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LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION: CANADA AS A TEST OF SOME HYPOTHESES

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INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes an unusually rich body of data relevant to an increasingly important tension in modern politics--the tension between linguistic diversity and political unity. The data consist of reports by Canadians in 1965 about their ethnic, linguistic, and other behavior and attitudes. The analysis has the purpose of testing three sets of hypotheses, which relate some of the individual behavioral and attitudinal attributes that the data record. These attributes fall under the two headings of linguistic behavior, on the one hand, and political or politically relevant behavior, on the other.

This stipulation of the type and goal of the study implies that the latter is limited in two major ways. First, the empirical analysis makes use of data from just one country. The analysis can thus contribute to the conclusive confirmation and refinement of general hypotheses only in conjunction with other studies based on other contexts. And second, the hypotheses being tested are limited to those relating individual attributes, rather than the characteristics of societies, institutions, or policies, and are confined to only one aspect of the multi-faceted relationship between language and politics.

There are at least two things, then, that this study is not. It is not a thorough examination of a single hypothesis, confronting it

with all available evidence.[1] And it is not a case study, in the sense of a study that would use survey data for the purpose of better describing one aspect of the political life of a single country (in this case Canada), for whose description a wide variety of data and secondary literature would be enlisted.

By imposing the limits just mentioned, I hope I have proceeded farther toward the goal of the study. On the one hand, it has been possible to examine a number of hypotheses, all relevant to a discussion of language and political integration. And on the other hand, the examination has involved a substantial number of controlling operations, which are intended to discover whether the association between two variables can be accounted for by the operation of one or more additional variables. Such controls, contributing as they do to the refinement of hypotheses, simultaneously expand the otherwise restricted usefulness of data from a single country by substituting boundary conditions, of which there are often many in a country, for unique boundaries.

After Chapter I, in which the increasing relevance of language as a political phenomenon is briefly surveyed, a set of hypotheses is set forth in Chapter II, most of which will be tested in this study. Chapter III introduces the data that will be used for the empirical verification of the hypotheses, and describes theoretically relevant

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[1] For an attempt to do this on a related subject, see Jonathan Pool, "National Development and Language Diversity," Sociologische Gids, XVII, No. 2 (1970), 86-101. (Hereinafter referred to as "National".)

properties of the country that served as the context of the data. The data analysis itself is carried out in Chapters IV, V, and VI, each of which deals with one of the three sets of hypotheses presented in Chapter II. A brief summary with concluding suggestions for subsequent research constitutes the seventh and last chapter.

Data for this analysis were kindly provided by Professor Rosemarie Rogers of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, with the generous permission of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism of Canada, and by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago. Codebooks were furnished by Société de Mathématiques Appliquées and by NORC. Financial support was provided by a fellowship under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act and by the fund for student computer time of the Division of Social Sciences of the University of Chicago.

The author owes much to several members of the Department of Political Science, the University of Chicago, for useful criticisms of his various proposals for a study of language and politics. Sidney Verba and Aristide R. Zolberg made provocative suggestions as dissertation committee members, and especially painstaking helpful comments were provided at every stage by the committee chairman, Duncan MacRae, Jr. Some of their questions and arguments remain unanswered herein. The manuscript was typed at an unusually forced pace, but with care and without complaint, by Judith Gordon.

CHAPTER I

LANGUAGE AS A POLITICALLY RELEVANT PHENOMENON

Language: An Increasingly Political Problem

The increased frequency of language as an object of political dispute and of overt public regulation has been documented by a number of scholars. In the words of Karl Deutsch, "languages and language rights have become more important to more people, and . . . disputes over language, nationality, and the rights of ethnic, racial, and religious groups have increased."[1] According to Einar Haugen, there is a "mushrooming of language planning in our times."[2] Depending on the perspective of the observer, the rising salience of language politics and policy may be seen as a phenomenon of the present[3] or of the 1950's and 1960's;[4] it may be seen as beginning

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[1]Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality (2nd ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1966), p. 2. (Hereinafter referred to as Nationalism.)

[2]Einar Haugen, Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 9. (Hereinafter referred to as Language.)

[3]Walker Connor, "Ethnology and the Peace of South Asia," World Politics, XXII, No. 1 (1969), 51.

[4]Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 2; William Louis Richter, "The Politics of Language in India" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 41-42.

in earnest in the nineteenth century[1] or in the sixteenth century;[2] or it may be traced back to the ninth century A.D.[3] or even the fifth century B.C.[4] A variety of explanations for this rise in the importance of language as a political issue can be found.

One of the most influential apparent causes is the expansion of education. The earliest form taken by this expansion was the delivery of religious instruction to the masses. There has been a tendency, present to our own day, for priests and missionaries, motivated by the aim of teaching the content of religious doctrine to scattered populations, to press for the use of local vernaculars, often in conflict with the policies of governmental authorities.[5]

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[1]Karl W. Deutsch, "The Trend of European Nationalism: The Language Aspect," American Political Science Review, XXVI, No. 3 (1942), 533-41. (Hereinafter referred to as "Trend"); Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism (New York: Collier Books, 1967), Introduction. (Hereinafter referred to as Idea); Carlton J.H. Hayes, Nationalism: A Religion (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960), pp. 108-15 (Hereinafter referred to as Nationalism); Ronald E. Inglehart and Margaret Woodward, "Language Conflicts and Political Community," Comparative Studies in Societyand History, X, No. 1 (1967), 27; Anil Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 347-48.

[2]Haugen, Language, pp. 6-9.

[3]Roman Jakobson, "The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe," The Review of Politics, VII, No. 1 (1945), 29-42.

[4]Alfred Cooper Woolner, Languages in History and Politics (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), pp. 78-9.

[5]Joan Rubin, National Bilingualism in Paraguay (The Hague: Mouton, Janua Linguarum, Series Practica, 60, 1968), pp. 24-5 (Hereinafter referred to as National); Eugene F. Irschick, Politics and Social Conflict in South India: The Non-Brahman Movement and Tamil Separatism, 1916-1929 (Berkeley: The University of California

Gradually supplementing and partially replacing the expanded religious education of the masses has been the worldwide movement toward universal secular education. More often in the hands of government, this kind of education has brought with it language problems, and governmental language policies to solve them, as it has been increasingly offered to entire populations. Universal literacy policies require policies on what language or languages to alphabetize and what alphabet to use (and even whether to use an alphabet or some other writing system); universal primary education policies have necessitated policies determining which language or languages would be used as media of instruction; and so on.[1]

Press, 1969), pp. 305, 309; Arend Lijphart, The Trauma of Decolonization: The Dutch and West New Guinea (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966). Yale Studies in Political Science, XVII, 153, 201, 204; Ernest J. Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review, XIV, No. 4 (1949), 383-88. Examples include the Buddha's decision to preach in a vernacular rather than in literary Sanskrit about 500 B.C., Cyril and Methodius' foundation in the 860's A.D. of an ideology and practice of religious translation into a language understandable by their Slavic hosts rather than the official Greek of the Byzantine church, St. Stefan of Perm's alphabetization and standardization of a local language variety with which to preach among the Komi people in the fourteenth century (Charles A. Ferguson, "St. Stefan of Perm and Applied Linguistics," pp. 253-65. [Hereinafter referred to as "Stefan"], Language Problems of Developing Nations. ed. by Joshua A. Fishman et al. [New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1968] [Hereinafter referred to as Fishman et al.]) and the substitution of national languages for Latin as vehicles of religious communication in the Reformation (Kohn, Idea, pp. 143, 618-20).

[1]Einar Haugen, "Linguistics and Language Planning," Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference 1964, ed. by William Bright (The Hague and Paris: Mouton and Company, 1966), p. 58 (Hereinafter referred to as "Linguistics"); Haugen, Language, p. 12.

Another frequently cited cause of the increased salience of the politics of language is the rise in social and economic mobilization of the masses. Urbanization, industrialization, and the growth of travel and mass communications have created more severe language problems simply by bringing people of different languages together at greater rates.[1] Communication and co-operation have become necessary in many situations where they are impossible because of language differences, and the natural, policy-free assimilation which would render them possible takes place more slowly, according to some observers, than the rate at which the need has been arising in recent periods of rapid development.[2]

A third important cause to which the increased political importance of language is attributed is the growth of democracy and self-determination. The belief in the accountability and accessibility of government to the popular will has crucial linguistic implications, and the rise of the one has made an increasingly vexing problem out of the other. The costs of translation and of teaching languages are high, but they are bearable in the imperial situation, for the number of messages which need to be translated and the number of people who must be taught are small. For this and other reasons,

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[1]Otto Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1964), pp. 64-65. (Hereinafter referred to as Mankind, Nation and Individual.)

[2]Deutsch, Nationalism, pp. 125-26.

linguistic diversity has typically been a minor problem, or even an asset, to empires.[1] An extreme egalitarian and democratic view, however, leaves little room for translation, because of the costs of translating every communication for every language group, and little room for language teaching, because of the disadvantage suffered by those who must learn the official language and use it with only second-rate proficiency. Thus it is natural that the onset of democratic government or the achievement of independence by a colony has frequently been accompanied by new disputes over language policy[2] and that some social commentators are skeptical of the very possibility of a multilingual democracy.[3] Recent history, with its settlement of 1919-20 in Europe[4] and the arbitrary boundaries inherited by ex-

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[1]Dankwart A. Rustow, "Language, Modernization and Nationhood--An Attempt at Typology," Fishman et al., pp. 87-89. (Hereinafter referred to as "Language.") In the third century B.C. Emperor Asoka in India had tablets inscribed in various local languages: Woolner, Language in History and Politics, p. 79; Arnold Toynbee, A Study of History, VI (London: Oxford University Press, 1934-54), 76. For the view that linguistic uniformity of a sort is nevertheless sought after by empires, see Carl Joachim Friedrich, Man and his Government: An Empirical Theory of Politics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 572.

[2]Jyotirindra Das Gupta, "Language Politics and Group Process in India" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1966), p. 21; Veena Monga, "Regionalism, Language and Politics," pp. 420-27, Language and Society in India, Vol. VIII of the Transactions of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study and the entire proceedings of a seminar, October 16-27, 1967. (Language and Society in India hereinafter referred to as IIAS.)

[3]George Armstrong Kelly, "Belgium: New Nationalism in an Old World," Comparative Politics, I, No. 3 (1969), 344.

[4]Alexander Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy (2 Vols.; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), p. 623; Inis L. Claude, Jr., National Minorities: An International Problem (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955).

colonial states,[1] is by no means a uniform progression toward linguistically homogeneous polities that would make a democracy a linguistically non-problematic notion.[2]

One more phenomenon closely linked with the rise of language as a political issue is the trend toward the recognition of nationality as an important identifying characteristic. The rise of nationalism in Europe was in large part the rise of language as a dominant category of identification and distinction, in addition to or in place of religion.[3] Since the rise of nationalism, wherever a group has emerged from political subservience, its desire for distinctiveness combined with the world-wide conventional wisdom alleging linguistic uniqueness as a primary requisite and badge of that distinctiveness has usually led it to purify, alphabetize, realphabetize, develop, revive, or at least officialize as a symbol, a language of its own if at all feasible.[4] This recourse to language recognition as a mark of group status has led to a proliferation of literary and scientific languages,[5] although a

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[1]Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p. 132.

[2]Anna Jacoba Aucamp, Bilingual Education and Nationalism with Special Reference to South Africa (Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik, Ltd., 1926), p. 9.

[3]Kohn, Idea, pp. 6-8; Inglehart and Woodward, "Language Conflicts," p. 27.

[4]Haugen, Language, pp. 7-15.

[5]Deutsch, "Trend"; Charles A. Ferguson, "The Language Factor in National Development," p. 9 (Hereinafter referred to as "Factor "); Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, ed. by Frank A. Rice (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, 1962). (Hereinafter referred to as Rice, ed.)

contrary trend toward increasing linguistic consolidation is also perceived by some.[1] The same attitude has made itself felt in the diplomatic arena and in international relations generally, where demands for the admission of new languages into "official" and "working" status in international organizations are being accepted more and more often,[2] and a number of governments encourage other governments to teach or use particular languages.[3]

If, as some believe,[4] this fourth cause of increasing language problems, the symbolic or emotional one, is becoming more important a consideration relative to the first three causes, in which language was an instrument and therefore perhaps subject to efficiency-maximizing compromises, then the role of politics, as opposed to science, in the formation of policies on language, can be expected to grow. Whatever the proper explanation(s) of the political importance attained by language and whether or not its importance is truly destined to grow still further, it is today the case the "Differences in language are

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[1] Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual, pp. 64-5; Joshua A. Fishman, "Nationality - Nationalism and Nation-Nationism," Fishman et al., pp. 46-7 (Hereinafter referred to as "Nationality "); W.F. Mackey, Bilingualism as a World Problem (Montreal: Harvest House, Ltd., 1967, pp. 15-21.

[2] Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, pp. 417-18; Ivo Lapenna, "La situation juridique des langues sous le régime des Nations Unies," La Monda Lingvo-Problemo, I, No. 2 (1969), 87-106.

[3] United States, Department of State; Cumhuriyet, October 28, 1968, p. 7.

[4] Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, pp. 661-62.

one of the commonest sources of cleavage in all parts of the world,"[1] and that language is also being regulated to a great extent,[2] matched or exceeded in general only by aspects of life that have been more intensively studied as political problems.[3]

The very causes to which the rising political salience of language is attributed are also some of the sources of the means for implementing policies on language. Mass education is useful or indispensable for teaching a standardized version of a child's native tongue, for teaching him how to read and write that version, for teaching him any other languages that the government believes he should know, and for instilling in him the attitudes toward languages and language groups that are conducive to whatever language behavior (including language learning) the government wants him to exhibit.[4] Mass education can work to effectuate language policies

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[1]Robert A. Dahl, "Some Explanations," Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, ed. by Robert A. Dahl (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 368. Cf. Donald L. Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics in the New States: Toward a Theory of Conflict" (paper delivered at 65th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, New York, 1969), p. 32: "The only other issue [besides the civil service issue] that has been able to arouse comparable passions in a wide variety of states is the language issue."

[2]Haugen, Language, p. 14.

[3]Herbert Passin, "Writer and Journalist in the Transitional Society," Fishman et al., p. 446.

[4]See Ibid., p. 450; Uriel Heyd, Language Reform in Modern Turkey (Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society, 1954), p. 14; Woolner, Languages in History and Politics, p. 32; W.E. Lambert et al., "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning," Readings in the Sociology of Language, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 473-74.

not only through the formal teaching of languages and language skills, but also through the interaction among students that takes place in educational institutions.[1]

This effect brings us to the expansion of mass communication as a second obvious contributor to a greater availability of means for the implementation of certain language policies. The increasing rate of interaction among individuals, whether in cities or work places or loci of leisure, will be likely to have effects on language that are not easily manipulable by public policies,[2] but media of communication which have few sources and many recipients, such as radio, television, newspapers, and film, can be guided with linguistic ends in mind, and the increasing exposure of population masses to these media can be expected to make their successful use for linguistic planning more likely.[3]

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[1] Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual, pp. 55-6. This interaction, however, can be either trans- or intra-linguistic, accordingly serving integrative or separative policies: see the discussion of the "parochialization" of higher education in India in Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, "Politics and Education in India" (unpublished manuscript, 1966), Part I. (Hereinafter referred to as "Politics.")

[2] Carl Darling Buck, "Language and the Sentiment of Nationality," American Political Science Review, X, No. 1 (1916), 47; A. Zeki Velidi Togan, Bugünkü Türkili (Türkistan) ve yakin Tarihi: Cilt I: Bati ve Kuzey Türkistan (Istanbul: Arkadas, Ibranim Horoz ve Güven Basimevleri, 1942-47), pp. 39, 47-8, 59, 62-3, 71; Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual, pp. 35-6, 40, 42, 54; John, Idea, p. 231; Paul Friedrich, "Language and Politics in India," Daedalus, XCI (Summer, 1962), 556; Jyotirindra Das Gupta and John J. Gumperz, "Language, Communication and Control in North India," Fishman et al., pp. 152-53.

[3] Hayes, Nationalism, p. 32; Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, "A Link Language for the Common Man," IIAS, pp. 29-36; Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 43.

The rise of the legitimacy of the nation has also served the implementation of certain language policies, particularly those standardizing new national languages, purifying these languages to rid them of foreign influence, and suppressing minority languages within the nation state. The increasing prestige of the national community has spilled over onto whatever language or language type could reasonably be argued to represent that community. This contagion is important because, in the view of many students of language behavior, the relative prestige of languages is one of the most powerful predictors of the willingness of individuals to learn an additional language, trade their old language for a new one, or modify the language variety that they speak.[1] Since it is often not clear a priori which language or variety inherently represents a given nation, national governments often have at least a limited opportunity to establish this link as they see fit, and thereby mobilize public support for and co-operation with their language policies.[2]

A fourth important secular trend that can be expected to make successful regulation of language more feasible is the improvement in

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[1]Stephen A. Wurm, "Papua-New Guinea Nationhood: The Problem of a National Language," Fishman et al., pp. 348-9; William A. Stewart, "An Outline of Linguistic Typology for Describing Multilingualism", Rice, ed., p. 16.

[2]W.H. Whiteley, "Ideal and Reality in National Language Policy: A Case Study from Tanzania," Fishman et al., pp. 330-32, 340; Joan Rubin, "Language and Education in Paraguay," Fishman et al., p. 480 (Hereinafter referred to as "Language "); Lyndon Harries, "Swahili in Modern East Africa," Fishman et al., p. 416.

linguistic knowledge. Two major movements can be discerned here. The first is the emergence of modern comparative linguistics in the nineteenth century, which has allowed the standardization of languages and the bridging of dialectical gaps by synthesized common languages to be based on fruitful classifications of language families and features.[1] The other movement is the more recent rise of applied linguistics, and most specifically of language-teaching methods based on linguistic comparison. Applied linguistics has begun to make serious progress toward the establishment of criteria by which to evaluate the various alternatives open to language policy-makers as they attempt to preserve, enrich, alphabetize, unite, democratize, or otherwise affect languages. The development of the linguistic or audio-lingual method of language teaching in recent years has brought with it the first hope in history that entire population masses could be made fluent in other languages without living in a bilingual milieu. It is noteworthy that, even with the progress in language-teaching methods, it is still generally held that informal forced participation in a group that speaks a language is a more efficient way to learn that language than study in a formal foreign-language course.[2] Yet the reversal of this comparison seems inevitable with further development of new methods and with the application of existing methods. Likewise, more advanced knowledge

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[1] Haugen, Language, p. 14.

[2] Charles A. Ferguson, "Background to Second Language Problems," Rice, ed., p. 6. (Hereinafter referred to as "Background.")

about the linguistic behavior of individuals and societies, being produced by research in the young fields of psycho- and sociolinguistics, will certainly add to the box of tools that the makers of language policy will have at their disposal. To what extent the "primordial" problem area of language is subject to technical solutions, however, is a question relevant to, but a step removed from, the micro-level concerns of this study.

While facilitating changes of the above kinds seem to be making it more and more possible to implement several of the most common language policies, some of the same and similar trends are working against successful language regulation at the same time. Mass mobilization into the central stream of communication and education, into cities, and into the industrial work force has profound linguistic effects, as suggested above. When these effects are opposite to those that policy is attempting to bring about, the likelihood of successful policy will obviously be impaired. A policy of mobilizing minorities into mass media audience membership, for example, may require the provision of mass media services in minority languages, and this service may in turn discourage minority members from learning the majority language.[1]

Likewise, mass education can also have a negative as well as a positive influence on the success of language policies, since the very expansion of education which allows the teaching of languages

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[1] Mildred A. Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 51-2.

and language skills to an ever larger fraction of the population is also likely to cause a deterioration in the quality of such teaching, whose practitioners can rarely be increased rapidly in number without considerably lowering their average competence.[1]

Democratization is another important obstacle to success in the regulation of language, according to much of the evidence. While the admission of whole adult populations to political participation has been crucial in making the need for language policy felt, the participation of the masses in the making of such policies has usually hindered their successful execution. Language as a political issue has frequently been observed to differ from many other issues by being tied both to strong emotions and to strong economic interests, rather than to just one or the other,[2] and (partly as a consequence of this characteristic) by being less amenable to solutions by compromise[3] or by the added expenditure of resources.[4] Where language dif-

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[1] Bh. Krishnamurti, "Politics of Language in Southern India" (lecture given at the University of Chicago, 1970); see also note 1, page 12 above.

[2] Herbert C. Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System" (paper delivered to the Conference on Language Planning Processes, East-West Center, Honolulu, 1969), p. 7; Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics," pp. 19-23, 32-3.

[3] Lloyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 66-9 (Hereinafter referred to as Modernity); Howard Wriggins, Ceylon: Dilemmas of a New Nation (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 253; Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward A Dynamic Model," Comparative Politics, II, No. 3 (1970), 359-60 (Hereinafter referred to as "Transitio... S. Kh. Khanazarov, Sblizhenie Natsii i Natsional'nye Iazyki v SSSR (Tashkent: Izadatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR, 1963), pp. 9-16

[4] Val R. Lorwin, "Belgium: Religion, Class and Language in National Politics," Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, ed. by Dahl, p. 176.

ferences have consisted in nothing more than urban and rural dialects of a single language, democratization has often led an intellectual elite to revise that language's literary standard giving prominence to forms used by the peasant masses, but even here such revision has often been vigorously disputed.[1] Elsewhere, however, democratic norms of equal opportunity for education and for civil service posts, for example, have made it difficult to adopt any language policy at all, since equality dictates different language practices from what efficiency requires.[2]

Finally, the simultaneous rise of ethnic consciousness and the expansion of international cultural exchange both pose obstacles for the implementation of particular types of language policy. Sub-national ethnicism, such as has been observed to be on the increase in India,[3] Belgium,[4] and other multi-ethnic societies,[5] makes the execution of unifying national language policies more difficult. Ethnic consciousness among elites in one country vis-à-vis alien peoples and languages, such as that which has led to the prohibition or riotous destruction of signs in foreign languages in East Pakistan,

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[1] Haugen, Language; Heyd, Language Reform in Modern Turkey.

[2] Jiri V. Neustupný, "Some General Aspects of 'Language' Problems and 'Language' Policy in Developing Societies," Fishman et al., p. 292.

[3] Selig S. Harrison, India: The Most Dangerous Decades (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), Chapters III and IV.

[4] Kelly, "Belgium: New Nationalism in an Old World," pp. 352-53.

[5] Connor, Ethnology and the Peace of South Asia, p. 51.

Libya, Mexico, and elsewhere,[1] also gives strength to the various movements for language purification,[2] and these in turn, according to some scholars, make more difficult the task of equipping languages with the vocabulary necessary for their use in science, literature, and discourse about the modern world.[3]

The rising rate of mass circulation across international boundaries and exposure to the cultural products of other countries probably has the converse effect: making it more difficult to preserve the distinctiveness of the national language of any country. "Franglais" is an example of a phenomenon that frustrates many policies of linguistic preservation. The analogous increase in inter-nationality contact within multi-ethnic states causes similar difficulties for those who, as in Canada, Belgium and Switzerland, would use public policy to maintain the existence or the purity of languages that are thought to be on the way to extinction or mongrelization in the countries concerned.

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[1]Kevin M. Kelleghan, "Down with English," San Francisco Chronicle, February 24, 1970, p. 10.

[2]Edward Sapir, Language (New York: Harvest Books, 1921), p. 194; Heyd, Language Reform in Modern Turkey. Tauli, however, believes that "Nationalistic purism is losing ground in several countries." (Valter Tauli, Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Philologiae Scandinavicae Upsaliensia, VI (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Bokrtyckeri Aktiebolag, 1968), p. 70

[3]Charles F. Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects: Language and Identity," Fishman et al., p. 140; Pierre Alexandre, "Some Linguistic Problems of Nation-Building in Negro Africa," Fishman et al., pp. 124-25; other disagree, e.g., Charles A. Ferguson, "Language Development," Fishman et al., p. 33.

The Importance of Language for Politics

Given that language is increasingly fought over and regulated in the political arena, it is not surprising that many analysts and political actors believe that linguistic states of affairs, whether arising "naturally" or as a result of conflict and regulation, have important effects on other aspects of social and political life. We can briefly survey many of the hypothesized effects by looking successively at five packages of linguistic variables. Although these are tightly interconnected, their several effects on non-linguistic variables will be the only subject of the survey below.

The first package, analogous to social status, is language position, which comprises such variables as the degree to which a language is widely known, officially recognized, or highly respected. However language position is defined, it is the most directly political aspect of language. Any policy that succeeds in influencing the position of a language will be sure to impinge on interests, preferences, and sensitivities of several categories of persons. To make the importance of language position clear, let us consider the three effects of language position which are responsible for most of the controversy about language. These are (1) the effect that the use or non-use of a language in teaching has on the education of its native speakers, (2) the effect that the choice of language(s) used in public affairs has on the socioeconomic and political stratification of a population, and (3) the effect that the formal status of a language has on the gratification of the individuals and collectivities identified with it.

Many observers believe that if certain conditions are not present the need to undergo education in a language different from one's native tongue causes a considerable reduction in the amount learned and deals a blow to the morale of the pupil.[1] Beyond this, education in the mother tongue is seen by some as bearing "psychological advantages"[2] and, specifically, avoiding a devastating (but usually not well defined) "linguistic schizophrenia" that is believed to characterize people whose lives are divided into an intellectual and a domestic segment about which they can think only in different languages.[3]

The position of some but not other languages as languages of instruction affects recruitment not only by discriminating against

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[1]P. Friedrich, "Language and Politics in India," p. 545; Aucamp, Bilingual Education and Nationalism, pp. 10, 170-73, 215-17; "The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education: The Report of the Unesco Meeting of Specialists, 1951," Readings in the Sociology of Language, ed. by Fishman, pp. 690-92, 697 (Hereinafter referred to as "The Use"); Joan Rubin, "Language and Education in Paraguay," Fishman et al., p. 484. (Hereinafter referred to as "Language.") The edium itself may be rather rapidly learned in this fashion--even faster than in formal language classes if these are taught (as they usually are) by outmoded methods--but the learning of the nominal subject, and hence the child's opportunity for educational and occupational advancement, will suffer: Richard Noss, Language Policy and Higher Education, Vol. III, Part 2 of Higher Education and Development in South-East Asia (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, International Association of Universities, 1967), pp. 38-9.

[2]John Bowers, "Language Problems and Literacy," Fishman. et al., p. 383.

[3]Passin, "Writer and Journalist in the Transitional Society," pp. 446-50. "How uncomfortable it is to live in an uncertain language medium," he writes, "we perhaps cannot even comprehend. For many modern educated people there is often a sharp separation between the language of thought

the speakers of certain languages, but also by discriminating within each group of speakers of a non-educational language. The preferential recruitment of "far too high a proportion of mimics who lack real creative and critical ability" is "common in situations where children are being educated in a language other than their own first language."[1] Likewise, those who must get their education in a language not their mother tongue are thought to be less likely to survive the process if they are of lower-class or rural background.[2]

These effects of intergroup discrimination and of stratification reinforcement within language groups are observed also in the second of

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and the language of emotion or of daily life. An Indian may be raised at home speaking Malayalam and then have his education in English. This means that his early experiences, emotions, and affective relations are carried on in one language and his contact with ideas, modern life, and modern institutions in another. If he then has a traditional family life after he is married, the discontinuity can become very extreme indeed." A similar description of the psychological effects of non-vernacular instruction in North Africa appears in Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects," pp. 142-45. See also Aucamp, Bilingual Education and Nationalism, pp. 173-75.

[1] Robert B. LePage, "Problems to be Faced in the Use of English as the Medium of Education in Four West Indian Territories," Fishman et al., p. 438.

[2] Ibid., p. 436. On the other hand, native-language instruction is no sure antidote to socioeconomic discrimination in education. If, for example, the language of public affairs is a foreign one, public education in native languages will make private education a de facto prerequisite for career mobility, thus giving the wealthy a greater advantage than they would have had under public foreign-language education. See A.B. Shah, "Indian Languages as Media of Higher Education," IIAS, pp. 359-60; also the opinion of Bernard Moses, quoted in Frei, The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language, Chapter III, p. 49.

our three manifestations of the importance of language position. The fact that this or that language has a position of employment in business and in the business of government seems to have a serious influence over the political and socioeconomic stratification patterns of the population concerned. The two major forms taken by this influence are the relatively high mobility in language groups whose languages have high positions, and the perpetuation of the relative advantages of social strata within the groups speaking low-position languages.[1]

The second of these forms may actually be more significant than the first. Discrimination against whole language groups is mitigated, in most cases, by certain forces.[2] But these same forces work to exaggerate, rather than reduce, the within-group recruitment biases that are traceable to language position. Language, indeed, is one of the oldest weapons in the defensive arsenal of

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[1] Whether such discrimination, in the case of a multilingual state, is inevitable, and thus "perfectly excusable" and "basically legitimate" (Heinz Kloss, "Types of Multilingual Communities: A Discussion of Ten Variables," Explorations in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Stanley Lieberson /Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University, 1966/, p. 8 /Hereinafter referred to as "Types"/) is an interesting question, which we shall be in a better position to answer when we know more about the possible alternatives.

[2] These include the fact that only a small and usually educated proportion of the members of a language group will be allowed in any case to represent the group (electorally, or sociologically, as the case may be) in legislative, administrative, diplomatic, or commercial organizations with a linguistic test (Gulabdas Broker, "Language and Regionalism," IIAS, p. 393); that native vernaculars of even dominant languages must often be unlearned in order to acquire the accepted standard version of the same language (see Harold Elsdale Goad, Language in History /Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1958/, pp. 82-3); and that group quotas sometimes prevent unrepresentative recruitment.

those who hold various professional and political forts.[1] Since such a use of language appears somehow antidemocratic on its face, an officially espoused but not vigorously promoted policy of linguistic democratization is often observed, Arabization in North Africa being an example.[2]

Such linguistic barriers to mobility as have just been cited tend to widen the proverbial gap between elites and masses in two ways. First, they make the elites unrepresentative by winnowing out disproportionately large numbers of those who are rural, poor, female, old, and offspring of the uneducated, i.e. the classes of persons who

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[1] In precolonial India, for example, "Deep barriers of language served to cut off the ordinary resident from much of the information he needed to conduct his daily affairs. Since land records, money lenders' accounts, administrative regulations, and even the religious texts he needed for his ceremonials were often kept in different languages, he had to rely on the personal mediation of others for access." Those in leading positions have in many cases continued trying "to capitalize on their control of English in much the same way that their ancestors had controlled previous literary languages." Das Gupta and Gumperz, "Language, Communication and Control in North India," pp. 155-56.

[2] Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects," p. 142, concludes that "many bilinguals in key positions--and most people in these positions in the Maghrib are bilingual--profit from the present state of affairs, they do not want to upset their apple cart, they have no real interest in seeing (any) one language predominate, and consciously or not they tend to brake progress." Cf. Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," Chapter I, p. 378. In black Africa as well, "the common sharing of a European language (hence, to some extent, European culture) has created a new nontribal or supratribal group, which, at least in the former French colonies, has frequently become a kind of oligarchy or class, because of its monopoly of this very special and powerful intellectual instrument or tool.". Alexandre, "Some Linguistic Problems of Nation-Building in Negro Africa," p. 122; cf. Ruth E. Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," Rice, ed., pp. 65-6.

tend to get less education (all), to speak sub-standard language varieties (rural, poor, offspring of the uneducated), and to be isolated from milieus where they might have picked up high-position languages (rural, female).[1] Second, such language filters cause communication problems between those who do reach elite status and those who do not. By being given a foreign language in which to acquire his political knowledge and beliefs, the rising leader may be spared the task of finding ways to store and express this content in his native tongue. When later faced with the need to talk politics and ideology to the citizens sharing his native language, he will find himself mute, pending the accomplishment of one of two short-run impossibilities: the teaching of the high-position language to his entire potential audience, or the development of an elaborated, politically adequate vocabulary

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[1] Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," pp. 66-7; Basil Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: An Outline," Explorations in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Lieberson, p. 131; A. Richard Diebold, Jr., "Mexican and Guatemalan Bilingualism," Rice, ed., p. 30; Kalman, "Language as Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System," p. 13. If all native languages of a given jurisdiction have positions in government, business, and the mass media, one would expect a high rate of education and media exposure, and a greater similarity of opportunity for career mobility, among all language groups. However, where several languages have high, but unequally high, positions, the most common and apparently sensible allocation is to use the maximum possible number of languages as media of instruction, especially in primary education, narrowing the field to two or one (often a foreign one) in the most specialized contexts. Unless special procedures exist for facilitating the necessary transitions from one operating language to the next, however, it is just this situation which may create the greatest barriers to mobility for the socioeconomically disadvantaged, leaving only the wealthy with the resources to equip themselves for that transition. Shah, "Indian Languages as Media of Higher Education," pp. 359-60; Moss, Language Policy and Higher Education, p. 54.

and perhaps even syntax for their mother tongue.[1]

A quite different effect, however, remains to be noted before our survey of the importance of language position is complete. This is the unmediated symbolic, or emotional, impact that the position of a language has on persons, groups, and communities that are in one way or another identified with that language.

Whatever the source of language identification, and whatever its precise referent, there is some evidence that the position accorded to languages, including the purely formal status given them by authoritative declarations, is today a widely valued property by itself, apart from the value attached to the consequences of the language's occupation of its position. That this situation has not always been the case is argued, for example, by Hans Kohn[2], but the fact that importance has been attributed to the positions of languages at least since the rise of nationalism is not widely disputed. A high position given to a language indulges those who identify with it, and inferior status for the same language constitutes a deprivation.[3] Hence indigenous languages, and most often those not shared with other countries, are often elevated to the rank of "national language" or "official language," whether or not they are in fact used nationally or officially. Where a

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[1]Alexandre, "Some Linguistic Problems of Nation-Building in Negro Africa"; Passin, "Writer and Journalist in the Transitional Society," p. 449.

[2]Kohn, Idea, pp. 7-8.

[3]"A slur on the language is a slur on the people. . . . The worth and pride of the group itself are at stake." Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics," p. 33.

foreign language dominates there is agitation by those who want to see its replacement with a language identifiable with the country itself, and where one domestic language has a dominant position over others, this dominance is attacked by some and denied by others.[1]

In spite of the evidence summarized so far attesting to the importance of language position, it is proposed by some that a high position given to a language may be valued not as a cause of something desired, and not as something desired per se, but rather as a symbol, catalyst, or substitute of something desired, e.g., for a high position to be given a particular nation or regional or social group identified with the language.[2] The "real" cause of disputes involving language may sometimes be religion,[3] sometimes religious discrimination,[4]

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[1]"In the bourgeois state the concept of 'official language' signifies the inequality of languages, in that the official language is opposed to 'unofficial languages,' while in the socialist state such a distinction among languages does not and cannot exist." (author's translation of Khanazarov, Sblizhenie Natsiĭ i Natsional'nye Iazyki v SSSR, p. 29.)

