

## Language policies and pedagogical practices in Catalonia and Quebec

### *Polítiques lingüístiques i pràctiques pedagògiques a Catalunya i Quebec*

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#### ABSTRACT

The majority of Canada's Francophones reside in Quebec, where French is the main language of education and where English-speaking students are entitled to receive instruction in English only under specific circumstances. Similarly, the policy for bilingual education implemented in Catalonia in 1983 provides that students should receive their primary education in Catalan, while the acquisition of Castilian, the official language of the state and co-official in Catalonia together with Catalan, is also required. This paper goes beyond the scope of comparing these two territories as districts defined by their language, aiming to provide a trifold consideration of the language planning issue in both regions by taking into account: *a*) what language planning programmes have been implemented in the autonomous community of Catalonia and in the province of Quebec; *b*) what kind of goals language planning aims to achieve in Catalonia and Quebec; and *c*) in what ways the motivation behind language policies in these territories differs.

KEYWORDS: language policy, bilingualism, Catalonia, Quebec.

#### RESUM

La majoria francòfona del Canadà resideix al Quebec, on el francès és la llengua principal d'educació i on els estudiants de parla anglesa només tenen dret a rebre l'educació en anglès en circumstàncies específiques. De la mateixa manera, el pla d'acció per a l'ensenyament bilingüe implementat a Catalunya el 1983 permet que els estudiants rebin l'educació primària en català, mentre que també es requereix l'adquisició del castellà, llengua oficial de l'Estat i cooficial a Catalunya junt amb el català. Aquest article, més enllà de la comparació d'aquests territoris com a zones definides per la seva llengua, té com a objectiu tractar la qüestió de la planificació lingüística a totes dues regions considerant: *a*) els programes de planificació lingüística que s'han implementat a la comunitat autònoma de Catalunya i a la província de Quebec, *b*) els objectius que es volen assolir amb la planificació lingüística a Catalunya i al Quebec i *c*) les motivacions de les polítiques lingüístiques en cadascun d'aquests dos territoris.

PARAULES CLAU: política lingüística, bilingüisme, Catalunya, Quebec.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Language policies across the world are designed to be action-oriented, with a focus on achieving goals for language education, public administration, public services, immigration, business and economy, the media and arts. Language planning, which has been primarily defined as “decision-making about language” (see Rubin, 1971), is designed to achieve specific linguistic goals which are closely associated with the political and sociolinguistic situation in the territories involved. Before looking at the language planning programmes developed in Catalonia and Quebec, it is necessary to identify three major language planning areas. *Corpus planning* involves the actual procedures used to codify a language, such as making grammars and dictionaries and introducing orthographic reforms. *Status planning* has to do with decisions about which functions each language should have in a region, territory or nation state (Kloss, 1969). *Acquisition planning* deals with decisions about which language or languages are to be taught in a certain educational system, complementing and interacting with status planning and corpus planning. The coordination of corpus and status planning is essential for the achievement of all types of linguistic goals in a society. Acquisition planning is therefore a type of language planning integrated through the relationship between status planning and corpus planning. The former is responsible for the general education policy, while the latter has control over the language-teaching materials used.

The introductory part of this paper sets the stage for the implementation of language policies by defining three general language planning areas. Sections 2.1 and 2.2 are concerned with the theoretical aspects of bilingualism and the different types of immersion programmes in bilingual education. Section 2.2 also considers bilingual education in the framework of basic orientations towards language planning. Section 3 deals with the language policy established in Catalonia and Section 3.1 reveals how this policy is shaped by the impact of historical and sociopolitical factors. Section 3.2 discusses the goals pursued by language planners through the promotion and normalisation of the use of Catalan, while Section 3.3 broadly treats the issues of class, politics and immigration in Catalonia. Section 4 focuses on the language policy implemented in Quebec and its impact at regional level. Section 4.1 provides the reader with information on the historical and sociopolitical background of Canadian French. Section 4.2 presents the goals related to the learning and development of French in the province. The focus of Section 4.3 is on understanding the development of a specific language policy in Quebec. Lastly, Section 5 provides a comparison between the types of bilingualism occurring in Catalonia and Quebec.

