

# THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF MINORITY FRENCH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN ONTARIO

Raymond Mougeon  
and  
Monica Heller

*Centre for Franco-Ontarian Studies, The Ontario Institute for  
Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario,  
M5S 1V6, Canada.*

**Abstract.** This paper discusses the development of the minority French-speaking population in Ontario from its origins in the seventeenth century to the present day, focussing on the changing circumstances affecting minority French-language education. Political, economic and demographic processes are shown to influence the role French-language schools have been expected to and have been able to play in contributing to the maintenance of French language and culture. The authors conclude that the schools will not be able to achieve their objectives without a higher level of community and government support and without the further development of strategies adapted to the prevalent sociolinguistic reality.

## Introduction

During the last decade or so French immersion programmes in English Canada have expanded considerably. They have also been the object of much publicity both in the academic and non-academic world and of much scientific investigation. During approximately the same period another type of French medium education, namely that provided by schools which cater to the Francophone minorities outside Quebec, also underwent considerable expansion, particularly in Ontario. However, it has been the object of considerably less research and publicity. In this paper we will attempt to redress somewhat this imbalance by providing a synthesis of recent educa-

tional and sociolinguistic research devoted to minority French language schools in the Province of Ontario.

As background we will first provide historical and current sociological information on the Franco-Ontarian minority. Given that one of the most important goals (if not the most important one) of Ontario's French language schools is to ensure or, more realistically, to contribute to the preservation of French language and culture in Ontario, the sociological information provided will be largely focussed on French language maintenance. We shall see that Ontario's French language schools cater to the needs of students from Francophone communities which vary greatly in the extent to which they have resisted assimilation into the Anglophone majority, a situation reminiscent, among others, of that in which Welsh medium instruction in Britain finds itself (D.G. Edwards, 1984).

We will go on to provide data on the major events and social processes which have shaped the history of minority French language schooling in Ontario. This will serve to shed some light on the current stage of renaissance and expansion which this form of schooling is undergoing. In our discussion of this particular stage, we will, among other things, address the issue of community support for French language schooling. We shall see not only that there is not always full support for such schooling throughout the community, but also that there is both intra- and inter-community variation in the expectations of both educators and community members at large *vis-à-vis* such schooling. In other words, just as community expectations and support for minority bilingual education in the U.S. have been found to vary both in time and space (Edwards, 1982), it will be seen here that there are forces within the Franco-Ontarian community which militate in favour of forms of education which are only marginally oriented towards the maintenance of French language and culture, and others which are more strongly committed to preserving language and culture.

Our treatment of the present status of Ontario's French language schools will be centred on the issue of the extent to which these schools can achieve both their general educational objectives and their major linguistic objective of French language maintenance. We shall see that faced with the serious growing problems of having to cater to an incoming student population which is both linguistically and culturally heterogeneous, Franco-Ontarian educators have devised several curricular solutions. As concerns the linguistic objective of French language schools, we shall not only provide data on the students' language proficiency (in French and in English) but also data on the students' sociolinguistic behaviour in and outside the school setting. Our investigation of various aspects of the students' linguistic competence (e.g. grammatical, sociolinguistic) will show that the students' acquisition of French language skills is very much dependent on the *combined* influence of the school, the home and the wider environment. Put differently, on its own, schooling in a (minority) language cannot ensure full development in that language (see Swain & Lapkin, in press for similar conclusions about the

effect of French immersion programmes on the learning of French). As for the students' sociolinguistic behaviour (i.e. patterns of language use and of social interaction) in and outside the school, they will be shown to be largely influenced by demographic and social factors operating outside the school, a finding which confirms the repeated observation that schooling in a minority language only has a limited impact on the students' use of that language in and outside the school setting (see among others Macnamara, 1971; Fishman, 1977; Dorian, in press).

Our investigation of the schools' ability to achieve their objectives will end by a brief overview of French and English language pedagogy. Like Byram (1984) in his ethnographic research on minority German language schools in Denmark, we will seek to evaluate the adequacy of these pedagogies against the findings of research on the students' linguistic proficiency and patterns of language use.

In summary we hope that by examining minority French language education in Ontario in its wider historical and sociological context we will not only help to publicise a still relatively poorly known form of French medium education in Canada, but also to improve our understanding of the societal factors which militate in favour of or against the provision of minority language schooling and of the extent to which those schools can achieve their goals. If so, then we shall have played our role in the dissemination of much needed information on the basis of which more realistic, socially responsive and responsible programmes of minority language education may be established.

### **Origins and Background of Ontario's Francophone Population<sup>1</sup>**

The origins of the Francophone minority in Ontario can be traced to explorers and colonisers who came up the St. Lawrence river and into the Great Lakes area from the main areas of French colonisation in what is now the Province of Quebec, in the late 1600s and early to mid 1700s. When the British conquered Canada in 1763, pockets of Francophones were still to be found in these areas, mainly around Detroit. The still existing Francophone community of southwestern Ontario can, then, trace its origins to this early settlement. Other Francophones from nearby settlements, displaced as a result of boundary changes related to the War of 1812 between Canada and the United States, established themselves further north, around Penetanguishene on Lake Huron, in 1828. These two pockets of settlement constitute, then, the kernel of the Francophone population in Ontario (see map in Appendix).

The second wave of immigration is directly related to overpopulation in rural areas of Quebec, which, starting around 1830, touched off an exodus which reached its height around 1840. This exodus was initially directed towards the textile mills of New England, but the Catholic Church deter-

mined to keep these Francophones within its jurisdiction, that is, within Canada, and succeeded in redirecting some of this migration towards Ontario. Most of the new settlers established themselves in the dairy farming areas of eastern Ontario, in the triangle formed by the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence rivers, immediately adjacent to Quebec. Here, within a few decades, their growing population began to surpass that of the original Anglophone settlers. Other Francophone settlers from Quebec established themselves near the existing Francophone settlement of Penetanguishene.

The third wave of immigration began around the 1880s, with the opening up and colonisation of the northern part of Ontario. While some Francophone settlers came from eastern Ontario and New Brunswick (Acadia), most continued to come from Quebec. Also, while settlers included Anglophone Canadians and non-Francophone Europeans, Francophone Canadians formed a large proportion of the population in this area. Colonisation continued well into the 1930s. While this population continued to be primarily agricultural, towards the beginning of the twentieth century the forestry and mining industries became the main providers of work in the region.

The fourth wave of immigration is in fact both a migration within Ontario and a wave of immigration from outside Ontario. Internal migration took the form of a shift of the population from primarily rural, agricultural sectors to urban industrial centres, both within regions and on a province-wide scale. Although this process started as early as the late 1800s, it only reached significant proportions after the Second World War. In northern and eastern Ontario, regional urban centres began to attract population from farms to the growing forestry and mining industries and, in Ottawa, to the public sector and service jobs generated by the federal government established there with Canada's independence from Britain in 1867. At the same time, there was a more general shift of population from the north and east to the centre and the southwest, where industry was strongest. Francophones from elsewhere in Canada, again principally from Quebec, but also from the Maritime provinces, were also attracted to these central and southwestern industrial regions. Thus, by the 1950s, Francophones in Ontario were engaged mainly in the primary (agriculture, forestry, mining) and secondary (industry, construction) economic sectors, while a minority were also engaged in tertiary sector occupations (services, small business, sales, transport, etc.). They were also principally of Canadian origin, that is, descendants of the original settlers of the French colony of New France or of Acadia.

