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Immigrants in Québec: Toward an Explanation of How Multiple and Potentially Conflictual Linguistic Identities Become Integrated

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Article abstract

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Abstract/Résumé

The aim of this paper is to apply a newly developed theoretical model to the understanding of how a new linguistic identity becomes integrated in immigrants' self-concept. While intergroup theories have addressed the situational changes in social identities, the longer-term processes underlying developmental changes in identities and their integration within the self remain to be identified. Relying on developmental and social cognitive principles, we aim to explain the specific processes by which a new linguistic identity develops and becomes integrated within the self over time. We focus on the particular situation of new immigrants in Québec who need to integrate new linguistic identities (French, English). The social factors that facilitate versus impede these change processes and the consequences associated with the integration of a new linguistic identity are also discussed.

Cet article vise l'application d'un modèle théorique récemment développé afin de comprendre comment une nouvelle identité linguistique devient intégrée dans le concept de soi de nouveaux immigrants. Alors que les théories intergroupes classiques ont expliqué les changements situationnels dans les identités sociales, les changements plus profonds dans ces identités et leur intégration dans le soi restent à être identifiés. En nous basant sur des principes développementaux et cognitifs, les quatre stades du modèle seront élaborés afin d'expliquer les processus par lesquels une nouvelle identité linguistique devient intégrée dans le soi à travers le temps. Plus spécifiquement, nous nous penchons sur la situation vécue par les nouveaux immigrants qui, au Québec, doivent intégrer une et parfois deux nouvelles identités linguistiques (c.-à-d. le français et l'anglais). Les facteurs sociaux qui facilitent ou inhibent ces processus de changement identitaire et les conséquences associées à l'intégration d'une nouvelle identité linguistique sont aussi abordés.

Keywords: Social identity, identity integration, social change, immigration.

Mots clés : Identité sociale, intégration identitaire, changement social, immigration.

IMMIGRATION IN CANADA AND IN QUÉBEC HAS INCREASED SIGNIFICANTLY over the past decades. For instance, the size of the flow of immigrants increased rapidly in Canada from 232,352 in the period ranging from 1980 to 1985, up to 281,171 in the 1986 to 1990 period, and dramatically to 458,850 in the period ranging from 1991 to 1995 (Citoyenneté et Immigration Canada, 2002). In 2002 only, approximately 230,000 immigrants arrived to Canada. With one of the lowest birthrates in the industrialized world (i.e., 1.5 children per women in 2005 for Québec; Institut de la Statistique, 2007), Canada relies on immigrants to maintain its numbers and sustain its economic productivity. If this trend persists, immigration will constitute the total growth of the Canadian population by year 2030 (Gouvernement du Canada, 2001).

While 5% of immigrants arriving in Canada are French-only speakers, most of these immigrants settle in the province of Québec (i.e., 4%). In 2005, 12.6% of immigrants to Québec had French as their mother tongue, 2.9% had English, and 84.7% had another language. In all, the proportion of immigrants in Québec that do not speak either French or English upon arrival (i.e., Allophones) has varied from 60% to 65% since 1981 (Leclerc, 2000).Yet, the situation in the Province of Québec complexifies the immigration reality. With both the English and French speaking communities residing in Québec, recently arrived Allophones will either join the Francophone majority and learn a language that is shared mainly within the Province of Québec, join the Anglophone community and learning English, a language that will also allow greater mobility within North America, or learn both French and English. In fact, statistics reveal that 50.4% of Allophones learn *both* English and French after immigrating to Québec. Because language represents an important marker of identity (e.g., Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1977; Taylor, 2002), it becomes crucial to explain how a new linguistic identity becomes integrated and how conflicts among different (old vs. new) linguistic identities are resolved. In this context, our aim is to explain how newly arrived immigrants integrate a new linguistic identity (i.e., French, English) and which stages of change are involved in the identity integration process.

The challenge of immigrating and the intraindividual conflicts that this situation raises among old and new identities has been well acknowledged (e.g., Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). In this context, changes in social identities are likely to be profound and to require the reorganization of the entire self-concept in order to integrate the new identity (e.g., Deaux, 1991; Phinney, 1993). To examine this issue, we will apply a recently developed model that seeks to explain how new social identities (such as linguistic identities) develop

and become integrated in the self (Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, in press). This four-stage model was originally developed to explain the processes through which intraindividual changes in social identities take place over time, an area that remains understudied in social psychology. In fact, past intergroup research based on classic intergroup theories such as social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) has mostly looked at changes in social identities by considering the shorter-term, situationally-activated variations in social identity, and by identifying the environmental factors causing such variations (i.e., how social identifications fluctuate depending on the social context). However, the processes by which identities change over the longer-term and become integrated in the overall self had yet to be explained. The identity change processes we propose are more specifically derived from developmental approaches. Because the developmental literature has focused explicitly on explaining how the self develops intraindividually, we believe such a perspective can be applied fruitfully to explaining how social identities change over time. Table 1 presents an overview of the four stages of social identity development and integration proposed in our model.