## 2. BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN SCHOOLS

The literature on bilingualism and language practices in schools covers a wide variety of theories on the phenomenon of speaking and understanding two languages,

along with how language practices can be effectively applied and expanded in schools for successful learning. However, attention should be drawn to the structural-functional approaches to bilingualism, which lead us to explore beyond the individual's ability to conceptualise language knowledge. The purpose of this section is thus to provide definitions of bilingualism in order to explore a structural-functional set of approaches to this topic which would appear to be useful for understanding bilingualism in the context of bilingual learning, and to consider the bilingual education models employed in school systems.

### 2.1. *Bilingualism: Theoretical aspects*

Bloomfield (1933: 56) originally describes bilingualism as a “native-like control of two languages”. Romaine seems to share a common understanding of bilingualism as a language phenomenon in which “a bilingual person, apart from being able to produce complete, meaningful utterances in both languages, must have operational command of them, though with occasional inaccuracies in one” (Romaine, 1989: 10). Mackey (1968: 554) examines bilingualism from the perspective of language use; the alternate use of two languages which must respond to the following key aspects: degree, function, alternation and interference. Mackey first analyses the degree of bilingualism in terms of proficiency by raising the point of command: how well does the bilingual know each of his/her languages? Secondly, the concept of function focuses on the way bilingual speakers use the languages (dominant v. subordinate), and thirdly, the concept of alternation responds to the extent to which a bilingual speaker alternates between two languages. Lastly, interference is relevant to the extent to which the individual is able to keep the two languages apart in the course of their use, or whether they are fused.

Titone (1972) perceives bilingualism as “the individual's capacity to speak a second language while following the concepts and structures of that language rather than paraphrasing his or her mother tongue”. Titone's definition subsequently tackles the issue of how we can know that a speaker who communicates in a language which is foreign to him/her does not paraphrase the structures of his/her mother tongue. Hamers (1981) addresses the question raised by Titone by introducing the concept of *bilinguality* (or *individual bilingualism*). *Bilinguality* (Hamers, 1981: 29) refers to “the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication: the degree of access will vary along a number of dimensions which are psychological, cognitive, psycholinguistic, social psychological, social, sociological, sociolinguistic, sociocultural and linguistic”. Hamers notes that the ability of an individual to master various levels of two languages is based on his/her psychological state and its dimensions rather than on the individual's accommodation to paraphrase from the language he/she has first acquired and used to a second one. *Societal bilingualism* involves the concept of *bilinguality* as the term is employed to describe the use of two codes in the same interaction

by a number of individuals who live in a language community. Societal bilingualism reflects the role of language in intergroup relations.

Along with the terms of individual bilingualism and societal bilingualism, our attention should be drawn to *territorial bilingualism* (Hamers and Blanc, 2000: 31), which refers to the fact that two or more languages have official status in a politically defined territory. Territorial bilingualism, in the cases which this paper investigates, makes provision for the use of Catalan and French, respectively, within each politically defined territory: the autonomous community of Catalonia, in which Catalan and Castilian are co-official languages, and the province of Quebec, where only French has official status, though the Constitution requires that all legislation should be enacted in both French and English. *Official bilingualism* is the term used to describe the policies, constitutional provisions and laws which ensure the legal equality of English and French in Canada and which guarantee the linguistic rights of English and French-speaking minorities in different provinces.