The fifth wave of immigration began in the 1960s, and is connected to major changes in Francophone social mobility across Canada at that time (Clift & Arnopoulos, 1979; Lacroix & Vaillancourt, 1981; Heller, 1982). Increase in government control over social services, leading, among other things, to increased access to education and growth in the economic importance of the public sector, combined with other factors to permit the development of a new Francophone middle class in Canada. This phe-

nomenon, along with the rising importance of Toronto and Ottawa as economic centres in Canada, is tied to the increase in numbers of Francophones in tertiary and quaternary occupations (administration, science, arts, etc.) starting in the 1960s. These Francophones were drawn not only from a socially upwardly-mobile local population but also from the new Francophone middle class elsewhere in Canada (again, mainly in Quebec), and from Francophone regions and countries outside Canada (Africa, Asia, Europe, the Caribbean). In addition, immigration of foreign Francophones of other social classes also increased.

In sum, then, the nature of the Francophone minority in Ontario has changed significantly over time. A once homogeneous, principally agricultural population, with its demographic weight mainly in the north and east, has become increasingly diversified in terms of its social and economic organisation, and its demographic weight has shifted from rural to urban communities and towards the central region. Further, the financial and political centres of Toronto and Ottawa have attracted an even more heterogeneous Francophone population, which is varied not only in terms of its economic characteristics, but also in terms of its regional and cultural origins, and of the varieties of French spoken.

#### **Demographic Status of Ontario's Francophones**

According to the most recent national census (1981), there were 475,605 individuals who claimed French as their mother tongue in Ontario. Ontario's French mother tongue population thus constitutes the largest French-speaking community in Canada outside Quebec. However, with a total Ontario population of 8,625,105, the nearly half million Ontarian Francophones make up only 5.5% of that total. Since the remaining 94.5% are made up of 79% Anglophones and 15% individuals who speak languages other than English or French, Ontario's Francophones are therefore clearly outnumbered by an English-speaking majority.

At a local or regional (e.g. county) level, however, the concentration of Francophones varies considerably, ranging from highs of over 90% to lows of less than 1%. Several counties and many localities where Francophones constitute strong majorities (more than 80% of the population) can be found in the rural agricultural region of southeastern Ontario near the Quebec border. There are also a few localities which include more than 70% Francophones (e.g. Hearst and Sturgeon Falls) in the regions of central and northern Ontario, where the bulk of the province's mining and forestry industry is located. In northern Ontario, there are also many localities where Franco-Ontarians make up roughly half of the population (e.g. Cochrane, Kapuskasing, Timmins). Strong Francophone minorities (between 20% and 30%) can also be found in both the north and the central regions (e.g. Elliott Lake and Sudbury). Finally most of the weak Francophone minorities are to

be found in southwestern Ontario, the province's industrial heartland (e.g. Niagara Falls, Toronto, Welland and Windsor).

### **French Language Maintenance**

Canada's census data allow one to calculate several measures of French language maintenance: (1) retention of French as a mother tongue by individuals of French ethnic origin; (2) maintenance of French at home by individuals of French ethnic origin; and (3) maintenance of French at home by individuals of French mother tongue. In this paper we shall focus on the third measure since it provides the most up-to-date picture of French language maintenance in Ontario.

The 1981 census returns revealed that 34% of the 475,605 French mother tongue Ontarians reported using English as their main language of communication at home. In 1971, the first year in which the census gathered information on home language use, the proportion of French mother tongue Ontarians who had shifted to English at home was 27%. Over the last ten years or so the rate of French language maintenance at home has therefore decreased by 7%. These statistics indicate clearly that a shift to English has been taking place among Franco-Ontarians and that it shows no signs of letting up.

The assimilation of Ontario's French-speaking population into the Anglophone majority can be ascribed to several factors. First, Franco-Ontarians are lagging behind Anglophone Ontarians as concerns levels of income and education (D'Costa, 1972; Allaire & Toulouse, 1973; FFHQ, 1978), such that assimilation into the dominant group may represent socio-economic upward mobility. Second, French-language schooling at the secondary level was legalised and implemented only recently (1968), and full-fledged post-secondary French-language schooling is not available across the province (cf. next section). This means that a portion of Ontario's Francophones have been and will continue to be in the near future educated partly in English. Third, the influence of the Catholic Church on Franco-Ontarians is declining. This factor is by no means negligible, since the Catholic Church has long been rightly regarded as a bastion for the French language in Ontario and elsewhere in Canada. Fourth, in recent decades Franco-Ontarians from the north and central regions, and to a smaller extent from the east, have been migrating to the central and southwestern industrial urban centres, in which they have often not been able to reconstitute the strong patterns of community life which they had established in their regions of origin and which favoured the maintenance of the French language. Last but not least, over the last 40 years or so the proportion of linguistically-mixed marriages involving a Francophone and an Anglophone has increased dramatically (Castonguay, 1979; Mougeon, 1984b). This sociological phenomenon has a major impact on assimilation among Franco-Ontarians since:

(1) the great majority of Francophones (in Ontario and in the other eight predominantly Anglophone provinces) who marry into the Anglophone group abandon the use of French at home (Castonguay, 1979) and (2) a sizeable portion of such Francophone parents send their children to an English language school (Mougeon, 1977).

As is the case for the proportion of Francophones at a provincial level, the provincial rate of language shift to English mentioned above hides a considerable amount of interlocality variation. More specifically, in 1981, the local rates of French language maintenance at home varied from a maximum of 100% (Hawkesbury) to a minimum of 0% (Zurich)! There is a correlation between interlocality variation in Franco-Ontarian concentration and interlocality variation in French language maintenance at home. Thus in 15 of the 17 localities where Francophones make up 60% or more of the total population, the rates of French language maintenance at home are equal to or higher than 90%. In 22 of the 27 localities where Francophones make up between 20% and 59% of the total population, rates of French language maintenance at home are higher than 60%. Finally in 23 of the 28 localities where Francophones make up less than 20% of the total population the rate of French language maintenance at home is less than 50%. One explanation which can be proposed for this correlation is that Francophone concentration conditions the extent to which Francophones are able to develop a separate economic base and the extent to which French will be used in the local public and private institutions. In other words the extent to which French plays a significant socio-economic role will influence French language maintenance or shift to English among Francophones.