Table 1.
Four-Stage Model of Social Identity Development and Integration.

Stage	Characteristics
1. Anticipatory categorization	- Self-anchoring process in which self-characteristics and attributes are projected onto novel group
2. Categorization	-Highly differentiated, isolated social identities -Predominance of one social identity over others -All-or-none nature of social identities -Little or no overlap between old and new identities
3. Compartmentalization	-Multiple identification is possible -Social identities are compartmentalized -No conflict is yet experienced between social identities -Increased overlap between identities, but identification is highly context-specific
4. Integration	-Recognition and resolution of conflict between different important social identities -Interrelations are established between identities by recognizing the similarities between them -Creation of higher-order categorizations to resolve the conflict -Overlap between identities, such that total outgroups or partial ingroups become total ingroups -Simultaneous identification becomes possible

The present paper is organized as follows. First, we present the basic assumptions of our model along with supporting literature. Second, we present the four stages of social identity development and integration involved as a new identity (such as a linguistic identity) becomes integrated. When doing so, we demonstrate how these change processes apply to the specific case of Allophones integrating a new linguistic identity in the Québec context. Although in the present paper we focus exclusively on the integration of one new linguistic identity (i.e., Francophone or Anglophone), we believe that the four-stage model of social identity development and integration applies equally to the integration of multiple linguistic identities. For instance, if an immigrant integrates the Francophone identity, it is possible that he or she will also integrate the Anglophone identity, either in a parallel manner or one after the other. Understanding the process through which *one* identity becomes integrated within the self allows us to generalize further to a situation where *multiple* new linguistic identities become integrated. Nevertheless, and for sake of simplicity, we focus herein on the situation where one new linguistic identity becomes integrated. Finally, given the basic premises of our model, we focus primarily on the *cognitive* factors that guide the identity integration process throughout this paper. However, because of the importance of *social factors* in the identity integration process, we conclude by highlighting how some of these factors (i.e., status and power differentials, social support, perceptions of discrimination) either inhibit or facilitate the identity integration process, along with consequences of this process. Figure 1 provides an illustration of how these factors relate to one another. We now turn to a description of our model's basic assumptions.

Figure 1.
Overview of the Model: Contexts of Change, Antecedents of Identity Development and Integration, Change Processes, and Consequences.
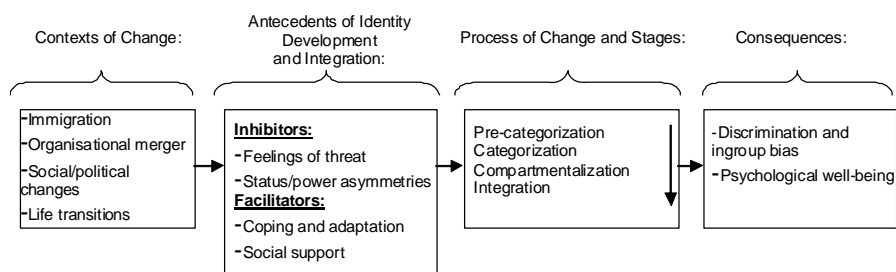
Basic Assumptions of the Model

The four-stage identity development and integration model applies to different forms of social identities. Social identity can be defined as "that part of the individual's self-concept which derives from his or her knowledge of membership to a social group (or groups) together with the value and the emotional significance attached to it" (Tajfel, 1981, p. 155). Because the same individual can belong to a wide variety of groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), one's overall self-concept is composed of multiple social identities. Linguistic identities represent one specific form of social identity (Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1977; Taylor, 2002). Although language is not always necessarily important for all cultures in defining their social identities, it is often viewed as an important characteristic in how people define their cultural group.