Lambert (1975) emphasises the difference between two concepts, *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism*, in connection with the bilingual experience. Additive bilingualism is related to the fact that a second language (L2) is acquired without detriment to the first (L1). In contrast, in subtractive bilingualism, the acquisition of L2 is achieved at the expense of an individual's L1. Lambert's distinction between subtractive and additive still forms the basis for affective and cognitive aspects of bilingualism. The author first introduced the term *subtractive bilingualism* to describe the language attrition experienced by speakers whose L1 is a minority language in the community. These L1-minoritised speakers have been found to be clearly influenced by the majority language, with subsequent losses in their L1. The effects of additive bilingualism, on the other hand, have been documented by Landry, Allard and Th  berge (1991): when an individual's L1 is of high status in the community, L2 can be learned and its related cultural traits can be transmitted without involving any loss of L1 and its culture. Landry (1982, 1987) and Landry and Allard (1990, 1993) further refined this classification by distinguishing varying degrees of subtractive and additive bilingualism, the latter depending on three broad criteria: *a*) a high level of proficiency in both communicative and cognitive-academic aspects of L1 and L2; *b*) maintenance of a strong ethnolinguistic identity and fostering of positive beliefs and attitudes toward both L1 and L2; and *c*) the equal use of L1 and L2 for socially valued roles or domains of activity. On the whole, additive and subtractive processes can be considered relatively frequent phenomena of bilingualism on both the individual and the community level. They involve the learning of a second language and depend on the extent to which first-language skills and culture remain valued in the individual's sociocultural environment.

Grosjean (2010) describes the individual's ability to understand a second language without having effective oral command of it as *passive bilingualism*. This author asserts that passive bilingualism is quite common in contact situations in which the whole community understands more than one language. Such situations occur when bilingual speakers use actively one language while they have not developed any pro-

ductive skills in the other. One's equal ability to use two languages is described as *symmetrical* or *balanced bilingualism* (see Lambert, Havelka and Gardner, 1959). Language contact situations also give rise to *asymmetrical bilingualism*. This type of bilingualism is very common within immigrant communities where bilingual speakers do not exhibit equal competence in their L1 and L2. The shifting to their L2 is usually redundant and the bilingual experience becomes somewhat unstable as a pattern of language shift occurs favouring production of L1 forms rather than L2 ones. It is, however, important to emphasise that asymmetrical bilingualism is not set within the passive process of understanding a language. It refers to the individual's ability to make use of L2 without necessarily having equal competence in both L1 and L2.

In bilingual communities, different types of bilingualism may be conditioned by any number of factors, including the age of the speaker (L1 and L2 across generations), and his/her social class, ethnicity, level of education, or degree of willingness to communicate in L2.

## 2.2. *Typology of bilingual education and orientations toward language planning*

The *immersion programme* is a method of bilingual teaching in which learners are usually educated in the L2 while the L1 is introduced at a later stage. Immersion programmes are designed for the purpose of fostering bilingualism. Hamers and Blanc (2000: 321) propose a lax criterion for *bilingual education*, since the definition they suggest describes "any system of school education in which, at a given moment in time and for a varying amount of time, simultaneously or consecutively, instruction is planned and given in at least two languages". This idea serves as a useful starting point since the authors identify three types of bilingual education, in which learners receive: 1) education in their L2 while their L1 is introduced at a later stage; 2) education in their L1 in a first stage, after which the use of L2 is suggested as a medium of instruction; and 3) education in both their L1 and L2 at the same time.

Within a socially-oriented framework, there are at least three possible interpretations of orientations towards language planning. Ruiz (1984) conceives of *language as a problem* and considers the linguistic mismatch between dominant and minority languages within society when language planning is adopted either as an instrument for national development or as a remedy for social problems (Wiley, 1996: 114). Since language provides access to many aspects of social life, such as healthcare, employment, education, voting and media, Ruiz (1984: 23) identifies *language as a right* and considers that language-related rights have been advanced in a way analogous to that of civil rights. This latter orientation follows from the interpretation of *language as a resource*. In the context of multilingualism and cultural diversity, speakers of minority languages are seen as a source of specialised linguistic expertise that helps themselves, their communities and society as a whole (Ruiz, 1984: 28).