Having said this, it should be pointed out that local Francophone concentration is not a perfect predictor of French language maintenance: there are several Franco-Ontarian communities which exhibit rates of French language maintenance at home which are higher than expected for the local level of concentration. A number of community studies have discussed some factors which may counteract the impact of low Francophone concentration. For instance, Lamy (1977) attributed the high rate of French language maintenance found for the City of Ottawa (19% Francophones) to: (1) its status as a national capital, a fact which means that there are proportionally more institutions which function in French in Ottawa than in other cities of similar Francophone concentration, thereby providing services and jobs for Francophones; (2) its location on the Ontario-Quebec border, so that, for instance, Ottawa Francophones have easy access to the Quebec French language media and contact with Quebec Francophones; and (3) the steady inflow of Francophones into the community over the last decades. In a similar vein, Mougeon & Hébrard (1975) attributed the high rate of French language maintenance at home (78%) found in the city of Welland (17% Francophones) to: (1) the recency of French settlement in Welland; (2) the geographical concentration of Francophones in the city; and (3) strong participation in the local French-Canadian sociocultural organisations. Final-

ly, Maxwell (1977) pointed out that the higher than expected level of French language maintenance at home found for Toronto (a city in which Francophones make up less than 2% of the population) may be attributed to the fact that Francophones have moved steadily into Toronto over the last decades. Although all of the factors mentioned in the preceding paragraph sound like plausible and interesting explanations for the cases where Francophone concentration alone does not predict French language maintenance they have yet to be empirically tested.

To sum up, the data presented in this section clearly indicate that Ontario's French-speaking population is suffering variable losses through assimilation into the Anglophone majority. Such assimilation seems to be the result of increased exogamy, social and geographic mobility and the low utilitarian value of French.

Francophones, conscious of the difficulty of maintaining their language and culture in Ontario, have always considered that the Church and their schools should play a central role in preventing assimilation. In the following section we will discuss the role and status of French-language education in Ontario during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and then go on to discuss factors which have facilitated or militated against the schools' ability to achieve their objectives in maintaining the French language and culture in Ontario.

### **History of French Language Schooling in Ontario**

#### **1840–1967**

As pointed out earlier the arrival of significant numbers of Francophones in Ontario dates back to about 1840. From that time to the end of the nineteenth century Franco-Ontarians were allowed to set up their own elementary schools. In such schools the children were taught in French and received instruction in the Catholic faith. These schools were part of the system of *Separate Catholic schools* which was in place in Ontario at the time and which also provided education in English for the benefit of the Ontarian Catholic Anglophone community. In addition to the system of Separate schools, there was a system of English language public schools which served the educational needs of Ontario's non-Catholic population. Both school systems (public and Catholic) were financially supported by the provincial government.

Education in French at the secondary level was also available, however, only in a small number of schools. Such schools were private institutions which were run by the Catholic church.

From the end of the nineteenth century to 1915 the principle of French language schooling came increasingly under attack. These attacks were to a large extent a reaction to a sharp increase in the influx of Francophone Catholics from Quebec into Ontario which took place towards the end of the nineteenth

century and which then was viewed by some as a threat to the survival of the 'English Protestant race' in Upper Canada (Ontario). The offensive against French language schooling culminated in the almost complete abolition of such schooling in 1915 by an act of the provincial legislature. The implementation of this law triggered a movement of resistance to it among the Francophone population. Resistance to the act took two main forms: (1) a challenge of its legality on the basis of Canada's constitution (the British North America Act)<sup>2</sup>; and (2) the establishment of parallel schools supported by parochial funds and by donations from Quebec organisations (including the Quebec government). The resistance movement won a major victory when the act was abrogated in 1927.

After 1927 it became possible again to school Francophone students in their mother tongue in the elementary Catholic schools of Ontario. Such schools continued to be supported by provincial funds. However, they tended to receive fewer funds than the majority public schools. Schooling in French in the Catholic high schools was allowed and supported by public monies up to grade 10 (again, the amount of financial support received by such schools was less than that received by their public counterparts); from grades 11 to 13 (end of the secondary cycle), parents had to pay for the education of their children.

Because they received comparatively fewer funds, and because they functioned as private institutions in the upper grades<sup>3</sup>, the French language Catholic high schools failed to attract a significant portion of the Francophone students who had been schooled in the French language elementary schools. Such failure may be also attributed to the fact that not all Franco-Ontarian parents endorsed the principle of French language schooling at the secondary level. Those parents were probably sensitive to the fact that post-secondary education and the job market in Ontario were dominated by English, and therefore were convinced of the necessity that their children receive their high school education in the majority language.<sup>4</sup>

Thus before 1968 (the second major turning point in the history of French language schooling in Ontario), many Franco-Ontarian students were sent to English language high schools, in which, it may be surmised, they experienced to a large extent the problems and frustrations of educational and linguistic submersion.

The history of French-language post-secondary education can be briefly summarised as follows. Before the 1960s some measure of French language post-secondary education (up to the B.A. level) was available in a number of private 'classical colleges' run by the Catholic Church. In the late 1960s, many of these colleges either disappeared or were replaced by public community colleges when provincially-funded university education expanded. In the 1960s two of these classical colleges, one in Sudbury and one in Ottawa, were incorporated respectively in the University of Sudbury (Laurentian) and the University of Ottawa. These two institutions are the only post-secondary establishments which provide education through the medium of French beyond the bachelor's degree.<sup>5</sup>

**1968-1984**

The 1960s was a period of major change in Canada in the status of minority language rights and services. The fundamental social and economic reasons for this change are too complex to go into here, but have to do with a strengthening of Francophone power bases in Quebec (see Clift & Arnopoulos, 1979; Wade, 1968; Heller, 1982 for more detailed discussion of this historical development).

The most visible effect of this change was the re-assessment of Francophone rights by the federal government, resulting in a report which recommended increased government support for Francophone institutions and services (Government of Canada, 1969). The federal funds made available as the government implemented the report's recommendations had the effect of provoking provincial government re-assessment of Francophone services, since the provinces control the provision of services in many domains, such as education, while profiting from federal government subsidies for those services.

In Ontario, after 1968, significant increases and reforms were implemented in the provision of a variety of French-language services, among others, in the area of education.<sup>6</sup> To the extent that the provincial government funded Catholic education, it funded French-language education. In other words, since the province did not provide funds for Catholic education beyond grade 10, and French-language education already existed in the Separate system up to grade 10, there was little the government could do about the provision of French-language secondary education as long as it remained Catholic. The result was the provision of French-language secondary education through the public system, and some improvement of post-secondary educational facilities. The main consequence of this reform was the widespread transfer of private Catholic French-language high schools to the public system, and an opening up of access to secondary and post-secondary education for Francophones. As a result, Francophone enrolment in secondary school programmes increased dramatically, although it stabilised in the mid 1970s at a level still somewhat lower than that of Anglophones (Churchill *et al.*, 1985).