The first assumption of the model proposes that the self-concept provides a core structure within which social identities can change, develop, and become integrated intraindividually. In fact, when referring to *social identity integration*, we mean that multiple identities are organized within the global self such that they can be simultaneously important to the overall self-concept (e.g., different linguistic identities can remain important for the individual; e.g., Lafromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). When this occurs, the self feels subjectively coherent rather than conflicted. The second assumption of the model proposes that new identities become integrated through two main processes: (1) *interconnections* (i.e., cognitive links) are established among different identities (e.g., similarities among them are emphasized) so as to ensure continuity within the self-system, and (2) meaningful *higher-order self-representations* (or superordinate identifications) are created, such as to bind the different identities. Superordinate identifications refer more specifically to higher-order and highly inclusive group memberships. For example, identifying as a "human", or identifying with the superordinate identity of being "Québécois" as an identity that is inclusive and respectful of different linguistic subgroups would represent superordinate identities. We now turn to how our model specifically applies to the case of Allophones arriving in Québec.

Application of the Model to New Immigrants in Québec

We propose four main stages of social identity development and integration: anticipatory categorization, categorization, compart-mentalization, and integration (see Table 1). These stages are derived from the neo-Piagetian developmental approach, which proposes that the process

of development leads to an increased acknowledgment of multiple identities over time and to their integration in the self (e.g., Mascolo & Fisher, 1998).

Anticipatory categorization

The first stage represents an anticipatory phase that initiates the process of identity integration. Being anticipatory, this stage takes place *before* a change in one's life is encountered and prior to being in actual contact with a new social group. Given individuals' tendency to plan ahead and engage in some form of proactive actions (e.g., Bidell & Fischer, 1994), the integration of a new identity could start as soon as one foresees a change. We propose that at the anticipatory categorization stage, the cognitive process of *self-anchoring* is operating. Self-anchoring is a heuristic process whereby self-characteristics and attributes are projected onto novel groups (e.g., becoming Francophone or Anglophone). Concretely, self-anchoring involves projecting one's own personal attributes onto a group that one does not yet belong to and one does not yet know a lot about. This process allows to give meaning to one's anticipated group membership and results in a feeling of identification and unity with this new group (Otten & Epstude, 2006). We propose that self-anchoring operates particularly strongly in contexts where one's conception of a new identity is not yet based on concrete experiences of contact with the new group. However, when being in actual contact with members of the new group and as individuals learn more about the characteristics of this group, the self-anchoring effect should dissipate and be replaced by more intergroup-based dynamics (e.g., intergroup competition and conflict as the individual realizes what the differences between the old and new groups imply concretely; see also Otten & Epstude, 2006).

To illustrate the anticipatory categorization stage, consider the example of a 25 year old Russian immigrant who is planning to immigrate to Québec. When she arrives, she will be confronted with the need to integrate a new linguistic identity (i.e., Francophone vs. Anglophone identity). However, even before immigrating, she might ask herself some important questions with regards to what becoming Francophone or Anglophone in Québec will involve. For instance, it is likely that the Russian immigrant will have gathered some information about the situation in Québec and the reality of the "two solitudes". But at this stage, all this is in the realm of the hypothetical. With the self-anchoring process, she will speculate as to which of her individual characteristics could apply to being a Québécois Francophone or Anglophone. For example, being a warm person herself (i.e., one of her personal

characteristics), she could project that all Francophones (or Anglophones) in Québec will be warm and open to immigrants.

In the specific case of Allophones coming to Québec, we propose that at the anticipatory categorization stage, immigrants will start planning which new language they will acquire and which linguistic group they will join. Based on the assumption that identity integration takes place through the formation of cognitive links between new and old identities, the new linguistic identity that will be integrated could be the one that is the easiest to link to one's original linguistic identity and that shares some similarities with this original identity. Cognitively, choosing a new linguistic identity that shares more features with one's original linguistic identity will ensure that immigrants maintain a greater sense of continuity between their old and new identities (e.g., van Knippenberg, D., van Knippenberg, B., Monden, & de Lima, 2002), which should facilitate the identity integration process. For example, some immigrants of Anglo-Saxon descent (e.g., Germans) might find more similarities with Anglophone Québécois. In the case of the Russian immigrant, if she observes greater similarities between aspects of her original Russian culture (e.g., in terms of values and customs) and aspects of the Québécois Francophone culture, integrating the Francophone identity will allow her to maintain a greater sense of continuity. For sake of conciseness, the remainder of the paper will focus on the case where the Russian immigrant learns French and integrates the Francophone identity.