Language planning policies have been implemented favouring Catalan over Castilian within Catalonia, and French over English within Quebec, as neither Catalan

nor French represent the majority language spoken throughout Spain and Canada, respectively. The characterisation of Catalan and French as *pluricentric languages* appears to be relevant here. Heinz Kloss (1978: 66-67) coined the term *pluricentric high language* (*plurizentrische Hochsprache*) to describe languages with several interacting centres, each providing a national variety with at least some of its own (codified) norms (see Clyne, 1992). It is worth pointing out that whereas Catalonia represents the centre of gravity of Catalan, Canadian French is a minority variant of French.

### 3. THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN CATALONIA

Ever since the Spanish Constitution of 1978 granted autonomy and self-government to Catalonia in accordance with the Catalan Statute of Autonomy (1979), “education centres are obliged to make Catalan the normal vehicle of expression, both in internal activities, including those of an administrative nature, and in external ones” (Webber and Strubell i Trueta, 1991: 34). The Spanish Constitution of 1978, Article 3, Provision 2, explicitly states that “the rest of the Spanish languages will also be official in the respective autonomous communities in accordance with their Statutes”. In 1983, the Language Normalisation Act was passed, a law of great importance in education and the mass media. This linguistic policy was set up with the aim of defending the right of children to receive their primary education in Catalan (see Sections 14.1 and 14.2). In 1987, a few years after the Language Normalisation Act (1983),<sup>1</sup> although instruction in primary schools in Catalonia was given exclusively in Catalan, practical difficulties came up due to the lack of a sufficient number of Catalan-speaking teaching staff. The immersion programmes designed for the acquisition of Catalan as a second language (L2), however, obtained a positive reception on the part of Hispanophone families. Miller and Miller (1996: 125) report that Hispanophone children in primary school are in the optimum age for (L2) language learning, since they would learn and use Catalan in the classroom without damaging their spontaneous development in Castilian. Given the fact that educational priority has been given to Catalan, the question arises as to how successfully children can command Castilian and, more specifically, whether they have partial, effective, good or complete command of the Castilian language.

#### 3.1. *Historical and sociopolitical background*

The Catalan language underwent a series of repressions, which began with a number of language-centralising decrees in the early 18th century. The Royal Decree of

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1. The full text of the Language Normalisation Act (LNA) may be found under the title *Llei de normalització lingüística a Catalunya* (DOG no. 322, 22 April 1983).

Nueva Planta of 1716<sup>2</sup> issued by King Philip V declared Castilian to be Spain's sole official language. In terms of public education, the Bourbon kings later decreed that Castilian would be the sole medium of primary and secondary schooling (1768-1771). Vila-Pujol (2007) reports that in that period, the upper classes of Catalan society learned Castilian in order to acquire power, while the rest of the population remained monolingual Catalan-speaking. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, Catalan businessmen considered that it would be to their benefit to clearly present themselves as Spaniards. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Catalan language was suppressed by the dictator Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), who prohibited the use of Catalan in the local administration, official events and documents, and road signs. Finally, Catalan came to be banned from most public spaces, including the state administration, the media, education and the arts during the Franco dictatorship (1939-1975).

Despite the repression, the Catalan language was reshaped as a written form of literary expression during the *Renaixença* or Catalan cultural Renaissance movement,<sup>3</sup> which laid the foundations for contemporary Catalan literature. Pompeu Fabra published the first Catalan grammar in 1918 and a Catalan dictionary in 1931 through the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, or Institute of Catalan Studies, which is the official authority established in 1907 known for its work in standardising the Catalan language. The Statute of Autonomy instituted under the Second Spanish Republic (1932-1939) gave official recognition to Catalan. In the post-Franco era, the Statute of Autonomy of 1979 declared the territory of Catalonia to be an autonomous community. Since then, both Catalan and Castilian have been co-official in Catalonia, while the latter is official throughout the Spanish state. 1983 saw the enactment of the Language Normalisation Act, a law of great importance in education and the mass media. One of the aims of this linguistic policy was to defend the right of children to receive their primary education in Catalan.