[2]". . . like skin colour, language is an easily identifiable badge for those who wish to take issue with a different group, and thus it provides them with a rallying sign even for contests which are basically not those of language or race." (R.L. Watts, quoted in Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I (1967), II (1968) /Ottawa: Queen's Printer/, p. xxix of Vol. I. /Hereinafter referred to as RCB&B/) Cf. IIAS, p. 561 ; Buck, "Language and the Sentiment of Nationality," p. 49, for whom language is "the one conspicuous banner of nationality"; and similar assertions in Emerson, From Empire to Nation, p. 132, and Hayes, Nationalism, pp. 3-4.

[3]Donald Eugene Smith, India as a Secular State (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 453; cf. Heyd, Language Reform in Modern Turkey, pp. 30-2.

[4]Ashish Bose, comments in IIAS, p. 555.

sometimes regional discrimination,[1] sometimes the competition between incumbents and counter-elites.[2] At times, the only thing that is made clear is, for example, that "The language problem in India is not a linguistic problem at all."[3] An analysis of this topic is not essential for the purposes of this study, however, and would require not only an evaluation of the claims just mentioned but also a consideration of similarly plausible arguments that some supposedly non-linguistic issues are "really" disputes over language position.

We can thus conclude our cursory survey of the effects of language position by noting that the preponderance of evidence indicates that the position accorded to a language has both tangible and symbolic consequences that are now, even if they have not always been, important to large numbers of people.[4] When the language of one group

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[1] Pfeffer, "Sprachenfrage und soziale Unruhe in Pakistan."

[2] Thus it has been noted that political and bureaucratic aspirants competing from a regional base against an existing cosmopolitan elite are prone to inflame the linguistic issue as a way of arousing, and becoming the leaders and/or beneficiaries of, a regionalist movement. Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics," p. 32; Inglehart and Woodward, "Language Conflicts and Political Community," p. 29; Harrison, India: The Most Dangerous Decades pp. 90-1.

[3] H.S. Gill, comments in IIAS, p. 561. This claim is disputed by the assertion that "A survey of resolutions passed by Muslim conferences and organizations since independence will clearly indicate that there has been much greater anxiety over the place of Urdu than over administrative discrimination." Smith, India as a Secular State.

[4] Sometimes, of course, this salience is bewailed. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Inaugural Address," IIAS, pp. 11-12, for example, regrets that language is a major political issue in India, diverting attention from "Vital and urgent problems" like hunger, overpopulation, national security, and political corruption.

has a higher position than another, "It gives them prestige as norm-bearers and a headstart in the race for power and position."[1] Whether at the national or the international level, such disparities in language position are often accompanied by "linguistic strife."[2] Necessarily leaving unanswered some questions which only a fuller study of this aspect of language problems could attempt to confront, we can now consider the importance of four other types of language variables.

A second package of linguistic variables can be termed language development. It has to do with qualities of a language that can be vertically ranked or measured, thus qualities that permit languages to be evaluated, either absolutely or comparatively. It has been common throughout history for peoples to rank one language above another, or to designate a particular language as being in some sense especially good or bad. In some cases the speakers of a language have believed their language to be unique in quality, with all other languages being inferior.[3] Some languages have been classified as capable, others as incapable, of expressing religious, political, scientific or technical concepts seen by the classifier as important or characteristic of advanced civilization.[4]

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[1] Haugen, Language, p. 18.

[2] Fishman, "Nationality," p. 47.

[3] "Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit, Latin, and Chinese have all been supposed to be the language of heaven." Woolner, Languages in History and Politics, pp. 4-5.

[4] Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," Chapter I, p. 377; Chapter III, pp. 47-53; Good, Language in

Many such allegations of linguistic hierarchy, of course, have been excessive, baseless, or based on untestable assumptions. For at least 200 years, such claims have been contested by linguistic relativists, who in one form or another have insisted that "there is no human community anywhere which does not have a fully developed language."[1] The valiant campaign of the relativist school to win respect for so-called "primitive" languages has not, however, put an end to the practice of evaluating languages, even among the linguistically trained. While more scholars than before are now ready to admit that many instances of language ranking are ethnocentric and that previous estimates of the differences in expressive capacity among languages were exaggerated, it is difficult to ignore certain salient attributes according to which languages can be, and are, evaluated.

> If judgments of backwardness or limited development of a language cannot be made on the basis of linguistic structure, how can they be made? The view adopted here is that there are at least three dimensions relevant for measuring language development: graphization--reduction to writing; standardization--the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects; and for want of a better term, modernization--the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of

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History, p. 241; W.A. Verloren van Themaat, "Is Science Bound to the Western Languages?", La Monda Lingvo-Problemo, I (September, 1969), 171.

[1]Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), p. 4 (Hereinafter referred to as Course); cf. J.G. Herder, J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture, trans., ed., and introduction by F.M. Barnard (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 27; Sapir, Language, p. 22; Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, ed. and introduction by John B. Carroll (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1964), pp. 84-5; P. Friedrich, "Language and Politics in India," p. 544.

topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized, structurally differentiated, "modern" societies.[1]

A fourth kind of criterion of evaluation sometimes applied is what we might call flexibility, i.e., latitude for individual variation in style and content, as opposed to ritual-like rigidity.[2] And an additional type of criterion, which can be superimposed on all the others, is that of efficiency. As one theorist remarks, "It would be absurd to assume that languages form logical, harmonious or perfect systems, or that every element in every language and dialect is the most efficient one."[3] Some or all of these five criteria, plus others, have been combined in several ways to arrive at developmental typologies of languages, but their details need not concern us.[4]

The most obvious sort of consequence of language development is its effect on what people can do with a language. The speaker of a highly developed language may need to learn another tongue in order to become a diplomat, but the speaker of a highly underdeveloped language may need to learn a second language before he can read or write, before he can communicate easily with those who were brought

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[1]Charles A. Ferguson, "Language Development," Fishman, et al., p. 28 (Hereinafter referred to as "Language.") Cf. Einar Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation," American Anthropologist, LXVIII, No. 4 (1966), 931. (Hereinafter referred to as "Dialect.")

[2]Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes."

[3]Tauli, Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning, pp. 13-4.

[4]Heinz Kloss, "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology," Fishman et al., p. 70 (Hereinafter referred to as "Notes") is an example.

up speaking other regional or social varieties of his native language, before he can communicate successfully about other than simple, non-technical subjects, and before he is even in a position to learn how to do these things.[1] By limiting what can be done with a language, its level of development produces an objective constraint on the range of positions that a language can fill. An unwritten, unstandardized, unmodernized language could hardly, for example, become the language of public administration and education. Furthermore, people are generally reluctant to allow a language to fill a high position if the language is commonly regarded as "backward," even if its level of development poses no objective hindrance to its use in the position concerned.[2]

A common belief that a language is underdeveloped also leads directly to deprecation and self-deprecation for those who speak this language, especially if they have not acquired a knowledge of a more highly regarded language.[3] As a result, real and supposed levels of

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[1]See Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes," pp. 129-31; Haugen, "Dialect," p. 930; Khanazarov, Sblizhenie Natsiĭ i Natsional'nye Iazyki v SSSR, p. 34. The latter defines development according to what can be done with a particular language. What can be done must of course be distinguished from what is done, as Herder, J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture, p. 315, suggests.

[2]William A. Stewart, "Creole Languages in the Caribbean," Rice, ed., pp. 47-9 (Hereinafter referred to as "Creole"); Rubin, National, pp. 27-8, 61-2, 63-4; Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," Chapter III, p. 48; Whiteley, "Ideal and Reality in National Language Policy," p. 329; Prem Nath Bazaz, "The Problem of Languages in India," IIAS, p.254.

[3]Monolingual Guarani speakers in Paraguay, for example, are called ill-bred, stupid, uncultured, and amoral, not only by others but also by themselves. Rubin, National, p. 46.

language development, acting directly as well as through language position, can influence patterns of educational, professional, and status stratification.[1]

These consequences emerge as soon as we decide what language characteristics to include in the definition of language development and whether languages truly differ with respect to those characteristics. Other effects of language development, however, have been alleged which are less obvious and less verifiable. It has been claimed, for example, that language development has effects on the level of intellect and on the personality of the individual speaker.[2] Language development has also been held responsible for collective effects, including effects on such variables as political authority and loyalty patterns,[3] social degeneration,[4] political

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[1]The variable of efficiency, under any reasonable definition, seems to be a partial exception. It apparently has no effect on the perceived development of a language, and influences only the difficulty, rather than the total possibility, of using, or learning to use, the language for various purposes. The effect of efficiency should not, however, be ignored. One scholar (Tauli, Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning, p. 138) attributes to the historical, highly unphonemic spelling of English the fact that "Many people in English-speaking countries never obtain a satisfactory reading ability." According to a recent survey in the United States, "13 per cent of the population over age 16 'lacks the reading ability necessary for survival.'" An additional 8 per cent could not be tested because of language difficulties: Jack Rosenthal, "Study Finds 13% of U.S. Adults Can't Pass Basic Reading Test," The New York Times, September 12, 1970, p. 12.

[2]See, e.g., C.C. Berg, "The Use," p. 713; Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes," pp. 129-31.

[3]Allen D. Grimshaw, "Directions for Research in Sociolinguistics: Suggestions of a Nonlinguist Sociologist," Explorations in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Lieberson, pp. 197-98.

[4]Confucious in James Legge, The Chinese Classics (7 Vols.; 2nd ed. rev.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), I, 263-64.

conflict,[1] and national development in general.[2]

A third package of variables is language properties: all those other characteristics of languages which typically differentiate them but do not serve as criteria for vertically ranking them. Such qualities as beauty, complexity, purity, vagueness, and time-orientedness have often been attributed to particular languages.[3] Various languages have also been labeled with political characteristics, being called anything from "the indispensable language of liberty",[4] to "an enemy of the people and the state."[5]

How, and how much, do the properties of different languages really differ? As one might guess from the preceding cursory treatment of language development, the available answers range widely between opposite extremes. While some scholars seek out universals exemplified by all languages,[6] others argue that the languages of different families are far more notable for their radical divergences than for their superficial similarities.[7]

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[1] C. Friedrich, Man and his Government, pp. 44-5.

[2] Khanazarov, Sblizhenie Natsiĭ, p. 82.

[3] E.g., Goad, Language in History, p. 62; Togan, Bugünkü Türkili, pp. 197-98; Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, pp. 82, 112-24.

[4] Quoted in Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," Chapter III, p. 48.

[5] Quoted in Ulrich Lins, "Esperanto dum la Tria Regno," Germana Esperanto-Revuo, I, 19 (1966), p. 76. (author's translation)

[6] E.g., Noam Chomsky, Language and Mind (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), pp. 63, 69.

[7] E.g., Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality.

Regardless of the outcome of this sometimes vaguely formulated debate, many hypotheses and popular beliefs relate specific language properties to important political and social outcomes. In their extreme form these hypotheses are collected into the allegation that "an established language . . . functions as a continuous determinant of the perceptual-conceptual processes and the Weltanschauung of the members of the language community."[1] More specific propositions are exemplified by the one that claims language purification or regraphization (e.g., alphabet reform) as an essential precondition for mass education and social reform,[2] or the counter-claim that purification leads to domination by an intellectual elite.[3]

What can be said about purification and regraphization applies even more to the issue of language survival and revival. It need hardly be pointed out with what fervor and concern interested groups have confronted the possibility that languages with which they are identified might become extinct, or having reached actual or impending extinction, might be revived. This issue is indeed an extreme case of the question of language position, and the arguments brought out in

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[1]Joyce O. Hertzler, "Social Uniformation and Language," Explorations in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Lieberson, p. 175.

[2]See, e.g., the publications of Türk Dil Kurumu.

[3]See, e.g., the anti-purist rationale in Heyd, Language Reform in Modern Turkey, pp. 45-7; Geruncio Lacuesta, Filipino versus Pilipino (Quezon City, Philippines: Delco Publishers, 1967); Mohan Singh Diwana, "Indian Socio-linguistic Background," IIAS, pp. 74-5; P.B. Pandit, "Logistics of Language Development," IIAS, pp. 116-17; and the publications of Türk Kültürünü Araştirma Enstitüsü.

the discussion of that topic apply here as well. But the particular importance of language survival and revival lies in the belief that this is one of the critical variables on which the survival of a culture, a nation, or a national sentiment depends. We do have evidence for a generalization that the disappearance of a language is followed by the disappearance of any culture for which that language was the sole medium of expression,[1] and corroborating evidence will be added later in this study. The sense of nationalism and the consciousness of nationality have also tended to persist with the continued life of a distinctive national language and to fade out with such a language's extinction.[2] Contrary examples can, of course, be cited,[3] but they fail to disperse the prevalent belief that a culture or a national spirit cannot live without a language of its "own," the widespread though not so prevalent positive value placed on the conservation of diverse species of language and culture, and the very widely shared and apparently spreading desire for the preservation of one's own language, culture, and nationality.

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[1]"The Use," p. 716; RCB&B, I, xxxvii.

[2]Buck, "Language and the Sentiment of Nationality," pp. 55-7, 67; Carlton J.H. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism (New York: R.R. Smith, Inc., 1931), pp. 195-96 (Hereinafter referred to as Historical); Elliot R. Goodman, "World State and World Language," Readings in the Sociology of Language, ed. by Fishman, p. 717; F.M. Barnard, "Culture and Political Development: Herder's Suggestive Insights," American Political Science Review, LXIII, No. 2 (1969), 392; Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, "Dil Yoluyla Devrim," Türk Dili, XVI, No. 188 (1967), p. 583.

[3]E.g., Togan, Bugünkü Türkili, pp. 59, 78; Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects," p. 146.

The attributes considered above were those of languages: their positions, levels of development, and other properties. Politically important linguistic attributes of persons and groups also exist, but they can be treated with brevity here, since much of their consequence lies in their implications for the variables already considered. One package of attributes includes literacy and non-native-language competence, and can be summarized as language knowledge. Two different views might be said to exist about the importance of language knowledge.

One view sees language knowledge as a resource or skill. In this perspective, the diffusion of language knowledge is an important and difficult part of manpower training in societies where literacy is low or where the commonly spoken vernaculars are technologically useless. There is little disagreement with the proposition that language knowledge is in general an important skill, but the importance of particular levels of knowledge of particular languages for the occupants of particular roles is often debated.[1] Some of this disagreement is doubtless attributable, however, to the second view.

The second perspective on language knowledge views it as a weapon or an instrument of influence. Spreading the knowledge of one's own language is viewed by many as an effective means of spreading one's own culture or sphere of hegemony. This hypothesis underlies both the strategies of linguistic transfer employed by many colonial powers and the attacks organized by cultural nationalists against the offenses of what they see as linguistic imperialism. The same perspective,

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[1] E.g., the American debate over the Ph.D. language requirement.

however, furnishes a counter-hypothesis as well: that the best defense against cultural influence from a superior civilization includes the acquisition of knowledge of that civilization's language.[1]

While variables of language knowledge are applied primarily to individuals, one of the most important types of linguistic attributes of collectivities remains to be discussed: language unity. A survey of the literature on the political aspects of language would soon reveal that attention to such notions as linguistic unity, diversity, communality, integration, and uniformation is more common than that devoted to all the other packages of linguistic variables put together. As with language knowledge, two chief views of the importance of language unity can be singled out. One is efficiency-oriented: it typically sees language unity as indispensable for, or at least conducive to, efficient collaboration, successful economic development, or the like. The other perspective emphasizes conflict and allegiance. It sees language unity as necessary or helpful for the establishment of national identity, collective loyalty, social justice, and political integration. For a discussion of the hypotheses posed by the first perspective, the reader is referred to an earlier article.[2] As for the second perspective, it furnishes precisely those hypotheses to be discussed in Chapter II, some of which will be tested thereafter.

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[1]See, e.g., Khalid B. Sayeed, Pakistan: The Formative Phase, 1857-1948 (2nd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 15; Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," p. 386.

[2]Pool, "National."

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The existence of a plural society in a single polity has been recognized by many as a problem. Different classes, generations, tribes, races, religions, languages, heritages, regions, etc. are seen as bases of cleavage and conflict, which tend to become intense and disruptive where political centralization, combined with high and normatively egalitarian political participation or economic mobility, brings into contact and competition the groups thus defined, especially if the various bases of cleavage coincide with each other.[1]

If we ask what is threatened by such cleavage-based conflicts, the notion of "political integration," "political unity," or "political community" does not provide a clear answer. Three common specifications of what such terms mean, or what their referents are composed of, are communicational, allocational, and attitudinal. In the communica-

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[1]Robert G. Armstrong, "Language Policies and Language Practices in West Africa," Fishman et al., p. 228; Kelly, "Belgium: New Nationalism in an Old World," pp. 344, 347, 352-53; Deutsch, Nationalism, pp. 125-26; Inglehart and Woodward, "Language Conflicts and Political Community," p. 28; Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives, ed. by Lipset and Rokkan (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 13-4, 32; Dahl, "Some Explanations," pp. 357-59, 364, 368-70, 376, 378-79; RCB&B, I, 79; Eric A. Nordlinger, "Political Deve-

tional perspective, "what counts is . . . the presence of sufficient communication facilities with enough complementarity to produce the overall result."[1] The allocational specification is seen, for example, in constitutional philosophies postulating that membership in a political community or sub-community endures only as long as the benefits conferred by membership exceed (perhaps by some amount) the benefits that would be acquired through withdrawal.[2] And the third, or attitudinal, view of political integration is exemplified by the view that "the most essential element is a living and active corporate will,"[3] and by the definition of a nation as "a community of people who feel that they belong together . . . ."[4]

Language as a political cleavage is interesting not only for the reasons given in Chapter I, but also because strongly argued and highly plausible but still controversial hypotheses link the distribution

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lopment: Time Sequences and Rates of Change," World Politics, XX, No. 3 (1968), 517-18; Smith, India as a Secular State, p. 430.

[1]Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 97.

[2]Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. and introduction by C.B. Macpherson (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1968), pp. 272-274 (Part 2, Chapter XXI); William H. Riker, The Theory of Political Coalitions (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1962), p. 30.

[3]Kohn, Nationalism, p. 10.

[4]Emerson, From Empire to Nation, 95. While these are three widely accepted interpretations of political integration, each may be attacked on the ground that it is not a part of, or even a necessary contributor to, political integration somehow understood. As an example, it can be argued that communication among incompatible groups makes their political integration more difficult than if they remained isolated. (Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics," p. 8.) For the present, however, this question will be left in abeyance.

of knowledge of different languages (i.e., the pattern of language cleavage) with all three of the just-mentioned versions or components (let us call them "ingredients") of political integration or community, asserting in each case reciprocal causation. If true, these hypotheses either could provide guidance for the effective integration of a multilingual society or, on the contrary, could challenge the advisability of attempting such integration, all depending on the direction, form, and strength of the relationships. Let us now see what forms these hypotheses and the counter-hypotheses contesting their truth have.

The hypotheses and counter-hypotheses. The hypotheses to be considered mostly take the following general form: If language diversity is high, X is low, and if X increases, language diversity decreases, where X is a postulated ingredient of political integration.[1] The three sets of hypotheses below deal respectively with the influence of language diversity on the communicational, allocational, and attitudinal ingredients of integration, and with their influence on language diversity. Some of the hypotheses relate individual properties, others collective ones. Not all the existing evidence, of course, supports these hypotheses. The disintegrative effects of language diversity are brought into question by the fact that some linguistically diverse countries are also politically unified and relatively free of conflict.[2] Doubt is also cast on the disintegrative effect of language

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[1] See Pool, "National", pp. 86-7.

[2] Such countries (Switzerland being a favorite example) are sometimes pointed out to show that under certain conditions (e.g., the

diversity by those, mentioned in Chapter I, who see language as merely a symbolic substitute for some other, "real" basis of conflict. And in the other direction, too, there are doubts about whether the ingredients of integration always reduce language diversity, or whether a backfiring effect takes place instead under some conditions. Such doubts, however, cannot be confirmed or dispelled without confronting the hypotheses in question with relevant facts, a procedure which has by no means been completed.

The first set of hypotheses links the distribution of language knowledge with the volume and extension of communication. A polity with several language groups will have more restricted communication than a linguistically unified polity; individuals knowing the language primarily used in politics and administration will engage more than others in political and official communication; individuals sharing a language will come into contact with each other more often, and, if they come into contact, communicate more frequently or elaborately with each other than those not sharing a language; and individuals who learn a language will increase their contact with those who know that language and increase the frequency or elaborateness of their communi-

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existence of other cleavages cutting across language cleavages) political integration is compatible with language diversity. See, e.g., Kenneth D. McRae, Switzerland: Example of Cultural Coexistence, Contemporary Affairs, No. 33 (Toronto: The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1964); Kurt B. Mayer, "The Jura Problem: Ethnic Conflict in Switzerland," Social Research, XXXV, No. 4 (1968), 707-41; Rustow, "Language," pp. 90-1; Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 97; Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and its Alternatives (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), pp. 13-4, 21. (Hereinafter referred to as Alternatives.)

cation with them when they do come into contact.[1]

It seems obvious, of course, that language differences prevent communication. One dilemma of multilingual states is that a linguistically homogeneous elite limits elite-mass communication, while a linguistically representative elite limits within-elite communication.[2] No matter how that dilemma is resolved, within-mass communication is still restricted, and in times of mass mobilization the consequence may be intergroup conflict.[3] Language is not, however, the only barrier to communication, so linguistic homogeneity will not necessarily bring communication about. Moreover, linguistic non-communality may, in the absence of other obstacles to communication, be in practice only a minor barrier itself (as will be suggested immediately below). Thus the hypothesis that language diversity limits political, official, and other social communication, while seemingly

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[1]Tauli, Introduction to a Theory of Language Planning, p. 17; Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, pp. 237-38; Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System," p. 5. Of course, the importance of these propositions depends on whether communication is normally direct, in which case the need for a mediator would raise the cost, inefficiency, and difficulty of communication. Among polities where communication is normally mediated (e.g., where a local literate explains the printed or broadcast news to the populace, intergroup contacts take place through intermediaries, and political participation is accomplished normally through representation), the hypothesized associations would be expected to be weak at the collective level, and largely subsumable under more general, non-linguistic hypotheses at the individual level.

[2]Harrison, India: The Most Dangerous Decades, pp. 93-4; John N. Paden, "Language Problems of National Integration in Nigeria: The Special Position of Hausa," Fishman et al., pp. 206-07.

[3]Deutsch, Nationalism, pp. 125-26.

obvious, needs confirmation for the purpose of qualification as to the conditions, forms, and magnitudes of the effects.

Interestingly, one argument for the rejection or delimitation of the language-communication hypotheses is the parallel communication-language hypotheses dealing with the other direction of causality. When communication in a polity increases, linguistic homogeneity in that polity also increases. When individuals or groups speaking different languages or dialects come into contact, their very attempts at communication cause them to assimilate or be assimilated: one learns the other's language, both learn a lingua franca or standard variety, or they develop a new pidgin.[1] We can further hypothesize that when this contact is between an individual and a governmental institution employing a language he does not know, the individual will usually learn the institution's language. Thus individuals engaging in political or official communication will more frequently than others know, or be learning, the language primarily used in politics and administration.

The communicational hypotheses, then, assert that linguistic non-communality causes non-communication and that communication causes linguistic communality. The question in the main is not whether these hypotheses are true, but which effect is stronger under what conditions.

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[1]See references cited in Pool, "National," pp. 87 (n. 20), 97 (n. 59); cf. Jespersen, Mankind, Nation and Individual, pp. 35-7, 40, 42, 54, 55-7; Hayes, Nationalism, p. 33; Das Gupta and Gumperz, "Language, Communication and Control in North India," pp. 152-53; Kohn, Idea, p. 231; Stewart, "Creole," p. 47.

In one case we may have a vicious circle, in which those who are linguistically divided cannot communicate, consequently cannot attain linguistic communality, consequently cannot communicate, etc. But we may instead, on the basis of the same unrefined hypotheses, have a chain reaction, in which those who begin to communicate become linguistically more homogeneous, hence succeed in intensifying their communication, hence further increase their linguistic communality, etc. And rather than one of these tendencies running unchecked, they may result in equilibrium levels of intergroup communication and linguistic acquisition. Given these alternatives, one would expect that the desire for, and persistence in, communication and language learning would be important factors, and these are taken into account by the other two sets of hypotheses: the allocational and the attitudinal.

The second set of hypotheses links language cleavages in a two-way causal relation with the allocation of benefits, both among collectivities and among individuals. Leading from language diversity to allocation, one assertion is that in a centralized multilingual polity the various language groups are necessarily subjected to discrimination of a type which is impossible in linguistically homogeneous polities. One language must operate as the principal or sole language of central institutions, and knowledge of this language must therefore be an aid or prerequisite for political recruitment, self-representation before governmental agencies, and achievement in formal education. Collectively, then, multilingual polities will be characterized by less

allocational equality than unilingual ones. On the individual level, native speakers of the privileged language in linguistically heterogeneous polities will be politically and socioeconomically more indulged than native speakers of other languages, and the learning of the privileged language by a native speaker of a different language will cause him to reap increased rewards.[1] A second assertion in the same direction, dealing with allocation among rather than within polities, is that linguistically diverse polities, for a variety of plausible reasons, will share fewer of the benefits of world production than linguistically unified countries, or in brief, that language diversity retards economic development.[2]

Parallel and opposite to these hypotheses arguing that the distribution of language knowledge is an important determinant of the allocation of power and other benefits, it is also hypothesized that the allocation of benefits is precisely one of the prime causes of change in the patterns of language cleavage. According to this rationalistic view of language-learning behavior, if an individual can anticipate that he will be rewarded for learning language 1 (i.e., one) and unrewarded or penalized for learning language 2, he will be more likely

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[1]Neustupný, "Some General Aspects of 'Language' Problems and 'Language' Policy in Developing Societies," p. 292; Stewart, "Creole," p. 40; Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," pp. 65-6; Kloss, "Types," p. 8; P. Friedrich, "Language and Politics in India," p. 545; Aucamp, Bilingual Education and Nationalism, pp. 10, 170-73, 215-17; "The Use", pp. 690-92, 697; Rubin, "Language," p. 484; Nosé, Language Policy and Higher Education, pp. 38-39. Cf. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 72-73.

[2]This hypothesis is examined in Pool, "National."

to learn language 1 than language 2; and if individual A can, but individual B cannot, anticipate being rewarded for learning a particular second language, individual A will be more likely to learn it than individual B.[1] In addition to anticipated rewards, already realized benefits are also thought to cause language learning. On the individual level, those controlling many socioeconomic resources are more likely to learn a second tongue than those of the same language background who are socioeconomically deprived, for the former are more likely to have the childhood exposure to the most privileged language which they do not yet know and more likely to have the extended formal education which are both conducive, and perhaps essential, to the successful acquisition of competence in the language.[2] It can also be hypothesized that an improvement in one's material conditions tends to be accompanied by favorable attitudes toward potentially competing groups, and hence (see below) by a greater propensity to learn their languages.[3] So, as long as the benefits of knowing particular languages accrue to all their speakers rather than just native ones, those most frequently learning any second language in a multilingual country can be expected to be high-status members of

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[1]Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 154; Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, p. 151; Inglehart and Woodward, "Language Conflicts and Political Community," p. 29; A. Tabouret-Keller, "Sociological Factors of Language Maintenance and Language Shift: A Methodological Approach Based on European and African Examples," Fishman, et al., pp. 113-14.

[2]Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System," p. 13; LePage, "Problems to be Faced in the Use of English," p. 436.

[3]John C. Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer. Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 2, 1969), pp. 62-3.

low-status language groups, and the least frequent learners will be low-status speakers of the highest-status language.[1] At the collective level, a multilingual polity which undergoes economic development is more likely (for any of several reasons) to experience linguistic homogenization than such a polity which is not developing.[2]

These hypotheses linking language diversity with the allocational ingredient can be questioned, of course. Against the proposition that language diversity necessarily aggravates discrimination, it can be argued that it is in fact not necessary to give only one language a predominant position in public affairs;[3] that linguistic tests for recruitment are not always perceived as discriminatory, especially if the privileged language is that of a foreign or very small domestic, thus not competing or threatening group;[4] and that such requirements are generally met anyway by those who in fact meet the other requirements of the same offices.[5] The influence of anticipated and already realized benefits on language learning is also qualified by two

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[1]Some sociolinguistic situations would give rise to an opposite prediction on the basis of the communicational hypotheses, however.

[2]See the discussion in Pool, "National."

[3]Kloss, "Types," p. 8; RCB&B, I, xxviii-xxix, 12-4.

[4]Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System," p. 14; Fishman, "Nationality," pp. 45-6; Das Gupta, "Language Politics and Group Process in India," pp. 155, 159; Richter, "The Politics of Language in India," pp. 115, 130; Chatterji, "Inaugural Address," p. 18; Dahl, "Some Explanations," p. 368.

[5]Broker, "Language and Regionalism," p. 393.

arguments. One says that extreme disparities in the utility of speaking different languages amount to punishments for speaking a particular language, and that such coercion often backfires, by causing a heightened sense of native-language consciousness and an even more vigilant resistance to assimilation than an only moderate disparity of benefits would produce.[1] A second caution is against excessive faith in the results of education. The failure of many years of second-language instruction to equip most students with working knowledges of their studied languages has often been bewailed.[2] Finally, the existence of a few fairly wealthy countries with somewhat high levels of linguistic heterogeneity can be cited as evidence against uncritical acceptance of the hypotheses connecting economic development, as both cause and effect, with language diversity.[3]

These counter-hypotheses, however, are far from conclusively confirmed. Certain language arrangements, for example, may appear at first to avoid, but may in fact even expand, the originally hypothesized

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[1]Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier," pp. 9-11; "The Use," p. 693; Kloss, "Types," p. 14; M.V. Lakhi, "Language and Regionalism in Pakistan," IIAS, p. 462; Stanley Rundle, Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1946), p. 58; Joshua A. Fishman et al., Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1966), p. 30; Goodman, "World State and World Language," p. 718; cf. David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965), pp. 249-50; William Korey, "The Legal Position of the Jewish Community of the Soviet Union," Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union, ed. by Erich Goldhagen (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 342-43.

[2]Ferguson, "Background," p. 6; Moss, Language Policy and Higher Education, pp. 38-9; Central Asian Review, 1963, pp. 53-4; 1965, pp. 183, 313.

[3]Pool, "National," p. 98.

discrimination. Rather than equalizing the allocation among language groups, such arrangements as the domination of a foreign language may continue to benefit the speakers of particular languages[1] and, in addition, perpetuate the socioeconomic advantages of the most indulged segment of each language group.[2]

Put together, the two hypothesized sides of the language-allocation relationship amount to a second alternative of vicious circle or chain reaction. If (as is usually the case) a language whose speakers are deprived does not have a privileged position, this fact will further increase the relative deprivation of its speakers. Deprivation will hold down the number who can acquire the privileged tongue; the low rate of acquisition of the privileged language will maintain the group in deprivation; and so on. Those who do learn to speak it will be siphoned off from the co-speakers of their native tongue, and will even defend the existing linguistic regime, which will benefit them more than the elevation of their native language to a coequal or dominant position. As a consequence, language groups will tend to become coterminous with socioeconomic or political strata, and language barriers will be used, as they have for centuries, as gates restricting entry to positions of political and professional privilege.[3] On the other

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[1]Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier," p. 13; Seal, The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, p. 302; John N. Paden, "Language Problems of National Integration in Nigeria: The Special Position of Hausa," Fishman et al., pp. 206-07.

[2]Alexandre, "Some Linguistic Problems of Nation-Building in Negro Africa," pp. 122, 126; Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," pp. 65-6; Passin, "Writer and Journalist in the Transitional Society," pp. 449-50.

[3]Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier," pp. 7, 15; Das Gupta and

hand, linguistically based unequal mobility may cause the speakers of an unprivileged language to assimilate to the dominant one at least to the degree necessary to secure somewhat increased recruitment opportunities. These opportunities may in turn provide the exposure and education needed for full acquisition of the accepted language and of the full benefits which such knowledge affords. Or if those who first achieve upward linguistic assimilation use their consequent advantages to improve the relative status of their entire group of origin, rather than being co-opted into membership in the dominant linguistic group, the very institution of the privileged position of a given language may become altered.

The fate of a subordinate language group, then, can be expected to depend on the behavior of its members who have greater command over resources and over the dominant language; but their behavior will in turn depend on the relationship between linguistic assimilation and attitudes. The links between language diversity and the attitudinal ingredient of political integration are the subject of the third set of hypotheses to be considered here. Once again there are bi-directional hypotheses worth of our attention. In one direction, these hypotheses assert that language communality causes attitudinal integration, and language diversity causes attitudinal disintegration.[1] A linguistically unified polity will be attitudinally more integrated than a linguistically

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Gumperz, "Language, Communication and Control in North India," pp. 155-56; Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects," p. 142; Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," Chapter I, p. 378; LePage, "Problems to be Faced in the Use of English," p. 436.

[1]See Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, pp. 35-53.

divided one: the citizens of the former will, on the average, have attitudes which are more homogeneous, which are less hostile to their fellow citizens, and which include stronger beliefs in the collective identity of the members of the polity than the citizens of a linguistically heterogeneous polity.[1] At the sub-polity level, analogous hypotheses assert that if an individual or group, A, shares a language with an individual, group, or institution, B, but does not share a language with an individual, group, or institution, C, then A's attitudes will resemble B's attitudes more than A's attitudes resemble C's attitudes, A's attitudes will be more favorable to B than they will be to C, and A will feel a stronger sense of common interest and common destiny with B than with C.

These propositions suggest further that if a polity becomes linguistically more homogeneous, it will also become more integrated attitudinally. Likewise, if A and C come to share a language because A or C or both of them learn it, then the attitudes of A and C will experience a rapprochement in these same respects. Conversely, a group which ceases to have a common language will become attitudinally less integrated; and a group that loses en masse a language peculiar to it and adopts a language shared by another group will lose its attitudinal

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[1] Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 4; Joshua A. Fishman, "Some Contrasts between Linguistically Homogeneous and Linguistically Heterogeneous Polities," Fishman et al., pp. 63-4 (Hereinafter referred to as "Contrasts"); Kloss, "Notes," p. 75; Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, pp. 35-54; Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier," p. 6; Madison Grant, "Introduction," The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe, by Leon Dominian (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917), p. xvii; Hayes, Nationalism, pp. 3-4.

separateness ("national identity," "nationalism").[1] The same hypotheses can be extended to the inter-polity level as well, where it is asserted that citizens and leaders feel greater solidarity with polities sharing a language with their polity than they do with other polities, and that this solidarity increases between two polities whenever the language of one becomes more widely known in the other.[2]

A number of different mechanisms have been suggested as explanations for these relations. These include the view that the structure and vocabulary of each language delimits or determines the thought patterns of those who use the language;[3] the view that solidarity is extended along linguistic lines and thus primordial solidarity is extended to all who share the tongue of one's mother and father;[4] the view that language diversity causes attitudinal estrangement simply by isolating groups and individuals from communication, understanding, appreciation and mutual influence and thus from forces

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[1] Ostrower, Language, Law and Diplomacy, pp. 118-23; Lambert et al., "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation," pp. 473-74; Hertzler, "Social Uniformation and Language," p. 180; Goodman, "World State and World Language," p. 717; "The Use," p. 716; Buck, "Language and the Sentiment of Nationality," pp. 55-7, 67; Hayes, Historical, pp. 195-96; Barnard, "Culture and Political Development," p. 392; Edgar Polomé, "The Choice of Official Languages in the Democratic Republic of the Congo," Fishman et al., 300; RCB&B, I, xxxvii; Kansu, "Dil Yoluyla Devrim," p. 583.

