hardly reaches a quarter of the total population. We must add the fact that there is a very little fraction of the population who speaks French outside the province of Quebec. The last census available at the time of our investigation shows that the French-speakers in western provinces of Canada such as Alberta represent a minority group of population, with a percentage to the total population inferior to 2% (Statistics Canada, 2012).

The present research departs from the analysis of the current linguistic, socio-cultural and economic situation of the Francophone communities that prevail in the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, commonly known as Canadian Prairies. Despite the fact that most French speaking communities in these provinces are experiencing a continuous process of linguistic assimilation by the Anglophone majority, our hypothesis is that integration is the prevalent mode of acculturation<sup>1</sup> among the French speaking communities in these western regions of the country.

My interest on the study of the singularities of the Francophones arises after my professional experience in the Canadian province of Alberta. Under the Memorandum of Understanding signed by Alberta Education and the Spanish Ministry of Culture

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<sup>1</sup> The concept of acculturation has been used to explain the dynamics involved when people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess initiated research on acculturation field in 1925. They developed a programme of urban research focused on the city of Chicago. Redfield, Linton and Hersovits researched on the sociological and psychological processes which individuals experience when moving into a different cultural context (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936).

and Education, I was given a teaching assignment within the French Immersion Program at *École Avalon Junior High School*, in the city of Edmonton, during the school year 2008-09.<sup>2</sup> Amongst the most remarkable facts of my stay in Alberta, I would point out the possibility of observing the diversity of relations established among the different ethnic groups within the Canadian society. The direct interaction with the population elected as main target, the Francophones, allowed me to appreciate significant differences regarding linguistic, social and cultural among the Albertan citizens.

The social, cultural and ethnic realities which are present within the Canadian territories enable us to observe and investigate the diversity of identities and the different linguistic assimilation processes experienced by non Anglophone citizens. Facts seem to indicate that the Francophone minority groups, who live in areas of the country where the most spoken language is different from their mother tongue, struggle for the preservation of their cultural heritage at the same time that they keep alive their Canadian identity (Dallaire, 2008: 357-381; Gallant, 2008: 39-42; Langlois & Gilbert, 2006: 432-449).

Multiculturalism is presented in this work as one of the most representative traits in Canada. The analysis of concepts such as ‘culture’ or ‘multiculturalism’ introduces us into the problematic of providing with a clear definition of these terms. The incorporation of the related concepts of ‘minority’ and ‘ethnic group’ adds a higher degree of complexity to our task of searching a precise definition for the numerous references found in bibliographic references related to them.

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<sup>2</sup> Certifications of Alberta Education Letter of Authority and Teaching Assignment appear as Document C.1 of the Addenda provided within the DVD that accompanies this thesis.

## Introduction

The experience of countries like Canada may lead us to the idea that multiculturalism can be always compatible with social and racial harmony. However, significant differences in relation to the policies on multiculturalism implemented by national and federal governments are observed when we focus on educational institutions and the social integration policies set up in Canada in contrast to those carried out in other countries. We must note that Canada became the first nation to adopt legal policies towards multiculturalism.<sup>3</sup> The adoption of these policies officially guarantees all citizens the same rights regardless of origin, religion, ethnic group or language.

In the particular case of Canada, where bilingualism is granted an official status, a further analysis of the legislation and the actual conditions of the citizens living in some regions of the country where their mother tongue is not sufficiently represented, has incorporated more complex ideas such as 'cultural pluralism' and 'acculturation' into the present research. Our investigation on the Canadian social integration policies has become essential to determine the extent to which the measures set up by the Canadian government differ from other western countries such as the United States of America.

Our analysis focused on the linguistic diversity in North America conducted as part of this research aims at pointing out important differences when we compare Canada and its neighbour country, the United States, where the idea of creating a new ethnic group by combining the present elements within a multicultural society appears to be one of the main objectives for its public institutions. Moreover, the term *minority* in the

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<sup>3</sup> On 8<sup>th</sup> October 1971, the Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the first Multiculturalism policies in the House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament. Canada would recognize and respect its society, including the diversity in languages, customs and religions. In 1982, multiculturalism was officially recognized by section 27 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. (Tarnopolsky, 1982: 442).

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United States is sometimes regarded as an element that segregates people from other ethnic groups (Paterson & Willoughby, 2001: 302-319).

The subsequent Canadian policies of integration have evolved towards what has been called *Canadian Mosaic*.<sup>4</sup> By comparing this *mosaic* to the model of society adopted in the United States, known as *Melting Pot*<sup>5</sup>, we could point at remarkable differences as regards individual and social integration strategies. For example, school policies can serve us to compare the bilingual education programs in the United States, which traditionally received federal funds to satisfy the educational needs of those who were not fluent in English language, to the Canadian immersion programmes which offer the possibility of mastering a second language other than English to those students who are perfectly fluent English speakers.

The specific part of our research conducted on the Canadian social model is aimed at corroborating whether the efforts of the Canadian authorities are being effective in preserving the distinctive features and cultural traits of the different cultures which are present in this country. The information related to the educational policies implemented in various provinces of Canada has been gathered with the purpose of determining the relevance of the linguistic programmes and their positive contribution to the preservation of the language and cultural heritage of the French descendants living in western provinces of the country.

The present work reviews the diverse political, linguistic and demographic contexts that may support our idea that using an additional language -French and English in the

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<sup>4</sup> The term Canadian Mosaic is used to describe the mixture of ethnic groups, languages and cultural background that coexist within Canadian society. It is based on the idea of multiculturalism and marks a significant difference from the assimilation model used to describe US society.

<sup>5</sup> The book *Key Terms in Latino Cultural and Literary Studies*, by Paul Allatson (2006) points at the popular play *The Melting Pot*, written by Israel Zangwill, as the origin of the term melting pot to refer to the multicultural society of the United States. The play was first seen on stage in 1908.

## Introduction

case of most Francophones in Western Canada- represents an advantage from a cognitive, social and linguistic point of view.

The historical overview of the colonization process initiated by French and British citizens in North America in the seventeenth century constitutes the departure point for our search of information. The continuous flow of immigrants coming from Europe and the clash of the cultural elements brought by them and those already present within the aboriginal people have gradually turned social, cultural and ethnic reality of Canada into a more complex phenomenon.

A brief analysis of the Canadian historical context will permit us to explain the reasons why the Canadian Francophones have always represented a problem for British authorities in this country. Aside from the political tensions derived from the fight of the Francophones to gain a more relevant role in Canadian society, we should also take into consideration the claims of other ethnic minorities -immigrants and First Nations-<sup>6</sup> who contribute to other issues such as lack of identity, discrimination and exclusion.

In many occasions, the perception of the Francophone individuals in North America is conceived as a singular ethnic identity in a continuous danger of extinction. The necessity of finding elements that best describe the situation of the descendants of the first French explorers has been taken into account in order to verify if there still exist noticeable bonds that link all the Francophone communities dispersed all over the western regions of Canada.

The relevance and applicability of a particular method of investigation have been considered as a function of the data available and the purpose in each part of this thesis.

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<sup>6</sup> First Nations is the denomination kept for aboriginal peoples from Canada. This term came to replace the word 'Indian', which is nowadays regarded by aboriginal communities as pejorative. The term 'Native American' is frequently used to refer to North American aboriginal citizens in the United States.

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

In order to construct our hypothesis, we have looked into Grounded Theory research method proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967) as a valuable reference. Thus, not only interviews or observations but anything that could help us generate ideas or concepts for our study was included as a valid source of information: informal interviews, lectures, meetings, conversations, television shows, newspaper articles, forums or even emails.<sup>7</sup>

It has been thought that a time-longitudinal study of our target group of population would provide us with some information about behaviour, attitudes or other characteristics of the Francophone minorities in Alberta. This particular study has been carried out as the first part of the present research and aims at demonstrating associations or relationships that affect Francophones in this province.

Observation constituted an essential part of the longitudinal study mentioned above, which has been achieved interacting with the participants in our research by means of informal conversations and the access to other personal testimonies that allow us to collect the preliminary information. Some daily life observations were recorded without demanding interaction with the participants. Many observations took place in ongoing school lessons and also during conferences and events in which individuals belonging to our group of study were present. The compilation of personal testimonies and historical background references includes relevant data regarding the Francophone population in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan throughout different periods of time since the incorporation of these provinces to the Canadian confederation.

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<sup>7</sup> Grounded theory research method is a systematic methodology that involves discovery of theory through the analysis of data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) published *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Rather than beginning with a hypothesis, these authors state that the first step of a research is data collection through a variety of methods.

## Introduction

The information collected throughout the observation process was essential to explore the social relations and describe the reality as it was experienced by the Francophones. Following the qualitative research models proposed by Taylor and Bodgan (1990: 31-151) and other scholars in the fields of Anthropology and Social Sciences (Zane and Mark, 2003), all the possible variables that could be relevant for our research on the Francophone minorities have been classified within different categories. The choice of the categories which constitutes the base of our qualitative research was made on grounds of social and psychometric parameters and includes linguistic aspects, ethnic identity, traditions and cultural legacy, education and socio-economic indicators.

Evaluating the actual size of the Francophone population has posed a serious difficulty throughout the investigation process. As a matter of fact, the data reported by subsequent censuses had to be completed with the information provided by French Canadian associations at provincial level referred to the continuous flow of immigrants that arrive in western regions of the country, who use French as their main language of communication even though French is not their first language.

Among the various indicators used in previous studies, those introduced by Langlois (2000: 211-238) has been taken as a reference. According this author, the three most frequently used linguistic indicators are mother tongue, language most spoken at home and the first official language spoken and they have been adjusted to the real context of the western Canadian provinces in our investigation.

The longitudinal data collected during the first phase of our research are mainly referred to the province of Alberta and have been crucial to understand those factors that have a relevant role in the integration of the French speaking population in this province. Given the large size of this province and due to the wide geographic

dispersion of the Francophone communities, our fieldwork concerning observation and interviews are basically limited to the city of Edmonton.<sup>8</sup> Within its metropolitan area we have also visited two locations with important nuclei close to the capital of French-speaking population: Saint Albert and Beaumont.<sup>9</sup>

In order to present an updated profile of the Francophone minority group within their western Canadian context, an analysis based on cross sectional data has been accomplished as the second part of our investigation. This study was carried out to detect the differences existing between the Francophones- our target group-, in relation to other European origin minorities- the Germans and the Ukrainians- that have been historically relevant in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Statistical sources, mainly those data retrieved from Edmonton Municipal population count publications, together with the information provided by the Canadian Census, constitute a valuable source of information that served us to follow up the most recent changes undergone by the Francophone population throughout the following years after my professional stay in Alberta.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Edmonton is the capital of the province and is located in the central part of Alberta. According to the census carried out by the municipal authorities in 2006, the city had a population of 1,081,300 inhabitants at that time (Municipal Census, 2009). This city is home to the Government of Alberta and it is considered to be the cultural and educational center in Alberta.

<sup>9</sup> Saint Albert was founded in 1861 by the priest Albert Lacombe. This city lies within the geographic area that Catholic priests used in their way to Edmonton and it was originally a settlement of *Métis* population.

Beaumont is located within the central region of the province of Alberta. It was firstly constituted as a community of French farmers.

<sup>10</sup> To carry out the present comparative study, data from Canada Census referred to year 2011 have been used. Data obtained from the latest population census have been a useful tool to compare the available information to the information that we had previously used in our descriptive study of the Francophone population in Albertawhich was referred to year 2006.

## Introduction

The treatment of the information referred to other allophone<sup>11</sup> European origin groups of population that inhabit the Canadian Prairies aims to detect similarities and other peculiarities as regards the different degrees of cultural and linguistic assimilation, social integration and survival strategies in comparison to the Francophones. The description and the interpretation of the social phenomena related to diverse groups of citizens- Francophones, Germans and Ukrainians- helped us complete and precise the profile of the Francophone communities in the western provinces of Canada.

This phase of the investigation based on qualitative research methods sheds light on some sociological aspects such as the presence of 'minorities within a minority'. With the purpose of deepening into these concepts, we have based on those studies conducted by the University of Calgary focused on certain minority sectors of Francophone black population that coexist within other Francophones from different backgrounds (Madibbo, 2006; 2012).

Language appears in this work as the main element which seems to mark the exclusive line against Anglophone assimilation policies that historically menaced Franco-Albertan identity. This thesis includes the analysis of personal testimonies that have permitted to gain a deeper knowledge on the ethnic perception of French language as an invisible barrier within the Francophone communities in western Canadian provinces. Some of the excerpts of the testimonies included as part of our qualitative research have been used in our search for evidences of discrimination and racial exclusion among the Francophone citizens in Alberta.

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<sup>11</sup> The term allophone refers to the individual whose mother tongue is different from the official language of the country of residence. In the case of Canada, citizens are labelled as 'allophones' if the first language reported is different from English or French.

In order to place the multicultural nature of Canada into perspective, the relationship among minorities and the needs of the ‘new Canadian’ citizens are also analyzed. In countries like Canada, with a high rate of immigration, it is important to precise to what extent the different groups of population that settle in this territory decide to take on the ethnic identity of the host society or, by contrast, to preserve the heritage culture of their countries of origin. The concept of ‘acculturation’ is included within our investigation with the objective of explaining the dynamics involved when citizens from different cultural backgrounds come into contact.

A theoretical approach to previous research on acculturation processes permitted to contrast different modes of measuring acculturation (Berry, 1980, 1984, 1992; Padilla & Perez, 2003; Thomas Gonzales, 2006; Thomson & Hoffman-Goetz, 2009). The use of specific tools designed for measuring acculturation and the bi-dimensional model proposed by Berry (1984; 1992) served us to accomplish a quantitative study aimed at measuring acculturation among the Francophones in the Canadian Prairies.

With the purpose of measuring acculturation among the citizens who self-identity as Francophones, we concentrated on ethnic identity as an indicator of individual acculturation strategy instead of using measures of socio-economic status. With the aim of examining to what proportion the ethnic identity of the Francophones have become assimilated or integrated into the mainstream Canadian society, the statistical analysis of the data retrieved from a questionnaire specifically designed for the measurement of acculturation has been carried out.

The publication *Instruments for Measuring Acculturation* in 2008 by the University of Calgary has been the source where catalogues and numerous links to diverse

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instruments previously used for measuring acculturation were found (Taras, 2009).<sup>12</sup> Among the models of acculturation proposed by previous authors, the bi-dimensional one proposed by Berry (1984; 1992), based on the attitudes of individuals towards keeping heritage culture and identity and their willingness to learn and interact with the mainstream culture has been adopted to carry out the quantitative analysis of the data provided by Francophone respondents to our questionnaire. The main goal of the survey that was carried out during the last phase of our investigation is to determine the proportion of participants that could be associated to each of the four different modes of acculturation described by Berry (1992): Assimilation, Integration, Marginalization and Separation.

Berry's conventional method for measuring acculturation has been improved in this thesis in terms of user-friendliness, reducing the number of items and avoiding the repetitive nature of them so that a high demand on the respondents is not required. A questionnaire including thirty questions regarding aspects such as Francophone Heritage and Canadian culture, Personal relations and Intergenerational Relations was edited.

The items in the questionnaire used for measuring acculturation within our target group were initially based on the model proposed by Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) and later on Vancouver Acculturation Index, proposed by Ryder et al. (2000: 65).<sup>13</sup> The final version of the questionnaire used in our survey contains twenty-four questions devoted to the measurement of acculturation and other six which have been included to study the intergenerational relations among the Francophones in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. The data retrieved from these questions were

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<sup>12</sup> This can be consulted on Document C.2 of the Addenda provided within the DVD which accompanies this thesis. Within one of the catalogues contained in this publication, the document *Culture-specific Measurements for French Canadian* by Berry et al. (1989) served as the first reference to build up our scale for measuring acculturation.

<sup>13</sup> Vancouver Index of Acculturation can be consulted on Document C.3 of the Addenda.

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statistically processed in order to measure the acculturation index. The confidence level established for the diverse statistical tests conducted throughout the quantitative research associated to this thesis has been set at 95%.<sup>14</sup>

Taking as reference the multidimensional acculturation scales developed to assess different dimensions of acculturation (Chung, R. et al, 2004: 66; Zea et al, 2003: 108), a specific scale, MMAF-CP,<sup>15</sup> has been designed in this thesis so that the attitudes associated to the respondent’s socio-cultural and psychological perceptions of the Francophone heritage and the Canadian mainstream culture could be considered.

Our research enhances the possibilities of studying the acculturation processes experienced by the Francophone population, since a multidimensional approach has completed our quantitative research on the acculturation measurement. To achieve this goal, the conceptual distinction between the two domains above mentioned -behavioural (also known as socio-cultural) and psychological- have been incorporated within each of the two different subscales -Canadian mainstream and Francophone culture- established for our purposes.

Francophone universities, Francophone school districts and Francophone parents associations stand among the first institutions to be contacted in order to administer the questionnaire edited to measure acculturation. French immersion school teachers, representative authorities of the Francophone school districts and staff of *Université de Saint Jean* (Edmonton, Alberta) and *Université de Saint Boniface* (Winnipeg, Manitoba)

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<sup>14</sup> Confidence level refers to the percentage of all possible samples that can be expected to include the true population parameter. A 95% confidence level implies that 95% of the confidence intervals would include the true population parameter.

<sup>15</sup> MMAF-CP is the denomination we assigned to the scale specifically designed in this thesis for the specific study of socio-cultural and psychological dimensions of acculturation. The acronyms stand for Multi-dimensional Model of Acculturation for Francophone communities in the Canadian Prairies provinces- Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

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also served as a link to distribute the form among possible candidates willing to participate in our research on acculturation.<sup>16</sup>

With the objective of including other collectives of Francophones with a higher diversity of academic levels within our survey, the second phase in the process of distribution of the questionnaire was initiated including a wide range of Francophone associations. The last step taken in the administration of the questionnaire was carried out with the support of Francophone media and other institutions in which Francophone citizens could constitute a representative proportion.<sup>17</sup> In order to facilitate the analysis of statistical data obtained by means of our questionnaire, we included four mandatory questions regarding sex, age group, place of birth and number of years living in the province where individuals lived at the time when the questionnaire was filled in.

Six additional questions referred to intergenerational relations have been edited within the questionnaire and were processed separately with the purpose of studying the generational differences among the Francophone respondents, according to various age ranges. The respondents to the survey that we conducted in our research fit within the three following age groups: those who were born anywhere from 1940 to 1964 (also known as 'Boomers' because of the increase experienced in the rate of birth during these decades); those born between the early 1960s and the first years of the 80s decade

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<sup>16</sup> French Immersion schools in Beaumont, Edmonton, Calgary, Saint Albert and Bonnyville were contacted in the province of Alberta. In Manitoba, the link to the questionnaire was sent to representatives of French Immersion schools in Saint Boniface and other French Immersion and Francophone schools were contacted in Regina and Saskatoon, in the province of Saskatchewan.

<sup>17</sup> Radio Canada cooperated with the diffusion of the link to the questionnaire via Facebook and its official web page. Diverse interviews were held in Radio Canada station that dedicated more than ten minutes of their emission to broadcast the most relevant information concerning the present research and the survey that was taking place at the time when the interviews were held on 24<sup>th</sup> April -Radio Canada Alberta-, on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2014 -Radio Canada Manitoba- and on 6<sup>th</sup> May -Radio Canada Saskatchewan-. The folder 'D.Interviews' of the Addenda can be found within the DVD that accompanies this document. It contains the audio files corresponding to these interviews.

(commonly known in America as Gen X-ers) and the youngest group, constituted by those respondents born after 1984.

These young citizens who were born during the three last decades –known as Nexters, also called Millennials- constitute the reference group for the statistical analysis of data referred to acculturation measurement. In fact, one of the main goals of the quantitative research devoted to the analysis of the generational differences existing among Francophone citizens from different age groups is to detect significant changes with respect to the trends observed among Francophone youth towards the use of French language, their social habits and their personal determination to preserve the cultural traits inherited from their progenitors.

The items which were taken into account for the study of the intergenerational relations refer to multiple aspects such as French language use, leisure activities, politics, education or religious practice. This part of the questionnaire specifically designed for our research on intergenerational relations is not based on a previous model. Thus, it has been necessary to validate the items included for the study of generational differences among the Francophones by evaluating reliability and internal consistency. Calculations of Cronbach’s alpha obtained from the variances observed within the responses given to this part of the questionnaire related to intergenerational differences show a high degree of consistency, which allows us to perform the statistical analysis of the responses granted to the six items selected.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Cronbach alpha obtained for the six items specifically used for studying intergenerational differences was 0.76. Cronbach alpha coefficient ranges from 0 and 1 and is commonly used in statistics to determine the internal consistency of the items used in a survey (Hatcher, 1994). The higher the score, the more reliable the generated responses are. Nunnaly (1978) indicates that 0.7 value would correspond to an acceptable reliability coefficient although lower values have also been used in previous publications.

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Since generational changes are accompanied by a wide range of elements of certain complexity, those elements that stem from other experiences different from linguistics have been considered in the final part of this investigation. Apart from the conclusions drawn from the statistical treatment of the responses collected from the questionnaire designed for measuring the acculturation index for young Francophone citizens, the differences between the opinions of these young Francophones and those of their parents regarding leisure activities, academic issues, use of French language, religion or politics, additional aspects such as academic training, family context or personal needs have been taken into consideration.

The six chapters which constitute the corpus of the thesis are presented as a two-fold document. The first part includes three chapters in which qualitative research has been the base for the collection of data and also for drawing conclusions from the available information. The second part of the document also includes three chapters itself, which comprehend the theoretical basis and the quantitative analysis of the data obtained in relation to the attitudes of the Francophones regarding their strategies when interacting with other ethnic groups and other Francophone citizens.

The three chapters included within the first part of the thesis encompass the theoretical framework that enables us to depict the actual profile of the Francophone minorities in Western Canada. Chapter one is devoted to the development of the theoretical bases heading to the study of relevant concepts for our thesis: Multiculturalism, Minority and Ethnic group; the second chapter is dedicated to the time-longitudinal study which was conducted on the Francophone minorities. The last chapter of this part of the thesis provides us with the most significant data obtained from

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the cross-sectional study focused on European origin minority groups in the Canadian Prairies –Ukrainians, Germans and Francophones.

The second part of the corpus contains three chapters that include the facts, results and conclusions drawn from the analysis of the information related to the research focused on acculturation processes and intergenerational differences among the Francophones in the Canadian Prairies. The statistical treatment of the data referred to the province of Alberta has incorporated the comparative analysis between the results obtained in this province in relation to the responses given by the Francophone citizens from Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Quantitative research has been essential to achieve our objective of describing the attitudes of the Francophones towards the mainstream culture and their own heritage culture.

The first chapter included within this second part of the document deals with the theoretical approach to the concept of acculturation and it is followed by another dedicated to the measurement of acculturation within the target group selected for our thesis, the Francophone inhabitants of the Canadian Prairies. This second part of the corpus is completed with chapter six, which focuses on the study of the generational differences among the Francophones in Alberta and the two other Canadian provinces where our study has been carried out.

The conclusions drawn throughout the whole process of investigation contain specific proposals leading to the improvement the current situation of the Francophone minorities in the Canadian Prairies. In the same way, several measures aimed at achieving a more effective integration of the French speaking immigrants within the provinces of Alberta and other western regions of Canada are also included within the final part of this work.

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Edmonton Municipal census data and tables concerning the Canadian population counts referred to years 2001, 2006 and 2011 which have been used for our calculations have been listed within the annexes attached to the main document. The tables and figures that illustrate the statistical treatment of the data obtained from the questionnaire used for acculturation measurement and the study of intergenerational relations can also be found as a set of appendices within this attachment. The written document is accompanied by the DVD which contains diverse digital files related to certificates, catalogues, press articles, forms, summary of responses spreadsheets and audio files which constitute the Addenda to this thesis.

The analysis of the Francophones and our contribution to the field of acculturation is hereby presented to complement the previous knowledge about the survival strategies used by the Francophones as a minority group. The outcome of the studies carried out in this research constitute a valuable resource which enhances our opportunities to develop further research on the acculturation processes and, more specifically, on the Francophone communities living in minority contexts in different regions of Canada and other countries in Europe in which French language is granted official status.

# **PART I**

## **CHAPTER ONE THE FRANCOPHONE MINORITIES AND MULTICULTURALISM: CANADIAN PRAIRIES AND THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA**

### **1.1. MULTICULTURALISM: MINORITY AND ETHNIC GROUP**

‘Multiculturalism’ became a fashionable term throughout the 1960s. This concept would include other ideas that such as bilingualism or cultural pluralism. The idea of multiculturalism takes the concept of ‘culture’ as its ground and emerges from the idea of multiplicity along with the concept of culture. Western civilization has understood this multiplicity as an object referred to sensations and opinions whereas the idea of the ‘unique’ has been usually associated to complete knowledge and wisdom (Estrach, 2001: 104).

Western philosophy has considered ‘multiplicity’ and ‘variety’ as objects of sensation or perception, while ‘the One’ was the object of knowledge. This has been one of the greatest weapons that society has used against ‘the others’, the different ones. However, within the Western philosophical tradition we also find the advocates of the reality of the ‘multiple’, as opposed to the Sophists, defenders of ‘the One’.

In every society people have been able to find myths, beliefs, legends, philosophical or scientific ideas, codes of behaviour and habits. Consequently, the term ‘culture’ has been provided with different meanings. In Latin, the concept of ‘culture’ was originally related to "land cultivation" and, later, by metaphorical extension, it would be associated to the cultivation of the human species. During the seventeenth century, romanticism imposed a difference between civilization and culture. The first

term was used to refer to economic and technological development; the second was used to refer to the growing of the intellectual faculties. In the late nineteenth century, Edward Tylor published his concept of culture:

"Culture or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1924: 64).

Throughout the twentieth century, other authors also made reference to the term culture. Some authors claimed that the culture of a social group provides the raw material from which the individual makes his life (Benedict, 1971: 97). Others had a different view of the same term: "The integral whole consisting of tools and consumer goods, on the body of rules governing the various social groups, ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs" (Malinowski, 1944: 56).

According to structuralist theory, culture is related to the social group that creates it. According to Levi-Strauss, the cultures of all people are made of the same material, and therefore, the dominant systems of knowledge of the external world are not so different (2004: 304-336). More recent definitions of culture appeared throughout the second half of the twentieth century: "The culture is best understood not as complexes of concrete behavior patterns-customs, usages, traditions, habits-sets of plans, recipes, formulas, rules, instructions (...)" (Geertz, 1966: 2-8).

Marvin Harris (1987: 133) states that when anthropologists speak of a human culture, they usually refer to the total lifestyle, socially acquired, a group of people, including ways of thinking, feeling and acting. At the World Conference on Cultural Policies he remembered: "(...) In its widest sense, culture may be considered at present

as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group" (UNESCO, Declaracion de Mexico: 1982).

The difficulties associated to the definition of ‘culture’ seem to appear when we deal with the concept of ‘multiculturalism’. This term emerged in the second half of the twentieth century in the United States, referring to the growing phenomenon of cultural diversity and highlighting the cultural differences and the importance of the various beliefs of the citizens of the same country.

Although multiculturalism is nowadays an important aspect in the Canadian society, the true meaning of this concept seems not to be clear enough. Kymlicka (1998) points out the ambiguity of this term and distinguishes three components. On the one hand, the social reality for individuals from different backgrounds living in the same place. Secondly, the author refers to the ideology of multiculturalism, whose interpretation depends on the individual in question or the institution to which he belongs. Finally, the policies on multiculturalism are mentioned as an element which depends on the government institutions. According to Kymlicka (1998: 12-40), the ideology and the policies are not mutually exclusive and they exert influence on each other.

Cristina Peri Rossi exposes in his article "Multiculturalism and Tolerance" that those practices that violate human rights should not be tolerated in the name of multiculturalism (2003:151-152). This writer argues that history has been commissioned to demonstrate that not all customs or rites are cultural. She further claims that not all the practices are respectable in a given culture.

We might think that the idea of multiculturalism could help to justify and support behaviours that degrade the status of women based on religious beliefs. Nevertheless, the cultural integration of minorities should not lead to the acceptance of practices which do not respect human rights such as ablation, dilapidation or the imposition of the burqa, among others.

The problematic associated to the definition of concepts such as ‘culture’ and ‘multiculturalism’ prevail when we deal with the term ‘minority’. Despite the great amount of references found in relation to this word, it is assumed that no definition can be found for the innumerable minority groups that could possibly exist (Rehman, 2000: 14). The diversity of cultural contexts makes more difficult to give a universal definition of this concept. Among the diversity of definitions that can be found about this term, one of the most widely recognized definition was the one formulated by Capotorti:

“[...] A group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members- being nationals of the state- possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, maintain a sense of solidarity, directed towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language” (Capotorti, 1979: 568).

Capotorti’s definition speaks about numerical inferiority, but it is considered that a minority must constitute a sufficient proportion with respect to the total population in order to justify the efforts that the government of a nation should make to promote and protect minority groups’ identity. Capotorti’s view of minorities also included the collective will of a group to maintain a sense of solidarity directed to the preservation of their culture and traditions. According to the different definitions of the term ‘minority’,

we can identify French origin population in Western Canada as minority groups characterized by particular traits (cultural heritage and linguistic background) which make them different from the rest of the Canadian citizens. We can also assume the presence of a collective will to preserve their traditions in a context where the mainstream population opted to adapt to Anglophone institutions.

Deschenes (1985) emphasizes differentiating traits regarding ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics of minorities, by stating that groups within a population can be considered minorities only when they are different from the rest of the population by reference to ethnicity, religion or language. The use of the expression “ethnic minorities” could be associated to the idea of hereditary physical features, covering biological, cultural and historical characteristics (Shaw, 1997: 507).

Nevertheless, we must point out that the term ‘ethnicity’ has been used with a variety of different meanings (Schöpflin, 2001: 10). Some authors emphasize the fact that no precise definition in international law can be found for this particular concept.<sup>19</sup> It has seen since the 1950s that the adjective ‘ethnic’ has been used to make reference to a particular category of minority groups. Originally, the adjective ‘racial’ was used during the League of Nations period and later during the initial years of the United Nations.<sup>20</sup>

Since language appears to be an essential distinguishing trait of minorities, the broad sense of culture is often considered as central to the definition of ‘ethnicity’. The controversy around the definition of the terms ‘ethnic’ and ‘minority’ makes us be fully aware of the necessity of reaching an agreement on who falls within a minority group. It

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<sup>19</sup> See *The Weakness in the International Protection of Minority Rights* by Javaid Rehman, Hague, Kluwer Law International, 2000, p.19.

<sup>20</sup> For example, the General Assembly Resolution 217C (III) in 1948 refers to ‘racial’ minorities and did not mention the term ‘ethnic’ for the description of the minority groups.

is often argued that the identification of minorities is a question of self-identification. This argument does not recognize the competence of a state to identify its own minorities. However, the problem arises when a certain group of population refuses to identify themselves as a ‘minority’.

Concepts such as ‘minority by will’ and ‘minority by force’ have appeared in literature to make a distinction between the groups of population that desire assimilation with the majority but are rejected -minority by force- and the minority groups that refuse assimilation –minority by will- (Laponce, 1960: 12-13). Sometimes, the dividing line is drawn as a function of the temporal duration of a settlement in a given state. According to this classification, we can include the Francophones of Canada within the ‘old minorities’, also described as ‘historical’ or ‘traditional’ minorities.

## 1.2. CANADIAN MULTICULTURALISM: LANGUAGE POLICIES

Bilingualism has become a remarkable trait of Canada. The Official Languages Act (1969)<sup>21</sup> was conceived to preserve the rights of both Francophone and Anglophone citizens to use their mother tongue and have the right to access to basic services in their main language. The Official Languages Act (1969) provides that the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians must not be discriminated against on the basis of their ethnic origin or first language on the issue concerning equal opportunities for employment. However, if we do not count the jobs in the administration in the required bilingual staff, most of the positions taken up by Francophones in Alberta require the knowledge of the English language.

The Official Languages Act (1969) establishes that there must be a significant demand for services in French language to set up the necessary measures that can assure public services in this language. Around this concept, this Act interprets that there is sufficient demand to provide public services in French in those areas of Alberta where there are at least 5,000 people registered by the Canadian Census as long as the Francophone citizens represent a percentage greater than or equal to 5% of the total population in that area.

This reality shows that the official status is not always linked to the preservation of a certain language and culture. British and French origin people have managed to maintain their cultural heritage to some extent. As a result, acculturation studies have also been frequent among these ethno-cultural groups of population (Sam & Berry, 2006: 274-293).

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<sup>21</sup> See full text on: <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca> (Access on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2013).

Integration appears to be the most desirable model of acculturation (Hart & Sobredenton, 2008). As it has been stated in previous studies on acculturation processes Canadian citizens do not often regard assimilation as a positive value (Berry, 1997; Rudmin, 2003). Nevertheless, the study of the Francophones in Alberta requires further research on demographic data and other important issues such as youth, education and economic situation to interpret the complex idea of acculturation in a better way.

In national surveys (Berry & Kalin, 1995) Canadians generally support integration and reject assimilation and segregation.<sup>22</sup> There is also a high level of acceptance of multicultural ideology, which is a proof of the consideration of cultural diversity as a positive value. Studies by Berry and Kalin (1995: 301-320) also depict Canadians as tolerant rather than prejudiced. Intergroup attitudes are generally positive, although these studies also show a less positive intergroup attitude among French-origin respondents.

The Canadian integration policies differ from other North American countries such as the United States. Whereas the idea of creating a new ethnic group by combining the present elements within a multicultural society was the main objective for public institutions in the United States, Canada’s efforts were made in order to preserve the distinctive features of the different cultures which are present in this country.

The cultural and racial model adopted by the United States, known as *melting-pot*, forced American citizens to search for new ways of controlling the situation and achieve

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<sup>22</sup> Berry (1997) refers to segregation as the maintenance of cultural heritage and identity while separating from host culture.

a certain degree of harmony within the different communities.<sup>23</sup> On the other side, *Canadian mosaic* could be considered as the precursor of the idea of multiculturalism.<sup>24</sup>

When we compare the social models that characterize Canadian and the United States society, we can point at significant differences as regards social integration strategies. Since British settlers established in the thirteen colonies on the East Coast of the North American continent, they have tried to constitute a segregated society, in which Europeans struggled to maintain their privileged status, surrounded by vast territories occupied by Native American groups of population. The latter also had a great variety of cultural and linguistic traits and were characterized by devoting to diverse economic activities.

The racial and cultural *melting pot* gradually contributed to the transformation of the United States into a society in which the term ‘minority’ was not always perceived as a positive concept for all the citizens of this country. The United States Supreme Court attempted to end up with segregation within American schools. In 1954 racial segregation was abolished trying to meet the constitutional rights according to which every citizen should be treated in the same way.<sup>25</sup>

The experiences of countries such as Canada are likely to show that multiculturalism contributes to social and racial harmony at the same time that avoids

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<sup>23</sup> This term became popular after the play *The Melting Pot* by Israel Zangwill was represented on stage in 1908. See the book *Key Terms in Latino Cultural and Literary Studies*, by Paul Allatson, 2006.

<sup>24</sup> The term ‘Canadian Mosaic’ appears in literature related to Canadian model of social integration. The term ‘mosaic’ is frequently used to describe the mixture of ethnic groups, languages and cultural background that coexist within Canadian society and it has a significant difference from the assimilation model used to describe the society of the United States, commonly known as ‘Melting Pot’.

<sup>25</sup> On May 17, 1954, U.S. Supreme Court Justice delivered the unanimous ruling in the landmark civil rights case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. State-sanctioned segregation of public schools was a violation of the 14th Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional. This historic decision marked the end of the "separate but equal" precedent set by the Supreme Court nearly 60 years earlier and served as a catalyst for the expanding civil rights movement during the decade of the 1950s (Vázquez, M<sup>a</sup> Luz and Antonia Sagredo, 2008: 691-698). See Addenda, Document C.4: *Oliver Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas*.

hatred, violence and discrimination. In 1971, Canada became the first nation to adopt legal policies towards multiculturalism.<sup>26</sup> The adoption of these policies officially granted all citizens the same rights regardless of origin, religion, ethnic group or language. These rights would guarantee the freedom of thought, religious belief, opinion and the possibility of association. In a certain way, multiculturalism has permitted to implement those mechanisms that assure the preservation of universal human rights that many countries include in their respective legal systems.

Linguistic diversity marks important differences when we compare Canada and the United States. The Constitution of the latter does not make any reference to linguistic policies. Patterson and Willoughby have analyzed the term *minority* in the United States as an element that segregates coloured people from other ethnic groups. They have stated that prejudices and misconception of the ideal of multiculturalism have led in some occasions to racial tensions that jeopardize social harmony in this country (Paterson & Willoughby, 2001: 302-319).

On the contrary, Canada has set up linguistic programs that allow students to attend school where the languages of the different ethnic groups are taught. The educational programmes that have been carried out by Albertan authorities, especially in Edmonton and Calgary have also made a positive contribution to the preservation of the language and cultural heritage of the French descendants living in the areas administered by these school districts. Research on bilingualism and language policies has focused on education and federalism or on Francophone minorities outside Quebec. Some authors who have reviewed the political and demographic contexts that justify the advantages of

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<sup>26</sup> On October 8th, Canada Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the first Multiculturalism policies in the House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament.

using an additional language show that bilingualism is cognitively, socially and linguistically advantageous for citizens as well as for Canadian society (Cardinal, 1994; Duff, 2007; Hayday, 2005).

American Constitution does not include specific articles that make reference to linguistic diversity in the United States. Bilingual education in this country received federal funds to satisfy educational needs of those students who were not fluent enough in English language (Martín Pescador, 2013: 191-215). Those southern states like California, with a high percentage of Latin American students served in the past times as battlefield for those who questioned the convenience of these sorts of education programmes (Leibowitz, 1980: 61-63).

After the arrival of immigrants in North America and Europe, the term ‘multiculturalism’ has become the object of study and has gradually increased its relevance. Debates are common in mass media concerning the problems associated to integration policies which were carried out by the governments. Scholars point out the ambiguity of this term (Kymlicka, 1998: 12-40).

As a result of the contact among these groups and their interaction with aboriginal groups of population in Canada, acculturation phenomena have a long history in this country. Acculturation research has been carried out for more than five decades (Linton, 1945; Honingman, 1968; Sam and Berry, 2006; Berry and Sabatier, 2011). It continues as a focus of sociological and psychological research, including a continuous interest in Aboriginal Peoples, and also in immigrants and refugees.

Although the presence of Francophone minorities becomes more visible in provinces such as Ontario and New Brunswick- the latter formerly known as Acadia<sup>27</sup> and associated to the first French settlement in America-, Alberta also registered a significant proportion of French origin citizens in northern regions of the province.

Diversity, heterogeneity and multiculturalism have increased in Alberta throughout the last decades. It has also been discussed if the term ‘Canadian’ is the most suitable one for an important percentage of the population who have a multiple ethnic origin. From a sociological point of view, Gilbert (1993) and Paré (1994) described the way in which Francophones have been influenced by their minority condition and their isolation in an environment surrounded by an Anglophone vast majority.

The Francophones in Canada have always represented a problem for British authorities in this country. The citizens of Quebec were traditionally depicted as a mature society, mostly Catholic and completely different from the British origin newcomers, mainly Protestant. These differences seem to be the reason for the political tensions between Francophones and Anglophone citizens that still affect social life in the country (Dickinson & Young, 2003: 28-32).

Despite the geographic position of Alberta- far away from the province of Quebec, linguistic, social and political tensions also seem to affect the Francophones living in this province. The linguistic policies aimed at the preservation of the rights of the first inhabitants of this province, known as First Nations, have derived into changes in the educational programmes that have also affected to the use of French as a language of instruction at schools. As a matter of fact, aboriginals keep in mind the idea of claiming

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<sup>27</sup> Acadia is the name which was given to former French colonies placed in the maritime provinces of Canada (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Southern Quebec).

their own rights as first inhabitants of Canada if French-Canadians are given a differentiated status with respect to other ethnic groups in the country.

All these conflicts have influenced on many other minority groups that nowadays reconsider their own positions within the Canadian Mosaic. Therefore, we cannot avoid the reflection on the consequences that Francophone versus Anglophone identity have in the rest of the Canadian society, even in provinces where French speaking population represent a small percentage like in the province of Alberta.

Some authors have considered that the geographic situation, the weakness of the Federal government and tensions between Francophones and English speaking citizens have made Canada more vulnerable with respect to the influence of the United States (Tuohy, 1992: 34).

The political differences between the Quebecois population and the Federal government also had important consequences in the rest of the provinces. After the creation of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms<sup>28</sup> in 1982, Quebec considered that its authority on linguistic matters within the province was threaten with the implementation of this Charter. Quebec would continue to demand its differentiated status and this had negative consequences on the French speaking population dispersed all over the Western regions of the country, who were associated to separatist movements that claimed for segregation from Canada (Leyton-Brown, 2002: 130-139).

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<sup>17</sup> The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* forms the first part of the *Constitution Act, 1982*. Here are some protections that the *Charter* guarantees: freedom of religion, of thought, of expression, of the press and of peaceful assembly, the right to participate in political activities and the right to a democratic government, the freedom to move around and live within Canada, and to leave Canada legal rights such as the, right to life, liberty and security, equality rights and language rights. See full text on Parliament of Canada web page. Available at: <http://www.parl.gc.ca> (Accessed on 28th December 2013).

The social, cultural and ethnic reality of Canada are quite complex. Apart from these political tensions derived from the fight of the Francophones to gain a more relevant role in Canadian society, we should also take into consideration the claims of other ethnic minorities -immigrants and First Nations- that contribute to other issues such as lack of identity, discrimination and acculturation.

In many occasions, the perception of the Francophone individuals was conceived as a continuous danger of extinction. These feelings were for a long time object of literary production. Bergeron (2007: 371-385) offers a wide vision about multiplicity of identities and the inner tensions originated within different Francophone communities in North America. The lack of recognition of these multiple identities makes difficult to be fully aware of the increasing diversity of these Francophone communities. Another author, François Paré, evokes in most of his publications the idea of solidarity of those people who resort to literature to escape from a feeling of loneliness and marginalization due to their minority situation (Paré, 2008: 81-90).

The process of assimilation seems to have affected to all the Francophone minorities who are present in North America. The French origin population settled in the state of Louisiana after being expelled from Acadia by British military forces in 1755 have also experienced diverse levels of assimilation. Many of these families are currently living within Anglophone communities and have completely lost their knowledge of French language. Others have tried to preserve their cultural heritage and have maintained the language of their ancestors, by means of the French based Creole dialect known as *Cajun* (Stephen & Sanders, 2003: 173-175).

### 1.3. FRANCOPHONE MINORITY GROUPS IN CANADA

Canada counts on a low percentage of French speaking population that hardly reaches a quarter of the total population of this country. We must also add the fact that there is an even lower fraction of the population that speaks French outside the province of Quebec (Statistics Canada, 2007).

The last census available at the time of our investigation shows that the French speakers in western provinces of Canada such as Alberta represent a minority group of population, with a percentage of 1.88% of the total population. Only 0.59% of the population of Alberta uses French as the common language at home, which shows that the Francophone use English at work and in their daily lives (Statistics Canada, 2012).

When we compare to other minority groups where one of the two official languages of Canada is spoken, Albertan Francophones show a considerable ageing population. Despite these negative parameters, French speaking population in Alberta has increased by 2.1 per cent since 1996 as stated in the Canadian Census. The reasons that may justify this rise in the Francophone population seem to be the increase in the interprovincial migration together with the international arrival of French speaking citizens.

The search for elements that best describe the current situation of the descendants of the first French explorers becomes useful when trying to verify if there still exist noticeable bonds that link all the Francophone communities dispersed all over the western regions of Canada. As a matter of fact, in western regions like Alberta, most of the Francophone communities are scattered in the province, mainly in villages where Francophones make up less than five percent of the total. Only in some localities of the

Rivière-la Paix region we can find locations such as Donnelly, Falher, Girouxville, Smoky River, where Francophones are today a majority (Boileau, 2003).

The development of language policies that promote the use of French in the province of Alberta seem to be limited to government institutions and government agencies, which offer services to citizens in the two official languages as set out in the Official Languages Act (1969).<sup>29</sup>

Throughout the twentieth century, various associations such as the Canadian Association Française de l'Alberta, ACFA (French Canadian Association of Alberta) have been established in the province of Alberta. The ACFA was founded in 1926 and has been the basis for the promotion of activities and institutions aimed at French-speaking population of the province.

Nevertheless, the Francophones who arrived in the province throughout the last decades come from the province of Quebec and from some African countries where French is still used officially or as vehicular language. The French-speaking immigrant population that has been established in Alberta, mainly from African countries has not necessarily integrated into existing Francophone communities. In fact, many of them seem to be assimilated by the English-speaking community that constitutes the largest group (Madibbo, 2012: 125-129).

The cultural legacy provided by the first French settlers to this western Canadian province permeates to some extent the social life of their citizens. The Winter Carnival,

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<sup>29</sup> Official Languages Act (1969) grants English and French the same status within Canadian Government institutions. This Act makes both languages official and gives both languages a privileged status with respect to other languages spoken in Canada.

originally from Quebec, is one of the traditions that still persist in the main towns in Alberta.

The work of Francophone school districts seems vital to extend the network of centers offering educational programs in French all over the province. The implementation of language immersion programs also guarantees success among the Anglophone population that progressively become interested in French culture and language and those who consider that their children can benefit from knowing the two official languages of the country. As regards the educational aspect, we can evidence that the policies implemented by the education authorities to promote the French language in the province of Alberta are beginning to show some results. Statistical data provided by Alberta Education confirm that the number of students in French-language schools has increased during the last decade.<sup>30</sup>

The space devoted in the Anglophone press in Alberta to news about the Francophone population can be considered very low. It was found that in the city of Edmonton there is only one television channel, CBC Radio Canada, which contains an information space dedicated to the Francophone population of the city that broadcasts in French language. We had also the chance of finding diverse articles that made reference to cultural activities organized for the Francophone population in other Francophone media such as *Le Franco* in the province of Alberta and *La Liberté* in Manitoba.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Alberta Education is the name given to the Ministry of Education of the Government of the Alberta. It regulates education policies and it is responsible for the development of curriculum, teacher certification and. The Department of Information offers statistics, annual reports and information about initiatives and projects promoted by the education authorities. Alberta Education offers its information on the web site available at: <https://education.alberta.ca/home.aspx> (Last access on 12th March 2014).

<sup>31</sup> *La Liberté* is the only newspaper that offers a weekly edition in French language in the province of Manitoba at present. On 7<sup>th</sup> May 2014 I held an interview with a journalist from *La Liberté*, Daniel Bahaud, in relation to this doctoral thesis focused on the francophone population. Some excerpts of the interview can be found on the article written by Monsieur Bahaud. See Addenda: Document C.14 included within DVD attached: *Étudier les Irréductibles*, published online by Winnipeg Free Press.

We must mention that during the course of our research, stations of Radio Canada of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan manifested a great interest towards the present research carried out on the Francophone communities. As a matter of fact, several interviews were held with journalists from Radio Canada from the cities of Edmonton, Winnipeg and Regina. Within the different interviews, the problematic of the Francophone communities in Western Canada is discussed and the process of acculturation and the present research carried out on the Francophones turned into the central topic in all of them. These interviews have been broadcast online and included in different emissions related to social and cultural thematic by Radio-Canada.<sup>32</sup>

The western provinces of Canada attract many citizens as a consequence of the economic prosperity of the region, especially in the province of Alberta<sup>33</sup>. Migration flows that have been arriving in the city of Edmonton over the last two decades have been attracted by jobs in the oil sector. The discovery of large tracts of oil sands in

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<sup>32</sup> The journalist Sandra Gagnon offered me the possibility of participating in the emission *La Croisée* (The Crusade) on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2014 for Radio-Canada Alberta. The audio file corresponding to the interview appears under the title “Une etude sur les Francophones, faite en Espagne” (Study on the Francophones, made in Spain) and is available online at:

[http://ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/la\\_croisee/2014-2015/archives.asp?date=2014-04-24](http://ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/la_croisee/2014-2015/archives.asp?date=2014-04-24)

The interview held with the journalist of Radio Canada-Manitoba, Martine Bordéleau, took place on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2014. Extracts of the interview were broadcasted on the programme called ‘Le 6 à 9’ (From 6 to 9) within the title “Une etude sur les francophones de l’Ouest canadien” (Study on the Francophones in Western Canada). Available online:

[www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/le\\_6\\_a\\_9/2013-2014/archives.asp?date=2014-04-28](http://www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/le_6_a_9/2013-2014/archives.asp?date=2014-04-28)

Radio Canada- Saskatchewan broadcasted the interview which I held with the journalist Doris Labrie as part of the emission *Pour faire un monde* (To build the world) and was titled “Recherche sur la population francophone dans l’Ouest Canadien” (Research on the francophone population in Western Canada). This emission is also available online:

[www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/pour\\_faire\\_un\\_monde/2013-2014/index.asp](http://www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/pour_faire_un_monde/2013-2014/index.asp)

Another interview with the journalist Karine Morin from Radio-Canada station Manitoba took place on 23<sup>th</sup> July in 2014. The contents of the conversation held are available on the emission titled “Les samedis du monde (Saturdays of the world)”, broadcasted on July, 26. See:

[http://www.radio-canada.ca/emissions/Les\\_samedis\\_du\\_monde/2011-2012/index.asp](http://www.radio-canada.ca/emissions/Les_samedis_du_monde/2011-2012/index.asp)

These audio files can also be found in the folder ‘D. Interviews’ within the Addenda provided in the DVD that accompanies the written document of this thesis.

<sup>33</sup> The documentary *Ruée des Francophones au Pays du Pétrole* was broadcast on the *Téléjournal* Radio Canada on 14<sup>th</sup> December 2002. It shows how the economic boom in the province of Alberta, thanks to the development of the oil sector in the central regions of the province, has attracted many French speaking citizens coming from Québec and other provinces like Ontario.

Alberta has made of Edmonton region one of the areas with the highest income per capita in the country. A significant number of workers who move to Alberta from other provinces in Canada to work in this industry are citizens of Quebec.

Despite that fact that most of the Francophone population who recently settled in Edmonton and other areas of the province of Alberta are citizens of the province of Quebec, Canadian Census data from 2001 and 2006 make us envision an increase in the Francophone immigrant population coming from other countries, mainly in Africa, and can be included in the group of people who have been listed as Francophone minorities, albeit not sharing cultural roots with the rest of the French-speaking population (Statistics Canada, 2007; 2012). Figures show that the proportion of Francophone immigrants established in Alberta increased by six percent through the two last decades. In fact, one out of ten Francophones in Alberta has been born outside Canada (Statistics Canada, 2012). The number of African origin Francophones has also increased in schools located in urban centres: *Notre Dame*, *Père-Lacombe*, *Maurice-Lavallée*, *Gabrielle-Roy*, *Desrochers* and *Saint Christophe* (Alberta Education, 2009).

The Francophone population has concentrated within Northern rural regions of the province. Several villages –Fahler, Donnelly, Girouxville and Smoky River are populated by a French speaking majority. The geographic area that surrounds this region, known as *Rivière-la-Paix*, is mainly occupied by English speaking population. With the purpose of adapting to a new social and economic situation, the descendants of the Francophone inhabitants in these regions are deciding to abandon these villages and are currently migrating to bigger cities such as Edmonton, Calgary or Vancouver.

Many families opt for spreading over the territory so that the Provincial Government authorizes them to create new Francophone schools.<sup>34</sup> Most descendants of third and fourth generation that decided to remain in these areas and devote themselves to agriculture live nowadays in an English speaking environment. A high percentage of these citizens are bilingual although they seem to be determined to preserve their cultural and linguistic heritage (Boileau, 2003: 19-26).

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<sup>34</sup> As stated by the Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, citizens are granted the right to be taught in their mother tongue if they represent a significant percentage of the total population.

#### **1.4. VITALITY OF THE FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITIES IN WESTERN CANADA**

The vitality of the Francophone communities has been a subject for discussion (O’Keefe, 2001: 6). The use of the concepts such as ‘assimilation’ and ‘vitality’ constitute topics of public debate in Canada. O’Keefe (2001) explored these concepts to support his theory with statistical evidences regarding the vitality of Francophone community groups in provinces of Canada outside Quebec. Thériault (1999), Langlois (2004) and later Langlois and Gilbert (2006) together with other authors such as Dallaire (2008) have made substantial contributions to the interpretation of plurality, especially on those aspects regarding Francophone minority groups. These analyses of the Francophone communities in this country provide us with arguments that confirm that the vitality of the Francophone minorities in Canada has not been fully understood.<sup>35</sup>

O’Keefe (2001: 10-11) identifies the main factors that influence the vitality of a minority language. According to this author, the fact that a language is official or the circumstances that do not permit the accomplishment of certain activities in a language is described as a symbolic factor. He also concludes that demographic and institutional factors may determine the vitality of a language. The demographic factor makes reference to the number of speakers, the proportion with respect to the total population and the fertility rate. Institutional factors are related to the role of governmental and other institutions related to the control and management of the language services offered to the community.

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<sup>35</sup> The process of assimilation and the vitality of the French communities in Canada outside Quebec has been an object of study by diverse authors (Bourhis, 1997; O’Keefe, 2001).

Education is mentioned by O’Keefe (2001: 11) as another relevant factor that must be taken into account when discussing the vitality of a minority language. The maintenance of a language would be associated to the extent and the quality of the education services available in a certain language. Other factors mentioned in his publication are the prestige of the language at international level, identity (sense of community) and the social utility of the language.

Alberta, together with the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, constitute what is commonly known as *The Prairies*. This specific region is distinguished from the rest of the provinces and territories of the country due to its own cultural and political traits. The western region of Canada has experienced an important flow of immigrants throughout the last two centuries. Therefore, the Francophone communities have witnessed in some cases a certain process of isolation accompanied by the loss of rights and privileges acquired during the colonization process that took place during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The access to the demographic data concerning population by mother tongue and ethnic group in the previous phase of this research confirms the existence of other representative ethnic groups in Alberta. In fact, the censuses of 1911 and subsequent population counts confirm that Germans and Ukrainian origin population have exerted a significant influence on Alberta’s population profile.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Statistics Canada currently publishes demographic data every five years. The first general census took place in 1911 and occurred every 10 years thereafter. Subsequent censuses to 1911 have been consulted to extract relevant information referring to the evolution of the population in the province of Alberta throughout the twentieth century. Canada census has been accessed on digital version. Source: Library and Archives Canada. Available at: <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/Pages/census.aspx>. Last accessed on 1st February 2013.

Eastern Europeans constituted an important wave of immigration to Canada. Tens of thousands of peasants arrived in the late 1800s and early 1900s in the western prairies. Ukrainians have been seen as the largest and most prominent Eastern European community in Canada (Bohdan & Kordan, 2001: 12-16).

Significant groups of Francophone settlers were also brought from France, Quebec and the United States to the regions of Western Canada. However, the newcomers originally from other countries in Europe outnumbered the Francophones in this part of the country. At the end of the nineteenth century, legislation aimed at preserving the ethnic minority rights was introduced by the *British North America Act* (1867). As a consequence of the implementation of this act, the French language was relegated to a less relevant position in provinces such as Manitoba or Alberta.

The Canadian census referred to year 2011 estimated the number of Ukrainian Canadians as 1,200,000, two-thirds of whom live in the three Prairie provinces- Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Most Ukrainian descendent immigrants have gradually settled within the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan whereas German origin citizens are nowadays distributed along the southern areas of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan (Statistics Canada, 2012).<sup>37</sup>

The data shown by subsequent population censuses available at the time when our study was conducted led us to include Ukrainians and Germans as the two most representative European origin ethnic groups within the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

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<sup>37</sup> See Appendix A.1 Population by mother tongue Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Canada Census, 2011.

A historical overview of the colonization process initiated by French and British citizens in North America starting in the seventeenth century can be considered in order to analyze the processes of integration and cultural assimilation of the French speaking population within the rest of ethnic groups that have evolved towards what has been called *Canadian Mosaic*.

The numerous adaptations of the Francophone settlers led to important changes in their habits and circumstances, mainly after the arrival of newcomers from Eastern Europe. In Alberta, the most significant event as regards the immigration process and the arrival of European settlers turns to be the settlement of the Ukrainians throughout the first half of the twentieth century (Bohdan & Kordan, 2001:12-26).

European colonization and the successive waves of immigrants who come from Africa and South Asia make the Canadian territory one of the most suitable frames in which research on acculturation<sup>38</sup> could be carried out. After the arrival of British settlers and other citizens who settled in the western areas of Canada in search for gold in the nineteenth century, Canadian society turned into one of the most important areas for the reception of immigrants worldwide. This position would be held up to the end of the Second World War.<sup>39</sup>

The Francophones have been continuously surrounded by English speaking communities in most Canadian territories. This fact evidences the need for striving in order to preserve the French language and culture as a symbol of survival despite the

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<sup>38</sup> The term acculturation refers to the integration of an immigrant within the mainstream culture of the host society. The concept of acculturation was used to explain dynamics involved from different cultural backgrounds coming into contact by Redfiel, Linton and Kerskovits in 1936.

<sup>39</sup> See: Douglas R., Jones R. & Smith D. (2000). *Origins: Canadian History to Confederation*. Fourth Edition. Toronto: Hartcourt Canada Ltd.

adversities associated to the omnipresence of English language and Anglo Saxon cultural influences.

In such a linguistic and cultural diverse society, new groups of population have progressively fitted in order to knit this complex mosaic, striving for the preservation of their own traits and identity. This statement would lead us to assume that the construction of the Canadian society has consequently derived into a situation in which French heritage and language has been continuously relegated to a secondary and less relevant position.

The simultaneous flow of British, Irish and French origin groups of population into Canada has contributed to social and political conflicts still pending to be solved. The thorough analysis of these tensions permit to look into the difficult relations established among British descendants and French settlers in order to reach objective conclusions regarding relevant aspects such as acculturation processes and language assimilation.<sup>40</sup>

The current policies on multiculturalism and bilingualism have opened Canadian borders to Francophone citizens of diverse origins, forcing society to recognize and reconsider the actual reality and diversity of the Francophone communities within Canada. The implementation of a plan to increase the number of French speaking immigrants in Canada started in year 2005 under Stephen Harper’s presidency and can be considered as one of the most remarkable facts with respect to the diversity of the Francophone communities that we can find all over the country.<sup>41</sup> Simultaneously, the

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<sup>40</sup> Assimilation refers to members of ethnic minorities living in a host society without showing any noticeable cultural, social or personal differences from the citizens of the majority group. Berry (1997) states that assimilation can be seen either as the result of positive views towards the host society or as a negative perception of their own culture.

<sup>41</sup> Information available at Department of Justice Canada. Five-Year Action Plan 2005-2010, Section 41 of the *Official Languages Act*, Community Component. Online: <http://www.justice.gc.ca> (Accessed on 2nd November 2013)

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities”

Official Languages Commission decided to set up measures to examine the vitality of these Francophone communities dispersed across Canada.

It would be necessary to discuss which institutions actually develop strategies with the objective of facilitating cultural and linguistic exchange using French language. However, most studies of the French fact in Canada opted for including institutions without taking into account whether they have contributed to the survival of the Francophones or not.

## 1.5. IMMIGRATION AND THE “NEW” FRANCOPHONE IDENTITIES

In a pluralistic and multicultural society it is important to make people understand that there is not just the ‘majority’ on one side and visible minorities on the other one. In order to put the multicultural nature of Canada into perspective, the relationship among minorities and new Canadians needs to be analyzed.

According to France et al. (2012), there appears to be three aspects in these relations: Conquest (French, British and Aboriginals competing), Anglicizing (British vast majority imposing their language) and Cultural Mosaic (acceptation of diversity). As stated by Axelson (1993: 76), the conflicts between minorities and major ethnic groups appeared each time that the dominant group (Anglo-Saxon majority) exerted its influence on these minority groups. According to Axelson (1993), *multiculturalism* could be interpreted as the next phase in the process of cooperation between majority and minority groups. In fact, the notion of multiculturalism is based on the idea that all peoples, regardless their ethnic origins are equal partners.