There remained important restrictions on the provision of these services, however, as they were eventually encoded in the Education Act of 1974. The first has to do with the provision that services were to be made available 'where numbers warrant'. Such a restriction is often imposed on linguistic minorities (cf. Dorian, 1981 for a parallel case in the Scottish Gaelic setting). It has, however, the unfortunate consequence of depriving linguistic minority members of mother tongue schooling in those settings where it is most badly needed. The second restriction has to do with the fact that French-language education continued to be provided within the existing school board structure. That is, French language schools are part of Separate or public boards which, in most cases, are dominated by an English-speaking clientele (this is most true of the public boards). The result was that only a certain

number of 'autonomous' (i.e. self-contained, free-standing) French language schools were set up, while in areas where the Francophone population was small, no such schools were provided or compromises had to be made. They took one of three forms: (1) mixed schools, where Francophones and Anglophones, though administratively separate, are housed in the same building; (2) 'modules', or Francophone sections in predominantly English schools; or (3) French 'classes' in English schools.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, as Churchill (1976) has pointed out, Francophone students in mixed schools (and undoubtedly, *a fortiori*, in modules and classes; Heller & Swain, 1985) tend to enrol in English language courses, thereby defeating the purpose of the provision of French-language educational services. (The same phenomenon has been noted elsewhere; for example, in Yugoslavia, Hungarian students in Hungarian/Serbo-Croatian mixed schools often choose to enrol in Serbo-Croatian courses; Mikes, personal communication). Reasons for this have to do with the range of courses and services provided in the English section which are not available in the French section, and with the general economic attractiveness of the dominant language. In connection with this last point, it can be mentioned that in those localities where a homogeneous French language school and mixed school co-exist, the latter type of school functions as an acceptable option for those Francophone parents (usually of a working-class background) who fear that schooling in French at the secondary level will handicap their children's chances of obtaining better jobs.<sup>8</sup> For essentially the same reason in communities where the 'mixed school option' is not available certain Francophones (many being of working or lower-middle class background) have pushed (sometimes successfully, e.g. in the cities of Welland and North Bay) for the teaching of scientific and technical subjects in English at the secondary level. In so doing they have met the resistance of other Francophones (usually members of the local elite) who militate in favour of the maintenance of the French language and culture and who believe that, in a minority context, education in French in *all* subjects is a minimum requirement for achieving such maintenance. Both homogeneous ('autonomous') and mixed secondary schools tended in any case to draw their clientèle from Catholic elementary schools, and in certain areas of the province, notably the south, they had to draw from a very large catchment area in order to establish a large enough student body. The decision to attend a French-language high school therefore meant shifting from Catholic to non-denominational education and often travelling long distances. Another limitation is that in most boards the provision of services (e.g. special education, guidance counselling, libraries, etc.) is calculated on the basis of numbers of students; French-language schools, as minority schools, necessarily have a lower enrolment than English-language schools, and therefore find themselves at a chronic disadvantage in terms of competing for the scarce resources allocated at the board level. On the other hand, where Francophones are very much in the minority, being part of a larger board can mean access to services and resources which, alone, the Francophone schools would not be able to afford.

As of 1984, then, French-language education was integrated into the government-funded school systems, and French-language schools formed part of regional boards organised on a Separate vs. non-denominational basis, each type of board containing, usually, both French- and English-language schools. Broadly speaking, most French-language elementary schools were to be found in Separate boards, although some French-language public schools were opened in the 1970s (especially in such urban areas as Ottawa and Toronto), while French-language secondary schools were to be found in public boards.

#### 1985

Very recently, certain changes in the legal framework of French language minority education in Ontario have occurred which may have far-reaching consequences. The first is the adoption of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms by the Canadian government in 1982. Among other things the Charter specifies the criteria for determining whose children have the right to French or English language minority education. Those parents who have such a right include Francophones and Anglophones (those whose first language learned and still understood is French or English), those who were schooled in minority educational institutions and those whose children are or were schooled in such institutions. The Charter also raises the issue of minority-group control over educational institutions. A recent decision of the Court of Appeals of Ontario indicates that the minority should have exclusive control over their educational institutions. This decision has prompted the Ontario government to consider the conditions under which such control could be exercised by the members of the Francophone minority. However, a recent change in government (June 1985) has necessitated a postponement of concrete proposals.

A recently announced major change in government funding to Separate schools, to be implemented in many regions as of September 1985, promises to radically alter the current system. Specifically, the government proposes to subsidise Catholic education through the end of grade 13 (that is, through high school). The financial obstacle to French-language Catholic education at the secondary level will therefore be removed, and, indeed, many Separate boards have announced that they will open such schools in the near future. The impact of this move on existing French-language secondary public institutions can only be estimated; it is possible that public schools will be taken over by Separate boards, or that public and Separate schools will compete for clientele until one of them disappears or they reach a new equilibrium. In some localities, community members are proposing innovative administrative solutions, such as the sharing of facilities, while in others the issue of linguistically-defined boards with denominational and non-denominational sectors has resurfaced. Finally, recent legislative changes have removed the restriction of 'where numbers warrant', so that all

Francophones now have the right of access to education in French in Ontario. However, the way in which that access is provided may be negotiated on a case-by-case basis.<sup>9</sup>

### **Post-secondary Education**

The needs of Franco-Ontarians in the area of post-secondary education have also barely begun to be addressed, although there is increasing recognition of the fact that French-language services at that level are woefully inadequate. The impact of this state of affairs on the population is similar to that of the situation obtaining in secondary level education before 1968, in that it has as a result that proportionately fewer Francophones have access to university studies (in either language) than do Anglophones. Furthermore, there is an impact on secondary-level education, in that Francophones make choices concerning the language of instruction and the domain of training at the secondary level as a function of what is realistically available to them at the post-secondary level. Those who wish to continue to study in French must stream themselves into those areas of study where French-language university programmes are available. Otherwise, preparation is better had in English (with negative consequences such as higher drop-out rates due to the difficulty of second-language study), or, in many cases, foregone altogether. Finally, the subject areas in which French-language university programmes are available tend to be among the least economically rewarding (Churchill *et al.*, 1985; Commission on the Future Development of the Universities of Ontario, 1984).

As concerns elementary and secondary level education, then, up until very recently, the Franco-Ontarian community has had to face the tension generated by more or less conflicting linguistic, religious and socio-economic aspirations. It has found itself competing for scarce resources with English-language institutions in a system where very few special provisions are made for the specific educational needs of a minority language population. However, recent or forthcoming changes in the legal framework of minority language education at the national and provincial levels allow one to surmise that in the near future Franco-Ontarians will have increased access to better quality French-medium instruction, although at the post-secondary level there remains considerable room for improvement as concerns access to French language services. In the following section we will examine the impact of these contextual factors on the clientèle of Ontario's French-language minority schools.