[2] Jaan Pennar, "Nationalism in the Soviet Baltics," Ethnic Minorities in the Soviet Union, ed. by Goldhagen, p. 215; Charles De Gaulle, quoted in Cumhuriyet, October 28, 1968, p. 7.

[3] Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, passim; Hertzler, "Social Uniformation and Language," p. 175; George Steiner, "The Language Animal," Encounter, III, No. 2 (1969), p. 16; Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 294, n. 20; Sachchidananda H. Vatsyayan, "Language and Identity," IJAS, pp. 135-44.

[4] Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier," p. 4.

resisting divergent development;[1] and the view that the effect can be accounted for by the inevitable (or at least inevitably perceived) domination of some language groups by others, the change in value position of the learner of a privileged language, and the attitudinal correlates of domination, subjection, and equality.[2]

The usual disagreements with the hypotheses mentioned are exceptions taken to one or another mechanism, rather than to the hypotheses themselves. The most frequently disputed mechanism is the first one mentioned, which is usually called the Whorfian hypothesis.[3] Evidence can also be cited, however, to cast doubt on the universality of the effects themselves, without reference to one mechanism or another. Such evidence includes examples of contexts where attitudinal solidarity is stronger across than within language boundaries,[4] contexts where language communality has not eroded sub-linguistic

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[1]Lorwin, "Belgium," p. 174; Goad, Language in History, p. 242.

[2]Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics," pp. 32-3; Khanazarov, Sblizhenie Natsiĭ, p. 29; V.V. Bartol'd, Istoriia Kul'turnoĭ Zhizni Turkestana (Leningrad: Izadetl'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1927), p. 208; Richter, "The Politics of Language in India," p. 90; Broker, "Language and Regionalism," pp. 392-93.

[3]Opposing views may be found in, e.g., Herder, J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture, p. 151; Joshua A. Fishman, Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, Newbury House Language Series, n.d.). (Hereinafter referred to as Sociolinguistics.); Charles F. Hockett, "Chinese Versus English: An Exploration of the Whorfian Theses (II)," Language and Culture, ed. by Patrick Gleeson and Nancy Wakefield (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1968), pp. 124, 132-33. (Hereinafter referred to as "Chinese."). For evidence against the last-mentioned mechanism, i.e., indications that language diversity need not be accompanied by a sense of domination and subordination, see Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," pp. 74-5; Fishman, "Nationality," pp. 45-6.

[4]Deutsch, Nationalism, p. 97.

particularisms,[1] and contexts where changes in the language cleavage pattern have failed to be followed by the predicted attitudinal changes.[2] Assertions of the latter phenomenon are especially found in reference to the attitudinal results of coerced language change,[3] and of language learning undertaken in the presence of a cultural challenge or for the purpose of cultural defense (e.g., among colonial subjects).[4] Another qualification frequently made is that the acquisition of a second language under certain conditions leads not to a mere identificational rapprochement, but to an identificational confusion or "linguistic schizophrenia."[5]

Clearly, the hypotheses leading from language cleavages and their changes to the attitudinal ingredient of political integration have been neither confirmed nor disconfirmed in a satisfactory way. Because there are reasons to believe that the attitudinal effects of the sharing, learning, and losing of language can "go either way," the discovery of conditions predicting which way they go should be high on

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[1] Kohn, Idea, p. 14.

[2] Togan, Bugünkü Türkili, pp. 59, 78; Gallagher, "North African Problems and Prospects," p. 146.

[3] Kelman, "Language as Aid and Barrier," pp. 1, 9-11; Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, p. 250; S.C. Malik, "Culture Areas, Cultural History and Regionalism," IIAS, p. 99.

[4] Sayeed, Pakistan, p. 15; Frei, "The Historical Development of the Philippine National Language," p. 386.

[5] See Chapter I, p. 20, n. 3; also Haugen, Language, p. 280; Joshua A. Fishman, "Language Problems and Types of Political and Sociocultural Integration: A Conceptual Postscript," Fishman et al., p. 492; "The Use," pp. 690-91.

any research agenda dealing with these propositions. To the degree that a government can know and, beyond that, secure the conditions under which "an individual successfully acquiring a second language gradually adopts various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group,"[1] the foregoing hypotheses have an important implication: the encouragement of language learning emerges as a powerful tool of political integration through yet a third mechanism, the creation of an integrated public opinion and "political culture." But as we shall now see, the variables of attitudinal integration may help or hinder the use of this very tool.

Like the first two sets of hypotheses, the third, too, includes propositions dealing with the opposite direction of causation from that just considered. Attitudes do not only change as a result of language learning, but they are, according to these hypotheses, among the major determinants of whether language learning takes place and is successful.[2] The prospective learner who has a positive attitude (esteem, friendship, dependence) toward the language to be learned, and toward the group that speaks it, the learner who brings to the task an "integrative" as well as an "instrumental" orientation, i.e., a desire not only to reap benefits from his new language knowledge but also to interact with or even join the group whose language he is

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[1] Lambert, et al., "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation," p. 473.

[2] William A. Stewart, "An Outline of Linguistic Typology for Describing Multilingualism," Rice, ed., p. 16. (Hereinafter referred to as "Outline.")

learning, and the learner who nonetheless has no "conflict of cultural allegiances," is more likely than a student with opposite characteristics to learn the language successfully, says one hypothesis, given conditions, such as formal classroom instruction, in which language knowledge is available for learning.[1] Indeed, even the degree of immediate (untutored) comprehension of speech in other dialects or languages may be far better predicted when intergroup attitudes are taken into account than when the only basis of prediction is the objective "linguistic" distance between the speaker's and the hearer's languages.[2] These propositions have obvious collectivity-level counterparts; thus an attitudinally integrated though multilingual

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[1] Lambert, et al., "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation"; Haugen, "Dialect," p. 928; Haugen, "Linguistics," p. 63; Clifford H. Prator, "The British Heresy in TESL," Fishman et al., p. 474; Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, trans. by Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), Chapter I; Rundle, Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe, pp. 159, 161. An educator might remind us that attitudes toward second-language learning can depend on the quality of instruction, general orientations of students toward languages or school, etc., as well as on attitudes toward the particular language and the group that speaks it. But an attack on the hypothesis that these latter attitudes also influence language learning success has not come to my attention.

[2] Hans Wolff, "Intelligibility and Inter-Ethnic Attitudes," Language in Culture and Society, ed. by Dell Hymes (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 440-45; Einar Haugen, "Semicommunication: The Language Gap in Scandinavia," Explorations in Sociolinguistics, ed. by Lieberson, p. 152 (Hereinafter referred to as "Semicommunication."); Stewart, "Outline," pp. 24-5; Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," p. 69; Jacob Ornstein, "Africa Seeks a Common Language," Review of Politics, XXVI (April 1964), 210; Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, Chapter I.

polity can be expected to become linguistically more homogeneous at a faster rate than a polity where negative intergroup attitudes prevail. And in the extreme case where a group's existence is believed threatened or the group for any other reason turns inward and seeks to preserve itself, its members will be likely to emphasize and cultivate the language historically identified with the group, and unlikely to abandon it for, or even supplement it with, another (even materially more rewarding) language.[1]

Here, then, for the third time, we are presented with a vicious-circle-or-chain-reaction situation. Intergroup linguistic dissimilarities may, through one or more of a variety of mechanisms, help cause intergroup attitudes to be dissimilar, negative, and unsolidary, and such attitudes may keep members of each group from learning the other group's language, even if they are taught it formally in school. This failure may maintain the prevailing negative attitudes, and even strengthen them in reaction to what will be resented as an attempt to impose an unwanted alien language on unappreciative or indignant objectors. Or, alternatively, the learning of the language of a despised group--perhaps induced by reward modification, general instructional embellishment, or the amelioration of negative group stereotypes[2]--may move intergroup attitudes in the direction of esteem, this attitudinal change may make language instruction more successful, and a more widespread and

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[1]Herder, J.G. Herder on Social and Political Culture, p. 173; Sutherlin, "Language Situation in East Africa," p. 66.

[2]Lambert et al., "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation," p. 488.

thorough learning of the other group's language may result, leading to a real appreciation of, and attitudinal assimilation to, the group itself.

Three ingredients of political integration have been singled out above: the communicational, the allocational, and the attitudinal. For each of these, a set of hypotheses has been summarized, linking the distribution of language knowledge (who knows what language or languages) with the integrational ingredient as both cause and effect. These hypotheses, which have various versions applicable to the properties of societies, groups, and individuals, can be condensed as follows:

(1) Language diversity impedes social communication, high and egalitarian political, social, and economic gratification, and attitudinal assimilation and collective identification.

(2) Each of these ingredients of political integration, whether desired and anticipated to result from language learning, whether attempted, whether incipient, or whether on-going, reduces language diversity by causing the beneficiaries or participants to engage in linguistically unificatory language learning.

(3) The direction in which the interaction of the linguistic and the integrational variables leads cannot be determined without a determination of the strength of the relationships in each direction under various boundary conditions.

As one step in the exploration of these hypotheses, responses to a pair of national sample surveys in Canada will be analyzed. Let us now take a look at this source of information.

CHAPTER III

TWO SURVEYS FROM CANADA: A SOURCE OF EVIDENCE FOR VERIFICATION

Three sets of hypotheses were presented in Chapter II, dealing with relationships between language and political integration. Let us now address the obvious question about them: whether they are true. Although Chapter I showed that "armchair" speculation has often been the way chosen to reach the answers to this question, this study will supplement what speculation it does contain with a series of confrontations between the hypotheses and empirical evidence. The evidence will be such that, before its examination, one could not know whether it would provide confirmation or disconfirmation of the hypotheses in question.

The evidence selected for analysis is two recent surveys which are concerned to a great extent with variables contained in one or another version of the hypotheses outlined above. These are the two national sample surveys conducted in Canada in 1965 under the auspices of that country's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The larger of the two is an interview survey of about four thousand persons aged nineteen and over. More than two hundred questions were asked, including questions on language knowledge, language learning experience, contacts with languages and language groups, perceptions of languages and language groups, experiences and knowledge of language policies and practices, attitudes toward languages and language groups

and toward language policies and practices, socioeconomic status, and general political attitudes. The other is a survey conducted by self-administered questionnaire, returned by over 1,300 persons between thirteen and twenty years old. This youth survey contains over a hundred questions, mainly on the same topics but less detailed and adapted to the younger target population.

The reasons for selecting these data to test hypotheses on language and political integration may be briefly summarized. First, the data in question are available and rather sparsely analyzed. Only one monograph has been based on the youth survey,[1] and it tests propositions which overlap only slightly with our own. No published work has emerged on the basis of the adult survey. Nor, to the author's knowledge, are these surveys being used in any major research projects which would be likely to duplicate his findings. In view of the cost of collecting survey data from samples of several thousand individuals, it need hardly be said that the thorough analysis of existing good data should precede the collection of new data under normal circumstances.

Second, surveys such as these have never before been conducted anywhere, as far as the author has been able to determine. Previous surveys relevant to these hypotheses have either contained but one or two relevant questions (e.g., censuses) or reached comparatively tiny or unrepresentative samples (e.g., questionnaires administered to students in a school). Thus these Canadian surveys offer a unique

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[1] Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society.

opportunity to discover relationships among a broad spectrum of linguistic and political behaviors for samples containing substantial representation of all characteristics frequent in the population of a whole polity. When it is remembered that such elementary and intriguing questions as, "How many people in Switzerland speak more than one language?" remain unanswered even today because of never-collected data, the value of the surveys conducted for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism will certainly be apparent.

Third, it is survey analysis, among the most often employed research tools, that seems to have been least applied to the relationships between language and politics. Not all hypotheses are testable by confrontation with the same type of data, for different hypotheses reference different properties of different entities and assert different kinds of relations between these properties. Each type of data has particular strengths and weaknesses. Focusing on the latter, we see that experimentation fails to reproduce real-world contextual conditions;[1] case histories suffer from quantitative imprecision (and, in fact, often from poor sub-ecological controls as well); aggregate data fail to give us information about individuals; and non-panel sample surveys do not record changes over time for particular respondents (except when relying on the latter's memories). Of course, each of these failings can be partly overcome by the use of reasonable assumptions and the application of information derived from other types of data. Also,

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[1] Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), Chapters III and IV.

some of these weaknesses are only typical and not necessarily inherent in the respective modes of exploration. But the fact that the difficulties are not absolute does not invalidate the conclusion that a thorough investigation of most social phenomena which--such as the present topic--involve individual- and collectivity-level variables in both static and over-time relationships will have something to gain from each of these species of data.

What is of interest in the case of hypotheses about language cleavages and political integration in this respect is that three of the data forms mentioned above have been more or less extensively applied, while one has almost never been used, to test them. Small-group experiments have been applied to test hypotheses linking various social and personality variables with language learning.[1] Case histories (occasionally comparative) of multilingual states giving substantial attention to their language problems are fairly numerous.[2] Studies based primarily on aggregate data are not common,[3] although

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[1]Several of these, which may more properly be called quasi-experiments, are reviewed in Lambert et al., "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation."

[2]E.g., Haugen, Language; Harrison, India: The Most Dangerous Decades; P. Friedrich, "Language and Politics in India"; Fishman, et al., Language Loyalty in the United States; Lorwin, "Belgium"; Kelly, "Belgium"; McRae, Switzerland; Mayer, "The Jura Problem"; Horowitz, "Multiracial Politics."

[3]Deutsch, Nationalism, is the outstanding example. See also Fishman, "Contrasts"; Rustow, "Language"; Pool, "National."

the use of some aggregate data in case studies is frequent. But a study seriously attempting to confront many of these hypotheses with a national sample survey has yet to be attempted, as far as I have been able to discover. The closest approaches that have been made have been based on surveys only fractionally concerned with the variables involved in these hypotheses, and the analyses themselves have been able to devote only limited attention to them.[1]

A fourth reason for the appropriateness of these data is that they come from a country that satisfies the boundary conditions stated in the hypotheses of Chapter II, and furthermore falls into the class of countries discussed in Chapter I, from whose experiences many of the Chapter II hypotheses can trace their origin. Canada is well known as a plural society in a single polity, and one which, in a comparative perspective, has relatively high political participation and norms of equal opportunity for economic mobility. The degree of political centralization for Canada might be described as moderate, but it has been high enough for centralization to be one of the major issues of Canadian politics from the beginning of the Confederation.

Above all, however, English-French relations constitute the perennial major cleavage and basis of conflict by most accounts. Why it is so that Canada has an intense ethno-linguistic cleavage and (again by most accounts) little class conflict is properly a subject for dis-

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[1]See, e.g., Stein Rokkan, "Geography, Religion, and Social Class: Crosscutting Cleavages in Norwegian Politics," Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives, ed. by Lipset and Rokkan, pp. 367-444; Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity.

cussion somewhere else, except that we might note in passing the obvious fact that language, religion, and region are especially highly coincident in Canada.[1] But Canada illustrates well the rise in salience of language as a political problem, surveyed in general terms in Chapter I. Language has slowly replaced religion as the apparently most salient cleavage, and has clearly replaced it as the main focus of dispute on educational policy,[2] at the same time as the other processes cited in Chapter I as alleged causes of the rise of language salience have been taking place.

In addition, the packages of linguistic variables surveyed in the first chapter have almost all been parts of the English-French conflict in Canada as well. Language position probably summarizes the crux of the dispute: Will French be given equal status with English? Will education in French be available in as complete a form and with as high a quality as in English? Will French be equally employed in business, in the Armed Forces, and in other institutions hitherto nearly monopolized by English? And will French equality at least be symbolized by the enshrinement of bilingualism in formal constitutions and biculturalism in a new national flag? Such were the questions being asked in the middle 1960's.

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[1] For some other reasons, see Robert R. Alford, Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), Chapters V and IX.

[2] Frederick C. Englemann and Mildred A. Schwartz, Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1967), pp. 225-34; RCB&B, II, 42-7; Alford, Party and Society, pp. 277-78. Cf. Belgium, for example.

Also very important in the Canadian context is the package of variables earlier termed language properties. The quality of spoken Canadian French has been a problem of constant concern in the minds of many French Canadians, but more important is the belief in the essential nature of the French language as one of the pillars (along with Roman Catholicism) on which depends the very highly valued survival of the French-Canadian way of life (la survivance).[1]

While the survival of French has not been in much doubt, its survival in Canada (and especially outside Quebec) has. It is in this special sense that we may also speak of language development being an issue in Canada. Both English and French are among the most highly developed languages by most standards, but French in Canada is little used in advanced technology, business, or government, and hence may be considered underdeveloped if viewed as a separate entity from the French of France.[2] In this situation, language knowledge also becomes important, and the adequate teaching of English to French Canadians (largely for occupational advancement) and of French to non-French Canadians (largely for the promotion of cultural exchange and formal equality) have been important concerns.

But central to our own focus--and to that of the Canadians' them-

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[1] And for evidence that those speaking English and those speaking French have fundamentally different world views, see Edward M. Corbett, Quebec Confronts Canada (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 192-93.

[2] Horace Miner, St. Denis: A French-Canadian Paris (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1963), pp. 34-5, describes the propensity of French-Canadian schoolchildren to retain English words for technical things and forget the French counterparts.

selves--are language unity and diversity. The dominant impression is that Canada has been unable to decide, since its confederation in 1867, whether it is one nation or two. The two surveys analyzed in this study were conducted at what may be a turning point in English-French relations. The late 1960's have been described by some as the time when the weight of English-Canadian opinion finally acknowledged the need to redress the grievances of the French Canadians, while the leading segments of French-Canadian opinion finally gave up hope of political compatibility between the "two races."[1] Whether or not public opinion was moving in the directions argued in this interpretation, it is clear that considerable changes in government policy toward ethnic relations have taken place, describable as large-scale attempts to overcome all three kinds of political disintegration associated with the ethno-linguistic split.

Inter-cultural communication has been given large Federal subsidies in such forms as grants for inter-provincial travel; a wide range of policies have been proposed and adopted for the equalization of the language rights and recruitment opportunities of French- and English-speaking Canadians throughout the country; and considerable effort has been expended to persuade the Canadian people of the desirability of a Canada united under a complex formula of bilingualism and biculturalism. Central to this latter campaign, and involved in the entire subject, has been the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and

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[1] E.g., Marcel Rioux, "Quebec: From a Minority Complex to Majority Behavior," Minorities and Politics, ed. by Henry J. Tobias and Charles E. Woodhouse (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), p. 50.

its two national surveys are both a product of the changed policy and a prospective source of guidance in further policymaking.

Although the surveys were closely connected with particular policies, they were actually conducted by reputable polling organizations, and, as far as the evidence shows, no connection with the Royal Commission or the Government of Canada was revealed to those who were asked to respond. The surveys can thus be treated like private ones and used for testing hypotheses other than those originally contemplated by the sponsoring agency. This is not to say that the present study is intended to be policy-irrelevant. But had direct policy application been a goal of this study, it would have pursued different approaches. The policy relevance that may be expected from the approach followed here is that which arises from knowledge about the truth or falsity of hypotheses which are often implicitly assumed to be true by those who make policy. This knowledge, in turn, will attain high generality and hence long-run usefulness when the range of different conditions under which regularities are known to obtain becomes many times wider than that available for examination in Canada of 1965 alone.

Besides being appropriate, Canada is a fruitful context for empirical investigation because of the other knowledge that is available about that country. Canada is a well-described country, compared with many others, and the broad strokes of a picture of language-group relations in that country have also been well painted. This fact allows us to supply information (in the form of assumptions) which is missing in the survey data themselves but which helps us better utilize the

data, especially in performing controls. For this purpose we can use analyses of census and other aggregate data,[1] analyses of other surveys,[2] analyses of mixed types of data,[3] and analyses based on personal observation.[4]

The fact that the English-French cleavage is commonly accepted as the major one in Canada provides an example of the need to treat all findings of this study as tentative, so far as hypothesis confirmation is concerned. Suppose we discover that the speakers of English in Canada are more likely to name the United States as Canada's best friend and speakers of French are most likely to name France. Does this mean that citizens of a multilingual state tend to have the highest regard for the countries where the language they speak is prevalent, or that citizens of plural countries where C is the major cleavage tend to have the highest regard for the countries where the predominant value of C is the same as their own? The answer is that it means neither. It means that both hypotheses should be investigated. In other words, where alternative explanations are available, further comparative research is in order. But it would not be surprising at

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[1] E.g., Stanley Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970).

[2] E.g., Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity; Peter Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude: Parties and Voting in Canada: An Interpretation (Don Mills, Ontario: Longmans Canada, Ltd., 1965).

[3] E.g., Porter, The Vertical Mosaic.

[4] E.g., Miner, St. Denis; Peter Desbarats, The State of Quebec: A Journalist's View of the Quiet Revolution (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965).

all if the findings of this study could be replicated only in societies where language is at least one of the most salient cleavages. Many of the survey questions themselves presuppose salience, for it is often only as a result of salience that awareness, and hence reliable responses or previous opinion-formation, can be assumed.

As between hypotheses dealing with cleavage in general and hypotheses about specific cleavages, this study clearly chooses to test the latter (i.e., hypotheses about language cleavages). This choice is based largely on interest and convenience, not on a belief in the superiority of one approach over the other. Empirical analysis may be described as the search for successful generalizations, and of the two approaches just mentioned the one is ordinarily stronger on generality and the other more likely to lead to success. Perhaps symptomatic of this difference, though by no means a ground for deprecating the first approach, is the fact that a recent volume written in that tradition justifies its assumption of mutual exclusiveness of cleavage-produced groups by noting that "A French Canadian may speak English in addition to French, but this does not mean that he is likely to behave as anything other than a member of the political group defined by his mother tongue."[1] Our analysis, however, uncovers numerous behavioral differences between monolingual and bilingual French Canadians, including differences in the likelihood of identifying oneself as a French Canadian at all. But just as general theories of cleavage are

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[1]Douglas W. Rae and Michael Taylor, The Analysis of Political Cleavages (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 15.

bound to miss such peculiarities of linguistic cleavage as language learning, which has no exact analog among the other primordial affiliations, so a specialized study such as this will necessarily find itself restricted in the domain of its application. Undoubtedly prudence dictates a long-run strategy of escalation and deescalation on the ladder of abstraction.

Limitations on the usefulness of these surveys will, of course, be encountered. The surveys do not ask all the questions one would have liked, but to a certain degree each survey can be used to fill gaps left in the other. A few important (for our purposes) questions on the youth survey happen to be more detailed than the corresponding adult questions. The youth survey, for example, asks exactly how many years the respondent has studied English or French in school, while the adult survey asks only whether the respondent took the language at all in school. Thus both surveys will be useful for the testing of hypotheses listed in Chapter II. As for other limitations, data of this sort are inappropriate, by themselves, for the testing of those hypotheses which compare the properties of polities; and, having been collected at one point in time only, they will be of limited use for discriminating temporal sequences, with the result that confirmation of synchronic hypotheses will be more practicable than confirmation of hypotheses about sequences, except where sequences are specifically asked about, or inferrable from the questions asked.

The discussion that follows will thus have the task of employing reasonable assumptions to reduce the damage done by these weaknesses,

while at the same time exploiting the strengths peculiar to data of this kind. The possibilities and limits will depend on what questions were asked and what assumptions it is reasonable to make and will thus vary from topic to topic. For convenience the three subdivisions--communicational, allocational, and attitudinal--of our inquiry will be undertaken serially.

CHAPTER IV

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATIONAL INTEGRATION

Chapter II brought together a number of hypotheses, found in previous work, linking language cleavage patterns and political integration. The first set of these propositions dealt with what was called the communicational ingredient, and they lead us to expect communicational differences, in any population, between those who do and those who do not share the language of another group or between those who do and those who do not know the language of government and administration.

Canada has a population in which there are certain commonly identified groups (in this case, ethnic groups) each of which is largely coterminous with the set of speakers of a particular language. It seems reasonable to expect that in such a country a person outside any given one of these identification groups will be more likely to have contact with members of that group if he knows its characteristic language than if he does not. The Canadian adult survey conducted under the auspices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism asked specifically about two such groups, the "English Canadians" and the "French Canadians." The responses to questions about contact with these groups show[1] that the Canadian population behaves as this hypothesis predicts.

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[1] Subject to our ability to make inferences about the population's behavior from the samples' responses. See below.

The Basic Finding

Non-English Canadians responding to the adult survey who could speak English were more likely to say they had contact with English Canadians than were non-English Canadians who did not speak English. Likewise, non-French Canadians who spoke French were more likely to have contact with French Canadians than were those who did not speak French. This result is shown in Table 4.1-A. On the surface, the figures in Table 4.1-A constitute clear evidence for the truth of the hypothesis that individuals outside a group, but sharing the main language of the group, are more likely to communicate with the group's members than are outsiders who do not share the language. On the other hand, the reader would be justified in asking for clarifications, additional tests, or both, on at least five points, dealing with (1) the sample, (2) the instrument, (3) the unit of aggregation, (4) the boundary conditions, and (5) the conclusions to be inferred.

The Sample

The first point, about the sample, is equally important throughout the presentation of data, and the reader interested in pursuing it may turn to Appendix A, where the sampling procedures followed are described. The hypotheses being tested are, of course, what dictates how appropriate or inappropriate any given sampling procedure is. In our case, however, the available data are sample data, and the sample was drawn by a particular procedure which we can do nothing now to change. Thus the hypotheses to be tested must be formulated in such a way as to be testable by confrontation with the available data, rather than vice versa.

TABLE 4.1-A[a]

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND INTER-GROUP CONTACT

Non-English Canadians				
		Can Speak Any English? Yes	No	Total
Know or have contact with English Canadians?	Yes	89%	31%	79%
	No	11%	69%	21%
	N	1371	263	1634
Non-French Canadians				
		Can Speak Any French? Yes	No	Total
Know or have contact with French Canadians?	Yes	80%	48%	60%
	No	20%	52%	40%
	N	703	1132	1835

[a]The number of this table is suffixed with the letter "A" to indicate that the table is based on the adult survey. Tables and figures based on the youth survey have numbers ending in "Y", and those based on the Census of Canada have numbers ending in "C".

The percentages and totals in all tables and figures based on the surveys are unreweighted and therefore overrepresent the oversampled strata, namely those with French names outside Quebec and those without French names in Quebec.

As Appendix A shows, the sampling procedure followed in the collection of the Canadian data is not entirely clear, and at least one of the existing descriptions of this procedure suggests that some systematic errors in procedure may have been committed, with the effect of making it impossible to reweight the responses so as to estimate how an unstratified random sample of the Canadian population would have responded. If so, hypotheses intended to apply only to the entire populations, or random samples of the entire populations, of political communities, or polities, cannot be tested with these data.[1] By the same token, the data would not permit us to make estimates about the proportions of the Canadian population that exhibit various characteristics.

We can, however, use the available data to test hypotheses formulated to apply to the members of a population no matter how weighted.[2] It would be possible in this analysis to reweight the responses in such a way as probably to increase the resemblance of the (reweighted) sample to a random sample of the Canadian population; but since the increased resemblance would be only probable (i.e., based on some assumptions about what sampling procedure was actually employed), and since any reweighting

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[1] The only exception would be deterministic hypotheses about individuals, i.e., hypotheses asserting that particular conditions have particular consequences for every single person. No such hypotheses, however, are realistic in this area of inquiry.

[2] The samples that were selected for these surveys must constitute random samples of the Canadian population weighted by some (presently unknown) rule. If a series of such general hypotheses are true, it follows that the series of hypotheses formed from the first series by specifying a one-person-one-weight rule must also be true as a special case.

at all would make it difficult to make even casual estimates of the statistical significance of small differences and differences between small subsets of respondents, no reweighting of the responses will be performed in this analysis.

The Instrument

Although we shall not attempt to infer anything about the Canadian population from what we learn about the samples, we shall indeed want to draw inferences from reports of activity, or even reports of propensities, to activity itself. This gap carries our discussion to the second of the five questions, dealing with the survey instruments. The reader may discover the precise definitional path from survey questions to tabulated variables for Table 4.1-A and for the figures and tables to follow by referring to the list of tables and figures and the list of definitions of variables in Appendix C, which in turn refers to the questionnaires reproduced in Appendix B. Having thus discovered what responses are being related to one another in the text, the reader may still ask whether these responses can be accepted as evidence about every-day behavior. The analysis which follows does accept most of the responses as true reports.[1]

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[1] Nevertheless, the unreliability of questionnaire responses as predictors of ordinary behavior is a subject of much concern and should be kept in mind. It is reasonable to believe that a person's response to a questionnaire item asking, "Do you think the Federal Government should offer more jobs to French Canadians?" would be fairly predictive of his response to the same question asked on a referendum ballot, while his response to a surveyor's question, "Would you refuse to give an important job to a qualified French Canadian?" would not be highly predictive of whether he would practice job discrimination against the group. There is evidence to support such expectations (Joshua A. Fishman, "Bilingual

Regardless of this assumption, it should be noted that there is no way to be sure how the terms "English Canadians" and "French Canadians" were understood by the various respondents to the adult survey. An attempt was made to exclude from Table 4.1-A those respondents who might consider themselves and their family English Canadians or French

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Attitudes and Behaviors," Language Sciences, No. 5 (1969), pp. 5-11 [Hereinafter referred to as "Bilingual 7], as well as evidence casting doubt on the reliability of self-diagnoses of foreign-language proficiency, a matter which will receive some further comment below (Joshua A. Fishman and Charles Terry, "The Validity of Census Data on Bilingualism in a Puerto Rican Neighborhood," American Sociological Review, XXXIV, No. 5 (1969), 636-50; Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, pp. 17-20.)

The kinds of data between which investigators of this subject area have been able to choose up to now are, for the most part, reliable data about the laboratory-controlled or sometimes every-day behavior of small groups of individuals, on the one hand, and self-reported data about the every-day behavior of populations (in the case of censuses) or samples thereof, on the other. This study aims to draw some useful conclusions from data of the latter sort, in spite of their low reliability, primarily by concentrating on strong associations and by testing particular forms of hypotheses.

In general, hypotheses will not be formulated deterministically, e.g.,

If M = u, then P = w

where capital letters represent variables and small letters represent values. Rather they will take a probabilistic form, e.g.,

If u > v, then

$$\frac{n(M_u \,\&\, P_w)}{n(M_u)} > \frac{n(M_v \,\&\, P_w)}{n(M_v)}$$

where n(x) represents the number of individuals possessing characteristic x, I_j represents the value j on the variable I, and the symbol "&" represents the logical intersection. Refined versions of our hypotheses will in general, as explained below, incorporate boundary conditions, i.e., additional restrictions on the properties of the individuals being compared, thus taking the form

If u > v, then

$$\frac{n(A_r \&B_s \& \ldots \&L_t \&M_u \&P_w)}{n(A_r \&B_s \& \ldots \&L_t \&M_u)} > \frac{n(A_r \&B_s \& \ldots \&L_t \&M_v \&P_w)}{n(A_r \&B_s \ldots \&L_t \&M_v)}$$

Canadians on grounds other than linguistic. Thus into the category of respondents, the author calls "non-English Canadians" have been admitted only those whose paternal ancestry was not English, not Scotch, and not Irish; neither of whose parents spoke only English as principal home language; and who gave their own ethnic identities as other than "English Canadian." The category of "non-French Canadians," in addition to applying analogous criteria, also excludes everyone whose family name was classified as French by the polling organization.[1]

The questions themselves were simplified in Table 4.1-A in two ways. First, only the definite responses were tallied, excluding qualified and "don't know" answers. This practice will be followed throughout the study, except where noted. The second simplification, of more import, was to collapse the available categories into one positive and one negative response. In fact, however, the survey does permit us to refine the association presented in Table 4.1-A by incorporating graduated, rather than dichotomous, properties. It is to be expected not only that those who share a language will be more likely to have contact, but also that those who do have contact will have it more often if they share a language. Adult survey respondents were allowed to describe the frequency of their contacts on a scale of four expressions. Wherever we drew a line cutting the scale of contact, we

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[1] If the ambiguous information about how the data were coded has been misinterpreted, this additional exclusion criterion will turn out to have been only approximated. See Appendix A.

find that a higher percentage of speakers than of non-speakers turn up above the line, i.e., in the group of more frequent contacters. Table 4.2-A shows this by the fact that in each row the percentage in the "Yes" column is greater than the one in the "No" column.

A similar pattern emerges if we refine what we mean by language competence, just as has been done for the notion of contact. The adult questionnaire allows us to categorize each respondent as having one of five levels of (subjective) competence in English and in French. When we do this, we find that contact rate is a monotonically increasing function of language competence wherever the number of cases is large. Specifically, the proportion among those with a given competence level in English or French having more than any particular frequency of contact with the English or French Canadians, respectively, is invariably higher than the corresponding proportion among those with any lower level of competence in the language, except for small reversals in a category with only fourteen respondents. The extent of these differences is portrayed in Fig. 4.3-A.