The Multiculturalism Act in 1988 officially recognized Canada as a multicultural nation (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). The idea of pluralistic and multicultural society officially took place when the Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1972. However, some problems and hostilities are still present. Alladin (1996: 455) affirms that racism in schools and society creates controversy. In major Canadian cities, French origin population is no longer representative and Chinese and Indo-Canadian groups are becoming dominant ethnic groups.

The ethnic perception of the French language represents an invisible barrier within Francophone communities in Alberta. Language marks the exclusive line against Anglophone assimilation policies that historically have menaced Franco-Albertan identity. Dalley (2008) refers to the hierarchy established as a function of racial origin of the Francophone population.

If we focus on the province of Alberta, the data referred to the population census show that, in year 2006, this province registered 9210 newcomers from other Canadian provinces whose mother tongue was French. The four Canadian provinces that contributed with the highest number of Francophone newcomers were Quebec (3810), followed by Ontario (1940), New-Brunswick (1085) and British Columbia (1020).<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the Canadian census reports a considerable number of immigrants of African origin who arrived in Alberta between years 2001 and 2006. In fact, the data retrieved from Statistics Canada referred to this time interval show that 12530 immigrants reported an African country as their country of origin. Among the countries that contributed with the highest number of Francophone immigrants, the Canadian census included Congo (320), Rwanda (175), Algeria (155) and Morocco (105).<sup>43</sup>

The access to the document *Enquête sur l’immigration Francophone en Alberta* (Report on the Francophone immigration in Alberta) published by the French Canadian Association in Alberta, ACFA, in collaboration with the university professor of Campus Saint-Jean, Paulin Mulatris, provides us with the results of a series of interviews and

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<sup>42</sup> See Appendix A.3: Canada Census. Province or Territory of Residence 5 Years Ago by Mother Tongue for the Interprovincial Migrants Aged 5 Years and Over of Canada, Provinces and Territories, 2001 and 2006.

<sup>43</sup> Source: Statistics Canada. *Recensement de la population de 2006*. Catalogue No. 97-556-XCB2006007

subsequent surveys conducted with Francophone immigrants in Alberta. Relevant aspects such as the programs and services available to Francophone newcomers are discussed in this publication. The conclusions drawn from this report lead us to think that Francophone newcomers demand a higher degree of commitment on the part of the Francophone organizations to meet the expectations of the immigrants who lack financial resources to establish in Alberta.

Sponsorship and guidance also appear in the report published by the ACFA as a necessity for the immigrants in their process of searching a job and a suitable school for their dependents. The demand of more information within the Catholic parishes and the increase in the number of services in general are also claimed by many Francophone newcomers that were interviewed by Mulatris in order to carry out the research focused on the Francophone immigrants in Alberta. In order to improve the support services, several proposals made by the immigrants are cited in this report by the ACFA. Francophone newcomers demanded more publicity for the associations that provide services in French, mentoring and coaching, workshops for workers to better understand the needs of the immigrants and a more relevant role in Catholic parishes.

The same report published by the ACFA includes other suggestions provided by the Francophone host community. Among the demands of these citizens we can include the improvement of health services, by creating medical clinics with a team of Francophone doctors and providing information on the functioning of health services in Alberta or setting up a community in larger cities such as Edmonton, Calgary and Brooks to promote good nutrition. Respondents from the host community participating in the study conducted by the ACFA also mentioned spiritual support as a necessity of the Francophone immigrants.

The most significant barriers to a greater integration of the Francophone immigrants seem to be the lack of jobs in French language, the lack of work experience in Canada and the absence of social models in their process of adaptation to Canadian culture. The most remarkable finding in this report of the ACFA on the Francophone immigrants is the fact that a total of 53.3% of respondents of the questionnaire administered as part of this study indicated that Francophone newcomers do not develop a sense of belonging in the Francophone host community. The positive data shown on the survey conducted among the Francophone communities participating in this study referred to the proportion of respondents that consider that the socio-economic integration of newly arrived Francophone immigrants is possible. In fact, the percentages that appear on the report state that 79% of the Francophone citizens within the host communities agreed or strongly agreed with the question whether socio-economic integration was possible for immigrants or not (ACFA, prepared by Evaluation Plus and Paulin Mulatris, 2008:41-49).

Other investigations on the Francophone minorities also shed light on sociological aspects such as the presence of minorities within a minority. Certain studies conducted by the University of Calgary in the last decade have focused on minority sectors of Francophone black population that coexist within other Francophones from different backgrounds (Madibbo, 2006; 2012).

Madibbo (2012: 121-136) points out the difficult the situation experienced by black immigrants to integrate within Francophone communities previously settled in some regions of Canada outside Quebec. The arrival of immigrants from Africa in provinces such as Alberta has consequently derived into a considerable increase in the

number of Francophones living in this province. However, the testimonies of these African citizens settled in Alberta show that most of them tend to integrate within Anglophone communities. Documentaries and press articles reflect in some occasions that they do not always identify with the culture and traditions of French settlers descendants living in Western Canada.

Some cities in Alberta receive each year considerable contingents of French speaking immigrants. This fact permits institutions to implement programmes and measures conceived for a better integration of these minority groups. In smaller villages, immigrants find more hostile conditions that endanger the consolidation of their social, cultural and linguistic integration.

The social attitudes shown by the members of Francophone communities regarding racial differences between white French origin citizens and West African French speaking communities do not seem to facilitate the integration of Francophone immigrants in Alberta. French is often understood as an occidental language, spoken by citizens of French origin. This ethnic vision of the language may lead into an exclusive Francophone identity (Gallant, 2008; Gueye, 2012).

The debate about the need for reflection on inclusive identity within Francophone minorities has been suggested. It would be necessary to project Francophone identity including other aspects different from linguistic (reference to values, beliefs and traditions). The objective of this new vision would be to redefine the Francophone identity, adapted to their plurality and inner diversity (Denis, 2008:677; Gallant, 2008:40).

The Francophone immigrants in Alberta seem to develop multiple forms of belonging to many social groups. This phenomenon is manifested by means of a collective sense of adherence both to their ethnic community and to the Francophone community and the Canadian society in general (Madibbo, 2010: 87-94).

The demographic patterns regarding Francophone population in this province have changed since the late 1990s. The Francophone community in Alberta started to show one of the lowest degrees of linguistic continuity in Canada, with a value of 0.33<sup>44</sup> (Statistics Canada, 2007).

The cultural and racial diversity of the Francophone groups of population in Alberta has even contributed to a controversial debate within representative Albertan associations. In year 2006 the *Association Canadienne Française de l'Alberta*, ACFA (French Canadian Association of Alberta), discussed a name change for this organization. A more inclusive denomination was proposed, “*Association Canadienne Francophone de l'Alberta*”. Those members who voted against this new denomination outnumbered the ones who were in favour. At a regional level, we can point out several actions of the ACFA aimed at creating commissions that could develop strategies to enhance the opportunities of the Francophone immigrants arriving in Alberta.<sup>45</sup> This issue has been seen by many as a sign of division within the Francophones in Alberta and has been object of debate in studies focused on the inclusion of Francophone

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<sup>44</sup> This value indicates that only one third of the individuals who self-identified as Francophone speaks French at home.

<sup>45</sup> In 2005, the Strategic Committee for Immigration was created in order to respond to demographic changes in the French speaking population living in Alberta. Two centers were created in the regions of Calgary and Edmonton to reinforce the actions taken by other organisms such as the Multicultural Francophone Association of Alberta (AMFA).

immigrants coming from Africa within the host Francophone communities in Alberta (Mulatris, 2009).

Apart from the French descendants, the Eastern Canadian citizens from Quebec and the African origin immigrants, the ‘Francophone’ identity should also comprise those groups of population who are determined to approach and establish significant links with the Francophone heritage culture and language. The ethnographic research focused on the identity of French immersion students in Canada include studies that show that these students develop their own bilingual identity, which is not recognized in the Canadian society (Roy, S., 2010: 541-563).

Our research on the Francophone communities appears as a complicated issue due to the multiplicity of ‘Francophone’ identities depicted in previous literature. The concept of ‘Francophone’ within the Canadian Prairies includes multiple elements associated to a great diversity of citizens that contribute to some extent to the ‘*Francophonie*’ in this region of the country.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **TIME-LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE FRANCOPHONE POPULATION IN ALBERTA**

#### **2.1 FRENCH HERITAGE CULTURE: THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES AND THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA**

As displayed on the official data published by the Canadian Government, the most representative groups of population in this country are those constituted by British, Scottish, Irish and French descendants. The Canadian Census also indicates that there are more than two hundred different ethnic origins within the citizens of this country (Statistics Canada, 2012).<sup>46</sup> If we compare these data with those published on the Official Census in year 1901, we would observe that at the beginning of the twentieth century the total number of ethnic groups in Canada was not superior to twenty five.

French explorers made incursions into western regions of Canada along the seventeenth century. French pioneers penetrated through Saint Lawrence River valley towards the Great Lakes region. Later, they moved through western areas of Mississippi River until they reached the southern areas of the Gulf of Mexico and also the northern region of Hudson (Logan, 1997: 65).

The first encounters among French settler and autochthonous population would be considerably different when we compare them to the first contacts established by British citizens and aboriginal population in North America. Whereas the Jesuit missionaries showed certain respect and tolerance towards aboriginal population, the British settlers concentrated their efforts to impose their language, religion and culture to the native population (Coleman, 1993: 35-37).

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<sup>46</sup> See data on Appendix A.4. Canadian population by Ethnic Origin. Statistics Canada, 2011.

Facts make us consider that the first French travellers had clear and precise objectives. These explorers were in charge of collecting information from natives that were willing to share information with them. French people hired guides, they gathered equipment and traded goods in order to pay for their food and obtain some valuable information from aboriginals.

The pacific relations with some of the autochthonous groups of population would allow the French settlers to trade with furs and would provide with favourable conditions to facilitate territorial expansion and the arrival of missionaries in Western Canada. Fur trade was the reason that led many French explorers to carry out incursions into western provinces. At the same time, Jesuits made their own exploration around Great Lakes areas.

The first settlements in the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan started at this time. The names of certain villages give testimony of the influence that French pioneers exerted on the Prairies provinces.<sup>47</sup> For both Aboriginals and French settlers, the observation of their life style and their traditions served as the meeting point for such different cultures. In a certain way, French explorers tried to adapt to aboriginal way of life and learn languages such as Algonquian, Iroquois and Sioux as well as their varied dialects (Wade & Falardeau, 1960: 123-137).

The province of Alberta was mainly populated by Anglophone population after the first decades of the twentieth century. It was in the 1930s that Francophones started to look for their inclusion within the most diverse cultural activities offered by the Anglophone community.

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<sup>47</sup> In the province of Alberta, Grand Prairie, Saint Albert and Beaumont evidence the French influence on the foundation of these villages.

After the Second World War, settlers were attracted by the offer of free land where they could dedicate to agriculture and livestock activities. In 1947, oil reserves were discovered in Leduc, a small village near Edmonton, the capital of the province. Alberta would start to industrialize due to the discovery of gas and oil sand reserves during the sixties and seventies decades. Significant groups of Francophones settled in Edmonton, Morinville, Bonnyville, Lac-la-Biche and Rivière-la-Paix (Boileau, 2003: 19-20).

## **2.2. STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE FRANCOPHONE MINORITIES IN ALBERTA: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

It has been considered that a time-longitudinal study of our target group of population would provide us with information about behaviour, attitudes or other characteristics of the Francophone minorities in Alberta. This study has been conducted as the first part of the present research and it is aimed at demonstrating associations or relationships that affect Francophones in this province.

Descriptive studies can involve a one-time interaction with groups of people- cross sectional study-or also might follow individuals over time-longitudinal study. For our purposes, we initiated the present investigation with a longitudinal study exclusively focused on the Francophone population in Alberta.

The time-longitudinal study of the Francophone minorities constitutes a solid base in order to carry out further research in this group of population. These types of studies are often done before the experimental phase in order to know what specific things need to be included in further steps of the investigation. Some researchers suggest that the descriptive studies can give an answer to questions such as “what is” or “what was”, whereas experimental studies usually give answer to questions like “how” and “why” (Bickman & Rog , 1998: 5-37) .

There have been different ways of gathering information at this step of our research. The method has varied according to the objectives of the present study. The collection of information has included interviews, observations and examination of written documents and digital archives. Observation constituted an essential part of the present time-longitudinal study, which has been carried out interacting with the participants in our study by means of informal conversations and the access to other

personal testimonies that allow us to collect the preliminary information. Daily life observations were recorded without requiring interaction with the participants. These records are based on the information collected while participants were engaged in routines and they are used as indicator of what participants do. Most observations were taking in ongoing school lessons and also during conferences and events in which individuals belonging to our group of study were present.

Our compilation of personal testimonies and historical background references includes relevant information regarding the Francophone population in Alberta throughout different periods of time since the incorporation of Alberta to the Canadian confederation took place. The interviews’ transcripts referred to Francophones are based on the observation of this group of population from August 2008 until end July 2009.

Statistics Canada constitutes the main statistical source which provided us with population data obtained from the Canadian Census. When the longitudinal descriptive study was initiated, the last population data published at that time was referred to Canada Census 2006.<sup>48</sup>

Information was also extracted from documents that contained relevant information about our target group. The records that were reviewed in the present study were public. No private files were used at this stage of the investigation. Press articles, legislation and digital records of testimonies of Francophones were accessed to gain information regarding the point of view of the Francophone citizens throughout the last decades.

Within the diverse studies that deal with the acculturation processes topic which have been previously mentioned, the one proposed by Zane and Mark (2003) has been

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<sup>48</sup> Canada Census is updated every five years. When this study was conducted, the last Census referred to data obtained from population in 2006. The last census that has been published when the present thesis is being written was carried out in year 2011.

considered the best reference when it comes to choose the suitable psychometric variables that should be included in the first part of our investigation.

Zane & Mak (2003: 39-51) propose the introduction of the following variables for acculturation studies: language use and preference, social affiliation, daily living habits, cultural traditions, communication styles, cultural identity and pride, perceived prejudice and discrimination, generational status, family socialization and cultural values.

Following the qualitative research model exposed by scholars in the fields of Anthropology and Social Sciences, I decided to group all the possible variables that have been previously used for acculturation studies into different categories so that the collection and further analysis of data could be more operative (Taylor & Bodgan, 1990: 31-151).

The Grounded Theory method, proposed by Glaser and Straus (1967), has also been taken as a reference in order to construct our hypothesis. Not only interviews or observations but anything that might help us to generate ideas or concepts for our study was included within these categories: informal interviews, lectures, meetings, conversations, television shows, newspaper articles, forums or even emails.

For our purposes, the most relevant information and conclusions concerning the psychometric variables proposed by Zane and Mak (2003: 39-60) have been grouped within the following five categories: Language, Identity, Traditions and Cultural Legacy, Education together with Socio-economic Indicators.

The information compiled during this first phase of our research refers only to the province of Alberta. Given the large size of this province and due to the wide

geographic dispersion of Francophone communities, our fieldwork concerning observation and interviews are basically limited to the city of Edmonton.<sup>49</sup> Within the metropolitan area of Edmonton, we visited two locations with important nuclei close to the capital of French-speaking population: Saint Albert and Beaumont.<sup>50</sup>

Several institutions and schools were visited for observations and information collection during my residence in Edmonton:

- *Campus Saint Jean*, French-speaking university of Edmonton. This university also offers a wide range of cultural activities and lectures for the Francophone community in the city.
- The Centre for Education, Edmonton Public School Board headquarters building. This school district offered bilingual educational programs and immersion programmes in Ukrainian, Japanese, Mandarin, German, Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew and French language in the school year 2008-2009.
- *École Greenview* Primary School and *Ross Sheppard* High School. Both schools offered language immersion program in French language when the observations took place in year 2009.

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<sup>49</sup> Edmonton is the capital of the province and is located in the central part of Alberta. According to the census conducted by the municipal authorities in 2006, the city had a population of 1,081,300 inhabitants at that time (Municipal Census, 2009). This city is home to the Government of Alberta and it is considered to be the cultural and educational center in Alberta.

<sup>50</sup> Saint Albert is located northwest of Edmonton and was originally a settlement of *Métis* communities. It was founded in 1861 by Father Albert Lacombe. For a long time, this place served as a stop for Aboriginal people on their way across the province. Catholic priests used this city as temporary stay on the way to Edmonton. The city currently hosts the Francophone School District of the North Central region of the province.

Beaumont is located in the central part of the province, south of Edmonton. Originally, it was a community of French farmers and the town center still retains remnants of French architecture. The Black Gold Regional School District, which schools in the city are affiliated to, offers fully bilingual programmes -English and French- in the five existing schools.

- *École Avalon Junior High School*, integrated within Edmonton Public School Board. During school year 2008-2009, this school offered French language immersion. Among the 569 students registered in the school at that time, approximately one third of them enrolled in French immersion programme. These students followed French programmes in Mathematics, Social Studies, Sciences and French Language Arts. From August 25, 2008 until end June 2009 I taught Spanish language to Grade 7, 8 and 9 students and also taught Mathematics to Grade 8 French Immersion students.

To complement and contextualize our research, we counted on the perceptions and the opinions expressed by individuals who either belonged to French speaking communities or had a French-language academic background. The selection of these participants was based on the compliance of the three following criteria:

- Being born in the province of Alberta or residing in that province for a significant period of time.
- Having French language as a mother tongue or having received instruction at both primary and secondary level in French language.
- Belonging to my circle of acquaintances at the time of the interview, with whom I could freely establish an informal conversation about personal issues.

In Edmonton, six potential candidates that met all the requirements for our study were found. A series of informal conversations were held with all of them during my stay in Alberta:

- Madame Amyotte. Mathematics and Sciences teacher within the French Immersion Programme at Avalon High School. Born in Alberta, with Quebecois origin parents.
  
- Madame Cyr. Social Sciences teacher. Born in Alberta, with parents of Ukrainian origin. She attended primary and secondary education in a French immersion school.
  
- Monsieur Boucher. Born in Québec and residing in Alberta since year 1984. Mathematics teacher at École Avalon High School.
  
- Monsieur Brunet. Born into a Francophone community in the province of Ontario. Alberta resident since the late nineties. Employed as head of personnel services (Head Custodian) at Avalon High School during the school year 2008/09.
  
- Madame Smith. Social Science teacher within the French Immersion Programme at Avalon. Born in France and living in Alberta since the late 1970s.
  
- Mrs. Boyd. Born in Alberta. She received primary and secondary education in French language. Working as Foreign Languages Consultant at Edmonton Public School District during the school year 2008/09.

For our purposes, a set of open questions about the participants’ views of the Francophone population in Edmonton and the most important challenges for the Francophones was formulated, so that each interviewee could choose the topics he/she was willing to provide information about. The six candidates reported having a perfect

knowledge of both official languages, although French was the most frequently used language during the course of these conversations.<sup>51</sup>

My teaching assignment included two Grade 8 French immersion groups, and I was also assigned the position of Homeroom Teacher for one of these groups. Throughout the school year, many of the conversations held with French immersion pupils frequently included topics related to customs, linguistic aspects and identification with the Francophone culture. Among the sixty French immersion students attending my classes- thirty pupils per class- four students identified themselves as Francophones either because their parents had both French origins or due to the fact that they considered that French was their preferred language to communicate.

The detection of regularities and structures present within the relevant texts found in the bibliographic sources, press articles and conversations held with the interviewees constituted the main goal in order to classify the information available within different categories previously established.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> It must be noted that the opinions given by individuals are not given as Edmonton Public School employees. The excerpts of the interviews held with these participants included in this document refer to their opinions as Francophone citizens in Alberta.

<sup>52</sup> This has been possible thanks to computer analysis and word counting made using ATLAS.TI. This software allows the user to categorize a written document according to established parameters such as the most repeated term after an automatic word counting process. The programme also provides tools that let the user locate, code, and annotate findings in primary data material, to weigh and evaluate their importance, and to visualize the relations between them.

### **2.3. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: TIME-LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF THE FRANCOPHONES IN ALBERTA**

The most relevant features corresponding to the five categories that have been chosen to classify the information- Language, Identity, Traditions and Cultural Legacy, Education and Socio-economic Indicators- has served as the point of departure for further research, conducted after my professional stay in Alberta. Most of the information hereafter presented was collected during the years 2008 and 2009, in observations and oral interviews which were carried out as part of our descriptive study of the Francophone minorities in Alberta.

Additional information that completed the facts and results included within each of the categories was included as the result of the interaction with the Francophone citizens of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan in year 2014, in which a survey has been conducted with a representative sample of the Francophone community within these provinces.

The results obtained from different primary sources of information such as the Canadian census, personal testimonies and interviews and other secondary references such as press, documentaries and scientific publications are hereby presented.

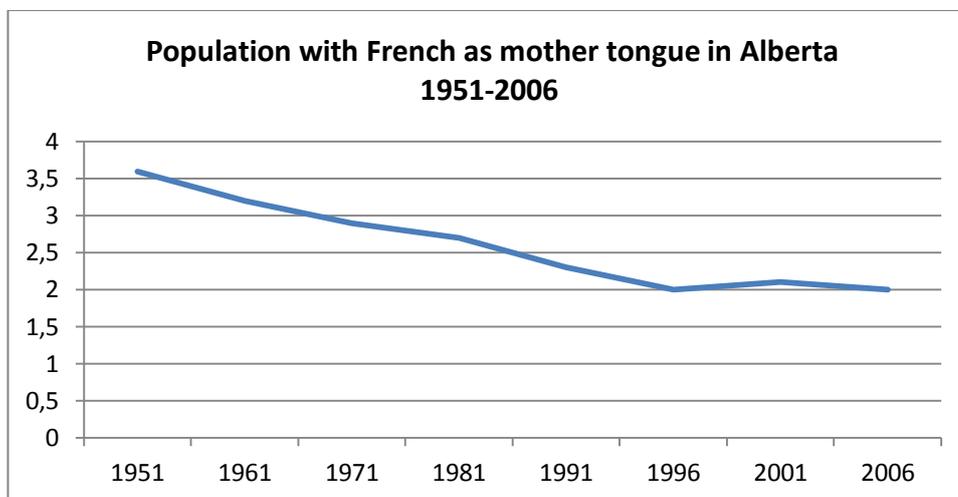
#### **2.3.1. Language**

According to the data shown by the Canadian Census in 2006, the Francophones accounted for a bit more than two per cent of the population in Alberta. The number of people with French as their mother tongue grew from 56,730 in 1991 to 68,435 in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007). The number of citizens with French as their first official language spoken –which includes most people with French as their daily language of

use but another other tongue- increased by nearly 11,000 individuals during this period of time. Many of the Albertan citizens that speak French are located within central and northern areas of the province.

Langlois and Gilbert (2006) studied the vitality of the Francophone communities. The conclusions of this study led them to think that linguistic aspect was highly relevant when trying to determine the Francophone presence in the Canadian territory.

Evaluating the actual size of the Francophone population posed a serious difficulty for us. Different indicators have been used for that purpose in previous studies (Langlois, 2000: 211-238). Among the various indicators mentioned by these authors, the most frequently used were the following: mother tongue, language most spoken at home and the first official language spoken.



**Chart 2.a. Evolution of the percentage of population with French language as mother tongue in Alberta, 1951-2006. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007.**

The figures displayed by the Canadian census of population demonstrate that the percentage of Francophones in Alberta fell from 3.6 per cent in 1951 to 2.3 per cent in 1991. Since that year, the percentage of Francophones stabilized and remained almost unchanged for the last two decades. The median age for Francophones is significantly

higher when compared to the general population in Alberta. The median age of Alberta citizens was 36 years whereas the Francophones report a median age of 44 in year 2006.<sup>53</sup>

The Francophone community in Alberta does not seem to grow at the same rate as other population groups in the province. However, a larger percentage of Francophones is of working age. According to age distribution, the group of population between 35 and 49 years old reports the highest number of Francophone citizens in Alberta.

The Canadian Census also points at the Francophone diversity as a fact. Only thirty percent of the Franco-Albertans were born in Alberta. Consequently, the Francophones in Alberta have roots across the country and keep close relationships with French speaking communities located in other provinces.

A significant percent of Franco-Albertans were born outside Canada. African immigrants contributed with nearly three thousand French speaking citizens to the current ethnic diversity within the Francophone communities in Alberta. Europe still represents the largest group of Francophone immigrants. In addition, close to 2,700 Francophones belong to one of the First Nations<sup>54</sup> (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Another aspect that must be pointed out is the rapid increase of French-language immigration in Alberta. The data referred to year 2011 showed that a total of 48 per cent of the province’s Francophone immigrants arrived during the previous ten years. The report on immigration carried out by members of the *Association Canadienne-*

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<sup>53</sup> See Canadian population by Age and Sex: 2011. Source: Statistics Canada. Report available online at: <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-311-x/98-311-x2011001-eng.cfm#a2> (Access on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2013).

<sup>54</sup> The term *First Nation* refers to the Aboriginal peoples in Canada who are neither Inuit nor Métis. There are currently more than 600 First Nations governments or bands spread across Canada. This denomination came into common usage in the 1980s and it came to replace the term “Indian” that some people considered offensive. The 2011 Census counted a total Aboriginal population superior to one million citizens (Statistics Canada, 2012).

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

*Française de l’Alberta*, French Canadian Association in Alberta, ACFA, showed that, at the precise time when the present study was being conducted, that the largest concentrations of Francophone and bilingual immigrants are found in big cities such as Edmonton and Calgary. Immigrants also settle in Brooks, Fort Mc Murray and Grande Prairie (ACFA, 2009: 5).

Data point at a decrease in the number of citizens that reported French as the language most often spoken at home between the years 1971 and 1996 (from 22,700 to 17,822). Between the years 2001 and 2006 there was a remarkable increase from 21,575 in 2001 to 23,505 in 2006. We can also add that 33,180 Albertans reported the use of French regularly at home, even though it was not the main language they used. This number was superior to the numbers that were registered in 2001.<sup>55</sup>

The knowledge of French language between 1951 and 2006 has been included within the current study. With respect to this question, we must remark the notorious increase in the number of Albertans that said they knew French (from 204,800 in 2001 up to 225,085 in 2006, according to Canadian Census in 2006).

By contrast, there is a modest percentage of Albertans that declared to use French language at work at a regular basis. If we compare the total number of Albertans that reported the use of French in their workplace, we can conclude that only 1.4 per cent of the total population in this province use French language at work at a regular basis. Nevertheless, the 32,500 Francophones that speak French at work account for close to 22 percent of the active population who know the French language.

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<sup>55</sup> See Appendix A.5: Canadian population by most spoken language, 2001, 2006 and 2011. Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

The proportion of citizens that report to have French as their mother tongue is slightly superior in the city of Edmonton (2.11%) whether compared to the percentage of population in Alberta that declared to have French as mother language (1.90%).

The data retrieved from the Canadian Census referred to year 2006 regarding official languages spoken in the Canada have been used to work out the percentage of population who speaks either of the two official languages.

	Percentage of population according to mother tongue			Percentage of population according to most spoken language at home		
	<i>Only English</i>	<i>Only French</i>	<i>Both languages</i>	<i>Only English</i>	<i>Only French</i>	<i>Both languages</i>
<b>Canada</b>	57,24	21,82	0,31	65,89	21,15	0,30
<b>Alberta</b>	79,12	1,88	0,16	88,85	0,59	0,10
<b>Edmonton</b>	76,67	2,14	0,18	88,11	0,72	0,12

**Table 2.1. Population by mother tongue and official languages spoken. Percentages calculated by the author. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>**

The table here depicted includes the proportion of the total population who reported French as mother tongue as well as the percentages corresponding to the citizens who declare to use either of the official languages –English, French or both – as the most spoken language at home in the city of Edmonton, compared to the figures related to Alberta and the total Canadian population<sup>56</sup>:

Langlois and Gilbert (2006) state that the three indicators that we have used in this study- French as mother tongue, knowledge of French as official language and French

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<sup>56</sup> See Appendix A.6: Language most spoken at home in Canadian provinces and territories, 2006. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007.

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

as language spoken at home- do not include the totality of the Francophone population in the actual context of the Canadian society. These authors account for the necessity of taking into consideration the continuous flow of immigrant citizens that arrive in Alberta and use French as main communication language even though French is not their mother tongue. According to Langlois and Gilbert’s conclusions, we should also exclude in our counting those citizens that report to have French as their mother language but were not longer able to understand French language at the moment at which the study was being carried out (Langlois & Gilbert, 2006: 432-449).

The inclusion of the African immigrant within the label ‘Francophone’ has been thoroughly analyzed by Amal Ibrahim Madibbo, a sociologist who works at Calgary University at the time when this research was being conducted. Diverse articles by Madibbo evidence the reality of black Francophone communities that face a difficult situation as a minority within another “official” French speaking minority. He also remarks that black Francophone citizens are discriminated against in a society predominated by Anglophones and white Francophones (Maddibo, 2006: 12-15; 2012: 121-136)

Among the press articles that deal with this issue, I would point out the declarations of the Official Languages Commissioner of Canada to the Spanish Basque diary DEIA. The Commissioner Dyane Adam expressed her opinion on the new citizens that arrive in Canada and integrate within the English speaking mainstream. In the article *Minority Languages and Immigration*, Adam affirms that the Canadian integration policies are helping these language minorities and also expresses her concern about the possible effects that this integration within the English speaking vast majority might have on the survival of other languages such as French.

Adam expresses that the local and regional authorities are also contributing to a better integration of the newcomers and the preservation of languages other than English. The data presented by the Commissioner show that the situation is changing and that an increasing number of immigrants opt for the integration within Francophone communities (Scarcia, R., DEIA, 25<sup>th</sup> April 2006).

The access to digital sources of Radio Canada provided with diverse testimonies and other documentaries that depict the situation of the use of French language in Alberta throughout the last decades. Among the videos and documentaries that were related to the object of our study, the one that best depicts the geographical dispersion of the Francophone minorities in Alberta was broadcast on 14<sup>th</sup> December 2002 with the French title *Ruée de Francophones au Pays du Pétrole* (Francophones within the Oil Country). This emission shows the opinions and testimonies of those people living in dispersed areas within the provinces in small nucleus of population where they constitute a percentage lower than five percent of the total number of citizens.

This documentary also evidences the presence of an important concentration of Francophone population in the metropolitan areas of Calgary and Edmonton, where they represent a proportion close to two percent of the total population. These areas would concentrate almost half of the Francophones of the province.

The Albertan economic prosperity appears to be the reason for the arrival of citizens from other Canadian provinces, being Quebec the one that contributes with a higher amount of newcomers in this province. As Jossiane Ménard indicates in the documentary *Ruée de Francophones au Pays du Pétrole*, the province has experienced a significant increase in the French speaking population (Radio Canada, 2009).

Throughout the year 2009 and coinciding with my stay in the province of Alberta, different events were organized in Canada to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Official Languages Act (1969), passed in the Canadian Parliament and substantially modified in 1988.

The Official Languages Act (1969) guarantees the right to access to federal and provincial public services using either language, French or English. Part VI of this Act establishes that Anglophones and Francophones must not be discriminated against due to their ethnic origin or mother tongue. Article 41 on Part VII establishes that the Government and its institutions are obliged to promote the development of both Francophone and Anglophone minorities. The legislation on the use of official languages also determines that Canadian media have the responsibility for the emission and diffusion of their programmes in English and also in French in order to guarantee the national identity.

The Official Languages Act (1969) might however have different interpretations. The Act regulates the access to public services in one of the official languages as long as there is a *significant demand*. The term *significant* has been object of controversy since it is interpreted as the existence of a nucleus of population with more than 5000 inhabitants where more than 5 per cent of the citizens belong either to a Francophone or Anglophone minority, depending on the part of the country we make reference to.

Radio and Television Broadcast Channel ‘Radio Canada’ in Edmonton broadcast in 2009 the short film *Quarante Ans de Bilinguisme* (Forty Years of Bilingualism), on which the history of the Official Languages Act in Alberta is described. This emission served us as a source of information about the social and political factors that made the

Official Languages Act possible. At the same time, the positive effects derive from the implementation of this Act are exhibited on this documentary.

The most remarkable events that took place in the Canadian Parliament after this Act was passed seems to be the moment at which Léo Piquette, a Parliament member representing the *Nouveau Parti Démocratique* (NPD), addressed to the audience in French language during a Parliamentary season in April 1987. Piquette justified this action on the basis of the regulations that appeared in Section 110 of the *Northwest Territories Act* (1985), in which French and English were both permitted during Parliament debates.

Piquette’s decision was also based on the fact that the Northwest Territories Act had never been derogated after the moment in which Alberta joined the Canadian confederation. The Speaker of the Parliament at that moment interrupted Mr. Piquette and did not allow him to continue his discourse using his mother tongue by using the sentence: “*En anglais, s’il vous plait* (In English, please)”.

Despite the controversy derived of Piquette’s intervention,<sup>57</sup> this member of the Canadian Parliament was recognized by many linguistic minorities due to this witty action and also because of his struggle to preserve the rights of the Francophones living in Alberta. The incident encouraged the Francophones to protest and fight for the rights to express in their language. Successive debates about this incident led to the intervention of the Supreme Court that finally determined that Section 110 of the referred Northwest Territories Act would still apply in Alberta in February 1988. Nevertheless, Alberta Legislature established the obligation on the part of the members

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<sup>57</sup> Piquette’s intervention can be found on the documentary available on Radio Canada website. Online: [http://www.radiocanada.ca/regions/alberta/dossieers/detail.asp?Pk\\_Dossiers\\_regionaux=315](http://www.radiocanada.ca/regions/alberta/dossieers/detail.asp?Pk_Dossiers_regionaux=315) (Access on 19<sup>th</sup> January 2009).

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of the Chamber of providing the English translation to the audience in advance if the oral intervention was to be held in French language.

When the Official Languages Act was passed in year 1969, only nine per cent of the jobs created by the Federal Government were occupied by French speaking citizens. The number of positions offered by the Government has continuously increased from 14 per cent in 1978 up to 25% in 2004<sup>58</sup>. In 2007, Francophones occupied 26.9% of the total amount of positions in institutions subject to the Official Languages Act<sup>59</sup>.

The observations made during my professional stay in the city of Edmonton gave me the opportunity to verify that the public institutions visited complied with the regulations established by the Official Languages Act (1969). I had the chance of addressing to Alberta Teachers’ Association staff using French and I could verify that all the documents that I needed to fill in at that moment were facilitated in French version.

Other institutions that I visited during my time of residence in Alberta also offered their services in French language. That was the case of Alberta Health Service, where information and forms were available in both official languages. The International Airport of Edmonton also counted on the so called *bilingual agents*, who offer their services to public in either French or English language.

The public services that were not directly linked to Federal or Provincial Government did not always offer their services in French language. This was the case of Public Hospitals like *Grey Nuns Hospital* in Edmonton or financial institutions such as

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<sup>58</sup> See: *Canada Rapport de la Commission Royale d’Enquête sur le Bilinguisme et le Biculturalisme*. Livre III: le monde du travail. Ottawa, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1969, p.374.

<sup>59</sup> See: Annual Report on Official Languages 2006-2007. Treasure Board of Canada Secretariat. Government of Canada. Available at: <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/dpr-rmr/2006-2007/inst/col/col-eng.pdf> . (Access on 12th December 2008).

*TD Canada Trust* or *Royal Bank of Canada*, where French speaking staff was not available at the counter where services in French were required.<sup>60</sup>

With respect to traffic and road signs, we can state that the city of Edmonton did not provide with information in French language at the moment in which observations took place. Within the metropolitan area of Edmonton, only a town, Beaumont, offered traffic information and posted traffic signs both in English and French language.

Among the three interviewees that we had previously elected to provide information about the different categories that we had established for our study, only one of the teachers, François Boucher, reported to speak French at home at a regular basis. The rest of the French Immersion Programme teachers informed that their partners were not fluent enough in French to hold a conversation.

The lack of language skills was not the only element being part of the discussions held with other Francophone teachers during my break times at Avalon school. I witnessed conversations in which it was said that the Francophones who came from Eastern Canada looked down on the accent of the Franco-Albertans. In the same way, the accent of French speakers coming from Africa was sometimes considered difficult to understand by Franco-Albertans.

According to what it is exposed in relation to French language, we may state that French language does not only represent a symbol of union for the Francophones but also an element used for justifying the exclusion from certain social environments.

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<sup>60</sup> The visits to the institutions mentioned took place at different moments at a period of time between October 2008 and July 2009.

### 2.3.2. Identity

The presence of the Francophone culture in Alberta has impregnated the daily life of certain villages placed in central and northern regions of Alberta since the nineteenth century. However, the search for information related to the identity question leads us to the decade of the 1920s, when a meeting was held at Hotel McDonald in Edmonton.

It was on December 1925 when a group of Francophone citizens living in Alberta, known as *Cercle Jeanne d’Arc*, gathered in a congress to discuss about the constitution of a provincial association. This seems to be the precise moment at which the Franco-Albertan<sup>61</sup> identity consolidates. The first meeting would serve to constitute a commission that would be in charge of preserving French heritage, including religious, moral, social, intellectual and economic aspects. A few months later, the *Association Canadienne-Française de l’Alberta*, ACFA (Alberta French Canadian Association), was created.<sup>62</sup>

In 1928, the ACFA decided to create its own journal called *La Survivance* (The Survival). This journal would turn into the main mass media used by representatives of the associations and its members to consolidate the Franco-Albertan identity and helped them to create the necessary bonds among the Francophone communities that were dispersed all over the province at that time (Provincial Archives of Alberta, 1986).

Since the 1930s, the Francophone community in Alberta aimed at their inclusion within an Anglophone majority. They decided to be present in the activities that the Anglophone community organized. This led to a profound change in their habits, since they had the habit of gathering in the church during their free time to organize their leisure activities. During the economic crisis in the 1930s, many members of the ACFA,

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<sup>61</sup> This term is currently used to make reference to the francophone population established in the Canadian province of Alberta.

<sup>62</sup>The ACFA was created on 12th July 1926 in Edmonton according to information obtained from the Provincial Archives of Alberta of 1986.

who were not entirely satisfied with the idea of transferring the control of the association to the representatives living in Edmonton and Calgary, decided to quit the association. Members of the association would be mainly constituted by professionals devoted to fields like Medicine or Law.

The ACFA also supported the creation of other associations aimed at preserving the Francophone identity in Alberta. In 1926, the *Association des Éducateurs Bilingues de l'Alberta*, AEBA (Association of bilingual educators in Alberta) was founded. In order to increase the Francophone presence in this province, the creation of a French radio station was promoted by the ACFA. In 1949, the Francophone radio station would initiate their emission in French language to counteract the effects of the linguistic assimilation on the part of the Anglophone majority in Alberta (Provincial Archives of Alberta, 1986). This French radio station, currently known as Radio Canada, provided us with different documentaries that include the testimonies of several members of the ACFA who express their opinions about the cultural assimilation experienced within the Francophone communities in Alberta.

Radio Canada emission on 26<sup>th</sup> November 1977 under the title *L'ACFA: Refuser de disparaître* (The ACFA: refuse to its disappearance) presents the conclusions of the journalist Christian Allard after interviewing Hilaire Portier, vice-president of the ACFA at the moment in which the interview was taking place. The interviewee manifests that this association is maintained thanks to the contribution of the citizens that work together with the Catholic parishes in the province. Portier also remarks during the interview the economic support of the members of the ACFA.

The same documentary makes reference to another relevant aspect that is linked to the identity of the Francophone community in Alberta: the adoption of a *Franco-*

*Albertain* flag that would serve as symbol of the French speaking communities in this province after the year 1982.<sup>63</sup> The symbols used to characterize this flag are two sorts of flowers: *fleur-de-lis* and *eglantine rose*<sup>64</sup> - also known as musk rose. Two colours appear on this flag: blue and white, both representing the union of the Anglophone and Francophone citizens in Alberta. The diagonal bands that appear on the flag represent the water streams and the routes that the first explorers followed in their way to the province of Alberta.

We could not define the identity of the Francophone communities without mentioning those people that contributed to the history of this province.<sup>65</sup> Among the numerous biographies consulted regarding the first Francophone settlers in the province, the one that most frequently appears on the diverse sources that have been consulted is that of father Albert Lacombe. He was born in *Saint Sulpice*, in the outskirts of Montreal, in 1821. He served as a priest in Red River<sup>66</sup> settlement in 1849. Two years later he was sent to Fort Edmonton and afterwards he would move to the northern region of *Lac Sainte-Anne*, where he worked as a missionary with *Métis* and *Cree*<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> The Franco-Albertain flag was adopted after the Annual Meeting of the ACFA on 6<sup>th</sup> March 1982. The designer of this flag is due to Pierre Grenier.

<sup>64</sup> This flower is typical of the western regions of Canada. It is also found in other American countries such as Chile.

<sup>65</sup> To commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the annexation of Alberta to Canada, the ACFA edited a poster that depicts the images of the most relevant characters, places and moments that contributed to the history of the province. The sentence that appears on top of the poster is *Jamais je ne l'oublierai* (I will never forget), extracted from the traditional song *À la Claire Fontaine* (To the clear fountain), brought from France into western Canada by fur trades and the first explorers. The central image on the poster depicts the geographical location of the main settlements and also shows pictures and short texts about the most significant facts attributed to the first francophone settlers in Alberta. See Addenda, Document C.5: Poster: Historical contribution of the Francophones in the province of Alberta.

<sup>66</sup> Red River refers to a vast extension of land which currently corresponds to one of the most fertile areas within the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan and the states of North Dakota and Minnesota. In 1811, when Lord Selkirk acquired part of the Hudson's Bay Company, European settlers-mainly Scottish-were brought to this region and funded a colony known as Red River Valley.

<sup>67</sup> This term refers to one of the aboriginal groups of population in Canada. Together with the Blackfoot, they constitute the two native groups of population that already inhabited the region before the arrival of the Europeans.

population in that region. Father Lacombe would finally establish in a Métis settlement on the area which is currently known as Saint Albert.<sup>68</sup>

Marie Anne Gaboury also appears as one of the icons in Alberta’s Francophone community history. She is reported as the first French Canadian woman that travelled and settled in western territories in Canada. She accompanied her husband, a *Hudson’s Bay Company*<sup>69</sup> employee who had been assigned fur trade activities in that region. This woman challenged customs and tradition at that time and would accompany her husband during buffalo’s hunt expeditions in the territories corresponding to the current province of Alberta. Madame Gaboury is also known thanks to her grandson, Louis Riel, member of the *Métis* community in Western Canada who stood against Ottawa’s government in favour of the recognition of Francophone Métis communities (Stanley, 2000).

Diverse radio emissions state the relevance of this woman in Alberta’s history. In particular, the radio emission *Tournée d’Amérique* includes the interview that the journalist Marie-Hélène Poirier made to France Levasseur-Ouimet in 1999. The statements made throughout the entire transmission mark the relevance of Madame Gaboury as the first woman pioneer in the province of Alberta (Radio Canada, 2009).

In the city of Edmonton, *Bonnie Doon* district is considered as the symbol of the Francophone identity and it is known as the *French Quarter*. It is considered the distinctive symbol of the Francophone identity in this city. The main street of this

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<sup>68</sup> Information provided by Heritage Community Foundation. *Father Lacombe*, 2002. More details about the biography of Louis Riel, Marie Anne Gaboury and other relevant people that historically contributed to the francophone patrimony of the province of Alberta are available on the Alberta Online Encyclopedia: <http://www.albertasource.ca> (Last accessed on 16th January, 2011).

<sup>69</sup> *Hudson’s Bay* is the oldest company in Canada. It was founded in 1670 and it controlled fur trades over British colonies in North America. When its economic activity declined, the territories administered by this company were ceded to Canadian confederation.

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district, named after Marie-Anne Gaboury,<sup>70</sup> hosts the *Cité Francophone*, where most Francophone associations develop numerous social and cultural activities are devoted to the French speaking communities within Edmonton.

This district also houses the *Campus Saint Jean*, Francophone university of Alberta, and the institution *Alliance Française*, devoted to the preservation and promotion of French language in this province. Population data show that more than sixteen percent of the population living in the French Quarter is self-identified as French origin citizen. Statistics also make clear that Catholic tradition is stronger in this district when we refer to data regarding religious affiliation (Statistics Canada, 2002).<sup>71</sup>

One of the most significant monuments for the Francophone community in Edmonton is the Roman Catholic Church of *Saint Joachim*. It is said to be the oldest parish in the city and it was funded by *Père Lacombe*. Although the church initiated its activity along the year 1838, the building where the parish is currently located was finished in 1899.

At a moment when the population of Edmonton experienced a notable growth- from 8,000 inhabitants up to 72,000 in 1914-, the number of Francophones raised from 500 to 3,500. The Francophone population became more diversified from an ethno-cultural point of view. After the creation of diverse Irish, Polish and German churches,

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<sup>70</sup> Marie-Anne Gaboury was the first French-Canadian woman who settled in Western Canada. She accompanied her husband, employee in Hudson’s Bay Company as a fur trader. She first travelled to Red River Colony and she finally lived in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

<sup>71</sup> Canada Census referred to data extracted in 2006 and 2001 do not show information regarding religious affiliation. We have taken Canada Census data published in 2002 as a reference in order to obtain reliable information concerning religious beliefs. See Appendix A.8.

Saint Joachim remained as the “mother church” and the institutional base of the French identity in Edmonton and also in Alberta.<sup>72</sup>

In the year 2009, when my visit to *Saint Joachim* church took place, I was able to verify that the parish continued to offer religious services in French language and that still constituted the meeting point for local associations linked to Francophone communities at that time. This church is currently located in a city center area, and the parish is regarded as an active community that could be described as a mixture of an ageing French origin population and a group of newcomers of African origin, with a much lower median age.

Among the testimonies of the interviewees at Avalon Junior High School, there was only one of the teachers who made explicit reference to aspects related to religious affiliation. One of the three teachers reported during the interview: “(...) *la religion constitue la base de notre communauté Francophone. Seulement de cette façon-là les jeunes gens seront capables d’assimiler et préserver nos valeurs*” (Religion constitutes the base of our Francophone community. This is the only way that young people can preserve and assimilate our values).<sup>73</sup>

### 2.3.3. Traditions and Cultural Legacy

There are numerous traditions and cultural activities in Alberta that serve as manifestations of the presence of the Francophone community in the province. Many of these activities that take place in Alberta are developed in French language although members of other linguistic communities also participate in them.

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<sup>72</sup> Information provided by France McMahon and France Levasseur-Ouimet in their article *Église Saint-Joachim d’Edmonton*, available at the *Encyclopédie Du Patrimoine Culturel de l’Amérique Française*. Available online at: [http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-22/%C3%89glise\\_Saint-Joachim\\_d’Edmonton.html#.UuzW-fl5P6Q](http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/fr/article-22/%C3%89glise_Saint-Joachim_d’Edmonton.html#.UuzW-fl5P6Q). Access on 1<sup>st</sup> February 2009.

<sup>73</sup> Translation made by the author from the transcription of the original speech in French language.

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The main source of information about the activities that usually take place every year in the Edmonton area was the official web page of the provincial Government in Alberta –Alberta Culture-.<sup>74</sup>

Details and thorough information about other events that are planned for the Francophone community of the province is also available at the calendars provided by the web site Francalta, sponsored by the *Association Canadienne-Française de l'Alberta*, ACFA.<sup>75</sup> Among the activities that count with large tradition in the province, we could make reference to numerous events take place in the rural area in the northern part of Alberta.

The event that concentrates every year a large amount of Francophone citizens is *Saint-Isidore* Carnival. It is celebrated in the social centre of Saint Isidore community, twenty kilometers away from Peace River. During the carnival celebration, diverse activities are organized for all the family members: snow sculpture, sledge races, gastronomic activities such as *la cabane à sucre*<sup>76</sup>.

Pladmonton, located two hundred kilometers north from Edmonton, is the venue of the hockey tournament known as *Hockey en fête*. It usually lasts for two days and it concentrates more than three hundred players coming from all over the province. After the competitions on the ice rink, music concerts and dance performances are organized.

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<sup>74</sup> Information available at Alberta Culture. Online: [www.bonjour.alberta.ca](http://www.bonjour.alberta.ca). (Access on 4<sup>th</sup> September 2013).

<sup>75</sup> Cultural events and other activities aimed at the Francophone community in Alberta are shown and updated on *Francalta* web page. Online: <http://www.francalta.ca/planification/index.php> (Access on 24th February 2012).

<sup>76</sup> I personally participated in the school activity *La cabane à sucre*, a meeting of French Immersion teachers held at Greenview École in February 2009 in Edmonton in which attendants were explained how to make “*la tîre*”. The latter consists of a maple syrup stripe obtained when the syrup is heated up to a 220 degrees temperature. The liquid that we extract is spread on an ice block so that it solidifies and it is rolled on a wooden stick. This became one of the most popular gastronomic events in the French carnival celebrated by first settlers in Quebec.

In the southern area of Alberta, there are other Francophone communities that also celebrate carnival following French traditions. Calgary organizes the *Festival des Sucres* (Sugar Festival) in March. It is seen as the most important within the Francophones and Francophile citizens in Calgary. There we can find different sorts of cake and other products elaborated with the well known *sirop d'érable* (maple syrup).<sup>77</sup>

With respect to folk and other musical genres, Edmonton witnesses after autumn 2008 the *Edmonton Chante Festival*. It takes place in the area of the city called Old Strathcona and it usually spreads out over five days in the month of October since then. The venues list is composed of different bars and pubs that offer their facilities to groups of artists that are closely linked to the Francophone community in the region<sup>78</sup>.

The promotion of the *francophonie* also takes place by means of different activities carried out in March every year. Francophones around the world celebrate the International Day of Francophonie on March 20. This date stands as one of the most representative within the Francophone community also in Alberta.

Mr. Blaney, Minister of La Francophonie, stated on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2013: “The International Day of La Francophonie gives us the opportunity to celebrate our commitment to not only the French language and the rich and diverse Francophone culture but also the values of peace, democracy and respect for human rights that unite

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<sup>77</sup> This syrup is extracted from maple's bark and it follows a distillation process to obtain different products used for cooking and pastry. Maple is a very abundant tree in Canada and the maple's leaf was chosen as the symbol of the Canadian flag, designed by George Stanley and John Matheson on 15<sup>th</sup> February 1965. Source: Department of Canadian Heritage. Online: <http://www.pch.gc.ca/eng/1363626184104/1363626227047> (Access on 12th February 2009).

<sup>78</sup> In the first edition, four pubs added offered themselves to receive the groups of artists that also played within the Unithéâtre, in the Francophone district. Source: Société Edmonton Chante. Available at: <http://www.acfaedmonton.ab.ca/edmontonchante/en/festival/venues> (Access on 1st February 2009).

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all members of the International Organization of La Francophonie” (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2013).<sup>79</sup>

Throughout the month of March in 2009, during my professional stay in Edmonton, there were diverse cultural activities developed between 6<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> March. Art exhibitions, story-telling for kids and handicraft workshops were available in the city at that time. Conversation clubs and family games on diverse topics were also part of the activities programmed during these weeks (Government of Canada-Employment and Immigration, 2009).

Schools also extended these activities especially within the Francophone district and French Immersion Schools. At *École Avalon*, I had the opportunity to cooperate with the rest of the staff to organize cultural event during the international week of the Francophonie. French Immersion students participated in the emission of French music through the loudspeakers during the breaks and also at lunch time. They could also participate in a narrative contest in French language.

In April 2009, the *Gala Français* was organized in Ross Sheppard High School in Edmonton. This event congregates students from all the French Immersion and Francophone Schools in Edmonton Public Board of Education. Pupils participate in activities to show their abilities in French language by means of formal speeches, songs and theatre representations. I was invited to participate in this event to be part of the

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<sup>79</sup> Report available at Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada. Online: <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/franco/news-communiques/2013/03/20a.aspx?lang=eng>. (Access on 1<sup>st</sup> February 2014).

jury that was in charge of assessing the performances of the students in French Language Arts 30 category.<sup>80</sup>

My presence in Edmonton during the celebration of the Francophonie in the year 2009 also gave me the opportunity to access to press articles that made explicit reference to the development of the activities programmed by Francophone institutions. I would highlight the presence of a great variety of recipes on journals and diaries that were related to the French traditions on Albertan gastronomy. In particular, the article *Francophone festivals celebrates diversity*, by Cristal Rhyno describes with every sort of detail the different products elaborated under the French tradition that could be tried in Grande Prairie, city located in the northern region of the province. Among the recipes that were mentioned on the articles, the *poutine* and the *tourtières*<sup>81</sup> were reported to have a longer tradition in Alberta (Daily Herald Tribune, March 2, 2009).

The artistic activity in French language is trying to be preserved by organisms such as *Regroupement artistique Francophone de l'Alberta*, RAFA (Artistic Francophone Group in Alberta). Since it began in 2002, it is still seen as the representative institution of the French language and culture in Alberta. This association is devoted to diverse disciplines such as literature, visual arts, dance, musical production and theatre.<sup>82</sup>

Other minor events that are regularly held in big cities like Calgary and Edmonton are known as *Movie Club*. Audiovisual projections and French films were exhibited at

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<sup>80</sup> Participation in the *Gala Français* certification provided by Edmonton Public Schools District No.7 can be seen on Document C.6 in the folder ‘C. Images and Documents’ of the Addenda contained within the DVD which accompanies this thesis.

<sup>81</sup> *Poutine* is a typical dish from Quebec that consists of French fries with a sauce obtained from meat stew and with melted cheese on top. The *tourtières* are baked in the oven with pork meat, beef and onion.

<sup>82</sup> This institution maintains its own web site: <http://www.rafa-alberta.ca> (Last accessed on 10<sup>th</sup> March 2014).

the Auditorium in the *Saint Jean* Campus in Edmonton at the time when this study was being carried out.

Some Francophone diaries are devoted to the report of events aimed at the French speaking population in Alberta. *Le Franco* is a diary that publishes relevant news concerning cultural aspects of the city that are directly linked to the Francophone community. Even the less popular concerts that are being held in the city are reported by this media. For instance, the article *Edmonton chante bat son plain* (Edmonton sings loudly) describes how surprised the vocalist of a music group called *Caracol* when he realized the great amount of Francophiles that attended the concert in a local pub called *Savoy Lounge* (*Le Franco*, October 8, 2009).

Among the documentaries that dealt with cultural activities I was able to access, *Le Festival de Théâtre Molière* offered me the most comprehensive view of the cultural dimension of theatre in the city of Edmonton. The documentary, emitted by Radio Canada first time in 1997, provides us with a wide range of details about the creation of the theatre group *Unithéâtre* in 1992. It also mentions the existence of other Francophone theatre groups that were created with students attending the French University Campus of *Saint Jean* (Radio Canada, 2009).

We cannot leave religion behind when we deal with French cultural activities in the province of Alberta. It is important to mention the presence of Catholic religion as a nexus that keeps Francophone community together. For a long time, the parish of Saint Joachim has served as a meeting point for citizens willing to participate in activities that involve part of the religious communities.

For Francophone teenagers and young adults, the Association of Young Francophones in Alberta, FJA, was created in 1972.<sup>83</sup> It is especially aimed at the promotion of French language and culture within young citizens in Alberta that are willing to preserve the language and culture inherited by their French ancestors. The headquarters of this association and others that have been previously mentioned are located within the *Cité Francophone*,<sup>84</sup> in the district of the city known as French Quarter. The FJA promotes annual meetings of Francophone young students attending secondary school. Encounters are usually held in October and gather more than nine hundred participants.<sup>85</sup>

All the staff members at *École Avalon* that were interviewed reported to have information about carnival and other activities that are organized for the French community in the province. Only one out of the three Francophone teachers, Doris Amyotte, reported to have organized carnival activities with students in the previous years following the French tradition:

*“L’année dernière nous avons utilisé la neige qui restait encore sur la cour de récréation pour organiser la tire. On l’a faite avec les élèves de quatrième année au mois de février, avant que le neige ne disparaissait. Les élèves en ont profité pour peindre le bonhomme en bois qu’on avait fait avant”*. (Last year we used the snow of the playground to organize *la tire*. Grade 4 students painted the *bonhomme*<sup>86</sup> on a piece of wood. We did all this in February, before the snow disappeared).

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<sup>83</sup> This association is known as *Francophonie Jeunesse de l’Alberta*, FJA. Information on their objectives and the programme of activities is available on their web site: <http://www.international.gc.ca/media/franco/news-communiques/2013/03/20a.aspx?lang=eng> (Accessed on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2013).

<sup>84</sup> The *Cité Francophone* is located in Marie Anne Gaboury Street. Offices and staff working for francophone associations in Alberta have their workplace in this building.

<sup>85</sup> Information provided on FJA web page. (Access on 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2013).

<sup>86</sup> *Bonhomme* literally means “good man”. It is considered an essential element in carnival celebrations. It is a snowman that wears a red woolen hat, black buttons and boots and a belt tied up at the height of its waist hanging on one side.

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The two other teachers also mentioned the carnival as one of the cultural traditions linked to the Francophone culture in Canada. Nevertheless, they affirmed that they had not participated in this celebration in previous years.

With respect to the activities in which my French Immersion students had been previously involved, one of the Grade 8 students told me about her experience at carnival’s celebration in Quebec two years before the interview took place. However, the other French immersion student affirmed that she had no information about the carnival celebrations organized in Alberta following the French traditions.

#### **2.3.4. Education**

In 1862, Father Lacombe and Reverend Scollen founded the first school in Edmonton. In 1859, the Grey Nuns had previously created another school in Lac Saint-Anne and one more in *Lac La Biche* three years later. These schools would symbolize the start of French Catholic education in Alberta. Since that moment, a little number of private institutions also began to offer instruction in French language. These would be Saint Jean school, established in 1908, together with the Jesuits school in 1913. Some decades later, the association of bilingual educators in Alberta would be created to develop studies programmes to preserve the instruction in French language in the province.

In 1963, the Federal Government created the Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism in order to elaborate a report on the situation of the country regarding these two aspects. The final report of the Commission encouraged the Government to allow parents to decide the official language preferred for their children’s instruction (Hoffman & Ward, 1970: 27).

In 1968, the Alberta School Act was modified and gave permission to receive instruction in French language in K-12 programmes during a limited time that could not exceed fifty per cent of the total time of instruction.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, Alberta’s Government did not estimate necessary the separation of Anglophone and Francophone population to receive instruction in French language.

It was considered that the admission to educational programmes in French language should not depend on the mother tongue of the students. According to the

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<sup>87</sup> Alberta educational system offers K-12 programmes that include Elementary School (Grade1-6), Junior High School (Grades7-9) and High School (Grades 10 -12).

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Alberta Government, a considerable number of school districts were able to preserve their French programmes thanks to the elevated number of Anglophone students that enrolled in them. The decision of the provincial government of not giving the opportunity to Francophones to receive French instruction separately was, however, contradicting the recommendations published by the Commission for Bilingualism (Bourhis, 1994: 5-36).

The Canadian Federal Government approved the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. Section 23 of this charter granted students belonging to French language minorities the right to receive education in their mother tongue. Parents of Francophone students were also given access to the management and control of the educational institutions where their children were schooled.<sup>88</sup>

The establishment of entirely Francophone schools does not seem to have been an easy task in Alberta. Francophone communities have been forced to protest against the provincial government to have their rights recognized. CBC-Radio Canada emission *40 ans de bilinguisme* (40 years of bilingualism) describes the perseverance of the Francophone parents' federations in their fight against the provincial institutions to gain control in the management of the Francophone schools in Alberta. Concretely, this radio emission mentions the Supreme Court resolution in relation to the case *Mahé versus Alberta provincial government* on March 1990 (CBC-Radio Canada, 2009).

The claims for Francophone parents' rights in order to participate in the decisions of the provincial government in questions concerning the education of their children started in 1986. At that time, the Education Department of the ACFA created the *Fédération des Parents Francophones de l'Alberta*, FPFA (Alberta Francophone

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<sup>88</sup> See full text of Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom on Appendix C.9

Parents Association). The objective of this association was to concentrate the efforts of all the different committees that Francophone parents had established all over the province.

The first Francophone school that was created in Alberta started to operate in Edmonton. The primary school *École Maurice-Lavallée* was opened in 1984 under Edmonton Separate School Board jurisdiction. Parents’ protests made possible the implementation of educational programmes entirely in French language in the school year 1989-1990 (CBC-Radio Canada, 2012).