### **Heterogeneity of the French Language Schools' Clientèle**

In a survey of parents who send their children to Toronto's French

language schools, Heller & Swain (1985) identified several groups of parents. In terms of home language use, they identified parents who spoke French or mostly French, parents who spoke English or mostly English and parents who spoke another language. In terms of ethnic origin, they identified parents of French origin (Canadian born and non-Canadian born), parents of English origin (Canadian or non-Canadian born), and parents who were neither of French nor of English origin. As concerns marriage patterns they found both linguistically homogeneous couples and linguistically heterogeneous ones. Within each of these two major categories, they identified several subgroups, namely marriages between Francophones, marriages between Anglophones, marriages between speakers of another language, marriages between an Anglophone and a Francophone, marriages between a Francophone and a speaker of another language and marriages between an Anglophone and a speaker of another language. While Toronto represents an extreme example, the processes of language shift, intermarriage and immigration which produced the heterogeneity described here have also affected the French-language school population of other communities; the higher the Francophone concentration at a local level, the more homogeneous the school population.

The presence of such a heterogeneous clientèle in schools which were originally set up to help Ontario's Francophone minority maintain its language and culture calls for an explanation. First, although French language schools were initially established to serve the educational needs of a Francophone community which was largely monolingual, we saw that as time passed, that community became more and more bilingual and exogamous, with the concomitant result that a non-negligible number of Francophone parents tended to shift to English in the home. In spite of their having made such a shift, many of these parents would enrol their children in the French language schools (cf. Cole, 1975 for a similar contradiction between home language use and parental support for German medium schooling in the Alsatian setting). The French language schools therefore became faced with a new challenge, namely that of 're-Frenchifying' the offspring of Francophone parents who for one reason or another had given up using French in the home. It was hoped that by so doing the French language schools would help in curtailing the processes of linguistic assimilation underway among Franco-Ontarians. Second, immigration patterns are bringing to Ontario a wide variety of Francophones from other Canadian provinces and from outside Canada, as well as groups whose second language is French and who speak no English. Finally, declining enrolments, or initially insufficient enrolments, in some of the more recently established French language schools, caused these schools to open their doors to the children of Anglophone couples or of couples who speak neither English nor French, many of whom look upon the instruction provided in the French language schools as a superior form of French immersion.<sup>10</sup> Since bilingualism is becoming more important for social mobility in Canada it is not surprising that French-language schools should be attractive to non-Francophones.

### Impact on General Teaching Objectives

The presence of children raised in non-French-speaking homes in the French language schools is viewed by many Franco-Ontarian educators as a major educational problem. It is thought that such students, who for the most part are dominant in English, have a retarding effect on the learning of French and of other subjects by the French-dominant or by the bilingual students, the other two major groups of students included in the French language schools (Desjarlais *et al.*, 1980). This perception explains why in recent years Franco-Ontarian educators have developed two different curricular approaches to cope with this problem. The first one consists in *classes d'accueil*, i.e. special immersion classes (usually set up in the lower grades) in which the English-dominant students are grouped separately, and whose teacher benefits from the added help of a part-time French language instructor. As a rule the English-dominant students are enrolled in the *classes d'accueil* for one or two years (sometimes more), after which they are mainstreamed into the regular classes.

The second approach consists in the provision of special remedial French language instruction (*cours de refrancisation*) for the English-dominant students. The duration and frequency of these remedial classes vary from one school board to another. Not all French language schools, however, have adopted the approaches described above. In fact, in their provincial survey, Mougeon, Bélanger, Heller & Canale (1984) discovered that the majority of Ontario's French-language schools did not include any special programme designed to cope with the problem of the English-dominant students. Most of the schools which adopt this 'unstreamed' approach are to be found in areas where Francophones represent either a strong majority or a very weak minority of the population. In localities where Francophones are a strong majority, the problem is simply not as critical, and so there is less need for an institutional response. Where they form only a weak minority, the problem is felt to be acute since the French language schools include proportionately more English-dominant students than French-dominant ones.

In such communities the parents of French-dominant students tend to favour the *classe d'accueil* approach since it temporarily curtails large-scale peer group exposure to non-native French or to English on the part of their children. The parents of the English-dominant students on the other hand are generally not in favour of *classes d'accueil* since they deprive their offspring of peer group exposure to native French. It is this potential for such exposure that led many of them to enrol their children in French-language schools rather than immersion programmes in the first place. The fact that these parents are in the majority probably explains why in weak Francophone communities unstreamed classes prevail.

To summarise this section, changes in the sociological and demographic make-up of Ontario's Francophone community which have taken place over the last 50 years or so, in conjunction with changes in the status of

French-language education, have had a major impact on the composition of the clientèle of Ontario's French language schools and consequently on various aspects of the educational policy of such schools. In short, schools which were initially designed to serve the needs of a primarily monolingual Francophone population are now increasingly faced with the problems of a linguistically and culturally heterogeneous student population and of conflicting parental aspirations and priorities.

It remains to be seen whether schools are able to achieve their goal of French-language maintenance among this heterogeneous population. In the sections that follow we will examine students' patterns of language use at school, their proficiency in French and English, and their use of French and English outside school in order to discover to what extent the French-language schools have been able to achieve their primary goal.

### **Language Use Patterns**

In this section we will explore the language use patterns of students outside and inside school in areas of medium to low Francophone concentration (less than 50% Francophones); that is, the areas which are most affected by the heterogeneity described above.

#### **Language use outside school**

Heller & Swain (1985) in their survey of Toronto French schools, and Mougeon *et al.* (1982) and Mougeon (1984a) in a survey of seven Francophone minority communities in Ontario, found that the French language schools included three main categories of students according to language use: (1) students who are frequent users of French, and consequently infrequent users of English, at least in the home and to a varying extent in the neighbourhood<sup>11</sup>; (2) students who use French and English roughly as frequently in both these settings; and (3) students who are predominantly users of English in both settings. As concerns the home setting it was found that while relatively high proportions of students used French often to communicate with their parents, considerably fewer students did so with their siblings, and even fewer with their friends. This kind of finding has often been reported in studies of language maintenance among younger members of linguistic minorities (Williamson & Van Eerde, 1980). It provides a clear illustration of the influence which the wider sociolinguistic environment exerts on the younger generations of linguistic minorities.

Furthermore, Heller (1984) and Mougeon *et al.* (1982) found that use of English by the students in the home, in the neighbourhood and in the school increased significantly with age. This finding may be attributed to the fact that as students get older their networks expand to include mainly English

activities of the wider community and their parents exert less of an influence on their behaviour (linguistic or other). Again, this finding is well in line with similar findings reported in studies devoted to minority language retention (Williamson & Van Eerde, 1980). Mougeon *et al.*'s (1982) survey also revealed that in the weaker Francophone minorities the predominant users of English actually outnumbered the other two categories of students. Finally it was also found by Mougeon (1984b) that most of the students who used English predominantly, and most of the students who used the two languages roughly equally, were the offspring of linguistically-mixed marriages.

#### **Language use and social relations inside the school**

Very few studies have systematically examined Franco-Ontarian students' language use patterns in the schools. Recent ethnographic studies (Heller, 1984; Heller & Swain, 1985) provide one source of data for Toronto; an ongoing study (Canale, Mougeon, Heller & Bélanger, 1985) will provide some data for kindergarten and first-grade students in Ottawa and Cornwall.