Those who have contact with English or French Canadians are not only more likely to have <u>frequent</u> contact if they know the group's language, but are also more likely to have friends in the group. The youth survey provides an opportunity to show this connection, by asking each person who filled out the English version of the questionnaire whether he had close French-speaking friends; and vice versa. Table 4.4-Y shows that those who had neighbors or had (or <u>had</u> had when last in school) classmates speaking the other language (and thus were in a position to develop

TABLE 4.2-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND DEGREE OF INTER-GROUP CONTACT

Non-English Canadians				
		Can Speak Any English? Yes	No	Total
Percentage having contact with English Canadians with at least indicated frequency, among those having contact at all.	Medium	91%	72%	90%
	High	70%	26%	67%
	N	1199	79	1278
Non-French Canadians				
		Can Speak Any French? Yes	No	Total
Percentage having contact with French Canadians with at least indicated frequency, among those having contact at all.	Medium	89%	82%	85%
	High	61%	51%	56%
	N	557	537	1094

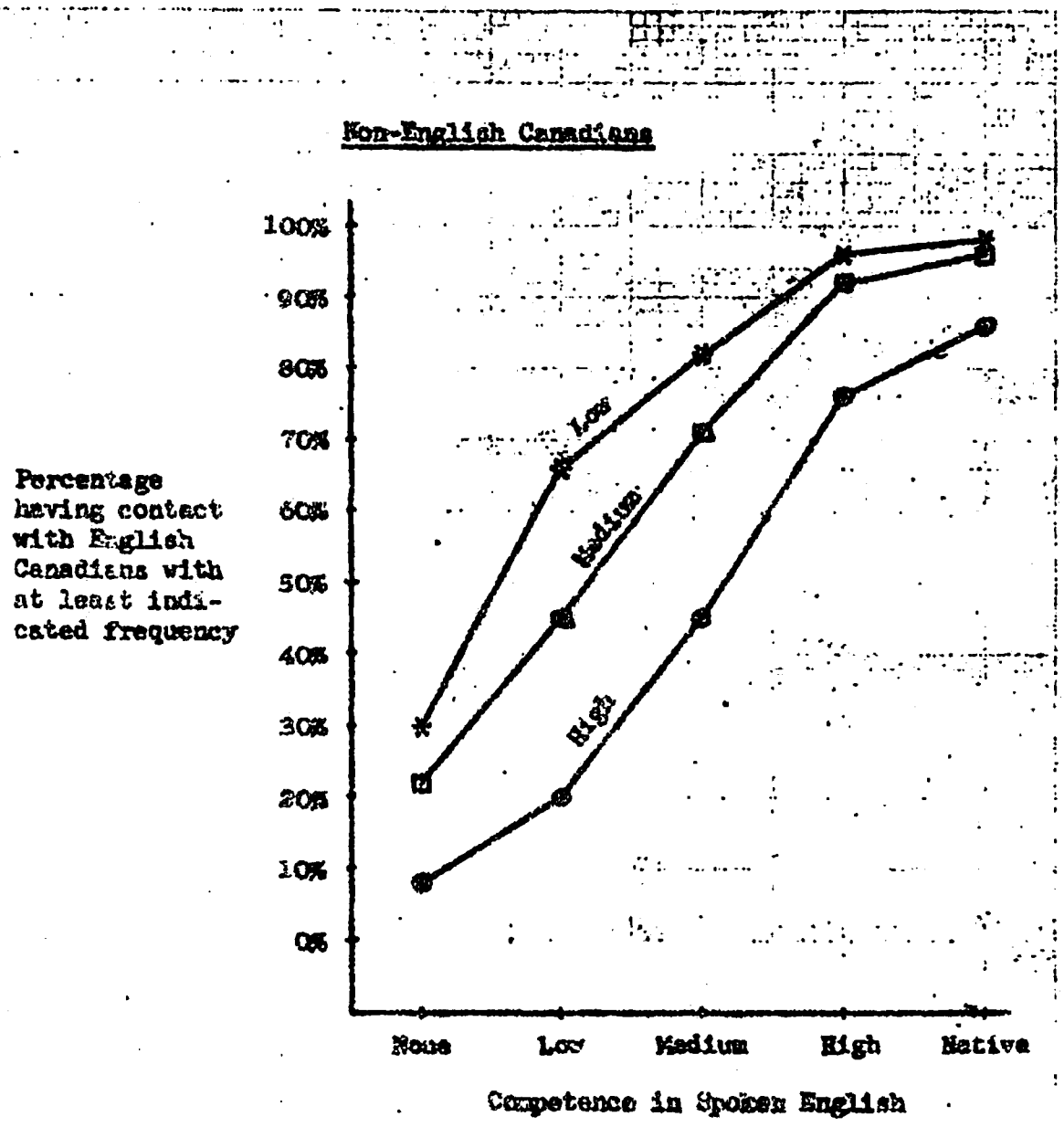

Fig. 4.3-A--Degree of Language Competence and Degree of Inter-Group Contact

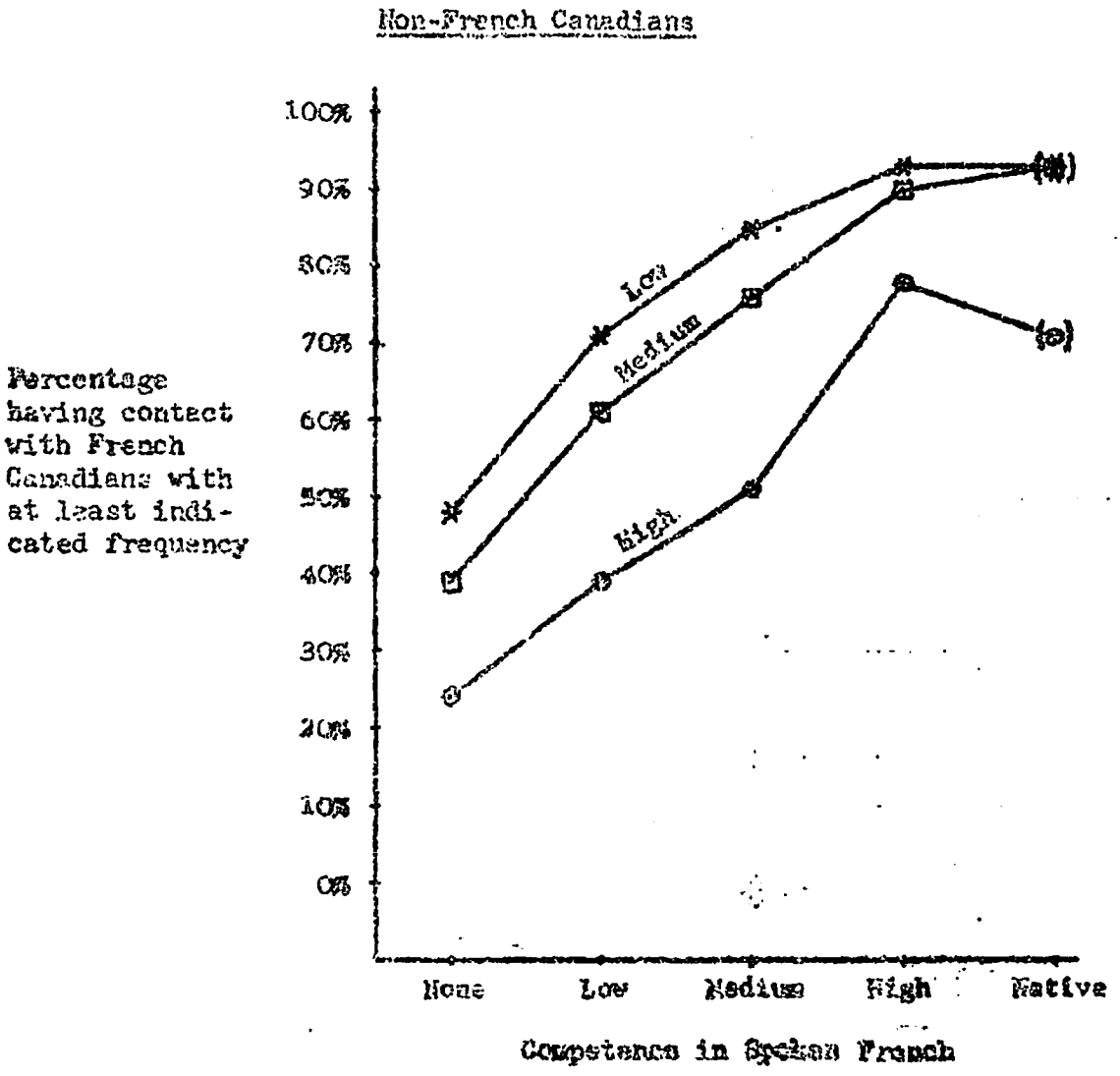

Fig. 4.3-A--Degree of Language Competence and Degree of Inter-Group Contact[a]

[a]All percentages based on N's (totals) of less than 50 have been parenthesized here and in subsequent tables and figures.

TABLE 4.4-Y

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND INTER-GROUP FRIENDSHIP

French Speakers Who Have English-Speaking Classmates or Neighbors				
		Competence in Spoken English		
		More than Low	Low or None	Total
Have close English-speaking friends?	Yes	67%	40%	62%
	No	33%	60%	38%
	N	290	73	363
English Speakers Who Have French-Speaking Classmates or Neighbors				
		Competence in Spoken French		
		More than Low	Low or None	Total
Have close French-speaking friends?	Yes	62%	55%	60%
	No	38%	45%	40%
	N	278	125	403

cross-lingual friendships) were more likely to have close friends who spoke the other language if they themselves spoke it than if they did not.

This result is paralleled by the responses of the adult sample to a question about preferences for English-Canadian and French-Canadian friends. Among those non-members of each ethnic group who had contact with its members, the ones knowing how to speak the group language more often volunteered the information that some of their best friends were from the group, when asked whether they would like to have such friends. While only 8 per cent of the non-English Canadians who did not know English but had English-Canadian contacts volunteered that they had English Canadians among their best friends, 26 per cent of those who knew English at all and had contacts with English Canadians made this claim. The corresponding figures for non-French Canadians having members of that group among their best friends are 26 per cent and 30 per cent.

The Unit of Aggregation

Whether crude or refined, then, the measures of language competence and inter-group contact have with each other the expected associations when applied to samples of youths and adults in the Canadian population. It would be surprising if these associations should exist only at the Federal level and not also within other units of aggregation, e.g., each region or province. On the other hand, it is to be expected, for example, that Quebec has the lowest rate of English competence among non-English Canadians and the highest rate of French competence among

non-French Canadians, and also has the lowest rate of contact with English Canadians by non-English Canadians and the highest rate of contact with French Canadians by non-French Canadians. Such a set of facts might conceivably account for the nationwide differences in contact rates between those with different competences in English and French, and these differences might disappear within Quebec and within the other regions of Canada. This possibility brings us to the problem posed by the third question of the five, the one on the unit of aggregation.

Before seeing whether the associations discovered above persist when examined separately for various regions, it must be decided what the regions are in which the associations are suspected of weakening or vanishing. One constraint is provided by the surveys themselves. Five regions, in the case of the adult survey, and ten provinces, in the case of the youth survey, are the smallest geographical units that the data released for processing permit us to use conveniently as subordinate units of aggregation. Findings by students of Canadian politics about regional differences usually discuss such differences in terms of the five regions defined in the adult survey.[1] Separate tabulations for all five regions, however, will in many cases reduce the number of respondents in each so much that very confident guesses about responses of the population[2] cannot be made. Therefore, such compromises as

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[1] See, e.g., Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity, pp. 146-58.

[2] I.e., the population weighted as the sample was.

dividing the country into Quebec and non-Quebec, or into the Atlantic provinces, Quebec, and Canada west of Quebec, will often be required, and usually only variables with two values (e.g., "high" and "low") will be amenable to regional analysis. In order to select suitable compromise regional divisions, we can rely on descriptions of regional variations to be found in the literature of Canadian politics and society, and on exploratory plots of the five standard regions or the ten provinces on pairs of variables in whose interrelation we are interested.

In the case of the relationship between language competence and inter-group contact, the most common distinction made by those who have described the Canadian situation is between Quebec and the rest of Canada. A plot of the five standard regions on one competence variable and one contact variable for each of the two official languages, shown in Fig. 4.5-A, confirms that the greatest deviation on both variables is that of Quebec from the rest of the regions, and that Quebec deviates in such a way as to arouse suspicion that the nationwide association between these two types of variables may decrease when Quebec and the rest of Canada are considered separately. Fig. 4.5-A also suggests that the Atlantic region be separated from the rest when the relation between English competence and English-Canadian contacts is examined.

The decrease in association between these two variables resulting when the regions are taken one at a time is far from total, however. As Table 4.6-A shows, it is still true <u>within</u> each region that when the

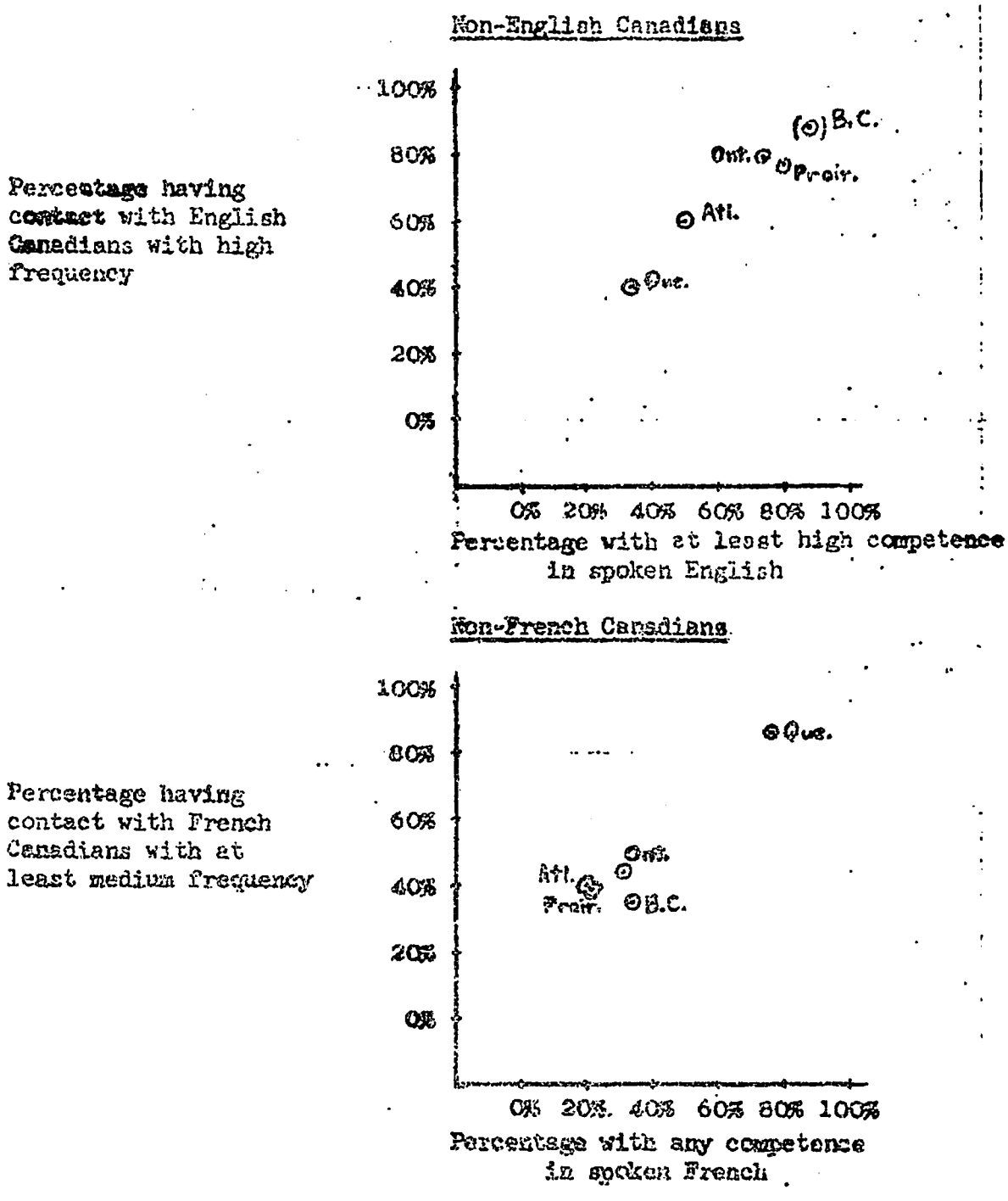

Fig. 4.5-A--Regional Differences in Language Competence and Inter-Group Contact

TABLE 4.6-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND INTER-GROUP CONTACT
WITHIN REGIONS

		Non-English Canadians		
		Competence in Spoken English		
		High or Native	Less than High	Total
Percentage having contact with English Canadians with high frequency in:	Quebec	76%	21%	39%
	Atlantic	80%	41%	60%
	Canada west of Quebec	84%	62%	79%
	Canada	80%	28%	53%
		Non-French Canadians		
		Competence in Spoken French		
		Any	None	Total
Percentage having contact with French Canadians with at least medium frequency in:	Quebec	90%	74%	86%
	Rest of Canada	55%	36%	41%
	Canada	71%	39%	51%

scales of language competence and ethnic-group contact are approximately dichotomized, a higher proportion of those competent in the relevant language had contacts with each ethnic group. In other words, the differences in language competence distributions and in contact rates between one region and another do not account for the interpersonal associations that we have seen between the magnitudes of these two phenomena.

To the extent that we can perform the same operations on the responses dealing with close inter-ethnic friendships, the same general pattern emerges. Both in and outside of Quebec, young persons, whether speakers of English or speakers of French, were more likely to have speakers of the other official language as close friends if they themselves spoke the other language with at least medium-high competence than if they did not. The figures showing this association are in Table 4.7-Y. The same pattern is confirmed by the adult survey responses. Both in and outside of Quebec, those with a given competence in English or French were somewhat more likely than those below them to claim English Canadians or French Canadians, respectively, among their best friends.

The Boundary Conditions

While using regional units of aggregation will conveniently reduce the variation of many properties whose effects on the relationships being studied we would like temporarily to disregard, it is certainly proper to control specifically for some variables which are hypothesized to make a difference, rather than to rely merely on the omnibus and largely

TABLE 4.7-Y

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND INTER-GROUP FRIENDSHIP WITHIN REGIONS.

Percentage with close friends of other official language, among those whose home language and region of residence are:	Competence in Other Official Language		
	High or Medium-High	Less than Medium-High	Total
French, Quebec	66%	34%	45%
French, rest of Canada	80%	(42%)	73%
French, Canada	72%	34%	53%
English, Quebec	61%	(36%)	52%
English, rest of Canada	44%	30%	33%
English, Canada	49%	30%	36%

unmeasured controlling effect of regional comparison.[1] It is such specific controls that are called for in response to the fourth of the five questions above, that referring to boundary conditions.

It was suggested above that the strength of the competence-contact relationship would depend on the relative dominance or subordination of the language concerned. Since only where a language is relatively dominant must others learn it in order to communicate with its native speakers, one might expect the relationship between language competence and contact to be weak or to vanish for each language wherever it is weak. In light of this expectation, it is no wonder that the nation-wide associations are much stronger on the English side than on the French side. Looking at Fig. 4.8-A (based on Table 4.1-A), we see that there is a 58 per cent difference between the proportions having contact with English Canadians among those non-English Canadians who did and those who did not speak English, while the corresponding difference on the French side is only 32 per cent. As one would expect, given the fact that there are more English Canadians than French Canadians in the population,[2] the former were known or contacted by a

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[1]The rationale behind the investigation of relationships using lower units of aggregation is not that "region" is a variable or property believed to cause variations in other properties, but rather that many properties are known, and others are assumed, to vary from one region to another in a country, such as Canada, with considerable provincial autonomy and isolation. Well known regional differences in Canada include those of the distributions of religious and ethnic groups, economic activities, political party strengths, and social and political attitudes.

[2]If these groups are defined by national origin, however, the difference in numbers if fairly small. In 1961, 44 per cent of the popu-

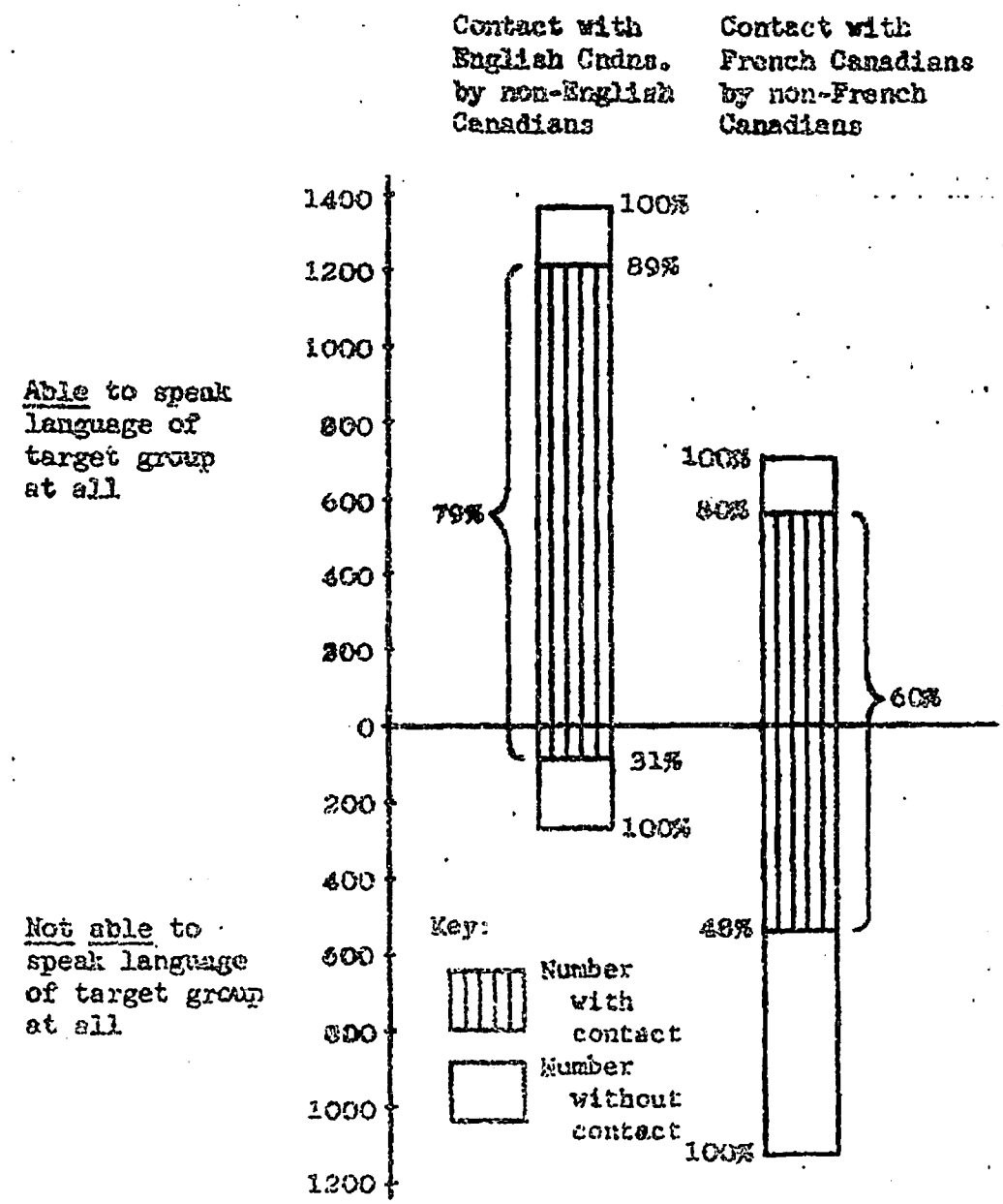

Fig. 4.8-A--Group Differences in Language Competence and Inter-Group Contact

larger portion of the remaining sample than were the French Canadians (79 per cent vs. 60 per cent in the adult sample). But the difference in contact rates between speakers and non-speakers was so much smaller for contacts with French Canadians, that among those who did not know the language concerned, the English-French discrepancy is reversed. Almost half of the non-French Canadians who did not know French nevertheless had contact with French Canadians, while under a third of the non-English Canadians who did not know English had contact with the more numerous English Canadians.

Among those with contact, frequent contact with English Canadians was likewise more common than frequent contact with French Canadians, no matter what the threshold of frequency be, but, as can be seen in Table 4.2-A, precisely the opposite inequality holds when only those who were ignorant of the primary language of the contacted group are considered. While over half of those who had contact with French Canadians yet knew no French still had such contacts with high frequency, less than one-third of those who did not know English but had contact with English Canadians saw them frequently.

The pattern discovered for contacts and, among contactors, for frequency of contact has been that English Canadians are contacted more than French Canadians by others who know the corresponding language, but less than French Canadians by others who do not know the language.[1]

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lation had British and 30 per cent had French ancestry (Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, p. 37). The fact that the terms may be commonly interpreted in a non-ancestral fashion will receive some comment below.

[1] "Others" includes French Canadians among the contactors of English Canadians and vice versa.

Because so many more non-English Canadians could speak English than non-French Canadians who could speak French, however, the total rate of contacting or frequent contacting turned out to be substantially higher for contacts with English Canadians.

The English-French discrepancy is similar but not quite the same for inter-group friendship. In this case, the figures reported above show little difference when attention is confined to those who, in addition to having contact with the target group, also knew its language. The adult survey shows a 4 per cent difference in one direction, the youth survey a 1 per cent difference in the other. As before, however, those who contacted but did not speak the language of the French Canadians were substantially more likely to claim them as good friends than those in the same position vis-à-vis the English Canadians. As a result, the overall advantage of the English Canadians as contactees largely disappears in the case of friendships, when the effect of the more widespread knowledge of English is accounted for.

While it might lead to speculation that English Canadians make contacts more easily than they make friends, this difference between the distribution of friendships and the distribution of contact in general should not obscure a pattern that is more relevant to the present discussion. As was the case with contact in general and with frequency of contact, so it is with friendly contacts, that the difference between those with and those without competence in the language of the contacted group is greater for contact or friendship with English Canadians than for contact or friendship with French Canadians. As Table 4.7-Y shows,

for example, French speakers with at least medium-high competence in English were 38 per cent more likely to have close English-speaking friends than French speakers without such competence, while the same difference in the other direction was only 19 per cent. In a descriptively statistical sense, it consistently makes a difference--for contact, frequency of contact, and friendship--whether or not people speak the predominant language of the contacted group, and it equally consistently makes more of a difference whether they speak English than whether they speak French.

If we take as given the widely accepted allegation that English is dominant and French subordinate in Canada, especially for our purposes in the sense that English-French contacts (and even many French-French contacts) take place generally in English rather than in French,[1] then the result just summarized is what would be expected in light of the hypothesis that the association between competence and contact will depend upon the strength of the target language in the area. But the same hypothesis predicts that the difference between the strengths of the two competence-contact associations will vary from one area to another within Canada, and will even reverse itself wherever French is dominant.

Just what to expect is not clear, however, because there is some doubt about whether French is dominant (or English is subordinate)

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[1] Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, p. 75; Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, pp. 29, 50.

anywhere at all in Canada. Lieberson's data suggest that the learning of French by English speakers and the learning of English by French speakers approach equality when communities are about 80 per cent French and 20 per cent English,[1] and it might be reasonable to expect that the relative strengths of the English and French competence-contact associations would reverse themselves in areas of very high French-Canadian composition. By their nature, however, extremely high-French areas render few non-French Canadian members in a sample unless the minority is oversampled much more than was done for the Royal Commission surveys, and because of limited numbers such a set of areas cannot be singled out for analysis of the behavior of non-French Canadians.

As an alternative, then, for each ethnic group the country has been divided into two types of areas in such a way as to leave a large number of respondents in each set of areas. For contacts with English Canadians, areas of "English weakness" were defined as polling districts populated more than 75 per cent by people of French origin, located in electoral districts 70 per cent or more French in origin, and also located in Quebec. For contacts with French Canadians, areas of "French weakness" were defined as polling districts 25 per cent or less French in origin, located in electoral districts less than 30 per cent French in origin, and also located outside Quebec.[2]

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[1] Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, pp. 47-8.

[2] Ibid., p. 24, for a finding that supports incorporating several ecological levels in a definition of strength and weakness.

For each of the two main ethnic groups, the association between language competence and group contact in areas where the group's language was "weak" was compared with the same association in areas where the group's language was not "weak." Table 4.9-A shows that in most of the pairs for which the comparison procedure that was used[1] produced an ordering, the association was weaker in areas where the language of the target group was "weak," just as our hypothesis predicted. This predicted pattern within each language, however, was not strong enough to give any evidence of regional reversals in the English-French divergence. As is also shown in Table 4.9-A, the competence-contact association for English, even in areas of English "weakness" where this association was depressed, was still stronger than the same association for French in areas where French was not "weak" and the French association was thus amplified. And this difference between the two languages (or the two ethnic groups), being true without exception wherever the comparison procedure provided an ordering, was

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[1]The following procedure for comparison of percentage differences was employed. Let A and B denote the variables whose association, with A arbitrarily designated the independent variable, is to be compared for any two values of C, a boundary variable, where A, B, and C are all categorized variables and where A and B are categorized ordinally. Let A and B be each dichotomized at all possible points and let all dichotomizations of B be crosstabulated with all dichotomizations of A for each of the two values of C, to be denoted by C_i and C_j. Then let every crosstabulation for C_i be compared with every crosstabulation for C_j. A crosstabulation for C_i and a crosstabulation for C_j shall be said to be ordered if and only if the crosstabulations do not display the same percentage difference and the crosstabulation displaying the greater percentage difference also contains at least one cell percentage as low as or lower than all cell percentages in the other crosstabulation.

TABLE 4.9-A

AREAL LANGUAGE "WEAKNESS," LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, AND INTER-GROUP CONTACT

	Total Comparisons	Ordered Comparisons	Of These, Stronger for: C_i	Of These, Stronger for: C_j
C_i = Target English, English Not "Weak" C_j = Target English, English "Weak"	81	30	25	5
C_i = Target French, French Not "Weak" C_j = Target French, French "Weak"	81	19	13	6
C_i = Target English, English "Weak" C_j = Target French, French Not "Weak"	81	28	28	0

thus more consistent than the difference within each language between its areas of "weakness" and non-"weakness." In this sense we can say that, of the two differences predicted by the hypothesis being discussed, both were found, but the one based on the assumption of English dominance over French in Canada was found to be stronger than the one based on the assumption that the relative strengths of the two languages vary inside Canada with the relative numbers of their ethnic groups in regional populations.

The Conclusions to be Inferred

How can these results be interpreted? This is the fifth, or inference, question. We have seen that the greater a non-English Canadian's competence in English, the more likely he is to have contact, frequent contact, or friendly contact with English Canadians, whether Canada is considered as a whole, it is observed one region at a time, or the areas of relative political and numerical domination and subordination of the language are considered separately. The same finding has been made with respect to competence in French and contact with French Canadians, although the magnitude of this effect was found to be consistently lower than that for the English Canadians.

It seems reasonable to conclude from a comparison of the English and French relationships that if competence and contact covary less where the language is "weaker," than French is "weaker" than English throughout Canada, except perhaps in areas that are so highly French-populated that no comparison was possible. This finding would corroborate what has been argued (on the basis of different kinds of data) most recently by

Lieberson, i.e., that English-French contacts take place largely in English, the English-Canadian rate of bilingualism is far below that of the French Canadians almost everywhere, and the economic penalties for not knowing English are, even in Quebec, higher than those for not knowing French.[1] (The latter point will be dealt with in the following chapter.) Conversely, if we take this pervasive domination by English as given, then the relationships shown above can be accepted as evidence compatible with the hypothesis just mentioned.

Meanwhile, what meaning can we assign to the basic relationship between language competence and inter-group contact? If even in Quebec it is the French who must predominantly learn English in order to engage in English-French communication, why are non-French Canadians even in other parts of the country still the more likely to have contact with French Canadians there, the better the former speak French? And why is it the case that under a third of the non-English Canadians who know no English have any contact with English Canadians (with little more than a fourth of those who do so having frequent contact), while of those non-English Canadians who do not speak English as their principal home language but are fluent in it all but 4 per cent have contact with English Canadians (and for over three-fourths of these the contacts are frequent)? Does knowledge of the other group's language cause people to have contacts with its members, does ignorance of the language keep them from having such contact, does contact make one learn the language, or

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[1] Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, passim.

does an absence of contact keep one from learning it?

For one answer to the inference question, we have seen that substantial numbers of people who are ignorant of English or French nevertheless have contacts with the members of the corresponding ethnic group, even in areas where the latter are unlikely to know any language but their own. Knowledge of the other language cannot, then, be said to be an absolute prerequisite for contacts with its speakers. Presumably "contacts" include nonverbal and ritualized verbal interactions which require practically no proficiency in the predominant language and which, if they lead to the acquisition of such competence, at least do not do so instantaneously. As we have seen, however, language competence is not even a prerequisite for deeper interactions than mere contacts: of the 24 French-speaking young people outside Quebec whose English was not good enough to "carry on a conversation," ten still had close English-speaking friends. Linguistic ignorance, then, is not an absolute barrier to some types of contact with groups normally speaking only a different language.[1]

On the other hand, we have found it rare for a person to know the other language well if he does not have contact with the ethnic group concerned. Does this mean that proficiency in another language, once acquired, leads a person to seek out the language's speakers as friends and contacts, even where they are not found in large numbers? Or does

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[1]Note, however, following Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, p. 204, that the tiny fraction of English speakers outside Quebec who can speak French may constitute a large segment of the English-Canadian associates of the tiny fraction of native French speakers there who still cannot speak English.

it mean that a command of the language is not usually acquired in the first place without immersion into the life of its native speakers?

While the data presented so far do not allow us to answer these questions, other information contained in the surveys may bring us somewhat closer to an answer. If we consider those non-English Canadians who at the time of the adult survey had rare or no contacts with English Canadians, we find that about half of them expressed a desire for close English-Canadian friends, regardless of whether or how well those questioned knew how to speak English. The corresponding desire of non-French Canadians for close French-Canadian friends did vary with their competence in French, however. Over two-thirds of those with at least medium competence, but only about half of those with no or low competence, expressed this desire.

Since we know from previous studies that Anglophones learn French primarily for "integrative" reasons, e.g., making French-Canadian friends, while Francophones learn English primarily for "instrumental," i.e., chiefly occupational, reasons,[1] the above results make most sense if it is not true that language competence leads to a desire for close inter-ethnic contact. The greater desire for French-Canadian friends among those who have learned French could be due to the fact that the desire for friends is a major criterion in the choice of whether to learn French in the first place. Those who learn English do so for other reasons, but if the acquisition of the language itself brought about a

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[1] Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, pp. 83-9.

desire for English-Canadian friends, this desire would be more widespread among those with competence in English--which is not the case.

The conclusion that such an effect is absent must remain highly speculative, however, until we know the separate effects of language learning on contact and friendships for those who do and those who do not desire them. It is conceivable that those who learn English do become more likely to want English-Canadian friends, but also, because of this desire and their increased language competence, become more likely to have contact with English Canadians, thus again reducing the proportion wanting friendships within the set of those still without contacts.

Besides increasing the desire for cross-ethnic contacts, competence in a language might also have the effect of making such contacts easier to achieve. Although we cannot be sure whether those speaking a group's language are more successful in making friends from the group than those who do not, our survey data shed some light on the question whether people who know the language of a group are treated better by its members than are those who do not speak its language. The experience of those who have inter-group contacts indicates that the difference in treatment is small, but not small enough to ignore, and that the pattern for the English Canadians differs from the pattern for the French Canadians in a parallel fashion to what we observed immediately above.

Among non-English Canadians with English-Canadian contacts, about 20 per cent perceived English Canadians as condescending, regardless of the level of English competence possessed by the perceiver--with one

exception. The exception was the group of non-English Canadians with native competence in English, i.e., those who spoke English as a principal home language but still failed to be classified as "English Canadians" by any of the criteria (ancestry, parents' languages, identification) employed in this study. This group exhibited little tendency (7 per cent) to see English Canadians as condescending, but we might well suppose that many in the group saw themselves as included in the intended target of the question and thus answered defensively, even if they did not regard themselves as English Canadians.

French Canadians, however, were perceived as acting superior with a frequency that varied steadily and inversely with competence in the French language. Of those with no knowledge of French, 13 per cent saw the French Canadians as condescending; this figure dropped off to 7 per cent, 6 per cent, 2 per cent, and (0 per cent) along the scale of French competence up to the "native" level. (Only non-French Canadian respondents who had contact with French Canadians were included in these tabulations.)

This finding resembles the pattern observed with respect to the desire for inter-group friendship, and contrasts with the findings repeatedly made with respect to contact behavior. While we saw above that actual contact with English Canadians varied considerably more with competence in English than contact with French Canadians varied with competence in French, just the opposite was the case when the desire for inter-ethnic friendship or the satisfaction with treatment at the hands of members of the ethnic group was related to linguistic competence.