After the Supreme Court resolution with respect to the Mahé case, a series of measures were taken to make sure that school boards were complying with the regulations of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Section of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Supreme Court Resolution Mahé v. Alberta, 1990).

When the present study was taking place, I had the possibility of contacting the Canadian Parents for French Association, CPF, since they regularly cooperate with schools to promote the use of the French language among students enrolled in French Immersion programmes. This association was founded in 1977 and incorporated as a non-profit society in 1978. As it is featured on their web site, their objective is “to promote, support and enhance French immersion and core French programs throughout the province”.

Among the numerous activities organized by Alberta branch of this association we could remark their work on major projects in support of French-second language

learning. This association is also in charge of training sessions for local volunteers. It also serves as liaison between parents and education authorities.<sup>89</sup>

French immersion programmes are designed for children whose first language is not French. The goal of this sort of programmes is to provide young students with the opportunity to become functionally bilingual and work in both official languages. It is commonly thought that they give students the opportunity to appreciate cultures other than their own.

The immersion programmes offered in Alberta are classified within three types: Early immersion, Middle French Immersion and Late French Immersion. The term “immersion” came to use in Canada during the 1960s to describe innovative programmes in which the French language was used as a medium of instruction for elementary school students whose home language was English. Early French Immersion is usually regarded as the most effective of the three and begins no later than Grade 1. Middle French Immersion starts around Grade 3, and Late French Immersion begins in Grade 6 (Dicks, 1992: 37-59).

It is estimated that most students participating in these programmes enroll at an early stage. Some studies show that these programmes are more effective when kids are enrolled before Grade 1 (Genesee, 1976:494-515).

According to the information provided by Alberta Education, Francophone schools in the province are distributed into five regional school boards: *Conseil scolaire Centre-Nord, Conseil Nord-Ouest, Centre-Est, Sud and the Conseil scolaire catholique*

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<sup>89</sup> Information about this association is available on CPF web site. Online: <http://ab.cpf.ca> (Accessed on 2st February 2010).

*et Francophone du sud de l'Alberta*. In 2009, there were 32 Francophone schools in Alberta whereas the total number of schools in the province was 2,090.

The access to the figures provided by Alberta Education in 2010 allows us to describe the evolution of the number of students attending Francophone schools since school year 2001-02. After processing the data, we can confirm that the percentage of students registered in Francophone schools has increased when compared to the total number of students in the province.

In 2001 there were 590,906 students in the province. Among those, 3,279 were attending a Francophone school (0.55% of the total student population). Data referred to 2009 show that the percentage of students enrolled in a Francophone school rose to 5,599 (0.94% of the total number of students in Alberta at that time).<sup>90</sup>

With respect to French Immersion programmes, data available at Alberta Education web site show that there existed seventeen schools within Edmonton Public District No7 and other thirteen schools belonging to Edmonton Separate Catholic No7 that offered this sort of programmes to students. If we focus on the city of Edmonton, we can state the existence of a total number of 38 schools that offer either total instruction in French language or French Immersion programs. Taking into account the existence of 314 schools in the city, we conclude that 12% of the schools of Edmonton offer French language programmes to their students (Alberta Education, 2010).

At university level, *Campus Saint-Jean* offers general bachelor programs in arts, science education and engineering science in French language. This campus, integrated within the University of Alberta, also offered two bilingual French-English bachelor

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<sup>90</sup> See Chart 3.c referred to Student population in the province of Alberta. Source: Alberta Education. Available at: [www.education.alberta.ca/students.aspx](http://www.education.alberta.ca/students.aspx) (Last access on 12th June 2014).

programs (nursing and business administration).<sup>91</sup> Among a total number of 37,000 university students in Alberta in 2009, around 700 students (2% of the total) pursued their students in French language.

The rate of French-speaking Albertan population that had not completed high school was much lower than the national average of 25.6 percent according to statistics referred to year 2006. In fact, the rate of Francophone citizens that did not complete high school in Alberta was close to 20 percent. The percentage of Alberta Francophones that have a university education is also superior to the average in the province (Statistics Canada, 2007).

Many of the Francophone immigrants holding degrees in areas different from education from their countries of origin decide to choose a career in education because they are allowed to complete a graduate program in two years as opposed to four years that would take to complete their programs in other degrees. After a training period, Francophone citizens coming from other countries gain access to a job related to education. However, this university training rarely leads to jobs in urban schools districts. Many of the Francophone newcomers want to remain close to their communities and refuse teaching posts in rural areas of the province.

Dalley states that the reason given by school administrators in urban areas for not hiring Francophone immigrants is their inability to control a classroom. It is thought that when they are called to substitute for regular teacher, they face a significantly high number of disciplinary problems (Dalley, 2008: 51).

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<sup>91</sup>Information available at Campus Saint-Jean web site. Online: <http://www.csj.ualberta.ca>. (Access on 14<sup>th</sup> July 2011).

The present ethnographic study gave me the chance of speaking to the families of some of the students who attended my Mathematics classes within the French Immersion Program at Avalon High School in Edmonton. After reporting an incident with an African origin student to his family, an interview was held with the parents of the referred pupil. The father affirmed that corporal punishment was a common practice in their country: “Back home, teacher hit children who don’t pay attention”. Similar testimonies were given by other French-Albertan teachers who told me about the difficulty of African Francophone teachers to adapt to the Alberta school system, more specifically when it comes to relationship between teacher-student.

The compilation of extracts taken from the interviews conducted as part of our study also made reference to other educational aspects. The testimony of Mrs. Boyd, Language Consultant working for Edmonton Public School District highlights the importance of the second language programmes implemented in Alberta:

“I studied at Ross Shepard School in Edmonton. All my life I have studied French and I identify myself with the Francophone community in Edmonton. I think that the fact of learning the two official languages at school is an asset [...] Learning a second language in Alberta was not mandatory three years ago. Edmonton Public has been the first board to promote the teaching of a second foreign language”.

Another teacher from Avalon High School, Holly Cyr, who opted for using French language during the interview reported:

*“Après le voyage à Québec qu’on organise avec les élèves de septième année d’immersion française, ils sont tous très heureux de voir comment ils sont capable d’établir une conversation avec les familles où il se sont logés. Les garçons sont très fiers d’eux mêmes après avoir vérifié qu’ils ont appris beaucoup de français à l’école (During the trip to Quebec that we organize every year with Grade 7 French Immersion students, kids were managed themselves to hold a conversation with their host families. They are quite proud of themselves after realizing that they have learnt a lot of French at school)”.*

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

Despite the presence of Francophone citizens in positions related to education, we must remark that there is a significant percentage of Francophone population whose education level is limited. We must also take into consideration that there is a small number of jobs on the educational sector requiring mastery of French and not English.

### 2.3.5. Social and Economic Indicators

Cultural life is encouraged and supported by cultural associations and school-community centres. Information facilitated by the ACFA includes the existence of community centres in Edmonton, Bonnyville, Saint-Isidore and Falher, and school-community centres in Calgary, Saint-Paul, Plamondon, Legal and Fort McMurray at the time in which the present study was carried out.<sup>92</sup>

French speaking newspapers and magazines make possible a better communication among the Francophone citizens of Alberta. The ACFA weekly publishes *Le Franco*, which covers issues of interest to the general population. In the area of Calgary, *Le Chinook* is published once a month.

Some of the documentaries used during this part of the research were extracted from *The Société Radio-Canada*, a radio station that operates in Edmonton and Calgary. In the Rivière-la-Paix region, there is a radio station known as *Community Radio*. The *Téléjournal Alberta* offers the News programme in French language and is produced by Radio-Canada and broadcast throughout the province (ACFA, 2010).

In the publication *The Discursive Construction of Canada's Francophones*, Dallaire and Denis (2000) argue that Francophones in Canada are regarded as a peculiar ethnic group that contributes to the cultural mosaic, being one of the two language groups with special rights and one of the founding groups. Therefore, French origin ethnic group would be of interest to the country (Dallaire & Denis, 2000: 420-421).

The sociological studies on the Francophone communities in Canada have not specifically questioned the definition of "Francophone". Nevertheless, social

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<sup>92</sup> Information provided by ACFA's report *Francophone Community Profile of Alberta*, 2008.

THESIS: "Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta"

construction of the Francophone communities and their collective identity has been object of analysis. The social relations that have been weaving between Francophone communities in the past have been based on the idea of shared culture. Thus, social relationships that help to create new Francophone communities are based on political and contractual dimensions. Francophone groups have become minorities within their provincial boundaries as a result of continuous changes in their relations with provincial and federal governments (Thériault, 1994: 15-32).

Other authors have studied the relationships between groups of French-speaking population and other groups in Canadian society. Cardinal and Lapointe (1990) observed in the early nineties that the French speakers of various ethnic backgrounds were rethinking their Francophone identity. The French-speaking immigrant population in the country was beginning to search their place as Francophones without necessarily adopting the traditions and values established by existing Francophone communities in the locality (Cardinal, L. & Lapointe, J., 1990: 47-66).

With the creation of youth groups and associations in the sixties and seventies, people began to bet on a Francophone identity in conjunction with other identities. Therefore, Francophone communities began to open and recognize the multiple identities of their members (Cardinal, 1994:71-86).

A review of the press articles that deal with social integration of the young Francophones in the province would lead us to one of the most representative events aimed at young French speakers, the Alberta Francophones Games. Each year since 1992 the Francophone Games have been held in Alberta. These games were set up to create a space where young French speakers could be integrated into a social group and identified themselves as "Francophones". The first games were held in Edmonton and

attracted 150 participants. The participants are mainly students of Francophone and French immersion schools.

During these games, taking place over a full weekend, athletes are encouraged to participate in French all the time. A minimum level of competition is not required. In fact, young students may take part in volleyball, soccer, athletics, badminton and basketball matches as long as they participate in French language.

These games arose some controversy among the non Francophone citizens of the province. In *The Edmonton Journal*, the famous sports commentator Don Cherry made some harsh statements against the celebration of Francophone Games described above. Cherry openly complained about the "millions" that Canadian taxpayers had to spend to fund such events, restricted to French speakers. As a matter of fact, one of the criteria for participation in the games is to be between 12 and 18 years and be able to speak French. These comments immediately provoked a reaction among Francophone minorities. Three days after the Cherry statements Society president of the Alberta Francophone Games, Sylvie Francoeur, justified in the letter published on the *Major Southam Newspaper* that so much money is not spent on games like Cherry had claimed (Dallaire & Denis, 2000: 415-440).

The organizers of the Alberta Francophone Games, concerned about creating an environment of inclusion for all French speakers, have made an effort to change the naming of the participants. While at first the young participants were labeled as *Franco-Albertaine* youth, Francophone or Francophiles, from 1996 organizers have used the term "young people of French expression".

Another aspect to mention in the aspect of social integration is the fact that Francophones in Canada are increasingly concentrated in the province of Quebec and Anglophones in the rest of the provinces. In 2006, in the province of Alberta only 0.67% of the population had exclusive knowledge of French while 6.84% knew both official languages and most citizens -91.84%- only English (Statistics Canada, 2007). These data show that there is a large group of French-speaking citizens who also know and use the English language. This fact would facilitate their relations with the majority group, the Anglophones.

In the documentary *Les Francophones de Rivière-la-Paix* (The Francophones of Rivière-la-Paix), first broadcast by Radio Canada in 1987, journalist Jacques Bertrand interviewed members of some families who came from Quebec to Alberta in the 1950s. These people had settled in the province to cultivate the lands in the northern areas of Alberta. The testimonies of the farmers installed in Rivière-la-Paix, a region located 500 kilometers north of Edmonton generally match when they state that they improved their life conditions after coming into Alberta. The region has a microclimate that allows the cultivation of cereals, milk production and development of beekeeping (Radio Canada, 2009).

In this rural region of northwestern Alberta, comprising Fahler City, the towns of Donnelly and Girouxville and borough of Smoky River, we can find the only localities where the population is mainly Francophone. Around the region of Rivière-la-Paix, the closest populations are mainly Anglophone. According to Boileau (2003: 19-26), the lives of these French Canadians are getting worse, except for those who choose to assimilate the majority Anglophone culture. With the aim of adapting to the new socio-economic environment, the children of these French-speaking farmers in the region

have been displaced to other regions in search of work, partly due to the high mechanization of crop fields. Many who decide to leave the region are being established in big cities such as Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver.

In order to maintain their own Francophone schools, Francophone families in this region have opted for a geographic dispersion, so that the government of Alberta grants them the creation of new French Catholic schools. Some of the descendants of third and fourth generation today live in an English-speaking environment, while others have chosen to remain in the region and continue farming, determined to keep their traditions and language.

Apart from farming, Franco-Albertans work in other areas. They are particularly active in the primary industries, with more than 10.1 percent of the labour force employed in agriculture, mining and oil and gas production, as stated in the data included within Canada Census in 2006. During the previous years before the present study took place, the province experienced a significant economical growth that also benefited the Francophone population. Canada Census information shows that in 2006 the mean average annual income for the Francophone citizens, \$42,529, was similar to the provincial average.

French is the language of work in rather few workplaces in Alberta. Moreover, resistance to increased status for French in Canadian public services has culminated in a number of specific federal posts designated bilingual, with French being excluded elsewhere. In fact, Francophones in Alberta are well represented in the public service sector; almost a quarter of them, 23.8%, were employed in public administration, education, health and social services according to data reported in Canadian census referred to year 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007).

Dalley's article published on *Canadian Issues* review shows evidences of the presence of public employees being reprimanded for speaking French to a Francophone client when working in a non-bilingual designated post. The following testimony of a Francophone civil servant is reported by Dalley (2008: 50) on his article: "I was told that people who want to be served in French have to go to the other office, but it's at the other end of town".

Other testimonies related to socio-economic situation of black Francophone citizens are found on one of the articles published by the *Daily Herald Tribune* in 2009. The testimony of Michelle Margarit, an immigrant coming from Africa in 1968, makes clear the difficulties she encountered on her arrival in the town of Grande Prairie:

"[...] When I came to Canada in 1968-69, speaking French in public was not well accepted. But now I go shopping and I talk to my friends in French. They also offer services in French in the bank. We are becoming more and more visible. [...] If you are unilingual Francophone, it is really hard to access all the services available in the city of Grande Prairie, and there are many. I think we are lucky in a certain way because there are Francophone schools and bilingual schools for our children so that we can pass on our culture" (Daily Herald Tribune, March 2, 2009).

Within the same article cited above, Chailier Monfette, ACFA representative at the Francophone festival of Grande Prairie, stated the following about the separatist movement in eastern Canada: "Francophones here do not understand what goes on there. I think here is a lot of cooperation. I think it goes both ways, there is an opening in both directions".

In relation to the community of Grande Prairie, Monfette says: "(...) People are proud that French is one of the official languages . With French immersion schools

people are realizing through their children that speaking French is an advantage”. Jenni Burke, Anglophone, stated on the same article:

"With my two daughters in a French immersion program, I want to be part of the French-speaking community here in Grande Prairie. I was a French Immersion student myself and I had many opportunities and I want to do the same with my daughters" (Daily Herald Tribune, March 2, 2009).

In the city of Edmonton, the heart of the French Community is constituted by *Bonnie Doon* district, with a total of 4,012 inhabitants, according to the federal census of 2001. Considering the data on religious affiliation, Catholicism is the majority in this district with 40.6%. Data regarding mother tongue show that there are 650 French speakers in Bonnie Doon (16.4% of the total registered in this district).

These are the two distinguishing facts of this district of the city, if we compare these data with those of the province of Alberta and the city of Edmonton. In the province of Alberta, a total of 786 365 people (26.73 % of total) were defined as Catholic. In Edmonton, 193,110 citizens declared themselves to be Catholic in the questions related to religious affiliation -29.37% of total population in the city- in the 2001 Census (Statistics Canada, 2002).<sup>93</sup>

The socio-economic indicators of the inhabitants of Bonnie Doon district also show differences when compared to the entire city of Edmonton and the province of Alberta. According to the data referred to 2006, average household income reported in the district of Bonnie Doon was 52,103 Canadian dollars, while the average for the city of

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<sup>93</sup> Canadian Census no longer offers information referred to religious affiliation of the Canadian citizens in data collections made in 2006 and 2011. Information about religious affiliation of the population of Alberta can be found in Canadian census, 2001. Online: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/101/cst01/demo30c-eng.htm>. (Access on 28th September 2011).

Edmonton was 56,212. Comparing unemployment rates for 2001, we also appreciate significant differences: the unemployment rate for the city of Edmonton was 6.0% while for the Bonnie Doon district a total of 175 unemployed accounted for a total of 2090 as labor force (8.8%).

The proportion of immigrants residing in Bonnie Doon in 2001 (14.64%) was similar to that for the whole province (14.90%). However, if we compare these data with the immigration rate for the whole city in Edmonton, we can observe that the rate of immigration within metropolitan areas of Edmonton is significantly higher when compared to that of Bonnie Doon district.<sup>94</sup>

The testimonies offered through the round of interviews also provided some significant information that we could include in this category referred to social and economic indicators. We can point out the mixture of feelings experienced by French speaking citizens when using French language within an Anglophone context. One of the testimonies of the Grade 8 students at Avalon is here reported:

"I usually speak French to my father and my uncle from Québec. My cousins from Québec speak English too and when they come to see me, we usually speak English (...). The thing is that it sounds a bit weird when you speak French here in Edmonton when there are unknown people in the place”.

We can also remark the reply of one of the French Immersion teachers interviewed at Avalon, Doris Amyotte, when she was asked about her feelings about being a French speaker in Alberta:

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<sup>94</sup> According to Edmonton Municipal Census published in 2008, the percentage of immigrants residing within metropolitan areas of Edmonton was superior to 22 percent of the total population. In the case of Bonnie Doon district, 51% of the dwellers reported to have moved from elsewhere in Canada or from a foreign country in the last five years previous to 2006 census. Edmonton municipal data referred to Bonnie Doon district have been consulted online.

Available at: [http://www.edmonton.ca/for\\_residents/2006\\_DEMOGRAPHIC\\_Bonnie\\_Doon.pdf](http://www.edmonton.ca/for_residents/2006_DEMOGRAPHIC_Bonnie_Doon.pdf) (Access on 21st August 2010).

“I’m the first in the family who married someone who does not speak French. In my family, coming from Quebec, all have married someone who also spoke French. My husband, who is of German origin, began to learn a little French since we got married ...just kidding! ”.

Further research on the French speaking population in Alberta is required for a better knowledge of the mechanisms that may ensure the survival of their traditions, culture, the identity and language of the Francophones in Alberta.

After the period of observation of the Francophones in Alberta concluded in August 2009, a follow up study of this group of population has taken place. In our search for significant changes that occur in the five categories studied within the descriptive study included in the present chapter, further investigations also included other minority groups in Alberta such as German and Ukrainian origin citizens.

In order to shed light on the questions that arose while completing the longitudinal study of our target group, we decided that a comparative analysis among the most representative ethnic minorities in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan -Francophones, Germans and Ukrainian origin population- would constitute the next part of this research.

Those results retrieved from this comparative study will serve us to validate the categories that we had previously settled for our study. The conclusions drawn from a cross-sectional study of the Francophones and other European origin minorities enable us to complement other remarkable findings obtained throughout the literature review of previous acculturation studies carried out in our field of research.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **CROSS SECTIONAL STUDY: THE FRANCOPHONES AND OTHER EUROPEAN ORIGIN MINORITIES WITHIN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES**

#### **3.1. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES: EUROPEAN ORIGIN MINORITY GROUPS**

The access to demographic data concerning population by mother tongue and ethnic group in the previous phase of this research confirms the existence of other representative ethnic groups in Alberta aside from the Francophones. In fact, the census of 1911 and subsequent population counts confirm that Germans and Ukrainian origin population have exerted a significant influence on Alberta's population profile.<sup>95</sup>

The Canadian Census classifies population according to ethnic origin of ancestors. The data provided by the most recent census show that Ukrainian, German and French descendant citizens still constitute the major groups of population in the Canadian Prairies when neither British nor Irish descendants are counted (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Eastern Europeans constituted a significant wave of immigration into Canada. Most of the citizens who came from Ukraine were peasants and arrived in the late 1800s and early 1900s to settle into the western prairies (Bohdan & Kordan, 2001:12-16). Ukrainians currently constitute the most important Eastern European community in Alberta. Census data show that more than 800,000 Ukrainian origin citizens are spread over the three Prairies provinces -Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan- (Statistics Canada, 2012).<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> See Document C.8 of the Addenda, which represents the distribution of the predominant ethnic groups within each of the Canadian Census divisions. The map here depicted is referred to data retrieved from Canada Census, 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2007).

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix A.4: Canadian population by ethnic origin. Canada Census, 2011.

The Ukrainian Question has been the main topic for different researchers in Alberta (Bohdan & Kordan, 2001: 12-26). Social trends among Ukrainian Canadians have also been dealt with on essays by relevant sociologists and psychologists (Petryshyn, 1985: 141-193).

The relative invisibility of German Canadians and their presence in Canada virtually unnoticed has also constituted the main topic of different authors' work (Sauer & Zimmer, 1998: 49). With respect to German immigration, references point at the British conquest of Nova Scotia encourage the arrival of German Protestants brought into Canada to counterbalance the large number of French Catholic population living in the Eastern territories of Canada (Heyslerlingk, R., 1989: 181-183).

Census shows the decline in the three languages-French, Ukrainian and German- as mother tongue. Ukrainian dropped from 11% of all non-official languages spoken in Canada in 1971 to 2% in 2006. German language has also experienced a decrease throughout the last decades, steadily diminishing from 19% in 1971 to 7% of the total population included in Canada Census referred to year 2006.

The collection of data other than demographic or linguistic in relation to these three groups of population included in this part of our investigation will make possible to precise which factors could determine the vitality of these minority groups, especially that of the Francophones.

### **3.2. STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN ORIGIN MINORITIES: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

With the objective of presenting an updated profile of the Francophone minority group within the Albertan society, a cross sectional study has been conducted as part of this research. Data collection process was initiated once the conclusions of the previous descriptive study were drawn. The present cross sectional study includes facts, personal testimonies and demographic data retrieved from the last Canadian census available at the time in which this part of the investigation took place.

The most remarkable facts and conclusions obtained for our target group have been compared and contrasted with the available information referred to the Ukrainians and German origin citizens of Alberta. The aim of this comparative study is to detect peculiarities of the target group – the Francophones- which are not present within other European origin minority groups that have been historically present in this province. The different views regarding the degree of linguistic assimilation, cultural and social integration and the survival strategies of these minority groups also constitute an essential element of this part of the investigation.

To explore the complexity of the relations established among different groups of people, I integrated those investigation tools that are used in ethnographic studies apart from direct observation. The documentary compilations showing personal testimonies of immigrants and newcomers who self-identified as Germans and/or Ukrainians have been the main source of information concerning identity and linguistic aspects. It was considered that the use of the categories that we had previously selected for the time

longitudinal study of the Francophone minorities would also serve as valuable parameters to proceed with the comparative study that also includes our target group<sup>97</sup>.

Due to the fact that categories referred to *Identity* and *Traditions and Cultural Legacy* had frequently converged and were simultaneously present in many of the transcripts and interviews analyzed during the time of our study on the Francophone minorities, I opted for including both categories within a unique label that will be denominated *Identity and Traditions* in this cross-sectional study as shown in the following table:

<b>CATEGORIES</b>	<b>KEYWORDS AND ASPECTS INCLUDED</b>
<b>Language diversity</b>	Language spoken as mother tongue. Language most spoken at home and most spoken at work
<b>Identity and traditions</b>	Sense of Community. Religion. Cultural heritage
<b>Education</b>	Second Language immersion programs. Language Arts. Bilingual Programs
<b>Social and Economic Indicators</b>	Geographical location and distribution. Unemployment rate. Economic activity sectors. Level of studies

**Table 3.1. Definition of the categories used for the cross-sectional comparative study proposed by the author (2011).**

This part of the research was carried out without the direct observation of the groups of population involved in the study. With the aim of preserving ties with the

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<sup>97</sup> There were five categories introduced in our study on the Francophone minorities in Alberta: Language, Identity, Traditions and Cultural Legacy, Education and Social-Economic Indicators.

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Francophone group of population after my departure from Canada, I became a support member of the *Association Française-Canadienne de l'Alberta*, ACFA (French Canadian Association in Alberta). As member of the association I gained access to the updated news, and latest data concerning the activities of this association.

Subscriptions to *Fédération des Parents Francophones de l'Alberta*, FPFA (Association of Francophone Parents in Alberta) and *Regroupement Artistique Francophone de l'Alberta*, RAFA (Artistic Francophone Group in Alberta) were made in order to receive their newsletter in a monthly basis.<sup>98</sup>

The information about events addressed to young Francophone citizens was obtained through *Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta*, FJA (Francophone Youth of Alberta). Discussion forums and bulletin boards were periodically followed to obtain relevant information with respect to sport events and other social and cultural activities aimed at young Francophone citizens in Alberta.

I also relied on the facts and data provided by other diverse sources. The national and regional newspapers issued in the provinces of Alberta and the compilation of documentaries and digital archives broadcasted by Radio Canada were used to gain access to personal testimonies of immigrants and newcomers who identified themselves within one of the study groups.

Statistical Sources, mainly the data retrieved from Edmonton Municipal population count publications together with Canada Census constituted a valuable source of

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<sup>98</sup> These associations are located within The *Cité Francophone*, in *Rue Marie-Anne Gaboury*, Edmonton.

information to follow up the most recent changes undergone by the Francophone population throughout the following years after my professional stay in Alberta.<sup>99</sup>

A selection of books and novels written by Canadian authors who dealt with relevant topics related to our object of study were also a significant source of information regarding aspects such as social exclusion and marginalization (Balan, 1984; Martynowych, 1991; Petryshy, 1985).

The information provided by the different information channels was compiled and classified within one of the five categories that we had established. For a better analysis of the information, several steps were taken. In-depth reading and thorough understanding of the texts accessed constituted the first part of the process. Transcripts and videos that collect opinions and testimonies of people fitting within one of our study groups provided with a solid base to obtain some information about those citizens who self identified as French, German or Ukrainian descendents.

The synthesis of the information included the description of demographic evolution, the most relevant social phenomena and other events which are likely to determine the evolution of the ethnic minorities that are object of our study. Contextualization was necessary to analyze the different data, opinions and testimonies gathered during the research process.

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<sup>99</sup> To carry out the present comparative study, data from Canada Census referred to year 2011 have been used. Data obtained from the latest population census has been a useful tool to compare the available information to the data that we had previously used in our descriptive study of the Francophone population in Alberta, referred to year 2006.

### **3.3. CROSS-SECTIONAL STUDY: THE UKRANIANS AND THE GERMANS CASE**

The conclusions drawn from the cross-sectional study carried out have incorporated new elements in the process which led to the formulation of our hypothesis regarding the acculturation processes undergone by the Francophones in Alberta. The most remarkable facts related to the presence and vitality of the three ethnic groups that are here compared is shown according to the four categories defined.<sup>100</sup>

#### **3.3.1. Language Diversity**

Using the data provided by Statistics Canada referred to 2006 we are able to work out the percentages corresponding to the population that were reported to have Ukrainian, German or French as their mother tongue within the Prairie Provinces. Although German language is the most spoken in the three provinces, the most noticeable finding in our study of the Canadian census is the fact that the proportions of citizens that speak each of these three languages keep a very similar proportion to the total population of each province.<sup>101</sup>

Manitoba is the western Canadian province with the highest proportion of French language speakers. Nevertheless, this province has experienced a decrease in the Francophone population (4.2% of the population declared to have French as mother tongue in 2006 versus 4.0% shown on Canada census referred to 2011).

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<sup>100</sup> We would like to remind the reader that the four categories established in order to classify the information are linguistic aspects, identity and traditions, education and socio-economic parameters.

<sup>101</sup> See Appendix A.1. Percentage of population by mother tongue, 2006 Source: Statistics Canada, 2007.

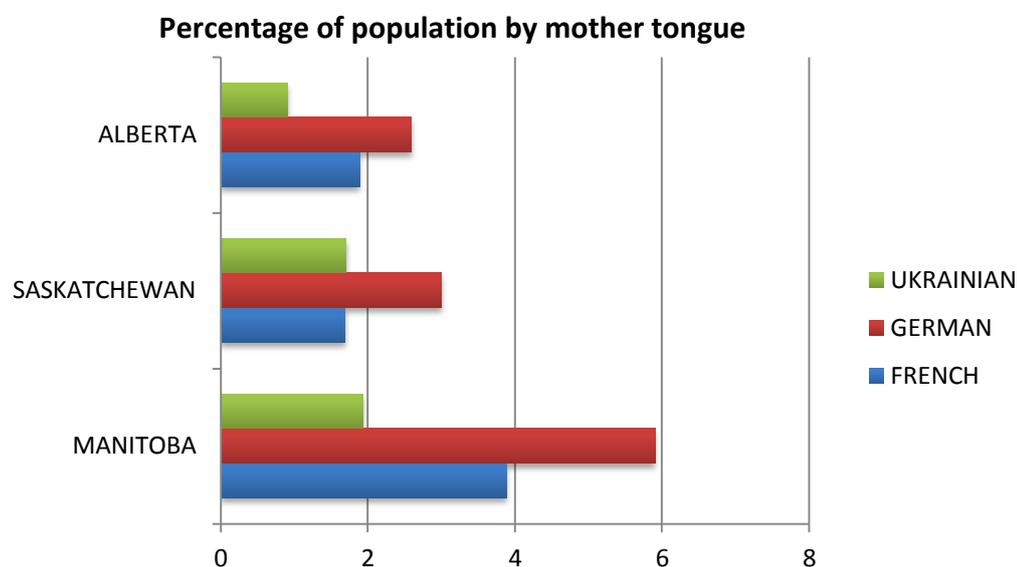


Chart 3.a. Percentage of population by mother tongue. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007. Available online at: <http://www.12statcan.gc.ca> (Retrieved on 7<sup>th</sup> November 2012).

Among the three provinces, Alberta stands out as the one which experienced the highest growth rate of the population with French as a mother tongue or most spoken at home language between 2006 and 2011. The number of people who reported having French as mother tongue went from 68,435 in 2006 census up to 81,085 according to 2011 Canada Census. This would represent an increase of nearly 13,000 persons in five years (18% of the total Francophone population of the province).<sup>102</sup>

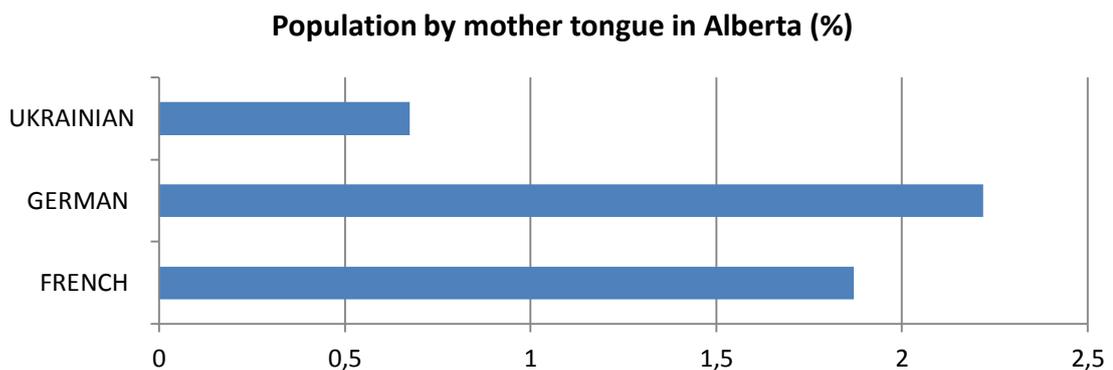
Although the number of citizens with French language as mother tongue or the language most spoken at home has risen, the proportion of French speaking population has diminished compared to the total of the province. Aside from a low fertility rate and incomplete transmission of French as a mother tongue to the children of French-

<sup>102</sup> See Appendix A.1. Population by mother tongue. Canada census of population, 2011.

speaking parent, international immigration seems to have the strongest effect on the evolution of French language in Alberta.<sup>103</sup>

The data retrieved from Canada census referred to year 2011 show little variation with regards the proportion of French, German and Ukrainians speakers in comparison with the total population of the province. It is a fact that the population in Alberta experienced a constant growth during the last five years. Population and dwelling counts published by Statistics Canada in 2012 accounts for 3,645,257 inhabitants compared to 3,290,350 in 2006.

If we focus on the province of Alberta, we realize that the percentage of Francophones has remained stable with a percentage slightly inferior to two percent of the total population, whereas the proportions of German and Ukrainian speakers experience a slight decrease between 2006 and 2011.



**Chart 3.b. Population by mother tongue with respect to total population in Alberta in 2011.**Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

The number of citizens who reported the use of French language at work is inferior to 6% in all the Canadian provinces except for Quebec and New Brunswick.

<sup>103</sup> Data extracted from Canada Census referred to 1981 compared to those obtained in last census, published in 2012. Source: Statistics Canada 2012. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca> (Last Access on 5<sup>th</sup> November 2014).

Manitoba is seen as the only province within the Prairies that register a representative proportion of workers who use French as their main language at work. Census data show that in Alberta there are only a very small proportion of worker that declare to use French at work but not on a regular basis.

A higher number of citizens reported to be able to conduct a conversation in French language in Alberta in 2011 (238,770) when compared to figures referred to 2006 (225,085). Nevertheless, when we deal with percentages, we must remark the slight decrease in the proportion of Albertan citizens that were able to hold a conversation in French language (6.6% in year 2006 compared to 6.9% according to census data in 2001).

The evolution of women fertility has been object of study. It is considered that fertility plays an important role in the renewal of language groups (Lachapelle & Lepage, 2010: 81-86). Nevertheless, we had serious difficulties in our study to estimate fertility according to mother tongue since Quebec is the only province that includes the language question on its birth certificates.

Marmen and Corbeil (2004: 76-77) estimated the total fertility rate according to women's mother tongue from 1956 to year 2006 taking data provided by Statistics Canada. Results show that whereas in 1956 the fertility rate of Anglophone and Francophone population was higher than those of non official language speakers, the trend has inverted after year 2001. The fertility rate of non official languages speakers is slightly superior to those people that declared to have English or French language as mother tongue in 2006 and 2011 censuses.<sup>104</sup>

An important factor that has been considered to measure the vitality of minority languages is the linguistic integration of immigrants. Canada’s foreign-born population is a linguistically diverse community. Therefore, immigration affects the evolution of Canada’s language groups (Chui et al., 2007).

The Canadian census referred to year 2011 shows that the most common mother tongue among immigrants was English, followed by Chinese languages (Cantonese and Mandarin). Nearly 4% of the people who migrate to Canada reported to have German as their mother tongue. The proportion of newcomers that declared to be Francophone was slightly superior to 3%. A considerably inferior percentage for Ukrainian language speakers is reported in the Canadian Census in 2011.<sup>105</sup>

In the search for information about the relationships among citizens of the ethnic groups under study, we remark that endogamy is not a common practice within the three ethnic groups studied, with the only exception of Mennonites of German origin. Marital religious conversion is not a characteristic element within mixed marriages in Canada as it usually happens with certain groups such as Orthodox Jews (Brudner & Douglas, 1997:1-48). The high proportion of mixed couples is also a relevant factor to be taken into account when we study the transmission of the mother tongue from parents to descendants.

We must note that the parameter which is usually considered for the study of the vitality of minority languages is denominated *language retention*. This term refers to the

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<sup>104</sup> The fertility rate of a population represents the average number of children that would be born to a woman who passes through her reproductive life and survives throughout her childbearing years. According to data provided by Canadian census, fertility rate of non official language speaker was 1.73 outside the province of Quebec in 2006. The fertility rate for English and French speakers was 1.57 and 1.49 respectively. Source: United Nations data. Total fertility rate. Available at: <http://www.esa.un.org> (Retrieved on 9<sup>th</sup> September 2012)

<sup>105</sup> See Appendix A.2. Immigrant population by mother tongue, Canada Census, 2011.

variable that evaluated the percentage of immigrant population with a given mother tongue that keeps using this language in their new country. We talk about total retention when citizens make use of their mother tongue as their main language at home. We would refer to partial retention when the mother tongue is spoken sporadically. The ability of people to speak the language of their identified ethnicity is seen as an indicator of the ability of ethnic groups to retain and pass on their culture and traditions to future generations (Rumbaut et al., 2006: 447-460).

The data provided by Statistics Canada in the censuses of population referred to 2006 and 2011 show that none of the three languages object of this study is placed within the ones with the highest rate of retention. Those calculations made out of the data provided by the census give French language a 63% retention rate. German and Ukrainian language show an even lower rate (35 and 26 percent respectively). Punjabi, Tamil and Mandarin language show the highest rates, superior to 80 percent.<sup>106</sup>

The flow of French speaking newcomers into Alberta does not seem to change the proportion of citizens that report knowing only French language. In the last census with the data referred to year 2011, only 3206 people declared to be able to speak French only (0.1% of the total population of the province). We may assume that this pattern has been quite stable over time if we compared to previous census of 2006 and 2001.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> See Appendix A.7. Rates of complete and partial retention for immigrant mother tongue. Canada 2011. Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

<sup>107</sup> See Appendix A.5. Population by official language most spoken at home, 2001, 2006 and 2011.

### 3.3.2. Identity and Traditions

On November 13, 2002, the Government of Canada designated June 27 as Canadian Multiculturalism day by Royal Proclamation<sup>108</sup>. The message from the Governor of Canada on the occasion of Canadian Multiculturalism Day in 2013 was recorder by the journalist David Johnson in Ottawa:

“Canadian Multiculturalism Day is seen as an opportunity to celebrate Canadian diversity and commitment to democracy, equality and to appreciate the contributions of the various ethnic groups and communities that are present in Canadian society.”<sup>109</sup>

There are traditions and cultural activities in all the provinces of Canada that show that the different cultures and identities of the Canadian Mosaic are still present. After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, immigration policies changed and in the early 1920s Ukrainians and Germans were considered *enemy aliens*. The use of French was also limited at schools. In 1918, Saskatchewan reduced the use of French to the first year of school only. In 1931, Alberta permitted only limited use of languages different from English. The result was that the Prairies stopped being a suitable destination to French-speaking immigrants in the twentieth century.

The French communities constituted a chain of parishes across the west from the Red River to the Rockies. They became representative of one of the two dominant religious groups in Canada, the Roman Catholics (Friesen, 1987: 185-261).

For Francophone population, it was in the 1930s when they started to look for their inclusion within the most diverse cultural activities offered by Anglophone

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<sup>108</sup> See Canada Gazette Part II, Vol. 136 No.25, 4<sup>th</sup> December 2002.

<sup>109</sup> Excerpt from The Governor General of Canada official website. Available at: <http://www.gg.ca/document.aspx?id=15214> (Access on 12<sup>th</sup> February 2014).

community. They began to substitute their meeting point, which was the church, by other places where they could join other social activities. However, many institutions were created at this time in order to preserve the Francophone identity in provinces like Alberta. The most relevant one, *ACFA* (French-Canadian Association of Alberta) had already been created in 1926. They also created their own weekly newspaper, called *La Survivance*. The documentary broadcasted by Radio Canada: “*L’ACFA: refuser de disparaître*” (ACFA: refusing to disappear) shows how this association is financially supported by contribution of their members as well as other circles associated to Catholic parishes.

The Germans who arrived in western Canada during the immigration boom came principally from the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires rather than from Germany. Some of them were Roman Catholic whereas others professed Protestantism. They were numerous in total but divided into different dialects and religions so that they never achieved a single German identity.

During the War years, nearly eight thousand citizens from Germany were designated enemy aliens by some militant Protestant reformers. Some of them were sent to internment camps, though most were eventually released to alleviate labour shortages. Determining who is “German” or has “German heritage” in a country such as Canada, founded by generations of immigrants from many regions appears as a difficult task. Several ways of describing the “origin” of immigrants in Canada have used the following criteria: place of birth, ethnic origin, citizenship and country of last permanent residence (Liddell, 1983: 42-48).

The immigrants who arrived after the Second World War may have been born in countries such as Russia and have German ancestry (ethnic origin). The refugees from Eastern Europe with other than German ethnic origin may not have been able to acquire German citizenship but could have been counted as having Germany as the last country of permanent residence when arriving in Canada.

The documentary “*The Enemy Within*” (2003) by Eva Colmers, shows the testimony of German Prisoners of War (called POWs) who were housed in 25 camps across Canada. Filmmaker Eva Colmers follows life’s story of her father, who spent more than three years in a camp in Lethbridge, Alberta. The most surprising fact of these kinds of testimonies is that many German prisoners report to have been treated with great dignity and respect at the hands of their Canadian captors.<sup>110</sup>

According to Thompson (1991), Germans eventually accommodated to the British-Canadian norm. Many German Canadians made great effort to hide all vestiges of their ethnic identity. Many surnames were adapted or changed, *Schmidt* became Smith, and *Braun* became Brown, for instance. Anglicized names for German-Canadian names symbolize this assimilation. In Alberta, for example, *Dusseldorf* was named Freedom. Worships in Lutheran churches were only conducted in English language. More than 100000 Germans were worried or ashamed of their origins so that they declared to be Dutch or Austrian in 1921 Census.

The German Canadian identity has been a subject for debate at Winnipeg University (province of Manitoba). The scholar Tina Kehler researched on the role of the maternal fact in the transmission and the preservation of German ethnic identity and

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<sup>110</sup> The video can be accessed on consulting the National Film Board of Canada. Available at: [http://www.nfb.ca/fim/enemy\\_within](http://www.nfb.ca/fim/enemy_within) (Retrieved on 2th November 2012).

culture among the Canadian Mennonites in the southern areas of Manitoba. The conclusions of her research are present in the publication *German Canadian Studies* (2003: 2) where she highlights the role of *Kanadier*<sup>111</sup> Mennonite women in Canadian society to preserve their culture despite the fact that these women are generally relegated to subordinate social roles.

Different associations have been created in order to preserve the identity and culture of Germans in Canada. The most representative one, *The German Canadian Association* celebrated its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 2012. This society started hosting dances for German immigrants and members of the community. Special celebrations like the end of winter, known as *Fasching*, were also held (Daily Herald Tribune Grande Prairie, June 6, 2012).

In Saskatchewan, the German Club was built at the aim of organizing activities for the German community in Regina (the capital of the province). Within the most popular activities we could mention the *Spargelfest* (Asparagus Festival) and *Oktoberfest* (Beer Festival organized in Munich in October).<sup>112</sup>

To encourage little children to learn German language, some associations also organize activities such as *Märchenstunde* (Story Telling Hour). The older kids who speak German also play board games or card games while younger children listen to German stories.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> The term *Kanadier* is used by the author of this publication to refer to Canadian citizens of German origin.

<sup>112</sup> Cultural activities of this associated are shown on its web page. Available at: <http://www.reginagermanclub.ca/en> (Last accessed on 7th March, 2013).

<sup>113</sup> This is a common activity promoted by different German clubs in Canada such as Friends of Berlin, Edelweiss Club and Phoenix Club that now form the German Canadian Cultural Association

In the case of Ukrainians, the largest number of arrivals come from the region of *Halychyna*, then occupied by the Austrian Empire. The conditions for the newcomers were miserable and they were not welcome at the beginning. At first, anti-Ukrainian sentiment was widespread. Since many of them arrived with passports from Austria, they were considered enemy aliens after the outbreak of the War in 1914.

Many Ukrainians who were politically active were arrested and isolated in labour camps during the war. They were interned in worse conditions than German prisoners of war that were in the same camp (Thompson, 1991: 10). As stated on the article *World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples-Canada* published by Minority Rights Group International (2008), the Government of Canada has provided an initial payment to Canada’s Ukrainian community to build commemorative monuments at the site of each internment camp.

There have been points of connection between the Ukrainian prairie settlers and the First Nations.<sup>114</sup> The fact that early Ukrainian newcomers were disadvantaged with respect to other ethnic groups makes us think of certain historical affinities as outcast minorities. This feeling of humiliation and vexation has been expressed in different poems and popular songs (Hinter & Mochoruk, 2010: 86-88).

The situation of Ukrainian Canadians was also fundamentally different in 1939 than in 1914. As a result of the war’s economic effects, industry drew Ukrainians out of rural settlements in the prairies. This would lead to a higher grade of assimilation. More recently, Ukrainian Canadians have demanded recognition that their ancestors were not treated fairly. In fact, Prime Minister Mulroney formally apologized to the Ukrainian-

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<sup>114</sup> This is the term that is currently used to refer to the aboriginal people who lived in Canada before the arrival of Europeans.

Canadian communities for the injustices done to them during the two World Wars (Thompson, 1991: 17).

The three Prairie Provinces have numerous newspapers and radio stations that link the Ukrainian Canadian communities by means of social events and cultural activities. Within the most popular celebrations we can mention the *Holodomor*. This is the name given to the genocide by famine that took place in Ukraine from 1932 to 1933. On May 29, 2008, The Ukrainian Famine and Genocide, *Holodomor* was designated as a memorial day the fourth Saturday in November of each year.

Different socio-cultural factors have been analyzed to discuss the absence of a civil religion in Canada. In contrast to the civic religiosity within the United States, Canada seems to have failed to generate a differentiated civil religion.

Kim points at the strong economic and political regionalism as the key factors which contributed to a lack of unifying national symbols (1993: 257-275). In addition, the cultural and linguistic differences of the two non-Native founding communities – English and French- could have determined the lack of shared beliefs, symbols and values regarding a Canadian identity. Some authors state that whereas the United States has many heroes among its founding fathers, Canada has “no inspired national leaders, no ideologists” (Lipset, 1990:80-83).

Regarding the groups of population studied in the present cross sectional study, the most updated information I was able to find with respect to religious beliefs makes reference to the year 2001. More recent censuses of 2006 and 2011 have not included questions with respect to religious affiliation of the Canadian population.

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The Canadian census reported that 77% of Canadians claimed their adherence to Christianity. Affiliation to Christianity was reported bigger in Saskatchewan (82.64%), whereas in Manitoba registered a value slightly superior to Canadian average (77.83%) and Alberta's data reported that 71.38% of the citizens manifested adherence to this religious practice (Statistics Canada, 2003).<sup>115</sup>

Despite the fact that the Francophones are usually identified with the Roman Catholic Church, the Germans have been historically associated to the practice of Lutheranism and the Ukrainians have traditionally related to the Eastern Orthodox Church, in the Western regions of Canada it is common to find other religious practices within the same ethnic group. For instance, Canada census shows a significant number of German origin citizens that are adhered to the Roman Catholic Church and it is also common to find Mennonites<sup>116</sup> congregations within the German Canadian minority, especially in Winnipeg (capital of Manitoba). One more example of religious diversity within these ethnic groups is the fact that the Ukrainians who came to Canada from Galicia were mainly Catholic whereas those who came from Bukovyna were Ukrainian Orthodox.<sup>117</sup>

The most prominent presence of evangelical Protestantism is found particularly in Alberta and southern regions of Manitoba. Some rural areas of the Prairies have a very

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<sup>115</sup> "Religion: Part B - Detailed Definition," Statistics Canada, 2003-APR-22, at: <http://www.statcan.ca/>. (Access on 7<sup>th</sup> February 2009). This appears to be no longer a valid URL. A chart remains online at the Statistics Canada web site at: <http://www12.statcan.ca/> (Access on 20<sup>th</sup> March 2013).

<sup>116</sup> The General Conference Mennonite Church in association with the rest of Mennonite congregations merged into the Mennonite Church Canada in 2000.

<sup>117</sup> Galicia and Bukovyna were administrative divisions of the Austrian-Hungary Empire. After the First World War, these regions were annexed by the Soviet Union.

high level of church attendance. These regions are considered as the most traditional and conservative regions of the country.<sup>118</sup>

### **3.3.3 Education**

The first educational institutions in the western provinces of Canada were founded by French Catholic priests. The first school was funded in 1818, in Red River Valley.<sup>119</sup> Some years later, English-Scotch Protestant schools were established in the region.

Firstly, a separate school system was created by French priests and the other was founded by English and Scottish. The first opposition to bilingualism in the western provinces of Canada arose in Manitoba in 1871 when the Protestant immigrants coming from Ontario protested against the establishment of the dual school system. Consequently, this school system would be later abolished in Manitoba in 1890.

French population protests forced Manitoba government to set up in 1897 a provincial Board of Education consisting of two sections, one Protestant and the other Catholic. After this, Manitoba government agreed to offer bilingual teaching in the public schools in which ten or more students spoke the same non-English language.

The Manitoba government also agreed to offer German Mennonites to set up private schools after their arrival in Manitoba, but these schools soon deteriorated due to a lack of teachers. Government invested on public schools to improve the salaries of these teachers but many of these actions were interpreted as a threat to their religion and many Mennonites kept sending their children to private schools (Bilash, 1960: 2-5).

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<sup>118</sup> The Fraser Valley in British Columbia and the rural areas of the Prairies where the level of church attendances is higher than the average is also known as the “Canadian Bible Belt”.

<sup>119</sup> This is one of the most fertile zones of the country. It currently corresponds to the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and the states North Dakota and Minnesota.

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The main flow of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in the Prairies when the bilingual school system was being established. The Ukrainians did not know how to organize their schools and they had serious difficulties to hire teachers willing to work for them.

During the World War I, many Canadian citizens, who were appealing to their nationalist ideas, demanded the quick and complete assimilation of the non-English population. The newspapers played an important role in the abolition of the bilingual public school system. Newspapers such as the *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* or *Winnipeg Telegram* published a series of articles in 1916 in order to turn the opinion of the public against bilingual public schools.<sup>120</sup>

Many of the records of the non-English schools regarding bilingualism seem to have been destroyed. Nevertheless, the doctoral thesis of Bilash (1960) shows data taken from *Annual Reports of the Department of Education of Manitoba*. Within the doctoral thesis written by Bilash, data about the French and the Germans were reported. However, we may assume that it is not possible to obtain statistics regarding the Ukrainians since many of them did not state their racial origin when they entered the country.

The First World War had important consequences in education programs for newcomers. For instance, in Saskatchewan, English was the only language of instruction which was permitted after the First World War.<sup>121</sup> In 1963, the Canadian Federal Government created the Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism so that they could write a report concerning the situation of Canada with respect to bilingual

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<sup>120</sup> *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* published the article “Bill to Abolish Bilingualism Passes Reading” on February 19<sup>th</sup>, in which strong opposition to public funding of bilingual schools is shown.

<sup>121</sup> According to the Saskatchewan School Act passed in 1919, English was the only language of instruction permitted at school. Any formerly bilingual school became illegal.

education. The report elaborated by this commission encourages parents and students to attend schools where they could be instructed in a language of their choice (Hoffman & Ward, 1970: 27).

In 1968, the Alberta School Act was modified in order to allow students to follow school instruction using French language for up to fifty per cent of the total time of daily instruction. In 1976, this law was secondly modified to allow the extension of the use of the French language up to a maximum of eighty per cent in specific language programs.

Nevertheless, the Alberta government did not consider necessary to offer teaching services to Francophone population in separate schools. In this province, it was considered that the admission to educational programs in French should not be done regarding the mother tongue of the student. The Alberta government stated that French programs survive with the enrolment of Anglophone students. Taking this fact into account, the provincial government was not following the recommendations of the Federal Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Bourhis, 1994: 217-266).

In 1982, the Canadian federal government approved the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Section 23 of this Charter granted minority language students the right to receive teaching instruction in French language at the same time that parents were given access to control and management of the educational institutions that their kids attend<sup>122</sup>.

The establishment of entirely Francophone schools in the Prairies provinces has not been an easy task. The Francophone communities have been forced to fight against

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<sup>122</sup> See Document C.7 of the Addenda available on the DVD. Text of Section 23 of Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Source: Department of Justice. Government of Canada.

provincial governments in order to gain access to their rights. We can remark the existence of associations like Canadian Parents for French that promote French Immersion Programs in all the Canadian provinces.<sup>123</sup> It was created in 1977 and its main objective is to cooperate with schools to provide information about the advantages of this sort of programs.

There are three types of French immersion programs: Early French Immersion, Middle French Immersion, and Late French Immersion. Early French Immersion, which is usually regarded as the most effective of the three, begins no later than Grade 1, Middle French Immersion begins around Grade 3, and Late French Immersion begins in Grade 6 (Dicks, 1992: 37-59). Instruction in these programs is ideally delivered entirely in French except for English and language arts. However, the amount of French instruction tends to decrease in the higher grades because of the variety of course options taught.

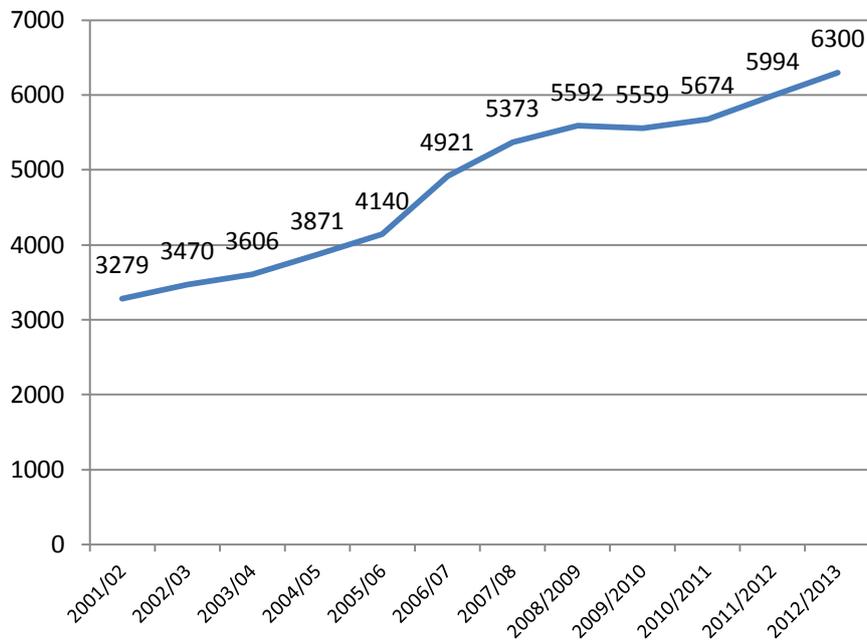
In Alberta, the proportion of students that attend Francophone schools has steadily increased throughout the last decade. In the school year 2001/02, only 0.55% of the students in Alberta went to a Francophone school. Ten years later, in 2012, this percentage had gone up to 1.01%.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Canadian Parents for French Association aims at promoting and supporting French language. Alberta branch of this association offers information about activities, resources, camps and summer camps through its web site: <http://www.cpfalta.ab.ca> (Access on 2th March 2013).

<sup>124</sup> According to data provided by Alberta Education the number of students enrolled in francophone schools was 5,994 of a total amount of 598114 students in public and private schools of the province. Information available at [www.education.alberta.ca/students.aspx](http://www.education.alberta.ca/students.aspx)

### Students enrolled in Francophone schools in Alberta

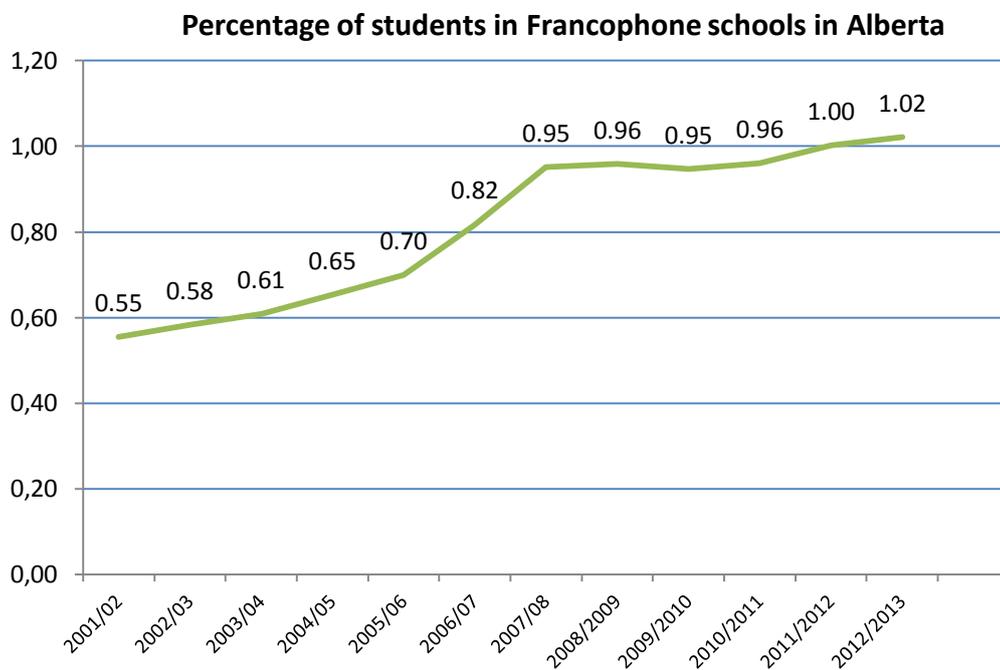


**Chart 3.c. Evolution of the number of students in Francophone schools. Source: Alberta Education (2014). Based on data available online at: <http://education.alberta.ca/departement/stats/students.aspx>**

The statistical data published by Alberta Education (2014) enabled us to calculate the percentages of students enrolled in Francophone schools in Alberta throughout the last five years. Despite the increase in the number of students registered in Francophone schools, calculations lead us to consider that the percentage that they represent with respect to the total student population of the province shows a clear trend to remain invariable. The following charts show the figures corresponding to the total amount of students registered in Francophone schools.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>125</sup> During the school year 2012/13 the province experienced a significant increase in the total number of students, rising from 598,112 in school year 2011/12 to 616,373 during academic year 2012/13. This variation is considerably superior to the variations registered along the last decade. Despite this fact, we have remarked that the percentage of students enrolled in Francophone schools remained constant. These

The proportion of young Albertans that pursue their studies within one of the 34 Francophone schools of the province has been calculated with the data retrieved from Alberta Education website. The percentages obtained demonstrate that the proportion of students enrolled in Francophone school in Alberta has remained stable around one percent of the total number of students along the last years previous to our study:



**Chart 3.d. Evolution in the percentage of students registered in Francophone schools in the province of Alberta. Percentages calculated by the author using the data obtained from Alberta Education (2014).**

When we compare the situation of Alberta to the other two provinces within the Canadian Prairies, we can extract remarkable facts and data. In Saskatchewan there are currently 15 Francophone schools, also known as Fransaskois schools, designed for students of Francophone heritage. Due to the special educational program designed for

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data seem to evidence the tendency to a stabilization in the proportion of students registered in Francophone school centers in Alberta.

Francophones, all activities –music, drama and sports-take place in French. According to the information provided by the *Conseil des Écoles Fransaskoises* (Francophone Schools of Saskatchewan Council), Saskatchewan implemented its Francophone school division in 1995, offering a varied program that aims to meet the academic, cultural and linguistic needs of the Francophone students of the province.<sup>126</sup>

In Manitoba, the French Immersion Program has been recognized since 1995 as an official programme by the Department of Education. Manitoba has also implemented other programs to revitalize the use of French among its population. The French Second Language Revitalization Program was established by Manitoba Education in 2009 in order to provide with grants to the educational community for the development of activities that are primarily offered to the members of the French minority community in Manitoba (Manitoba Education, 2012).

The percentage of students that enrolled in second language programs throughout the last decade has increased 9.5 per cent in Canada. If we compare the available information regarding the Prairies provinces, we can point out at Alberta as the one that experienced a higher increase in the number of students that enrolled in French language immersion programs (18.5 %). Manitoba registered a slight increase up to 3.9% whereas in Saskatchewan the number of students enrolled in second language immersion programs remained constant (Statistics Canada, 2011).

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<sup>126</sup> Information available at <http://www.cefsk.ca/EN/Home/index.html> (Retrieved on 25th December 2012).