Generally speaking, these studies show that opportunities for use of French outside school, at home, in the community and elsewhere, have a significant impact on students' use of French inside the school milieu. In other words, the extent to which French represents a language which is useful for a variety of authentic activities, and is not merely associated with the authority figures which parents and teachers represent, is directly related to students' identification with and use of the language in the school. More specifically, this ethnographic research revealed that the students' language choices in school are directly related to their integration into primarily English- or French-speaking networks inside and outside school.

As we have seen, students can roughly be grouped into three categories according to their preferred modes of language use: French-dominant, bilingual and English-dominant. French-dominant students tend to have spent most of their lives in a majority Francophone area (such as Quebec or France) and to be very recently arrived in Toronto. Many arrive unable to speak any English at all. As indicated above, these students form part of recent and ongoing migration trends. Bilingual students may be of a variety of backgrounds: they may be of French or mixed origin, but have lived for most of their lives in a predominantly English-speaking milieu; they may be of non-Francophone background, but have attended French-language schools for many years, and may have contacts with Francophones outside the English milieu in which they live (e.g. time spent in a French majority area due to parents' occupation). English-dominant students may have received some education in French, but the majority of their contacts outside school are in English.

Bilingual and English-dominant students tend to prefer to speak English amongst themselves, although bilingual students will speak French to teachers, students or other individuals who are known to be most comfort-

able in French. Indeed, these students may act as brokers for their less French-proficient English-dominant peers, translating or explaining for them, since otherwise the English-dominant students have difficulty gaining access to and participating in activities (mainly classroom activities) where the only language used is French. Significantly, even though the bilinguals have a more restricted use of French and therefore a somewhat less developed mastery of the language than the French-dominant students (see below), they are still able to function well in the school milieu, since schools tend to require the use of limited registers and forms of language in recurring situations. Therefore the contextual information required for interpreting the language is highly redundant and repetitive, and the meaning of the language used highly predictable.

For students of French background who have lived most of their lives in a predominantly French milieu, arrival at a French-language school can provide something of a surprise. Different Francophone students react in different ways, depending on a number of interacting variables: (1) their age (and therefore the strength of their expectations about French-language education and of their perceptions of themselves as Francophones); (2) the extent to which they are aware of whether their stay in the minority situation is temporary or permanent (in Toronto, and to a lesser extent in Ottawa, Francophones may be transferred for two- or three-year periods for specific forms of training, before returning to their home base, usually in Quebec, but sometimes in Francophone Europe); (3) other circumstances surrounding their move (e.g. besides parents' job transfer, motivations for the move can include parents' divorce, lack of work in the area of origin, etc.); (4) the number of similar Francophone students in the class with whom they can make friends; (5) the relative openness of class peer group networks; and (6) personality factors which facilitate or militate against the formation of new social relationships.

These factors tend to interact in each case to produce one of two generalised patterns: (1) some students assimilate to the bilingual peer group, learning enough English to first establish a presence in peer-group activities, which then enables them to learn even more English, permitting real integration into the group; or (2) they form exclusive relationships with the (usually few) other Francophones in the class, forming a sort of secondary, Francophone, peer-group network. In some classes where no other Francophone students are present, the new Francophone arrival may remain isolated from the peer group for extended periods of time.

Thus language practices in the school milieu are not only related to local classroom or peer-group factors, but are also directly related to students' experience of life outside school. Further, language practices inside and outside school can be explained as a function of the social relationships which students have the opportunity and the desire to form, and the extent to which English and French are conventionally associated with the participants and the activities involved in those relationships. Finally, this constellation of

factors can be seen to be related to students' development of their identity, of their sense of who they are in relationship to those whom they encounter inside and outside school.

### **French Language Proficiency**

One of the primary objectives of Ontario's French language schools is to ensure that their students attain a mastery of French which is as close as can be under the circumstances to first language proficiency, such proficiency being viewed as a prerequisite for successful transmission of the French language to future generations. It is in that sense that French language schooling may play a decisive role in the maintenance of French in Ontario. We have seen in the preceding section, however, that French language schools are unable to ensure that all of their students communicate in French inside the school context and that their impact on the students' use of French in the neighbourhood and in the home is even more marginal (such use being largely determined as we have seen by wider demographic and sociological factors). One can understand, therefore, why the French language schools are not able to impart first language knowledge of French to all their pupils. More specifically, in several studies (e.g. Mougeon, 1982; Mougeon & Beniak, 1981) devoted to grammatical aspects of the spoken French of Franco-Ontarian students, the predominant users of English at home were found to lag behind the students who use French often at home (see Table 1), and to show many signs of imperfect learning (e.g. structural simplification). As for the students who use French and English roughly equally they were found to master those aspects of spoken French under study at an intermediary level, i.e. between that attained by the frequent users of French and that attained by the frequent users of English. Such differences in spoken French mastery were attributed to differential levels of exposure to and use of French on the part of the three groups of students. Finally, local Francophone concentration was also found to have an influence on the students' oral French competence over and above the effect of home language use, as is eloquently illustrated by the data displayed in Table 1.

As concerns knowledge of vernacular spoken French, similar patterns of results were found to hold (e.g. Beniak & Mougeon, 1984; Mougeon, Beniak & Valois, 1985). In comparison to the predominant users of French, the predominant users of English were found to speak a variety of French which lacked many of the more typical vernacular features of Canadian French or which exhibited such features to a much lesser extent. Again the mid-level users of French were found to hold an intermediary position between the frequent users of French and the predominant users of English as concerns this particular aspect of sociolinguistic competence. These differences were attributed again to differential linguistic exposure and use, in this case exposure to and use of vernacular Canadian French. Finally, local Fran-

Table 1 Mastery of the reflexive pronoun among young Franco-Ontarians in four towns with varying proportional Francophone populations (adapted from Mougeon, 1982)

Percentage of Francophones in locality	Hastebury (85%)		Cornwall (38%)		North Bay (17%)		Pembroke (10%)	
	Always or frequently	Never or occasionally	Always or frequently	Never or occasionally	Always or frequently	Never or occasionally	Always or frequently	Never or occasionally
Grade 2	77	57	22	24	45	25	37	37
	96%	90%	78%	53%	36%	64%	35%	35%
Grade 5	72	77	29	23	44	27	40	40
	96%	99%	80%	96%	72%	86%	33%	33%
Grade 9	117	51	42	36	38	30	43	43
	100%	97%	88%	95%	83%	74%	70%	70%
Grade 12	82	62	30	77	26	45	20	20
	100%	100%	94%	100%	89%	89%	75%	75%
Total	348	370	370	313	313	267	267	267
	99%	92%	92%	80%	80%	64%	64%	64%

N.B. The raw numbers indicate the total number of obligatory contexts for reflexive pronouns. The percentages correspond to the total number of correct uses of such pronouns.

Non-omission of the reflexive pronouns was the criterion for determining correct use.

cophone concentration was also found to have an impact on the students' familiarity with vernacular French in a similar fashion to that mentioned above in connection with grammatical competence.