Here it was competence in French that made more of a difference (descriptively speaking), not in English. Later, when evidence on the allocational and attitudinal hypotheses has been examined, this reversal will emerge not as an exception, but as part of a more general pattern.

Meanwhile, it is clear that these bits of evidence do not support the belief that competence in a language leads universally to a desire, otherwise absent or weak, for contact with the language's native-speaking ethnic group; nor do they indicate that what arrogance exists in inter-group relations is displayed exclusively towards those who are ignorant of one's language. Presumably, then, these findings added to the fairly high rates of inter-group communication observed to characterize even those who do not know the characteristic language of the contacted group, do not encourage us to stress language competence or ignorance as an impelling force for, or an invincible obstacle to, contact between the two major ethnic groups.

In that case the opposite effect--the role of inter-group contact or isolation as a cause of language competence or ignorance--becomes worth exploring. Two possibilities which arise are that the absence of contact may be a barrier to the acquisition or retention of fluency,[1] and that the presence of contact may lead usually to a desire (sometimes satisfied and sometimes frustrated) for an improved competence in the

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[1] Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, p. 22.

other language. If the first possibility is a reality, we should expect that few fluent speakers have attained their fluency without using the language in every-day kinds of situations. We should find that most of them either communicate in the language now or did so in the past, in such forms as conversations with friends, workplace relations, school instruction in the medium of the language itself, or the use of the language as the parents' medium of communication. Few who merely took the language in school, or studied via radio, television, a correspondence course, or self-teaching materials, would have achieved much competence in the language.

Let us then look at the language-exposure histories, insofar as we can, of those who have various levels of competence in English and French. Those with "native" competence as defined in this study, i.e., those respondents who spoke the language as a principal home language, ipso facto had communicational exposure in their histories, so it is not necessary to ask further about them. Those who did not speak a language at all were, unfortunately, not asked about their exposure to that language (beyond being asked whether they had taken it in school), so they too must be excluded from the comparison. But those with any competence in the language who did not speak it as a principal home language can be compared, and Table 4.10-A shows that, in the cases of both English and French, no more than one in thirty of those with a high level of reported competence had achieved it without the benefit of real-life communication in the language. Looking at the same figures from the other direction, we see in Table 4.11-A that those

TABLE 4.10-A[a]

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND SOURCES OF LANGUAGE EXPOSURE

		Competence in Spoken English		
		High	Medium	Low
Percentage whose exposure to English has been:	Contact and study	90%	71%	44%
	Contact only	8%	14%	21%
	Study only	2%	15%	27%
	N	578	454	224
		Competence in Spoken French		
		High	Medium	Low
Percentage whose exposure to French has been:	Contact and study	87%	61%	28%
	Contact only	10%	9%	11%
	Study only	3%	30%	59%
	N	175	414	376

[a]Those who reported having had neither type of exposure have been excluded from the table because of their small numbers and the fact that, had the survey measured all kinds of contact and study exposure, their responses would have been contradictory in view of the intention that this dichotomy exhaust the possible ways to learn a language. The few reporting neither type of exposure conform to the pattern, however: twenty-six out of the twenty-nine responses of neither exposure are accompanied by responses of low competence.

TABLE 4.11-A

SOURCES OF LANGUAGE EXPOSURE AND LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

		Sources of Exposure to English		
		Contact and Study	Contact Only	Study Only
Percentage whose competence in English is:	High	55%	30%	9%
	Medium	34%	40%	48%
	Low	11%	30%	43%
	N	940	158	140
		Sources of Exposure to French		
		Contact and Study	Contact Only	Study Only
Percentage whose competence in French is:	High	30%	18%	1%
	Medium	49%	39%	36%
	Low	21%	43%	63%
	N	508	93	353

whose exposure to either language had consisted only of the communicational type had a far better record of competence than those who had only studied the language. It is clear from this table that only those with a history of communicational exposure were at all likely to have a high level of competence in either language, among those who had engaged in the study of it.

The prospects for language learning without contact seem low under present teaching conditions, but the youth survey allows us to measure the association between formal language study and competence more accurately than above. A figure in Chapter V will show how many years of foreign language study in school are required for a given proportion of the students to attain each level of language competence. Those who had no classmates speaking the other language and heard the language spoken in their community infrequently, if at all, are separated from the others in that figure, so that the typical amount of language teaching required to induce a given level of competence in the absence of assistance from inter-group contact can be determined.

The weak results of unreinforced formal language study indicated by the data so far presented have been noted by numerous observers,[1] and the Royal Commission itself has taken the position that the schools cannot be expected to produce bilingual citizens, but only citizens <u>prepared to become</u> bilingual.[2]

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[1]See, e.g., Moss, <u>Language Policy and Higher Education</u>, p. 38, who comments that language learning sometimes proceeds faster in science classes, etc., than in language classes.

[2]<u>RCB&B</u>, II, 232. As to whether second-language teaching really prepares students to become bilingual after school, the adult survey

Our survey information does not suggest whether and how language teaching might be improved to make the development of competence more efficient, except that the injection of living-contact types of exposure into the language curriculum, or the linguistic integration of schools, might be expected to result in greater rates of language learning. This expectation seems somewhat more justified when we examine the differences in language competence between children in linguistically integrated and segregated schools. Those who spoke English or French at home but had some classmates who spoke the other language were more likely to have a competence in the other language above any given threshold than those without such classmates.[1] (Parallel with the results shown earlier in this chapter, the difference was substantially greater between French speakers with and without English-speaking classmates than between English speakers with and without French-speaking classmates.) This fact does not, however, mean that inter-group coexistence would be enhanced in Canada by the integration of English and French speakers in the schools. While such integration may increase language learning and thereby, as well as through other

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can at least tell us whether those who took English or French in school are more likely to want to learn more of the language than those who did not take it. The results suggest that such motivational preparation does indeed take place to a certain extent in school, if we assume (what is not a trivial assumption) that taking the language in school is what causes the difference. Restricting attention to those who at the time of the survey had less than high competence in the subject language, we find that 91 per cent of those who had taken English, as opposed to 82 per cent of those who had not, said they would like to learn (or learn more) English. The difference regarding French was 78 per cent vs. 60 per cent.

[1] Cf. RCB&B, II, 227.

mechanisms, bring about better relations between speakers of the two languages, it would also violate the widely held opinion (expressed, for example, throughout the Report of the Royal Commission) that separate education is essential for French cultural survival and should therefore be maintained and extended. Such a violation, if sudden and massive, could be expected to produce severe political conflict, resistance, and inter-group hostility, perhaps dwarfing, in the short run, any increase in inter-group friendship attributable to its effects on contact between the groups. Perhaps, then, school integration at the highest politically sub-salient rate would maximize total inter-group friendship.

The first possibility mentioned above was that the absence of contact prevents successful language learning, and this possibility seems plausible in the light of the evidence just presented. What about the second possibility, namely, that the presence of contact causes a desire to learn the language? If such is the case, then most of those who have contact will be found to have this desire, and the proportion of those without contact who want to learn the language will not be as large. This is the pattern revealed by the adult survey, which makes it evident that the desire of those who do not speak fluent English or French to learn the language or improve their command of it is widespread in Canada (especially for English), but more so among those who have contact with the corresponding ethnic group than among those who do not. Of those respondents who did not speak fluent English but had contact with English Canadians, 91 per cent wanted to learn English

or learn it better, as opposed to 79 per cent of those who had no contact with English Canadians. On the French side, the corresponding figures are 77 per cent for those with, and 59 per cent for those without, contacts with French Canadians.[1]

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[1] An indication of the reliability of, and biases in, the self-diagnosed fluency ratings is provided by the fact that when those who, not speaking it as their main language, nevertheless claimed fluency in English or French are included in the above figures, they change to 84 per cent, 78 per cent, 77 per cent and 59 per cent. In other words, with one exception, the figures change hardly at all. The frequency of the desire to learn more of the language is about the same among supposedly fluent non-native speakers as the average frequency of this desire among the non-fluent and complete non-speakers. Only among those whose principal language was other than English but who claimed fluency in English and who had contacts with English Canadians does the figure differ appreciably. Apparently it is only these whose fluency was in substantially all or most cases real, i.e., for whom a desire for a better knowledge of their second language would be in many cases meaningless since they already had all the knowledge possible, in the sense of the survey question.

CHAPTER V

LANGUAGE AND ALLOCATIONAL INTEGRATION

According to the allocational hypotheses in Chapter II, we should expect differences in the receipt of benefits between speakers of different languages in any plurilingual polity. It is not necessary, however, to turn to the data from the Royal Commission surveys to establish the fact that such discrepancies exist in Canada. It has already been documented that English Canadians are much more highly represented among the beneficiaries of high incomes, occupations, and educational levels than French Canadians, that these differences have in most cases increased rather than decreased over the last few decades, and that the members of the other ethnic groups are allocated among the occupations, etc., in various other proportions, mostly in between the English Canadians and the French Canadians and largely in an order close to the chronological order of the main waves of immigration, with the earliest (and most assimilated) immigrants highest on the ladder.[1]

It is not agreed by all observers, however, whether these discrepancies are results of discrimination practiced by some groups against others, of innate predispositions for and against certain occupations in certain groups, or of lags in equalization among liberated descendants of

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[1] Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chapter III.

previous generations that were condemned to inequality by either or both of these two causes; nor is it agreed whether the basis of the discrimination or predilections is institutional, cultural, religious, linguistic, or mixed.[1] Among these subjects of continuing dispute, the ones falling most directly into the framework of this study are the questions of whether, to what degree, and by what mechanisms language knowledge is a contributor to the educational, occupational, economic, and social statuses to which people are assigned. Our data can help determine whether there are differences in status among those who differ in language competence even when they do not differ in other properties believed to contribute to the assignment of statuses, and how great these differences are if they exist.

Language and Educational Attainment

If language knowledge in part determines the amount of education that a person receives, this fact should be apparent in a simultaneous comparison of the number of years the survey respondents had gone to school and the language or languages their parents had spoken at home. Those who grew up in an English-speaking home are expected to have had a longer educational career, in the main, than those in homes where English was not spoken. Operationally, if we array those from homes where English was often spoken, those from homes where it was known but

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[1] See, e.g., Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 61-8, 74, 92, 98-101; Dasbarats, The State of Quebec, Chapter IV; Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, p. 84. On Franco-Americans, see Herve-E. Lemaire, "Franco-American Efforts on Behalf of the French Language in New England," Fishman et al., Language Loyalty in the United States, p. 261.

not often spoken, and those from homes where it was not known, in three separate columns on a ladder of educational tenure, then no matter where we draw a line between the highest and the lowest rungs of the ladder, the percentage above the line among the first group will, it is predicted, be higher than the percentage above the line among the second group, which in turn will be higher than the percentage above the line among the third group. This prediction is almost perfectly fulfilled by the adult survey, as shown in Fig. 5.1-A.[1]

It might be thought that, if these differences are due to language difficulties in school, then children of English speakers would not be advantaged in this respect in Quebec, because for almost all others (i.e., for all French speakers) in that province there has long been a full educational career available in French. An exploratory plot of the five standard regions relating the proportion of the population having English-speaking parents and the proportion with ten or more years of education adds to the suspicion that the analytical isolation of Quebec might reduce the association in Fig. 5.1-A, since Quebec is near the bottom of the educational ladder and has a far smaller proportion of people from English-speaking homes than any other province. In fact, however, no reduction of the association is achieved by separating Quebec from the rest of Canada. As is clear from a comparison of Fig. 5.2-A with Fig. 5.1-A, the educational discrepancies among those from different language backgrounds are about as great inside and outside

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[1]The sole exception is the approximately equal share of respondents in the very highest education categories among the two groups with parents knowing English.

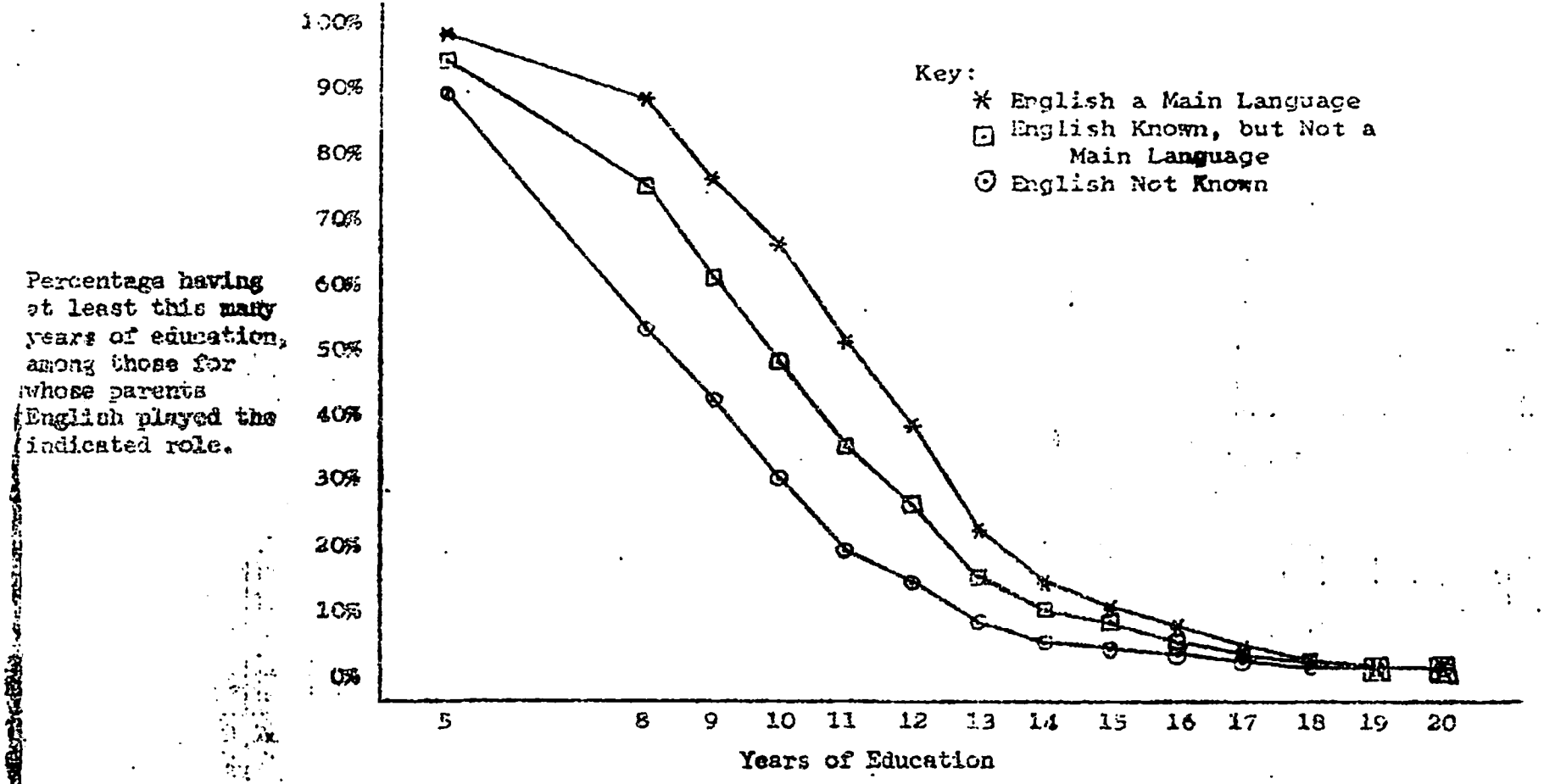

Fig. 5.1-A--Parental Language Background and Educational Attainment

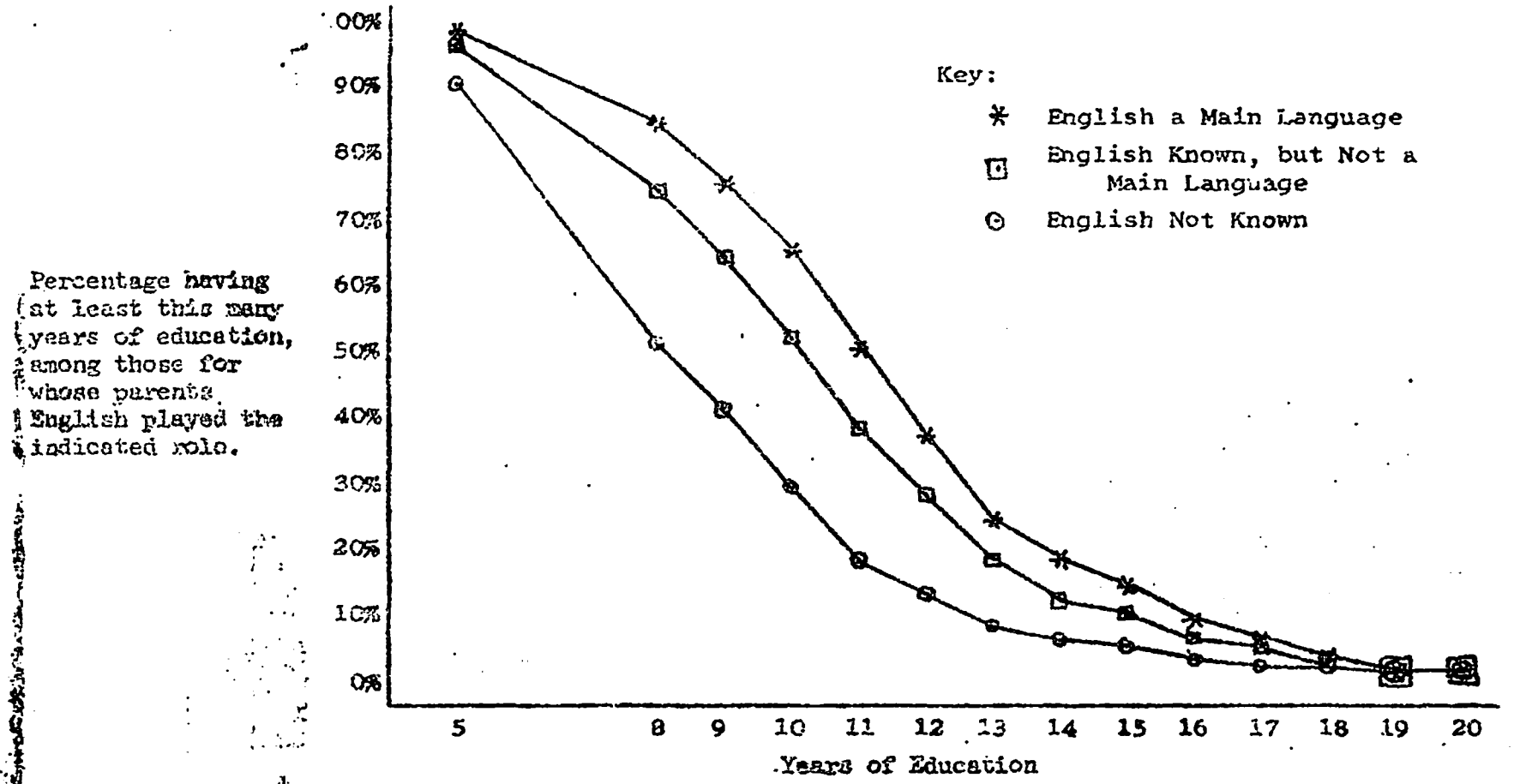

Fig. 3.2-A--Parental Language Background and Educational Attainment within Regions: Quebec

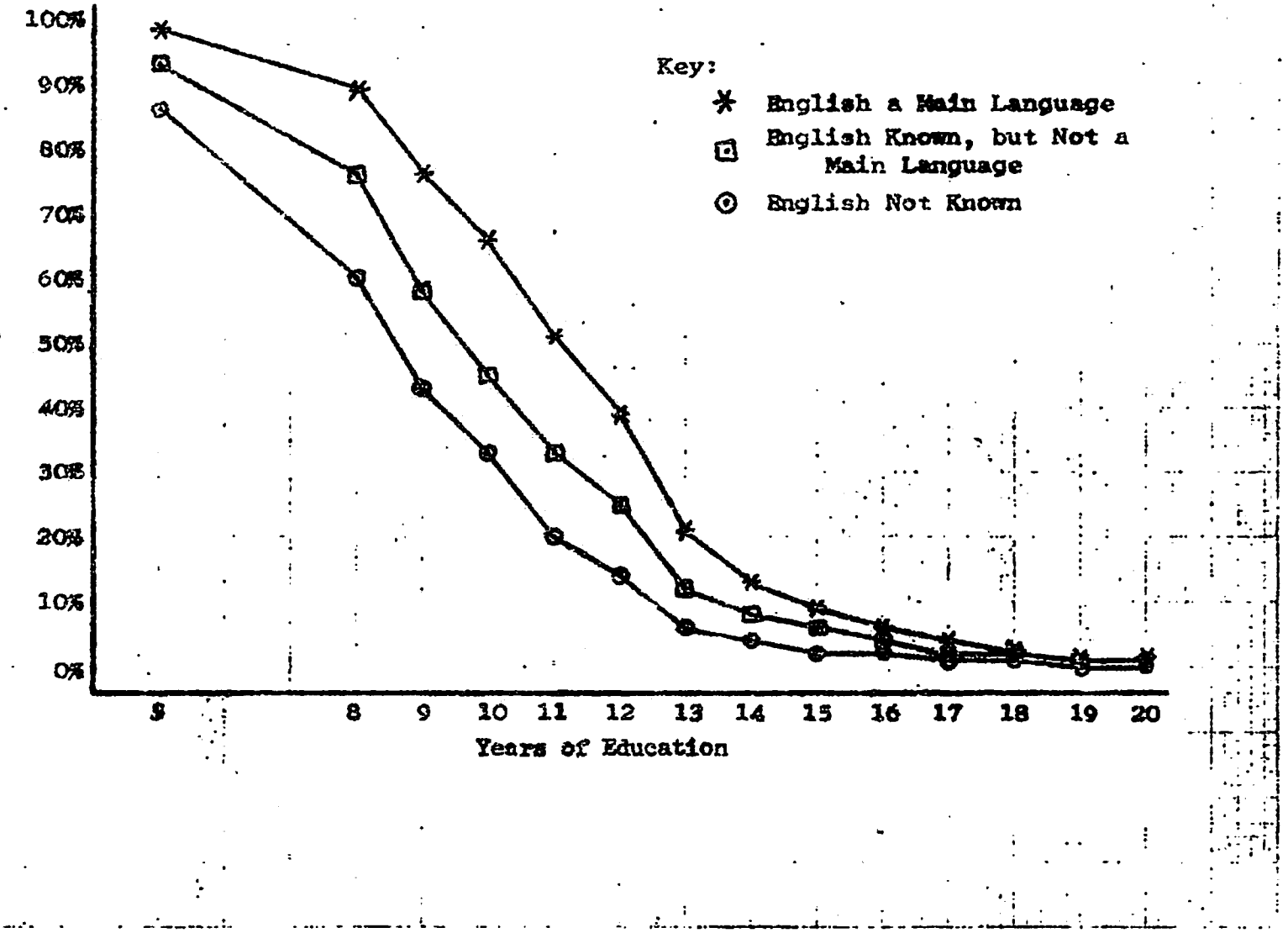

Fig. 5.2-A--Parental Language Background and Educational Attainment within Regions: Rest of Canada

Quebec as they are in Canada taken as a whole.

If even in Quebec the discrepancy remains, then perhaps another kind of property related to both language background and education accounts for the observed association. Two candidates that come to mind are cultural background and educational background. The French Catholic tradition, it is sometimes claimed,[1] is inimical to extended education, and those raised in that tradition are also largely the children of non-English-speaking parents. If we then look only at French Catholics, does the educational discrepancy among those of different language backgrounds weaken or even vanish? A comparison of Fig. 5.3-A with Fig. 5.1-A shows that the elimination of non-French Catholics from the sample has depressed the percentages by between zero and fifteen points (on the average 2.5 points), but has not eliminated the gaps between the pairs of curves, at least between the top and bottom ones. Given a common parental language background, then, French Catholics tended to get less education than non-French Catholics, but French Catholics with parents who did not know English fared worse than those with parents who did speak it. This linguistically associated difference in educational career length, moreover, is substantially greater than the difference between French Catholics and non-French Catholics of similar linguistic background.

Similarly, parents with the least education themselves are the

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[1] See, e.g., RCB&B, II, 26-7; Ramsay Cook, Canada and the French-Canadian Question (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966), Chapter V.

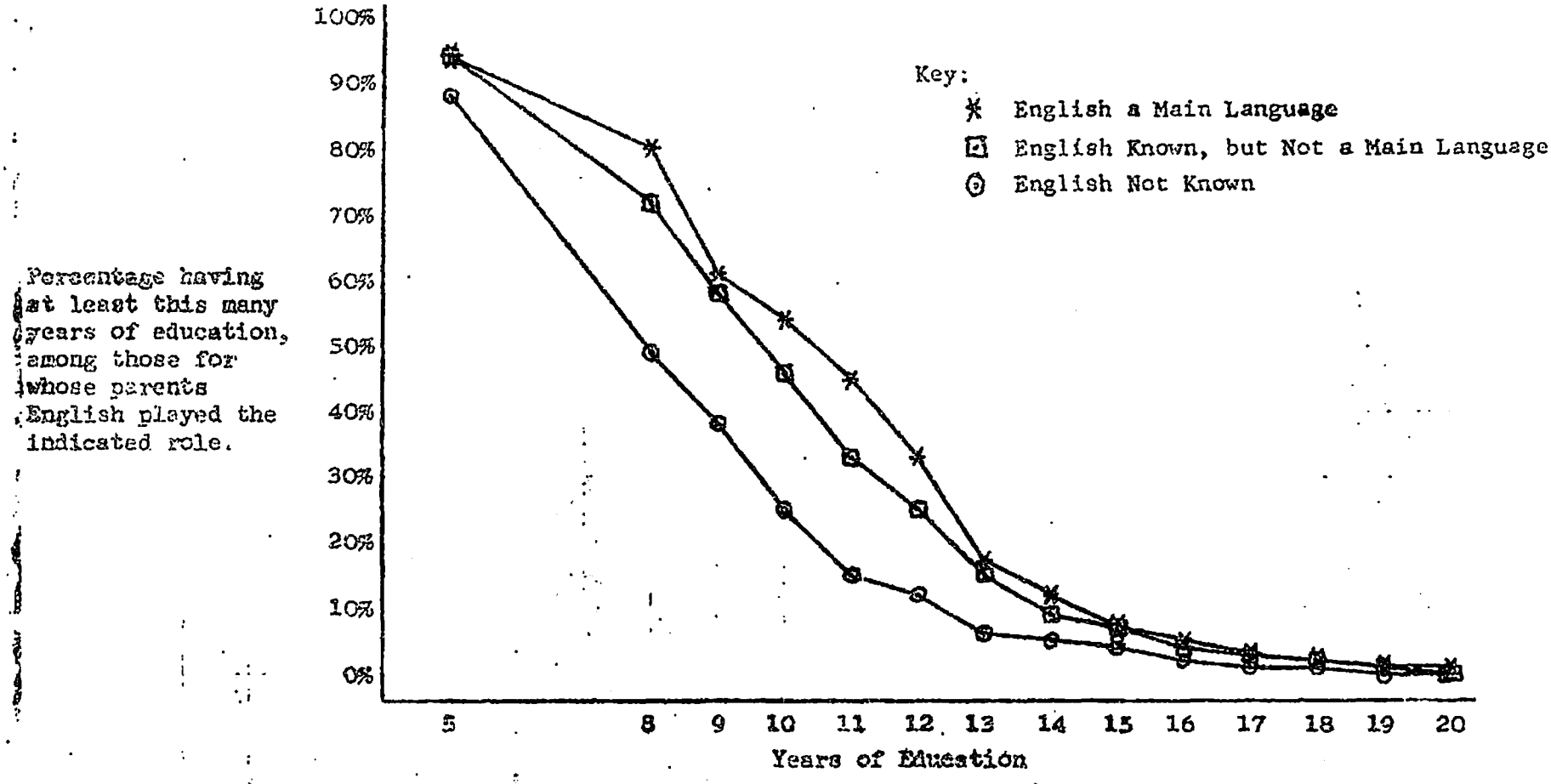

Fig. 3-A--Parental Language Background and Educational Atteinment within One Subculture: Catholic French Canadians

the least likely to speak English and are likely to have children who also get little education. Perhaps this relationship is responsible for the association between language background and educational attainment. Two ways, neither of them perfect, of exploring this possibility are to look at this association separately for the children of white-collar, blue-collar, and agriculturally employed fathers (since the adult survey did not ask directly about the educational level of the respondent's father or mother), and to see whether children from English-speaking homes who responded to the youth survey tended to have a higher level of realized, or realized plus anticipated, educational attainment than children from French-speaking homes in which the parents had the same education.

Regardless of which of these techniques is employed, much of the educational difference among those of the three different language backgrounds persists. In Fig. 5.4-A, the association manifested by the adult respondents is plotted separately for three different occupational types, depending on what kind of work the respondent's father did when the respondent was in his late teens. Although the association is seen, at least in the middle and low range of education, to be weakest for the children of white-collar workers and greatest for farm children,[1] and although there is some slight reversing of the association at the high extreme, where the shifting of a few cases makes a big difference, the basic pattern remains undamaged. Turning to the youth survey, we find

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[1] Cf. Jonathan Pool, "Patterns of Recruitment into Potential Political Participation in Turkey" (unpublished M.A. paper, University of Chicago, 1968), pp. 22, 41 (Hereinafter referred to as "Patterns."): "The presence of one socioeconomic condition detrimental to educational recruitment increases the effect of other conditions conducive or unconducive to it."

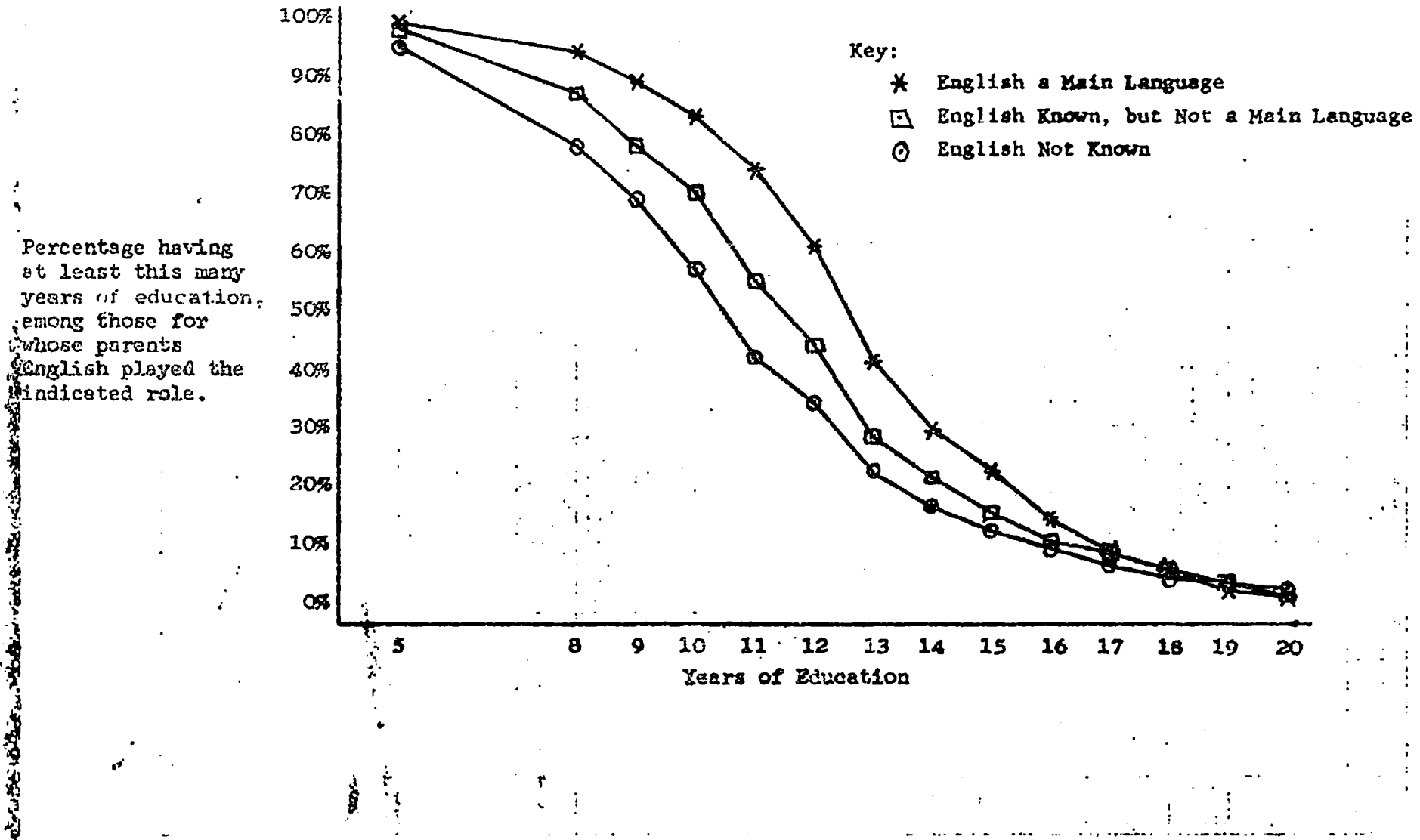

Fig. 5.4-A--Parental Language Background, Parental Occupational Background, and Educational Attainment: Persons with White-Collar Fathers