### Evolution of French Immersion Enrolment in Primary and Secondary Schools 2000-2010

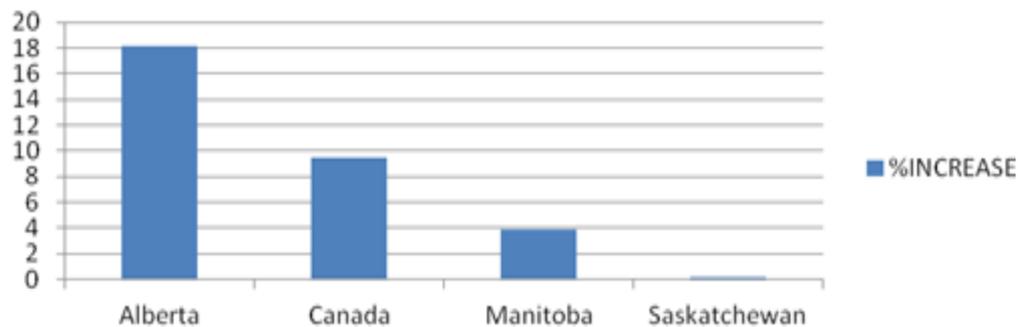


Chart 3.e. Change in the percentage of students enrolled in Second Language Immersion Programme from 2000/01 to 2009/10. Data source available in Statistics Canada, 2012. Catalogue no.81-595-M.

The three Prairie Provinces offer both French immersion and Language bilingual programs in several Heritage Languages.<sup>127</sup> In the past, students in Bilingual Programs were typically third and fourth generation immigrants to Canada with little or no knowledge of the language. Nowadays, the goals of Bilingual Programs are to provide students with the opportunity to learn and communicate in two languages at the same that they can develop, understand and appreciate other cultures, languages and religions.

The bilingualism promoted in these programs has been termed as “one-way additive bilingualism” as it is assumed that at their home they speak English with their families. Research conducted in Canada assures that children’s level of English is not in danger when they acquire a second language (Cummins, 1998: 34-47).

Despite all these advantages mentioned, Hurley argues that many school administrators have to face new problems in programming, managing and supervising

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<sup>127</sup> According to the Canadian Education Association, these are the languages of origin or first language of one’s parents or one’s ancestors. The term “heritage language” usually refers to all languages other than the aboriginal languages of Native peoples and the official Canadian languages (English and French).

the instructors and those documents written in languages that they do not understand (Hurley, 2014: 2-6).

Alberta currently offers French as a second language courses (FSL). Bilingual language arts curriculum for Chinese, Spanish, German and Ukrainian are also being offered. In the primary grades, instruction in the second language represents 50% of the school day up to grade six. In grade seven, the time of instruction in the second language is reduced. Whether the students in these programs speak the target language at home or not varies from one program to a different one (Alberta Education, 2012).

During my stay in Edmonton as a Mathematics French Immersion teacher during the school year 2008-09, I could appreciate the high grade of motivation of the French Immersion students. Most of them had initiated an Early Immersion Program and, consequently, a high percentage of these students were fluent in French language. I had also the possibility to be regularly in contact with the teachers at Saint Martin Ukrainian Bilingual Playschool in Edmonton. This school is located in the surrounding of the Junior High School where I worked as a teacher and my daughter enrolled in the *Sadochok* (Playschool) of this school centre during my stay in Edmonton.

Saint Martin is a Catholic school publicly funded, and despite of the fact that this school is aimed at the preservation of the Ukrainian language and tradition within the Ukrainian origin students, it is open to all the families of the district. In this school, parents cooperate with the teachers in the organization of multiple activities in a very active way. In our case, my family was involved in the organization of events such as the Playschool Casino, held on October 4<sup>th</sup> in 2009. Other many different activities

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organized by this Ukrainian school are the devoted to fundraising, such as School’s Raffle or the Silent Auction.

The Albertan School authorities seem to encourage linguistic diversity in the students of the province. Alberta Education provides opportunities for students to pursue a language that is not their first language. In year 2013, Alberta Education offered provincial programmes of study and support resources for different languages. Apart from the special protection and promotion of French language, some schools in Alberta offer bilingual language arts curriculum. Concretely, Alberta offered bilingual programs for German and Ukrainian languages together with Chinese and Spanish language (Alberta Education, 2014).

The instructional time spent in the specific international language varies from province to province. The *Common Curriculum Framework for Bilingual Programming in International Languages* was developed through the cooperation of the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.<sup>128</sup>

The Ukrainian bilingual programmes were implemented in Alberta in year 1974. The information provided by the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation updated to year 2011 confirms the existence of 6 primary schools, 3 junior high schools and other 3 senior high schools where Ukrainian bilingual programmes were offered at that time.<sup>129</sup> All the

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<sup>128</sup> The term bilingual program is used to describe a partial immersion programme where English and a second language are both languages of instruction. In bilingual programming, language arts is taught using both languages of instruction. Other subjects are taught either in English or the specific international language. Source: The common curriculum framework for bilingual programming in international languages, kindergarten to grade 12. Western Canadian Provinces. Retrieved from: <http://www.wcp.ca>. (Accessed on 3th March 2014).

<sup>129</sup> Apart from the regular schools, the Ukrainian Dance Academy of S. Martin and St. Matthew School also offer Ukrainian bilingual programmes in Grades 1-3 and Grades 4-6. Information available at: <http://www.uccab.ca/education>. (Accessed on 23th May 2013).

schools that offer Ukrainian language programmes are located within the metropolitan area of the capital of the province, Edmonton.

Edmonton Public School Board provides students with opportunities to acquire and maintain language skills in German and English. Edmonton Public offers German bilingual programmes in 5 schools in the city of Edmonton. Calgary Board of Education also offers German Bilingual program in Bowcroft School at elementary level.<sup>130</sup>

### **3.3.4. Social and Economic Indicators**

The data provided by Statistics Canada (2011) show a significant percentage of population that reported themselves as French origin citizens. Most Francophone citizens that have arrived into the Prairies in the last decades are coming from Quebec, with the purpose of settling and growing the lands located in the Northern areas of the province of Alberta.

The Canadian Prairies have been home to many heritage speakers of German and Ukrainian with European origins. In these western provinces of Canada, religion and lifestyle often act as a motivation for language preservation. Although they did not constitute a serial threat to Canadian security, both communities became victims of the two World Wars.

Their integration into the mainstream of Canadian life was better as the result of the war's economic effects. In fact, military service and jobs in war industry employed

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<sup>130</sup> Information concerning bilingual programs offered by Edmonton Public Schools available at: [www.epsb.ca/programs/language/germanbilingual](http://www.epsb.ca/programs/language/germanbilingual) (Accessed on 1st December 2013). Information about Calgary School board is available at: [www.cbe.ab.ca/programs/languages/german.asp](http://www.cbe.ab.ca/programs/languages/german.asp) (Accessed on 6<sup>th</sup> June 2013).

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Ukrainians and Germans, taken them out the rural settlements of the western provinces where they lived (Thompson, 1991: 17).

German ethnic origin was reported by more than 28% of the population of Saskatchewan in 2011. In Alberta and Manitoba this proportion was also close to 20% according to the information provided by Statistics Canada (2012).<sup>131</sup> Although the percentage of citizens that reported to have German ethnic origin is considerably high, German Canadians are generally considered well assimilated, being their presence in Canada relatively unnoticeable, as it is stated by Sauer and Zimmer (1998) in their book *A chorus of different voices: German-Canadian identities*.

In the International Conference *Assimilation, Integration, Acculturation*, organized by the University of Winnipeg (province of Manitoba) in 2004, the situation of the German-Canadian population was the main issue. It is still discussed if the settlement process constituted either a transnational social practice or, on the contrary, a simple diasporic experience.<sup>132</sup>

The proportion of Canadians that declared to have Ukrainian ethnic origin was higher than 10 % in the three provinces. Alberta was reported to have 10.2% of citizens of Ukrainian origin whereas in Manitoba this percentage went up to 14.7% in 2007. In Saskatchewan 12.6% of the citizens were included within the Ukrainian ethnic origin group.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> See tables on Appendix A.4. Population by selected ethnic origins, by province and territory. Source: Statistics Canada, 2012.

<sup>132</sup> More information about this conference, that took place between 26<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of August of 2004, can be seen on the German-Canadian Association of the University of Winnipeg. Available online at: <http://germancanadian.uwinnipeg.ca> (Retrieved on 30<sup>th</sup> December 2012).

<sup>133</sup> See data on Canada Census referred to population by ethnic origin, 2006. Available online at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>

The growth scenarios depicted by Statistics Canada point at a situation in which between 25% and 28% of the population could be foreign-born in 2031. Diversity will grow among the Canadian born population and the proportion of citizens with a Christian religion would decline from 75% to 65%. Within the population having a non-Christian religion, about one half would be a Muslim by 2031.<sup>134</sup>

The Ukrainians have been for long associated to the peasant communities that settled the Prairies at the beginning of the twentieth century. Despite their experience in agriculture, they kept using outdated technology. Ukrainian-Canadian population has also been related to discrimination and exploitation. After the Second World War, many Ukrainian males decided to search jobs as city labourers, miners, railway and forestry workers. Women opted for positions as domestic servants, waitresses and also within hotels services.

Throughout the last three decades, the proportion of Ukrainian Canadians dedicated to agriculture has become lower than 10%, similar to the Canadian average. Unskilled workers within Ukrainian communities are lower than 4% of the Ukrainian labour force.

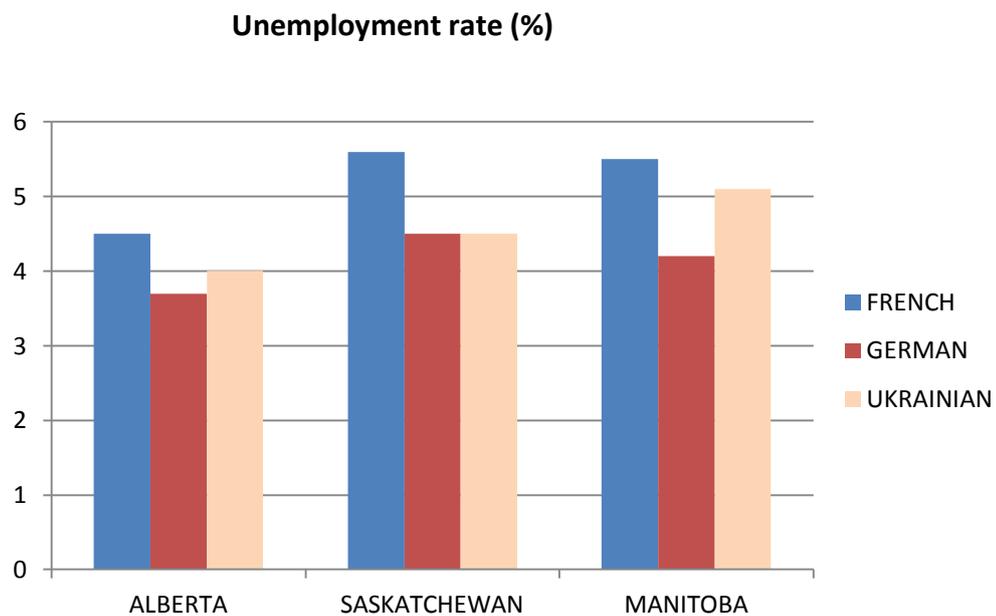
Taking into consideration the information provided by the Canadian Census regarding the total population 15 years old and over classified by labour force, we can remark that Ukrainians working in agriculture constitute a higher percentage than the Canadian average. However, these communities are well distributed throughout the rest of economic activities (Statistics Canada, 2007).

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<sup>134</sup> Information taken from the study *Projection of the Diversity of the Canadian Population, 2006 to 2031*, prepared by Statistics Canada for Canadian Heritage, Human Resources and Skills Development Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

To present the social and economic situation of the minority groups that constitute the object of this study, we will analyze different parameters-unemployment rate, main economic activity, average income and level of studies. By contrasting this information, we may conclude if there are significant differences among the communities studied in my project and the rest of the ethnic groups of population of the Canadian Prairies.

When we compare the data provided by the Canadian Census referred to year 2006 concerning unemployment, a remarkable question is the fact that German origin population registered a lower rate of unemployment in the three provinces. Ukrainian communities also reported a lower unemployment rate when comparing it with the average of the provinces.



**Chart 3.f. Unemployment rate (%) corresponding to French, German and Ukrainian ethnic origin population. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007 catalogue no. 97-564-XCB2006007. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca> (Retrieved on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2012).**

The French-speaking communities registered a higher proportion of unemployed citizens, very close to the average rate of the provinces -4.3% in Alberta, 5.6% in Saskatchewan and 5.5% in Manitoba. The following chart shows the percentage of

unemployed citizens in 2007 according to the ethnic origin reported in the Canadian Census (Statistics Canada, 2007).<sup>135</sup>

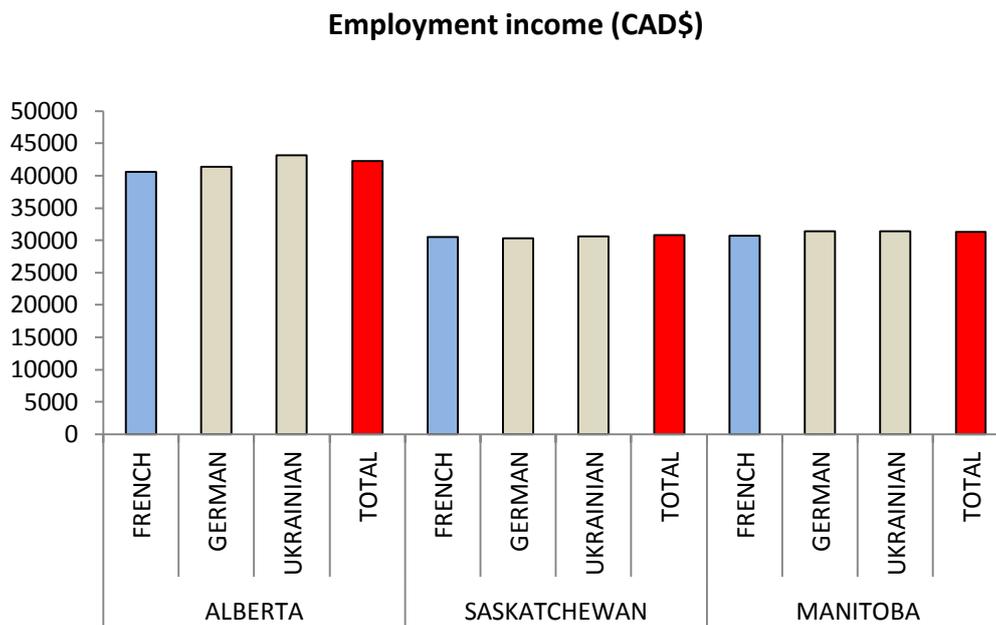
Analyzing the information provided by Statistics Canada regarding Labour Force, Educational and Income characteristics, we have selected the relevant data concerning the chosen groups of study (Statistics Canada, 2012).

We have not observed significant differences among the different communities when we are dealing with their main economic activity. In Alberta, the main activity reported for our groups of study was construction, mining and oil and gas extraction, the same as for the mainstream of the population in the province. In Saskatchewan, agriculture and manufacturing were reported as the main economic activities for French, German and Ukrainian communities whereas for the total population of the province agriculture and construction were the ones with a higher number of employees. In Manitoba, manufacturing and agriculture constitute the main economic activities of the province. However, French and German communities registered a significant number of transportation and warehousing workers.

When we focus on the average employment income we hardly notice significant differences among the three ethnic groups. Nevertheless, we can point out at the French communities as the ones who reported to have a slightly lower income compared to that of Germans and Ukrainians.

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<sup>135</sup> The data referred to socio-economic indicators –unemployment, proportion of low income families, average economic income and number of citizens without secondary academic certification- have been processed by the author in order to calculate the percentages corresponding to each of the three ethnic groups included within this cross-sectional study in order to be contrasted with the values associated to the total population of the three Prairies Canadian provinces. The results of these calculations can be consulted on Appendix A.9.

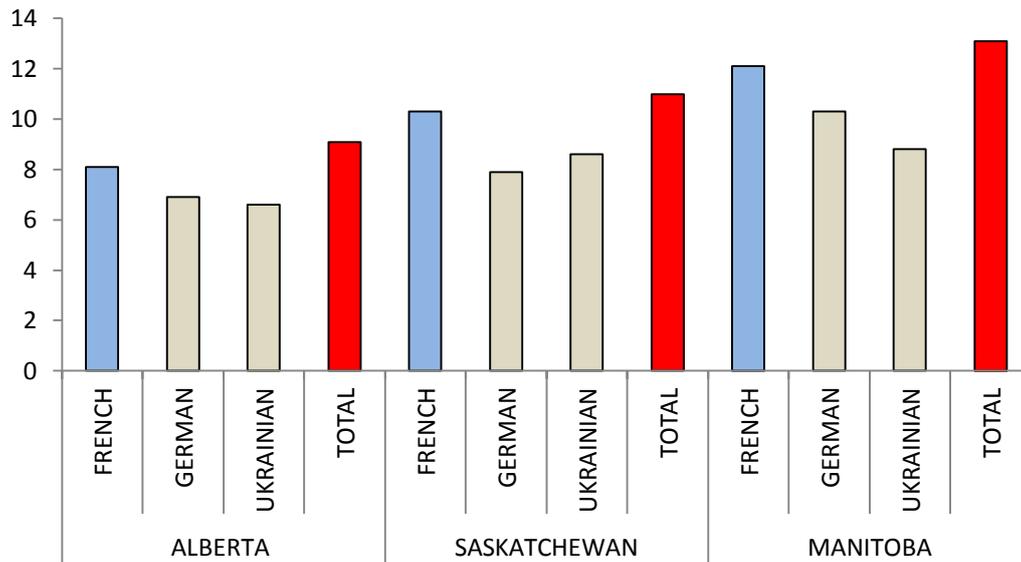


**Chart 3.g. Average employment income (Canadian dollars) in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007 catalogue no. 97-564-XCB2006007. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca> (Retrieved on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2012).**

Other two parameters that we have chosen as valuable indicators of social and economic status of the ethnic groups in our survey are the prevalence of low income for family members together with the percentage of the population without a postsecondary certificate.

The proportion of individuals who live within families labeled under the category “low economic income” was reported higher in French origin families. However, we must remark that the three communities studied register a lower percentage of families with low incomes when we compare to the average in the total population.

### Percentage of low income families

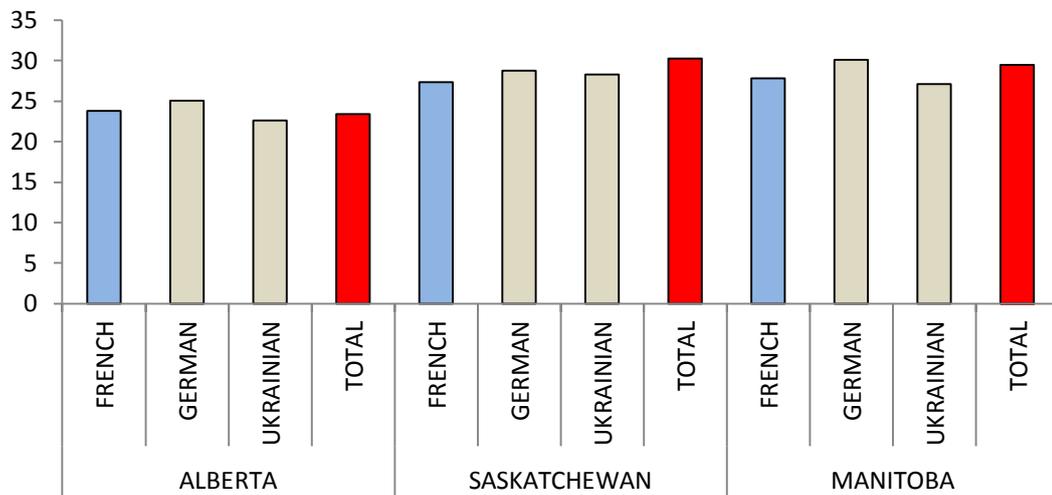


**Chart 3.h. Percentage of low income families and ethnic groups.** Source: Statistics Canada, 2007 catalogue no. 97-564-XCB2006007. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca> (Retrieved on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2012).

The total population who are 15 years old and over without a certificate, diploma or degree is inferior for the three ethnic groups studied, when we compare it to the total population of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba. In the case of Alberta, only Ukrainian population registered a lower percentage of population without a postsecondary certificate with respect to the province’s average.

With the information provided by the Canada Census 2007, we have represented the following graph that illustrates the situation of these communities about this educational aspect:

**Percentage of population without academic certification**



**Chart 3.i. Percentage of population without certification, diploma or degree. Source: Statistics Canada, 2007 catalogue no. 97-564-XCB2006007. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca> (Retrieved on 30<sup>th</sup> November, 2012).**

A brief analysis of the information obtained in relation to each of the four categories proposed for this study reveals that the demographic patterns of the Prairies provinces have undergone significant changes throughout the last decades.

The waves of immigration that have brought to the Prairies an important number of citizens of German and Ukrainian origin for the two last centuries have given way to other ethnic groups of Chinese, Indian or Latin American origin. As a result of these changes, ethnic and linguistic composition of the country has diversified.

The figures provided by Statistics Canada (2012) show that languages such as Punjabi, Chinese and Spanish have now become the most common non official languages in Canada. Neither German nor Ukrainian registered an increase in the percentage of newcomers speaking these languages.

Despite the official status of the French language in Canada and although the number of French speaker citizens have increased in the Prairie provinces, the percentage of Francophone population in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba has decreased as a consequence of a higher increase in the number of speakers of English and other non official languages.<sup>136</sup>

The vitality of the French language is not assured in a long term basis according to the information obtained in this cross-sectional study. The values registered for language retention parameter indicate that the percentage of Francophone immigrants that keep using their mother tongue at home is also inferior to the values obtained for Chinese, Hindu or Spanish speakers.

Nevertheless, a positive aspect is the fact that the number of Francophone workers that use French at work has increased in the provinces studied, especially in Manitoba. The use of French at work by the Francophone community was reported higher in activities such as teaching and health care.

From a linguistic point of view, a less favourable situation applies to the German and Ukrainian speakers. Language retention has been reported lower for newcomers of both communities when compared to the one for French speakers that arrive in the Prairies.

The use of a language other than French or English has dropped in all the provinces of Canada, with the exception of British Columbia. In spite of the continuous arrival of immigrants whose native language is different from French or English, this fact has not resulted in an increase of the use of their languages at work either.

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<sup>136</sup> Citizens whose reported mother tongue is neither of the two official languages-English or French- are also known as allophones.

Regarding the identity of the three ethnic groups studied in our study, we cannot conclude that there exist remarkable differences with respect to the mainstream of social groups within the Canadian Prairies. As a matter of fact, the parameters that have been taken in this research in order to measure the degree of integration of the different minorities studied within the rest of social groups - unemployment rate, main economic activity and average income and level of studies-, show that the values registered for the Francophone, German and Ukrainian origin population are very similar to the average that takes into account all the citizens of each of the Prairie provinces.

The three ethnic groups included in this cross-sectional study share common religious elements at a certain extent, taking into consideration that the German, the Ukrainian and the Francophone population all report their adherence to Christian religion. This fact makes difficult to identify a connection between cultural and ethnic background and religion.

In fact, the Francophone identity in the central provinces of Canada is not as well defined as it could be either in Quebec or in the Maritimes provinces. This is due to the fact that most French speaking citizens in the Prairies are bilingual and also because of the vast distance that separates them from the rest of Francophone communities in the country. Nevertheless, due to the official protection of the French language, the Francophone community appears as the most visible minority in the Canadian Prairies.

We can find a considerable number of associations constituted by the Francophone groups of people who live in the provinces of Alberta and Manitoba, such as the *Association Canadienne-Française de l'Alberta*, ACFA (French Canadian Association of Alberta) or the *Communauté Francophone du Manitoba*, SFM (French Community

of Manitoba). We can also remark that the public TV channel Radio Canada broadcasts in French language in all the Canadian provinces.

In spite of the existence of German Canadian associations and the survival of nationwide German language newspapers in Canada, such as *Das Echo*, Germans seem to be the most invisible group of population, with the exception of certain religious groups such as Mennonites, where endogamy is still a common practice within this ethno-religious group.

According to the testimonies and interviews I have been able to access, the Ukrainian can be considered as the most vindicating group as a consequence of the serious difficulties that this community went through after the outbreak of the First World War. After being discriminated and considered as enemy aliens during the interwar period, they have lately fought to gain respect and acceptance within the Canadian society.

Education appears as one of the most relevant elements that contribute to the vitality of the language and traditions of the different ethnic groups that have been included in the present cross-sectional study. According to the data obtained in this part of our research, the evolution of the second language immersion programs and the bilingual programs implemented by the Canadian government in all the provinces have contributed to an increase in the number of citizens that opt for an educational program in which they can preserve their mother tongue.

Unfortunately, this does not seem to apply to the case of German and Ukrainian bilingual programs. The information provided by the Departments of Education of the three provinces studied point at a situation in which the students enrolled in either

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German or Ukrainian bilingual programs belong to second or third generation immigrants whose parents are willing to preserve the language and traditions of their ancestors. Although these bilingual programs are being successful, it is proved that students attending this kind of schools keep using English as their vehicular language out of school and later at work.

The case of Alberta is an example of change in the mentality of the Anglophone parents, since many of them decide to send their kids to French immersion programmes so that the latter have better options to become bilingual and find a job in the future.

Although the next censuses of population will surely provide us with new clues regarding the evolution of these minority languages integrated within the Canadian Mosaic, the facts here presented seem to point at French language as the one of the minority languages with the best chance to prevail in the western Canadian provinces included in our study.

## **PART II**

### **CHAPTER FOUR ACCULTURATION PROCESSES AND LINGUISTIC ASSIMILATION**

#### **4.1. ETHNIC IDENTITY: ACCULTURATION VS. ASSIMILATION**

The purpose of this chapter is to deepen on the relationship between acculturation and assimilation by means of a review of theoretically relevant literature related to each of these concepts. A comparison of these elements serves us to analyze and contrast the characteristics of both concepts and delimitate the relationship existing between them. This theoretical approach to previous research on acculturation processes will guide our particular research focused on the interaction of the Francophone individuals with citizens from other ethnic groups and on the attitudes shown by the Francophones towards their own heritage culture.

In countries like Canada, with a high rate of immigration, it is important to precise the extent to which the different groups of population who determine to settle in Canadian territory decide to take on the ethnic identity of the host society. Throughout the last century, social studies have dealt with the process by which newcomers arriving in America became incorporated into the mainstream culture.

The first studies on acculturation were carried out at the University of Chicago. Robert Park and Ernest Burgess developed a programme or urban research focused on the city of Chicago. They proposed that the lack of resources in urban spaces led to competition between groups and the division of the urban space into different areas occupied by people who share similar social characteristics (Park & Burgess, 1924: 735-736).

The term acculturation was later defined by Thurnwald as “process of adaptation to new conditions of life” (1932: 557). Similarly, the concept of acculturation has been used to explain dynamics involved when people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact.

Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936: 149) highlighted the importance of “continuous first-hand contact” between individuals of different cultures as the most essential elements in the acculturation process. Two decades later, another group of social scientists associated to the Social Science Research Council expanded Redfield’s model of acculturation by adding a psychological dimension to this process:

“Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits or patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation, the generation of developmental sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors” (Barnett et al., 1954: 974).

Several writers have emphasized that not only is acculturation a process, but also that it is a “dynamic” process (Herskovits, 1937: 259-264; Siegel et al., 1953: 973-1002; Spindler, 1963). Theories have evolved to more interactive perspectives, offering insights of a multifaceted version of the interactions between immigrants and the dominant culture.

On the other hand, Dohrenwend and Smith (1962: 35) explicitly emphasize that acculturation can be an exclusively individual phenomenon as well as a group

phenomenon. In the same manner, other scholars acknowledge that acculturation may occur at both group and individual levels, though they argue that the acculturation process at the individual level is affected by the acculturation process at the group level (Broom and Kitsuse, 1955: 44-48; Spiro, 1955: 124-125).

One of the main conditions that become necessary for the acculturation process to occur is to have at least two cultural groups into continuous contact. Spicer (1961: 519) has emphasized the role of contact in acculturation. He argues that different sorts of contact situations lead to a wide range of results.

Parsons (1936) distinguishes acculturation from assimilation by stating that acculturation is unidirectional, whereas assimilation constitutes a bidirectional relationship. Gordon (1964) proposed a unidirectional vision of acculturation, describing the gradual process of absorption of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities into the dominant culture. According to Gordon's theory, cultural assimilation and acculturation is just the first step of the absorption process: "once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (Gordon, 1964: 80-81). He made clear that acculturation would require the extinction of any form of ethnic identity in favour of a single national identity.

Graves (1967: 337-350) reported in an investigation of psychological acculturation that acculturation takes place as a unidirectional phenomenon, with change occurring on the part of ethnic minorities in the direction of a majority culture. Associated to the question of direction is the idea of dominance. Dominance would imply that one of the cultural groups is in position of power. Spiro (1955: 1240-1252) suggests that numerical superiority is not a necessary condition of dominance.

It is thought that the dominant culture often uses authoritative resources to exercise power over others and devalue the contributions of those that they considered to be inferior, excluding them from the available social resources. Thereby, exclusion acts as a way to “perpetuate the othering process which confirms unequal social relations” (Dominelli, 2002: 39).

Acculturation refers to the integration of an immigrant within the mainstream culture of the host country. The usual circumstances are those in which minority groups need to acquire certain skills, knowledge, attitudes and behavioral norms in order to “function” within the different cultural environment. Foster (1960: 12) notes that acculturation may occur through two types of processes: the “formal”, which applies to those situations in which those individuals who hold the authority play a planning role, and the “informal”, resulting from individual contact between members of the two different culture groups.

Some researchers in the field of acculturation insist on the fact that although there are significant differences in the life conditions of the cultural groups that experience acculturation, the psychological processes that take place during the acculturation are basically the same for all the groups (Berry & Sam, 1997: 296). Empirical studies have been carried out to research on acculturation processes within Francophones in Quebec, showing that they held more polarized acculturation orientations when compared to other groups of population who make up the dominant majority at regional level (Quebec) but who remain a linguistic and cultural minority at nation level (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004: 507-532).

By examining the generational differences between adolescents and their parents, different studies have attempted to determine which common elements are maintained among Asian groups undergoing acculturation (Berry & Kwak, 2001: 152-162). Other scholars have documented the general vision of second and third generation children of immigrants that experience higher rates of poverty and do not have equal access to opportunities in some aspects of their lives (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007:489-545)

In recent years the term acculturation has progressively evolved from a less relevant research area to one of the most research subjects in the field of cross-cultural studies. Experts on cross-cultural psychology have focused on the review of groups and individuals undergoing acculturation and try to build a methodological framework specifically designed to study reciprocal adjustments of people who move from one culture to another (Berry et al, 2006: 303-332).

## **4.2. MODELS OF ACCULTURATION: BI-DIMENSIONAL MODEL**

These universalistic visions of acculturation seem to deny the different experiences in immigrants’ lives (Bhatia & Ram, 2001: 9). Other acculturation theorists are concerned with facts and quantification and have systematically formulated instruments to measure acculturation. Psychometric parameters such as language use and preference, social affiliation, daily living habits, cultural traditions, communication styles, cultural identity and pride, perceived prejudice and discrimination, generational status, family socialization and cultural values were used in these theories (Zane & Mak, 2003: 39).

This criticism led to the development of the bidimensional acculturation school of thought. John Berry, a Canadian scholar, proposed a fourfold acculturation model. He introduced the concept that there are two independent dimensions: on the one hand, the maintenance of heritage, culture and identity; on the other hand, the involvement or identification with aspects of the societies where the minority group settles (Berry, 1980: 9-25).

According to Berry’s vision, four modes of acculturation can be identified. These modes differ when we take into consideration the degree of preservation of cultural distinctiveness or the cultural adaptation that could have been made in other situations. These four modes of acculturation have been characterized as: assimilation; integration; separation and marginalization. Nevertheless, this characterization has been criticized by other authors (Rudmin, 2003: 3-37), who have stated that the four modes of acculturation are not as different as it has been claimed.

Having delineated the primary elements and characteristics of the acculturation process, we focus our attention on the assimilation concept. Although the concepts of

acculturation and assimilation may be interrelated, we refer to both concepts as separate processes.

Gumplowicz (1883: 254), one of the first scholars to address to assimilation concept, considered it to be a dynamic force in society. Simons (1901:791) emphasized that assimilation must not conceived as a result, but as a process. Other authors have argued that assimilation is a process (Duncan, 1929: 185; Gordon, 1964: 71; Johnson, 1963: 296; Woolston, 1945: 416).

However, the assimilation process differs from acculturation in some specific aspects. Whereas acculturation does not require out-group acceptance, assimilation does demand this sort of acceptance. Moreover, assimilation implies a positive orientation toward the out-group.

Assimilation refers to members of ethnic minorities living in a host society without showing any noticeable cultural, social or personal differences from the citizens of the majority group. They adopt practices of the host country and abandon their heritage culture. This is likely to be a result of favourable views towards the host society and/or a negative perception of their own culture (Berry, 1997: 5-34).

O'Keefe (2001: 45-71) stated in his studies on acculturation focused on Francophones outside Quebec that assimilation had been traditionally based on ethnicity. Nevertheless, this author explained that the attention has lately been centered on linguistic aspects.

New difficulties appear when proceeding to perform assimilation studies. This is mainly due to the increasing number of multiple responses on questionnaires completed

by Canadian citizens and the numerous changes existing when comparing consecutive censuses.

In 1996, the response format to the ethnicity<sup>137</sup> question on the Canadian Census was modified from previous versions. Respondents were provided with four write-in spaces and were asked to specify as many ethnic groups as possible. The option “Canadian” was included as a possible response for the ethnicity question of the Census. Multiplicity of identities started to appear when Canadian individuals were required to identify themselves with one of the existing ethnic groups.

This decision to include “Canadian” as an option in the ethnic origin question census has been seen as the result of political pressure (Satzewich, 2001: 231). Doucet (1999: 10-11) stated that this modification of the ethnicity question was urged by Statistics Canada due to the tendency for respondents to report “Canadian” as their ethnic ancestry. In fact, on both the 1996 and 2001 censuses “Canadian” appears as the largest ethnic/cultural group in Canada.<sup>138</sup>

Apart from the family name, O’Keefe points out that individuals are more likely to retain the ethnic and cultural background on the father’s part whereas the native language of the mother is most susceptible of being transmitted (O’Keefe, 2001: 6).

Integration refers to immigrants assuming some elements of the new culture while maintaining some aspects of the old one. This can happen when living in a foreign country requires the adoption of some norms and values of the host country.

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<sup>137</sup> Ethnicity is considered to be a self-defined, socially constructed and negotiated concept which reflects a shared feeling within a collectivity (Fleras & Elliot, 2003: 86).

<sup>138</sup> See Canadian Census 1996 and 2001. Statistics Canada (2002). Available at: [www.statscan.ca](http://www.statscan.ca) (Accessed on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2009).

On Roger Bernard’s book *Vision d’avenir*, the author gives a cultural definition of this concept:

“Assimilation [...] is the complete absorption of a person or a group of people within somebody else’s culture. The community replaces its own cultural identity by that of the dominant group. In fact, integration does not imply the loss of cultural identity, but the insertion without damage into host society. Acculturation and assimilation imply diverse degrees between perfect adhesion of the individual to his/her original schemes and the adhesion to the norms of a different culture “. (Bernard, 1990: 15)<sup>139</sup>

Acquiring some of the host country norms helps them to adapt more effectively to their new environment (Berry, 1997:5-34). Certain researchers consider this the best form of acculturation (Hart and Sobre-Denton, 2008: 538-552).

Separation refers to maintenance of cultural heritage and identity while separating from the host culture. Berry (1980, 1984) refers to the separation mode as “isolation”. It has also been described by this author as the maintenance of the heritage culture while rejecting inter-groups relationships. This involves keeping one’s own cultural identity and the lack of willingness to embrace the host culture. Functioning in isolation and trying to avoid intergroup relations are the outcomes in this case. Marginalization seems to be the rarest mode, in which immigrants reject their own and also the host culture. In certain ways, a “third culture” is adopted.

The concept of social exclusion was originally developed in France by sociologists. Paugam (1993: 17) used the term “social disqualification” whereas Castel (1995: 414)

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<sup>139</sup> Translation made by the author from the original text written in French language. Original text: “L’assimilation...est l’absorption intégrale d’une personne ou d’un groupe dans la culture d’un autre. La communauté remplace son identité culturelle originale par celle du groupe dominant. Par ailleurs, l’intégration n’implique pas forcément la perte de l’identité culturelle, mais signifie plutôt une insertion sans heurt à la société d’accueil. Les phénomènes d’acculturation et d’assimilation comportent plusieurs degrés entre la parfaite adhésion d’un individu aux schémas de sa culture originelle et son adhésion totale aux schémas d’une autre culture”.

referred to a process of “social disaffiliation” leading to a breakdown of the relationship between society and the individual. In this sense, social marginalization would be rooted in the tradition of solidarity in which the State plays a major role (Ion, 1995: 66-67).

The literature review on marginalization studies leads us to well-documented cases in certain contexts such as the elementary classroom (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Nevertheless, the studies on social marginalization seem to be focused on economic aspects.

Murshed (2002: 2-7) relates marginalization to globalization, which implies the acceleration of the integration into a global world economy, not only at a regional level. Globalization would lead into marginalization since it provokes the polarization between affluent and low-income regions.

Social dimensions to be considered when dealing with marginalization should include participation in decision making of certain social groups that have been traditionally experiencing disadvantages such as women and other minority ethnic groups (Tilak, 1987: 23).

Some of the difficulties experienced by Black African immigrants in Canada are associated to their immigration status. For instance, refugees are more concerned than other newcomers with their uncertain status and often witness racism and violence. Living in a predominantly Anglophone environment, life conditions of young immigrants are affected by lack of French-language resources such as counseling or employment services in the provinces where the percentage of French speakers is relatively low. This factor forces them to use English language services and to seek

employment and education in Anglophone institutions. The limited knowledge of English language makes integration a difficult task for these young black Francophone immigrants (Madibbo: 2008: 48-49).

Marginalization and social exclusion also embraces the political dimension. It implies the denial of human and political rights to certain groups of population. Rodgers (1994) interprets marginalization in terms of the denial of the above rights in terms of incomplete citizenship. This could be due to a poor enforcement of these rights by the public institution or to the inability of individuals, social groups and organizations to defend their rights.

Weinreich (2009: 126) describes another element that relates to the development of identity in relation with the acculturation process: *enculturation*. Enculturation makes reference to the incorporation of cultural aspects into the identity of the person. These aspects could be originated from one's heritage culture, the mainstream culture or even from other subcultures.

The acculturation model proposed by Berry (1992) includes two dimensions. The first dimension would be the maintenance of cultural identity whereas the second could be associated to the maintenance of relationships with other groups. Bourhis and Landry (1997) worked from a social psychological perspective, proposing the *Interactive Acculturation Model*. This new conception of acculturation is based on three components: firstly, acculturation orientations assumed by immigrant groups; secondly, acculturation orientations adopted by the dominant culture towards specific groups of immigrants and, finally, interpersonal and intergroup relations represented by the combination of immigrants' and the dominant culture's acculturation orientations.

From the revision of these models proposed for acculturation, we may suggest that the existing acculturation studies are marked by varied definitions and different assumptions regarding the cultural shift that is taking place in this process.

### **4.3. RESEARCH ON ACCULTURATION: THEORETICAL APPROACH**

Many approaches to studying acculturation lack a solid grounding in any theory of culture. Consequently, the methods which have been used to measure acculturation are nowadays based upon a large number of assumptions.

The multi-item scales used within different investigations appear to be focused on specific domains such as identity, broadly defined as overall character or personality of an individual or a specific group (Croissant, 2007: 581). Other studies conceptualize individuals as a group of people moving from a culture into another, or existing simultaneously within each. Both approaches are based upon the assumption of culture as a monolithic whole. Due to these limitations, some of these studies neglect the reasons why acculturation occurs (Schrauf, 2002: 98-115).

It would be necessary to link the methods of research on acculturation with specific theoretical approach. Nevertheless, it is not convenient to include too many elements within the acculturation domain if we wish to determine at what extent individual behavior is influenced by the physical environment, regardless of one’s cultural beliefs (Thomson & Hoffman-Goetz, 2009: 983-991).

Padilla and Perez (2003: 35-51) proposed a theory to explain the variability in acculturation patterns. They examined social cognitions in acculturation processes by using qualitative methodology and analytical techniques based on grounded theory. The aim of grounded theory is to generate or discover a theory from data systematically obtained from social research (Glaser & Straus 1967: 2). This methodology aims at uncovering basic social processes and has been described as an ideal tool for exploring

integral social relationships and the behavior of groups where there has been little exploration of the contextual factors that affect individual’s lives.

The model proposed by Padilla and Perez (2003) is composed of a central category- Cultural and Social Assessment- and four key categories: Language Acquisition and Proficiency, Social Support, Cultural Learning and Individual Growth. The central category, *Cultural and Social Assessment*, is related to people’s perceptions of how the new cultural environment is different from their culture of origin. As regards Language Acquisition process, we must point out the existence of relevant conclusions drawn by several scholars that researched on the linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation (Poplack, 2009: 125-147).

The impact of French language education on linguistic assimilation among Canadians living outside Quebec has been assessed in different studies conducted since the 1970s. Paul Lamy (1977: 1056-1057) carried out a study taking a sample from a target population of persons of French mother. French education was found to be an important barrier to the linguistic assimilation of Francophones in the Ottawa area. Language of instruction was considered to have a strong impact on the language spoken at home, with friends and at work. The language of instruction has also a significant influence on the language of inner speech, especially at the elementary level.

Throughout the last decades, the concept of assimilation was generally focused on ethnicity; in recent years the focus is primarily language-based and the comparison between ethnic origin and mother tongue is not frequently seen. It is estimated that knowledge of the paternal ethnic origin is more likely to be retained, while the maternal language is substantially more likely to be transmitted. As a result of these conclusions,

demographers interested in language issues have abandoned ethnicity in favour of linguistic data (O’Keefe, 2001: 51-52).

Most of the data on the vitality of language communities within Canada in this thesis are obtained from Statistics Canada. We must remark that the word “assimilation” appears with a low frequency in Census publications. In fact, Statistics Canada has never proposed a statistical definition of terms such as *assimilation* or *rate of assimilation*.

In a linguistic context, there are several dimensions that have to be considered, including the language learned in childhood, the ability to speak a language, the actual use of the language and the identification with a particular language community. Statistical evidence on assimilation is often perceived as a continuum that includes not only the process but its final result (either assimilation as a definitive loss of a language or non-transmission).

There is a language frontier where the French language and Francophone communities come into contact with other languages (essentially English) in Canada. This language frontier is not only to be seen in geographic terms but also in social units (exogamous families, for instance). As a consequence of the continuous contact of French speaking communities and English speaking population, we may currently find numerous English loanwords that appear in informal conversations.

The presence of two languages within society creates points of contact between languages and language communities. O’Keefe mentions the possibility of identifying a point of equilibrium between languages when a language group neither gains nor loses

in relation to other languages. This equilibrium would produce numerically stable minority language communities (O’Keefe, 2001: 8).

The studies focused on language vitality does not limit to purely demographic elements. Much of the literature centred on these studies places a strong emphasis on the importance of second language speakers to contribute to the vitality of a language. Coulmas (1992) highlights the importance of the increasing use of a language as a second language in order to assure its dynamic spread. He also suggests that we need to look beyond the size of a speech community and include both primary and secondary proficiency in the language:

“Language spread must, therefore, be measured not only demographically and geographically, but also in terms of the functions of language fulfills. Thus, an expansion pattern for every language results, indicating by how many primary and secondary speakers it is spoken, in which communication domains, for what purposes, at what level of proficiency, and where it is expanding” (Coulmas, 1992: 200).

Within the Canadian context, Stebbins (1994) points out the importance of Francophiles among Franco-Calgarians in the province of Alberta within his publication *The Franco-Calgarians: French language, leisure and linguistic life style in an Anglophone city*. Albert Breton (1978) also offers his own vision of how language can be seen as a form of capital:

“The acquisition of a second language requires time, effort and money since these resources are not abundant, they have economic value, or scarcity. The benefits resulting from knowledge of a second language are spread over time. Learning a second language therefore is an investment or the acquisition of an asset. More specifically, it can be said that a second (third or fourth) language is a form of human capital, capable, like all capital, of being increased or depreciating- although, unlike material goods, it does not deteriorate with use- or even of becoming outdated” (Breton, 1978: 1-2).

Besides, Albert Breton provides us with a useful comment on the linguistic assimilation process:

“The first stage consists of the process of acquiring a second language while the individual tend to abandon his language of origin. Refuse a language means that it is no longer used and it is gradually unlearned and forgotten. It is very strange that this process could take place in a life span, since only a minority group of population will completely forget the language they perfectly spoke in the past. It would be more convenient to perceive linguistic assimilation as a process which takes place in a span of two or more generations” (Breton, 1978: 97).<sup>140</sup>

Language is known to have an effect on ethnic identity since language retention of a mother tongue acts as a connector to the ethnic community. Surveys designed for university students in North America carried out by Jarres Thomas Gonzales (2006) showed that English language familiarity and mastery were essential elements in the interaction of the students in their new cultural environment. English language proficiency seemed to have an impact in social relationships with friends and colleagues, also with strangers or different academic settings.

Certain surveys designed for Canadian university students interpreted that those with higher levels of linguistic assimilation tend to exhibit lower levels of ethnic connection and are more likely to identify themselves as Canadian (Pigott & Kalbach, 2005: 3-18).

Apart from language acquisition and proficiency, the model proposed by Padilla and Perez (2003) proposes Social Support as the second key factor in order to study the

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<sup>140</sup> Translation made by the author out of French original text: “*La première étape consiste en l'apprentissage d'une deuxième langue, alors que l'autre mène à l'abandon de la langue d'origine. Renoncer à une langue signifie que celle-ci devient inutilisée, désapprise et, à la longue, oubliée. Il est rare que ce phénomène se produise au cours de la vie d'une personne, car seule une minorité de gens en arrivent à oublier une langue qu'ils maîtrisaient parfaitement jadis. Il est donc préférable de percevoir l'assimilation linguistique comme un processus se déroulant sur au moins deux générations*”..

assimilation process Social Support, in a general sense, can be thought of as the capacity of a person to accede social resources, establishing relationships with other citizens A definition that we can frequently find in articles and other publications is the one given by Cobb (1976: 300-314), in which social support is described in terms of benefits associated with feelings of being valued and loved and also the sense of belonging to a network of communication and mutual obligations to others.

Other scholars have made a difference between quantity and quality of social support. Schaefer, Coyne & Lazarus (1981: 400) suggested the term *social network* to emphasize the connection between social support and communication.

Social support definition was later widened to include the varying perspectives of this concept. Albrecht and Adelman defined Social Support as “verbal and non verbal communication between recipients and providers that reduces uncertainty about the situation, the self, the other, or the relationship, and functions to enhance a perception of personal control in one’s life experience” (Albrecht & Adelman, 1987: 19). According to this complete definition of the concept, we could include within social support social features such as communication, uncertainty reduction and enhanced control.

Benjamin Gotlieb gave another definition of social support: “process of interaction in relationships which improves coping, esteem, belonging, and competence through actual or perceived exchanges of physical or psychosocial resources” (Gotlieb, 2000: 28). In his definition, the key features included would be interaction, esteem, belonging, competence and exchange.

None of the previous definitions include all the aspects that we may consider necessary when dealing with the idea of social support. If we borrow different

components of the three definitions that we have previously mentioned, we may refer to social support as a transactional communicative process that also aims to improve individual’s situation.

Deepening into the different approaches to acculturation would require making the choice to conform to aspects of the new culture or not. For example, the fact of choosing to acquire the shared values of the new culture requires conforming to specific norms and rules of the host society. Conformity to group norms has been regarded as an adaptive approach to secure individual’s place in the group (Klick & Parisi, 2009: 41-54).

Some surveys carried out within university students moving into North America for academic purposes also determine that English language proficiency emerges as a critical tool for accessing the new cultural environment. English language seems to be the main instrument for developing supportive networks. In fact, participants of the survey carried out by Jarres Thomas Gonzales with students of different ethnic origin arriving in the United States show that, in times of doubt, frustration, or uncertainty, they found relief in the support networks that they had established in the new cultural environment (Thomas Gonzales, 2006: 59-70).<sup>141</sup>

While coming into contact with a new social situation, individuals are confronted with the reality of their norms and values. The choice of whether to conform or not to these values could be determined by the social pressure coming from others. Social influence affects the behaviours, thoughts and emotions of the person. The perceived

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<sup>141</sup> Jarren Thomas Gonzales submitted the Dissertation *The Acculturation Experience of International Graduate Students: A Qualitative Investigation* as part of his doctoral thesis to achieve his PhD Degree in 2006. The full content of this dissertation is available in digital version. Online: <http://etd.nd.edu/ETD-db/theses/available/etd-04182006-193111/unrestricted/GonzalesJT042006.pdf>. (Accessed on 15th June 2011).

pressure from others can actually occur although it can also be imagined by the individual (MacDonald, Nail & Levy, 2000: 454-470).

*Cultural Learning* is often seen as an essential element that increases human adaptability because it allows us to acquire useful information without the individual cost that would be associated to learning by trial and error.

The success of humanity in colonizing every terrestrial habitat has been attributed to our capacity for cumulative culture (Boyd & Richerson, 2005: 54). By ‘cumulative culture’ we understand the ability to accumulate knowledge over multiple generations. However, it is not yet known how humans combine social and asocial learning so efficiently to generate cumulative learning.

Adaptive rules are referred to as “social learning strategies” (Laland, 2004: 10). Diverse strategies have been studied by anthropologists. It has been pointed out that the fitness of social learners exceeds that of asocial learners although the population finally evolves to a mixed stable state where the fitness of social learners equals that of asocial learners. This finding is commonly known as Rogers’ paradox (Rendell, Fogarty & Laland, 2010: 536) because it contrasts with the common assertion that culture enhances fitness, and that social learning increases human adaptability.

Enquist et al. (2007: 995) explain that individuals need to find a solution to a problem using social learning, individual learning or even a combination of both. There is also the possibility that the environments changes, in which case the previous solution found is no longer valid and a new one needs to be found using individual learning.

Rendell et al. (2010) reported within his publication on the journal *Science* a wide range of conditions under which the conditional social learner is the most effective

strategy. At the beginning of each generation, the person learns about his/her environment and searches for solutions to problems found. During the learning process, the person is assumed to acquire a solution at a certain level of refinement, depending on the efficiency of that learning strategy. The conditional social learner is one of the strategies that have been found to perform better than both pure social learning and pure individual learning (Rendell et al., 2010: 209-210). This strategy involves trying individual learning firstly, and changing to social learning if that fails to provide a positive outcome. Consequently, we may assume that individuals learn individually and evaluate the result obtained. If the response is a positive one they adopt the solution acquired from individual learning; otherwise, they copy another individual.

The last element mentioned by Thomas Gonzales in his research on assimilation strategies is known as *Individual Growth*. International graduate students that were included in the survey conducted by Gonzales reported to have faced enormous challenges regarding prejudice and discrimination after their arrival in North America. Most participants pointed to a category of individual development that focused on increased self-sufficiency, maturity and understanding of themselves. Participants in this survey also expressed about the fundamental changes that were linked to their experience of living in America. Exposure to the new culture and the new people from other parts of the world seems to trigger these substantial changes (2006: 75-111).

Some participants gave testimony regarding the loneliness that accompanies the increased independence. Others stated that life in countries such as the United States provided opportunities for international graduate students to learn about themselves and develop the necessary skills to achieve their personal and educational goals.

However, the new environment seems to isolate people to some extent, creating the need to become more self-sufficient and autonomous. When individuals are able to establish relationships, they communicate their needs and have a greater capacity to affect change in their new cultural environment.

Assertiveness can have an important impact since it allows a more complete participation in the new culture. The increased assertiveness also appeared as something which was important in social situations and completing daily tasks. Similar to the central category, each of the key categories proposed by Gonzales was supported by characteristics generated from participants' experiences. *Language Acquisition* and *Proficiency* were characterized by expressions of how English fluency helped adaptation to their life in the new context. *Social Support* was described by means of reported informal and formal social networks. *Cultural Learning* was accounted through the appreciation and knowledge of their new culture whereas *Individual Growth* was expressed in the form of increased self-sufficiency, assertiveness, maturity and understanding of themselves.

#### **4.4. ACCULTURATION PROCESSES: FRANCOPHONE MINORITIES IN CANADA**

The four elements introduced by Gonzales (2006) -Language Acquisition, Social Support, Cultural Learning and Individual Growth- constitute a valuable reference when it comes to decide which categories to introduce in our research on our target group, the Francophones.

In certain publications, terms such as *mainstream*, *majority*, *dominant*, *minority* and *host society* seem to be accompanied by an extra baggage that, in some authors' opinion, should be avoided. The way in which young immigrants deal with the process of acculturation has been object of study. In particular, the adaptation process and the relationships between how they acculturate and how well they adapt have been reported in these publications (Berry et al., 2006: 310-319).

Culturally diverse populations such as the case of Alberta are composed not only of first and second-generation immigrants but also of the numerous ethno-cultural communities that persist for many generations after migration takes place. As a consequence, societies must face nowadays questions about how to manage this immigration flows and the resulting cultural pluralism (Kymlicka, 1998: 1-5).

The research on this domain makes clear that individual members and the different ethnic groups do not respond to these complex situations in the same way. There are important differences in policies regarding social integration. Some countries seek homogenization whereas others search for cultural pluralism. There are also differences in the positions adopted by ethnic groups, organizations and communities with respect to how they prefer to live in the new society. For individual of the different

communities, there are remarkable differences regarding the strategies used by their members to engage the society in which they live.

Berry et al. (2006: 320-328) reported on the variations in intercultural preferences contribute to *how* and *how well* individuals and groups of population adapt to the larger society. These authors also provided relevant information about the so called *intercultural question*, referred to how people live within and between two cultures. The *adaptation question* was also dealt with by these authors, making reference to how well (in personal, social and economic areas of their lives) do individuals with their intercultural situation.

For some researchers, the main concern is to understand and manage intercultural relations that follow immigration (Dacyl & Westin, 2000). Much of the interest in this area has been originated because the descendants of immigrants do not become absorbed or assimilated. Some become indistinguishable from the majority in the larger society; some remain culturally active while trying to achieve a higher level of participation within their community. Others decide to remain culturally vital but stay outside the life of the larger social group. There is also a fraction of these that keeps apart from larger society, in difficult situations, problematic for themselves and also for the whole group.

There are variations in the acculturation experience and adaptation of ethno-cultural groups, depending on several factors: voluntariness of contact, mobility and permanence (Berry & Kim, 1988: 210-223). One might expect that involuntary migrants adapt worse than those who move voluntarily to improve their situation. Although this perspective may apply to Francophones who come from Africa, its application to

current immigrants from other backgrounds is not clear. Economic success does not necessarily make immigrants feel more "Canadian".

The socioeconomic status of one's family should have an obvious role in how and how well a young person lives in his/her intercultural situation. Surprisingly, results show that economic indicators such as professional status, type of job or total income do not seem to have a strong influence on whether immigrants assume the identity of their host society (Walters, Phythian & Anisef, 2007: 42-57).

Some models emphasize the way immigrants' cultural values contribute to their adaptation (Gibson, 1995). Comparative research rooted in the study of group similarities and differences has also been carried out by Berry in collaboration with other researchers (Berry et al., 1995, 2001, 2006). These studies also comprehend the research on individual differences and demographic features of individuals in the samples chosen. Behavioural scientists tend to focus on individuals; however, because of our concern for cultural factors which are present in the Francophone minorities that we study in the present research, we ought to emphasize the cultural contexts in which citizens live and develop their daily life activities.

It seems necessary to focus on the most relevant features related to the cultural diversity policies which are currently present in the social context in which our group of research is placed. Moreover, it is important to rely on the immigration history and background of the population that we proposed for our study. Although the percentage of immigrants residing in a society is one indicator of cultural diversity, other indicators are available in previous studies.

Researchers have used an index of cultural homogeneity based on demographic factors, such as variation in ethnic origin.<sup>142</sup> Ethno-linguistic diversity concept represents the probability that two randomly selected persons from a place do not speak the same language and has served as parameter to determine ethnic polarization to social studies researchers (Alesina, 2003: 762-800).

The studies carried out on acculturation in Canada (Berry et al., 2001; 2006) provided with high values of cultural diversity for this nation. Although data reveal higher percentage of immigrants in countries such as Australia, New Zealand or Israel, the actual diversity index results higher in the case of Canada.

It is essential to note that the index of cultural diversity in the Canadian provinces is determined not only by the presence of immigrants in this country. We can assume that Canada is multiethnic and multilingual also due to the historical fact of co-existence of different ethnic and linguistic communities –French origin population and British descendants-within the borders of this country.

It is justified to claim that this index of cultural diversity in the Canadian territories describes the degree of cultural pluralism in the different provinces, also in Alberta. The current degree of cultural pluralism reflects the potential for interethnic and inter-linguistic contacts among the different Francophone minorities present in Alberta and also among Francophones and the larger society.

We should remark that the classification of societies based upon diversity policies can be misleading in some cases. For instance, the fact that a country like Canada is

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<sup>142</sup> A cultural diversity index has been used by social studies researchers such as Estes in 1984, Kurian in 1992 and later by Anckar in 2002. These indices are aimed at measuring ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity.

officially bilingual may not be indicative of acceptance of immigrants. This is, for example, the case of Finland, where the official bilingualism is the result of the recognition of an ethnolinguistic minority -the Swedish-speaking Finns- (Mc Rae, 1975: 35-54).

If we focus on the target group selected for our research on acculturation processes, the Francophones, it must be taken into account that the Canadian government policies implemented in Alberta have influenced on the promotion of cultural diversity as a national goal. Certain policies and practices that promote the maintenance of heritage cultures, such as that of the French descendants in Canada, facilitate to some extent the contacts among different ethno-cultural groups in society and it is assumed that they support cultural pluralism.

#### 4.5. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH ON ACCULTURATION MEASUREMENT

The publication *Instruments for Measuring Acculturation* in 2008 by the University of Calgary provided us with a catalogue where the links to diverse instruments previously used for measuring acculturation can be found (Taras, 2009).<sup>143</sup> Within this catalogue we can gain access to *Culture-specific Measurements for French Canadian* document by Berry et al. (1989) in which acculturation measurement is composed of four scales that include the measurements of Separation, Integration, Marginalization and Assimilation. Each scale includes a range of statements that are accompanied by *Likert-type*<sup>144</sup> response options.

Authors other than Berry have attempted to merge their own work on psychological and socio-cultural adjustment with Berry’s theory and research on acculturation strategies. Ward and other colleagues have introduced conceptual frameworks to integrate the emerging literature on “culture shock” and have argued for the distinction of psychological and socio-cultural adjustment during cross-cultural transitions (Ward, 2001: 413).

Psychological adjustment would refer to emotional being whereas the latter would make reference to the ability to fit in interactive aspects of the new culture. Ward and

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<sup>143</sup> This catalogue is available on the Addenda. See Document C.2 within folder ‘C.Images and Documents’ contained in the DVD attached. Also available online at:

[http://ucalgary.ca/~taras/\\_private/Acculturation\\_Survey\\_Cataloguepdf](http://ucalgary.ca/~taras/_private/Acculturation_Survey_Cataloguepdf). (Access on 3rd September 2010).

<sup>144</sup> Wade (2006) publication *Likert-type Scale Response Anchors* offers a wide range of responses regarding elements as acceptability, appropriateness, importance, agreement among others. For further details, see information available online: <http://teorionline.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/scale.pdf>. (Access on 4th December 2012).

Rana-Deuba (1999: 422-442) included a wide range of items within their questionnaires to study acculturation processes.<sup>145</sup>

Berry relied on three methods to assess acculturation attitudes. These included a range of preferences of the four acculturation strategies through the use of vignettes, by means of the assessment toward host and co-national communities and also the use of separate subscales to measure the four acculturation attitudes (Berry, 1984).

Psychometric analyses have indicated that bi-dimensional scales are reliable, with Cronbach’s alphas ranging from 0.68 to 0.87.<sup>146</sup> These scales would also be valid in terms of linkages with acculturation indicators such as club membership, ethnic identity, language use and media exposure (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999: 423-426).