These findings have led Mougeon, Heller, Beniak & Canale (1984) to characterise the differences in level of mastery of spoken French observable between the predominant users of English and the other two groups of students in terms of a second language/first language contrast (relatively speaking of course). They have also argued that it is possible to draw a parallel between the relative failure of the Canadian French immersion programme to bring Anglophone students to a first language level of proficiency in French (cf. Harley, 1984; Swain & Lapkin, in press), and the relative failure of Ontario's French language schools as concerns the spoken French proficiency of the students who are infrequent users of French outside the school context. What these two situations illustrate is that it is unrealistic to expect that schooling in a given language will on its own ensure full development of communicative skills in that language on the part of students who receive such schooling.<sup>12</sup>

### **Learning of English**

Most Franco-Ontarian educators concur in thinking that the acquisition of very good English language skills by their students is an important goal for Ontario's French language schools, given the predominance of English in Ontario. Many Franco-Ontarian educators, however, also think that to a large extent the wider environment plays a major role in the successful attainment of such a goal and hence that by placing too much emphasis on the learning of English in the French language schools one runs the risk of unnecessarily diverting precious pedagogical time which could otherwise be spent on the teaching of French. The strength with which the latter view is professed by Franco-Ontarian educators is to some extent conditioned, once more, by the demographic concentration of Francophones at a local level, the weaker the Francophone community the stronger and more widespread such a view is. This view is shared to some extent by Franco-Ontarian parents, especially those who strongly support the goal of French language and culture maintenance. Other Franco-Ontarian parents (especially, but not exclusively, in strong Francophone communities), however, feel that the French language schools are not doing enough in the area of English language teaching and/or are doing too much in the area of French language teaching (see note 12).

Research on the mastery of English language skills by Franco-Ontarian students is much less developed than research on their mastery of French language skills. Two studies (Hébrard & Mougeon, 1975; Mougeon, Canale & Carroll, 1979) focussed on the minority Francophone communities of Welland and Sudbury, and revealed that as far as oral proficiency is concerned, in the elementary grades, students who are raised in mainly

French-speaking homes lag considerably behind students who are raised in mostly or only English-speaking homes. This finding is reminiscent of the finding on the impact of home language use on the development of French language skills. Another study, Mougeon, Hébrard & Sugunasiri (1979), based on data gathered via semi-directed, semi-formal taped interviews, revealed, however, that by the end of secondary schooling as a whole Franco-Ontarian students from the two communities mentioned above make *very few* errors in their spoken English, a remarkable achievement given that the norm used in that study was standard spoken Canadian English. In a provincial study of written proficiency among Franco-Ontarian students, Desjarlais & Carrier (1975) observed a similar phenomenon in several weak Francophone minority communities (one of them being Sudbury). It would seem, then, that, in predominantly English-speaking localities, a large proportion of the initially sizeable differences in English language skills exhibited by the English-dominant and French-dominant students dwindle considerably in the upper school grades, a finding which can be attributed to the combined role of the school and the wider environment. It may be of interest to point out that in the case of French proficiency we saw that, if, in predominantly Anglophone localities, the initially high differences between young children who are frequent users of French at home and those who are predominant users of English at home, diminish by the end of the secondary cycle, they do not tend to completely disappear (see Table 1). This, we believe, reflects the fact that in such communities students who use little or no French at home receive little or no 'compensatory' exposure to French in the wider environment.

A substantially different picture seems to obtain in majority Francophone communities. Although we have not as yet analysed spoken English interviews gathered among the French language school students in grades 2, 5, 9 and 12 in Hawkesbury (85% Francophones), our impression from these data and from having taken part in their collection is that most students come to school with very limited spoken English skills, and that, if by the end of high school the students have made considerable progress, by and large English clearly remains their weaker language. In their research on the written English of Franco-Ontarian students from eastern Ontario (where Hawkesbury is located) Desjarlais & Carrier (1975) arrived at the same conclusion.

The limited research devoted to English proficiency among Franco-Ontarian students confirms that the wider environment plays a major role in their linguistic development. The finding that in predominantly Anglophone localities students from French-speaking homes tend to catch up with students from English-speaking homes is perhaps the best illustration of this fact.

#### **French-Language and English-Language Pedagogy**

Perhaps the most salient features of current French-language pedagogy in

Ontario French-language schools is that it is still very much normative, i.e. it aims at eradicating the typical features of the students' informal spoken French from their oral and written French and thus gives no recognition to the fact that their informal spoken French is an authentic variety of vernacular Canadian French which fulfils important functions. Furthermore, such pedagogy involves practice of a very limited range of communicative functions and is largely based on the assumption that the students of such schools speak or write French as a first language (cf. Cazabon & Frenette, 1982 for an extensive treatment of this question). We saw earlier that certain school boards have taken measures which are not based on this latter assumption (e.g. the re-Frenchification classes); however, such school boards are still in the minority. Furthermore, at the level of ministerial guidelines the fact that Ontario's French language schools include varying proportions of students for whom French is a second language and who have specific linguistic needs has received little recognition to date. The same guidelines, however, while urging teachers to direct their pedagogical efforts towards standard French, have recently placed considerable emphasis on the teaching of oral skills and have recognised the need for students to develop a mastery of language registers. Thus, in a sense, the current ministerial guidelines are one step ahead of most teachers on the issues of norms and registers. We should also point out that the current guidelines are being revised, and that there are signs that significant improvements may take place in connection with the three aspects of French-language pedagogy mentioned at the outset. Should such changes take place they will most likely not only have a beneficial impact on the learning of French by Franco-Ontarian students, but perhaps also on the students' desire to maintain French, a desire which may have been dampened by the normative approach (cf. Dorian, in press for a similar assumption on the negative impact of the imposition of a foreign norm on the desire for mother tongue maintenance in several minority settings).

English-language pedagogy differs markedly from French-language pedagogy in connection with the three problematic aspects mentioned above regarding the teaching of French. Thus, more recognition has been given to the fact that the French-language schools include students for whom English is definitely a second language, not only at the classroom level, in the form of special remedial English classes but also at the level of ministerial guidelines which clearly identify the special need of these students. Similarly, attention has been given to the presence in the French-language schools of students whose proficiency in English is close to or native-like, again not only at the classroom level but also at the level of ministerial guidelines. The teaching of English which is geared to these students is quite similar to that which is geared to Anglophone Ontarian students. Finally the orientation of the guidelines, and to a non-negligible extent of classroom practice, is much more communicative than is the case for French-language pedagogy. The fact that in Canada, French-as-a-first-language pedagogy and English-as-a-first language pedagogy have had until recently largely independent histories and traditions probably explains the contrast described above. In any case, it so

happens that in the French-language schools the teaching of the minority language is much less in tune with the sociolinguistic reality in which Franco-Ontarian students are immersed than the teaching of the majority language. It is to be hoped that such an imbalance will disappear in the near future.