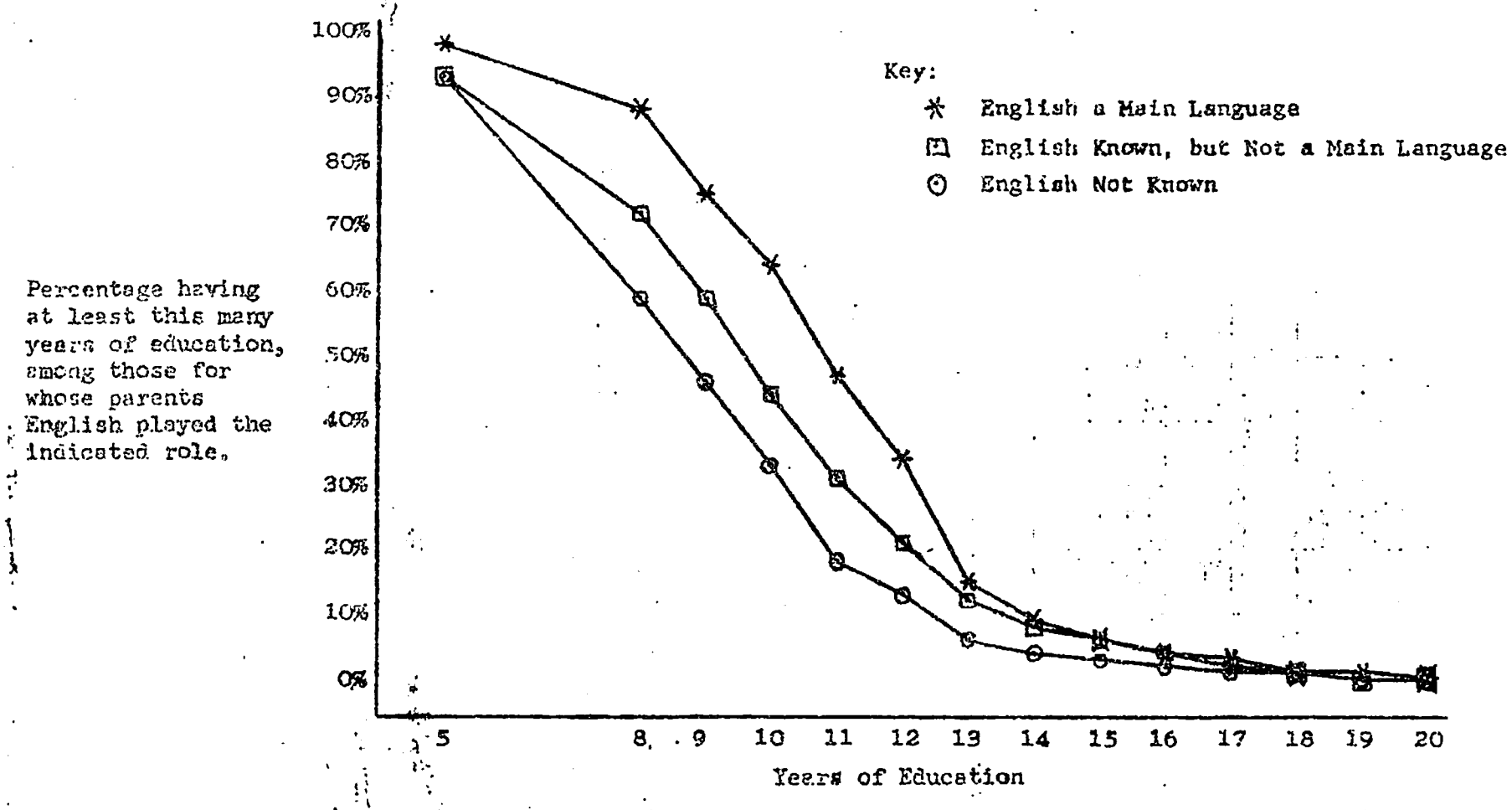

Fig. 5.4-A--Parental Language Background, Parental Occupational Background, and Educational Attainment. Persons with Blue-Collar Fathers

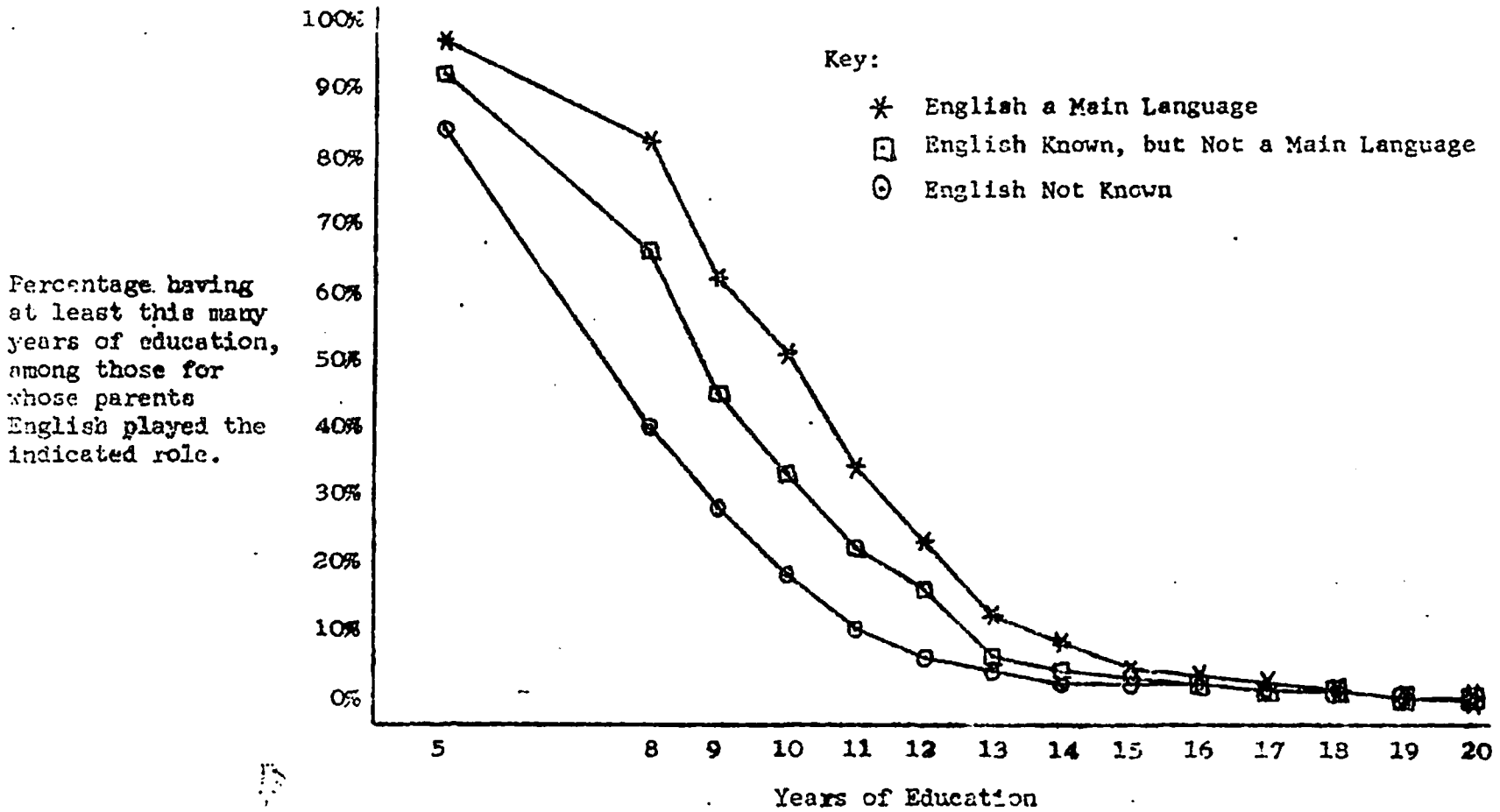

Fig. 5.4-A--Parental Language Background, Parental Occupational Background, and Educational Attainment: Persons with Fathers in Agriculture

some evidence that most of the difference between the educational levels of English-speaking and French-speaking young people remains after the different levels of education of their parents are taken into account.

The youth survey shows a higher drop-out rate from school among those speaking French at home than among those with English as their home language. At every age where there were a substantial number of respondents, a larger percentage of the English-speaking ones were still full-time students, as can be seen in Fig. 5.5-Y. Because of the fairly small number of respondents in each age group, it is impossible to show how the percentage still in school varies with age when various levels of parental education are held constant. It is, however, possible to show how the introduction of a control for parental education affects the pairwise association between student status and home language when age is held constant, because there are still a large number of English-French pairs identical in age and parents' education.

Table 5.6-Y reports the results with and without the control for parental education, the latter being defined as the level of education of whichever parent had had the larger number of years of school. Both when we restrict the calculations to English-French pairs of the same age, and when we also require that pairs be tied in respect to parental education, approximately twice as many pairs appear in which the English-speaking respondent was a full-time student and the French-speaking one was not, as vice versa. In this sense, then parental education accounts little, if at all, for the English-French difference in drop-out rates from school.

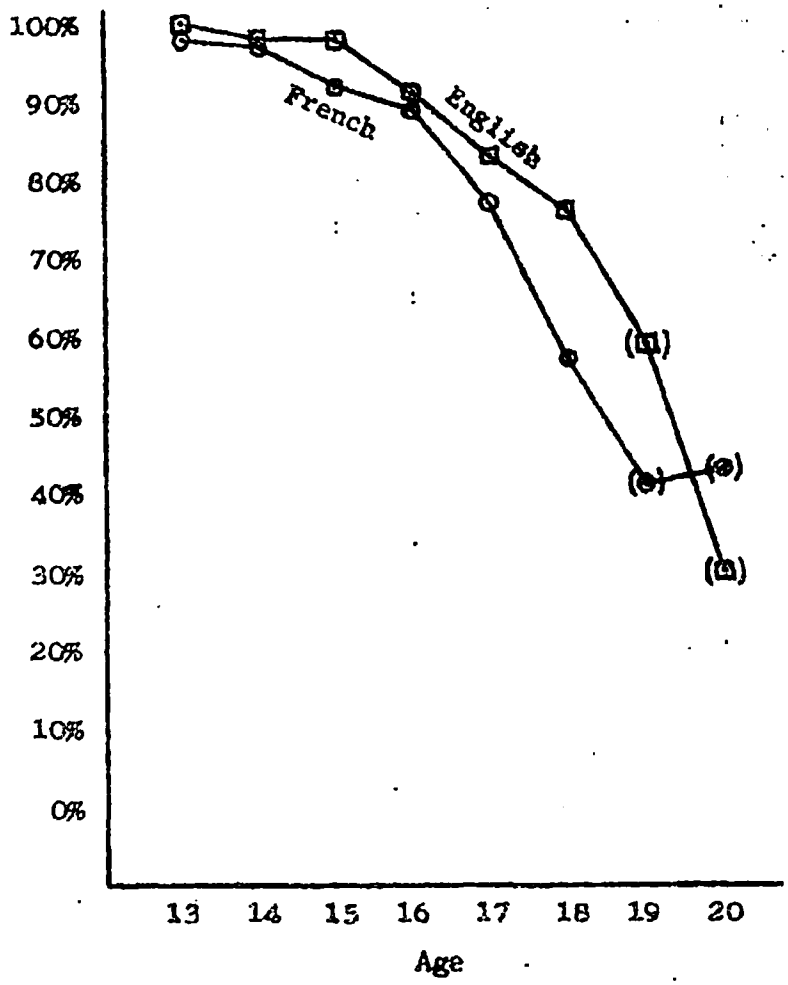

Fig. 5.5-Y--Principal Home Language and School Attendance

TABLE 5.6-Y

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE, PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND, AND SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	Pairs of Respondents Differing in Principal Home Language and Tied in Age		Pairs of Respondents Differing in Principal Home Language and Tied in Age and Education of More Educated Parent	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total pairs	57,682	100	6,814	100
Pairs in which only the English speaker is in school	6,662	12	658	10
Pairs in which only the French speaker is in school	3,474	6	350	5
Pairs in which both are in school or out of school	47,546	82	5,806	85

Language, Occupation and Income

Two types of benefits received later in life than education and also analyzable by reference to the Royal Commission surveys are occupational status and income. These present some analytical problems not encountered with education, chiefly the difficulty of ranking occupations and the fact that the adult survey was designed to elicit personal occupation and income information only from employed males, thus sharply reducing the number of usable responses. In spite of these limitations, the results confirm that people who can speak the dominant official language, English, with at least medium competence are more indulged than the rest of the population with respect to both kinds of benefits. For occupation, the figures are presented in Table 5.7-A. Income, too, varies with language competence. When those with and those without at least medium competence in English are arrayed on an income ladder, the English-speakers are more heavily represented above any line that we choose to draw between the highest and lowest rungs, as is shown in Fig. 5.8-A.

In the case of education, there was some reason to suspect that the association between language background and educational attainment would vanish in Quebec. That suspicion was controverted, however, by the survey results. In the cases of occupation and income the numbers of responses are too small for intra-regional analysis, but there is not even a suspicion in the first place, because previous research has shown English-French discrepancies to be as wide in Quebec as elsewhere, and

TABLE 5.7-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND OCCUPATION
EMPLOYED MALES NOT IN AGRICULTURE

	Competence in Spoken English		
	At Least Medium	Less than Medium	Total
Percentage white-collar	46%	31%	44%
Of these, percentage professional	34%	(9%)	32%
Percentage blue-collar	54%	69%	56%
Of these, percentage unskilled and domestic	13%	26%	15%

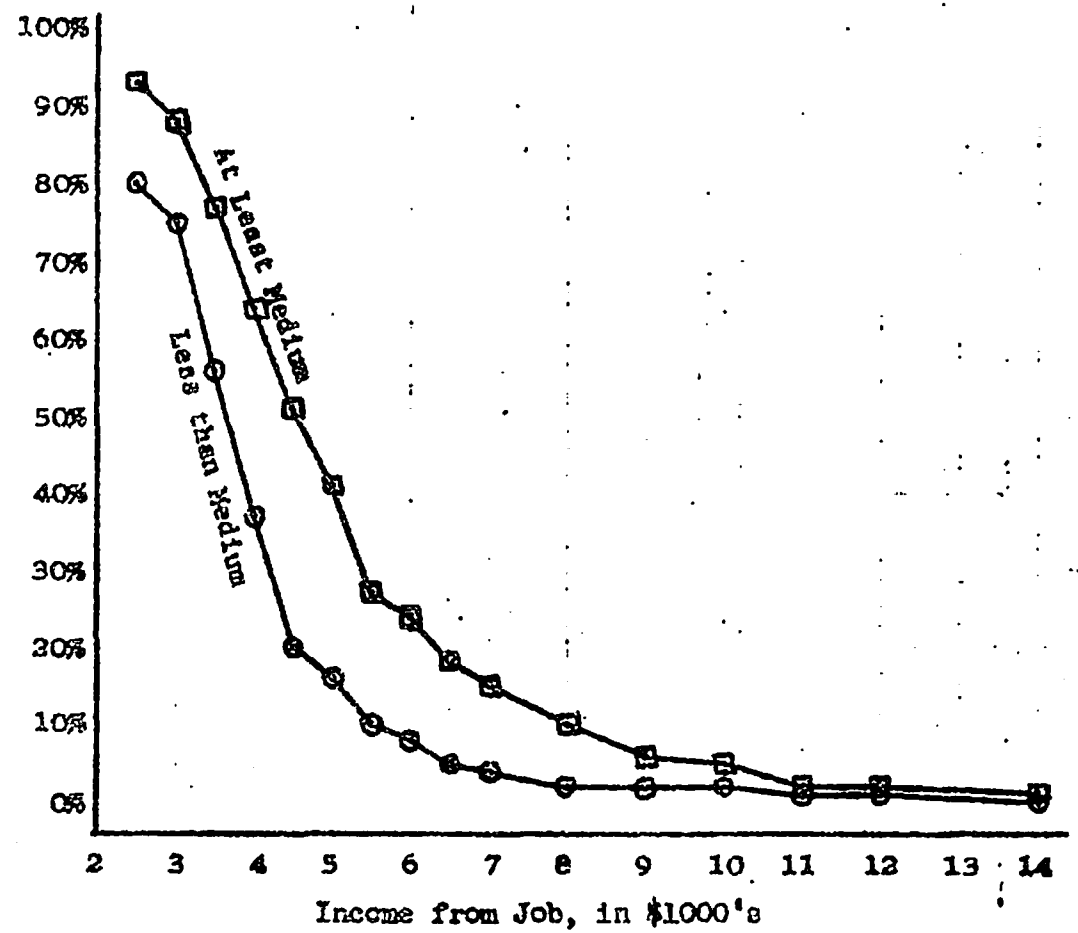

Fig. 5.8-A--Language Competence and Income: Employed Males

by some accounts they are even wider in Quebec.[1] It is therefore not too surprising, even though it is interesting,[2] that census tabulations from 1961 show no appreciable association between the percentage of a province's population with English as mother tongue and provincially aggregated variables of occupation and income. This fact can be seen in Fig. 5.9-C, where the most noticeable association is (a slight) one in the opposite direction from what would be expected if the inter-individual relationship were to vanish within provinces: in 42 out of 66 pairs of provinces and territories, the less English province or territory is actually richer, proportionately, in professional and technical personnel.

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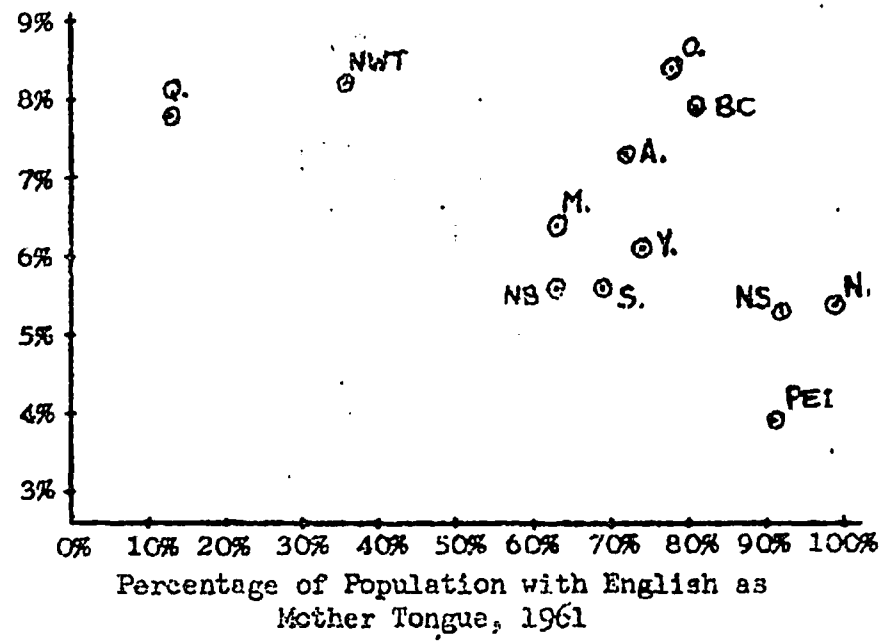
[1] Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, pp. 88, 91-2.

[2] In contriving numerical examples (in which all differences were kept symmetrical) of a nation with two provinces, the author found that:
(a) If the difference between the proportion of E's and the proportion of F's having characteristic C is the same within each province as it is in the nation taken as a whole, and if a greater proportion of E's than of F's have C, then the province with a greater proportion of E's than the other province also has a greater proportion of persons with C than the other, but the difference in proportion having C between the two provinces is smaller than the difference in proportion having C between the E's and the F's;
(b) If a greater proportion of E's than of F's have C in the nation as a whole but within each province the same proportion of E's and of F's have C, then the province having proportionately more E's also has a greater proportion of persons with C, and the difference in proportion having C between the provinces is greater than the nationwide difference in proportion having C between the E's and the F's; and
(c) If a greater proportion of E's than of F's have C in the nation as a whole but the province with proportionately more E's has the same proportion of persons with C as the province with proportionately fewer E's, then in each province a greater proportion of E's than of F's have C, and the difference between the proportion of the E's and of the F's with C in each province is greater than the same difference nationwide.

Professional and technical workers as percentage of male labor force, aged 15 and over, 1961.



Managerial workers as percentage of male labor force, aged 15 and over, 1961.

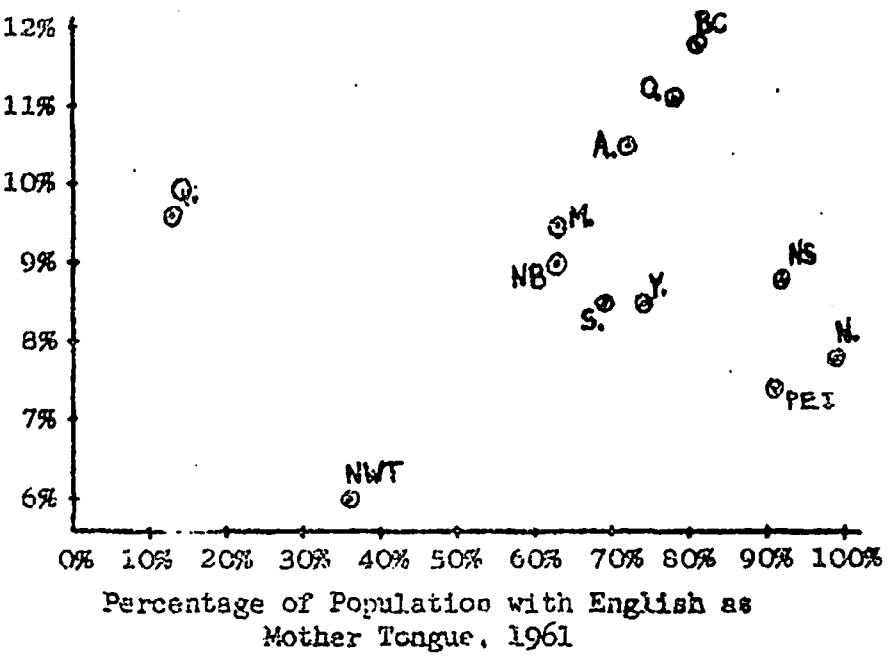
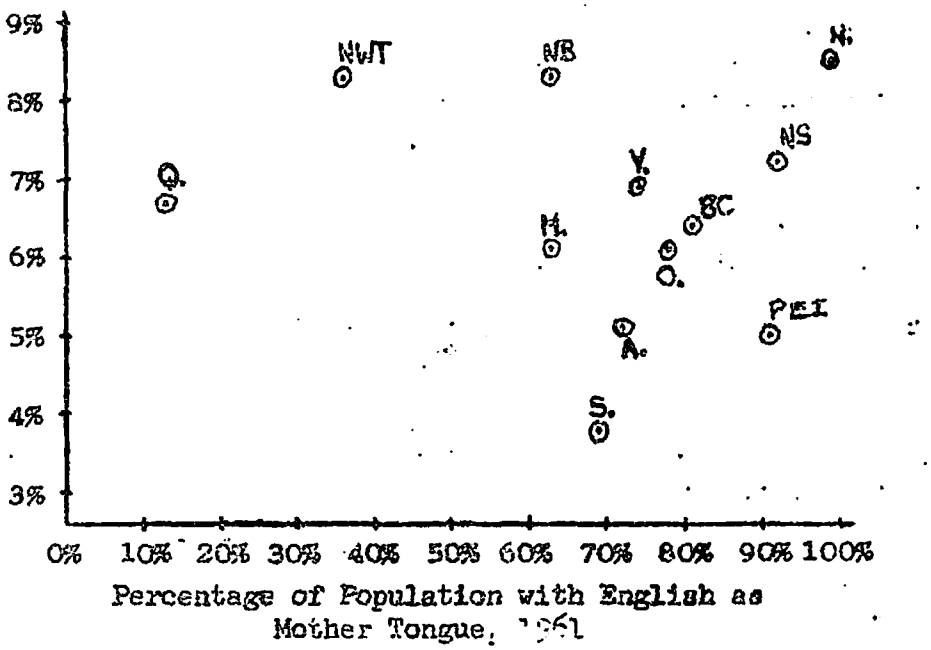


Fig. 5.9-C--Regional Differences in Mother Tongue, Occupation, and Income

Laborers as percentage of male labor force, aged 15 and over, 1961.



Median earnings of male wage-earners, 1961.

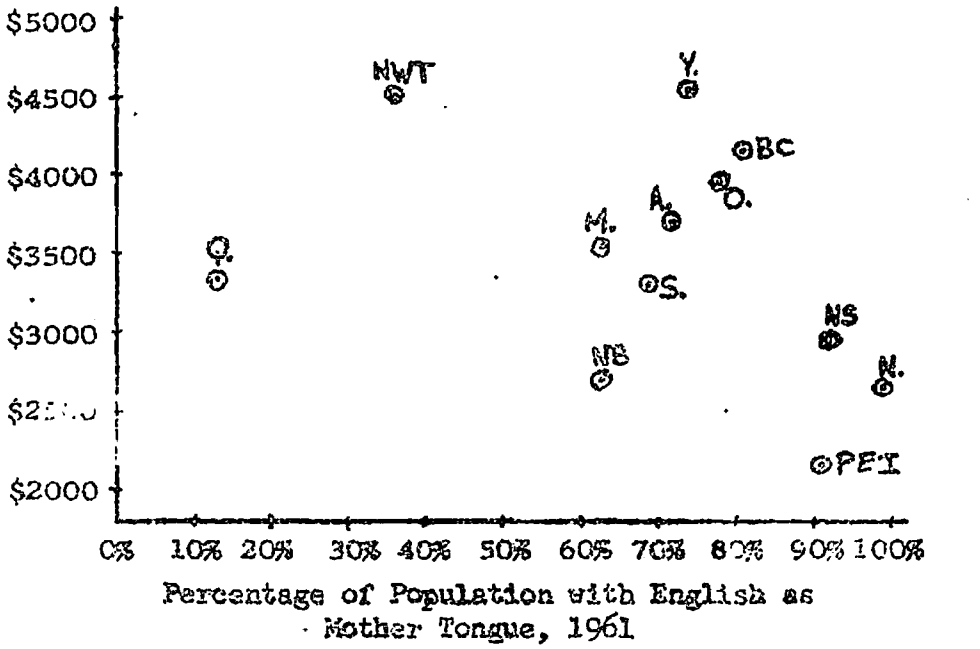


Fig. 5.9-C--Regional Differences in Mother Tongue, Occupation, and Income

In contrast to possible covariation of English competence and economic benefits from region to region, a serious threat to the relationship between these two kinds of properties is the possible influence over them of still other characteristics. Heeding the charges of religious and ethnic discrimination, on the one hand, and religiously or culturally based propensities regarding economic participation, on the other, let us see whether information about language competence still permits improved prediction of occupation and income within the largest ethnic and religious group likely to suffer such discrimination or have anti-entrepreneurial and anti-technical propensities, i.e., those with French last names who are also Catholics.

The result of restricting the analysis to French Catholics is similar for occupation and income to what we observed for education. As a comparison of Table 5.10-A with Table 5.7-A will show, the representation of French Catholics who could speak English was lower in white-collar occupations and higher in the blue-collar work force than that of English-speaking Canadians as a whole, but this difference was matched by that between English-speaking and non-English-speaking French Catholics. In the case of income as well, a difference persists between speakers and non-speakers of English when French Catholics are observed alone. A comparison of Fig. 5.11-A with Fig. 5.8-A shows that the difference is not as great for French Catholics as for the population in general, but that it is substantial nevertheless. Fig. 5.11-A also shows that French Catholics competent in English do not earn as much as others competent in English. But the gap among French Catholics, between

TABLE 5.10-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND OCCUPATION WITHIN ONE SUBCULTURE
FRENCH CATHOLIC EMPLOYED MALES NOT IN AGRICULTURE

	Competence in Spoken English		
	At Least Medium	Less than Medium	Total
Percentage white-collar	39%	32%	37%
Of these, percentage professional	28%	(10%)	24%
Percentage blue-collar	61%	68%	63%
Of these, percentage unskilled and domestic	14%	26%	17%

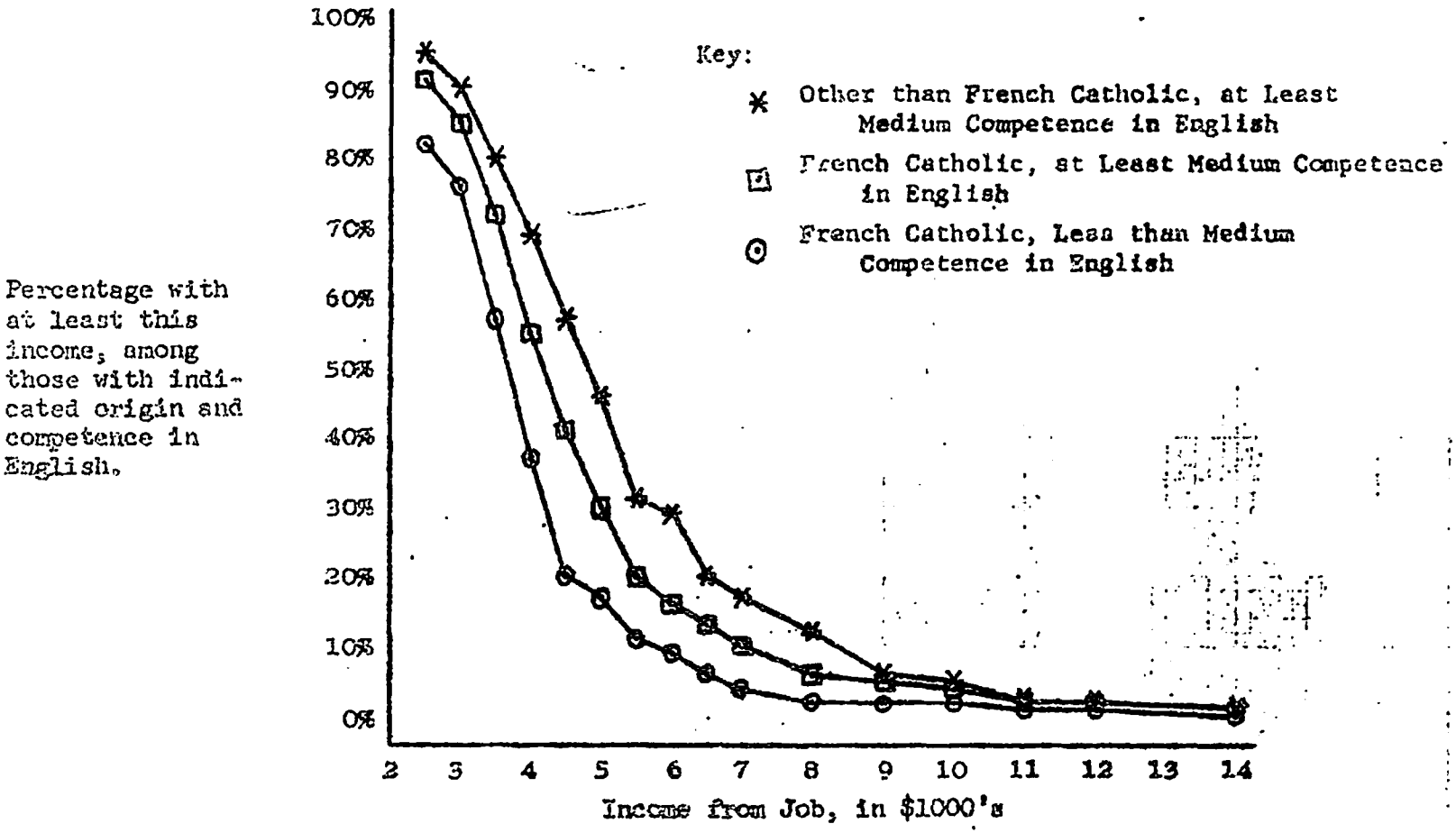


Fig. 5.11-A--Language Competence, Subcultures, and Income: Employed Males

those with and those without competence in English, is at least as great as the gap among English competents, between French Catholics and all others.

A second characteristic that might be assigned responsibility for the relation between English competence and economic allocation is educational attainment, since the better educated among those without English as a native language are, in Canada, both more likely to speak English well and more likely to have a high-status occupation and the income that goes with it. An attempt has been made to check out this possibility by dividing the educational range into a number of categories and using the subsample of those with English as their principal home language to determine "expected" proportions of the male work force in particular occupational categories and earning particular incomes for each educational level. Table 5.12-A shows how the actual totals compared with the expected ones when summed across the educational range, first for all whose principal home language was other than English and then for only the French Catholics among them. The main conclusion to be drawn from this operation is that a confident inference even about the weighted population is precluded by the small number of cases.[1]

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[1] The figure of ((161 per cent)) in the lower right column, for example, means that the calculations predicted 2.49 French Catholics with low or no English would be in the professional occupations, but in reality four were.

TABLE 5.12-A[a]

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, EDUCATION, AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS

As a percentage of expected totals	Competence in Spoken English	
	High or Medium	Low or None
Employed Males Not Speaking English as a Principal Home Language		
Persons earning $5000 or more	55%	(44%)
Professionals	93%	((131%))
All white-collar	101%	(166%)
All blue-collar	108%	90%
Unskilled and domestic workers	(127%)	(209%)
French Catholic Employed Males Not Speaking English as a Principal Home Language		
Persons earning $500 or more	49%	(47%)
Professionals	(80%)	((161%))
All white-collar	100%	(175%)
All blue-collar	110%	87%
Unskilled and domestic workers	(123%)	(199%)

[a]Figures are expressed as percentages of expected totals, based on income and occupational distributions of persons with English as their principal home language in each of six educational attainment categories. Figures within double parentheses are percentages of expected totals less than 5, those in single parentheses percentages of expected totals less than 50.

Language and Social Status

If the dominance of English in Canada extends to all aspects of social life, competence in it will also be accompanied by greater enjoyment of the less tangible benefits of social status, as well as a higher income and occupation. Since "across the country, non-English populations are generally considered to be of lower status than those of English ethnic background,"[1] the acquisition of English may also help hide an ethnic marker of low social rank. On the other hand, income and occupation (but especially income) may be trans-ethnic values, while social status may be often measured on intra-ethnic scales, each group having its own "society." The question arises, then, whether those who are competent in the dominant official language see themselves as higher in social status than do those who are not. The adult survey permits an indirect answer to this question, since it asked each respondent how the "social rank" he had attained compared with that of his father: higher, the same or lower. According to the hypothesis that speakers of the dominant language receive more or all socioeconomic benefits, we expect to find a high incidence of reported increases in social status among those who knew English but whose fathers did not. A lower incidence of increased status would occur among those who knew English and whose fathers did too, and among those not knowing English whose fathers also knew no English. The lowest rate of increased status would

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[1] Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, p. 150.

characterize those whose fathers knew English but who themselves did not. (This category, surprisingly, contains about 10 per cent of all respondents.) Table 5.13-A shows that the responses conformed to the predicted pattern, even if the differences were not dramatic. Intergenerational acquisition of English was more often, and loss of English less often, accompanied by increased status than was either continued knowledge or continued ignorance of English from father to child.

An association of this moderate strength might well disappear under regional or controlled analysis. As for regions, there is a geographical trend linking the acquisition of English and upward social mobility. As we can see in Fig. 5.14-A, the highest rates of both are found in the West, a fact which parallels the common notion of the American West as both less ethnic in consciousness and more promising for fortune-seekers than the East.[1] Given this fact, what happens to the association shown in Table 5.13-A when the East, Ontario and the West are separated? Only in the East is there a large number of respondents in each category, and here the association is barely different from what it is nationwide. As Table 5.15-A indicates, the remaining figures are both based on small totals and inconsistent; the most deviant figure is based on seventeen responses. Even if those who learn English as the first generation in their family are, at least in the East, the most likely to perceive an increase in their social status, perhaps they are also the ones who rise to a higher occupation or educational level and, if so, perhaps their

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[1] Cf. Alford, Party and Society, p. 121.

TABLE 5.13-A[a]

CHANGES IN LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND CHANGES IN SOCIAL STATUS

Father knew English?		No	Yes	No	Yes
Respondent has high or native competence in English?		Yes	Yes	No	No
Perceived social rank compared with father's:	Higher	52%	42%	43%	37%
	Same	35%	47%	47%	51%
	Lower	13%	11%	10%	12%
	N	319	2387	612	350

[a]"Father knew English?" is based on respondent's report of father's principal home language and of other languages spoken by parents.