Different strategies based on attitudes toward learning a new culture and keeping the heritage culture are mentioned by Berry (1984). Ward and Kennedy (1994: 330) renamed the two independent dimensions (attitude towards keeping heritage culture or towards interacting with a new culture) as *conational identification* and *host national identification*.

According to these patterns, the hypothesis formulated by Ward and Kennedy would relate each of the four modes of acculturation proposed by Berry (1992) to psychological and sociological adjustment taking place in the cross-cultural process.

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<sup>145</sup> A total number of 21 items were incorporated. They comprise aspects such as clothing, pace of life, general knowledge, food, religious beliefs, material comfort, recreational activities, self-identity family life, place of residence, values, friendships, communication styles, cultural activities, language, employment activities, perceptions of co-nationals, perceptions of host nationals, political ideology, worldview and social customs.

<sup>146</sup> Cronbach’s alpha is a coefficient of internal consistency obtained from the variances of the observed values. It is commonly used to estimate the reliability of a psychometric test for a sample of examinees. Values ranging between 0.7 and 0.9 are considered to be good indicators of internal consistency. Values which are placed between 0.6 and 0.7 are considered acceptable.

The four different modes of acculturation which can result are shown on the following table:

<b>MODES OF ACCULTURATION</b>		Attitude Toward Keeping Heritage Culture and Identity	
		Negative	Positive
Attitude Toward Learning and Interacting with Mainstream Culture	Positive	<b>ASSIMILATION</b>	<b>INTEGRATION</b>
	Negative	<b>MARGINALIZATION</b>	<b>SEPARATION</b>

**Table 4.1: Acculturation models classified according to attitudes toward host society and heritage culture. Based on Berry (1984) and Ward and Kennedy (1994).**

According to these assumptions, strong identification with citizens with the same ethnic, cultural and language background would be associated with fewer psychological adjustment problems. Strong identification with members of the dominant culture would be related to fewer social and cultural adaptation problems.

Multidimensional acculturation scales have been developed to assess different dimensions or factors that may be a function of acculturation (Zea et al., 2003:108). The acculturation studies carried out with Asian American citizens used the Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS) providing strong evidence of reliability and validity. The Asian American multidimensional acculturation study included four acculturation domains of cultural identity, language, cultural knowledge, and food consumption (Chung, R. et al., 2004: 66).

We have based on this multidimensional approach to complete our quantitative research on the acculturation measurement in relation to the Francophones in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. To achieve this goal, the conceptual distinction between the two domains above mentioned –behavioural (also known as socio-cultural) and psychological are incorporated to our investigation. Thus, two different subscales- Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture- and two different domains of acculturation- behavioural and psychological- will henceforth constitute a part of the quantitative research carried out to measure acculturation by means of the statistical analysis of the data retrieved from a survey administered among the Francophone citizens.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **MEASUREMENT OF ACCULTURATION WITHIN THE FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITIES IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES**

#### **5.1. MEASUREMENT OF ACCULTURATION: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

The cross-sectional study on European origin minority groups who live in the Canadian Prairies that was carried out as a previous part of our research can be used to determine the degree of prediction of certain variables such as 'income' or 'socio-economic status' upon the modes of acculturation experienced by individual citizens belonging to the groups of population included in our investigation.

Nevertheless, we decided to focus on ethnic identity, socio-cultural and psychological factors as indicators of individual's acculturation strategy. With the aim of examining to what extent the ethnic identity of the Francophones have become either assimilated or integrated into the mainstream Canadian society, the following step which was taken in the present research was to develop strategies for the measurement of acculturation within the Francophone communities in the Canadian provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

A survey extended to the Francophone communities spread over the three Canadian Prairie provinces was carried out in order to measure acculturation among the Francophones that inhabit the three Canadian Prairies. The main purpose of this survey was to widen our knowledge about the interaction among the Francophones and the other cultural and linguistic background groups of population. Statistical analysis of the

data collected constitutes an essential element in this part of our investigation devoted to the measurement of the Acculturation Index for our target group.<sup>147</sup>

For our purposes, a questionnaire which included questions regarding different aspects such as *Francophone Heritage and Canadian Culture*, *Personal Relations* and *Intergenerational Relations* was edited. The items contained in the first draft of the questionnaire used to measure Acculturation within our target group were mainly based on the model proposed by Ward & Rana-Deuba (1999: 422-442). This involved a wide range of items within their questionnaires to study acculturation processes.<sup>148</sup>

According to the different strategies based on attitudes toward learning a new culture and keeping the heritage culture mentioned by Berry (2003), we could determine the predominance of one the four different modes of acculturation –integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization- analyzing the attitudes toward heritage culture and the host society.

The subsequent drafts of the questionnaire that were designed for the present research contained questions that aimed at collecting information about positive and/or negative attitudes toward keeping citizens’ Francophone heritage culture and identity whereas others have been included to determine the attitudes toward learning and interacting with the Canadian mainstream society.

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<sup>147</sup> The Acculturation Index is a numerical value which is obtained working out the average of the individual responses for all the items referred to a specific culture. In the study carried out with the francophone population, two subscales –Francophone heritage and Canadian mainstream- will be defined in order to obtain two different Acculturation Indices for each individual participating in our survey.

<sup>148</sup> The model proposed by Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) incorporates of 21 items. They comprise aspects such as clothing, pace of life, general knowledge, food, religious beliefs, material comfort, recreational activities, self-identity family life, place of residence, values, friendships, communication styles, cultural activities, language, employment activities, perceptions of co-nationals, perceptions of host nationals, political ideology, worldview and social customs.

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Ward and Kennedy (1994: 329) renamed these two dimensions as *conational identification* and *host national identification*. According to these patterns, the hypothesis formulated by Ward and Kennedy would relate each of the four modes of acculturation to psychological and sociological adjustment taking place in the cross-cultural process.

In the unidimensional approach to acculturation, individuals are placed on a continuum of identities ranging from exclusively heritage culture to exclusively mainstream culture (Gordon, 1964: 81). Unidimensional measure of acculturation has been widely used for some ethnic groups such as Asian Americans (Suinn et al. 1987, 1992: 1041). Multiple choice questionnaires used to assess unidimensional acculturation cover topics such as cultural preferences, ethnic identity, friendship choice, language, history and attitudes.

According to this unidimensional model, citizens may be placed into the acculturation continuum from ‘unacculturated’ to ‘acculturated’. The midpoint on this continuum is called ‘biculturalism’, which assumes that individuals maintain their cultural heritage while adopting new cultural aspects (Keefe & Padilla, 1987: 6-16).



**Figure 5.1. Unidimensional Model of Acculturation. Based on Keefe & Padilla (1987: 17).**

Nevertheless, unidimensional instruments would not be able to distinguish bicultural individual who strongly identifies with both reference groups, as it could be the case of Francophone individuals living in the Anglophone provinces of Canada.

The bidimensional model proposed by Berry (1992: 69) is broader and potentially more inclusive. This bidimensional approach also takes into consideration that acculturation is a process in which both heritage and mainstream cultural identities may vary independently.

The analysis of previous acculturation studies show that language-based acculturation assessment is often used as the only measure of acculturation. These studies refer to language knowledge and the use of language in activities in which the citizen becomes involved (Vega et al. 1998: 125-148). Although language is necessary to acculturate and interact with other groups of population, communication is a very complex issue and it is considered to go beyond language. Even though language is an important component of acculturation, we have considered language as only one factor in the process of behavioural acculturation from which no conclusions about the psychological dimension can be drawn (Olmedo & Padilla, 1978: 179-187).

In our thesis, we must remark that linguistic aspects have been thoroughly analyzed in the previous chapters, being our statistics based on data provided by Canadian Census. We have considered that the information provided by Statistics Canada would be more reliable when measuring the knowledge and use of French and English language on the part of the Francophones than the information that could be obtained by the administration of a questionnaire among the citizens of our target group.

We could not conclude that acculturation occurs simply because a person becomes fluent in the host culture language. Because of this fact, we have attempted to mark a difference between linguistic assimilation processes and acculturation in this thesis.

The format of the questionnaire, as well as the questions themselves, could affect the representativeness of the samples chosen. We have considered that the questionnaire should not rely on a single language version since this may limit the participation of those who are not willing to provide their responses using the majority group’s language. In order to offer potential candidates to participate in our survey the possibility to access the questionnaire using their language of preference, a bilingual version of a cover letter for the questionnaire was edited.

The problematic associated to the scale and format of the questionnaires used in the previous acculturation research has been exposed by Kang (2006: 669-693). Some tests reveal a lack of independence between ethnic and mainstream cultural orientation when they are used to measure acculturation. The unique structural features commonly found in bi-dimensional acculturation questionnaires (paired questions that only differ in their cultural orientation and that use the frequency format) may cause some kind of associations between the two cultural orientations.

The question of whether these tests meet the independence assumption is not completely solved. In those occasions, independence assumption has not been tested in acculturation studies. When it was tested, correlation between the two-dimensional scales varied widely (Kang, S., 2006: 674).

Taken into consideration the acculturation tests used in acculturation studies during the two last decades, we have found out that four of them- the Hispanic and American

Identification test (Sánchez & Fernández, 1993: 654-65), the Cultural Identity Scale (Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb & Myers, 1994: 99-111), the Acculturation Index (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999: 422-442) and the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000: 64-65), successfully met the independence assumption (Kang, S. 2006: 669-693).

The Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) incorporates questions which refer to heritage culture as the original culture of the individual, the culture where one has been raised or any culture in individual's family background. The original design of VIA test includes 20 paired questions that refer to both American culture and the citizen's heritage culture. Vancouver Index of Acculturation test also includes 9 Likert-type response options ranging from *Disagree* to *Agree*<sup>149</sup>.

We have adapted this test to meet our requirements, including two more items, which have been included to measure the degree of acceptance of the individual by other members of the mainstream culture community and individuals from his/her own heritage culture.<sup>150</sup>

The phrasing of the items was also made in both languages -English and French, and the term 'American' was replaced by 'Canadian'. Either version was available for the candidates so they were able to choose the language version of their preference. The final version of the questionnaire was sent to Monsieur Alain Bertrand, a representative member of the French-Canadian Association in Alberta, the ACFA, so that he could provide us with a feedback before administering the questions among the Francophone

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<sup>149</sup> The version of Vancouver Index of Acculturation published by Ryder et al. (2000: 65) can be seen on Document C.3 of the Addenda to this thesis.

<sup>150</sup> See questionnaire's final version on Appendix C.10. English version of the questionnaire administered among Franco-Albertans is provided within. The same items were introduced within the questionnaire distributed in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. French version of the questionnaire is available online: <https://docs.google.com/a/fundacionsafa.es/forms/d/1ciguHYS8kXuwMorkMP5CsNEseG6ar3LDao3ZgoKNSu8/viewform>

community. Further modifications were made following the suggestions made by Monsieur Bertrand, who lead us to change the term *patrimoine français* (French heritage) and replace it by the more inclusive term *patrimoine Francophone* (Francophone heritage) to better adjust to the actual context of the Francophone communities<sup>151</sup>.

Each of the thirty questions has included a range of statements followed by four Likert-type response options, varying from 1 -Strong disagreement- to 4 -Complete agreement-.<sup>152</sup> Preliminary psychometric analysis of the responses that we obtained using our questionnaire has indicated that the scales are reliable, with Cronbach’s alphas slightly superior to 0.8.<sup>153</sup> These scales would also be valid in terms of linkages with acculturation indicators such as club membership, ethnic identity, language use and media exposure (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999: 423-426).

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<sup>151</sup> Some excerpts of the email received on 7<sup>th</sup> April 2014 from Monsieur Alain Bertrand, Community Affairs Director of the ACFA, are here included:

“*Bonjour Monsieur Lopez,*

*Merci de votre envoi. Vous nous posez des questions sur le patrimoine français. De quoi s’agit-il ? Les Français sont en France; nous n’avons pas ou très peu de lien avec ce pays d’Europe. Le contexte canadien est très différent. Nous sommes francophones mais nullement français. Les francophones en Alberta proviennent d’un peu partout : il y a les Métis ; il y a les Franco-Albertains, descendants des premiers pionniers québécois et franco-américains ; il y a les Acadiens qui nous sont arrivés de l’est du Canada ; il y a des Québécois, des Européens et des Africains.*

(Mr. Lopez, Thank you for your email. You included questions regarding the French heritage. What is this about ? French people are in France; we hardly maintain our links with this European country. Canadian context is very different. Francophones in Alberta come from many places: there’s the Metis, the Franco-Albertans, French explorers descendents and the French Americans ; there’s the Acadians who come from Eastern Canada ; there’s the Quebecois, the Europeans and the Africans ». (Translation made by the author from original text in French language).

<sup>152</sup> Likert (1953) proposes the use of these sort-responses in questionnaires in this publication *Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences*. 5-point scale was discarded to avoid ambiguity of central values within the scale. We have adopted a 4-point so that values 3 and 4 can be associated to strong grade of association to the statement Low values (1 and 2) are therefore associated to low grade of association to the statement formulated within the question.

<sup>153</sup> Cronbach’s alpha is a coefficient of internal consistency obtained from the variances of the observed values. It is commonly used to estimate the reliability of a psychometric test for a sample of examinees. Values ranging between 0.7 and 0.9 are considered to be good indicators of internal consistency. Values which placed between 0.6 and 0.7 are considered acceptable (Cronbach, 1951: 297-334).

Berry’s conventional measurements of the four acculturation attitudes have been improved in terms of user-friendliness. Earlier instruments have been criticized for their length and repetitive nature that require a high demand on respondents. A lower number of questions and its distribution via email to be filled in online made the data collection process less complex for the respondent.

The cover letter used for accompanying our survey included hyperlinks to both language versions- English and French- of the online questionnaire.<sup>154</sup> The process followed to distribute the questionnaire was carefully planned in order to reach the most representative Francophone institutions in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

Francophone universities, Francophone school districts and Francophone parents associations were the first institutions to be contacted. French immersion school teachers, representative authorities of the Francophone school districts and staff of *Université de Saint Jean* (Edmonton, Alberta) and *Université de Saint Boniface* (Winnipeg, Manitoba) were the first potential candidates who were asked to fill in the questionnaires. They also served as a link to distribute the questionnaire among possible candidates willing to participate in the acculturation research.<sup>155</sup>

The potential candidates reached throughout the first phase of the questionnaire distribution were mainly teaching professionals and most of them were supposed to have completed tertiary education studies. With the objective of including other collectives of Francophones with a different academic level, the second phase of the

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<sup>154</sup> French and English versions of the cover letter sent to potential candidates to participate in our study are shown on Document C.12 of the Addenda, which can be accessed on the DVD attached.

<sup>155</sup> French Immersion schools in Beaumont, Edmonton, Calgary, Saint Albert and Bonnyville were contacted in the province of Alberta. In Manitoba, the link to the questionnaire was sent to representatives of French Immersion schools in Saint Boniface and other French Immersion and Francophone schools were contacted in Regina and Saskatoon, in the province of Saskatchewan.

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

distribution process was initiated including a wide range of Francophone associations.<sup>156</sup> The last phase of the distribution of the questionnaire was focused on Francophone media and other public or private institutions in which Francophone citizens could constitute a representative proportion.<sup>157</sup>

Questionnaires were distributed over different regions in Alberta. The metropolitan areas of Edmonton and Calgary provided an important proportion of the responses in these provinces. The region denominated *Rivière-la-Paix* was reached through the Town Council institutions despite the fact that many Francophone citizens that populate this area of the province report to live within Anglophone families.

The provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan concentrate most Francophone citizens within areas located close the capital of the province. Therefore, most responses in Manitoba came from citizens living in metropolitan areas of Winnipeg. From the province of Saskatchewan, the majority of the respondents were located in areas close to Regina and Saskatoon.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Canadian Parents for French is one of the associations that supported our research distributing the link to the questionnaire within parents in francophone communities. Cultural associations such as Historical Society in Saskatchewan, Economic Development Council, *Federation d'Aînés de l'Alberta*, *Alliance Française* in Edmonton and Calgary stand among the most representative organizations that contributed to the distribution of our survey via email. The French Canadian Association in Alberta (ACFA) published the hyperlink to the questionnaire on its webpage. See Addenda, Document C.10.

<sup>157</sup> We especially thank Radio Canada for the diffusion of the link to the questionnaire via Facebook and its webpage. Diverse interviews were held in Radio Canada station that dedicated more than fifteen minutes of their emission to broadcast the most relevant information concerning the present research and the survey that was taking place at the time when the interviews were held on 24<sup>th</sup> April-Radio Canada Alberta-, on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2014 -Radio Canada Manitoba- and on 6<sup>th</sup> May -Radio Canada Saskatchewan-. We remind that the audio files corresponding to these interviews are included within the DVD attached to this document. Also available online at: [http://ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/la\\_croisee/2014-2015/archives.asp?date=2014-04-24](http://ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/la_croisee/2014-2015/archives.asp?date=2014-04-24) (Alberta) and on the following web addresses: [www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emission/pour-faire-un-monde/2013-2014/index.asp](http://www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emission/pour-faire-un-monde/2013-2014/index.asp) (Radio Canada Manitoba) and [www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/le\\_6\\_a\\_9/2012-2014/archives.asp?date=2014-04-28](http://www.ici.radio-canada.ca/emissions/le_6_a_9/2012-2014/archives.asp?date=2014-04-28) (Radio Canada Saskatchewan). Last accessed on 6<sup>th</sup> July 2014.

<sup>158</sup> *Association Jeunesse Fransaskoise*, *Conseil de la coopération de la Saskatchewan*, *Fondation Fransaskoise*, *Association de juristes d'expression française de la Saskatchewan* were the most representative francophone institutions where our survey was administered within these cities. The French-Canadian Association of Regina also published on its *Lettre Hebdomadaire* (Weekly News)

The questionnaire used for our study was administered throughout the period of time ranging from March until June 2014. *Google Drive Forms* tools were used to edit the questions and provided with instruments to save the respondents’ answers automatically. Registered responses remained anonymous and were recorded for each of the three provinces where it was distributed.

The questionnaire encompasses a wide spectrum of items aimed at measuring acculturation and the intergenerational relations among the Francophones and contains a total of thirty questions as it has been previously indicated. Twelve of which were aimed at measuring the acculturation in relation to the Canadian Mainstream subscale and other twelve questions were formulated in relation to the Francophone Heritage subscale. The six remaining questions were included with the objective of studying the intergenerational differences within Francophone groups of population in these provinces.<sup>159</sup>

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issued on April 2014 the information regarding the questionnaire and the hyperlink that give access to the latter. See Document C.11 of the Addenda in folder ‘C. Images and Documents’ of the DVD.

<sup>159</sup> The results obtained from this part of the questionnaire referred to generational differences are discussed on the next chapter since it was considered that this study deserved special attention.

## **5.2. BIDIMENSIONAL MODEL OF ACCULTURATION: ACCULTURATION INDEX AND MODES OF ACCULTURATION**

A total number of 223 responses were collected by the time when statistical treatment was started. Taking into account that Alberta is the most populated province within the Prairies, this province also contributed with the highest number of respondents.<sup>160</sup> In order to facilitate the analysis of statistical data obtained by means of our questionnaire, we included four mandatory questions regarding sex, age group, place of birth and number of years living in the province where individuals lived at the time when the questionnaire was filled in.<sup>161</sup>

This information served our purposes of obtaining the general profile of our respondents so it could be compared to the general profile of the Francophone communities of these provinces according to other statistical sources such as Canadian Census.

### **5.2.1. Summary of responses**

The summary of the number of responses according to the four criteria previously established- sex, age, place of birth and length of residence in the province- includes the information referred to Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, as well as the total percentages corresponding to the addition of the results obtained for the three provinces.

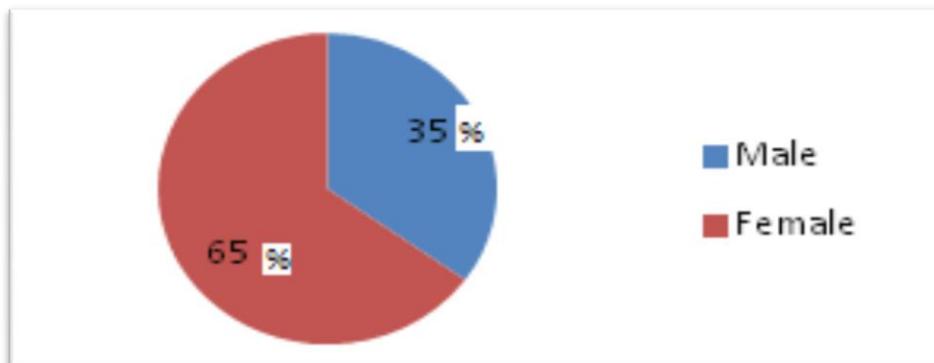
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<sup>160</sup> Questionnaires administered in Alberta registered a total number of 96 responses to the French version of the questionnaire and 4 in the English version, Manitoba contributed with 58 responses whereas 65 respondents were living in the province of Saskatchewan at the time when the survey was carried out.

<sup>161</sup> Due to the large number of responses and items registered within each of the questionnaires which have been used to collect the information of the participants in our survey, the spreadsheets with the answers of the respondents are not included within the Appendices. The spreadsheet which contains the summary of individual responses given for each province separately can be found within folder ‘E. Summary of Responses to the Questionnaire’ on the Addenda included within the DVD.

Partial percentage results corresponding to the provinces have been rounded to the unit whereas we have decided to display the total results with a higher level of accuracy, rounding up to the hundredth.<sup>162</sup>

The charts hereby shown represent the distribution of responses according to the four parameters that have been used for statistical treatment. The first one refers to the proportion of male and female respondents to the questionnaire administered within the three provinces. The other charts refer to percentages according to age group, place of birth and the number of years during which the respondents have lived in the referred province.



**Chart 5.a. Distribution of respondents to Acculturation Index questionnaire regarding sex.**

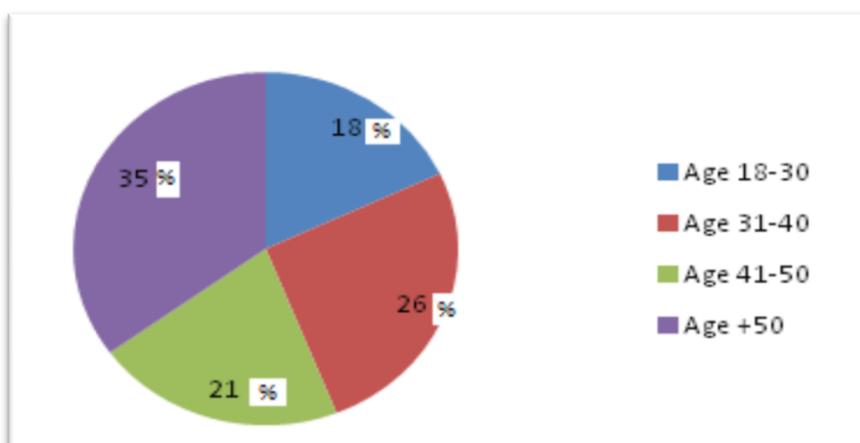
Women constitute the majority of the respondents to the questionnaire. This applies to the three provinces where the survey was carried out, being Manitoba the one where the percentage of women represents a higher proportion, with 67% of the total number of respondents.

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<sup>162</sup> See Appendix B.1. Distribution of respondents to the questionnaire as a function of sex, age, place of birth and time residing within the province.

As regards the age of the Francophone citizens who accessed and filled in our questionnaire, we must remark the homogeneity of the sample. Although the group of population aged between 18 and 30 years old is slightly inferior to the rest of age ranges, we observe on the following chart that people from all age groups are represented in our simple in a similar proportion.

Respondents aged more than 50 constitute the most represented group, with a percentage of 35%. This fact can be justified if we take into consideration that last Canadian Census data show that the median age for Francophones is significantly higher than for the general population (Statistics Canada, 2012). The next chart shows the distribution of the respondents according to their age group:

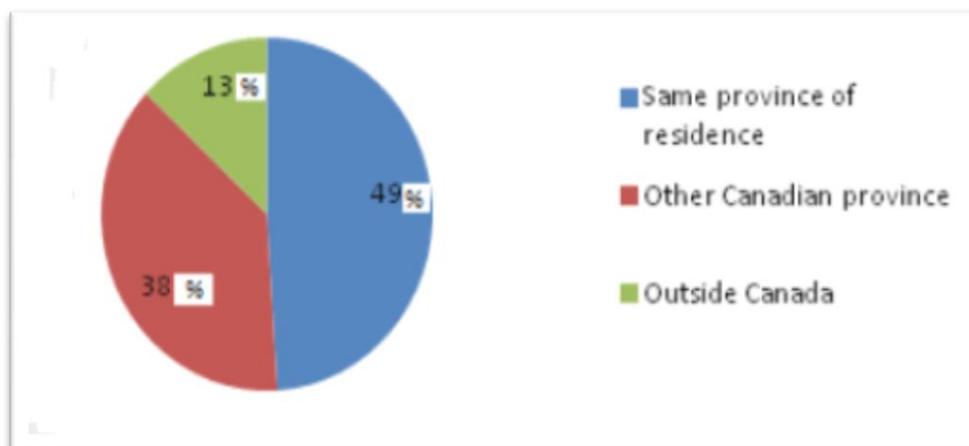


**Chart 5.b. Distribution of respondents of the questionnaire according to group age.**

Nearly half of the citizens that took part in our survey were born in the same province where they resided at the time when the questionnaire was answered. However, we must point out that Alberta stands in a singular position with respect to the two other provinces of the Prairies. Whereas 57% of the respondents in Saskatchewan

and 64% in Manitoba report to have been born in the same province of residence, in Alberta this percentage do not represent more than 35% of the total.

When compared to those data provided by statistical sources, we find out that, in the case of Alberta, this is also a representative feature of the total population including the rest of ethnic groups. Statistical data reveal that only one third of the population in Alberta was born in this province (Statistics Canada, 2012). This constitutes a differentiating trait between the most populated province within the Prairies, Alberta, and the two other provinces, which do not register such a high rate of immigration and do not attract such an important amount of workers coming from other Canadian provinces.



**Chart 5.c. Percentages of respondents according to place of birth.**

The analysis of the data referred to the number of Francophone citizens that participated in our survey reflects that only one fifth of the Francophone population living in the Canadian Prairies has changed their province of residence throughout the last ten years.

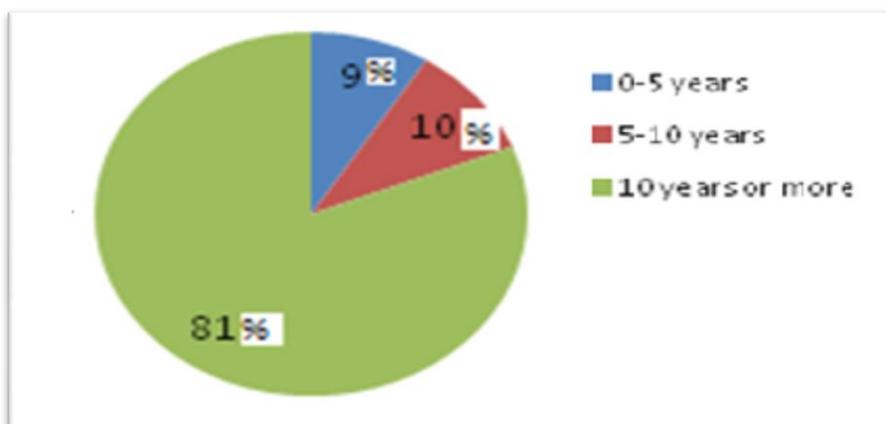


Chart 5.d. Percentage of respondents according to time of residence in the province.

The percentage of population that report in our survey to be living in the same province where they resided at the time when they completed the questionnaire is superior to 80%, with the single exception of Alberta, where this percentage is slightly inferior.

This fact leads us to think that despite the significant proportion of Francophones who were born in other provinces and even outside Canada, most of them fixed their place of residence within the same province in a long term basis.

### 5.2.2. Acculturation Index measurement

With the objective of measuring the Acculturation Index using the bi-dimensional model proposed by Berry (1992: 69-85), we have used two subscales to separately measure Francophone heritage and Canadian mainstream acculturation. In order to include both domains of acculturation within each subscale- behavioural and psychological-, each scale contains a set of items dealing with values and another dealing with individuals social interaction.

Out of the twelve items introduced within each subscale –French heritage and Canadian mainstream culture- , six of them are related to language use and knowledge, lifestyle, leisure, sports and customs and are aimed at measuring socio-cultural or behavioural acculturation. The other set of paired questions are related to personal values, personal attitudes and preferences and self-identification and are aimed at including the psychological domain of acculturation.

Each item of the questionnaire which has been designed for measuring acculturation index appears under a paired question form, the first question making reference to Canadian culture and the second to the Francophone heritage culture.

For the questionnaire to meet our requirements, it is important to confirm whether the same set of items used in our survey would provide the same responses if the same questions were replaced with other similar questions and re-administered to the same respondents. In order to evaluate the consistency of the questionnaire used in our survey, the first step to be taken with the collected data was to calculate Cronbach alpha coefficients.

Cronbach alpha is commonly used in statistics to determine the internal consistency of the items used in a survey (Hatcher, 1994: 325-339). Alpha coefficient ranges from 0 to 1. The higher the score, the more reliable the generated responses are. Nunnally (1978: 86) indicates that 0.7 value would correspond to an acceptable reliability coefficient although lower values have also been used in publications.

Once the data collection process concluded, Microsoft Office Excel 2007 tools were used to work out the variances of each item ( $\sigma^2_y$ ) as well as variance corresponding to the values obtained when adding all responses related to the same

individual for each subscale ( $\sigma_x^2$ ). Our calculations of Cronbach alpha ( $\alpha$ ) include data obtained from a total number of 223 respondents (N=223).

Twelve items per subscale (K=12) have been taken into account to use the corresponding mathematical expression:

$$\alpha = \frac{K}{K - 1} \left( 1 - \frac{\sum_{i=1}^K \sigma_{Y_i}^2}{\sigma_X^2} \right)$$

Alpha values obtained ranged from 0.82 for the Canadian mainstream culture subscale items up to 0.84 for the items included within the Francophone heritage culture. Therefore, we assume that there exists a high degree of reliability and that internal consistency of the items selected is more than acceptable.

It has been previously stated by Ryder et al. (2000: 49-65) that the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) which served us as a model for the questionnaire used in our research provided low values for the correlation coefficient ( $r_s=-0.01$ ). Since we have introduced new items to VIA questionnaire and have partially modified the edition of some questions, internal structure of the scores obtained for the items associated to both subscales -Canadian and Francophone- was examined with the data obtained from our own questionnaire.

In some acculturation scales developed, the independence assumption was not tested. When it was tested, the correlations between the two-dimensional scales turned to be negative in many occasions.<sup>163</sup> In our case, orthogonality<sup>164</sup> was tested by means

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<sup>163</sup> The Hispanic and American Identification test carried out by Sánchez and Fernández (1993), the Cultural Identity Scale test designed by Félix-Ortiz, Newcomb and Meyer (1994) and the Acculturation

of the inter-correlation between the items corresponding to both dimensions. The mean value of inter-items correlation coefficients obtained when crossing Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture subscales data was 0.15.<sup>165</sup> Consequently, both subscales showed to be largely independent in our study.

Data processing continued to work out the average value of the scores given by individual respondents to both Canadian culture and Francophone culture items (acculturation indices).

	<b>Canadian Acculturation Index</b>	<b>Francophone Acculturation Index</b>
<b>Mean</b>	3.58221226	3.68307515
<b>Median</b>	3.66666667	3.75
<b>Mode</b>	4	4
<b>Standard Deviation</b>	0.3794555	0.34651337
<b>Variance</b>	0.14398648	0.12007151
<b>Range</b>	1.91666667	2.16666667
<b>Minimum</b>	2.08333333	1.83333333
<b>Maximum</b>	4	4
<b>N</b>	223	223

**Table 5.1. Descriptive statistical parameters obtained with average values of responses given to Francophone and Canadian culture related items.**

The descriptive statistical parameters obtained for both Canadian and Francophone culture related questions for the whole sample (N=223) demonstrated a higher mean value for the items referred to Francophone heritage culture (3.68 versus 3.58 for Canadian culture items). Data obtained for both subscales show a noticeable

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Index by Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) provided negative values of correlation and successfully demonstrated orthogonality, with considerably low values of the correlation coefficient.

<sup>164</sup> Orthogonality is used to measure the independence of the items incorporated to the questionnaire. Null correlation coefficient (rs=0) indicates absence of relationship between two variables and r=1 indicates linear relation.

<sup>165</sup> See Appendix B.2. Correlation coefficient matrix which contains the inter-correlation coefficients obtained when crossing the values granted by participants to each of the 24 items intended for measuring acculturation.

asymmetry. The maximum score for all the items related to both subscales constituted the most frequent response among the participants in our survey. The range of values also differs when we compare the data collected for both subscales, being slightly wider for the responses register towards Francophone culture.

The distributions of individual responses<sup>166</sup> to all items corresponding to Canadian and Francophone heritage culture were used to represent the following histograms:

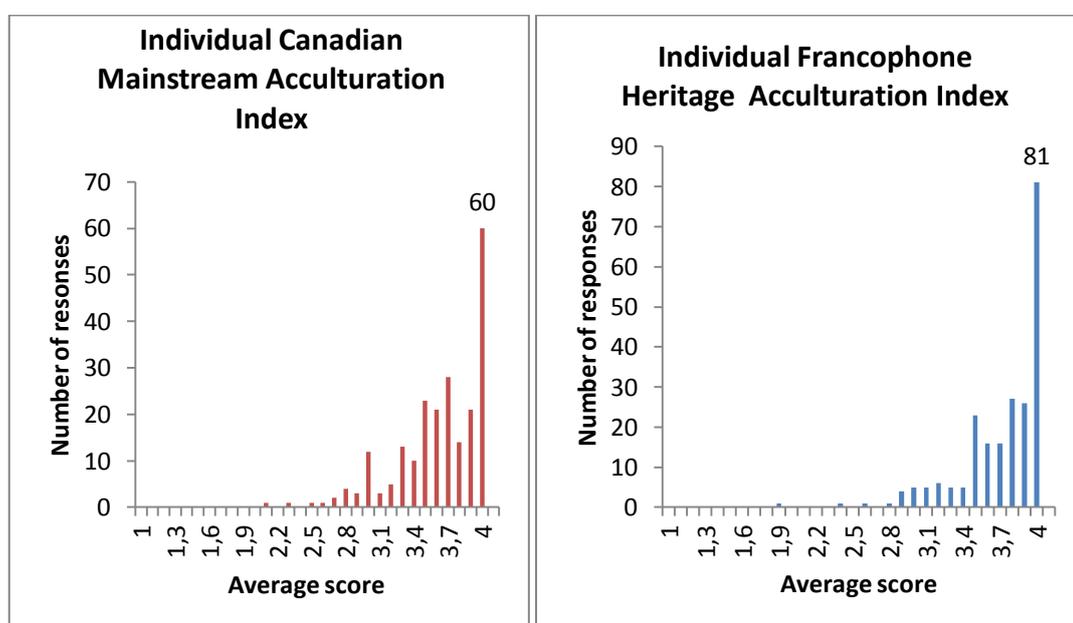


Chart 5.e. Distribution of responses to the set of items aimed at measuring Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage acculturation.

Kolmogorov-Smirnov<sup>167</sup> test was carried out to verify whether the distribution of responses depicted above could fit a normal distribution (Gaussian). The cumulative

<sup>166</sup> Hereafter, the mean value of individual responses given to items within each subscales will be denominated Acculturation Index.

<sup>167</sup> According to Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, the absolute value of the maximum difference between theoretical cumulative frequency and the one observed in our sample ( $D_{max}$ ) ought to be smaller than a critical value, known as  $D_{critical}$ , in order to meet the requirements of a normal distribution (Justel et al., 1997: 251-259).

frequencies of the responses were compared to theoretical values that would correspond to a perfect normal distribution.

Calculations for 95% confidence level and  $N=223$  provide  $D_{\text{critical}}$  value of 0.09.<sup>168</sup> For Canadian culture subscale items, we obtained  $D_{\text{max}}=0.08$ , which confirms that acculturation indices for Canadian mainstream culture do fit a normal distribution. In the case of Francophone heritage subscale items,  $D_{\text{max}}$  value- 0.181- is superior to  $D_{\text{critical}}$ . Therefore, we can conclude that the values obtained for the Francophone subscale for measuring Acculturation Index do not obey to a normal distribution of probability.

This remarkable asymmetries found within the distribution of responses led us to extend our study to find out the possible reasons which could justify these significant differences. After segregating data referred to sex of the respondent, it was found that female values obtained for Francophone acculturation could fit a normal distribution whereas male responses registered a significantly high proportion of individuals that granted maximum score to all items related to Francophone culture.<sup>169</sup>

When acculturation values for Canadian culture were analyzed, the distribution of responses given by female respondents failed to meet the statistical conditions to fit a normal distribution. However, Canadian mainstream acculturation values obtained out

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<sup>168</sup> See Appendix B.3. Kolmogorov-Smirnov test results for normal distribution of responses.

<sup>169</sup> A total of 144 responses correspond to women in our survey. According to Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, we obtain  $D_{\text{critical}}$  value of 0.114. Cumulative frequencies table in this case registered a maximum difference from theoretical value equal to 0.113. Consequently, we may assume the response distribution could be modeled as a Gaussian. On the other side, we found a high proportion of male respondents within the three Prairies Provinces that granted their maximum scores to all items related to their socio-cultural interaction and personal values when referred to Francophone heritage culture. Concretely, 56 male participants in our survey registered 4 values for the whole set of Francophone culture items. This constitutes a proportion close to 71% of the total number of male respondents.

of male respondents to our questionnaire did meet the requirement to fit normal distribution of responses.<sup>170</sup>

Due to the fact that we do not rely on a normally distributed set of responses when we consider the whole sample –male and female, we discarded the use of t-Test to study the significance of the difference between the mean values of the acculturation indices obtained for individual responses given to Francophone heritage culture (Zimmerman, D., 1997: 349-360).

Since we collected a sufficiently high number of responses (N=223), we have assumed arbitrary distribution for the responses collected from both subscales in order to test their statistical independence.

We took into consideration the following facts in order to choose the right procedure to test independence between responses collected to measure Canadian acculturation dimension and those aimed at measuring Francophone culture dimension of acculturation:

- Responses related to both Canadian and Francophone cultures come from the same subjects
- The two samples are the same size
- Although both samples are not normally distributed, they are large enough (N>30)
- Standard deviation for both subscale samples is known

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<sup>170</sup> Kolmogorov-Smirnov test for normal distribution provided values of  $D_{\max}=0.139$  for female responses to Canadian acculturation subscale ( $D_{\text{critical}}=0.114$ ). For male respondents we obtained  $D_{\max}=0.133$  ( $D_{\text{critical}}=0.153$  for 79 observations).

Paired Two-Sample z-test was chosen as a suitable procedure in order to confirm or refuse the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that the average values of the scores (acculturation indices) obtained for participants for both Canadian mainstream and Francophone subscales are not significantly different from each other.

Working with 0.05 significance level<sup>171</sup> value, we can reject the null hypothesis mentioned ( $H_0$ ) since p-value is lower than this significance level ( $p < 0.05$ ). We can therefore conclude that the results obtained are statistically significant and that the two sets of responses to measure both dimensions of acculturation are independent.

	<b>Canadian Acculturation</b>	<b>Francophone Acculturation</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.58221226	3.68307515
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.14398648	0.12007151
<b>Number of responses</b>	223	223
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0	
<b>z</b>	-2.93112391	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	0.00168869	
<b>z critical value(one tailed)</b>	1.64485363	

**Table 5.2. Mean acculturation values obtained for Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture subscale.**

After testing the independence assumption between the two-dimensional scales, the size of the correlation between average values obtained for both Canadian and Francophone heritage acculturation scores was measured. Statistical tools provided us with an extremely low value of the correlation coefficient for both Canadian Francophone heritage acculturation indices ( $r_s=0.006$ ). This result indicates that

<sup>171</sup> The significance level of a statistical hypothesis test is the maximum probability of wrongly rejecting the null hypothesis  $H_0$ , if it is in fact true. The significance level is chosen to be 0.05 (5%), which implies that 5% of the times the Null Hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) will be rejected when in fact it is true.

individuals who acculturate better to the Francophone heritage culture are not necessarily more identified with the Canadian mainstream culture.

**5.2.3. Acculturation Index: Influence of parameters sex, place of birth and length of residence**

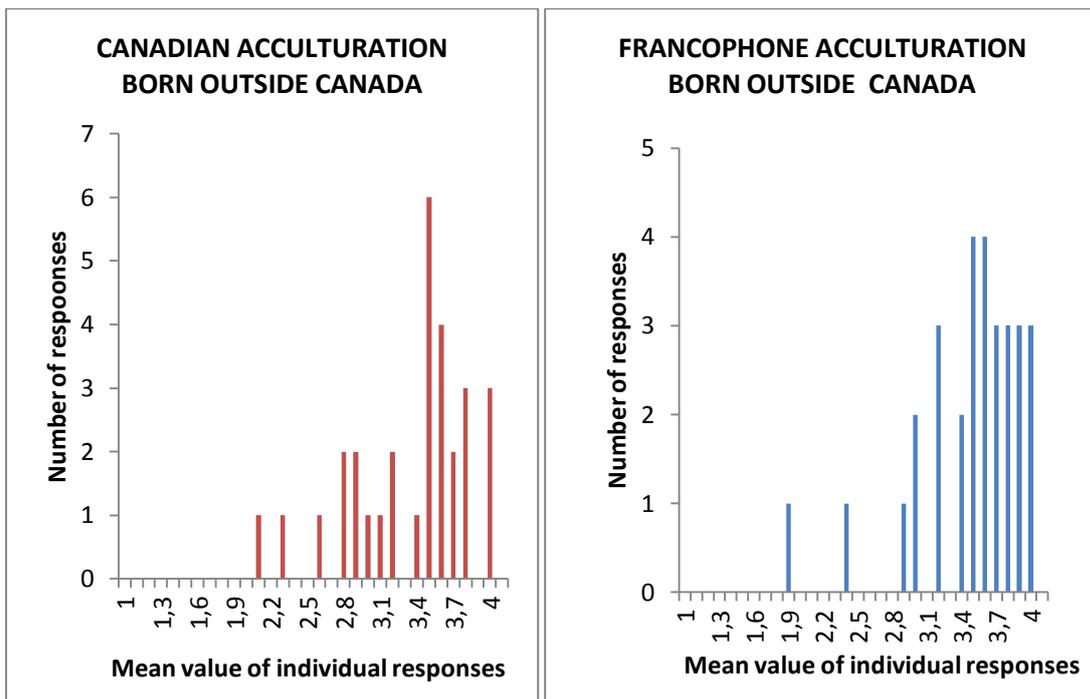
In order to determine whether the fact that being born within the Canadian territory could affect the correlation between the responses registered for both subscales, we proceeded to filter the information related to the participants in our survey who reported *Outside Canada* as place of birth.

	<b>Canadian mainstream</b>	<b>Francophone heritage</b>
<b>Mean</b>	3.31388889	3.43282828
<b>Standard error</b>	0.0903805	0.08795092
<b>Median</b>	3.41666667	3.58333333
<b>Mode</b>	3.58333333	3.58333333
<b>Standard deviation</b>	0.49503441	0.48172704
<b>Variance</b>	0.24505907	0.23206094
<b>Range</b>	1.91666667	2.16666667
<b>Minimum value</b>	2.08333333	1.83333333
<b>Maximum</b>	4	4
<b>Number of observations</b>	30	30

**Table 5.3 .Descriptive statistic parameter corresponding to non-Canadian born participants.**

A total number of thirty (N=30) respondents among the total number of registers corresponded to Francophone citizens born in other countries. With the aim of detecting possible difference between this sample and the total population of our study, the most representative statistical parameters shown on the previous table were considered.

The responses obtained within this 30 subjects sample for both subscales fitted a normal distribution. Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests were carried out with the sample responses given for both subscales -Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture.<sup>172</sup>



**Chart 5.f Distribution of mean values of responses to acculturation questionnaire obtained for each subscale.**

We observe that the asymmetries that exist between responses obtained through each subscale have diminished when compared to the distribution of the responses taken into account the total population of our study (N=223). Maximum score for all the items is not the most frequent response for participants who were born out of the country.

<sup>172</sup> Since the confidence level we assume for the treatment of statistical data is 95%, the critical value  $D_{critical}$  corresponding to our sample (N=30) is 0.248. Maximum difference registered between theoretical values for a normal distribution and the ones obtained using the cumulative frequencies obtained for both samples show values of  $D_{max}=0.155$  considering Canadian acculturation and  $D_{max}=0.139$  for the Francophone heritage acculturation values.

The Francophone citizens who were born outside Canada granted higher scores to the items that referred to the Francophone heritage culture (mean value of scores equal to 3.43) whereas the mean value of the scores given to Canadian mainstream culture are slightly lower (mean value 3.31).

It is noticeable that acculturation indices for both subscales register lower values for respondents who were born in other countries (N=30) than the ones that we obtained for the total population (N=223). However, the most remarkable aspect is that differences are approximately the same for both subscales.<sup>173</sup>

We used the foreign born Francophone citizens to detect possible differences regarding correlation between both subscales compared to the high values obtained for the correlation coefficients between the Canadian and the Francophone dimensions of acculturation for the total population of our study.

Due to the small size of foreign born population in our sample and taking into consideration the normal distribution for responses within each subscale, we tested independence of the two subscales using t-Student test for the mean values. The values obtained for t- statistical parameter did show that the acculturation values obtained for both subscales were not significantly different in this case.<sup>174</sup>

When we proceeded to measure correlation between the Canadian and the Francophone acculturation indices using the responses obtained from Francophone citizens who were born in other countries, the correlation coefficient between both subscales ( $r_s=0.43$ ) was significantly superior to the one resulted when we included all

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<sup>173</sup> The average value of individual responses for French acculturation items including all respondents is 0.25 superior to the one registered for non Canadian born francophone citizens. This difference is 0.27 when subtracting values corresponding to Canadian mainstream acculturation items.

<sup>174</sup> Results gave p-value equal to 0.11, which is superior to the significance level (0.05 for our research). Thus, we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the mean values obtained for both subscales do not differ.

respondents ( $r_s=0.006$ ). This seems to indicate that non Canadian born who acculturate well into the Francophone also show a more positive attitude towards the mainstream culture.

Statistical two sample z-test was conducted to determine whether sex is a parameter to be taken into consideration when measuring acculturation within our target group.

Individual responses were filtered according to sex of participants in our survey, a total of 144 female and 79 male respondents. The most representative statistical parameters have been obtained separately for each subscale- Canadian mainstream and heritage culture according to sex of the participants.

	Female	Male
Mean value	3.5696347	3.60606061
Variance	0.1547	0.12347
Number of observations	144	79
Hypothetical difference between mean values	0	
<i>z</i>	0.70585737	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	<b>0.24013842</b>	
<b>z critical value (one tailed)</b>	<b>1.64485363</b>	

**Table 5.4. Two sample z-test (Female-Male) corresponding to Canadian mainstream Acculturation indices.**

Null hypothesis (Ho) that the average values between responses given by female respondents to Canadian acculturation items differ from scores given by male participants cannot be rejected, since p-value obtained after testing independence using z-Test is higher than the 5% significance level ( $p=0.24$ ).

In addition, the independence assumption in reference to Francophone heritage culture items has been proved when z-Test was carried out with female and male respondents separately. Null hypothesis (Ho) that the averages do not differ when

measuring Francophone culture acculturation when comparing distribution of responses given by female participants to those corresponding to male respondents can definitely be refused. An extremely low p-value indicates a high degree of reliability when proposing the alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) that responses given to Francophone culture related items significantly differ depending on the sex of the participant in our survey.

The following table shows z-Test results when comparing the two samples:

	<b>Female</b>	<b>Male</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.56045039	3.91558442
<b>Variance</b>	0.13313704	0.01306533
<b>Numbers of observations</b>	144	79
<b>Hypothetical difference between mean values</b>	0	
<b>z</b>	-10.7985024	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	<b>0</b>	
<b>z critical value (one tailed)</b>	1.64485363	

**Table 5.5. Two sample z-test (Female-Male) corresponding to Francophone heritage Acculturation indices.**

We observe the extremely high score that male respondents give to items related to their heritage culture, whereas women’s average score for Canadian acculturation and their heritage culture hardly differed 0.01 in the 4-points scale that we used in our survey.

As we have previously pointed out, the distribution of responses given by male participants to Francophone cultural items do not fit a normal distribution. A total number of 56 male participants scored maximum values in every item which was related to the Francophone culture. The asymmetry of the distribution among female

respondents and the ones reported by male counterparts is evident when observing the histograms hereby displayed.

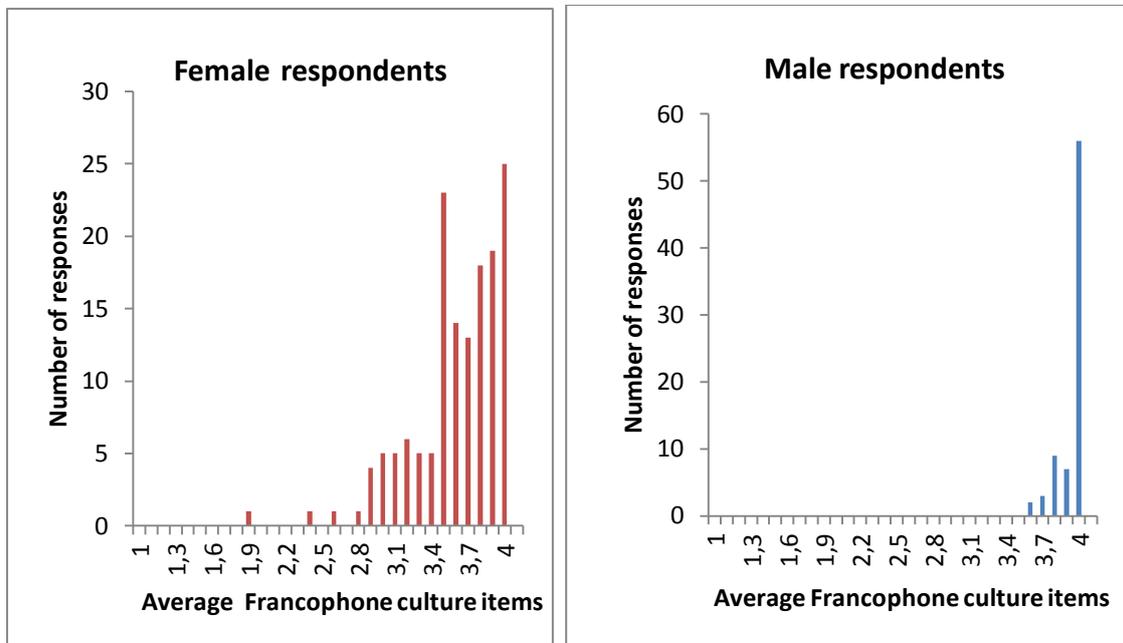


Chart 5.g. Francophone Acculturation index for individual responses obtained from male and female respondents.

The length of residence within the province where the respondents were living at the time when the study was conducted was another parameter taken into account in order to extract conclusions regarding the acculturation process. This time, data were filtered in order to differentiate those individuals who reported to have lived within the province for a period of time superior to 10 years (184 respondents) from those reporting length of residence within the province inferior to ten years (39 participants).

When considering responses from Francophone citizens who live in the Canadian Prairies for a period of time no superior to ten years, the acculturation indices for both mainstream and heritage culture subscales registered lower values when compared to the indices obtained for the total sample. The descriptive statistical parameters obtained

for the two subscales –the Canadian and the Francophone heritage culture- considering individuals who reported 0-10 years of residence within the province are listed below:

	<b>Canadian Index</b>	<b>Francophone Index</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.37820513	3.58255633
<b>Standard error</b>	0.07923137	0.07106897
<b>Median</b>	3.5	3.66666667
<b>Mode</b>	3.58333333	3.58333333
<b>Standard deviation</b>	0.49479977	0.4438256
<b>Variance</b>	0.24482681	0.19698116
<b>Number of observations</b>	39	39

**Table 5.6 Statistical parameters related to acculturation values for 0-10 years length of residence participants.**

The independence between the values obtained for 0-10 years of residence sample and the rest of the population was tested for each subscale separately. Z-Test was conducted in order to show if the mean average values for acculturation differ when considering time of residence as a possible factor that may affect acculturation.

Z-test fails to meet independence assumption when it is carried out to measure Francophone heritage acculturation with the two samples differentiated as a function of the length of residence within their province. We were not able to refuse the null hypothesis (Ho) that the Francophone acculturation indices obtained for 0-10 years sample compared to the rest of the participants are significantly different, since p-value obtained in this case was superior to 0.05, which is the significance level.

However, independence assumption tested for the Canadian acculturation indices showed p-values inferior to significance level ( $p=0.0014$ ). Hence, we may state the alternative hypothesis that the scores given to the Canadian acculturation items are

different when segregating our sample into short term residents (0-10 years residence in the province) and long term residents (>10 years).<sup>175</sup>

The fourth parameter that we introduced in our study -age group- will be object of study throughout the next chapter, which is devoted to the intergenerational differences existing among the Francophone communities dispersed in the western provinces included in our research.

#### **5.2.4. Bi-dimensional modes of acculturation: Acculturation graphs**

Further treatment of the responses was devoted to study the four different modes of acculturation proposed within the bi-dimensional model exposed by Berry (1984, 1992). Our efforts are now concentrated on analyzing the different individual strategies based on attitudes toward heritage culture, the Francophone, and what we have denominated host culture- Canadian mainstream culture for our purposes.

With the objective of assessing the acculturation mode for each participant in our study, a dividing point for both subscales was necessary to differentiate the levels of identification with Francophone and Canadian mainstream culture

As we have stated in previous chapters of this thesis, Canada promotes multiculturalism as a national policy, while other countries promote assimilation (Noels & Berry, 2006: 274-293; Sabatier & Berry, 1994: 658-669). As we expected, the majority of participants' responses fell in the upper range (3-4) of the 4-points scale that we have used in our survey.

The scalar mid-point of the scales (2.5) was discarded as a dividing point, since it was considered that it cannot be associated to a strong degree of identification with

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<sup>175</sup> Statistical treatment results shown on Appendix B.4.

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either culture. Among the Likert-type response options presented to the participants, responses which fall within lower range values (1 and 2) will be henceforth associated to a weak degree of cultural identification.

Those responses lying on the upper range (3 and 4) will be hereafter identified with a strong degree of cultural identification. Thus, 3-value has been selected as the split point which marks the difference between the two ranges according to the degree of identification with either Canadian or Francophone culture<sup>176</sup>.

As stated by the criteria here established, no individual responses within our sample were bound to marginalization. Twelve participants would lie within the assimilation quadrant of the graph (5.38%). A total of 24 individuals would be associated to separation (10.76%). The rest of the participants fall under the model of integration according to the method used for differentiating weak and strong cultural identification attitudes (83.86%). Individual values of acculturation indices obtained for the respondents to our questionnaire are plotted on the following 2-D dispersion graph<sup>177</sup>:

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<sup>176</sup> To achieve the main goal of this part of the research, we proceeded to filter the responses according to four different value ranges in order to determine the number of participants in our research that fall under each of the four modes of acculturation. Marginalization mode of acculturation includes respondents who granted scores lower than 3 to both Canadian and Francophone culture items whereas Integration would be associated to values superior to 3 for both subscales.

Separation was associated to scores greater than 3 for items related to Francophone heritage culture but lower than 3 for questions that refer to Canadian host society. The last mode of integration, assimilation includes respondents who registered average scores greater than 3 for Canadian culture related items but lower than 3 for Francophone heritage questions.

<sup>177</sup> See Appendix B.5. Acculturation indices for both subscales- Francophone heritage and Canadian mainstream- calculated for each individual response.

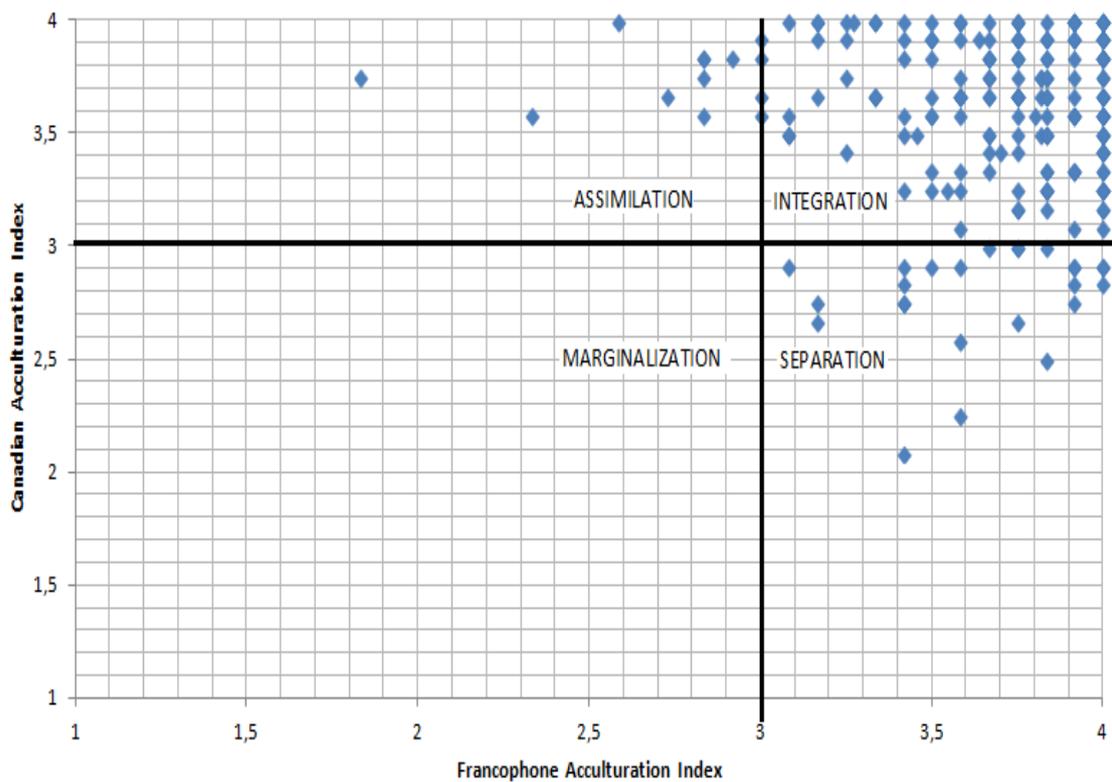


Chart 5.h Modes of acculturation of respondents in our survey according to Francophone heritage and Canadian mainstream bi-dimensional model.

The two-dimensional graph shows that the majority of the candidates participating in our study reported a positive attitude towards both Canadian mainstream culture and their heritage culture. Correlation between responses given for each subscale within each of the four resulting modes of acculturation was also measured.

The correlation coefficients for acculturation indices calculated with respondents associated to each mode of acculturation were very low. In fact, correlation for individual values of acculturation for both subscales reported  $r_s=0.08$  value for the set of responses associated to integration. Similar correlation coefficients were obtained when considering individuals lying within assimilation and separation ( $r_s=0.07$ ). This

fact supports our assumption of independence for responses given by individuals in relation to both subscales.