### ***3.2. Language planning goals in Catalonia***

Scholars have long noted that it has not been necessary for them to undertake the complex task of standardising the Catalan language precisely because Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948) had already reformed and codified it. Fabra's programme of language revitalisation enjoyed institutional support from the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, which is a national academy that provides common standards for the language as a whole. Pompeu Fabra revived the Catalan language through its codification, a task which is part of the corpus planning activity, involving the production of modern

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2. Laitin (1989) lists a number of royal decrees (1716-1772).

3. The *Renaixença* (the Catalan cultural Renaissance) was a cultural revival movement that took place in Catalonia in the first half of the 19th century, in parallel with the Industrial Revolution and the Romantic movements that were gaining ground all over Europe.

dictionaries for the old forms of Catalan, such as the *Diccionari ortogràfic* (1917) and the *Diccionari general de la llengua catalana* (1931). Working in the ideological context of a dynamic Catalan nationalism, Fabra also edited the *Normes ortogràfiques* in 1913 and the official *Gramàtica catalana* in 1918. Fabra's writings in terms of corpus planning involved both the modification of all aspects of the language, including its lexicon, spelling, grammar and orthography (language reform), and the production of an excellent codification (language revival), which respects the language's internal dialectal diversity, with slight differences between the varieties spoken in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, Valencia and elsewhere (for a discussion see Strubell and Boix-Fuster, 2011).

Fabra expressed the fear that if the Catalans did not put a stop to the Castilian influence on the Catalan language, it would become in some ways a dialect of Castilian (see Fabra, Costa Carreras and Yates, 2009). One of his goals was the elimination of Castilian loan words along with the development of a modern Catalan standard which would flourish throughout a consolidated Catalan territory. He acted judiciously with the standardisation of Catalan. Fabra selected words drawn from medieval Catalan in such a way that they could not identify with spoken and written Castilian and would concurrently help to develop a standard variety of Catalan. Within the framework of Fabra's declared policy of *depuració* (purification) (see *L'obra de depuració del català*, 1924), Pountain (2016) offers examples of words (e.g., *bústia*, *acomiar*, *vaga*) used for making standard Catalan different from Castilian. Morphological and semantic calques such as *roda de premsa*, *posar en marxa* and *èxit* are not, however, readily identifiable as loan words borrowed into Catalan from Castilian (see Pountain 2016).

### 3.3. *Class, politics and immigration*

The Catalan linguistic nationalist movement from the beginning of the 20th century to the Franco era "belonged primarily to the local middle classes, to small-town provincial notables and to intellectuals, for the militant and predominantly anarchist working class, both Catalan and immigrant, remained suspicious of nationalism on class grounds" (Hobsbawm, 1990: 139-140). Since 1923, prominent figures of the left, such as Martí i Julià, Manuel Serra i Moret and Francesc Macià, attempted to link the Catalan cause with the global Revolution. Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) (the party Catalan Left of Catalonia) and later the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia) endorsed Catalanism by translating texts of Marx, Engels and Lenin into Catalan (Balcells, 2012). Medrano (1994) underlined that the working class in Catalonia and notably in Barcelona was Castilian-speaking. This argument is consolidated by the fact that in the 1920s, the communist and anarchist texts circulating in Barcelona could only be found in Castilian. Primo de Rivera's regime reduced the disparities between the regional left and right in Catalonia because it was the driving force in forming a regional ideology against the central government in Madrid.



The regional sentiment of Catalanism militating against Madrid became predominant during the Franco era. At the same time, the economic growth that Catalonia experienced through industrial expansion between 1955 and 1973 increased internal immigration, mainly from southern Spain. *Internal immigration* is the common term used by sociologists to refer to the movement of people from one place to another within the same country or region<sup>4</sup> – for example, the movement of people from Granada, whose native language is therefore Castilian, to Barcelona.