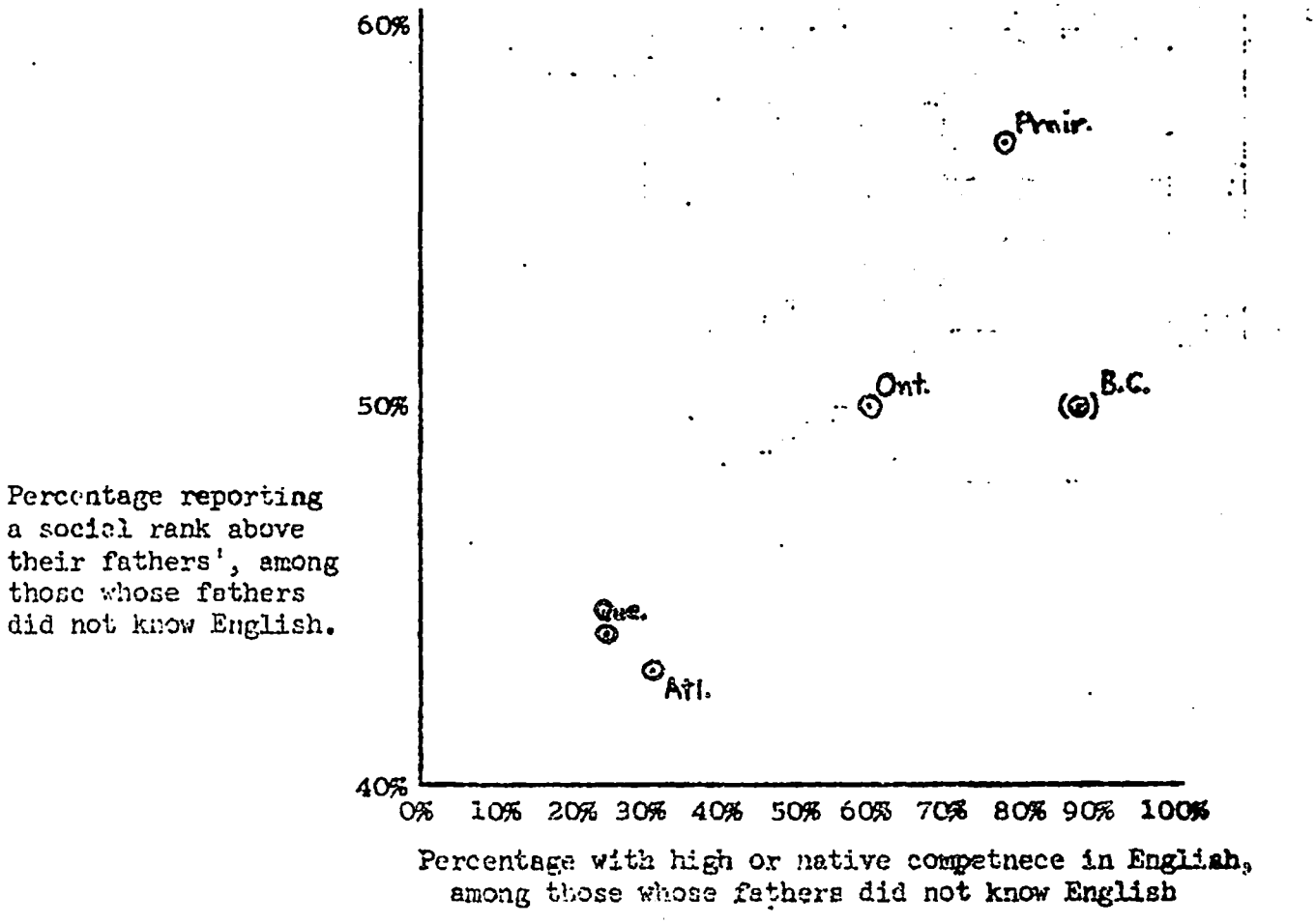


Fig. 5.14-A--Regional Differences in Changes in Language Competence and Changes in Social Status

TABLE 5.15-A

CHANGES IN LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND CHANGES IN SOCIAL STATUS WITHIN REGIONS

Father knew English?		No	Yes	No	Yes
Respondent has nigh or native competence in English?		Yes	Yes	No	No
Percentage claiming a higher social rank than father's in:	East	53%	42%	41%	38%
	Ontario	53%	43%	(48%)	(29%)
	West	50%	41%	(82%)	(33%)

increased social rank is attributable to this change rather than to the linguistic one. To a certain extent we can explore this possibility by confining our attention exclusively to those who are in approximately the same occupational status as their fathers. When we do this we find no evidence to label the association between language shift and social mobility as spurious, partly because the number of employed males in the same occupational category as their fathers is small. As opposed to the figures of 52, 42, 43 and 37 per cent in Table 5.13-A, those for this occupationally immobile subsample are (53 per cent), 35 per cent, 32 per cent, and (35 per cent).

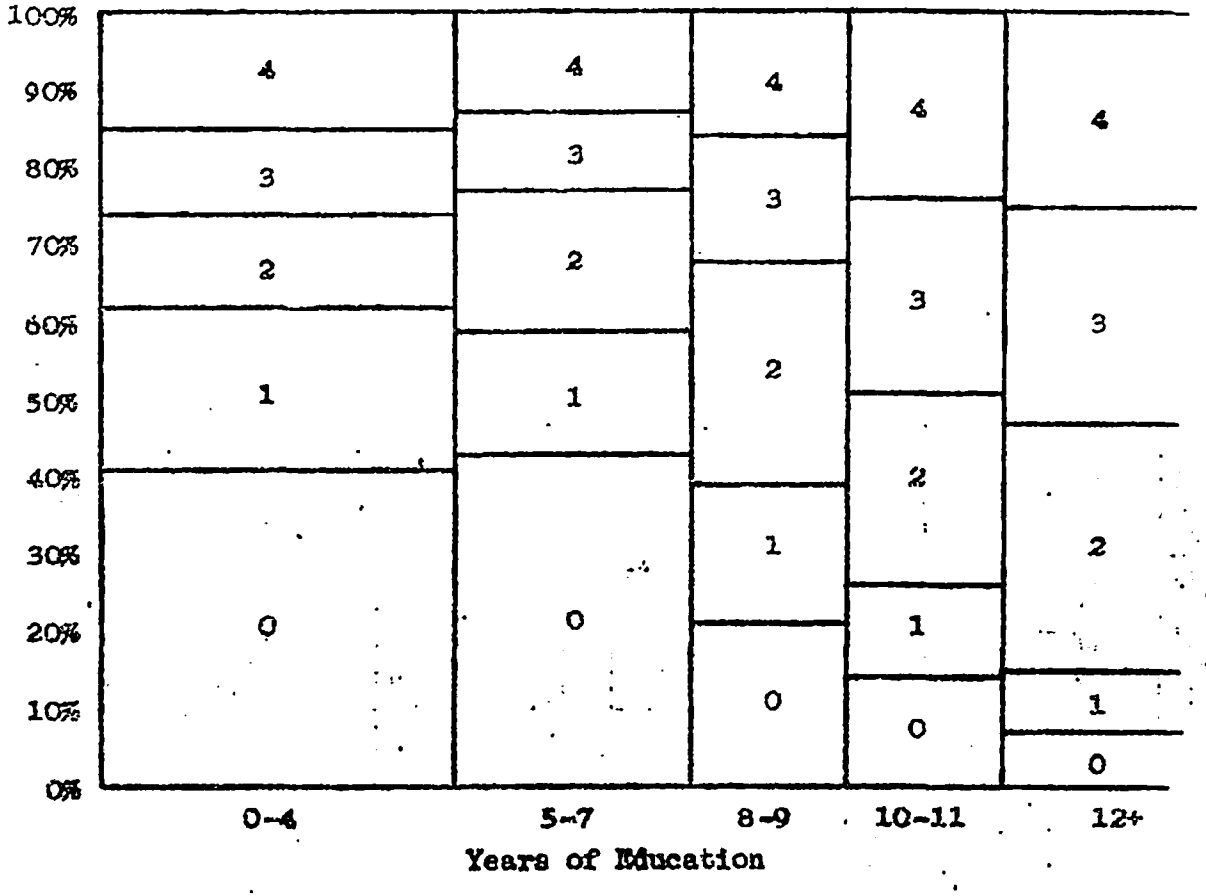
Education and Language Competence

It has been shown above that Canadians growing up in homes where English was known tended to receive more education, and those competent in English tended to reach higher occupational, financial, and social statuses than others. Although the most obvious extralinguistic explanations for the differences in education seem able to account for only part of those differences, the tests performed so far have left it unclear whether the association between language competence and the other statuses can be entirely traced to other factors. Even if not, however, can we conclude that it is knowledge or ignorance of English that leads to greater or lesser rewards? The same relationship between language competence and benefits might have arisen in part or in whole from the oppositely directed effect: that of socioeconomic indulgence on the rate of language learning. While it seems reasonable to suppose that in Canada individuals who know English will achieve more education, occupational advancement, income, and social status than otherwise identical individuals

who do not know English, it is also reasonable to believe that individuals from non-English-speaking homes will learn the language in greater proportions the more education they receive, and that much or all of whatever association exists between competence in English and occupation or income may be due to the fact that education tends to raise them both. Hence the attempts, above, to control for levels of education.

The fact that a person from a non-English-speaking home is more likely to speak English if he is highly educated emerges clearly from Fig. 5.16-A. Nor is this fact apparently due merely to the use of English as a medium of instruction, for the association holds up just about as strongly in Quebec, as is clear from a comparative glance at Fig. 5.17-A. Does the propensity of the educated to know English arise, then, from the fact that they have taken more English in school? This explanation would appear obvious, and knowing whether a person took a language in school is a powerful aid in predicting whether he speaks it, as Table 5.18-A clearly shows. (Those who took either language in school are not, however, more likely than those who did not take it to shift to that language as a principal home language: "native" competence is found in nearly the same low proportions in the two groups.) We can refine this association, and also get an idea of how long it takes to achieve various levels of competence, by consulting the youth survey, which asked how many years each respondent had taken English or French in school. The general results are shown in Fig. 5.19-Y, where it is clear that the distribution of language competence changes steeply as one looks at youths with different periods of language study. Speakers of French

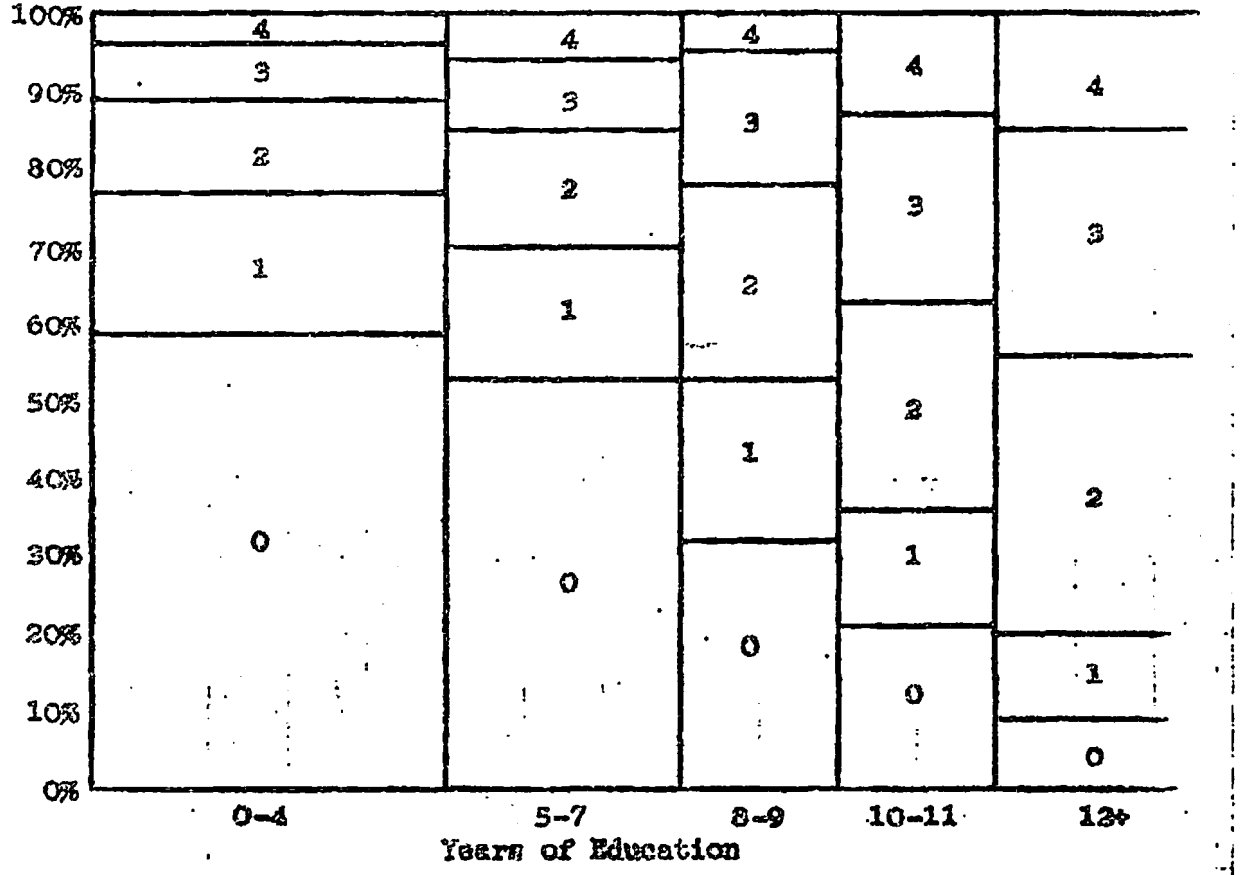
Percentage distribution of English competence among those with education in the indicated range.



Key:
- 0 = none
- 1 = low
- 2 = medium
- 3 = high
- 4 = native

Fig. 5.16-A--Educational Attainment and Language Competence: Persons Whose Parents Did Not Speak English

Percentage distribution of English competence among those with education in the indicated range.



Key:

0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium
3 = high
4 = native

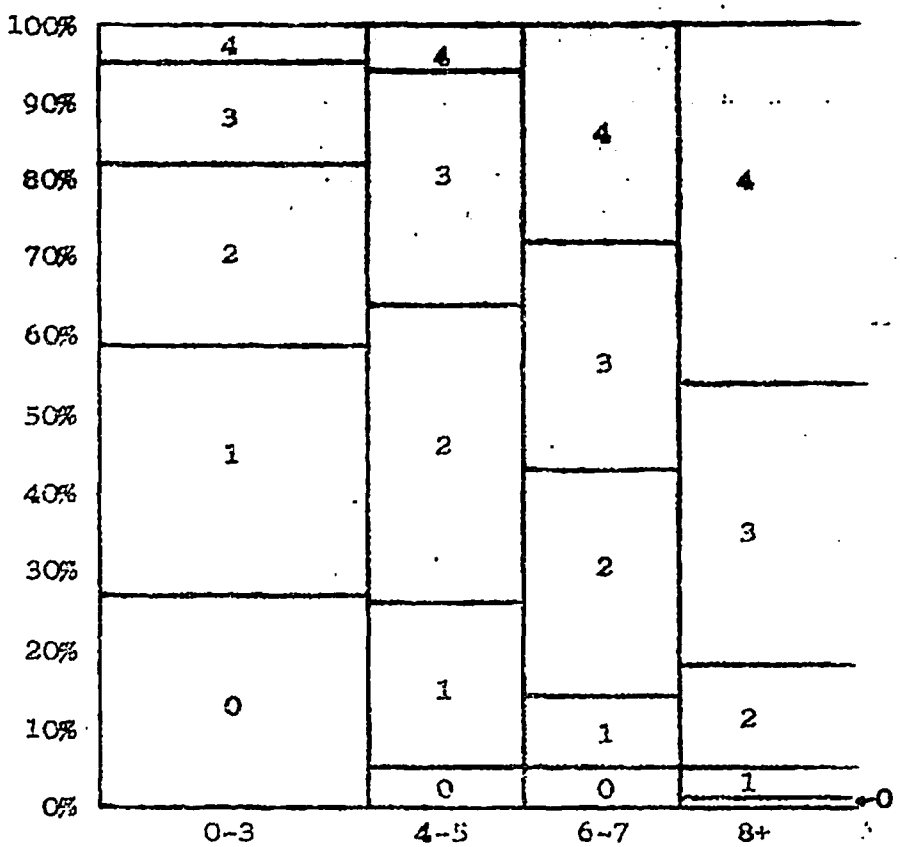
Fig. 5.17-A--Educational Attainment and Language Competence within One Region: Quebec Interviewees Whose Parents Did Not Speak English

TABLE 5.18-A

SCHOOL LANGUAGE STUDY AND LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

Persons Whose Parents Did Not Speak English				
		Took English in School?		
		Yes	No	Total
Percentage speaking English with at least indicated competence	Native	2%	2%	2%
	High	29%	14%	22%
	Medium	61%	37%	50%
	Low	81%	53%	68%
	N	435	390	825
Persons Whose Parents Did Not Speak French				
		Took French in School?		
		Yes	No	Total
Percentage speaking French with at least indicated competence	Native	1%	0%	0%
	High	6%	2%	4%
	Medium	28%	7%	18%
	Low	53%	12%	35%
	N	1106	917	2023

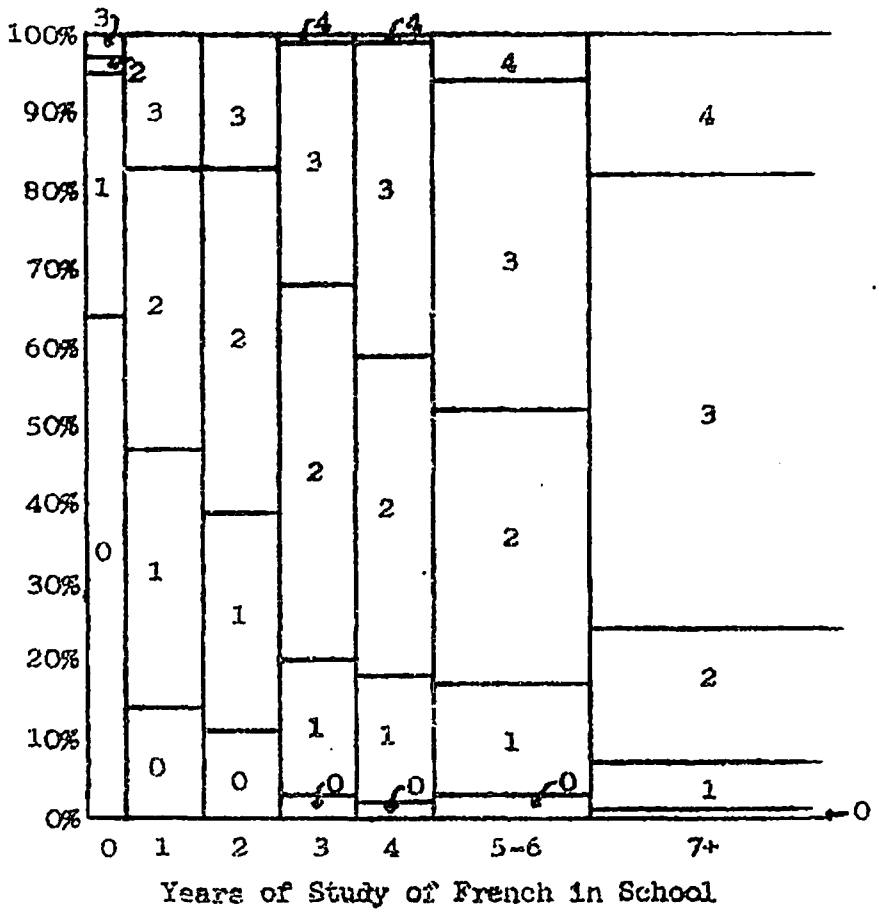
Percentage distribution of English competence among those who have studied English for a period within the indicated range.



Key:
0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium-low
3 = medium-high
4 = high

Fig. 5.19-Y--Length of School Language Study and Language Competence: Persons with French as Principal Home Language

Percentage distribution of French competence among those who have studied French for a period within the indicated range.



key:

0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium-low
3 = medium-high
4 = high

Fig. 5.19-Y--Length of School Language Study and Language Competence: Persons with English as Principal Home Language

tend to report more competence in English than speakers of English report in French after the same amount of language study, but in both cases it seems to take six or seven years of study in school before half of the pupils report medium-high (minimum conversational) or higher competence in the other language. A year of study, of course, probably represents substantially more hours of class for a French-speaking child learning English than vice versa,[1] and this fact may be partly responsible for the observed difference in achieved competence.

Another likely reason for the more rapid progress of competence in English as a second language is the greater contact that takes place with that language outside the classroom. Although the small number of cases makes comparison tricky, Fig. 5.20-Y seems to suggest: (a) that contact makes a difference in how much competence is acquired after a given length of formal study; (b) that the advantage of those learning English is maintained among those with outside language contact; (c) that this advantage is attenuated among those whose exposure to the second language is confined to the class in the language itself; and (d) that the extremes of high and low achievement are both more characteristic of French speakers learning English than of English speakers learning French. The second of these four observations makes sense if one assumes that contact is greater with English not only absolutely, but also within the group composed of those who have contact at all.

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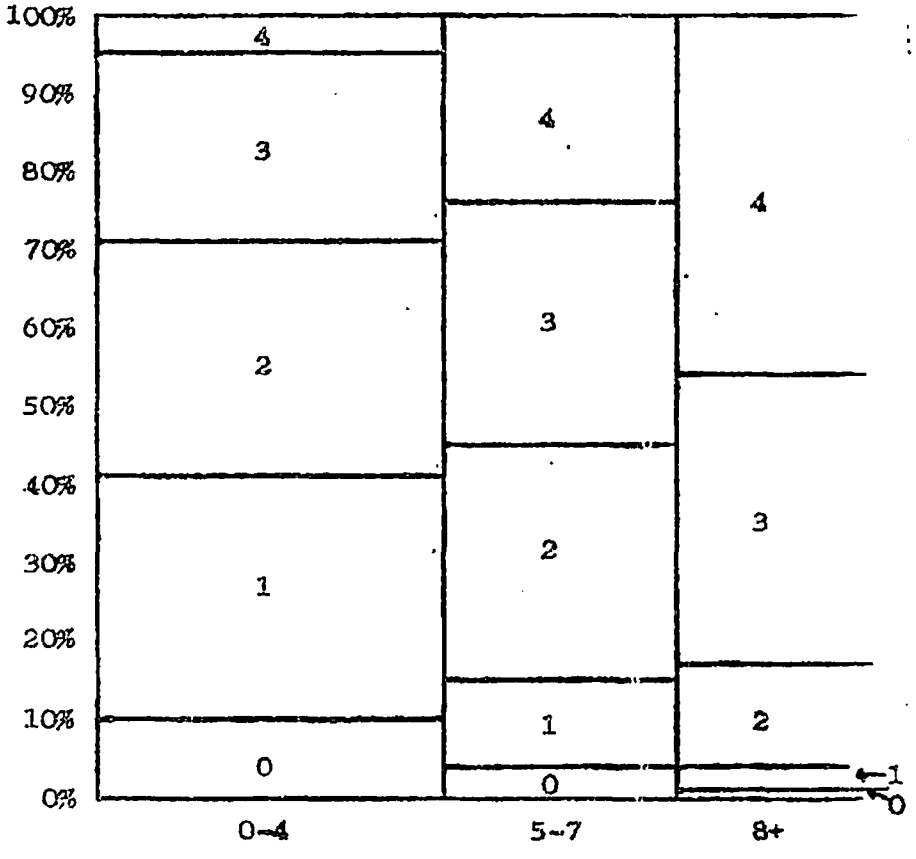
[1] See RCB&B, II, 319-47.

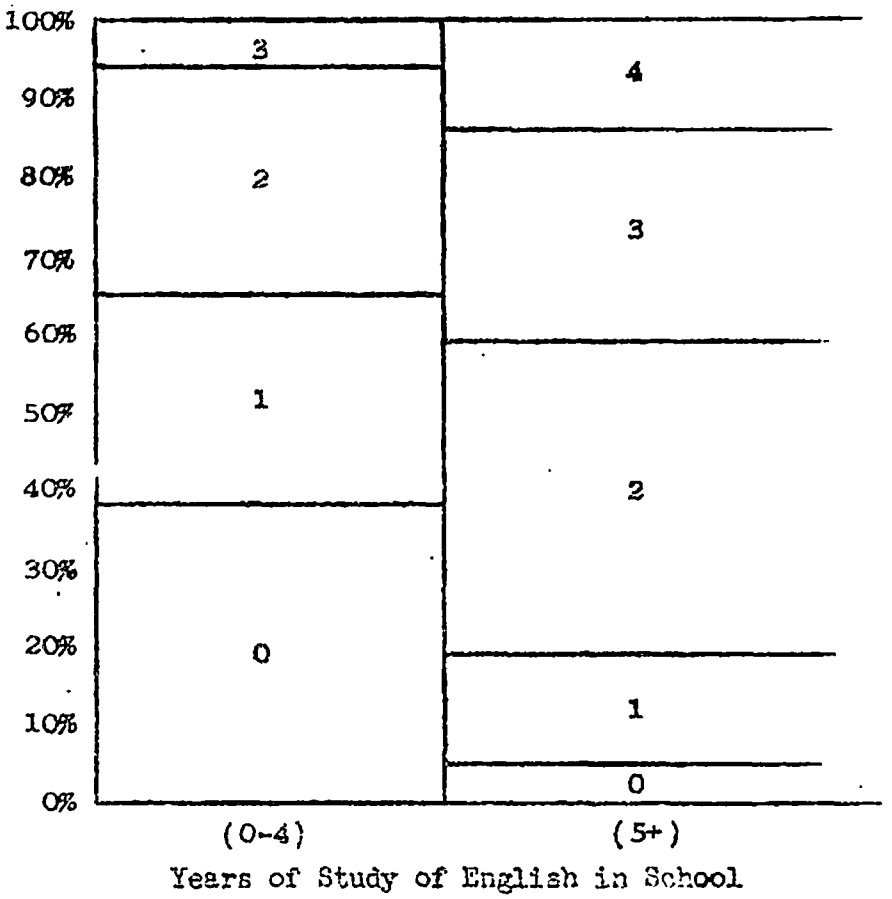
Percentage distribution of English competence among those who have studied English for a period within the indicated range.



Key:

0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium-low
3 = medium-high
4 = high

Fig. 5.20-Y--School Language Study, Language Exposure, and Language Competence: Persons with French as Principal Home Language and English Exposure in School or Community

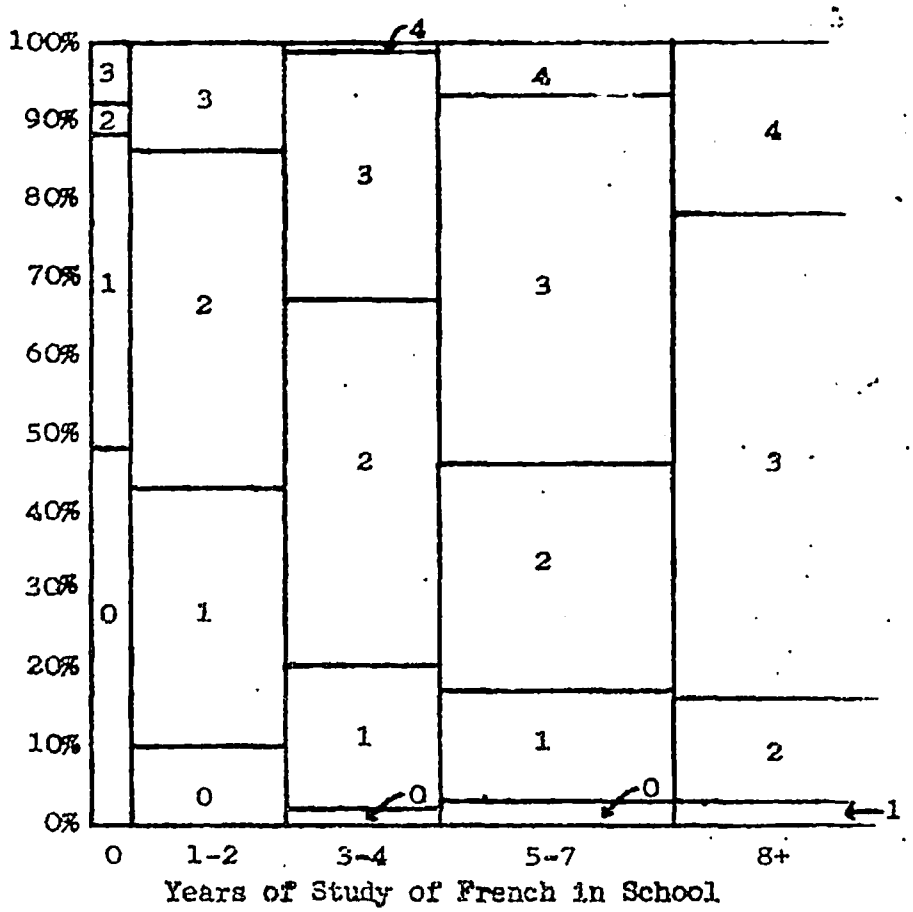


Percentage distribution of English competence among those who have studied English for a period within the indicated range.

Key:
0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium-low
3 = medium-high
4 = high

Fig. 5.20-Y--School Language Study, Language Exposure, and Language Competence: Persons with French as Principal Home Language and No English Exposure in School or Community

Percentage distribution of French competence among those who have studied French for a period within the indicated range.

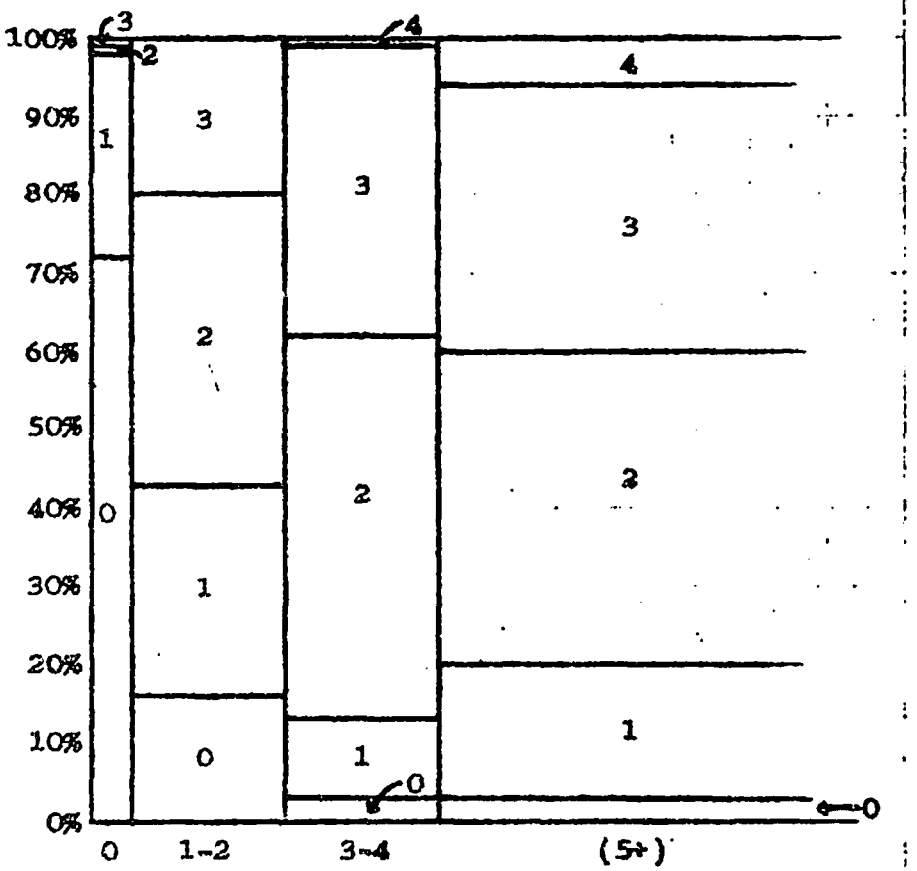


key:

0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium-low
3 = medium-high
4 = high

Fig. 5.20-Y--School Language Study, Language Exposure, and Language Competence: Persons with English as Principal Home Language and French Exposure in School or Community

Percentage distribution of French competence among those who have studied French for a period within the indicated range.



Key:
0 = none
1 = low
2 = medium-low
3 = medium-high
4 = high

Fig. 5.20-Y--School Language Study, Language Exposure, and Language Competence: Persons with English as Principal Home Language and No French Exposure in School or Community

Anticipated Benefits and Language Competence

An additional hypothesized allocational cause of language learning, which may also help explain the greater progress of those studying English, is an anticipatory one: the belief that learning a language will make the learner enjoy increased benefits. Those who have such a belief with respect to a given language should be more likely to learn that language than those without the belief. While the proper way to test this claim is to juxtapose information about beliefs held at one time with information about competence possessed at a subsequent time, the Royal Commission surveys do not furnish data appropriate for such tests, unless certain assumptions are added to the data at hand. One possible assumption is that existing beliefs have persisted from the past, and another is that present intentions will be (wholly or partly) realized in the future. Both of these assumptions are probably more applicable to youths than to adults, and they are plausible especially if applied to those who are still in school.[1]

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[1]On the one hand, their beliefs about the career advantages of knowing English or French have probably not changed in many cases, since they have not yet entered the work world whose experiences would be likely to give them, either directly or through communications from working acquaintances, information conflicting with what they have been taught or told. And on the other hand, still being in school probably means in most cases possessing an opportunity--in the form of continuing attendance in second-language classes--to turn their intentions into actuality. With reference to the first assumption, the fact is that the older French-speakers in the survey sample were hardly more likely than the younger ones to see bilingualism as an important asset, although the older English-speakers were less likely than the younger ones to do so, as is noted by Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, p. 11. For both groups, full-time working young people moreover were hardly more or less appreciative of the importance of bilingualism in getting ahead than were those still in school who were in the same age range as the working subsample.

The result of applying the first assumption to the youth survey is to confirm our expectation. Respondents whose principal home language was French or English and who were still in school when the survey was conducted were considerably more likely to speak English or French, respectively, with at least a given competence (whatever it be) if they believed that an ability to speak both English and French was very important for success in life than if they did not hold this belief, as we can see in Table 5.21-Y.