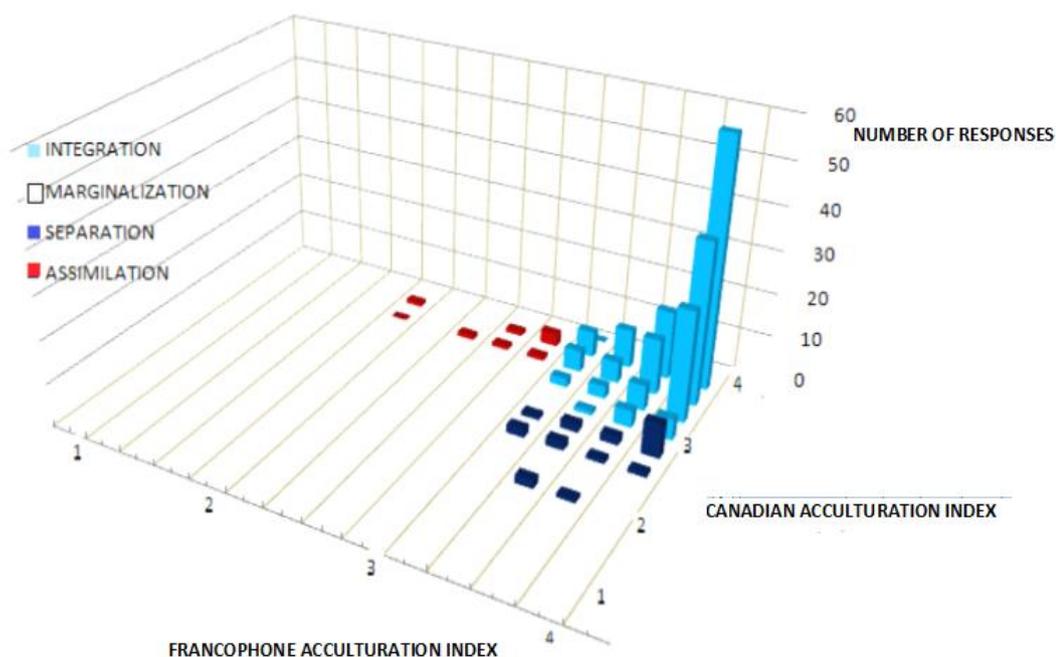


Chart 5.i. Three dimensional representation of number of responses corresponding to each score range average for individuals’ responses to Canadian and Francophone culture items in our survey.

The 3-D chart here presented depicts the actual number of individual responses that lie under each of the four areas (quadrants) of the graph, in which different colours are associated to different modes of acculturation<sup>178</sup>. Results show that integration is the preferred mode of acculturation for the Francophone citizens that reside in the western Canadian provinces that we elected for our research. We remark the absence of acculturation values lying within the marginalization quadrant.

Following the criteria adopted for the interpretation of our results, according to which scores higher than 3 in our 4-points scale are associated to a strong degree of identification with either culture, we count a total number of 190 Francophone citizens

<sup>178</sup> Data retrieved to draw the 3-D chart can be found on Appendix B.6.

that opted for integration and 12 opted for assimilation to mainstream host society. Our attempt to formulate a hypothesis that could be tested in order to extract general conclusions is based on the results above shown.

Taking into consideration the proportions observed in our sample, we conducted a hypothesis test for the proportion of integrated and assimilated citizens within the Francophone ethnic group in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that the proportion of Francophones living in the Canadian Prairies who opt for integration is inferior to 0.75 (75% of the total) was stated. The alternative hypothesis ( $H_1$ ) proposed is that the proportion of Francophones who opt for integration is equal or superior to 0.75.<sup>179</sup>

We have labelled  $P$  as the hypothesized value of population proportion in the null hypothesis ( $P=0.75$ ) and  $n$  represents the sample size ( $n=223$ ). We computed the standard deviation ( $\sigma$ ) of the sampling distribution using the following mathematical expression:

$$\sigma = \text{square root } [P * (1 - P) / n]$$

We obtained z-score ( $z$ ) as a test statistic using  $p$  as proportion of responses linked to integration within our total sample ( $p=0.852$ ):

$$z = (p - P) / \sigma$$

When using these formulae, we obtained the values  $\sigma=0.029$  and  $z=3.52$ . The z-score obtained is superior to the critical value that we need to reject the null hypothesis

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<sup>179</sup> We remind that 0.05 is the significance level chosen for statistical in order to be consistent with the confidence level that we elected for previous treatment of statistical data (95%).

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( $z=1.96$ ). Consequently, we can reject the hypothesis that the proportion of integrated population is inferior to 75% of the total population who are subject to our research.<sup>180</sup>

We proceed in the same way in order to formulate the hypothesis for the proportion of assimilated Francophones. Given the low percentage of individuals that fell under the mode of assimilation in our sample (5.38%), we initiated our assimilation hypothesis testing the proportion of 0.1 (10% of total Francophone citizens assimilated). Z values obtained exceeded critical values when calculated using the formulae previously shown. Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that the proportion of assimilated Francophones is superior to 0.1 (10% of total Francophone population). Hence, according to our study, we can state that the alternative hypothesis that the proportion of assimilated Francophones living in the Canadian Prairies is not superior to 10%.<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> When trying to reject the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that proportion of integrated Francophones was inferior to 0.8, calculations give us  $z=1.73$ , which is inferior to  $z$  critical value =1.96. Consequently, hypothesis that a percentage superior to 80% of the Francophones living in the Canadian Prairies opt for integration could not be stated.

<sup>181</sup> Z value obtained to test assimilation proportion hypothesis was  $z=2.399$ . It is superior to  $z$  critical value calculated for two tailed distribution ( $z=1.96$ ).

### **5.3. MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL OF ACCULTURATION: BEHAVIORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS**

To go one step beyond in our research, the distinction that can be made between the two different domains of acculturation has been taken into consideration. For our specific multidimensional model we will rely on the first factor, defined as socio-cultural or behavioral acculturation and the second, known as psychological acculturation (Berry, 1990: 232-253).

The socio-cultural -also denominated functional or behavioral- domain of acculturation is related to cultural learning and the adoption of the most external and observable aspects of the mainstream culture. This includes social skills and the ability to fit in the new socio-cultural context (Ward & Kennedy, 1993: 335). This domain of acculturation would be related to individuals' use of their mother tongue, their attitudes toward social interactions and recreational activities, use of media or their participation in social networks and within their communities (Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999: 428).

The psychological domain of acculturation is depicted by Berry (1992, 1998) as a more complex process which reflects the degree of adjustment to the majority group taking into consideration aspects such as values, ideology, beliefs, personal attitudes and preferences. Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999: 434-437) refer to the psychological domain of acculturation which would be connected to personal orientations toward values and attitudes that could be linked to a sense of loyalty to their heritage culture.

According to Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999: 435-436), a strong identification with the same ethnic, cultural and language background would be associated with fewer psychological adjustment problems whereas a strong identification with members of the dominant culture would be related to fewer social and cultural adaptation problems.

### **5.3.1. Multidimensional model of acculturation: methodological approach**

Multidimensional acculturation scales have been developed to assess different dimensions or factors that may be a function of acculturation (Zea et al., 2003: 108). The acculturation studies carried out with Asian American citizens used the Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS) providing strong evidence of reliability and validity. Asian American multidimensional acculturation study included four acculturation domains of cultural identity, language, cultural knowledge, and food consumption (Chung, R. et al., 2004: 66).

We have based our tri-dimensional approach to acculturation on the conceptual distinction between the two domains above mentioned -behavioural and psychological. With the objective of using a multidimensional scale to measure acculturation that could be valid for our target group, subscales used to measure Canadian and Francophone culture acculturation were split into two set of questions.

The two 12-questions subscales that were used to measure acculturation were separated according to the aspects that can be related to each domain of acculturation. With the objective of measuring socio-cultural domain of acculturation for each subscale, the following six paired-questions of our survey related to language use in cultural activities, customs and lifestyle were used:

3. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a non Francophone.
4. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a Francophone.
5. I enjoy social activities with Canadian people who are not Francophone.
6. I enjoy social activities with people from Francophone Heritage culture.
7. I am comfortable interacting with people from non Francophone Canadian culture.
8. I am comfortable interacting with people from Francophone Heritage culture
9. I enjoy entertainment (e.g. restaurants, music and movies) typical of the Canadian culture.
10. I enjoy entertainment (e.g. restaurants, movies, music) from Francophone Heritage culture.
13. I enjoy the jokes and humour of the Canadian culture.
14. I enjoy the jokes and humour of the Francophones.
15. I behave in ways that are typical of the Canadian culture.
16. I behave in ways that are typical of the Francophones.

With the purpose of measuring psychological domain of acculturation, the six remaining paired-questions of the questionnaire used in our survey were used to study value orientations, attitudes and preferences as well as self-identifications:

1. I belong to the Canadian culture.
2. I belong to the Francophone heritage culture.
11. I believe in the values of the Canadian culture.
12. I believe in the values of the Francophone Heritage culture.
17. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of the Canadian culture.
18. It is important for me to maintain or develop practices typical of the Francophone heritage culture.
19. I feel that I can trust my non Francophone Canadian friends.
20. I feel that I can trust my Francophone friends.
21. People from other ethnic groups do not make me feel rejected.
22. Francophone people do not make me feel rejected.
23. I feel accepted by non Francophone Canadian people.
24. I feel accepted by Francophone people.

We can use multiple layers in order to represent the two domains which are measured through the responses reported for the set of items related to either behavioral or psychological acculturation. In order to split the subscales- Canadian and Francophone- into low and high values of acculturation, the same criteria that we used for our bi-dimensional study will serve our purposes.<sup>182</sup>

Hence, our multidimensional model of acculturation of the Francophone population in the Canadian Prairies (MMAF-CP)<sup>183</sup> adds a third dimension to our previous study that was accomplished according to the bi-dimensional model of acculturation proposed by Berry (1992, 1998). The tri-dimensional model which will be henceforth used to complete our research on the acculturation processes can be represented with the following diagram:

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<sup>182</sup> Value 3 in our 4-point scale was chosen as the score that separates weak and strong degree of identification with either subscale.

<sup>183</sup> MMAF-CP is the denomination we assigned to the scale specifically designed for the present study. These acronyms stand for Multi-dimensional Model of Acculturation for Francophone communities in the Canadian Prairies provinces- Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

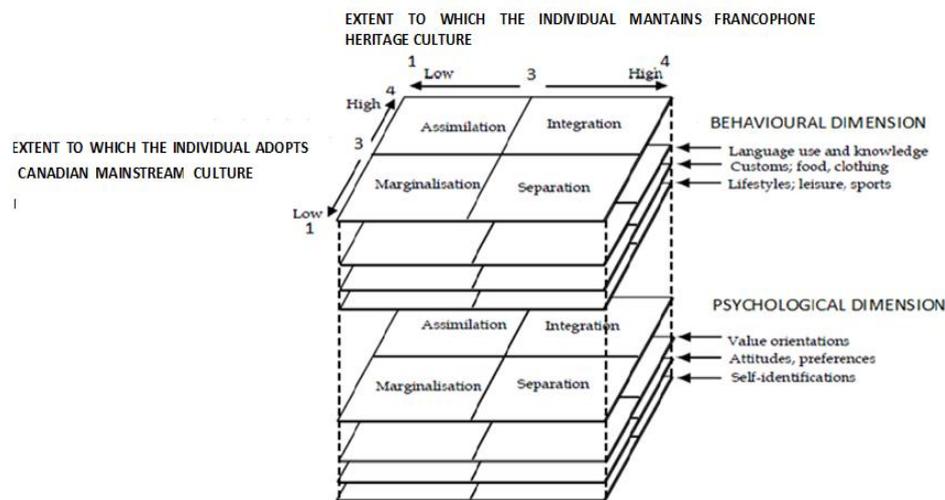


Figure 5.2 Three dimensional representation of acculturation modes and layers resulting from adding the two domains of acculturation. By the author, based on the models proposed by Berry (1992) and Zea et al. (2003).

As some authors have concluded (Taft, 1985: 364-389; Mendoza, 1989: 372-385) individuals may show acculturation in the behavioural domain whereas their values, self-identification and preferences still remain close to those of their heritage culture. We assume that some difficulties may arise when using this multidimensional model. Previous studies state that the two domains of acculturation may not provide congruent results (Ward & Searle, 1991: 209-225). Although we can obtain a more complete picture of the whole process of acculturation for the Francophone citizens living in Anglophone areas of Canada, it is not possible to know in advance whether the two domains of acculturation for the subscales that we used in our study are interrelated.

### 5.3.2. Behavioural and Psychological domains of acculturation: Facts and Results

The internal consistency of the questionnaire used in our survey was validated by calculating Cronbach alpha coefficients ( $\alpha$ ). To measure the reliability of the six items

chosen for measuring socio-cultural and psychological domain of acculturation for the individuals of our sample we proceeded to work out alpha coefficients for each set of items within each subscale.

When internal consistency of the items elected for our further investigation focused on the two domains of acculturation was tested, values superior to 0.7- which are considered to be good for statistical purposes- were obtained for both domains within the Francophone culture subscales.

	Canadian mainstream culture			Francophone heritage culture		
	Mean	Variance	$\alpha$	Mean	Variance	$\alpha$
<b>Behavioural</b>	3.58	0.21	0.77	3.72	0.20	0.78
<b>Psychological</b>	3.59	0.16	0.70	3.64	0.17	0.72
<b>Total</b>	3.58	0.14	0.82	3.68	0.13	0.84

**Table 5.7. Statistical parameters obtained for acculturation indices corresponding to behavioural and psychological domains.**

Assuming an arbitrary distribution of responses, two sample paired z-Test was conducted to determine if the acculturation values obtained for the two domains of acculturation were significantly different.

	Psychological Canadian Index	Behavioural Canadian Index	Psychological Francophone Index	Behavioural Francophone Index
<b>Mean value</b>	3.58893871	3.57698057	3.64648729	3.72032885
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.16009732	0.20838664	0.16795432	0.12503032
<b>Number of responses</b>	223	223	223	223
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0		0	
<b>z</b>	0.29417584		-2.03718672	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	0.38431177		0.02081567	
<b>z critical value(one tailed)</b>	1.64485363		1.64485363	

**Table 5.8. Z-test statistical results obtained for each domain of acculturation within Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture subscales.**

Z-score was lower than the critical value for the values extracted from the both Canadian subscale. Consequently, we cannot assume independence between the data corresponding to the psychological and behavioural domains of acculturation when comparing both domains within values obtained for the Canadian mainstream culture. However, we can reject the null hypothesis that the averages calculated for each domain of acculturation do not differ when measured for Francophone heritage subscale. Results obtained for psychological and behavioural domain are significantly different when measured for Francophone subscale ( $p=0.02$ , inferior to significance level).

The independence of the responses taking each domain of acculturation separately was also tested. The most remarkable finding after conducting z-test for each domain of acculturation is the independence between the values given for both subscales. As regards the psychological domain, it cannot be stated that respondents granted scores which are significantly different when crossing data obtained for the Canadian and the Francophone heritage culture subscales. Z-test results offer p-value slightly superior to confidence level.

	<b>Francophone Psychological Index</b>	<b>Canadian Psychological Index</b>	<b>Francophone Behavioural Index</b>	<b>Canadian Behavioural Index</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.64648729	3.58744395	3.72032885	3.57698057
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.16795432	0.1586104	0.12503032	0.20838664
<b>Number of responses</b>	223	223	223	223
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0		0	
<b>z</b>	1.54290355		3.7072432	
<b>P(<math>Z \leq z</math>) one tailed test</b>	0.06142709		0.00010476	
<b>z critical value(one tailed)</b>	1.64485363		1.64485363	

**Table 5.9. Acculturation values and z-test statistics corresponding to psychological and behavioural domains of acculturation for each subscale.**

We could therefore assume that the results obtained for the psychological domain for both subscales are marginally independent ( $p=0.06$ ). On the other side, independence assumption for behavioural domain can be confirmed, showing values of  $p$  extremely low ( $p<0.001$ ). Consequently, we can state that the behavioural acculturation indices are independent when crossing the Canadian and the Francophone subscales as data shown indicate.

We must point out that when these domains of acculturation are studied separately, the correlation of the acculturation indices obtained when crossing data belonging to both subscales -Canadian and Francophone- report low values.

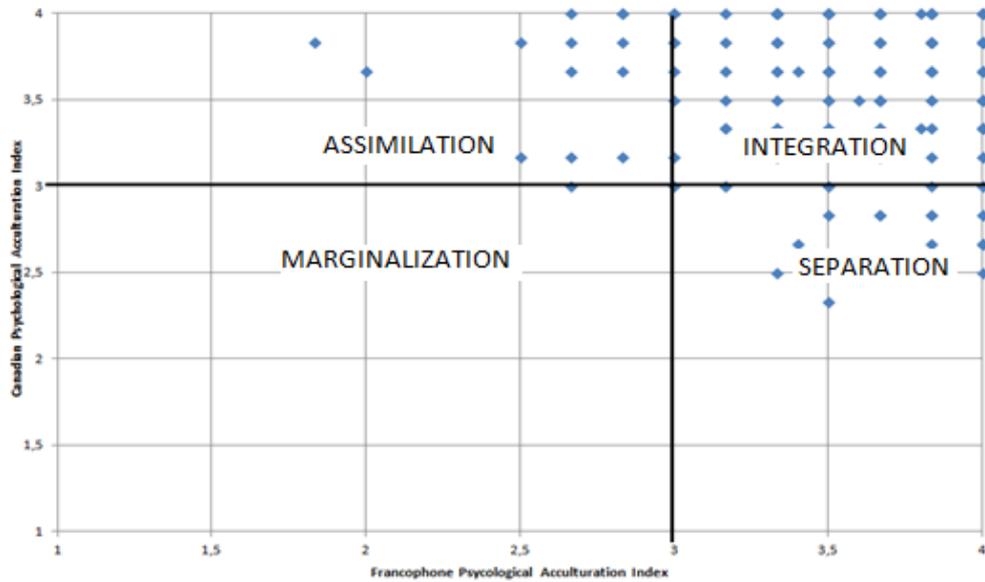
The psychological domain is negatively correlated when we compare Canadian and Francophone heritage scale ( $r_s=-0.076$ ), which shows that positive psychological attitudes towards Francophone culture can be to a certain extent be associated to negative attitudes towards beliefs, preferences and values associated to the Canadian mainstream culture.

The behavioural domain show low positive correlation for both subscales ( $r_s=0.12$ ). This fact supports our statement of independence for the acculturation indices obtained within this domain when crossing both subscales.<sup>184</sup>

The following graph depicts the distribution of individual responses towards both subscales using psychological domain items separately:

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<sup>184</sup> See Appendix B.7 to accede the data used to obtain the regression coefficients ( $r_s$ ) for each subscale crossing the individual values obtained for psychological and behavioural domains of acculturation.



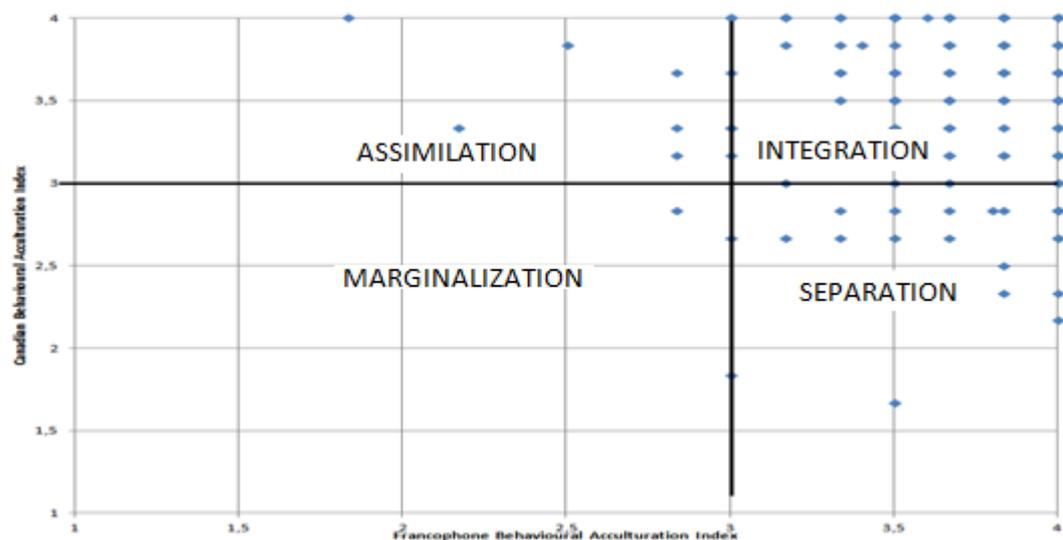
**Chart 5.j. Acculturation modes regarding individual responses to psychological domain items. Based on data referred to psychological domain shown on Appendix B.7**

Considering the individual responses given to psychological domain questions, a total of 19 respondents (8.52%) can be included within the assimilation quadrant whereas 15 citizens (6.72%) would lie within the separation area of the graph. The proportion of integrated individuals regarding psychological domain of acculturation (84.75%) is very similar to the one obtained using bi-dimensional model in which no distinction between psychological and behavioural domains was contemplated (85.20%).

The null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that more than 15% of the Francophones living in the Canadian Prairies are assimilated since a psychological point of view was formulated. Value obtained for z parameter (2.71) showed a higher value than the critical value ( $z=1.96$  at 95% confidence level). Consequently, we may state the alternative hypothesis that a rate inferior to 0.15 of the total Francophone population is assimilated when focusing on psychological domain of acculturation.

A total of 22 responses (9.86%) are associated to separation when we only take into account the items labeled under behavioural domain of acculturation. A significantly low percentage of individual responses lie within the assimilation quadrant of the graph (2.69% of the sample). Only one participant in the survey provided answers associated to marginalization mode of acculturation according to the criteria established in our study to split the results into the four different modes of acculturation.

Regarding behavioural domain of acculturation, a considerably higher number of individual responses are located within the separation area of the acculturation graph here displayed:



**Chart 5.k. Acculturation modes regarding individual responses to behavioural domain. Based on data referred to behavioural domain of acculturation shown on Appendix.B.7**

The test of hypothesis on the rate of separation from a socio-cultural point of view led us to state that the proportion of separated Francophones in the area of study is not

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superior to 0.15.<sup>185</sup> A test of hypothesis was also applied to the rate of assimilated Francophones since a socio-cultural point of view. The statement that a proportion inferior to 10% of the Francophones in the Canadian Prairies are assimilated from a socio-cultural point of view can be formulated.<sup>186</sup>

To complete our research on the Francophone minority groups living in the province of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, further analysis was carried out in order to extract relevant conclusions regarding the influence that the age of the individuals may exert on the preferred mode of acculturation. The data obtained in our survey followed statistical treatment in order to determine the existence of relevant differences between the acculturation responses given by participants classified within the different age groups, especially for those whose age ranges between 18 and 30 years old.

The statistical data extracted from the six items referred to ‘Generational Differences’ included within the questionnaire distributed among the Francophone citizens that participated in our survey will help us complete our research on the Francophone minority groups. The inter-generational differences that exist among individuals from different Francophone communities are used with the purpose of shedding light about new modes of personal and social interaction associated to young citizens and new generations of Francophones who live in the Canadian provinces where English constitutes the most spoken language.

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<sup>185</sup> We refuse the null hypothesis that the rate is superior to 0.15 since z statistical parameter (2.14) turned out to be superior to the critical value needed to reject null hypothesis ( $z_{critical} = 1.96$ )

<sup>186</sup> Null hypothesis was applied to 5% rate, although it could not be rejected ( $z = 1.58$ ). Null hypothesis that more than 10% of the target group are associated to assimilation was rejected, since z value (3.65) were superior to critical z-value (1.96), working at 95% confidence level.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES AMONG FRANCOPHONES IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES**

#### **6.1. GENERATION AND AGE GROUP: DEFINITIONS**

A generation is defined as an identifiable group that shares historical or social life experiences. These life experiences distinguish one generation from another (Jurkiewicz & Brown, 1998: 29). The effects of social life experiences are relatively stable over the course of the lives of the individuals within the same generation. The different generations in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century have been labelled in American society. Yet the labels imposed to the groups of people according to their birth year can be sometimes inconsistent.

The report showed in the present chapter includes conclusions that are not only related to diversity of opinions associated to the fact that the participants in our survey are French speakers but also to a wide range of generational changes accompanied by a other elements of certain complexity. We must take into consideration that generational differences stem from other experiences different from linguistics, such as academic training, family context or even respondents' current needs (Burke, 2004: 5).

Most respondents to the survey conducted in our research could be fitted within the following age groups: those who were born anywhere from 1940 to 1964; the ones who were born between the early 1960s and the first years of the 80s decade and the youngest group, constituted by those respondents born after 1984.

The American citizens born between 1946 an 1964 have been called "Boomers" because of the boom experienced in the rate of birth during these years. They were

affected by the civil rights riots, the sexual revolution and grew up expecting the best from life (Kupperschmidt, 2000: 65). Those who were born somewhere between 1964 and the early 1980s would correspond to the second age group considered for our study on generational differences and are commonly known as Gen X-ers. These have grown up with financial and societal insecurity, rapid change, great diversity and a lack of solid traditions (Jurkiewicz & Brown, 1998: 18-37).

Most Gen X-ers have grown up in homes where both parents worked or with only one parent due to the increased divorce rate and have been influenced by video games, personal computers and AIDS .They have been described as technically competent and comfortable with diversity, change and competition (O'Bannon, 2001: 95-109).

Born after 1984, the youngest respondents to our survey would be associated to the generation known as Nexters (also Millennials). Many of them are just beginning to enter the workforce and many others are still completing academic or professional training and have a tremendous appetite for work. This generation is said to be the first to be born into a wired world. In fact, they are “connected” twenty-four hours a day by means of social networking and the continue access to the Internet (Ryan, 2000: 23).

Life experiences exert an important influence when we study inter-generational conflict or divergence of opinions between parents and descendants. When we analyze the level of agreement of the young citizens with the opinion of their parents regarding aspects such as religion, education, leisure activities and the use of French language, the differences appreciated in our study could be partly justified when we take into

consideration the variety of life conditions and social backgrounds associated to each generation included within our survey.

One of the purposes of this part of our research is to explore possible differences among the generations of Francophones by taking into consideration the data obtained by means of the acculturation questionnaire specifically designed for our research. The findings of the survey conducted with the aim of measuring the Acculturation Index were filtered by different generational groups to determine whether age differences have a significant impact on the Francophone population within the Canadian Prairies, especially in Alberta.

## **6.2. THE FRANCOPHONES IN THE CANADIAN PRAIRIES: GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ACCULTURATION**

The questionnaire specifically designed for our research on acculturation offers the possibility of measuring the Acculturation Index for individuals taking part in our study. With the aim of determining the differences that exist between young Francophone citizens aged between 18 and 30 -the Millennials- and the rest of the Francophone population, responses were filtered according to age group of the respondents.

A total number of 40 participants in our survey lay within the age group mentioned above. The same procedure that was followed in order to measure acculturation for the total sample has been used to determine the Acculturation Index for young citizens within our target group.

The statistical analysis of the data registered makes possible to determine whether the preferred modes of acculturation –integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization- for young citizens coincides with the ones that we have established for the total number of respondents to our questionnaire.

Among the respondents to the questionnaire aged between 18 and 30, we count 27 female (67%) and 13 male participants (33%). Five of these- 2 male and 3 female respondents- report to be born out of the country (12%).<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> See Appendix B.1. Sample population graded by sex, age group, place of birth and length of residence in the current province.

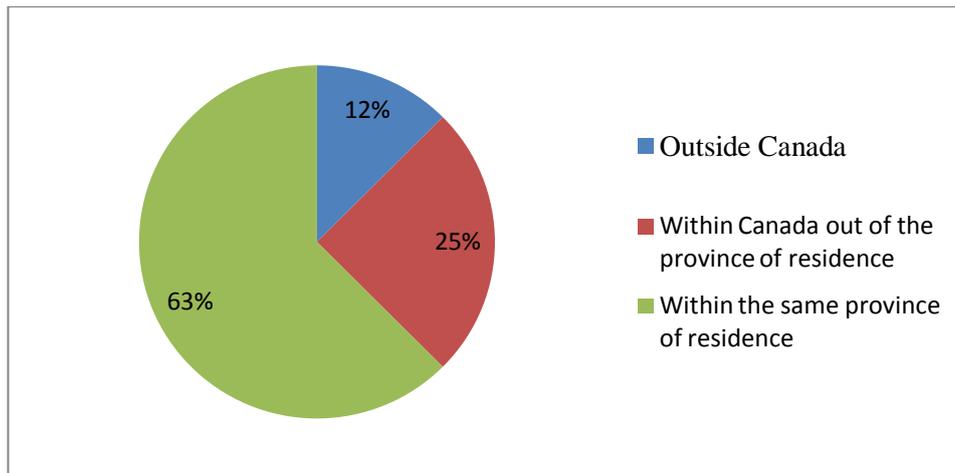


Chart 6.a. Percentage of 18-30 years old respondents according to place of birth.

Eight of the young participants (20%) declared a length of residence within the province where the questionnaire was completed inferior to 5 years.

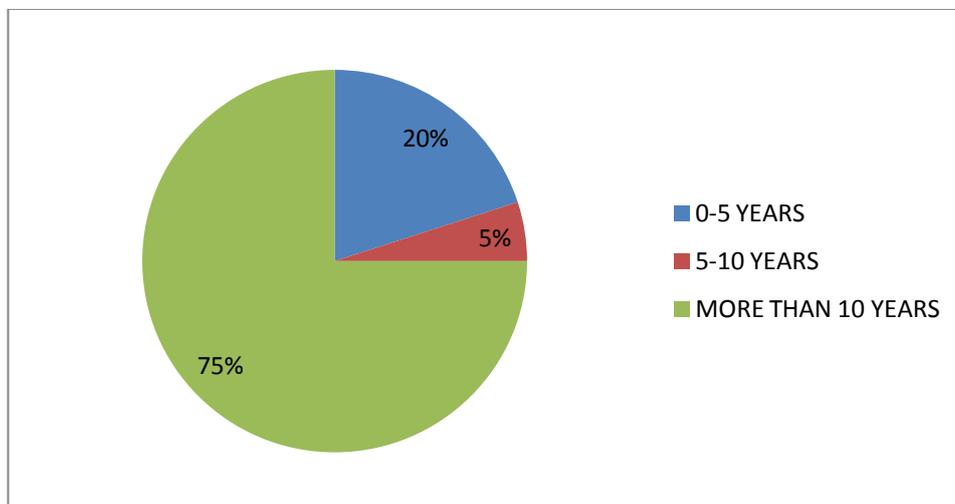


Chart 6.b. Proportion of 18-30 years old respondents regarding length of residence within the province where questionnaire was completed.

We must stand out that the proportion of young respondents 18-30 years old that report a place of birth within the same province where they lived at the time when the survey was conducted (63%) is considerably higher than the percentage obtained for the

total sample (49%). Alberta is pointed out as the province with the lowest proportion of young citizens born within this province. On the other side, Saskatchewan stands as the province where most citizens aged between 18 and 30 years old declared to be born within this province (73%).

The proportion of young Francophones born within their province of residence shows superior values when compared to the percentage of citizens within the whole sample (N=223) who were born in the province where they reside, which may mislead us to think of a lower geographic mobility of the Francophone population within the western region of the country in the latest decades. However, the percentage of young respondents that reported a length of residence within the province where the questionnaire was completed inferior to 5 years (20%) is considerable higher than the one obtained for the total sample (8.5%).

Since the rate of foreign born Francophone citizens aged between 18 and 30 (12.5%) is similar to the one obtained including the 223 respondents to our survey (13.5%), data seem to evidence an increase in the proportion of Canadian born Francophones who decide to change their province of residence more frequently.

Among the three provinces included in our research, Alberta stands out as a singular case where only one third of the total population of the province declared to be born within this province in the last Canada census (Statistics Canada, 2012). When filtering the data referred to young citizens included within our survey, it turns out that 45% of the respondents in the province of Alberta report the same province as place of birth. As we have previously remarked, this may be interpreted as a trend to a higher rate of population born within this province throughout the last years.

Despite this fact, Alberta still registers significantly lower percentage of young Francophone citizens born within the province of residence (67% in Manitoba, 73% in Saskatchewan). We may assume that this is partly due to a higher rate of immigration registered in Alberta and the considerable high number of professionals and Canadian workers that decide to come and settle within this province attracted by more favourable economic conditions in this province.

With the objective of measuring the Acculturation Index using the bi-dimensional model proposed by Berry (1992: 69-85), we have used the two subscales to separately measure Francophone heritage and Canadian mainstream acculturation in the same way as we proceeded to measure acculturation for the total sample. Behavioural and psychological domains of acculturation within each subscale have been also included.<sup>188</sup>

Although internal consistency was tested for the whole sample (N=223), data referring to citizens aged between 18 and 30 have been considered to calculate Cronbach alpha coefficients in order to confirm the reliability of the questionnaire when used for this specific age group.

The alpha coefficients calculated for young citizens (aged 18-30) returned values of 0.76 for both Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture subscales. Alpha values showed slightly lower figures than the ones obtained when including data obtained for the total sample.<sup>189</sup> Therefore, a sufficiently high degree of reliability may be assumed. Inter-item correlation coefficients were calculated in order to test

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<sup>188</sup> We remind that twelve items have been incorporated within each subscale –French heritage and Canadian mainstream culture-, six of them are related to language use and knowledge, lifestyle, leisure, sports and customs and are aimed at measuring socio-cultural or behavioural acculturation. The other six items are related to personal values, attitudes, preferences and self-identification and serve us to measure psychological domain of acculturation.

<sup>189</sup> Values ranged from 0.82 for the Canadian mainstream culture subscale items up to 0.84 for the items included within the Francophone heritage culture when considering the total population sample (N=223).

orthogonality. The mean value of inter-items correlation coefficients obtained when crossing Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage culture subscales data was 0.04. Consequently, both subscales showed to be independent in our study when referring to 18-30 years old citizens sample (N=40).

The average value of the scores given by individual respondents to both Canadian culture and Francophone cultural items were used to obtain the descriptive statistics parameters for both subscales. The most representative statistical parameters for each subscale that comprise the selected sample (N=40) are hereby shown:

	<b>Francophone Acculturation Index</b>	<b>Canadian Acculturation Index</b>
<b>Mean</b>	3.64015152	3.58958333
<b>Median</b>	3.625	3.66666667
<b>Mode</b>	4	3.91666667
<b>SD</b>	0.28999752	0.35525537
<b>Variance</b>	0.08409856	0.12620637
<b>Range</b>	1	1.1667
<b>Minimum</b>	3	2.8333
<b>Maximum</b>	4	4
<b>Number of observations</b>	40	40

**Table 6.1. Descriptive statistical parameters obtained with average values of response given by 18-30 years old respondents to Francophone and Canadian culture related items.**

The maximum score for all the items related to both subscales constituted the most frequent response among the participants in our survey, as it happened when data extracted from the total sample were processed.

The descriptive statistical parameters obtained for both Canadian and Francophone culture related questions showed a higher mean value for the items referred to

Francophone heritage culture (3.64 versus 3.59 for Canadian culture items). However, we notice that the difference obtained between mean values of acculturation index (0.05) has reduced when compared to the difference obtained when comparing data for the total sample (0.10).

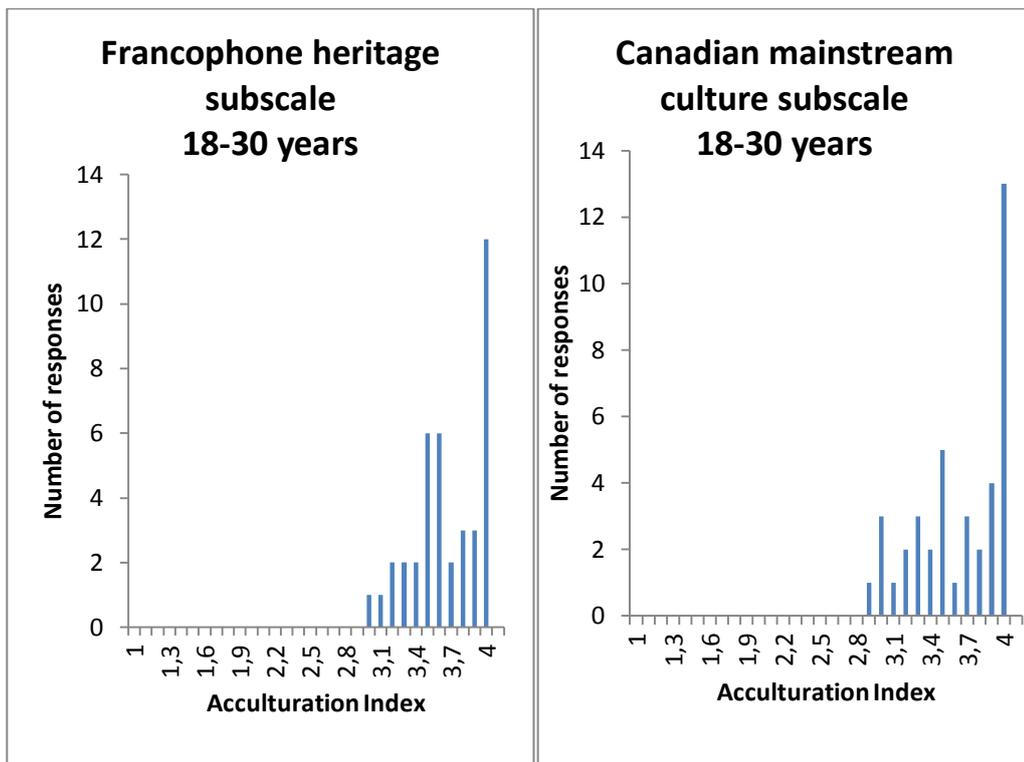


Chart 6.c. Distribution of responses to the set of items aimed at measuring Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage acculturation

Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was carried out to confirm that the two distribution of responses depicted in the previous histograms fitted a normal distribution (Gaussian).<sup>190</sup> Due to the fact that we rely on a normally distributed set of responses when we consider 18-30 years old respondents, we opted for t-Test to study the significance of the

<sup>190</sup> Calculations for 95% confidence level and N=40 provide  $D_{critical}$  value of 0.215. In the case of Francophone heritage subscale items,  $D_{max}$  value- 0.114- is inferior to  $D_{critical}$ . For Canadian culture subscale items, we obtained  $D_{max}$ =0.148, which confirms that acculturation indices for both Francophone heritage and Canadian mainstream culture do fit a normal distribution.

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

difference between the mean values obtained for the Canadian mainstream acculturation indices and those referred to Francophone culture (Zimmerman, D., 1997: 349-360).

Two-Sample t-Test was chosen as a suitable procedure in order to confirm or refuse the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that the average values of the scores (acculturation indices) obtained for participants for both Canadian mainstream and Francophone subscales are not significantly different from each other.

To perform the test of Hypothesis, Microsoft Office Excel Data Analysis tools were used, providing us with the following results using 95% confidence level:

	<b>Francophone Index</b>	<b>Canadian Index</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.64015152	3.58958333
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.08409856	0.12620637
<b>Number of responses</b>	40	40
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0	
<b>Z</b>	0.69740106	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	<b>0.24385407</b>	
<b>z critical value(one tailed)</b>	1.66542537	

**Table 6.2. Mean acculturation values obtained for both subscales for 18-30 years old participants.**

Working with 0.05 significance level value, we cannot reject the null hypothesis mentioned ( $H_0$ ) since p-value is higher than the significance level ( $p > 0.05$ ). We can therefore conclude that the differences obtained between average values obtained for both subscales are not significantly different.

Further treatment of the responses was devoted to study the four different modes of acculturation proposed within the bi-dimensional model exposed by Berry (1984: 11-

27; 1992: 69-85) for the sample constituted by the 40 participants in our survey aged between 18 and 30.<sup>191</sup>

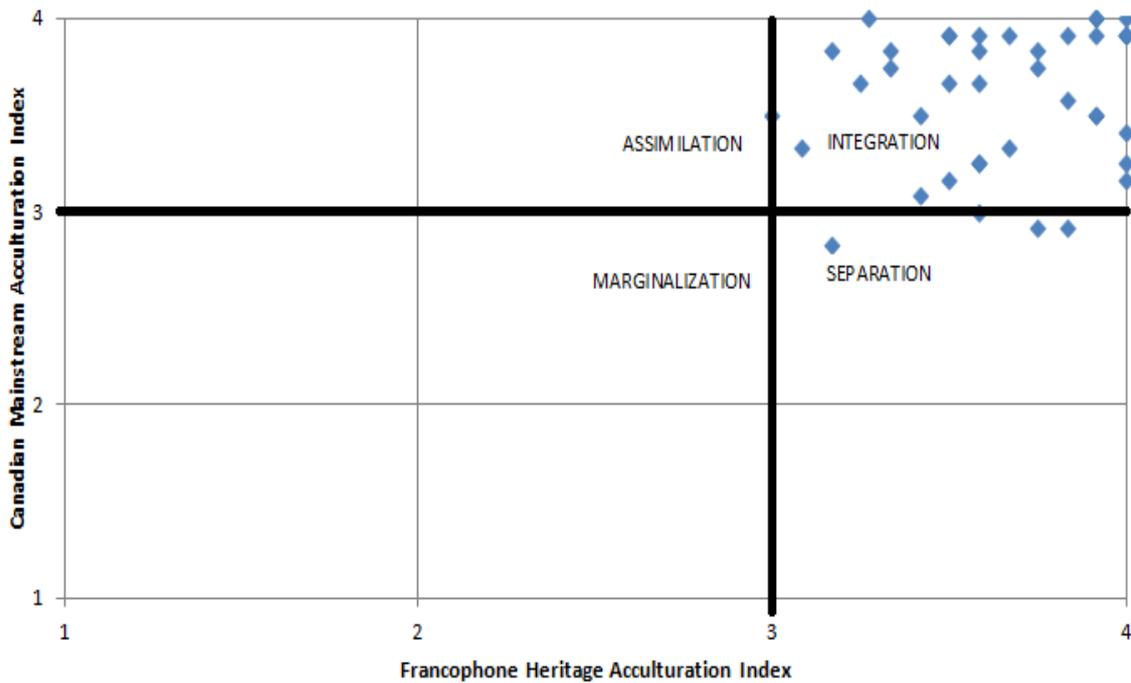


Chart 6.d. Classification of 18-30 years old respondents according to their preferred mode of acculturation.

When we proceed to filter the responses according to four different quadrants in order to determine the number of participants in who fall under each of the four modes of acculturation, we realize that marginalization mode of acculturation is the only one that did not register any individual responses. Only one of the responses is associated to assimilation (2.5%) whereas four of the individuals would be identified with separation (10%). The 35 remaining candidates (87.5%) reported a positive attitude towards both

<sup>191</sup> As it was stated in the previous analysis of data referred to the whole sample, responses that fall within lower range values (1 and 2) are associated to a weak grade of cultural identification. Those responses lying on the upper range (3 and 4) are identified with a strong grade of cultural identification. Therefore, we have chosen 3 as the split point that marks the difference between the two ranges according to the grade of identification with either Canadian or Francophone culture.

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

Canadian mainstream culture and their heritage culture and have been included within integration as preferred mode of acculturation.

Considering the proportions observed in our sample, we conducted a hypothesis test for the proportion of integrated and assimilated young citizens within the Francophone ethnic group in the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. The value obtained for statistic parameter  $z$  allowed us to refuse null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that the proportion of Francophones living in the Canadian Prairies who opt for integration is inferior to 0.75 (75% of the total).<sup>192</sup>

The hypothesis that the proportion of assimilation for young Francophones aged between 18 and 30 years old is superior to 0.15 can be rejected. Consequently, we may state that the percentage of assimilated young Francophones is inferior to 15% as stated by the results obtained in our survey.<sup>193</sup>

Our tri-dimensional approach to acculturation on the conceptual distinction between the two domains above mentioned -behavioural and psychological has been

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<sup>192</sup> We chose 0.05 as significance level to be consistent with the confidence level chosen for previous treatment of statistical data (95%). We label  $P$  as the hypothesized value of population proportion in the null hypothesis ( $P=0.75$ ) and  $n$  represents the sample size ( $n=40$ ).

We used  $z$ -test statistics considering  $p$  as proportion of responses linked to integration within our total sample ( $p=0.875$ ). The  $z$ -score obtained is superior to the critical value that we need to reject the null hypothesis ( $z=1.96$ ). Hence, we can refuse the hypothesis that the proportion of integrated population is inferior to 75% of the total population who are subject to our research.

When trying to reject null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that proportion of integrated Francophones was inferior to 0.8, calculations give us  $z=1.52$ , which is inferior to  $z$  critical value  $=1.96$ . Consequently, hypothesis that a percentage superior to 80% of the young Francophones living in the Canadian Prairies opt for integration could not be stated.

<sup>193</sup> Given the low percentage of individuals that fell under the mode of assimilation in our sample (2.5%), we initiated our assimilation hypothesis testing the proportion of 0.05 (5% of total young francophone citizens assimilated).  $Z$  values obtained did not reach critical values when calculated using the formulae previously shown. Null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) that the proportion of assimilated Francophones to be superior to 0.10 (10% of total francophone population) cannot be rejected. Hence, higher proportions of assimilation were tested to formulate our hypothesis.

$Z$  value obtained to test assimilation proportion hypothesis of  $p=0.15$  was  $z=2.17$ , higher than  $z$  critical value ( $z=1.96$ ).

also attempted to explore the responses given by young individuals. Internal consistency of the questionnaire when used for the selected sample (18-30 years old) in our survey was tested by means of the calculation of Cronbach alpha coefficients ( $\alpha$ ).

Values superior to 0.7- which are considered to be the good for statistical purposes- were not obtained for both domains within each subscale. The items elected for measuring psychological and behavioural acculturation index are not reliable when specifically used for the participants aged between 18 and 30 years old.

	Canadian mainstream culture			Francophone heritage culture		
	Mean	Variance	$\alpha$	Mean	Variance	$\alpha$
<b>Behavioural</b>	3.58	0.16	<b>0.67*</b>	3.63	0.12	<b>0.57*</b>
<b>Psychological</b>	3.60	0.16	<b>0.61*</b>	3.65	0.11	0.75
<b>Total</b>	3.59	0.13	0.76	3.64	0.08	0.76

*(\*) Alpha values inferior to 0.7 are not considered statistically acceptable for our study.*

**Table 6.3. Acculturation for behavioural and psychological domain referred to 18-30 age group.**

The independence of the acculturation indices obtained for psychological and behavioral domains for young respondents was also tested. Due to the fact that responses are normally distributed, t-Test was conducted to determine if the acculturation values obtained for both domains are significantly different when crossing data from each subscale.

Independence assumption for psychological and behavioral domains cannot be assumed when taking responses from the generation known as Millennials, showing values of p significantly superior to the significance level (0.05). We have therefore

discarded the possibility of using our multidimensional scale to carry our further research on both domains of acculturation within the participants aged between 18 and 30 years old.

	<b>Francophone Psychological Index</b>	<b>Canadian Psychological Index</b>	<b>Francophone Behavioural Index</b>	<b>Canadian Behavioural Index</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.63333333	3.575	3.64583333	3.60416667
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.11851852	0.16089744	0.1071047	0.1605235
<b>Number of responses</b>	40	40	40	40
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0		0	
<b>T</b>	0.69794498		0.50939281	
<b>P(T&lt;=t)</b>	<b>0.24367077</b>		<b>0.30598624</b>	
<b>t critical value</b>	1.66515135		1.66542537	

**Table 6.4. Acculturation values and t-test statistics corresponding to psychological and behavioural domains of acculturation for each subscale for participants aged between 18 and 30.**

Due to the fact that responses given to psychological and behavioural items are not statistically independent, we have continued our study with the analysis of individual items in order to conclude whether independence may be assumed when crossing data for each of the specific paired questions posed for both Canadian mainstream and Francophone heritage subscales.

Among the items selected for measuring psychological acculturation, questions 17 and 18 referred to the importance of developing practices typical of Canadian and Francophone culture turn out to be the only ones which show p-values inferior to 0.1 when t-Test is used to cross data extracted from both subscales.<sup>194</sup> Hence, the

<sup>194</sup> Questions appear on the questionnaire under the following text:

17. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices typical of the Canadian culture.

18. It is important for me to maintain or develop practices typical of the Francophone heritage culture.

importance given to the development of practices typical of both cultures stands out as the single item that could be considered marginally significant when studying psychological domain of acculturation for young Francophones participating in our survey.

Within the questions that refer to behavioural aspects of acculturation, the most remarkable finding is the fact that young participants give significantly different values to questions 3 and 4 referred to the willingness to have a personal relation with a person who may belong to the same ethnic group or not.<sup>195</sup> The average value of the responses referred to the willingness to have a personal relation with a Francophone is 3.875 whereas the score given for the availability to have a personal relation with a non Francophone is 3.5. Independence of the responses given to this item was confirmed, with p-values extremely low when crossing data ( $p=0.008$ ).

To complete our research on the acculturation processes referred to young participants (18-30 years old), inter-item data were crossed with the objective of obtaining the corresponding correlation matrix. This was used to establish relations among the questions that showed strong positive or negative correlation. As regards the items that manifested the highest score for positive correlation coefficients, we must point out items 3 and 7 which refer to the willingness to have a personal relation with a non Francophone and the fact of feeling comfortable when dealing with non Francophone people ( $r_s=0.79$ )<sup>196</sup>. Among the pairs of items that correlate negatively, we remark items 2 and 3 of the questionnaire that make reference to the sense of belonging

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<sup>195</sup> These questions appear within the form as:

3. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a non Francophone.
4. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a Francophone

<sup>196</sup> These items appear on the questionnaire under the questions:

3. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a non Francophone
7. I am comfortable interacting with people from non Francophone Canadian culture.

to the Francophone culture and the willingness to have a personal relation with a non Francophone Canadian ( $r_s=-0.25$ ).<sup>197</sup>

In order to detect the possible influence that the age of the participants in our survey may exert on the acculturation process, data referred to acculturation indices obtained for respondents lying within each of the three generations included in our study -Boomers, Gen X-ers and Millenials- were crossed in order to test statistically significant differences. Although the mean values for the acculturation indices slightly vary when considering responses from youngest participants and the other two age groups, the difference between averages do not result to be statistically significant.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> The referred items refered to the following questions:

2. I belong to the Francophone culture
3. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a non Francophone.

<sup>198</sup> The acculturation indices obtained with respect to Canadian culture subscale were tested by means of crossing individual data from participants from the three different age ranges selected in our study. Statistic parameter p resulted higher than the significance level chosen for our study (0.05) when contrasting responses from 18-30 participants and those from 31-50 and over 50 years old.

### 6.3. GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES AMONG THE FRANCOPHONES: QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

Our research on generational differences among the Francophones in the Canadian Prairies has been completed with the statistical analysis of the responses given by each participant to the six questions included within the questionnaire administered in our survey and that were referred to several items not directly aimed at measuring the acculturation index.

With the purpose of testing the consistency of the set of items selected for studying intergenerational relations among the Francophone population, the variances for each item together with the variance of the values obtained when adding responses given for each item by individual participant were calculated.<sup>199</sup>

The responses obtained within our sample provide us with a Cronbach alpha coefficient higher than 0.7, which may be considered good for our objective of measuring the differences between the opinions of the participants and their parents in relation to the six different aspects included within this part of the study –cultural traditions, language, politics, leisure, education and religious practice.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>199</sup> The full text of the items included within the questionnaire to study intergenerational relations among the participants in our survey are listed below:

25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions.
26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language.
27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics.
28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities.
29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend.
30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the amount of involvement in religious practice.

The four-point scale which was used to measure Acculturation Index was maintained for this set of items. The statements were formulated as affirmative sentences so that respondents could manifest the degree of agreement with the opinion of their parents in relation to each of the six questions introduced in this part of the questionnaire. Likert-type responses options were also graded from 1 -Strongly disagree- up to 4 - Completely agree-.

<sup>200</sup> The spreadsheet containing registers concerning the six items included to analyze inter-generational differences are shown on Appendix B.8. Cronbach alpha calculated with the responses given to the referred items was 0.756, which is considered acceptable for our investigation.

### 6.3.1. Generational differences survey: Facts and Results

For each participant, the mean value of the scores granted to the six questions aimed at studying generational differences was calculated. When considering the whole sample (N=223), the average of the mean scores obtained for every single participant was 3.18 in our 4-point scale, which shows a high degree of agreement between the opinions of the participants and those of their parents in reference to the six aspects evaluated in the present study.

With the exception of the item 27, concerned with the difference of opinion between participants and their parents with respect to politics, the five remaining items register mean values superior to 3, which can be associated to a high level of agreement with the opinion of their progenitors among the Francophone population.

	<b>Mean value</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Variance</b>
<b>25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions.</b>	3.31	0.2	0.52
<b>26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language.</b>	3.63	0.3	0.40
<b>27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics.</b>	2.68	0.6	0.74
<b>28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities.</b>	3.05	0.4	0.71
<b>29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend.</b>	3.42	0.8	0.61
<b>30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the amount of involvement in religious practice.</b>	3.00	1.3	1.06

Table 6.5 .Summary of descriptive statistical parameters referred to individual items included for the study of intergenerational differences.

The individual responses given for each item have been considered to draw the histograms that represent the distribution of values given by participants:

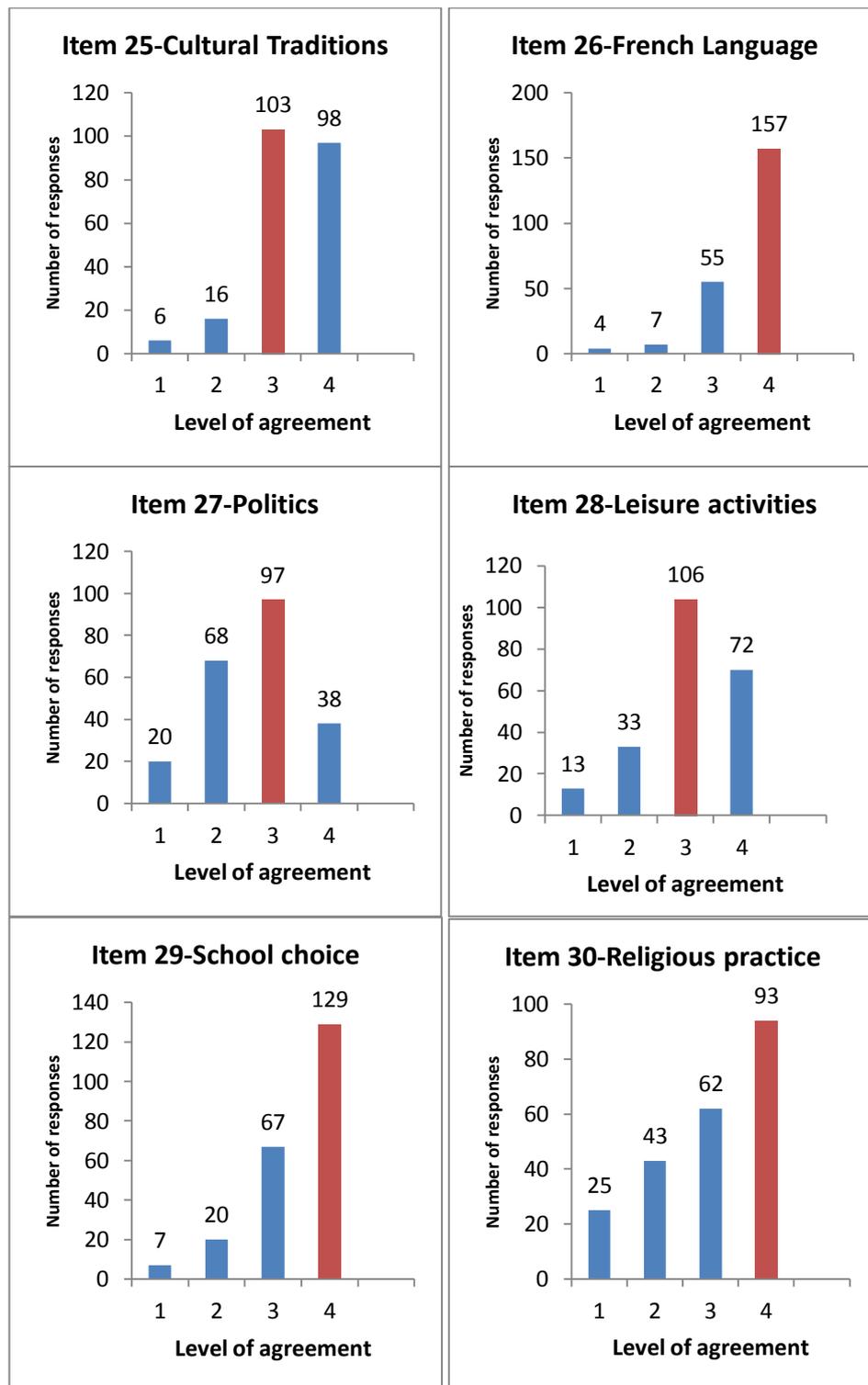


Chart 6.e. Responses given to the items 25-30 of the questionnaire in reference to the agreement between the opinions of the participants and those from their parents (N=223). We must note that the most frequent responses are highlighted on red colour.

Politics appears as the item in which respondents manifest a lower level of agreement with the opinion of their parents (mean value for this item is 2.68 in the 4-point scale). Item 26 of the questionnaire, which makes reference to the opinion about learning French language, registered the highest score. The analysis of the values obtained for the variances associated to each item points at item 30, which deals with the involvement in religious practice, as the one with more divergence of opinions (variance=1.06). By contrast, item 26 referring to learning French language registered the smallest score for variance (0.40), which is associated to the lowest range of dispersion among the responses when compared to the rest of the items.<sup>201</sup>

The correlation matrix associated to individual responses given to the six items included within this part of the study show the highest correlation coefficient when crossing values from items 28 and 29. We may conclude that the respondents who show a higher level of agreement with their parents in relation to school choice also agreed with their parents in questions related to the election of leisure activities ( $r_s=0.60$ ).

The lowest correlation coefficient was associated to the cross of data associated to items 28 and 30. Agreement with parents' opinion with respect to religious practice shows the lowest correlation when crossing this data with those referred the level of agreement concerning leisure activities ( $r_s= 0.24$ ).<sup>202</sup>

Item 26 concerning the opinions of the participants about learning French language deserved special attention in our study due to the fact that linguistic aspects are commonly considered as an essential element to be taken into consideration when analyzing the vitality of the minority groups within the mainstream society (Langlois &

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<sup>201</sup> See Appendix B.9

<sup>202</sup> See correlation matrix on Appendix B.11

Gilbert, 2006: 435-440). It is remarkable the fact that this item has attained the maximum score among the participants in our study when compared to the rest of items (3.64 in our 4-point scale).

In chapter four of this thesis, diverse language aspects were analyzed taking into account the different political and educational measures implemented in the three different provinces included in our research. According to the comparative study carried out among the three Canadian provinces with respect to the evolution of the number of students enrolled in Francophone schools and the implementation of Second Language Immersion programs, we may state that Alberta stands out as the province where the promotion of French language has been more effective during the last decade.<sup>203</sup>

With the objective of detecting significant differences among the opinions of the individuals from different provinces regarding the fact of learning French language, responses were segregated according to the province where the participants report their residence when the survey was carried out. Assuming arbitrary distribution of individual responses given to this item, z-Test has been conducted in order to contrast the responses given by participants living in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan when the questionnaire was administered.

Those participants from Alberta granted significantly greater scores to item 26 included within the questionnaire (mean value 3.79) when compared to averages obtained in Manitoba (3.63) and Saskatchewan (3.42). This seems to indicate that Francophone citizens in Alberta show a higher level of agreement with the opinion of their parents when dealing with learning French language.

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<sup>203</sup> See data offered by Alberta Education (2012; 2014) shown on pages 135-138 in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

	ALBERTA	MANITOBA	ALBERTA	SASKATCHEWAN
<b>Mean value</b>	3.78787879	3.62711864	3.78787879	3.41538462
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.16883117	0.4792519	0.16883117	0.6216342
<b>Number of responses</b>	100	58	100	65
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0		0	
<b>Z</b>	1.62158474		3.50895179	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	<b>0.05244615</b>		<b>0.00022494</b>	
<b>z critical value(one tailed)</b>	1.64485363		1.64485363	

**Table 6.6. Z-scores obtained when crossing data referred to item 26 with responses extracted from the participants of the three Canadian Prairies provinces.**

The responses to item 26 which come from the participants who live in Saskatchewan are significantly lower than the ones extracted from the Albertan Francophone participants. The two set of data are largely independent since p-values obtained are extremely low ( $p < 0.001$ ). Z-scores resulting when crossing data referred to item 26 between Albertan and Manitoban participants do not exceed critical value. Nevertheless, p-value is very close to the significance level established in our study ( $p = 0.052$ ). We may assume with caution that the opinions given by respondents from Alberta and Manitoba are also significantly different.