The influx of Castilian-speaking immigrants should have weakened the importance of the Catalan language in the lower strata of society, but Catalan rose to become a fully institutionalised and established language. Miley (2008) adds that Catalonia faced high unemployment rates in the post-Franco era and since highly paid jobs in both the public and private sectors were given to Catalan speakers, Castilian-speaking immigrants were willing to learn Catalan or showed little opposition to learning it since they considered this language to be a means of social ascension. Hacker-Cordón and Miley (2007) show that 90 % of the public jobs are held by Catalan speakers and, in the private sector, highly paid positions are held by Catalan speakers in a proportion of 31.8 %, as compared to 12.2 % in the case of Castilian speakers. In contrast, low-paid jobs are held by monolingual Castilian speakers in a proportion of 66.3 %. It should be mentioned, however, that speaking Catalan is a prerequisite for working in the public administration and institutions of Catalonia, in which Catalan is to be used in general, notwithstanding the right of citizens to address such administrations and institutions in whichever official language they choose.<sup>5</sup>

The arrival of immigrants increased Catalonia's population, which in turn brought about a sudden increase on the birth rate. Both non-Castilian-speaking and Castilian-speaking immigrant children who attend school in Catalonia receive mainstream Catalan education. It may be assumed that the imposition of the territorial language as the basic teaching language in Catalonia is less problematic for Hispanophone children in comparison with immigrant children whose parents have come to Catalonia from non-Castilian-speaking parts of the world, because Hispanophone children already have a knowledge of a cognate language.

#### 4. THE LANGUAGE POLICY IN QUEBEC

The federal Official Language Act (OLA) of 1969 gave equal status to Canada's two official languages. Federal government public services were to accommodate the linguistic choices of individuals whose mother tongue was either French or English across the country. Canadian pupils had opportunities to learn both English and

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4. An interesting analysis of internal immigration in developing countries can be found in Kuhn (2015: 433-442).

5. See Law 1/1998 on Language Policy, which pursues the normalised use of Catalan in the areas of teaching and administration.

French at school, under the first and second type of bilingual education. While Canadian language policy was created federally, the circumstance of whether learners should be educated through the first or the second type of education depended on the L2 instruction policy implemented by the provincial and territorial governments.

The linguistic situation of Quebec started to become somewhat different when the Charter of the French Language known as Bill 101 was adopted. In 1977, Bill 101 was designed to “make Quebec both institutionally and socially a unilingual French state” (Bourhis, 1984: 40). Status planning has thus been reformed in the context of teaching and learning English, since instruction in the early years of schooling must be delivered in French. Children’s right to receive English instruction in kindergarten, however, is restricted to situations where one of the following established criteria for designation as “English-speaking” is met: *a*) elementary instruction of their father or mother was given in English in Quebec; *b*) children received their elementary instruction in English outside Quebec, while either of their parents dwelt in Quebec on the date the law came into force; or *c*) children and their siblings have already been enrolled in the English-speaking education system.

#### 4.1. *Historical and sociopolitical background of Canadian French*

From 1608 to 1763, the dominant language in the colonised Quebec was *françoys*.<sup>6</sup> In 1763, the province of Quebec became a British colony and was cut off from France. Canadian French being mainly the language of the peasant population since many members of the French elite had returned to France, it began to differ significantly from European French (Lockerbie 2005: 17-18). The Quebec Act of 1774 recognised French Canadian distinctiveness, granting French Canadians the right to live by their own laws, in their own language and in their Roman Catholic faith.

One result of Quebec’s rupture with France involves the concept of *patois*.<sup>7</sup> By the middle of the 19th century, one may speak of Canadian French as a language variety, with French as the matrix language and certain inserted English features of the Anglophone settlers. Due to its great similarity to the classical French of the 17th century, the modernisation of Canadian French and its realignment with European French came to be promoted (Kircher, 2009: 22). Nevertheless, Francophone speakers in Quebec, beginning with the urban bourgeoisie and later including the population at large, opted for assimilation to English rather than retaining a Canadian French linked to the *patois* myth that persisted throughout the 19th century.

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6. *Françoys* designates a language variety of French widely spoken in France and particularly spoken in Quebec from 1608 to 1763 (Kircher, 2009: 21).