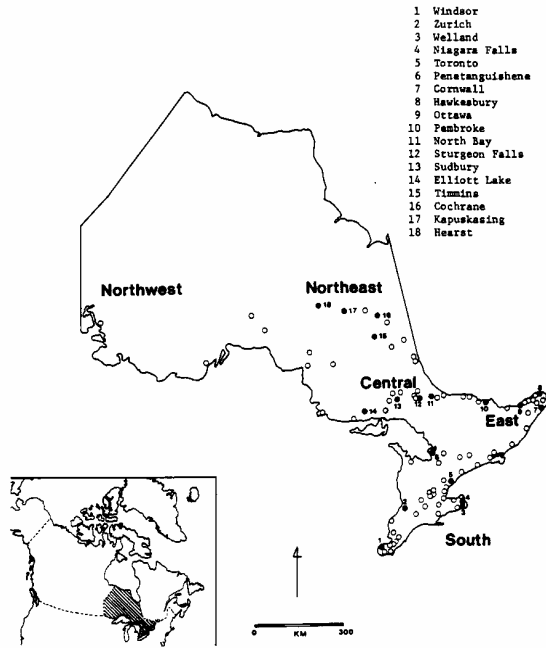
### Conclusion

Looking back on the history of French-language schooling in Ontario we have seen that internal social processes as well as external ones have shaped the relationship between the school and the community it serves. More specifically we have seen that the French-language schools were initially established to contribute to the maintenance of the French language and culture among a homogeneous and basically monolingual population. However, as the population has become increasingly heterogeneous, bilingual and mobile the French-language schools have been increasingly called upon to achieve the goal of French language and culture maintenance without the support that a stable and homogeneous community provides. Social and geographic mobility have contributed to the processes of intermarriage and language transfer among the Franco-Ontarian community. Together with Francophone immigration from outside Ontario these processes have brought about a diversification of the French-language schools' clientele. Finally, the evolution of the political framework of minority French-language education both at the national and provincial levels has added to the internally-induced diversification mentioned above by permitting the admission of non-Francophone students to French-language minority schools.

The degree to which diversification has taken place itself varies widely from community to community across the province so that there are still communities which are essentially homogeneous and where French-language maintenance is very high and others which are quite heterogeneous and where language shift is widespread. This has had an impact to a greater or lesser degree on planning and policy at a provincial level with respect to the organisation and administration of the French-language minority education system as well as of curriculum and material guidelines. Within heterogeneous communities French language schools must respond to the needs of a student population varying widely in linguistic proficiency in French and English and in cultural background and to the oftentimes conflicting aspirations of the different groups of parents who send their children to those schools. The extent and scope of interstudent differences in linguistic proficiency provide a most telling example of the interplay of minority language schooling, home language use and wider community language use in the students' linguistic development. While the school boards are attempting to find solutions to the problems posed by sizeable interstudent differences in linguistic proficiency, in many cases teachers must find their own solutions for the particular needs of their classrooms.

Our analysis leads us to conclude that the future of Franco-Ontarian education will depend on the extent to which the legislative and sociodemographic processes described above interact to favour the development of a more stable and coherent community which would be able to provide the schools with the support which they obviously need.

**Appendix**



Map of Ontario showing localities with Francophone concentration

**Acknowledgements**

Most of the data on Ontario's French language schools reported in this study were gathered in the context research projects funded by the Ontario Ministry of Education, Multiculturalism Canada (Secretary of State, Government of Canada) and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. We would like to express our appreciation to these three funding agencies, as well as to our co-principal investigators, Monique Bélanger, Michael Canale, and Merrill Swain. The map of Ontario placed in the appendix was designed by Tim Kaiser. The typing of the manuscript was done by Charlotte Nadeau. To both we express our gratitude. Last but not least, we would like to express our thanks to Edouard Beniak, Gerhart Bindseil and Nancy C. Dorian who read a first draft of this article and whose critical comments helped us considerably in improving its content and form.

**Notes**

1. Material presented in this section is drawn mainly from Vallières (1980), Choquette (1980) and Arnopoulos (1982).
2. The judiciary committee of the Privy Council in London which acted as Canada's supreme court examined the constitutionality of the provincial act. It concluded that the abolition of French language schooling by the Ontario legislature was not unconstitutional since the BNA only guaranteed the principle of instruction in the Catholic faith and not in the French language.
3. It should be noted that the same was true for English Catholic schools, but, since the Francophone population was (and is) relatively less well off, this presented more of a problem for Francophone than for Anglophone Catholics.
4. These explanations have been extrapolated 'retroactively' on the basis of attitudinal data gathered through a survey of groups of Franco-Ontarian parents from several localities representing the major regions of Francophone concentration (Chaperon-Lor, 1974).
5. The University of Ottawa offers most of its programmes in French (as well as English). Sudbury's Laurentian University, however, offers only a limited number of courses in French.
6. In addition to education, the most notable improvement in the provision of French language services to have taken place over the last decade pertains to the judicial system. It is now possible for Franco-Ontarians to receive a trial in French at all levels of the court system. Also noteworthy is the establishment of a network of French language radio and TV stations (most of them affiliated with the French national broadcasting network) across the different regions of Francophone concentration and the provision of varying amounts of French language services by the various provincial and federal government ministries. Other significant developments which are currently being planned include the establishment of a fully-fledged French language educational television channel (to date the provincial educational television channel only provides some broadcasting in French), and the provision of French language services in government funded hospitals.
7. One noteworthy consequence of the lack of direct control by Francophones over French language schools is that in fundamental ways French- and English-language education are now quite similar. While there are differences in the sources of teaching material (e.g. French-language schools tend to draw their material from Quebec), and in some course content (e.g. Franco-Ontarian history and literature), other aspects of curricula and of educational objectives, methods and services are very similar, precisely because they are designed by the same people in the same school boards.
8. In those instances where Francophone parents fought for the replacement of a mixed school by an autonomous French language school other Francophone parents at the same time sided with the Anglophone school-board members (i.e. those who pushed for the mixed school approach in the first place) and fought against such replacement.

9. We have profited from discussions with Stacy Churchill and Paul Rouleau, who have clarified for us legal aspects of these recent developments.
10. In all fairness, it should be pointed out that in several localities Anglophone parents played an instrumental role in the establishment of certain French language schools (notably in Toronto and Ottawa) since Francophone support for such schools was initially low. Motivation on the part of these Anglophones is partly instrumental and partly derived from an ideological commitment to minority rights.
11. More specifically, it was found that the extent to which the students used French in the neighbourhood was a function of local level of Francophone concentration (i.e. only in the stronger minorities did the students make any extensive use of French in such a setting).
12. Such a statement should not be taken as an endorsement of the view that all the parents who do not communicate in French with their children at home have such an expectation. In fact analysis of data gathered during a survey of the parents who have enrolled their children in Welland French language schools revealed that for a number of Franco-Ontarian parents the schools should give priority to the full development of *English* language skills rather than to the full development of French language skills and thus maximise the students' chances of obtaining better jobs.

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