Further analysis of data referred to participants from different provinces within the Canadian Prairies showed that the responses given by citizens from Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan were not significantly different when referring to items 25 (cultural traditions), 29 (election of school) and 30 (religious practice).<sup>204</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Independence was tested by using z-score when crossing responses referred to items 25, 29 and 30 of the questionnaire given by respondents from the three different provinces. The values we obtained for z-parameter was inferior to critical value (1.64) for these items. Thus, we assume that the hypothetical differences observed between responses given by participants from Alberta are not significantly different from those given by the two other provinces.

On the contrary, independence between responses given by participants from Alberta and those from Saskatchewan in relation to items 27 (politics) and 28 (leisure activities) may be assumed after conducting z-Test crossing data from both provinces.

	Item 27. POLITICS		Item 28. LEISURE ACTIVITIES	
	ALBERTA	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA	SASKATCHEWAN
<b>Mean value</b>	2.56	2.87692308	3.17346939	2.90625
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.67313131	0.73461538	0.45413423	0.97519841
<b>Number of responses</b>	100	65	100	65
<b>Z</b>	-2.36003699		1.89562602	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z)</b>	<b>0.00986345</b>		<b>0.03043415</b>	
<b>z critical value</b>	1.65639124		1.66008063	

**Table 6.7. Independence test for average values corresponding to responses from Alberta and Saskatchewan referred to items 27 and 28 of the questionnaire.**

The values corresponding to average scores of individual responses were filtered according to gender of participants to test whether this parameter may be statistically significant when dealing with intergenerational differences among the Francophone population under study. Z-Test was conducted after separating responses for male (N=79) and female candidates (N=144). Mean value obtained collecting average scores of male respondents (3.194) was slightly superior to the one obtained for female candidates (3.177).

Nevertheless, we may assume that the mean values of the scores given to the six items are not significantly different when filtering the responses according to sex of the participant since p-value obtained within our analysis (p=0.41) is considerably higher than the significance level (p=0.05) when contrasting the null hypothesis that the hypothetical difference between averages is 0.

To complete the analysis of participants’ sex as a parameter that may exert some sort of influence on individual responses to every single item, z-Test was used assuming arbitrary distribution of responses for both genders. After crossing data from female and male respondents for each item separately, significantly differences were only detected when question 27 -referred to agreement with parents’ opinion with respect to politics- was considered:

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	2.58503401	2.88157895
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.79237722	0.58578947
<b>Number of responses</b>	144	79
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0	
<b>Z</b>	2.59111526	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z)</b>	<b>0.00478327</b>	
<b>z critical value</b>	1.64485363	

**Table 6.8. Z-Test analysis resulting from crossing data from female and male respondents referred to item 27 of the questionnaire.**

It is noticeable the fact that the values granted by male respondents are significantly higher than those from women when asked about the level of agreement between their opinions and those of their parents regarding politics ( $p=0.004$ ). This item seems to be the only one in which responses given by participants of different sex show a different level agreement towards the opinion of their parents.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>205</sup> After filtering the data referred to the six items used for studying intergenerational differences, t-Test was carried out to study the independence of the values given by male and female participants to each of these items. With the exception of item 27-referred to opinion about politics, p-values were superior to the significance level (0.05). P-values obtained for each item were 0.21 (item 25), 0.36 (item 26), 0.49 (item 28), 0.27 (item 29) and 0.33 (item 30).

### 6.3.2. Age group and generational differences: Facts and Results

The mean values of the scores given by each participant to the six questions referred to generational differences were finally filtered according to age range of individuals in order to test normal distribution. Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests conducted for each group of age confirmed normality in every case.<sup>206</sup>

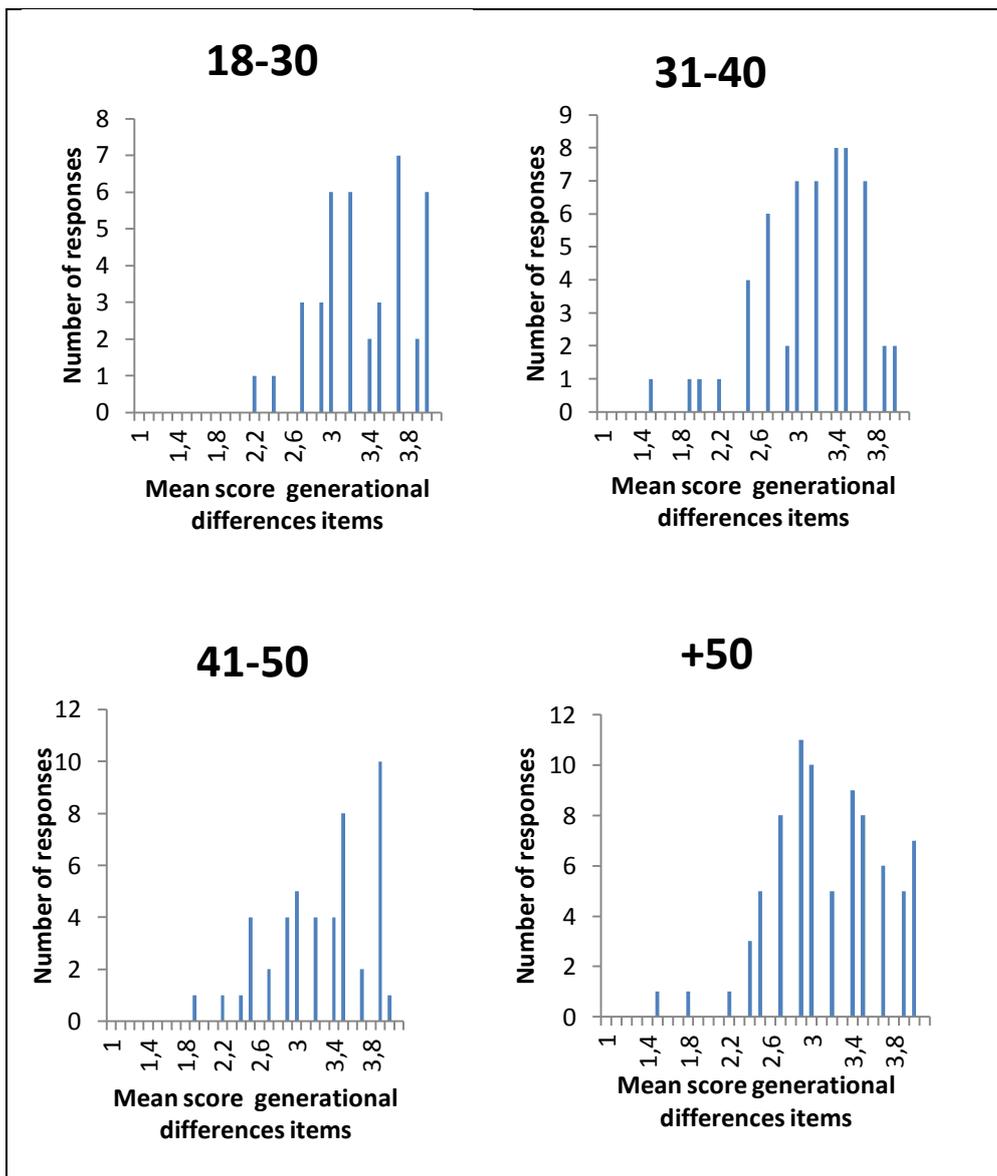


Chart 6.f. Mean scores distribution considering individual responses given to the six items according to age group.

<sup>206</sup> Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was conducted after filtering average values of the scores given to the six items according to age group. Maximum difference between theoretical normal distribution and the cumulative frequencies registered within the responses of our participants showed values inferior to critical values, which confirms that all the distributions fit a Gaussian. See data on Appendix B.10.

According to the results shown on the following table, we may assume that the group of respondents lying within 31 and 40 years old range shows the lowest level of agreement with the opinions of their progenitors when asked about the six items included within our survey.<sup>207</sup>

<b>AGE RANGE</b>	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31-40</b>	<b>41-50</b>	<b>&gt;50</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.3125	3.1286549	3.2260416	3.1320833
<b>Variance</b>	0.2381588	0.2797793	0.2724102	0.2916299
<b>Number of observations</b>	40	59	46	78

**Table 6.9. Statistical descriptive parameters associated to mean scores obtained for participants within different age ranges considering the six items included to study intergenerational relations.**

Further analysis of the data collected aimed at determining whether responses filtered according to age range are independent. Due to the fact that responses are normally distributed for all age groups, we opted for t-Test analysis to confirm independence assumption. Data collected from respondents aged between 18 and 30 years old were taken as reference and have been crossed with responses obtained from participants included within the rest of age ranges.

After independence between the results obtained from participants belonging to different groups of age, we can conclude that p-values obtained are inferior to significance level (0.05) when comparing 18-30 years old group to responses extracted from 31-40 and those from respondents older than 50. Nevertheless, responses

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<sup>207</sup> We remind that the items included within our study on intergenerational relations are referred to cultural traditions, language, politics, leisure, education and religious practice.

corresponding to young participants (18-30) are not significantly different from those given by participants within 41-50 years old range ( $p=0.21>0.05$ ).

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31-40</b>	<b>18-30</b>	<b>41-50</b>	<b>18-30</b>	<b>+50</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.3125	3.12865497	3.3125	3.22604167	3.3125	3.13208333
<b>Variance (known)</b>	0.23815883	0.27977931	0.23815883	0.27241024	0.23815883	0.29162992
<b>Number of observations</b>	40	59	40	46	40	78
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages.</b>	0		0		0	
<b>T</b>	1.76396272		0.80173757		-1.84143273	
<b>P(T&lt;=t)</b>	0.04060436		0.21247024		0.03450283	
<b>t critical value</b>	1.66235403		1.6629785		1.66276545	

**Table 6.10.** T-Test results obtained when crossing data from different age ranges in relation to the average values obtained for items included to study intergenerational relations.

In order to increase the reliability of the results obtained in our study when comparing values obtained for different groups of age, responses given by participants lying within 31-40 and 41-50 years old were processed together and crossed to those given by 18-30 years old participants.

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31-50</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.3125	3.17307692
<b>Variance</b>	0.23815883	0.27881504
<b>Number of observations</b>	40	105
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages</b>	0	
<b>t</b>	1.50039771	
<b>P(T&lt;=t)</b>	<b>0.06882725</b>	
<b>t critical value</b>	1.66515135	

**Table 6.11.** T-Test results after data extracted from 18-30 and 31-50 years old participants are contrasted.

T-Test carried when data extracted from these two groups are considered has provided us with p-value slightly superior to significance level ( $p=0.069$ ). Henceforth,

responses given by participants lying within 31 and 50 years old interval will be treated as a single set of values.<sup>208</sup> Consequently, only three different age ranges will be hereafter considered for our study on intergenerational relations. The age ranges established in this way would perfectly fit to the three different generations –Boomers, Gen X-ers and Millennials- that have been previously depicted in the present chapter.

The responses associated to participants within age range 18-30 provide us with the highest scores when dealing with agreement of opinions related to cultural traditions, leisure activities and the election of school (items 25, 28 and 29).

In order to test statistical significance for the differences obtained for these three items, data extracted from participants aged between 18 and 30 were crossed with those arising from the two other age ranges.

The statistical treatment of the data related to items 25 and 29 do not allow us to reject the null hypothesis that the averages obtained for participants aged between 18 and 30 are significantly different from those associated to participants from other age ranges, since p-values resulting are higher than the significance level (0.05).

The statement which makes reference to leisure activities (item 28) is the only one in which statistical analysis of data let us state that the difference observed between the averages obtained by 18-30 years old participants is significantly different from the one corresponding to respondents aged between 31 and 50:

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<sup>208</sup> Participants lying within this age range would correspond to the generation we have referred to as Gen X-ers.

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31-50</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.225	2.95098039
<b>Variance</b>	0.58910256	0.81935546
<b>Number of observations</b>	40	105
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages</b>	0	
<b>t statistical parameter</b>	1.81631477	
<b>P(T&lt;=t)</b>	<b>0.0364447</b>	
<b>t critical value</b>	1.66319668	

**Table 6.12. T-Test analysis of data referred to item 28 of the questionnaire in reference to level of agreement concerning leisure activities.**

The participants aged more than 50- the Baby Boomers- showed a higher level of agreement with their progenitors when compared to the data obtained from the two other age groups in reference to French language learning (item 26) and religious practice (item 30).<sup>209</sup>

Only the question of our survey related to the agreement of opinions regarding French language learning (item 26) demonstrated statistically significant difference between participants aged more than 50 and those within 31-50 range:

	<b>&gt;50</b>	<b>31-50</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	3.74683544	3.5631068
<b>Variance</b>	0.21713729	0.48372359
<b>Number of observations</b>	78	105
<b>Hypothetical difference between averages</b>	0	
<b>t statistical parameter</b>	2.12934922	
<b>P(T&lt;=t)</b>	<b>0.01730387</b>	
<b>t critical value</b>	1,653508	

**Table 6.13. Statistics parameters associated to t-Test carried out with data referred to item 26 in relation to the opinions on French language learning.**

<sup>209</sup> The statistical treatment of data referred to the item 30 "My parents and I had the same opinion on the amount of involvement in religious practice" did not provide us with significant differences between averages obtained for the three age ranges, since p-values exceeded the significance level associated to 95% confidence level established for our study.

Those participants in the survey lying within age range 31-50 years old –Gen Xers– show the highest level of agreement with the opinion of their parents in reference to politics (item 27). With the objective of testing statistical significance of the differences observed among the mean values associated to the three age ranges, t-Test permitted to confirm independence assumption between responses associated to participants aged between 31-50 and those lying within 18-30 and older than 50:

	<b>31-50</b>	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31-50</b>	<b>&gt;50</b>
<b>Mean value</b>	2.875	2.525	2.875	2.51898734
<b>Variance</b>	0.63470874	1.025	0.63470874	0.6630964
<b>Number of responses</b>	105	40	105	78
<b>T</b>	1.96492922		2.95687151	
<b>P(T&lt;=t)</b>	<b>0.02706833</b>		<b>0.00178052</b>	

**Table 6.14. Statistic parameters resulting from t-Test conducted with data obtained from item 27 referred to agreement of opinions between participants and their parents in relation to politics.**

We must point out that the item referred to level of agreement in relation to opinion about the amount of religious practice is the only element for which no significant differences are found when crossing data according to gender, province of residence and age group of the participants.<sup>210</sup>

Age category appears as the most relevant element to be considered when analyzing the opinions of the Francophone citizens concerning important issues such as cultural traditions, education, leisure activities, politics, religion and the use of French language. In fact, age range of the participants turned out to be the parameter according

<sup>210</sup> Despite the absence of significant differences regarding sex, province of residence and age of the participants, it must be taken into consideration that item 30 referred to opinions regarding religious practice registered the highest variance value (1.06) when considering data from the whole sample. This seems to indicate that the level of agreement between francophone parents and descendents shows an important degree of divergence although is not specifically focused on any of the three parameters included in our study (sex, age and province of residence).

to which significant differences were found for all the items included within our study with the only exception of item 30, which refers to religious practice.

The gender of participants has only a significant role when dealing with differences of opinion in relation to politics, since this item is the single one in which responses given by female and male respondents are significantly different.

Regional differences are particularly observed when statistical treatment of data referred to the level of agreement between participants' opinion and those of their parents regarding French language education. Furthermore, differences towards learning French language were also observed when separating data by age category.

The causes for these differences regarding diversity of opinions when dealing with French language education may be found in the generational gap associated to the social and political changes that have affected the Canadian Francophones. As a matter of fact, French language laws and policies have evolved, both at a federal and provincial level. The experience of being a Francophone for citizens who were born in the 1950s differs from the current situation of the Francophones born throughout the three last decades.

To better interpret the results obtained in the present study on generational differences that affect the Francophones we must also take into account the peculiarities of these minority groups regarding social changes undergone by each generation in relation to social, political and language policies.

It is assumed that Francophone Boomers, born before 1964, grew up in a period of time when school policies did not always guarantee French language teaching. Francophone respondents to our questionnaire aged between 31 and 50 were born between 1964 and 1984, important period of changes when Official Languages Act

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(1969) was passed and Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms recognized French as official language in 1982. The so called Millennials constitute the age group aged between 18-30, born after 1984 when western Canadian provinces started to offer a wider range of services in French and Francophone school divisions were created.

Baby Boomers, who were born between 1945 and 1964, grew up in a time of much more prosperity than their progenitors. Most participants aged between 31 and 50 included in our survey were raised on technology, with personal computers becoming more common in their lifetime. The young participants (18-30) are now starting their working lives and beginning to emerge with a new generational perspective. The changes experienced by this new generation concerning aspects such as the access to public services, health indicators, employment or school performance stand among the factors that also may influence the opinions of the youngest respondents-the Millennials- regardless their condition of Francophones.

Living in an environment where English is spoken by the vast majority of the inhabitants, it is assumed that French-language employment has progressively become scarce for the citizens of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.. The young generation of Francophones are currently experiencing great difficulties to have access to French-language employment since the number of working-age Francophones is largely superior to the number of available French-language positions. In provinces like Alberta, positions in Francophone organizations depend largely on government funding and , consequently, are not stable.<sup>211</sup> Financial crisis have resulted in the loss of many of the French-speaking positions and the job market for the Francophones in Western

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<sup>211</sup> ACFA stand for Association Canadienne-Française de l’Alberta (French Canadian Albertan Association). AJFA correspond to Association Jeunesse Francophone de l’Alberta (Youth Francophone Association of Alberta).

regions of Canada has become even tighter when compared to previous generations (Dalley, 2008: 52).

The new generation of Francophones who are joining the workforce are also witnessing tensions derived from the incorporation of Francophone immigrants with full mastery of French language. In fact, problems experienced by young Franco-Albertans who failed to find a position within Radio-Canada due to their particular accent have been reported in the latest years.<sup>212</sup>

Although immigration is not a new phenomenon within Canadian society, financial difficulties derived from world economic crisis which started in year 2007 in North America have also affected the situation of many young Francophone immigrants that do not have the necessary language skills to obtain work in the English language job market. According to the circumstances here exposed, we may state that the new generations of Francophones are forced to rely on Francophone organizations engaged in the Francophone historic communities to a greater extent than their parents.

By contrast, the young generation of Francophones have a privileged status compared to their ancestors when dealing with the access to health services or education in French language. As we have exposed in chapter three of the present thesis, the promotion of French language education has gradually permitted the access to Francophone schools and French Immersion programmes to an increased number of young Francophone citizens living in the Western provinces of Canada. Reports from the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Manitoba also state that the conditions of

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<sup>212</sup> Dalley's article published in 2008 within *Canadian Issues Review* adds the following testimony from a young Francophone citizen from Alberta in relation to Radio-Canada's language: "We don't speak Radio-Canada's language [...]. They're never going to put your face in front of the camera" (Dalley, 2008:53).

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the healthcare utilization of Francophones in Manitoba have improved during the latest decades (Houlden, 2012:1-4).

We must stand out that it was not until the 1960s that provinces of the Western provinces of Canada began to offer some services in French to the public. In Manitoba, for instance, French Language Services Policy was reviewed in 1989 and later in 1998 to assure health services in French language in all areas of the province.

The reports from Manitoba Centre for Health Policy, MCHP, have shown that Francophones were in poorer overall health than non Francophone people. Data stored at the MCHP have shown that: “With each generation, the health of Francophones appears to be improving, possibly because of the language policies in effect when these people were born” (Houlden, 2012: 4).

The improvement of the health conditions of the youngest Francophone inhabitants of the Canadian Prairies are the consequence of the changes in the social and political landscape for the Francophones. French language legislation and social policies have permitted the Francophones to be better than other citizens in aspects such as mortality rates, rates of suicide attempts, the graduation rates for teenagers or the pass rates for Language Arts and Mathematics.

Nevertheless, there are still negative aspects in which Francophone young citizens are worse than the rest of the population. For instance, alcohol use during pregnancy was reported to be higher for Francophone women in the province of Manitoba .The rates of depression and anxiety for women at the birth of their children was also moderately higher. Other education aspects should also be taken into consideration when comparing the Francophone population to the rest of the inhabitants from the

Prairies provinces. In fact, rates of not being ready for school in Kindergarten have been reported higher for Francophones as well as the rates of diagnosis for attention deficit hyperactive disorder (Houlden, 2012:3-4).

## CONCLUSIONS

Canada offers an excellent opportunity to observe and investigate the multiplicity of ethnic identities that characterize the demographic profile of its population. The part of our research devoted to the analysis of the changes experienced in the Canadian society after the arrival of the European origin settlers has been crucial for a better understanding of the linguistic assimilation processes experienced by other ethnic groups different from the British, Irish or French descendants.

Despite the fact that French language is officially recognized across Canada, our analysis of the socio-linguistic elements and the political factors that affect the situation of the Francophone population in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan evidences that many Francophone minority groups living in these areas of the country try to keep alive their Canadian identity while struggling for the preservation of their cultural heritage.

According to the demographic profile obtained from the data retrieved from the most recent Canadian censuses (Statistics Canada 2007; 2012), the French-speaking population in the western Canadian provinces can be labelled as a “minority group” within the context of the provinces included in the present research. For instance, in western provinces such as Alberta, the last censuses available at the time of our investigations shows that French speakers represent a percentage of the total population which is inferior to 2%. Moreover, it seems accurate to state that English is the most frequently spoken language by Francophones at home. In fact, those data obtained from the two last censuses reveal that only 0.6% of the population of Alberta reports French as the common language at home (Statistics Canada, 2012).

Endogamous marriage within the Francophones does not appear as a common practice in Canada. A brief analysis of the socio-linguistic and demographic data in relation to the European origin minority groups included in the present investigation leads us to state that the Francophone inhabitants of the Canadian Prairies use English at work and in their daily lives. Francophones are scattered across western Canadian provinces, mainly in towns where these minorities contribute with less than five percent of the total population. In the province of Alberta, only in some localities of the region known as *Rivière-la-Paix* we have found small villages such as Donnelly, Falher, Girouxville, Smoky River, where Francophones are today a majority.

The Language Official Act (1969) has contributed to the development of language policies that promote the use of French in Western Canada. Nevertheless, the services provided in French language to citizens living in the Canadian Prairies seem to be limited to government institutions and federal agencies. The data collected from our time-longitudinal study on the Francophones point at the fact that the French speaking population cannot accede to services in French to perform basic steps in their everyday lives, as evidenced in the testimonies of citizens from Edmonton and Grande Prairie or in the press articles browsed during a first phase of our investigation.

We can corroborate that the communication channels which provide services in French language are scarce. We would like to emphasize the fact that there is a single television channel, Radio Canada, which broadcasts in French language in the province of Alberta. Basic tasks such as opening a bank account, requesting the services of a taxi or going to surgery require the knowledge of English, even taking into account that French is an official language in the country.

## Conclusions

We can provide with examples of open court cases against the Francophone citizens that claim their right to a trial in French language in provinces like Alberta. For instance, we can mention “*La cause Caron*” (The Caron case) which has attracted the attention of most Francophone media since the year 2003.<sup>213</sup> Monsieur Caron demanded the Provincial Court of Alberta a judicial process with a French speaking jury after being charged with a traffic infraction in the province of Alberta. To justify his demands, he alleged that his constitutional rights on grounds to the dispositions of the Law regarding the use of the two official languages in Canada had not been respected.

Throughout the twentieth century, diverse Franco-Albertan associations were established in the province of Alberta. Among the organisms that have traditionally exerted a greater influence at provincial level we must cite the *Association Canadienne-Française de l'Alberta*, ACFA (French-Canadian Association of Alberta). In different phases of our investigation, the ACFA and other Francophone media, such as *Radio Canada* or the journal *Le Franco*, appeared among the most emblematic institutions which play a relevant role at provincial level. In fact, these organisms seem to lead many of the vindications of the Francophone population in the province of Alberta.

Although federal and provincial policies try to guarantee the access to education and the labour market, giving equal opportunities to people of all ethnic groups in Canada, it is not always clear under which conditions Francophone citizens who come from other countries are granted the access to public services. The Francophones who

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<sup>213</sup> On December 4th 2003, Mr. Gilles Caron, a francophone residing in Alberta for 15 years, was accused of an offence to the Rules of the Road Regulation, being accused of “failing to make a left turn safely”. On December 9<sup>th</sup> 2003, he advised the civil division of the Provincial Court of Alberta, that he was requiring a trial in French language. He opposed to the validity of the traffic ticket because it was not written in both official languages of Canada. More information about the Caron Cause is available online at: <http://www.causecaron.ca/TheCaronCause.html> (Last accessed on 2th December, 2014).

currently arrive in the Western Canada are mostly coming from the province of Quebec and some African countries where French is still used officially or as a vehicular language.

The western Canadian provinces have received a large number of Francophones from a wide variety of ethnic, cultural and racial backgrounds migrating from Eastern Canada. The start of this movement was marked in the late 1990s by the arrival of families of African origins, first from Congo and Rwanda and later from Somalia and Morocco. Although these families constituted only a minority of the newly-arrived Francophone population in Alberta, their arrival has been particularly striking for certain sectors of the Francophone population.

The black population of Canadian Prairies until then was mainly English speaking. Many of the families who decided to settle in the western and central regions of Canada spent some time in Ontario or Quebec. This seems to be a common fact for citizens coming from Congo, Rwanda and Somalia.<sup>214</sup> The absence of educational programmes specifically designed for newcomers together with the lack of support from ancient Francophone communities seem to be the cause that justifies that the French-speaking immigrant population who decided to settle in Alberta in recent decades, mainly those from African countries, do not necessarily integrate into the existing Francophone communities. Consequently, many of these Francophone newcomers are assimilated by the English-speaking community that constitutes the largest group.

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<sup>214</sup> Fewer references have been found regarding experiences of Moroccan families (Dalley, 2008: 51). During the course of our investigation, information regarding Moroccan communities in the province of Alberta has been found via Facebook on “Moroccan Society of Alberta”. Online: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Moroccan-Society-in-Alberta/133533630050376> (Last accessed on 4th January 2015).

## Conclusions

The cultural legacy provided by the first French settlers in Western Canadian provinces permeates to some extent the social life of their citizens. As evidenced by the testimonies of some of the interviewees from Avalon High School, the Winter Carnival- firstly celebrated in Quebec- appears as one of the traditions that still persist in the major towns in the province of Alberta. It has been found that some typical dishes such as *poutine*, remain as a part of the culinary French heritage. Also maple syrup in Alberta is used as a typical product for confectionary and for making sweets and it is imported in large quantities from the province of Québec. Our research also shows that northern areas of the province of Alberta continue to organize the Carnival in the *Québécois* pure style and also offer a great variety of activities developed entirely in French language.

Regarding the preservation of other French heritage traditions, another element to be considered is the presence of the Catholic religion among the Francophone population. *Saint Joachim* Parish in Edmonton, founded in 1918, continues to offer religious services in French.<sup>215</sup> Among all the municipal districts of Edmonton, Bonnie Doon is the only one in the city where the Catholic population is reported to be a majority. According to Statistics Canada (2002), citizens who declared themselves Catholics exceeded 40% of the total. This is due to a greater presence in the Francophone district citizens, around 16% of all registered dwellers. In all other districts and towns of the province, the Catholic population makes up less than 30% of all citizens. This fact suggests that, in a certain way, the Catholic tradition is still tied to Francophone culture in the province of Alberta.

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<sup>215</sup> During the course of this research, two other churches in Edmonton, *Sainte Anne* and *Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, offered religious service in French language to Catholic citizens.

As regards the educational aspect, the figures retrieved from statistics published by Alberta Education (2014) seem to evidence that the measures implemented by the educational authorities to promote the French language in the province of Alberta are beginning to show positive results. As a matter of fact, the number of students enrolled in Francophone schools has increased in the last decade at the same time that the percentage of parents who decide to register their kids within French Immersion programmes has increased up to eighteen percent in this province.<sup>216</sup>

The efforts made by the Francophone school districts have been vital to extend the network of schools offering educational programs in French all over the province. The implementation of language immersion programs are specially successful among the Anglophone citizens who become interested in French culture and language and also among English speaking parents who firmly believe that their children can benefit from knowing the two official languages of the country.

The space devoted to news about the Francophone population can be considered very little in the Anglophone press in Alberta. During the course of our research, a significantly low number of articles which made reference to cultural activities organized for the French-speaking population were found. In fact, only those referred to the celebration of concerts or plays have been cited. With respect to Francophone media, a single television channel in Edmonton -CBC Radio Canada- broadcasts in French language.

None of the press articles selected for the study of the socio-economic indicators referred to the Francophone population made explicit reference to social tensions

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<sup>216</sup> See data represented on Chart 3.e on page 137, showing the percentage of increase in the number of students enrolled in Second language immersion programmes in Canada and the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan from school year 2000/01 to 2009/2010.

## Conclusions

between Francophones and Anglophones in the province of Alberta. Our interviewees from Avalon School mentioned not having witnessed situations of marginalization or social exclusion as French-speaking citizens. In a certain way, these data suggest that the citizens of the province of Alberta do not regard cultural and linguistic duality in Canada as an issue which is closely linked to their daily lives. We may assume that the separatist claims of Francophone Quebec and the political tensions that have been generated in the country because of this situation do not seem to greatly affect the citizens of Western Canada.

The changes experienced in the demographic profile of the Francophone communities in the Canadian Prairies are not only due to the arrival of immigrants in these provinces. The preservation of French language is also related to the flow of French speaking citizens who were born in Canada – known as French-Canadians. Most Francophone newcomers arriving in Edmonton and the rest of the province of Alberta are citizens of the province of Quebec, who have been attracted in recent years by the economic prosperity of the province of Alberta. Migration flows arriving in the city of Edmonton over the past two decades have been attracted by jobs in the oil sector.

The discovery of large tracts of oil sands in Alberta have turned Edmonton region into one of the areas with the highest income per capita in the country. A considerable number of workers from other provinces in Canada who change their province of residence to work in this industry are French speaking citizens from Eastern Canada. The Canadian census data from 2001 and 2006 also make us see an increase in the Francophone immigrant population coming from other countries, mainly African, and can be included in the group of people who have been listed as Francophone minorities despite not sharing cultural roots with the rest of French-speaking citizens.

At this stage of our research we were able to corroborate some contradictory aspects of the Official Languages Act (1969). Although the Language Act provides that English and French-speaking Canadians must not be discriminated on the basis of their ethnic origin or first language, when we deal with issues concerning equal opportunities to gain access to labour market, it is found that, apart from the positions in the public administration intended for bilingual staff, most of the jobs to which Francophones accede in Alberta require the knowledge of the English language.

A brief analysis of the role played by public and private institutions in promoting the French language and culture permits us to conclude that the efforts made by the government institutions to provide public services to citizens in French are still insufficient in order to improve the living conditions for many Francophones in the Canadian Prairies provinces. It seems accurate to conclude that there are still many services to which citizens have restricted access in Alberta if they do not know English. The legislative framework sets out vague requirements for public services to be provided in both official languages. The Official Languages Act (1969) states that for this to be possible there must be what is called a 'significant demand'. Around this concept, the act interprets that there is sufficient demand to offer public services in French in those areas of Alberta with at least 5,000 phone book entries and with a percentage of French speaking population equal or superior to five percent.

Considering the data presented in our longitudinal study, we notice that French-speaking localities with the highest proportion of Francophone population count on less than 2,500 inhabitants. Furthermore, large populations such as Edmonton or Calgary only recorded a low rate of Francophone population inferior to two percent. Under the provisions of the Official Languages Act, the provincial government of Alberta would

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have no obligation to implement the pertinent measures to provide services to its citizens in French.

Despite all the difficulties presented to Francophone citizens to use their mother tongue, there are other more encouraging data that make us believe in the survival of the French language in Canada. We can start by highlighting the significant growth in the bilingual positions that the federal government has created over the last decades. According to the data presented by the *Commission Royale d'enquête sur le Bilinguisme et Biculturalisme* (Royal Commission for the study of Bilingualism and Biculturalism), only 9% of the jobs primarily created by the federal government were occupied by Francophones. Progressively, the percentage of bilingual positions increased from 14% in 1978 to 30% in 2007.<sup>217</sup>

When examining the factors that may determine the vitality of minority languages in Canada, we must notice that the preservation of French language in Canada is somehow bound to the introduction of new technologies related to communication, which definitely increase the possibilities for young English speakers to approach French language and culture. The importance of considering speakers of French as a second language as part of the 'Francophone space' has been cited by different authors (Coulmas, 1992: 200; Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 23-49).

The Francophones outside Quebec live in a wide variety of environments. Some communities such as Saint-Boniface, close to Winnipeg (Manitoba) or Grande Prairie (Alberta) stand as a representative example of a historical community. However, other

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<sup>217</sup> See Canada Public Service Agency, Annual Report on Official Languages 2006-2007, "Table 12: Participation of Anglophones and Francophones in the Public Service by Year" catalogue No. CP51-2/2007, p. 55. Information available online at: <http://www.psc-cfp.gc.ca>. (Access on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2009).

Francophones live in contexts where they have no geographic or historical reference, but they have infrastructures such as schools, community centers, radio stations and newspapers that offer the possibility of keeping the French language alive.

The concept of community has been the subject of debate and has been redefined. The spatial conception of community must be challenged in order to look into other interactions and personal networks that are not related to a geographical location. The use of a language as a second-language is significant Coulmas (1992: 200). Although most references found in our thesis do not grant a relevant role to the significance of second-language use of French in Canada, the demographic data collected in our research point at the extension of French language among the Anglophones and speakers of a non official language as a vital factor in order to maintain French heritage language and culture in western provinces of Canada.

The use of English in the province of Quebec, mainly Francophone, has been linked to the presence of a larger North American society (overwhelming English) to explain the vitality of the English language in this province. In the same way, the points of view shown by the different studies focused on Francophones outside Quebec (Dallaire, 2004; Gallant, 2008) evidence the necessity of reexamining the role of bilingual speakers in the preservation of the language.

The discussions in relation to the vitality of French language included in the present work comprise a series of elements at sociological level: demographic, political, and economic factors. Other elements related to the socio-cultural field of investigation have been considered in this research, such as the role of the media or school programs and schooling experiences. After analyzing the elements that may exert a significant influence on the preservation of the Francophone culture, we must conclude that the

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introduction of psychological factors -such as linguistic aptitudes or affective disposition- in further research would be essential to widen our knowledge about the vitality of the Francophone communities outside Quebec.

Our research on the Francophone communities encourages us to state that the promotion of bilingualism across Canada would be an effective measure to preserve French in those territories where it constitutes a minority language. The two different models of bilingualism – additive and subtractive- proposed by Landry and Bourhis (1997: 23-49) appear as a consequence of the personal aptitudes and the individual's linguistic competences. We should assume that a positive attitude towards the other official language different from the mother tongue and the implementation of language programmes in the two official languages across Canada would derive into an additive bilingualism', without the loss of the citizen's native language.

The analysis of the data obtained by means of the cross-sectional study conducted with European origin minorities—the Ukrainians, the Germans and the Francophones- has shed light on the diversity of strategies used by these minority groups to achieve a minimum degree of cohesion within the Canadian Mosaic. The comparison of the situation of the Francophones to other European origin minorities such as the Ukrainians and the Germans did not provide us with sufficient evidences to make us think that the way of life of Francophones in Edmonton significantly diverges from the rest of the inhabitants of the province. However, we must mention the fact that the unemployment rate was already reported higher among the French speaking population,

compared to the German and Ukrainian speakers in the three Prairies provinces, before the last economic recession started (Statistics Canada, 2007).<sup>218</sup>

Among the students and teachers from Avalon School and also with my acquaintances among the Ukrainian staff of Saint Martin’s Ukrainian School in Edmonton, I could observe that these citizens with a mother tongue different from English had all acquired a perfect mastery of the English language. In fact, those Francophone friends and Ukrainian teachers from Saint Martin’s School who were asked about their perception about the necessity of learning English highlighted the need to use this language to avoid problems when entering the job market. Furthermore, all of them openly manifested that English was the language commonly used when performing basic tasks in their daily life.

The possibility of contrasting the situation of the Francophones in Western Canada with the reality of other minority groups which represent a similar percentage with respect to the total population– Francophones, Germans and Ukrainians- constituted a valuable resource in order to predict the evolution of the demographic patterns and the use of the heritage languages associated to the three minorities. The analysis of the information collected from Canadian censuses (Statistics Canada, 2002; 2007; 2012) points at French language as the one with the best chance to prevail in the province of Alberta when compared to German and Ukrainian. The high degree of acceptance of the Francophone schools and the popularity of the French immersion programs set up by the Albertan government also support this idea. The province of Manitoba also seems to be fighting for the preservation of French language. In fact, the percentage of workers

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<sup>218</sup> See Chart 3.f on page 144.

## Conclusions

that use French language at work has increased from 2001 to 2011 and there is a great amount of associations, press and different media that use French as the main language.

According to these facts, I consider that the implementation of other types of policies in order to guarantee the continuity of bilingual programs at postsecondary level would be an effective way of enlarging the 'Francophone space'. By doing so, students would be capable of mastering the language and feel able to use it with native speakers of their ethnic origin communities. The low rate of students who decide to enroll in a Francophone university in the western provinces of Canada leads us to think that there is a lack of continuity between secondary and university studies within the French language programmes.

It may be assumed that an increase in the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes offered by the Francophone universities would enhance the opportunities of Francophone citizens to take up a professional career within the federal services where the knowledge of the two official languages is required. The knowledge of the French language on the part of university students would also facilitate their incorporation to the labour market in those provinces of Canada where French language has a relevant role- Quebec or New Brunswick, for instance.

Although immigration has partly contributed to the increase in the number of French speakers during the last two decades, we cannot predict the rise in the percentage of the French speaking population in the Canadian Prairies. Apart from the immigrants coming from African countries where French is used, immigration patterns obtained from the Canadian census show that most newcomers proceed from Asia or other non-Francophone African countries.

In order to meet the needs of a country with a low demographic density such as Canada, the trends in immigration seem to have accommodated to labour market. The oil industry in Alberta, together with better opportunities to find a job in manufacturing or agricultural sector in the provinces of Manitoba or Saskatchewan exerted an important influence upon the increasing amount of citizens who migrate to settle in the Prairies. This migratory flow within the country seems to be destabilizing the demographic patterns and is causing the decrease of the percentage of French, German or Ukrainian speakers when we compare to the rates registered at the turn of the twentieth century.

Other than migratory flows, two other factors- fertility rate and language retention- seem to justify the decreasing number of speakers of French, German and Ukrainian languages. As regards the first factor, we must remark that the fertility rates associated to Francophone women outside Quebec were superior to those obtained for non official language speakers from 1956 to year 2001. Nevertheless, the data reported by United Nations referred to year 2001 and 2006 show that this trend has inverted.<sup>219</sup>

In relation to language retention, which evaluates the proportion of the population with a given mother tongue that keeps using it after migrating to a place where a different language is spoken within the host society, data provided by Statistics Canada in the censuses of population referred to 2006 and 2011 have shown that none of the three languages –French, German or Ukrainian –is placed within the ones with the highest rate of retention.

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<sup>219</sup> According to the data provided by the Canadian census, fertility rate of non official language speakers was 1.73 outside the province of Quebec in 2006. The fertility rate for French speakers was 1.49. Source: United Nations data. Total fertility rate. Available at: <http://www.esa.un.org> (Retrieved on 9<sup>th</sup> September 2012).

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Thus, we may state that it is not possible to rely on immigration in order to preserve the French language. We must consider that the preservation of French, German or Ukrainian cultures and languages is likely to become more difficult with the arrival of workers and refugees that are in most cases forced to use English as a means of achieving a faster and more effective integration within Canadian society. The growth scenarios that have been considered for the projection of the Canadian population within the next decades assume a faster increase in the foreign-born population, mainly Asian. Regardless of the origin of the newcomers, the censuses consulted also show a higher level of diversity among the Canadian-born population. All these facts mentioned above together with the changes in women fertility rate may determine the survival of the traditions and language inherited by the citizens of French origin and other representative European origin groups –such as the German and the Ukrainian- that have influenced the way of life of the Canadian Prairies along the last two centuries.

The cross-sectional data obtained from this part of the research allow us to determine that socio-economic indicators such as the unemployment rate, occupational status and earnings do not show significant differences for the three European origin ethnic groups studied. Furthermore, the differences observed when these data were contrasted to the values referred to the mainstream society were not significant either. This fact has forced us to search for other sources of information different from socio-economic parameters in order to determine which other factors could help us verify whether assimilation was the prevalent mode of interaction preferred by the Francophones. Instead of using these socio-economic indicators, we have headed our research on acculturation towards 'ethnic identity' as the main factor which contributes

to the interaction of the Francophone citizens with other Francophones and also with citizens from other ethnic groups.

The analysis of the individual attitudes of the Francophone towards the mainstream society (Gilbert, 1997; Langlois, 2000; Madibbo, 2010; O’Keefe, 2001) has allowed us to confirm our hypothesis that assimilation is not the preferred mode of acculturation by the Francophone citizens living in the western provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

An additional challenge for our research was to determine the extent to which assimilation is present among the Francophone population in the western regions of Canada included in our survey. We refer to a difficult task taking into account the different visions of the Francophones that we had previously obtained from the diversity of sources consulted in the first phase of our research.

Our first interpretation of the historical facts related to the relations between British and French descendents in Canada would let us depict both groups of population in a permanent situation of antagonism and continuously opposed. In fact, a literature review of the views presented by different authors (Coleman, 1993; Logan, 1997; Wade & Falardeau, 1960) seems to emphasize the differences existing between both ethnic groups. From a historical point of view, both French and British settlers exerted an enormous influence upon the territorial distribution of the population as well as upon the aboriginal population present in Canadian territories before the arrival of the European settlers. By contrast, Canadian society is frequently seen as an example of respect and social integration of the multiple ethnicities and cultures that co-exist and share common values such as tolerance and mutual understanding.

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These contradictory positions could lead us to two different interpretations. On one hand, we may think of the French-speaking minority as a sector of the Canadian population apparently integrated into the global society, commonly denominated 'mosaic'. On the other hand, we might interpret facts in terms of the lack of an identified symbol-either political or religious- that jeopardizes the heritage culture and traditions of all the minority groups present in this country and which results in assimilation.

At this point of our investigation, we realized that individual experiences and interpersonal relations ought to be considered in order to determine the predominant modes of interaction among the Francophones as a minority group. Further analysis of the interaction processes, also known as acculturation, permitted to corroborate our hypothesis that the Francophones who are present in the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan cannot be described as a group of population who are assimilated to the English speaking majority.

Our survey designed for measuring the acculturation within the Francophones in the Canadian Prairies made possible to estimate the proportion of Francophone citizens that opt for assimilation as the preferred mode of acculturation. The questionnaire based on the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (VIA) served our purposes of counting individual responses lying with each of the four quadrants associated to diverse modes of acculturation –marginalization, separation, assimilation and integration- according to the bidimensional model proposed by Berry (1992).<sup>220</sup> The most remarkable finding of the quantitative study carried out with the data collected from the 223 Francophone

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<sup>220</sup> The attitudes towards Canadian mainstream society and Francophone heritage culture which are associated to each of these four modes of acculturation according to Berry's bidimensional model of acculturation can be seen on table 4.1, p 181.

citizens who participated in our study is the absence of individual responses associated to marginalization as an acculturation mode.

It must be noted that the low percentage of individual responses associated to assimilation confirms that this was not the most common mode of acculturation among the participants in our survey. The statistical test of hypothesis which was conducted in order to extrapolate these results to the total population permitted to refuse the null hypothesis that the proportion of assimilated Francophones is superior to 0.1 (10% of total Francophone population).<sup>221</sup>

A higher proportion of the individual responses have been associated to separation, according to the bidimensional model used for this classification. However, the responses given to the items referred to the attitudes of the individuals towards their Francophone heritage and the Canadian mainstream culture, confirm our hypothesis that most Francophone citizens show a positive attitude in relation to both Francophone and Canadian culture.

The conclusions drawn from previous studies show that integration is the mode of acculturation which is associated to a better psychological adaptation. By engaging in the two cultures (mainstream and heritage culture), individuals acquire dual competencies and dual social networks that support the citizen during the process of acculturation (Benet-Martinez, 2010: 1015-1050). Rena and Daub (1999: 430) also stated that marginalized citizens would undergo greater psychological adjustments problems than the other acculturating groups. In the same way, assimilated citizens would experience fewer socio-cultural difficulties than the other acculturating groups,

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<sup>221</sup> The rate of assimilation for the 18-30 years old citizens that participated in our survey (N=40) was stated to be inferior to 15%, which represents a higher percentage to the value obtained for the total sample (N=223).

## Conclusions

whereas separated citizens will experience greater socio-cultural difficulties compared to the rest of the acculturating groups.

One of the main contributions of this thesis to the research field of acculturation would be the addition of a third dimension to the bi-dimensional scale for acculturation measurement proposed by Berry (1992). In fact, we have based our tri-dimensional approach to acculturation on the conceptual distinction between two different domains of acculturation-behavioural and psychological.

Our multidimensional scale specifically designed for the Francophone minorities of the Canadian Prairies, MMAFCP,<sup>222</sup> makes a distinction between behavioural dimension of acculturation, which includes the items referred to language use and knowledge, customs, food and clothing as well as lifestyles and leisure activities, and psychological dimension of acculturation, mainly associated to value orientations, attitudes and preferences together with self-identifications.

Previous multidimensional studies of acculturation that were accomplished with citizens of different ethnic groups immigrating in Canada have shown that integration was the preferred mode of acculturation for individuals (Sabatier & Berry, 2011: 658-669). The analysis of the data obtained from our multidimensional scale has confirmed that integration also constitutes the preferred mode of acculturation for the Francophones when considering behavioural and psychological domains of acculturation separately.

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<sup>222</sup>We remind that MMAFCP stand for Multidimensional Model of Acculturation for the Francophones in the Canadian Prariries. This is the name given to the scale designed in the present work to measure behavioural and psychological domains of acculturation within the random sample of francophone citizens who participated in our survey.

However, the most significant finding derived from the individual responses given to each domain of acculturation is that the proportions of assimilated participants and those individuals who opt for separation register different patterns. In fact, when considering the psychological domain of acculturation, the proportion of responses obtained within separation (6.72%) turned to be inferior to the proportion of assimilated individuals (8.52%). On the contrary, the responses of the participants given to those items referred to socio-cultural domain of acculturation lead to a higher percentage of separated individuals (9.86%) when compared to the proportion of assimilated Francophones (2.69%).

These results seem to point at a higher degree of identification on the part of the Francophones towards social and cultural elements associated to the Francophone heritage- language, leisure and cultural activities- rather than in relation to those elements that we can associate to the psychological factors - self-identification, religion, beliefs or values- traditionally linked to the Francophone ethnic identity. It is possible to precise that the rate of separation is significantly higher when we take into consideration the socio-cultural (also labelled in our thesis as ‘behavioural’) domain of acculturation. This fact seems to indicate that the personal interactions of the Francophones within an Anglophone mainstream society is accompanied by greater adjustments since a socio-cultural point view and fewer difficulties from a psychological perspective.

The corresponding part of our research on acculturation which was carried out with the responses given by young respondents (18-30 years old) also shed light on important aspects regarding generational differences in acculturation. The use of statistical parameters to test the independence between the values granted by young respondents to the questions corresponding to each of the subscales –Canadian and Francophone-

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showed that, working at 95% confidence level, the differences observed between the values obtained for both subscales are not significant.

Our attempt to perform the multidimensional study on acculturation filtering the responses which come from 18-30 years old participants showed that the internal consistency of the answers registered in our questionnaire for these respondents was not good enough to validate this part of the research. In fact, these findings may be considered as one of the most remarkable differences observed within the youngest generation of Francophones when they are compared to the results obtained for the whole sample used in our study.<sup>223</sup>

To justify the absence of statistical significance between the answers given by young participants to the items referred to their own heritage culture and those related to the Canadian mainstream and also between the responses given to questions concerning socio-cultural and psychological domains of acculturation, further research on acculturation studies focused on young citizens should be carried out.

In our search for an explanation to these anomalous results obtained for 18-30 years old respondents, previous studies on acculturation which included 'new' modes of acculturation did shed light on the interpretation of our findings. The concept of "coexistence" has been introduced as an orientation situated between integration and assimilation, which would occupy intermediate places in the bidimensional acculturation model used by some researchers on acculturation (Mishra, Sinha and Berry, 1996). Their findings revealed that coexistence and integration are positively

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<sup>223</sup> The internal consistency of the different parts of the questionnaire aimed at measuring behavioural and psychological domains of acculturation was validated by calculating Cronbach's alphas for each set of items using the 223 individual responses collected in our survey. The values obtained were superior to 0.7 when responses given to each domain of acculturation were considered, which confirmed the reliability of the questionnaire.

correlated, and that they were equally preferred. The finding of this fifth orientation shows that there are other modes of acculturation that could be conceptualized.

Sabater and Berry (1996; 2008) also introduced the idea that young citizens are not only oriented towards their host national and their own heritage cultures. Our quantitative research devoted to acculturation measurement evidences that the interaction among the young generation of Francophones and the rest of citizens marks a difference with respect to the Francophone citizens included within other age ranges. Rapid social changes, a high rate of immigration, the influence of the media and the introduction of new technologies in their daily lives make this new generation different from other generations of Francophones. We must consider that life experience for many young citizens within Western societies is influenced by the omnipresence of the 'wired' world in which a continue access to Internet and the connection with other citizens by means of social networking are common traits, also for the Francophones.

In order to justify the fact that the 'Francophone' and the 'Canadian' ethnic identities are not understood by young respondents as independent elements within the perception of their own individual reality, we could introduce the idea that the two specific cultures- Francophone and Canadian- are not the essential focus of their lives. In fact, we may add that this new generation of Francophones are not only oriented towards their heritage and host culture but also to a 'global culture'.

This new generation of citizens who were born after 1984, who has been included in our research on acculturation within the 18-30 age range, has also been taken as a reference to proceed with the final step of our investigation centered on generational differences. It was considered that the inclusion within our survey of a set of questions regarding the opinions of the participants in relation to aspects such as religion, politics,

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cultural traditions, the choice of school, leisure activities and use of French language would be a valuable way of deepening into our knowledge of the differences existing among Francophones from different age groups.

As regards the results obtained from this specific part of the questionnaire devoted to the study of the inter-generational differences, we must remark the fact that the young respondents (18-30) showed a higher level of agreement with the opinion of their parents when compared to the two other age ranges (31-50 and over 50 years old participants).<sup>224</sup> The level of agreement between the opinions of the young Francophones and their parents regarding leisure activities, election of school and cultural traditions was superior to the values registered when filtering responses for the rest of the population studied. However, lower levels of agreement have been demonstrated when young citizens' opinions are contrasted to those of their parents in reference to politics, the fact of learning French language and the religious practice.

We can provide with different reasons that may justify the high level of agreement between young citizens and their ancestors regarding the perception of their socio-cultural reality. Firstly, we should point out that the young generation of Francophones have a privileged status compared to their parents and other senior citizens when referring to the access to health services or education in French language. We have emphasized in the present work the importance of the promotion of the French language by the educational authorities. We may affirm that the gradual introduction of French immersion programs and the creation of Francophone school districts mark a significant

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<sup>224</sup> The mean value of the scores given to the six used for assessing generation differences by 18-30 years old respondents was 3.312 in a 4-point scale, when filtering responses from 18-30 respondents. The lowest level of agreement between the participants' opinions and those from their parents was reported for citizens aged more than 50 (3.132). See page 230.

difference from the educational contexts that characterized the schooling experiences of older citizens.

In addition to educational factors, different reports used as our source of information for this part of our research also lead us to state that the conditions of the use of the health services in French language has improved during the latest decades. We must consider that it was not until the 1960s that the Western provinces of Canada began to offer some services in French to the public. In Manitoba, for instance, French Language Services Policy was reviewed in 1989 and later in 1998 to assure health services in French language in all areas of the province (Houlden, 2012:1-4).

Despite the improvement of the conditions in which young Francophones accede to education and health services in French language, the conclusions which were drawn from our study focused on the generational differences make us consider other less favourable elements in the life conditions of the new generation of Francophones. Living in an environment where English is spoken by the vast majority of the inhabitants of the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, it is assumed that French-language employment has progressively become scarce.

The lower values reported in the questions included to measure the level of agreement between the opinion of respondents aged between 18 and 30 years old and those of their parents regarding aspects such as politics and the necessity of learning French language may also be interpreted. As a matter of fact, the young generation of Francophones are currently experiencing great difficulties to have access to French-language employment since the number of working-age Francophones largely exceeds the number of available French-language positions. In provinces like Alberta, positions

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in Francophone organizations such as the ACFA and the AJFAs depend largely on government funding and, consequently, are not stable.<sup>225</sup>

The world financial crisis has resulted in the loss of many of the French-speaking positions and the job market for the Francophones in Western regions of Canada has become even tighter when compared to previous generations (Dalley, 2008:52). The new generation of Francophones who is joining the workforce is also witnessing tensions derived from the incorporation of Francophone immigrants with full mastery of French language. In fact, problems experienced by young Franco-Albertans who failed to find a position within Radio-Canada due to their particular accent have been reported in recent years.<sup>226</sup>

Although immigration is not a new phenomenon within Canadian society, the financial difficulties derived from the world economic recession which started in year 2007 in North America have also affected the situation of many young Francophone immigrants that do not have the necessary language skills to obtain work in the English language job market. According to the circumstances here exposed, we may state that the new generations of Francophones are forced to rely on Francophone organizations engaged in the Francophone historic communities to a greater extent than their parents.

The improvement of the Francophone school system, the access to health services in French language and other achievements attributed to the Francophone communities seem to be the consequence of the changes in the social and political landscape for the Francophones. The French language laws and social policies have permitted the

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<sup>225</sup> ACFA stand for Association Canadienne-Française de l'Alberta (French Canadian Albertan Association). AJFA correspond to Association Jeunesse Francophone de l'Alberta (Youth Francophone Association of Alberta).

<sup>226</sup> Dalley's article published in 2008 within *Canadian Issues Review* adds the following testimony from a young Francophone citizen from Alberta in relation to Radio-Canada's language: "We don't speak Radio-Canada's language [...]. They're never going to put your face in front of the camera" (Dalley, 2008:53).

Francophones to perform better than other citizens in aspects such as mortality rates, rates of suicide attempts, the graduation rates for teenagers or the pass rates for Language Arts and Mathematics.

Nevertheless, there are still negative aspects in which Francophone young citizens have a less privileged situation than the rest of the population. With respect to educational aspects, we can remark that the rates of not being ready for school in Kindergarten as well as the rates of diagnosis for attention deficit hyperactive disorder have been reported to be higher for Francophones in the province of Manitoba (Houlden, 2012:3).

At present, we ought to mention that some of the Francophone institutions which receive public funds are suffering from dramatic adjustments in their budgets, which is menacing the continuity of their services to the Francophone community. In fact, two of the Francophone journals that we have repeatedly cited as source of information for our thesis, *La Liberté* and *Le Franco*, are at risk of disappearing due to federal financial measurements.

We must add that new financial policies are also affecting the religious patrimony of the Catholic population in Western Canadian provinces. As an example of this situation, we can look into the article which was published by *Le Franco* in 2011 referring to the financial crisis of the Catholic parish in Edmonton that it has been forced to sell four convents located in the French Quarter of the city.<sup>227</sup> Other claims of the Francophones of the western Canadian provinces are based on the access to better

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<sup>227</sup> See article “*Vente du patrimoine religieux francophone: la communauté se mobilise*”, by Lysane Sénécal Mastropaolo. Published by *Le Franco*, 2<sup>nd</sup> December 2011.

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health services. In the case of Alberta, Francophones have mobilized in year 2012 to demand long term services for elderly Francophone in the province.

The difficulties which are being experienced by the Francophone community seem to affect the economic resources devoted to educational projects. As a support member of the ACFA, I have received a series of communications throughout the year 2014 in which I was informed of the campaign that the ACFA was launching against the President of the University of Alberta. On January 8, 2014, Madame Laurin, Public Affairs Director, confirmed the intention of the University of Alberta of closing the *Centre collegial de l'Alberta* (French-language College of Alberta), the only Francophone college-level institution of the province.<sup>228</sup>

In spite of the adverse conditions that seem to affect the daily life of the Canadian Prairies inhabitants who wish to keep French as their language of expression, there have been other encouraging facts that allow us to believe that the commitment of the Francophone community to the preservation of their mother tongue is giving positive results. We can provide with events that confirm the success of certain initiatives of the Francophone population in order to have their linguistic rights recognized. Among the most recent findings regarding the achievements of the Francophones in the provinces included in our research, we can mention the recognition of Plamonton (Alberta) as an officially bilingual community in 2013 or the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in 2014 to admit to trial "*La cause Caron*" (The Caron case), in relation to the constitutional rights of being judged in French language in Alberta.

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<sup>228</sup> The content of this communication is available online: [http://www.acfa.ab.ca/Documents/Communiqués2010/20140120\\_CCA\\_L-ACFA-lance-a-lettre-campagne.pdf](http://www.acfa.ab.ca/Documents/Communiqués2010/20140120_CCA_L-ACFA-lance-a-lettre-campagne.pdf) (Accessed on 23th February 2014).

Diverse members of the Canadian government have appeared on Francophone media to manifest their willingness to support the Francophone communities in western regions of the country. In cities like Edmonton, government funding helps to promote official languages and support the development of activities such as the *Carnaval des Sucres*, the *Rendez-vous de la Francophonie* and *Camp Soleil*, a day camp for children every year. Francophone women in Alberta also receive public funds from the Government of Canada to provide support to associations such as *Coalition des femmes de l'Alberta* to help women in Alberta to be more independent and active in their Francophone communities.<sup>229</sup>

On the basis of the most recent achievements on the part of the Francophone population, we conclude that the Francophones constitute an active community within the Canadian Prairies, especially in Alberta. The success of the educational programmes implemented in these provinces serves as an example for other western provinces. In fact, the financial investment on language programmes in Alberta have resulted in a considerable increase of the number of students enrolled in Francophone schools and French immersion programmes.

The fact that our study on the acculturation processes of the Francophones shows that a considerable proportion of the Francophone citizens (>75%) are integrated within the mainstream society ought to be considered as a favourable condition for the Francophones to preserve their ethnic identity. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that the survival of every ‘integrated’ minority is always assured.

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<sup>229</sup> See the article “Harper government supports francophone women in Alberta”. (2012, Oct 15). *Targeted News Service*. Retrieved from: <http://search.proquest.com/docview/1112160396?accountid=14609>

## Conclusions

Integration is reckoned to be an essential tool that contributes to the vitality of a community, especially when we are dealing with a minority group of population. Bilingualism constitutes a linguistic resource that allows minority groups to interact with the mainstream society in a more effective way. However, the problematic associated to the lack of respect of the linguistic rights of the Francophone minorities outside Quebec seems to persist and appears as a recurring element throughout the course of our research.

On the grounds of the information extracted from this investigation, additional problems which are being faced by the Francophone citizens in the Canadian Prairies must be mentioned. We can mention the lack of consensus as regards the ethnic identity of the Francophones. Even the denomination of this minority group has been object of discussion: the terms *Canadien Française* (French Canadian), *Canadien Francophone* (Canadian Francophone), *Citoyen d'expression Française* (citizens of French expression) have appeared as diverse labels in the attempt to include the multiple identities comprised within our target minority group.

Moreover, the multiplicity of 'identities' within the Francophone citizens in Western Canada – Métis, French origin citizens, African immigrants, European French-speakers together with Franco-Albertan, Fransaskois or Franco-Manitoban communities- has not always resulted in a common sense of community shared by all the Francophones.

Among the proposals which result from the present work which could lead to the improvement of the current situation of the Francophone minorities in the Canadian Prairies, we opt for prioritizing those referred to the integration of the newcomers within the existing Francophone communities.

In fact, the demands of the host Francophone communities collected within the research conducted by the ACFA in collaboration with Paulin Mulatris through the year 2008 support our idea that the measures implemented for the reception of new Francophone immigrants are not sufficient. With the objective of achieving a more effective integration of the French speaking immigrants within the provinces of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, several proposals are here formulated.