Categorization

The second stage of our model, labeled categorization, occurs when group members begin experiencing the change, such as when moving to a new country. At this point, intergroup dynamics are likely to emerge as differences between the identities become concrete and salient. The categorization process and the increased salience of the ingroup-outgroup context can be considered as an important developmental stage leading to the formation of new social identities (see Ruble et al., 2004, for a review). At this stage, distinct social identities are recognized, and differences (in terms of values, norms, customs) among social identities become highly salient, which reinforces the person's own social characteristics and his or her sense of belonging to the original social group. The group distinctiveness motive also enhances this tendency to view groups as being distinct and to affirm one's current group membership (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004). Because the features of the different groups involved are highly differentiated, the individual does not yet consider

the possibility of being part of these multiple groups (i.e., the characteristics of that new group cannot yet be conceived as elements of one's own self).

From a neo-Piagetian point of view, this categorization stage would take place when identities that were previously completely isolated can be perceived as being opposed to one another (Fischer, 1980). Thus, identities at this stage are explicitly recognized as being different. Because these identities are of an all-or-none nature, only a specific set of attributes are seen as representing the self (Harter, 1999). In the context of social identities, the self-components that would apply to the self would be those characterizing one's original linguistic group. A specific and distinct social identity would thus predominate one's entire self. Although at this stage distinctions among different and opposing social identities are recognized, these distinct identities cannot yet represent the self (Harter, 1999; see also Phinney, 1993).

Going back to the Russian immigrant example, at the categorization stage, her immersion in the new Québec context will provide a direct test of her assumptions (developed at the anticipatory categorization stage) about what becoming a Québécois will involve concretely and will possibly necessitate her to reconsider some of them. This is also the stage where she will confirm which linguistic community she will join and which specific new linguistic identity she will integrate. While at the anticipatory categorization stage, she had focused on the similarities between her old and new linguistic identities when considering which linguistic group she will join in the Québec context, the actual contact with her new group will now allow her to clearly appreciate the *distinctiveness* of the Québécois Francophone and Russian identities (see Sussman, 2000).

Because the differences between the cultures will be more striking to her at this point, this minority status could reinforce her identification as a Russian and make this identity even more salient than when she was in Russia (e.g., Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris , 2002; Kosmitzki, 1996). Indeed, cross-cultural contact in the early stages of intercultural contact enables newcomers to isolate the ethnic characteristics typical to their in-group as they discover and acknowledge who they are in the face of the other culture (Stodolska & Yi, 2003). Similarly, Sussman (2000) reports that one of the first process involved in cultural transitions is identity salience where "outgroup membership appears to strengthen, at least initially, our identification with our home culture" (p. 363). Given the all-or-none identification processes operating in this categorization stage, the Russian immigrant is likely to feel that she is primarily Russian rather than being Québécoise Francophone.

Cognitively, this stage would involve denying one element while bolstering the other (see Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006), and in acculturation terms, this would be analogous to adopting a separation orientation, where the individual identifies predominantly with his or her original culture (Berry, 1997; Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997).

At this point in the identity integration process, no intraindividual conflict between identities (being Québécoise Francophone vs. Russian) emerges because the Francophone identity is clearly not part of her self. The Russian immigrant does not yet imagine herself possessing features of both of these different groups. The new linguistic identity to be integrated (being Francophone) is still external to her sense of self. Furthermore, her lack of knowledge and experience in the new Québec context prevents her from finding similarities and drawing deep connections between the Russian and the Francophone cultures. With respect to the superordinate identification process, identification with a superordinate identity (e.g., a multicultural Québécois identity; see Hornsey & Hogg, 2000) is not possible at this stage because the Russian immigrant does not yet know if this superordinate identity can truly bind the different identities and whether this identity allows for the coexistence of different linguistic identities (e.g., being Francophone, Anglophone, Russian, etc). Nevertheless, this first step toward identity integration is crucial – it allows her to cognitively recognize the distinct social identities present in her social environment and to position herself in her predominant pre-existing identity. Although a developmental task at this stage is to deal with the novelty and the uncertainty brought about by the changing situation, doing so allows her to derive order from the situation and to become more aware of the characteristics pertaining to the different social groups involved.

Compartmentalization

The third stage proposed to account for the development of social identities is compartmentalization. At this stage, the multiplicity of one's old and new social identities becomes recognized more explicitly as one comes to identify with different social groups and realize that one belongs to these various groups. This occurs as group members have increased contacts with members of their new group. These experiences lead to the establishment of further interconnections and cognitive links among these different identities. However, given that at this stage, these multiple social identities are kept compartmentalized and distinct within the person's self, the possible intraindividual contradictions between the identities are not yet recognized

(Harter, 1999; Harter & Monsour, 1992). While one can now consider oneself as being a member of the different social groups, the identities remain highly context-dependent, and recognizing that one is simultaneously a member of the different groups is not yet possible.