7. Kircher (2009: 22) uses the term *patois* to refer to a language variety of French that is considered nonstandard and incomprehensible to foreigners and Frenchmen alike (see also Bouchard, 2002: 95-96).

## 4.2. *Language planning goals in Quebec*

The Société du parler français au Canada (SPFC), founded in 1902, endeavoured to promote the study of the French language spoken in Canada in the course of the 20th century, with the goal of improving the prestige of Canadian French. Nevertheless, the SPFC ceased to exist in 1960. In 1961, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of Quebec established goals related to the learning and development of the French language and culture in the province. With the goal of replacing English loan words used in Quebec industry, business and public administration, Quebec language planners created French terminology in line with standard French as it is spoken in France (*aller se promener, une pastèque, avoir du sens*). Thus, loan words introduced from English and adapted directly to fit the morphological and semantic patterns of the French language (*prendre une marche, un melon d'eau, ça fait du sens*).

## 4.3. *Immigration and politics*

The British North America Act of 1867 (see the Constitution Act, 1867 [UK], 30 & 31 Victoria, c. 3) established a policy with respect to denominational schools, which included Catholic and Protestant schools. To determine the scope of this policy from the linguistic standpoint, instruction to immigrant students who were attending Catholic schools was offered in French, while the language of instruction for immigrant students in Protestant schools was almost exclusively in English. It should be mentioned that immigrant students in Quebec were immigrants whose mother tongue was neither French nor English, but they were required to become French or English language learners. Immigrant parents had the right to choose to enrol their children either in English schools or in French ones.

The publication of Quebec government enquiries during the 1960s and 1970s showed that the majority of students of non-French and non-English background under the jurisdiction of the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC) were receiving English schooling. In contrast, the MCSC's report indicated a significant decline in the total enrolment of immigrants' children in French schools by 1972,<sup>8</sup> as shown in Table 1. Bourhis (1984) highlights a number of reasons to explain the lack of appeal of French schooling to immigrants in the province of Quebec. The foremost reasons in favour of English language education choice are the following: *a*) the importance of English in North America in terms of use; and *b*) the definition of the educational systems of the province along denominational lines (Catholic and Protestant).

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8. The Gendron Commission of Quebec indicated that whereas in 1943 52% of the Italian children under the jurisdiction of the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC) were enrolled in French schools, by 1972 this figure had decreased to 9%.

TABLE 1  
*Decline in enrolment in French-speaking schools of non-French-speaking  
 and non-English-speaking immigrant children*

Year	Schooling	Student's Origins	(%)
1943	French	Italian	52
1943	English	Italian	48
1972	English	Non-English/-French	89.3
1972	French	Non-English/-French	10.7

SOURCE: Prepared by the author based on D'Anglejan (1984).

## 5. COMPARING BILINGUALISM

The federal government of Canada fully recognises the use of both English and French in Canadian society. In terms of the Canadian approach to linguistic duality, this country has established a number of measures which make it a role model for other bilingual countries. These measures have given equal status to Canada's two official languages since the Official Languages Acts (OLAs) of 1969 and 1988. In practical terms, the OLAs highlight and legalise support for official bilingualism and the development of minority French/English rights across different regions of Canada.

Catalan has no official status before the central authorities in Spain. Inhabitants of the autonomous community of Catalonia find themselves in a situation of territorial bilingualism, in which either of the two languages (Catalan, Castilian) is an official language in the community. To the extent that Catalans' ethnolinguistic duality within Catalonia is officially recognised, additional dimensions of bilingualism come into play, such as: *a*) additive bilingualism; *b*) asymmetrical bilingualism; and *c*) passive bilingualism. One major similarity between the two bilingual regions of Catalonia and Quebec is that Catalan and French, respectively, are minority languages in the states at large to which they belong: in Spain outside Catalonia in the case of Catalan and in Canada outside Quebec in the case of French. Similarly, Catalan is the majority language within Catalonia and French is the majority language within Quebec, where each is given preference within their respective school systems.