Regarding educational aspects, we could start by encouraging non-Canadian born Francophone parents, especially African immigrants, to assume a more participative role in the schools attended by their kids. The possibility of offering more publicity to newly-arrived Francophones in relation to the organisms and associations which provide services in French is also considered an effective way of increasing the chances of integration of the newcomers within the existing Francophone communities.

The integration of the Francophones who come from other countries would be also facilitated by organizing workshops and other activities in which host Francophone communities and Francophone immigrants could work together in order to create a common space for sharing experiences. These meetings could serve as an opportunity for long term Francophone citizens to offer sponsorship and guidance to immigrants and newcomers who wish to search for accommodation or employment within the Francophone communities.

With respect to linguistic aspects, it seems reasonable to think that interpretation and translation services for those immigrants who do not master English language should be offered to facilitate their integration within the Canadian system of employment, education and health care. In the same way, those psychological aspects which are crucial for the integration of the Francophone citizens from different cultural

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backgrounds, such as religious practice, should be taken into consideration. In this sense, measures like providing spiritual support for Francophone immigrants who decide to integrate either within the Catholic parishes existing or within Islamic communities, where Francophone population is well represented, can be proposed.

The province of Alberta can be considered as a positive model in the field of education. The financial investment on educational programmes in this province has considerably increased the opportunities of the Francophones to pursue their studies in French language. Albertan respondents to our questionnaire have expressed a higher degree of agreement with the opinion of their progenitors in relation to learning and using French language compared to the Franco-Manitobans and the Francophone respondents from Saskatchewan. This fact corroborates our idea that this example should be followed in the rest of Canadian provinces in order to assure the vitality of the two official languages across the country.

On the grounds of the success of the second language immersion programmes and the bilingual education system implemented by Albertan authorities, it must be considered that such measures would additionally preserve the vitality of the Anglophone communities in eastern regions of the country within the province of Quebec and New Brunswick.

After considering the possible elements which contribute to the vitality of the French language and the prevalence of the Francophone heritage culture, from my point of view the enlargement of the 'Francophone space' would only be conceived if the rate of bilingualism among the Anglophones increases and the number of citizens that self-identify as 'francophile' participate in an active way in the promotion of French language and culture.

All in all, we can point at the lack of a strong sense of identity as one of the main issues that the new generations of Francophones are bound to deal with. Furthermore, the analysis of the social, cultural and psychological aspects discussed in this work encourage us to state that a more favourable ethnic perception of the Francophone heritage culture could directly lead to a consensus of the Francophone communities in Western Canada to adopt a common stance towards the linguistic problems associated to the condition of French as a minority language in the Canadian Prairie provinces.

The conclusions presented in this thesis lead us to the necessity of creating a common space which makes possible the rapprochement between Anglophones and Francophones across the country. The future generations of Canadian Francophone citizens are to face the challenge of finding their right place in an increasing diversity of languages and cultures. A more demanding attitude of the Francophones and a more positive vision of the Francophone communities on the part of the Anglophone majority could be the first pillars in the construction of the common space here referred, where both official languages find the optimal conditions to cohabitate and both cultures could be effectively enriched by the mutual interaction of their peoples.

## Conclusions

**“Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation  
Processes within European Origin Groups in  
the Canadian Prairies: Generational  
Differences among Francophone Minorities  
in the province of Alberta”**

## **SOURCES**

# SOURCES

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**“Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation  
Processes within European Origin Groups in  
the Canadian Prairies: Generational  
Differences among Francophone Minorities  
in the Province of Alberta”**

**APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A.1 POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE, CANADIAN PRAIRIES AND BRITISH

	2011				
	Canada	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	B.C.
Total population	<b>33,121,175</b>	<b>1,193,095</b>	<b>1,018,310</b>	<b>3,610,185</b>	<b>4,356,205</b>
Single responses	32,481,635	1,168,570	1,005,810	3,547,680	4,273,930
English	18,858,975	869,99	860,5	2,780,200	3,062,430
<b>French</b>	<b>7,054,970</b>	<b>42,085</b>	<b>16,28</b>	<b>68,545</b>	<b>57,28</b>
Non-official languages	6,567,685	256,5	129,035	698,93	1,154,215
Chinese	1,072,555	13,49	8,615	105,13	357,865
Cantonese	372,465	3,395	1,73	34,985	133,245
Mandarin	248,705	2,36	1,42	19,33	94,055
Hakka	5,115	30	5	325	1,11
Chinese	425,21	7,57	5,38	49,265	120,045
Italian	407,49	4,145	730	11,96	24,06
German	409,2	67,155	25,415	80,905	73,625
Polish	191,65	7,365	1,905	19,89	17,46
Spanish	410,67	8,83	3,235	44,02	40,795
Portuguese	211,335	6,1	480	7,38	14,605
Panjabi (Punjabi)	430,705	9,87	2,11	49,94	182,92
Ukrainian	111,54	17,295	13,15	24,575	9,68
Arabic	327,87	3,015	2,045	28,005	13,05
Dutch	110,49	3,15	1,55	17,95	23,08
Tagalog (Pilipino, Filipino)	327,45	34,26	9,26	60,085	66,12
Greek	108,925	1,16	835	2,965	6,25
Vietnamese	144,885	3,325	1,745	21,195	25,1
Cree	78,2	19,03	22,035	16,885	960
Inuktitut (Eskimo)	33,5	80	20	60	25
Other non-official languages	2,191,240	58,235	12,5	207,97	298,625
Multiple responses <sup>2</sup>	639,54	24,525	12,5	62,505	82,28
English and French	144,685	3,795	1,73	8,41	8,6
English and non-official language	396,33	18,94	9,845	49,965	68,8
French and non-official language	74,43	1,425	750	2,94	3,345
English, French and non-official language	24,095	360	175	1,185	1,53

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011. Census of Population and Statistics Canada catalogue no. 98-314-XCB

**APPENDIX A.2**  
**POPULATION OF IMMIGRANT MOTHER TONGUE FAMILIES, SHOWING**  
**MAIN LANGUAGES COMPRISING EACH FAMILY, CANADA, 2011**

Language family	Main languages	Number	Percentage
Niger-Congo languages	Akan, Swahili, Rundi	81,135	1.2
Cushitic languages	Somali, Oromo	45,880	0.7
Semitic languages	Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic	449,580	6.6
Turkic languages	Turkish, Azerbaijani	36,750	0.5
Armenian	Armenian	31,680	0.5
Indo-Iranian languages	Punjabi, Urdu, Persian, Gujarati, Hindi	1,179,990	17.3
Dravidian languages	Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu	175,280	2.6
Chinese languages	Chinese , Cantonese, Mandarin	1,112,610	16.3
Tibeto-Burman languages	Tibetan, Burmese	8,210	0.1
Korean	Korean	142,880	2.1
Japanese	Japanese	43,040	0.6
Malayo-Polynesian languages	Tagalog, Ilocano, Malay	443,750	6.5
Tai-Kadai languages	Lao, Thai	22,615	0.3
Austro-Asiatic languages	Vietnamese, Khmer	174,455	2.6
Romance languages	Spanish, Italian, Portuguese	1,196,390	17.5
Germanic languages	German, Dutch, Yiddish	611,165	8.9
Slavic languages	Polish, Russian, Ukrainian	721,605	10.6
Baltic languages	Lithuanian, Latvian	14,055	0.2
Finno-Ugric languages	Hungarian, Finnish, Estonian	96,200	1.4
Celtic languages	Welsh	3,885	0.1
Greek	Greek	117,890	1.7
Albanian	Albanian	25,010	0.4
Creole languages	Haitian Creole	75,255	1.1

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2011.

**APPENDIX A.3.**

**PROVINCE OR TERRITORY OF RESIDENCE 5 YEARS AGO, FRENCH LANGUAGE MOTHER TONGUE FOR THE INTERPROVINCIAL MIGRANTS AGED 5 YEARS AND OVER OF CANADA, PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, 2001 AND 2006**

	Canada	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta
Canada	88,610	2,485	1,760	6,495
Newfoundland and Labrador	315	0	0	20
Prince Edward Island	450	10	0	20
Nova Scotia	2,680	50	0	80
New Brunswick	6,990	140	45	365
Quebec	35,405	835	705	3,210
Ontario	22,930	635	230	1,225
Manitoba	1,895	0	120	185
Saskatchewan	1,050	95	0	160
Alberta	9,205	405	470	0
British Columbia	6,945	285	170	1,175
Yukon	270	0	0	20
Northwest Territories	325	10	0	25
Nunavut	140	20	0	0

Source: Statistics Canada. *Recensement de la population de 2006*. Catalogue No. 97-556-XCB2006010

**APPENDIX A.4**  
**CANADIAN POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE. CANADIAN PROVINCES**  
**AND TERRITORIES. CANADA CENSUS, 2006**

Geographic name	Mother tongue							
	Total	English	French	Non-official language	English and French	English and non-official language	French and non-official language	English, French and non-official language
<b>Canada</b>	<b>31,241,030</b>	<b>17,882,775</b>	<b>6,817,655</b>	<b>6,147,840</b>	<b>98,625</b>	<b>240,005</b>	<b>43,335</b>	<b>10,790</b>
<b>Newfoundland and Labrador</b>	500,610	488,405	<b>1,885</b>	9,540	295	435	30	15
<b>Prince Edward Island</b>	134,205	125,265	<b>5,345</b>	2,960	495	105	25	10
<b>Nova Scotia</b>	903,090	832,105	<b>32,540</b>	34,620	2,100	1,440	140	140
<b>New Brunswick</b>	719,650	463,190	<b>232,980</b>	18,320	4,450	560	120	25
<b>Quebec</b>	7,435,900	575,560	<b>5,877,660</b>	886,280	43,335	16,200	31,350	5,520
<b>Ontario</b>	12,028,895	8,230,705	<b>488,815</b>	3,134,045	32,685	131,285	7,790	3,565
<b>Manitoba</b>	1,133,515	838,415	<b>43,960</b>	236,315	2,630	11,675	435	85
<b>Saskatchewan</b>	953,845	811,730	<b>16,055</b>	118,465	1,130	6,080	245	140
<b>Alberta</b>	3,256,360	2,576,665	<b>61,225</b>	583,525	5,405	27,725	1,325	480
<b>British Columbia</b>	4,074,385	2,875,775	<b>54,740</b>	1,091,530	5,920	43,785	1,840	790
<b>Yukon Territory</b>	30,195	25,655	<b>1,105</b>	3,180	110	130	10	0
<b>Northwest Territories</b>	41,055	31,545	<b>970</b>	8,160	40	320	10	0
<b>Nunavut</b>	29,325	7,765	<b>370</b>	20,885	20	260	25	0

Source: Canada Census, 2006. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.ca>.

**APPENDIX A.5**  
**OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN AT HOME, CANADA, 2001, 2006 AND 2011**

Language(s) spoken at home	2001		2006		2011	
	number	percentage	number	percentage	number	percentage
<b>French only</b>	5,861,135	19.8	5,953,155	19.1	6,043,305	18.2
<b>English only</b>	18,267,825	61.6	18,853,915	60.3	19,224,945	58.0
<b>Other only</b>	1,693,120	5.7	2,045,080	6.5	2,145,250	6.5
<b>French and other</b>	220,290	0.7	298,245	1.0	417,990	1.3
<b>English and other</b>	2,447,675	8.3	2,857,455	9.1	3,816,980	11.5
<b>English and French</b>	1,015,920	3.4	1,090,325	3.5	1,222,530	3.7
<b>Other combinations</b>	133,080	0.4	142,840	0.5	250,175	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>29,639,045</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>31,241,015</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>33,121,175</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Canada Census, 2011. Available online at: <http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2011/as-sa/98-314-x/2011001/tbl/tbl5-eng.cfm>

**APPENDIX A.6  
LANGUAGE SPOKEN MOST OFTEN AT HOME IN CANADIAN PROVINCES  
AND TERRITORIES, 2006**

Geographic name	Language spoken most often at home							
	Total	English	French	Non-official language	English and French	English and non-official language	French and non-official language	English, French and non-official language
Canada	31,241,030	20,584,770	6,608,125	3,472,130	94,055	406,455	58,885	16,600
Newfoundland and Labrador	500,610	494,345	650	4,905	180	525	0	0
Prince Edward I.	134,205	130,115	2,680	1,095	150	165	0	0
Nova Scotia	903,090	866,685	17,165	15,700	1,310	2,120	80	25
New Brunswick	719,650	494,215	211,665	8,350	4,295	965	130	30
Quebec	7,435,905	744,430	6,027,730	518,320	52,330	26,560	54,490	12,035
Ontario	12,028,895	9,655,830	289,035	1,811,620	26,050	239,890	3,065	3,405
Manitoba	1,133,515	989,215	19,515	107,875	1,825	14,870	110	105
Saskatchewan	953,845	897,130	3,860	46,605	860	5,335	50	10
Alberta	3,256,355	2,893,240	19,315	297,955	3,340	41,645	460	395
British Columbia	4,074,385	3,341,285	15,325	639,380	3,610	73,730	465	580
Yukon Territory	30,195	28,540	540	935	65	110	0	0
Northwest Territories	41,060	36,795	445	3,570	30	210	0	0
Nunavut	29,325	12,955	205	15,810	15	320	20	0

Source: Statistics Canada, 2007. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc>

**APPENDIX A.7**

**RATES OF COMPLETE AND PARTIAL RETENTION, MOTHER TONGUE.  
CANADA CENSUS, 2011**

<b>Other tongue</b>	<b>Complete retention rate</b>	<b>Partial retention rate</b>	<b>Total retention rate</b>
Punjabi	81.4	12.5	93.9
Tamil	80.3	13.5	93.8
Urdu	76.2	16.5	92.7
Korean	79.7	13.0	92.7
Mandarin	80.4	12.1	92.5
Persian	77.0	15.1	92.0
Gujarati	71.5	18.2	89.7
Spanish	67.5	22.0	89.5
Cantonese	73.9	15.6	89.4
Vietnamese	73.6	15.1	88.7
Arabic	64.9	22.9	87.8
Russian	69.3	17.1	86.4
Tagalog	63.0	22.6	85.6
Chinese, n.o.s.	71.6	13.4	85.0
Hindi	59.7	25.0	84.7
Greek	50.4	32.2	82.6
Portuguese	51.1	27.3	78.4
Polish	52.9	23.3	76.3
Italian	39.1	28.7	67.8
<b>German</b>	<b>34.6</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>57.3</b>
<b>Ukrainian</b>	<b>25.9</b>	<b>21.3</b>	<b>47.2</b>
Dutch	15.2	26.2	41.4

Source: Statistics Canada, 2012. Available at: <http://www.statcan.gc.ca>

**APPENDIX A.8**  
**POPULATION BY RELIGION, BY PROVINCE AND TERRITORY, 2001 CENSUS.**  
**CANADA AND THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA**

	Canada	Alberta.
Total population	<b>29,639,035</b>	<b>2,941,150</b>
<b>Catholic</b>	12,936,905	786,360
<b>Protestant</b>	8,654,850	1,145,460
<b>Christian Orthodox</b>	479,620	44,475
<b>Christian not included elsewhere</b>	780,450	123,140
<b>Muslim</b>	579,640	49,040
<b>Jewish</b>	329,995	11,085
<b>Buddhist</b>	300,345	33,410
<b>Hindu</b>	297,200	15,965
<b>Sikh</b>	278,410	23,470
<b>Eastern religions</b>	37,550	3,335
<b>Other religions</b>	63,975	10,560
<b>No religious affiliation</b>	4,900,090	694,840

Source: Statistics Canada, 2002

**APPENDIX A.9**

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS REFERRED TO FRANCOPHONES, GERMANS AND UKRAINIAN ORIGIN CITIZENS, 2007**

	ALBERTA	ALBERTA	ALBERTA	ALBERTA	ALBERTA	SASKATCHEWAN	SASKATCHEWAN	SASKATCHEWAN	SASKATCHEWAN	SASKATCHEWAN	MANITOBA	MANITOBA	MANITOBA	MANITOBA		
	FRANCOPHONE	GERMANS	UKRAINIANS	TOTAL	FRANCOPHONE	GERMANS	UKRAINIANS	TOTAL	FRANCOPHONE	GERMANS	UKRAINIANS	TOTAL	FRANCOPHONE	GERMANS	UKRAINIANS	TOTAL
UNEMPLOYMENT (%)	4.5	3.7	4	4.3	5.6	4.5	4.5	5.6	5.5	4.2	5.1	5.5				
MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY (MAIN)	CONSTRUCTION	CONSTRUCTION	CONSTRUCTION	MANUFACTURE	AGRICULTURE	AGRICULTURE	AGRICULTURE	AGRICULTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE	MANUFACTURE
(OTHERS)	OIL/GAS	OIL/GAS	OIL/GAS	OIL/GAS	MANUFACTURE	CONSTRUCTION	MANUFACTURE	CONSTRUCTION	TRANSPORT	CONSTRUCTION	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE	TRANSPORT	CONSTRUCTION	TRANSPORT	AGRICULTURE
AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT INCOME (CANADIAN DOLLARS)	40633	41408	43123	42233	30545	30299	30599	30773	30671	31555	31361	31318				
% LOW INCOME	8.1	6.9	6.6	9.1	10.3	7.9	8.6	11.0	12.1	10.3	8.8	13.1				
% WITHOUT ACADEMIC CERTIFICATION	23.80	25.04	22.6	23.42	27.34	28.76	28.32	30.24	27.78	30.12	27.12	29.42				

Source: Canada Census, 2007. Calculations made by the author with the data retrieved from Statistics Canada, 2007 catalogue no. 97-564-XCB2006007. Available at: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca>

**APPENDIX B.1**

**DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES BY SEX, AGE, PLACE OF BIRTH AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE**

PROVINCE	ALBERTA		SASKATCHEWAN		MANITOBA		TOTAL CANADIAN PRAIRIES	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
SEX								
Male	35	35	25	38	19	33	79	35.42
Female	65	65	40	62	39	67	144	64.58
AGE GROUP								
18-30	11	11	11	17	18	31	40	17.93
31-40	27	27	20	31	12	21	59	26.45
41-50	26	26	12	18	8	14	46	20.63
50	36	36	22	34	20	34	78	34.97
PLACE OF BIRTH								
Same province of residence	35	35	37	57	37	64	109	48.88
Other Canadian province	49	49	20	31	15	26	84	37.67
Outside Canada	16	16	8	12	6	10	30	13.45
TIME OF RESIDENCE (years)								
0-5 Years	8	8	7	11	4	7	19	8.52
5-10 years	17	17	4	6	2	3	23	10.31
10 years or more	75	75	54	83	52	90	181	81.17

**APPENDIX B.2**  
**CORRELATION MATRIX. ITEMS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE USED FOR MEASURING ACCULTURATION**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	
1. I belong to the Canadian culture	1																								
2. I belong to the Francophone heritage culture	0,31	1																							
3. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a non Francophone	-0,02	-0,16	1																						
4. I would be willing to have a personal relation with a Francophone	0,06	0,092	0,13	1																					
5. I enjoy social activities with Canadian people who are not francophone	0,22	-0,05	0,539	0,073	1																				
6. I enjoy social activities with people from Francophone Heritage culture	0,08	0,246	0,014	0,326	0,158	1																			
7. I am comfortable interacting with people from non Francophone Canadian culture	0,07	-0,07	0,384	0,056	0,528	0,08	1																		
8. I am comfortable interacting with people from Francophone Heritage culture	0,19	0,257	-0,01	0,245	0,102	0,48	0,265	1																	
9. I enjoy entertainment (e.g.restaurants,music and movies) typical of the Canadian culture	0,29	0,178	0,124	0,176	0,368	0,41	0,319	0,397	1																
10. I enjoy entertainment (e.g.restaurants, movies, music) from Francophone Heritage culture	0,03	0,264	-0,01	0,159	0,098	0,49	0,029	0,309	0,45	1															
11. I believe in the values of the Canadian culture	0,54	0,155	0,114	0,078	0,216	0,07	0,212	0,195	0,41	0,056	1														
12. I believe in the values of the Francophone Heritage culture	0,23	0,33	-0,07	0,127	-0,03	0,48	0,035	0,29	0,23	0,395	0,41	1													
13. I enjoy the jokes and humour of the Canadian culture	0,27	0,142	0,082	0,023	0,213	0,15	0,273	0,118	0,35	0,111	0,4	0,158	1												
14. I enjoy the jokes and humour of the Francophones	0,15	0,404	-0,09	0,115	0,017	0,28	-0,025	0,236	0,31	0,54	0,11	0,357	0,4553	1											
15. I behave in ways that are typical of the Canadian culture	0,46	0,26	0,064	0,084	0,187	0,16	0,211	0,131	0,4	0,103	0,52	0,296	0,5697	0,296	1										
16. I behave in ways that are typical of the Francophones	0,17	0,569	-0,17	0,202	-0,16	0,33	-0,168	0,164	0,12	0,383	0,14	0,42	0,1064	0,391	0,3555	1									
17. It is important for me to maintain or develop the practices of the Canadian culture	0,45	0,201	0,02	0,052	0,271	0,12	0,226	0,131	0,42	0,129	0,52	0,167	0,3557	0,154	0,5651	0,19	1								
18. It is important for me to maintain or develop practices typical of the Francophone heritage culture	0,17	0,557	-0,12	0,108	-0,09	0,45	-0,042	0,329	0,23	0,432	0,13	0,489	0,1123	0,445	0,1741	0,56	0,287	1							
19. I feel that I can trust my non Francophone Canadian friends	0,19	0,058	0,287	0,021	0,461	0,18	0,445	0,158	0,33	0,038	0,24	0,057	0,2754	0,018	0,2226	-0	0,338	0,132	1						
20. I feel that I can trust my francophone friends	0,12	0,223	0,106	0,296	0,215	0,39	0,335	0,347	0,35	0,194	0,14	0,219	0,2227	0,167	0,2105	0,15	0,214	0,328	0,537	1					
21. People from other ethnic groups make me feel rejected	0,02	-0,11	0,178	0,101	0,15	0,1	0,192	0,063	0,14	0,038	0,11	9E-04	0,1958	0,03	0,1435	-0,1	0,134	-0,04	0,261	0,12	1				
22. Francophone people make me feel rejected	0,1	0,186	0,167	0,196	0,047	0,21	0,069	0,139	0,13	0,099	0,14	0,144	0,1374	0,14	0,2284	0,17	0,157	0,163	0,056	0,27	0,2828	1			
23. I feel accpeted by non francophone Canadian people	0,14	0,014	0,192	0,053	0,278	0,11	0,263	0,075	0,27	0,077	0,25	0,103	0,2537	0,012	0,2194	-0	0,272	0,064	0,512	0,31	0,2263	0,1233	1		
24. I feel accepted by Francophone people	0,14	0,328	-0,07	0,195	-0,04	0,39	0,061	0,309	0,26	0,294	0,1	0,367	0,1009	0,232	0,1983	0,25	0,206	0,399	0,15	0,44	0,072	0,4354	0,311	1	

**APPENDIX B.3**

**KOLMOGOROV-SMIRNOV TEST FOR NORMAL DISTRIBUTION OF PROBABILITY. RESPONSES GIVEN TO FRANCOPHONE HERITAGE CULTURE AND CANADIAN CULTURE ITEMS**

Critical values for the Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test for goodness of fit

For completely specified continuous distributions:

$1 - \alpha$ $n$	0.9	0.95	0.99
1	0.950	0.975	0.995
2	0.776	0.842	0.929
3	0.636	0.708	0.829
4	0.565	0.624	0.734
5	0.510	0.563	0.669
6	0.468	0.520	0.617
7	0.436	0.483	0.576
8	0.410	0.454	0.542
9	0.387	0.430	0.513
10	0.369	0.409	0.489
11	0.352	0.391	0.468
12	0.338	0.375	0.450
13	0.325	0.361	0.432
14	0.314	0.349	0.418
15	0.304	0.338	0.404
16	0.295	0.327	0.392
17	0.286	0.318	0.381
18	0.279	0.309	0.371
19	0.271	0.301	0.361
20	0.265	0.294	0.352

$1 - \alpha$ $n$	0.9	0.95	0.99
21	0.259	0.287	0.344
22	0.253	0.281	0.337
23	0.247	0.275	0.330
24	0.242	0.269	0.323
25	0.238	0.264	0.317
26	0.233	0.259	0.311
27	0.229	0.254	0.305
28	0.225	0.250	0.300
29	0.221	0.246	0.295
30	0.218	0.242	0.290
31	0.214	0.238	0.285
32	0.211	0.234	0.281
33	0.208	0.231	0.277
34	0.205	0.227	0.273
35	0.202	0.224	0.269
> 35	$\frac{1.224}{\sqrt{n}}$	$\frac{1.358}{\sqrt{n}}$	$\frac{1.628}{\sqrt{n}}$

for  $n > 35$ : 
$$\frac{\sqrt{-0.5 \cdot \ln\left(\frac{\alpha}{2}\right)}}{\sqrt{n}}$$

**DISTRIBUTION OF PROBABILITY. RESPONSES GIVEN TO FRANCOPHONE HERITAGE CULTURE ITEMS (N=223, Dcritical=0.09)**

Class Mark	Absolute Frequency	Cumulative frequency	Sn(x)	Theoretical F(x)	Difference (D)
1	0	0	0	4.8525E-15	4.85246E-15
1.5	0	0	0	1.4871E-10	1.48709E-10
2	1	1	0.0044843	5.9537E-07	0.00448371
2.5	1	2	0.00896861	0.00031982	0.008648793
3	11	13	0.05829596	0.02434588	0.03395008
3.5	44	57	0.25560538	0.29863341	0.043028032
4	166	223	1	0.81980199	<b>0.180198009</b>

**Dmax=0.180198009 > Dcritical**

**DISTRIBUTION OF PROBABILITY. RESPONSES GIVEN TO CANADIAN CULTURE ITEMS (N=223. Dcritical=0.09)**

Class Mark	Absolute Frequency	Cumulative frequency	Sn(x)	Theoretical F(x)	Difference (D)
1	0		0	1.9288E-21	1.9288E-21
1.5	0	0	0	2.2909E-14	2.2909E-14
2	0	0	0	8.0121E-09	8.0121E-09
2.5	1	1	0.0044843	8.5938E-05	0.00439837
3	8	9	0.04035874	0.03115878	0.00919997
3.5	88	97	0.43497758	0.51159388	<b>0.0766163</b>
4	126	223	1	0.97270724	0.02729276

**Dmax=0.0766163 < Dcritical**

**APPENDIX B.4  
STATISTICAL Z-TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE BETWEEN  
ACCULTURATION VALUES OBTAINED FOR THE 0-10 YEARS RESIDENCE  
SAMPLE**

**Z-Test for independence between acculturation values obtained for 0-10  
years resident- Francophone and Canadian mainstream culture**

	<b>Francophone 0-10</b>	<b>Canadian 0-10</b>
Mean value	3.58255633	3.37820513
Variance	0.2448	0.1969
Numbers of observations	39	39
Hypothetical difference between mean values	0	
<i>z</i>	1.92019708	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	<b>0.02741651*</b>	
<i>z</i> critical value (one tailed)	1.64485363	

\*p<0.05

**Z-Test for independence between acculturation values obtained  
for Canadian mainstream subscale for 0-10 and >10 years residents**

	<b>Canadian 0- 10</b>	<b>Canadian &gt;10</b>
Mean value	3.37820513	3.6254529
Variance	0.2448	0.1136
Numbers of observations	39	184
Hypothetical difference between mean values	0	
<i>z</i>	-2.97774046	
<b>P(Z&lt;=z) one tailed test</b>	<b>0.00145191*</b>	
<i>z</i> critical value (one tailed)	1.64485363	

\*p<0.05

**APPENDIX B.5  
FRANCOPHONE HERITAGE AND CANADIAN MAINSTREAM  
ACCULTURATION INDICES FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE**

Francophone average	Canadian average												
1,833333333	3,75	3,4166667	2,75	3,6666667	3	3,833333333	4	3,9166667	3,333333333	4	4	4	4
2,333333333	3,583333333	3,4166667	2,75	3,6666667	3,333333333	3,833333333	3,6666667	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	3,75
2,583333333	4	3,4166667	3,5	3,6666667	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,5	3,9166667	3,583333333	4	4	4	3,1666667
2,727272727	3,6666667	3,4166667	2,833333333	3,6666667	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,6666667	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	3,1666667
2,833333333	3,583333333	3,4166667	4	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,833333333	3,9166667	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	3,083333333
2,833333333	3,833333333	3,454545454	3,5	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,833333333	3,333333333	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	4
2,833333333	3,75	3,5	3,583333333	3,6666667	3,9166667	3,833333333	3,9166667	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	3,833333333
2,833333333	3,833333333	3,5	3,6666667	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,833333333	3,25	3,9166667	3,9166667	4	4	4	4
2,9166667	3,833333333	3,5	2,9166667	3,7	3,4166667	3,833333333	2,5	4	3,6666667	4	4	4	4
3	3,6666667	3,5	3,333333333	3,75	3,75	3,833333333	3,25	4	3,9166667	4	4	4	4
3	3,9166667	3,5	3,9166667	3,75	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,583333333	4	4	4	4	4	4
3	3,833333333	3,5	3,583333333	3,75	3,6666667	3,833333333	3	4	3,833333333	4	4	4	3,833333333
3	3,583333333	3,5	3,5	3,75	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,5	4	3,333333333	4	4	4	2,9166667
3,083333333	3,5	3,9166667	3,5	3,9166667	3,75	3,833333333	3,833333333	4	3,6666667	4	4	4	3,333333333
3,083333333	2,9166667	3,5	3,9166667	3,75	3,4166667	3,833333333	3,333333333	4	3,9166667	4	4	4	2,9166667
3,083333333	4	3,5	3,833333333	3,75	3,75	3,833333333	3,75	4	4	4	4	4	3,9166667
3,083333333	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,75	3,75	3,833333333	3,25	4	4	4	4	4	3,75
3,083333333	3,583333333	3,545454545	3,25	3,75	3,833333333	3,833333333	3,1666667	4	3,833333333	4	4	4	3,9166667
3,1666667	4	3,583333333	3,6666667	3,75	3,6666667	3,833333333	3,5	4	3,4166667	4	4	4	3,583333333
3,1666667	3,9166667	3,583333333	3,6666667	3,75	2,6666667	3,833333333	3,75	4	4	4	4	4	3,583333333
3,1666667	4	3,583333333	2,25	3,75	3,1666667	3,833333333	3,833333333	4	3,833333333	4	4	4	3,9166667
3,1666667	3,6666667	3,583333333	3,75	3,75	3,9166667	3,833333333	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	4	2,833333333
3,1666667	2,6666667	3,583333333	4	3,75	3,833333333	3,9166667	3,9166667	4	3,9166667	4	4	4	3,1666667
3,1666667	2,75	3,583333333	4	3,75	3,833333333	3,9166667	3,9166667	4	3,6666667	4	4	4	3,6666667
3,25	3,75	3,583333333	3,333333333	3,75	3,1666667	3,9166667	4	4	4	4	4	4	3,5

Francophone average	Canadian average								
3,25	3,41666667	3,58333333	3,08333333	3,75	3,66666667	3,91666667	3,08333333	4	3,58333333
3,25	3,91666667	3,58333333	3,66666667	3,75	3,66666667	3,91666667	3,83333333	4	3,58333333
3,25	4	3,58333333	3,58333333	3,75	3	3,91666667	3,58333333	4	3,41666667
3,27272727	4	3,58333333	2,58333333	3,75	3,91666667	3,91666667	2,83333333	4	3,91666667
3,33333333	4	3,58333333	2,91666667	3,75	3,66666667	3,91666667	3,58333333	4	3,58333333
3,33333333	3,66666667	3,58333333	3,91666667	3,75	3,58333333	3,91666667	2,75	4	3,25
3,33333333	3,66666667	3,58333333	3,25	3,75	3,91666667	3,91666667	3,58333333	4	3,5
3,33333333	3,66666667	3,58333333	3,66666667	3,75	3	3,91666667	4	4	3,58333333
3,33333333	4	3,63636364	3,91666667	3,75	4	3,91666667	2,91666667	4	3,25
3,41666667	3,91666667	3,66666667	3,75	3,75	3,25	3,91666667	3,75	4	3,66666667
3,41666667	2,91666667	3,66666667	3,41666667	3,8	3,58333333	3,91666667	3,33333333	4	3,83333333
3,41666667	3,83333333	3,66666667	3,5	3,81818182	3,66666667	3,91666667	2,91666667	4	3,16666667
3,41666667	3,58333333	3,66666667	3,75	3,81818182	3,75	3,91666667	4	4	3,5
3,41666667	3,25	3,66666667	4	3,81818182	3,75	3,91666667	3,33333333	4	3,41666667
3,41666667	2,08333333	3,66666667	3,5	3,81818182	3,5	3,91666667	3,66666667	4	4

**APPENDIX B.6**

**FREQUENCY TABLE WITH NUMBER OF RESPONSES GIVEN TO FRANCOPHONE HERITAGE AND CANADIAN MAINSTREAM ACCULTURATION INDICES ARRANGED BY INTERVALS**

		FRANCOPHONE HERITAGE ACCULTURATION AVERAGE VALUES												
		1-1.25	1.25-1.50	1.50-1.75	1.75-2	2-2.25	2.25-2.50	2.50-2.75	2.75-3	3-3.25	3.25-3.5	3.5-3.75	3.75-4	
CANADIAN MAINSTREAM ACCULTURATION AVERAGE VALUES	1-1.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	1.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	1.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	1.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	
	2.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	
	2.75	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	8	
	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	5
	3.25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	6	26
3.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	5	5	13	38	
3.75	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	6	9	16	58	

**APPENDIX B.7  
ACCULTURATION INDICES OBTAINED FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL  
RESPONSE FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND BEHAVIOURAL DOMAINS OF  
ACCULTURATION**

<b>FRANCOPHONE PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>FRANCOPHONE BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>
4	3.83333333	4	3.66666667
3.66666667	3.5	3.66666667	3.66666667
3	4	3.33333333	4
4	3.83333333	4	3.5
3.5	3.5	4	3.66666667
3.4	3.66666667	3.5	4
2.66666667	3.66666667	2.5	3.83333333
3.33333333	4	3	3.66666667
3.66666667	4	3.5	3.66666667
3.66666667	4	4	3.33333333
4	4	3.83333333	3.83333333
4	3.83333333	4	3.83333333
4	3.5	4	3.66666667
4	3.5	3.83333333	3.5
4	3.33333333	3.83333333	2,5
3	4	4	4
3.66666667	3.33333333	3.83333333	3.66666667
3.5	3.83333333	3	3.33333333
3.83333333	4	4	4
4	3.83333333	4	4
3.5	4	4	4
3.5	3.66666667	4	3.66666667
3.33333333	2.5	3.66666667	2.83333333
4	2.66666667	4	2.83333333
4	3.66666667	4	3.83333333
4	3.5	4	3.33333333
3.8	4	3.83333333	3.83333333
4	4	4	4
3.83333333	4	3.66666667	4
3.83333333	4	3.83333333	4
3.66666667	3.33333333	3.66666667	4
4	3.33333333	4	4

<b>FRANCOPHONE PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>FRANCOPHONE BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>
4	4	4	3.33333333
3.5	4	4	4
3.16666667	3.83333333	3.16666667	4
4	2.66666667	4	3.16666667
4	3.83333333	4	3.83333333
2.83333333	4	2.83333333	3.16666667
4	3.5	4	3
3.5	2.33333333	3	1.83333333
3.5	2.83333333	3.33333333	2.66666667
4	2.66666667	3.5	2.83333333
3.66666667	3.16666667	3.4	3.83333333
4	3.5	4	2.16666667
3.83333333	4	3.83333333	4
2.66666667	3.83333333	3	3.16666667
3.83333333	3.66666667	3.83333333	3.5
4	3.66666667	4	3.66666667
3.5	3	3.33333333	2.83333333
3.33333333	4	3.5	2.66666667
3.66666667	4	3.83333333	3.83333333
3.8	3.33333333	3.83333333	3.83333333
3.5	3.33333333	3.83333333	3.16666667
3.66666667	4	4	3.83333333
2.5	3.83333333	3.16666667	4
3.33333333	3.66666667	3.66666667	4
3.33333333	4	3.83333333	4
2.5	3.16666667	2.16666667	3.33333333
4	3.83333333	4	3.5
3.83333333	3.83333333	3.83333333	3.5
4	2.83333333	3.5	1.66666667
3.66666667	3.5	3.5	4
4	4	4	4
3.66666667	4	4	4
4	3.66666667	4	3
3.33333333	3.16666667	3.16666667	3
4	3.33333333	4	4
4	3.66666667	4	3.5
4	2.5	3.66666667	2.66666667
3.5	3	3.8	2.83333333
3.83333333	4	3.83333333	3.83333333

<b>FRANCOPHONE PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>FRANCOPHONE BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>
3.5	3.5	3.66666667	3
4	3.33333333	3.83333333	4
3.66666667	3.83333333	3.83333333	4
4	3.5	4	4
4	3.83333333	4	3
3.6	3.5	4	3.5
4	3.5	4	4
4	4	3.66666667	4
3.33333333	3.33333333	3.33333333	3.66666667
3.83333333	3	4	3
4	3.16666667	4	3.5
3.33333333	3.66666667	4	3.66666667
3.66666667	3.66666667	3.33333333	3.66666667
3.66666667	4	3.83333333	3.66666667
3.66666667	3.66666667	4	4
3.83333333	4	4	3.83333333
2.83333333	4	2.83333333	3.66666667
4	3.33333333	3.83333333	3.5
3.66666667	3.66666667	3.16666667	3.83333333
3.83333333	3.66666667	3.66666667	3.66666667
4	3.83333333	3.83333333	3.5
3.83333333	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.5
3.5	4	4	4
3.16666667	3.33333333	3.66666667	3.5
3.83333333	3.66666667	3	3.33333333
4	4	4	4
3	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.83333333
4	3.83333333	4	3.5
4	3	3.83333333	2.33333333
2.83333333	3.16666667	3.16666667	3.16666667
3.83333333	3.83333333	4	4
4	3.83333333	4	3.83333333
3.83333333	3.66666667	3	4
4	3.66666667	4	2.66666667
3.66666667	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.5
3.33333333	3.33333333	3.83333333	4
3.33333333	3.16666667	3.83333333	2.83333333
3.5	4	4	3.83333333
3.66666667	3.5	3.33333333	3.83333333

<b>FRANCOPHONE PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>FRANCOPHONE BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>
3.33333333	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.33333333
4	3.83333333	4	4
4	2.66666667	4	3.33333333
3.5	4	3.83333333	4
3.5	3.66666667	4	2.83333333
3.5	3.33333333	3.66666667	3.83333333
3.5	3.33333333	4	4
3.33333333	4	3.5	3.5
3.83333333	3.83333333	3.83333333	3.66666667
3.83333333	3.33333333	3.83333333	3.66666667
4	4	4	4
3.16666667	4	3.5	3.33333333
4	3.33333333	4	3.66666667
3.66666667	3.5	3.5	3.83333333
4	3.83333333	4	4
2.66666667	3	3.5	3.66666667
3	3.83333333	3.33333333	4
3	3.5	3.16666667	3
4	2.66666667	4	2.33333333
4	3.33333333	4	3.16666667
4	3.33333333	3.83333333	3.83333333
4	2.83333333	3.83333333	3.16666667
4	3.5	3.66666667	3.5
4	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.83333333
2.66666667	3.16666667	3.33333333	3.5
3.83333333	3.83333333	4	3.66666667
4	3	4	3.5
4	3	3.83333333	3.33333333
4	3.5	4	3.5
4	3.5	4	4
3.5	3.66666667	3.83333333	4
3.83333333	3.83333333	3.66666667	4
4	3.83333333	4	4
1.83333333	3.83333333	1.83333333	4
3.5	4	3.66666667	4
3.66666667	2.83333333	4	3.33333333
2	3.66666667	3.6	4
3.5	3.66666667	4	3.5
3.16666667	3	3.16666667	2.66666667

<b>FRANCOPHONE PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>FRANCOPHONE BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>
2.83333333	3.66666667	3.33333333	3.5
3.4	2.66666667	4	2.83333333
4	3.33333333	3.66666667	3.83333333
2.83333333	4	3.33333333	4
4	2.66666667	3.66666667	3.16666667
3.16666667	3.5	3.66666667	4
3.83333333	3.5	4	3.16666667
4	2.66666667	4	3.16666667
3.33333333	4	4	4
3.33333333	3.16666667	3.83333333	3.5
4	3.5	3.83333333	3.83333333
3.66666667	3.33333333	3.5	3.33333333
3.83333333	4	3.5	4
3.33333333	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.33333333
3.33333333	4	3.66666667	4
3.83333333	4	3.5	4
3.83333333	4	3.83333333	4
3	4	3	4
3.66666667	3.83333333	3.83333333	4
3.83333333	3.83333333	3.5	3.5
4	3.83333333	3.83333333	4
4	4	3.83333333	4
4	3.66666667	3.66666667	4
3	3.16666667	3.5	3.5
3.66666667	3.5	4	3.83333333
4	3.83333333	3.5	4
4	3.16666667	4	3.33333333
3.83333333	4	4	4
3.83333333	3.83333333	4	3.83333333
2.83333333	3.83333333	3.5	3
4	3.33333333	4	3.66666667
4	3.83333333	4	3.83333333
3.83333333	3.5	3.66666667	3
3.5	3.83333333	3.5	4
3.16666667	3.66666667	3.83333333	3.66666667
4	3.5	4	3.5
3.66666667	3.5	3.5	3.66666667
3.66666667	3.66666667	4	3.5
4	4	2.83333333	2.83333333

<b>FRANCOPHONE PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN PSYCHOLOGICAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>FRANCOPHONE BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>	<b>CANADIAN BEHAVIOURAL DOMAIN AVERAGE VALUE</b>
3.33333333	3.83333333	3.16666667	4
3.33333333	3.5	3.33333333	3.66666667
3.83333333	2.66666667	4	3.83333333
3	3.66666667	2.83333333	3.33333333
3.66666667	3.83333333	3.66666667	3.33333333
3.83333333	2.83333333	4	3.66666667
3.5	4	4	3.33333333
3.33333333	4	3.83333333	3.66666667
3.83333333	2.83333333	3.5	3.5
4	3.33333333	3.66666667	3.66666667
3.16666667	3.33333333	3.66666667	3.5
3.5	4	4	4
3.33333333	4	3.83333333	3.5
3.16666667	3	3.5	3.33333333
4	3.66666667	3.66666667	3.16666667
4	3.16666667	4	3
4	4	4	4
4	4	4	3.66666667
2.66666667	4	3.5	4
3.33333333	4	3.66666667	4
3.66666667	4	3.83333333	4
4	4	4	4
4	3.66666667	4	4
3.66666667	2.83333333	3.5	3
4	3.5	4	3.16666667
3.83333333	3.16666667	4	2.66666667
4	3.83333333	4	4
4	3.5	4	4
4	3.83333333	4	4
4	3.5	3.83333333	3.66666667
3.83333333	3.66666667	3.66666667	3.5
3.33333333	3.83333333	4	4
3	3	3	2.66666667
4	3.66666667	4	2.83333333
4	4	3.83333333	4

**APPENDIX B.8  
SPREADSHEET WITH RESPONSES GIVEN TO ITEMS REFERRED TO  
INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS**

(\*Responses registered in original language in which form was completed

Gender(*)	Place of birth(*)	Number of years living in the same province within the Canadian Prairies	25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions	26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language	27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics	28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities	29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend	30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the religious practice
Female	Born in Alberta	>10	3	3	3	3	4	3
Female	Born in Alberta	>10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Female	Born in Alberta	>10	4	4	3	4	2	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	2	4	2	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	3	2	3	2	2
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	4	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	1	3	2	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	2	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	3	2	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	4	4	3	3	3	4
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	2	4	1	3	3	1
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	3	4	2	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	2	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	1	1	3	2
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	4	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	4	2	2	1
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	2	4	4	3

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

<b>Gender(*)</b>	<b>Place of birth(*)</b>	<b>Number of years living in the same province within the Canadian Prairies</b>	<b>25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions</b>	<b>26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language</b>	<b>27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics</b>	<b>28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities</b>	<b>29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend</b>	<b>30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the religious practice</b>
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	3	4	3	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	3	4	1	3	2	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	2	4	3	4
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	3	3	1	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	2	3	2	3	2	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	4	2	2	3	2
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	3	4	1	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	3	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	3	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	2	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	3	2	2	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	3	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	2	3	2	2	1	1
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	3	4	3		3	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10		3	2	2	3	1
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	2	2	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	2	4	2	4	2	3
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	2	2	4	1
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	3	3	2	3	3	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	4	3	2	3	3	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	2	3	3	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	1	3	4	4

<b>Gender(*)</b>	<b>Place of birth(*)</b>	<b>Number of years living in the same province within the Canadian Prairies</b>	<b>25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions</b>	<b>26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language</b>	<b>27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics</b>	<b>28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities</b>	<b>29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend</b>	<b>30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the religious practice</b>
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	3	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	3	4	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	2		4	2
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	4	3	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	2	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	1	4	1	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	0-5	4	4	3	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	0-5	3	3	2	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	4	4	4	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	3	3	3	2	2
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	3	3	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	3	4	2	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	4	2	2	3	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	3	3	3	2	3	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	3	2	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	2	3	1	2	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	3	1	3	1
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	4	4	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	2	3	2	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	4	2	4	3

THESIS: “Acculturation and Linguistic Assimilation Processes within European Origin Groups in the Canadian Prairies: Generational Differences among Francophone Minorities in the province of Alberta”

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Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	3	3	3	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	4	2	4	4	1
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	2	3	3	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	4	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	1	4	1	3	3	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	2	1	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	3	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	3	4	3	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	3	1	2	4	4
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	1	4	1	4	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	2	3	3	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	1	2	4	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	1	2	4	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	4	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	1	4	2	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	2	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	4	4	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	2	3	4	1
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	4	1	2	4	1
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5		4	1	4	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	1	3	4	1
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	4	3	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	4	2	1	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	2	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	3	2	2	1	1
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	0-5	3	4	3	3	4	2
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4

Gender(*)	Place of birth(*)	Number of years living in the same province within the Canadian Prairies	25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions	26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language	27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics	28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities	29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend	30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the religious practice
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	4	4	1	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	3	3	4	3	4
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	4	4	4	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	4	3	3	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	3	2	3	3	2
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	3	3	3	3	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	1	1	4	1	4	1
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	3	2	2	2	2
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	2	2	2	2	3	2
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	2	2	3	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	2	3	2	3	2
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	0-5	3	3	3	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	4	2	1	1	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	2	3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	3	3		3	3
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	3	3	3	3
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	3	2	3	4	3
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	3	3	4	4
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	3	3	3	2	3	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	2	3	2	2	3	3
Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	3	3	1	1	1	2
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	2	2	2	4	4	2

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Femme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	2	3	2	2	2	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	0-5	4	4	4	4	4	2
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	3	2	2	3	1
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	3	2	2	4	1
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Femme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	3	3	3	2	2
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	2	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	4	4	3	3	4	3
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	3	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	3	3	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	0-5	3	4	3	4	4	2
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	2	3	3	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	3	4	2	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	3	3	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	0-5	3	4	2	3	3	1
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	3	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	4	3	2	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	3	4	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	3	4	2
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	2		1	2	3	1
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	5-10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	4	4	2	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	3	4	4	3

<b>Gender(*)</b>	<b>Place of birth(*)</b>	<b>Number of years living in the same province within the Canadian Prairies</b>	<b>25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions</b>	<b>26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language</b>	<b>27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics</b>	<b>28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities</b>	<b>29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend</b>	<b>30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the religious practice</b>
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	2	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	3	3	2	3	4
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	3	3	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	4	4	3	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	1	4	3	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	4	2	3	4	1
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	3	3	3	1	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Alberta	10	3	4	2	3	3	2
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de l'Alberta.	10	4	4	4	3	4	1
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	10	4	4	2	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	3	3	3	3	2
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	3	3	2	1
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	3	4	4	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	4	3	4	3	1
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	4	4	4	3	4	3
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	3	4	3	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	4				2
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	4	4	3	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	3	4	2	3	3	1
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	4	2	3	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors du Manitoba	10	2	4	2	3	2	3
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	3	2	4	2
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	4	3	4	4

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Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	4	4	3	3	3	4
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	3	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) au Manitoba	10	3	4	3	1	2	4
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	1	3	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	2	1	1	2	1	2
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	4	4	2	4	3	2
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	3	2	2	2	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	0-5	3	3	3	1	3	2
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	5-10	1	3	3	3	4	1
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	2	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) hors du Canada	0-5	3	4	2	2	3	2
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	5-10	2	4	3	4	4	2
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	2	3	3	3	3
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	2	1	3	3
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	2	1	3	3
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	4	2	3	2	1
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	3	4	4	3
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	3	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	3	3	1
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	4	3	3	4	3
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	2	2	2	1	1	1
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) au Canada hors de la Saskatchewan	10	3	3	3	4	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	3	3	4	3	4	4
Homme	Né(e) en Saskatchewan	10	4	4	4	4	4	4
Male	Born outside Canada	>10	4	4	4	4	4	4

**APPENDIX B.9  
STATISTICAL PARAMETERS INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES  
ITEMS**

<b>Item 25</b>		<b>Item 28</b>	
<b>My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions.</b>		<b>My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities.</b>	
Average	3.31081081	Average	3.05
Mean error	0.04853108	Mean error	0.05661879
Median	3	Median	3
Mode	3	Mode	3
Standard deviation	0.72309683	Standard deviation	0.83979232
Variance	0.52286902	Variance	0.70525114
Number of responses	223	Number of responses	223

<b>Item 26</b>		<b>Item 29</b>	
<b>My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language.</b>		<b>I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend.</b>	
Average	3.6367713	Average	3.42600897
Mean error	0.04253759	Mean error	0.05251505
Median	4	Median	4
Mode	4	Mode	4
Standard deviation	0.63522173	Standard deviation	0.78421691
Variance	0.40350665	Variance	0.61499616
Number of responses	223	Number of responses	223

<b>Item 27</b>		<b>Item 30</b>	
<b>I had the same opinion than my parents about politics.</b>		<b>My parents and I had the same opinion on the amount of involvement in religious practice.</b>	
Average	2.68609865	Average	3.00446429
Mean error	0.05756104	Mean error	0.06888008
Median	3	Median	3
Mode	3	Mode	4
Standard deviation	0.85956962	Standard deviation	1.03090264
Variance	0.73885994	Variance	1.06276025
Number of responses	223	Number of responses	223

**APPENDIX B.10  
KOLMOGOROV-SMIRNOV TEST FOR NORMAL DISTRIBUTION OF  
RESPONSES. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES ITEMS -AVERAGE  
VALUES BY AGE GROUP**

**18-30 years old**

Number of responses=40

Dcritical=0.21503488

**Dmax=0.097 < Dcritical**

<b>Class Mark</b>	<b>Absolute Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Sn(X)</b>	<b>Theoretical F(x)</b>	<b>Difference</b>
1	0	0	0	1.07609E-06	1.07609E-06
1.1	0	0	0	2.89837E-06	2.89837E-06
1.2	0	0	0	7.49761E-06	7.49761E-06
1.3	0	0	0	1.86298E-05	1.86298E-05
1.4	0	0	0	4.44705E-05	4.44705E-05
1.5	0	0	0	0.000101995	0.000101995
1.6	0	0	0	0.000224803	0.000224803
1.7	0	0	0	0.000476239	0.000476239
1.8	0	0	0	0.000969929	0.000969929
1.9	0	0	0	0.001899558	0.001899558
2	0	0	0	0.003578328	0.003578328
2.1	0	0	0	0.006485696	0.006485696
2.2	1	1	0.025	0.011314461	-0.01368554
2.3	0	1	0.025	0.01900576	-0.00599424
2.4	1	2	0.05	0.03075449	-0.01924551
2.5	0	2	0.05	0.047965638	-0.00203436
2.6	0	2	0.05	0.072145652	0.022145652
2.7	3	5	0.125	0.104724157	-0.02027584
2.8	0	5	0.125	0.14681947	0.02181947
2.9	3	8	0.2	0.198982686	-0.00101731
3	6	14	0.35	0.260972893	-0.08902711
3.1	0	14	0.35	0.331622534	-0.01837747
3.2	6	20	0.5	0.408841683	-0.09115832
3.3	0	20	0.5	0.489782627	-0.01021737
3.4	2	22	0.55	0.571148022	0.021148022
3.5	3	25	0.625	0.649588355	0.024588355
3.6	0	25	0.625	0.722109947	<b>0.097109947</b>
3.7	7	32	0.8	0.786411789	-0.01358821
3.8	0	32	0.8	0.841089164	0.041089164
3.9	2	34	0.85	0.885677372	0.035677372
4	6	40	1	0.920548052	-0.07945195

**31-40 years**

Number of responses= 59

Dcritical=0.1801364

**Dmax=0.10069 < Dcritical**

<b>Class Mark</b>	<b>Absolute Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Sn(X)</b>	<b>Theoretical F(x)</b>	<b>Difference</b>
1	0	0	0	2.85645E-05	-2.85645E-05
1.1	0	0	0	6.27032E-05	-6.27032E-05
1.2	0	0	0	0.000133046	-0.000133046
1.3	0	0	0	0.000272914	-0.000272914
1.4	0	0	0	0.000541286	-0.000541286
1.5	1	1	0.01754386	0.001038197	0.016505663
1.6	0	1	0.01754386	0.001926053	0.015617807
1.7	0	1	0.01754386	0.003456892	0.014086968
1.8	0	1	0.01754386	0.006003952	0.011539908
1.9	1	2	0.035087719	0.010093465	0.024994254
2	1	3	0.052631579	0.01642964	0.036201939
2.1	0	3	0.052631579	0.025903036	0.026728543
2.2	1	4	0.070175439	0.039571108	0.030604331
2.3	0	4	0.070175439	0.05860081	0.011574628
2.4	0	4	0.070175439	0.08416782	-0.013992381
2.5	4	8	0.140350877	0.117315347	0.02303553
2.6	0	8	0.140350877	0.158786452	-0.018435575
2.7	6	14	0.245614035	0.208854819	0.036759216
2.8	0	14	0.245614035	0.267186514	-0.021572479
2.9	2	16	0.280701754	0.332766174	-0.052064419
3	7	23	0.403508772	0.40391326	-0.000404488
3.1	0	23	0.403508772	0.478398205	-0.074889433
3.2	7	30	0.526315789	0.553647651	-0.027331862
3.3	0	30	0.526315789	0.627008026	<b>-0.100692237</b>
3.4	8	38	0.666666667	0.69602298	-0.029356313
3.5	8	46	0.807017544	0.758676903	0.04834064
3.6	0	46	0.807017544	0.813564819	-0.006547275
3.7	7	53	0.929824561	0.859965952	0.069858609
3.8	0	53	0.929824561	0.897819255	0.032005307
3.9	2	55	0.964912281	0.927618295	0.037293986
4	2	57	1	0.950255566	0.049744434

### 41-50 years old

Number of responses= 46

Dcritical=0.19837639

**Dmax=0.0983 < Dcritical**

Class Mark	Absolute Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Sn(X)	Theoretical F(x)	Difference
1	0	0	0	9.99399E-06	-9.99399E-06
1.1	0	0	0	2.31631E-05	-2.31631E-05
1.2	0	0	0	5.18364E-05	-5.18364E-05
1.3	0	0	0	0.000112024	-0.000112024
1.4	0	0	0	0.000233821	-0.000233821
1.5	0	0	0	0.000471436	-0.000471436
1.6	0	0	0	0.000918341	-0.000918341
1.7	0	0	0	0.001728672	-0.001728672
1.8	0	0	0	0.003145165	-0.003145165
1.9	1	1	0.0212766	0.005532274	0.015744322
2	0	1	0.0212766	0.009410518	0.011866078
2.1	0	1	0.0212766	0.015484921	0.005791675
2.2	1	2	0.04255319	0.02465721	0.017895982
2.3	0	2	0.04255319	0.038009552	0.004543639
2.4	1	3	0.06382979	0.056748403	0.007081384
2.5	4	7	0.14893617	0.082101689	0.066834481
2.6	0	7	0.14893617	0.115171475	0.033764695
2.7	2	9	0.19148936	0.156756257	0.034733105
2.8	0	9	0.19148936	0.207169356	-0.015679994
2.9	4	13	0.27659574	0.26608876	0.010506984
3	5	18	0.38297872	0.332475187	0.050503536
3.1	0	18	0.38297872	0.404586976	-0.021608252
3.2	4	22	0.46808511	0.480103027	-0.01201792
3.3	0	22	0.46808511	0.556342225	-0.088257119
3.4	4	26	0.55319149	0.630545559	-0.07735407
3.5	8	34	0.72340426	0.700172058	0.023232197
3.6	0	34	0.72340426	0.763156274	-0.039752019
3.7	2	36	0.76595745	0.818084416	-0.05212697
3.8	0	36	0.76595745	0.864265496	<b>-0.098308049</b>
3.9	10	46	0.9787234	0.901697166	0.077026239
4	1	47	1	0.930946787	0.069053213

**+50 years old**

Number of responses= 78

Dcritical=0. 15205262

**Dmax=0.0966 < Dcritical**

<b>Class Mark</b>	<b>Absolute Frequency</b>	<b>Cumulative Frequency</b>	<b>Sn(X)</b>	<b>Theoretical F(x)</b>	<b>Difference</b>
1	0	0	0	3.9387E-05	3.9387E-05
1.1	0	0	0	8.3969E-05	8.3969E-05
1.2	0	0	0	0.00017328	0.000173283
1.3	0	0	0	0.0003462	0.000346198
1.4	0	0	0	0.00066971	0.00066971
1.5	1	1	0.0125	0.00125463	-0.01124537
1.6	0	1	0.0125	0.00227665	-0.01022335
1.7	0	1	0.0125	0.00400237	-0.00849763
1.8	1	2	0.025	0.00681833	-0.01818167
1.9	0	2	0.025	0.01125888	-0.01374112
2	0	2	0.025	0.01802588	-0.00697412
2.1	0	2	0.025	0.02799154	0.002991537
2.2	1	3	0.0375	0.04217445	0.004674454
2.3	0	3	0.0375	0.06168079	0.024180786
2.4	3	6	0.075	0.08760682	0.012606818
2.5	5	11	0.1375	0.12090702	-0.01659298
2.6	0	11	0.1375	0.16224108	0.024741079
2.7	8	19	0.2375	0.21182259	-0.02567741
2.8	0	19	0.2375	0.26929797	0.031797971
2.9	11	30	0.375	0.33368443	-0.04131557
3	10	40	0.5	0.40338842	<b>-0.09661158</b>
3.1	0	40	0.5	0.47631256	-0.02368744
3.2	5	45	0.5625	0.55004109	-0.01245891
3.3	0	45	0.5625	0.6220772	0.059577203
3.4	9	54	0.675	0.6900939	0.015093901
3.5	8	62	0.775	0.7521567	-0.0228433
3.6	0	62	0.775	0.80688319	0.031883189
3.7	6	68	0.85	0.85351845	0.003518449
3.8	0	68	0.85	0.89192291	0.041922907
3.9	5	73	0.9125	0.92248614	0.009986142
4	7	80	1	0.94599153	-0.05400847

**APPENDIX B.11  
CORRELATION MATRIX. INTERGENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES  
AMONG FRANCOPHONES ITEMS**

<b>No.Item</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>25</b>	1					
<b>26</b>	0.50117767	1				
<b>27</b>	0.38208375	0.25672375	1			
<b>28</b>	0.27978451	0.35603765	0.47115501	1		
<b>29</b>	0.34045592	0.3564677	0.50797243	0.6048732	1	
<b>30</b>	0.41481442	0.24490355	0.4128684	0.24218041	0.35650851	1

- 25. My parents and I used to have similar opinions about following cultural traditions.**
- 26. My parents and I shared the same opinion about learning French language.**
- 27. I had the same opinion than my parents about politics.**
- 28. My parents and I had agreed on the time I spent on leisure activities.**
- 29. I agreed with my parents on their decision about what school to attend.**
- 30. My parents and I had the same opinion on the amount of involvement in religious practice.**