For instance, with increased experience and knowledge gathered in the new Québécois context, the Russian immigrant could come to increasingly identify herself with some aspects of the Francophone culture. As the uncertainty and novelty of the arrival to Québec fades and as she develops social relationships with Québécois Francophones, the new Francophone identity should start to take form and gradually become part of her self-concept (e.g., Stodolska & Yi, 2003). While at first, the new immigrant will identify mostly with groups that allow her to maintain some sense of continuity, with time, and as she joins a greater number of subgroups in Québec, this identification could become increasingly inclusive (identifying more broadly as a Québécois; see also Ataca & Berry, 2002). For instance, the Russian immigrant who was an accountant in Russia could join a group of accountants in Québec (Renaud & Cayn, 2007). Doing so would allow her to experience some sense of continuity in her professional identity more specifically. With time, and as the Russian immigrant joins various other subgroups in Québec (e.g., triathlon club, music group), the general feeling of identifying with groups in Québec could spread and generalize to become increasingly inclusive (identifying more broadly as a Québécois Francophone; see Renaud, Piché, & Godin, 2003).

With respect to superordinate identification processes, increased experience in a new culture could also allow her to see the benefits of adding this new social identity to her sense of self (e.g., increased cohesion with other Francophones, openness to new values and customs). However, at the compartmentalization stage, the new linguistic identity is likely to be compartmentalized and not yet completely part of the self – she still feels very distinctively Russian in certain situations (e.g., when interacting with her family members) but increasingly Francophone in other contexts (e.g., when interacting with colleagues at work). Her linguistic identities are therefore highly contextualized and distinct, and likely to be associated with distinct thoughts, attitudes, and behaviors (see also Benet-Martinez et al., 2002).

Integration

In the fourth stage, individuals come to recognize that multiple and distinct social identities are simultaneously important to their self. From a

neo-Piagetian point of view, the integration stage is based on the developmental processes occurring in middle and late adolescence. Developmentalists have proposed that adolescence marks a time of considerable activity in terms of self-development (e.g., Harter, 1999). During this stage, characterized by an increasing differentiation of self-attributes, the task is to consolidate the multiple identities in order to construct an integrated and coherent overall self (Phinney, 1993). The end result of this phase is the recognition that the different components comprising one's self are no longer context-dependent, and that multiple identities can contribute to the overall self-concept in a distinct and positive manner.

Neo-Piagetians have proposed that to achieve this end result, one must first recognize that different identities can conflict within the self and that further cognitive and motivational resources must be deployed to resolve these contradictions (Harter, 1999; Harter & Monsour, 1992; Mascolo, Fischer, & Neimeyer, 1999). This lack of internal self-coherence and the awareness of one's conflicting identities within the global self produce instability in the self-portrait as well as the potential for intrapsychic conflict and distress (e.g., Harter & Monsour, 1992). This occurs, for instance, as adolescents become aware that different significant others may hold different opinions about themselves (Harter, 1999).

To resolve these intraindividual conflicts, cognitive links are formed between the different social identities so that similarities between them are acknowledged. Higher-order and more inclusive self-abstractions are also formed cognitively so as to connect distinct identities, to bind the previously conflicting ones, and to bring meaning and legitimacy to what formerly appeared to be contradictions in the self (Harter, 1999; Mascolo, Fisher, & Neimeyer, 1999). These advances provide the person with new cognitive solutions for developing a more integrated self (Fischer, 1980). Harter and Monsour (1992) provided support for these processes by showing that older adolescents integrate self-inconsistencies by asserting that it is in fact normal to display different attributes across different contexts, and that diversified self-components contribute positively to their global self.

Going back to our example, as the Russian immigrant interacts in her new culture, she may become more aware of the discrepancies existing between her Francophone and Russian identities and the basis for clashes between them. Gil, Vega and Dimas (1994) provided support for the fact that biculturals can experience conflict during the acculturation process. This stress is suggested to stem from the challenge of integrating different

sets of cultural demands (see also Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). Walsh, Shulman, Feldman and Maurer (2005) further showed that young adult immigrants reported a lower sense of self-coherence and unity than non-immigrant young adults. We propose that in the Québécois context, these intraindividual conflicts are likely to be exacerbated given the French/English divisions prevailing and possibly affecting immigrants' integration within the broader Québécois context. In fact, an already conflictual situation among the Province's English vs. French communities, combined with these communities' desire to attract a greater number of immigrants, are likely to add an extra burden on the identity integration process.