Large-scale immigration in Catalonia of people with Castilian as their mother tongue and the presence of English mother-tongue immigrant groups in Quebec have led to an effective development of an additive type of bilingualism rather than a subtractive one. It may be argued, however, that the degree of intensity of language contact is high. Many people keep speaking their L1-Castilian and their L1-English, respectively, within Catalan-speaking society and within Canadian French-speaking society, as they are keen to be identified as native speakers of two languages that have high status in the community. In both these regions, there is a situation of guided

second-language acquisition which goes hand in hand with the vitality of the Castilian and English languages and cultures. Such a situation reflects the widespread use of Castilian and English in society and therefore no issue of subtractive bilingualism arises. In contrast, immigrant children growing up in Catalonia and Quebec, respectively, with a mother tongue other than Castilian and English, are susceptible to subtractive bilingualism. Once these children go to school and spend more time with their peers, exposure to the languages of the region becomes maximal. Productive and receptive skills in L2 are thus developed ahead of the productive and receptive skills in L1. Since asymmetrical bilingualism implies a higher level of competence in one language than the other, this type seems to be quite common in specific regions in Quebec, such as in Greater Montreal, where the presence of a large English-speaking population deters the assimilation of French. Similarly, asymmetrical bilingualism occurs as a result of the urban immigration in Catalonia. Castilian-speaking immigrants from Latin America and southern Spain form the Hispanophone monolingual group in Catalan society and they often find themselves in situations that require accommodation to the language of the region.

Passive bilingualism is found alongside asymmetrical bilingualism in both Catalonia and Quebec. L1-Castilian and L1-English speakers are able to understand Catalan and French, respectively, without being able to speak it. It has been observed that some Catalans, in their efforts to promote their language, apply a gentle yet meaningful form of mobilisation involving a passive bilingualism based on always addressing others in Catalan, unless they are not understood (Strubell and Boix-Fuster, 2011: 8).

The language policy implemented in Quebec as from 1977 evidently does not contrast with the imposition of Catalan as the basic teaching language in post-Franco Catalonia. Conversely, in Quebec prior to 1977 the linguistic preferences of immigrant parents whose mother tongue was neither French nor English seemed to carry the most weight. Since 1977, however, Quebec has moved to a territorial approach. In the light of social changes, a need has arisen for new policies regarding the implementation of a new language acquisition planning to steer immigrant students towards the French education system. The adoption of a territorial approach in Quebec has helped to allay fears that changes in immigration patterns might change the linguistic balance to the disadvantage of the Francophone group.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Much of this paper has been devoted to the efforts and goals of language planning and to the motivations behind it, particularly in Catalonia, where the Catalan language policy has been a success and there is no imminent risk of linguistic substitution (Fishman, 1991). The fact that culture-specific factors and linguistic attitudes account for a range of different types of bilingualism, not irrespective of the language policies and the typology of the immersion programmes involved, justifies

the adoption of two different approaches to language learning. But what are the implications of adopting a territorial bilingualism approach, and what are the parameters within which it can be pursued? As discussed above, the territorial approach has played a crucial role in promoting and normalising the usage of Catalan, inasmuch as this policy has contributed to the cultural and linguistic survival of the Catalan language. The parameters within which the Catalan language policy has been successfully implemented are based on the fact that Catalonia represents the centre of gravity of Catalan. On the other hand, the conditions under which English-speaking schools were overwhelmingly chosen by immigrant families in Quebec allow us to foresee a change there in the linguistic balance between English and French to the disadvantage of the Francophone group. An effort has been required to successfully manage the vulnerable points in the language acquisition planning in Quebec, and the consequent imbalance in the selection of languages. Quebec's language planners are now taking a territorial approach to the bilingual education system in order to promote French in Quebec and to restore the linguistic prestige of Canadian French which, contrary to European French, has been viewed as a minority variant of the language.

In summary, the process of bilingualism in the cases of Catalonia and Quebec may lead to a wide range of linguistic outcomes, from limited acquisition of languages to long-term acquisition and usage of both L1 and L2 and the decline of prejudices against a minority language variety.

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