Given the unease associated with such intraindividual conflict and the need to develop a differentiated yet coherent sense of self (Harter, 1999; Mascolo et al., 1999), the Russian immigrant will rely on certain cognitive strategies to resolve this conflict. The reduction of intraindividual conflict could take place through two solutions. First, while realizing the many ways in which her two identities are distinct, she may come to find similarities and consistencies among these identities, as well as the realization that each identity contributes positively and in a unique way to her self-concept. This stage could also be conceptualized as what Lafromboise, Coleman and Gerton (1993) describe as cultural competence, where individuals develop the ability to be competent in two cultures without losing their original cultural identity or having to choose one identity over another.

As a second solution, and to the extent that the Russian immigrant perceives that the Québécois society allows for the coexistence of her different cultures, conflicts between identities could be resolved by considering the Québécois identity as a superordinate category, which is also inclusive of the Russian community living in Québec. More specifically, the Russian immigrant could now conceive that the Québécois identity allows for the coexistence of both her Russian and her Francophone identities. However, this is likely to take place *only* if she feels that her Russian identity can coexist with the Francophone identity (rather than her Russian identity becoming assimilated), and if the superordinate Québécois identity allows for some complexity and diversity in how it is construed (rather than having "pure-wool" Québécois define which attributes should be prototypical of *all* Québécois; see Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999).

Conclusion

In line with neo-Piagetian principles, the present model argues that the self moves from fragmentation and differentiation of its different identities toward an increased integration of this diversity. Similarly, from a social cognitive point of view, integration of multiple social identities in the self comes about by ensuring that one's various identities contribute positively and in a complementary manner to the overall self. Concretely, this occurs when conflicts among these identities are resolved through establishing links and finding similarities among them, and by identifying with a binding, superordinate identity.

We argue that identity integration is a crucial process not just to explain how identities change and become integrated, but also because the manner in which identities are cognitively represented within the self is likely to predict important outcomes. For instance, and as illustrated in Figure 1, we propose that when identities are integrated, they become compatible intraindividually and likely to predict enhanced intrapersonal well-being (e.g., Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree, 2004; Lafromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Furthermore, because integrated identities are linked to one another through cognitive links or superordinate identifications, this implies that the individual will identify with broader and more inclusive ingroups (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Hence, and based on the premises of classic intergroup theories, these integrated identities are likely to predict less discriminatory behaviors and lower ingroup bias. These consequences of identity integration are thus important, not only for individuals' own well-being, but also at the broader interpersonal and intergroup levels.

Based on the premises of our model (Amiot et al., in press), we also propose that above and beyond the *cognitive principles* proposed to facilitate social identity integration that we described (e.g., formation of cognitive links between old and new identities), the integration process and the decision of the new linguistic group to join (Anglophone vs. Francophone) will be influenced by different *social factors* (see Figure 1). First, we must consider which subgroups in the Québec context the immigrant is likely to join upon arrival (in terms of work, friendship groups, and leisure groups) that will constitute their main source of social support, and which language is mostly spoken within these groups (e.g., Lebeau & Renaud, 2002). Given the role played by social support in the identity integration process (Harter, 1999), this social factor should also be determining in guiding which new linguistic identity will be integrated. Second, issues of discrimination and identity threat

should also come into play and guide which linguistic identity will be integrated. In this context, how is the newly arrived immigrant treated by the members of the Francophone vs. Anglophone groups in Québec? If discrimination originates from a specific linguistic group, this should directly influence which group the immigrant will come to identify with. Feeling that one's original linguistic identity is denigrated or threatened should inhibit the identity integration process (e.g., Hornsey & Hogg, 2000; Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). Third, to understand which new linguistic identity will be integrated, we must consider the status that French and English have not only in Québec, but also in North America and in various parts of the world. While the status of the French language has considerably improved in Québec over the past decades (Bernard, 2000; Bourhis, 2001), we cannot ignore the fact that English is currently used widely in different parts of the world and that it allows considerable social mobility (Baker & Jones, 1998). These factors will undoubtedly come into play for immigrants who are already attuned to social mobility issues.

Notes biographiques

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