The second assumption, that intentions will be realized, cannot be applied to the youth survey for the reason that it did not ask about a desire to learn more of either language. If we refer to the adult data, however, we can use the results of its question about the respondents' desire to learn English, or to learn to speak it better. This desire, we expect, will be associated with a perception that knowing English is a useful thing for the enhancement of socioeconomic status. Since the most relevant question in the adult survey deals with whether a knowledge of English helps a French Canadian get promotions on the job, let us restrict our attention for a moment to those speaking French as their only principal home language. What we find confirms our expectation. The desire of French Canadians to learn English is overwhelming: a full 88 per cent of those speaking French as their principal language and not fluent in English said that they would like to learn English or learn it better. But a small difference nevertheless existed between those with different perceptions of linguistic barriers to promotional opportunities. While 82 per cent of those who saw few or no

TABLE 5.21-Y

ANTICIPATION OF BENEFITS AND LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

Persons Speaking French at Home and Currently Attending School Full-Time				
		Perceived Benefit of Knowing Both Languages		
		High	Medium or Low	Total
Percentage speaking English with at least indicated competence	High	36%	20%	32%
	Medium-high	62%	44%	57%
	Medium-low	84%	72%	81%
	Low	96%	91%	94%
	N	315	96	411

Persons Speaking English at Home and Currently Attending School Full-Time					
		Perceived Benefit of Knowing Both Languages			
		High	Medium	Low	Total
Percentage speaking French with at least indicated competence	High	8%	3%	2%	5%
	Medium-high	45%	25%	21%	33%
	Medium-low	76%	56%	41%	63%
	Low	93%	79%	70%	84%
	N	315	283	92	690.

obstacles to the promotion of non-English-speaking French Canadian workers wanted to learn (more) English, 89 per cent of those who fully affirmed the existence of job bias against French monolinguals wanted to learn (more) English.[1]

It is plausible, however, that a sharper difference than this would have appeared had it not been for one problem. There may be contradictory cognitive and affective components of this question. More precisely, if a French Canadian thinks about the fact that "a French Canadian who is qualified in his work has less chances than others of getting promotions if he does not speak English," he may decide that he therefore wants to improve his English, or he may instead decide that he is being oppressed by the English Canadians and/or Americans and that he will refuse to yield (at least on the record) to coercive assimilation. Would the responses to the question show a stronger association with the desire to improve language competence if a positive reply to the question suggested only the usefulness of speaking English and not also the injustice suffered by those who do not speak it?

It is not possible, of course, to record the questionnaire, but let us see how the desire to learn (more) <u>French</u> varied with responses to another question asking whether the proportion of French-speakers in Canada would increase, stay the same, or decrease over the next 50 years.

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[1]Over three-quarters of the relevant respondents held this opinion on the existence of unequal job opportunity for French monolinguals. The desire to learn English was actually most frequent (93 per cent) among those denying such job bias, but they numbered only 27 and thus constitute an unreliable subsample.

The answer to this question is clearly relevant to the benefits one can expect from learning French, while the question contains no hint of discrimination or coercion. And the result is a repetition, on a somewhat stronger scale, of the pattern just seen. Excluding all respondents fluent in French, 73 per cent expressed a desire to learn French or learn more of it. Of those who predicted a fall in the proportion of French-speakers in the population, however, only 59 per cent wanted to learn French, while 63 per cent had this desire among those who saw no change in the French component and 78 per cent did so among those who believed that the proportion of French-speakers would rise.

Although the Royal Commission surveys devoted only scant attention to this last topic, we have found in them at least some evidence to support the proposition that the desire to learn a language accompanies the anticipation that benefits will be reaped from competence in it. And such an anticipation, in the case of socioeconomic benefits of competence in English, seems reasonable when the findings earlier in this chapter are added to the evidence available elsewhere on the Canadian situation. Educational attainment tends to be greater for those who grew up in English-speaking homes; occupation and income vary with competence in the dominant language; and perceived inter-generational rises in social status are most frequent among those who constitute the first generation of English-speakers in their family. It does not seem that these associations disappear when other variables of obvious importance are held constant, although more work on this question is called for. Moreover,

those not growing up in homes where the dominant language was spoken were found to acquire that language more often if they received more education.

The final finding of this chapter, that the desire for competence varies with the anticipated benefits of competence, although based on limited data, serves to remind us of the numerous links to be explored between language competence and attitudes that constitute another ingredient of political integration. This exploration will be the task of the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

LANGUAGE AND ATTITUDINAL INTEGRATION

According to the third set of hypotheses presented in Chapter II, the attitudinal hypotheses, it is expected that three types of differences will be found between those who differ in language use and competence. First, people will tend to have attitudes resembling those of the group or groups whose language(s) they share. Second, people will tend to have positive attitudes toward the group(s) whose language(s) they share. And third, people will tend to feel a common identity or destiny with this group or these groups.

The analysis of the Royal Commission survey data will not make a great contribution to our knowledge about linguistically related attitude differences merely by revealing differences between English- and French-speakers in Canada, for such differences are already known as a result of other studies.[1] What other work has not revealed is the degree to which these differences can be accounted for by language competence rather than other characteristics that largely accompany it, such as ethnic background or identification, region, and religion. "Largely" is an important word here, for if the accompaniment were total, no disassociation of these characteristics could be accomplished.

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[1] Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity, pp. 158, 165-68.

Language and Attitudinal Similarity

Among the English-French differences in attitude that have been revealed and discussed in other studies, differences on the following questions can be examined through one or both of the Royal Commission surveys: interest in Federal versus provincial politics in Quebec, political party preference, desire for more or fewer immigrants to Canada, preference for traditional or new national symbols, and propensity to join or avoid joining organizations. French Canadians have been observed to show a great interest in provincial as opposed to Federal politics in Quebec, to prefer the Liberal or Social Credit Party, to oppose large-scale immigration, to favor new Canadian national symbols replacing traditional ones, and to avoid membership in secondary associations, to a greater extent than English Canadians. The results of the Royal Commission surveys confirm these differences when the two groups compared are those speaking French and those speaking English as their only principal language.

While 71 per cent of the primarily English-speaking adult respondents in Quebec said they had a greater interest in Federal than provincial politics, 78 per cent of the Québecois who spoke mainly French expressed the opposite: greater interest in provincial than Federal politics. This great difference may be taken also as a confirmation of a refinement of one of the communication hypotheses for which no confirming evidence could be found in Chapter IV. There the original hypothesis was that those knowing the language of politics will engage more in political communication generally than those not knowing the language, the figures

just mentioned suggest the proposition that those knowing just one language in a bilingual society will concentrate their political attention on that level of government whose political affairs are conducted primarily in the language they know.

In the second place, party preference varies in the way predicted from other survey studies of the same period. Table 6.1-A shows the proportional breakdown of party preferences among those speaking English and French as principal home languages. The customary greater preference among the French for the Liberal Party (between the two major parties), and their preference (which developed suddenly in the 1960's) for the Social Credit Party (between the two minor parties), as compared with the English, are shown clearly here.

The opposition of French Canadians to large-scale immigration, also already documented elsewhere, is similarly confirmed by the adult survey when the attitudes of the speakers of the two official languages are compared. Table 6.2-A shows that receptivity to immigrants is greater among the speakers of English at each threshold of receptivity. Immigrants typically speak or learn English and further dilute the French-Canadian population concentration.

On the question of symbols, 66 per cent of the youth survey respondents speaking French at home preferred a new flag over an old one, while 56 per cent of the English-speakers had this preference, which is typically interpreted as a preference for a Canadian nationalist flag as opposed to one symbolizing British domination.[1]

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[1]Cf. Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, p. 12, whose percentages are based on all responses, not just those expressing definite preferences.

TABLE 6.1-A[a]

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE

Party Preference	Principal Home Language	
	English	French
Liberal	47%	70%
Conservative	31%	12%
Social Credit	5%	13%
N.D.P.	18%	5%
N	947	457

TABLE 6.2-A[a]

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE AND OPINION ON IMMIGRATION

Percentage with at least indicated receptivity to immigration	Principal Home Language	
	English	French
High	30%	11%
Medium	52%	23%
Low	96%	82%
N	2020	1381

[a]Comparing these two tables, we see that response totals on party preference are less than those on immigration, but that the approximate ratios are 1:2 for the English and 1:3 for the French. A comment on the difficulty of getting party preference information from French Canadians is provided by Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, pp. 125-26.

Another difference observed between French-Canadian and English-Canadian respondents is in their attitudes toward joining organizations.[1] French Canadians, when asked what type of organization they preferred to join (ethnically homogeneous or heterogeneous), more often offered that they preferred to join no organization at all. Of adult respondents who spoke primarily French, 18 per cent gave this response, while only 7 per cent of those speaking mainly English gave this answer.

Just as the distribution of attitudes on these five questions is different for those mainly speaking the two different languages, so also it is to be expected that those who are able to speak both English and French will have attitudinal distributions lying somewhere in between those of the two groups of monolinguals. In fact, one could locate almost every Anglophone and Francophone on an English-French spectrum, ranging from native competence in English with no competence in French, on one end, to native competence in French with no competence in English, on the other.[2] According to our hypotheses, the distributions of these same five attitudes would vary along this spectrum.[3] A counter-hypothesis, however, would be that bilinguals are different from monolinguals in a way more important than the difference between English and French monolinguals. Bilinguals, it could be (and has been) argued, would be more tolerant, more disturbed psychologically, or otherwise different from monolinguals.

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[1] Cf. Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, p. 103.

[2] Excluded would be only those with another principal language.

[3] Cf. Roger Brown, et al., Psycholinguistics (New York: The Free Press, 1970), p. 254: "Interestingly, bilingual Zunis who knew English fell between the monolingual Zuni and the native speaker of English in the frequency with which they confused the orange colors . . . ."

And one study has indeed found that, depending on the issue, English-French bilinguals' attitudes do not always have a distribution between those characterizing the monolingual groups.[1]

The relevant evidence from the Royal Commission surveys appears in Fig. 6.3-AY. Both of the two patterns just suggested, and mixtures thereof, are displayed in that figure. The focus of political interest varies steeply with position on the English-French competence continuum. The propensity to avoid joining groups, and preference among the parties, vary substantially each on just one side of the continuum, suggesting that when two groups learn each other's languages the attitudinal exchange which ensues is not indiscriminate and not always in one direction. The attitude on the flag appears to conform in part to the hypothesis about the special traits of bilinguals. Support for a new flag, which involves an image of a plural Canada, is higher among bilinguals than among monolinguals on either side. Thus, when it is said that the French prefer a new flag more than the English, one additional way to account for this fact is to note that the French are far more often bilingual than the English in Canada. But the skewed shape of the curve shows that, given any degree of bilingualism, the French were somewhat more often for a new flag than the English. Finally, the attitude on immigration also appears to vary in a mixture of the two patterns, as one might expect in view of the nature of the issue. This time the curve is oppositely skewed. To favor immigration is to favor foreign and diverse additions to the popu-

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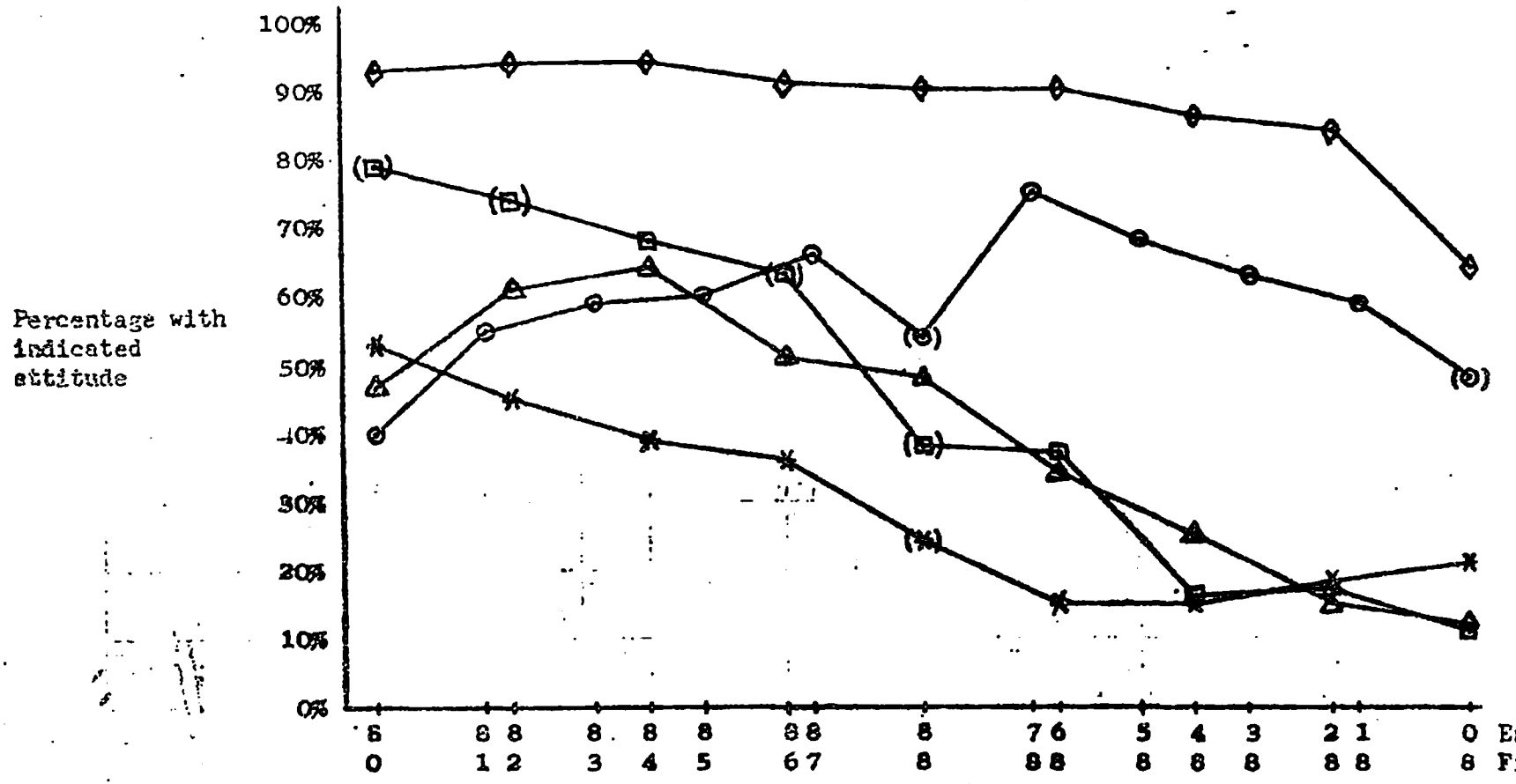
[1]Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity, pp. 165-66.



Competence Key:

0 = none
1 = youth low
2 = adult low
3 = youth medium-low
4 = adult medium
5 = youth medium-high
6 = adult high
7 = youth high
8 = native

Attitude Key:

⊡ = more interested in Federal than provincial politics (Quebec interviewees only)
* = prefers Conservative Party or N.D.P. among four main parties
△ = at least medium receptivity to immigration
⊙ = prefers new to old flag
◇ = does not reject joining organizations

Fig. 6.3-AY--Language Competence and Opinions

lation, but it is also to favor an influx of elements that will inevitably add to the English-speaking and proportionately subtract from the French-speaking component of the population.

Because of the exceedingly small number of respondents in certain categories of language competence in some regions (especially the near absence of Francophones speaking no English outside of Quebec), and because of the reduced response rate on the question about party preference, it is not feasible to explore to the degree that might be desired the possibility that attitudes may be distributed very unevenly among the regions and, within each region, may have a contagion pattern not highly related to language competence. There is, however, some reason to believe that different regions have their own "cultures," and it would be interesting to know whether these can be accounted for in part by the very biased regional distribution of English and French Canadians, or whether, on the contrary, the different attitudes prevailing in the two main language groups can more satisfactorily be accounted for by reference to the regions they mainly inhabit.

It has been claimed, for example, that Montreal is much more oriented toward Federal politics, compared with provincial politics, than is the rest of Quebec.[1] So perhaps our finding, portrayed in Fig. 6.3-AY, that interest in Federal versus provincial politics is more common among those with more proficiency in English and less proficiency in French is merely a reflection of the more heavily English-speaking composition of Montreal.

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[1] Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, p. 130.

Since Montrealers can be definitely identified only in the youth survey, it can be used as a second-best source of information relevant to this claim.

The youth survey shows some difference, though not a consistent one, between Montreal and the rest of Quebec regarding the emphasis placed on the province. Asked to fill in any five items on a blank map of Canada, about half of the French speakers mentioned Quebec in their responses, both in Montreal and outside. But of those French-speaking youths who felt that the best government to work for would be one other than their local municipality, only 51 per cent of the Montrealers chose the provincial over the Federal government, while those outside the metropolis were more "provincial": 61 per cent said a job with the government of Quebec would be better than one with the Canadian government. Even this difference, however, is a moderate one, and, as might thus be expected, separating Montrealers from other Quebec respondents does not wipe out the association between language and provincialness. This separation fails to reduce the large difference between the responses of English-speakers and French-speakers to the map question. About one-seventh of the English, but half of the French, mentioned Quebec, whether they lived inside or outside Montreal. Likewise, the difference between the preferences of the two language groups for one or another government as employer is about 35 or 40 percentage points, whether measured inside Montreal, outside Montreal, or Quebec-wide. The French were more provincially oriented, while the vast majority of the English would rather work for the Federal government.[1]

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[1]For a description of English-Canadian avoidance of political participation in Montreal and the province generally, see Desbarats, The State

In view of what is already known,[1] there is little need to worry about whether the association between ethnicity (or principal language) and party preference disappears when regions are taken one at a time. The Liberal and Social Credit support shown by the two language groups in the two most populous provinces is compared with the figures for Canada as a whole in Table 6.4-A.

The most anti-immigration opinion has traditionally come from Quebec, and since immigrants are heavily British, overwhelmingly non-French, very likely to learn English and not French if they know neither, and viewed as a threat to the working class, it is natural that opposition to them should be strongest in a highly French and fairly lower-class province.[2] Conceivably, the opinion distribution on immigration could be purely regional, but the pattern discovered so far discourages such an expectation. Furthermore, the ethno-demographic game, whose stakes are highest in Quebec, would make it seem reasonable that the intra-Quebec difference between English- and French-speakers on the issue of immigration would be even sharper than the nationwide split. Table 6.5-A shows that this is the case. The figures show that, if attitudes on immigration vary with felt needs for ethnic protection(ism) or reinforcement, then the speakers of French feel equally threatened throughout Canada, but the Anglophones do not feel equally secure in Quebec as outside the province.

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of Quebec, pp. 39-42. Unfortunately, the analysis of how these attitudes vary with language competence inside and outside Montreal runs into the problem of small numbers of respondents.

[1] See Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, Chapters VII-IX.

[2] See Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity, pp. 86-8.

TABLE 6.4-A

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE WITHIN REGIONS

Percentage supporting Liberals or Social Credit, among those supporting one of four main parties, in:	Principal Home Language	
	English	French
Quebec	63%	80%
Ontario	50%	91%
Canada	51%	83%

TABLE 6.5-A

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE AND OPINION ON IMMIGRATION WITHIN REGIONS

Percentage with at least medium receptivity to immigration in:	Principal Home Language	
	English	French
Quebec	63%	23%
Rest of Canada	49%	23%
Canada	52%	23%

The regional variation in party preference and in attitudes toward immigration was confined largely to the speakers of English, and the opinions of French-speakers remained remarkably similarly distributed throughout the country. This is also the pattern shown by attitudes on the flag. In the light of what has already been written on regional variations in opinion on this issue,[1] responses have been tabulated separately for the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, and the rest of Canada. While the French preference for a new flag remained fairly steady at between 64 per cent and 70 per cent, in the three regions, the English opinion distribution varied considerably in the fashion described by Schwartz. The result is that French-speaking young people were 23 per cent more likely to favor a new flag than English-speakers in the Atlantic Provinces, only 12 per cent more likely in the West, and 8 per cent less likely in Quebec.[2] Regional cultures seem, then, to exist, but they are not responsible for the English-French differences of opinion; rather, these regional variations exist only for the English-speaking segment of the population, and the intra-regional differences between the two language groups therefore are greater in some regions and less in others than the differences existing nationwide.

Depending on which attitudinal attribute is being considered, a number of different conditions may exist under which the relationships shown so far are weak or absent. In the case of interest in Federal versus pro-

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[1] Schwartz, Public Opinion and Canadian Identity, p. 106.

[2] Cf. Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, pp. 12-3. My figures are expressions of absolute differences between percentages, not of proportional differences between absolutes.

vincial politics, such a likely condition is educational. Since those with more education are more often interested in Federal politics, and are also likely to be English-speakers or to know English if their main language is French, much of the association between principal language or the language-competence continuum and the focus of political interest may have been due to their mutual associations with education. Small numbers prevent a refined control, but within the broad educational categories that can be analyzed strong associations persist, as can be seen in Table 6.6-A.

Among low-education French-speakers, who would normally be expected to show little interest in Federal vis-à-vis provincial politics in Quebec, competence in English is clearly accompanied by greater interest in the Federal level (see Table 6.7-A). Conversely, highly educated English-speakers, because of their language-group membership and their education, would be expected to pay attention mostly to Federal politics. This they did, but they were also more likely to have greater interest in provincial politics if they could speak French than if they could not.

A large number of additional variables might be suspected of interfering with the relationship between language and party preference. Of these the major one is probably religion. If we eliminate the religious factor by comparing only English-speaking and French-speaking Catholics, we find the English-French difference in party preference considerably reduced, but still not eliminated. Among Catholics, 15 per cent of the speakers of French as principal language intended to vote Conservative or N.D.P., as opposed to 30 per cent of the English-speakers. Since 78

TABLE 6.6-A

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND FOCUS OF POLITICAL INTEREST

Percentage more interested in Federal than provincial politics among those with indicated education	Principal Home Language	
	English	French
Less than 11 years	76%	89%
11 years or more	70%	84%

TABLE 6.7-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND FOCUS OF POLITICAL INTEREST

Percentage more interested in Federal than provincial politics among those whose education and principal home language are:	Competence in Other Official Language	
	High or Medium	Low or None
0 - 9 years, French	88%	12%
10+ years, English	67%	75%

per cent of the Protestant English-speakers supported one of these two parties, religion can indeed account for much of the difference in party preference between the two language groups. A substantial difference remains, even among Catholics, however.[1]

If, as shown above, Anglophones were more likely to support immigration than Francophones regardless of region, perhaps at least some of this difference is due to the fact that the former are economically better off and therefore more secure, as well as educationally more indulged and therefore possibly more tolerant, than the latter. Since economic status is difficult to measure with the survey responses but is associated closely with education, let us see how the two language groups differ on immigration when both have had a similar amount of formal education. As expected, opinions on immigration vary greatly with education, but as far as we can tell educational difference between the groups do not account for most of the difference in pro-and anti-immigration sentiment. Within every educational range, as Fig. 6.8-A shows, Anglophones were more commonly pro-immigration than Francophones, even though the latter are more often bilingual. In addition, when respondents with less than ten years of education and those with ten or more years were considered separately, roughly the same kind of variation in immigration opinion was seen along the English-French competence continuum within each educational range as had been observed in Fig. 6.3-AY.

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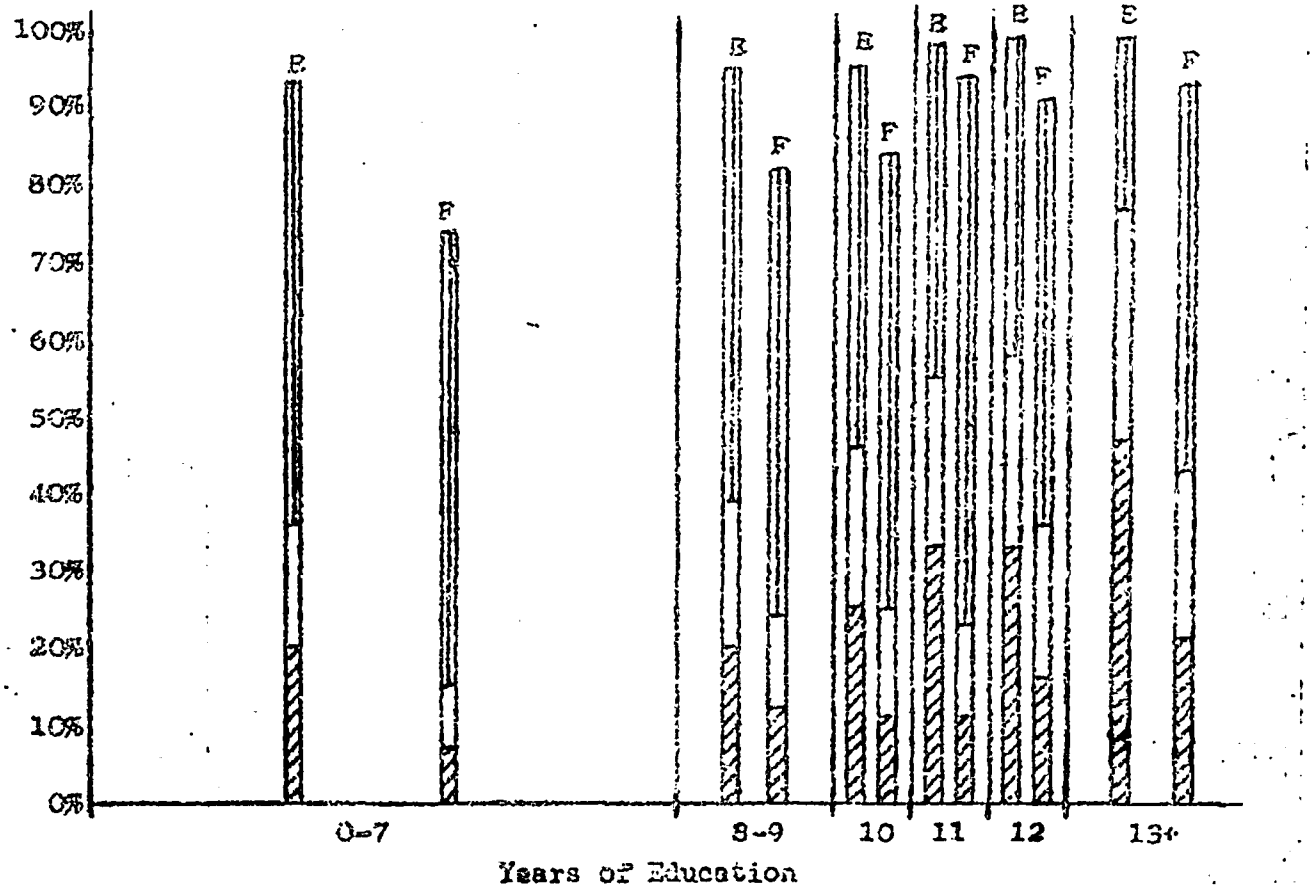
[1] For reasons against expecting economic class to dissolve the association, see Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, pp. 97-100; Alford, Party and Society, Chapter IX.

Percentage with indicated receptivity to immigration among those with indicated principal home language and education



Principal Home Language Key:
E = English
F = French

Opinion Key:
= high receptivity
= medium receptivity
= low receptivity

Length of segment indicates percentage having this receptivity. Height of top of segment indicates percentage having at least this receptivity.

Fig. 6.8-A--Principal Home Language, Educational Attainment, and Opinion on Immigration

The avoidance of group membership among French-speakers has been shown to be most frequent for those who speak no English at all and rarest for those with fluency in English. Perhaps, however, the anti-organizational culture is established in the first place only among those of a particular background, and is eroded by either a dilution of the French-Canadian population or exposure to lengthy formal education, either of which is also likely to cause the acquisition of competence in English. If, then, we look at Catholics of French-Canadian background and separate those with little education who lived in highly French-populated areas from all others, will the avoidance of group membership still vary with competence in English? Table 6.9-A shows that it does. Thus regardless of whether respondents were isolated from English Canada in other ways, they were more likely to avoid joining organizations if they were linguistically isolated. But the obverse is also true: regardless of whether they were linguistically isolated, they were more often opposed to joining groups if they were non-linguistically isolated from English Canadian culture.[1]

Language and Inter-Group Attitudes

The differences in attitudes between English- and French-speakers surveyed so far are over questions only indirectly related to the two languages and the collectivities of their speakers, even though one need not look far to find connections. We also expect, however, to see even

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[1] This second effect is stronger, in terms of percentage differences, than the former--in Table 6.9-A. But different dichotomizations of the variables in question might possibly leave the second effect weaker instead.

TABLE 6.9-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, SUBCULTURAL EXPOSURE, AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Catholic French Canadians

Percentage preferring to belong to no organizations, among:	Competence in Spoken English		
	More than Low	Low or None	Total
Those with 0-9 years of education, in districts 70+ per cent French	27%	33%	30%
All others	7%	19%	9%
All in Canada	12%	29%	17%

stronger attitudinal differences between speakers and non-speakers of a language on questions dealing directly with the language and its speakers. English-speakers will be more favorable to the English language and the English Canadians than those whose principal language is not English, and similarly for speakers and non-speakers of French. The expected association is seen, for example, in a comparison of opinions on whether English Canadians and French Canadians are attempting to gain excessive political influence in Canada. While less than one-fifth of those who spoke English as their principal language saw English Canadians as aiming for too much influence, 62 per cent of those who did not speak English as a principal language held this belief. The figures are almost identical with those for persons whose main language was French and those who did not speak French as a main language when asked about the same greed for political influence of the French Canadians. Going beyond these dichotomous results, we see in Fig. 6.10-A that competence in the relevant language is also predictive of the rate of greed-perceiving responses. In all but two possible paired comparisons, the higher a person's competence in either English or French, the less likely he was to see the attempts of English Canadians or French Canadians, respectively, at political influence as excessive.

When attention turns to policy questions rather than just reactions to the status quo, opinions still differ substantially according to language. Asked whether the Federal Government was doing too much, too little, or the right amount to give important government jobs to French Canadians, 9 per cent of those who did not speak French as a main language believed more

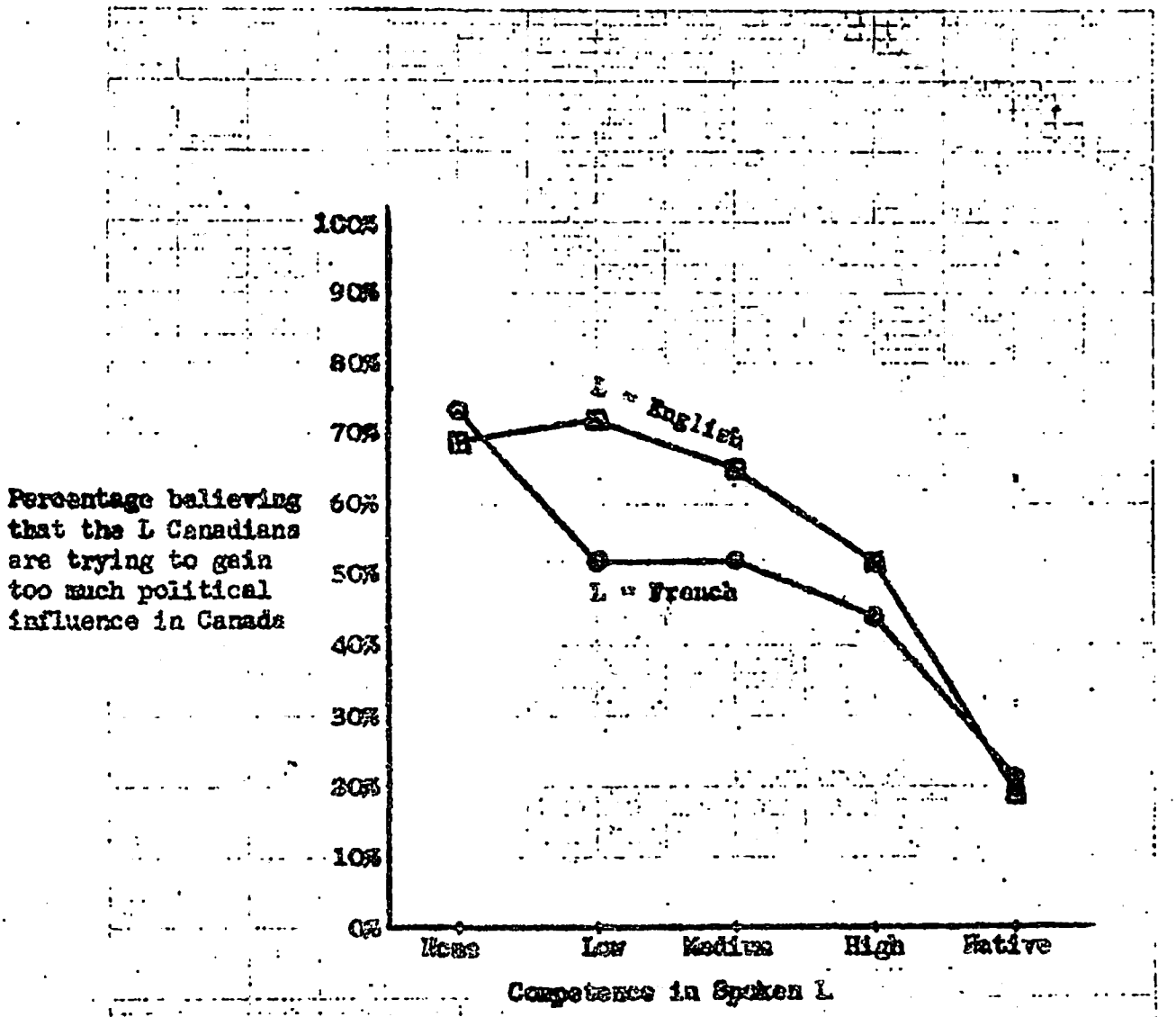

Fig. 6.10-A--Language Competence and Resentment of Political Influence

efforts were needed, while 55 per cent of those with French as their only principal language felt so. Likewise, the proportion favoring more such efforts was higher, in general, the greater the competence in French. Of those with native competence, 54 per cent wanted more Federal efforts; the figure for high competence was 19 per cent, medium competence 11 per cent, low competence 13 per cent, and no competence 7 per cent.

Attitudes on both of these questions--breaches of the proper limits of ethnic political influence and the need for recruitment of French Canadians to high government posts--might be suspected of varying regionally and not necessarily varying with language competence so widely as shown above within each region. The questions may have been read in the light of provincial as well as Canadian conditions, and thus interpreted differently in and outside of Quebec. At any rate, Quebec differs greatly from all the other regions in both language composition and the distribution of attitudes toward English and French Canadians. But is there a Quebec consensus covering the English-speaking minority as well as the Francophone majority? Regardless of what the figures on youth attitudes toward the flag issue might lead us to suppose, the answer given by Table 6.11-A is clearly no. While the non-French in Quebec appear somewhat more charitable to the French cause than the non-French outside Quebec, the French are also more assertive and defensive in Quebec than elsewhere.[1] But these variations between

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[1]The English may also seem slightly more defensive in Quebec than elsewhere; on the other hand, a good portion of the 20 per cent of the non-Quebec native English-speakers resenting English-Canadian influence may consist of "ethnic" Canadians of non-British and non-French background, who are as numerous in western Canada as the ethnically British and somewhat resentful of British domination. See Regenstreif, The Diefenbaker Interlude, p. 135.

TABLE 6.11-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES WITHIN RACIONS

Percentage resenting English-Canadian influence, among those interviewed:	Competence in Spoken English		
	Native	High	Less than High
In Quebec	17%	56%	69%
Elsewhere	20%	47%	62%
Percentage resenting French-Canadian influence, among those interviewed:	**Competence in Spoken French**		
	Native	High or Medium	None or Low
In Quebec	19%	45%	46%
Elsewhere	25%	54%	71%
Percentage favoring more high posts for French Canadians among those interviewed:	**Competence in Spoken French**		
	Native	High or Medium	None or Low
In Quebec	59%	16%	14%
Elsewhere	43%	12%	7%

Quebec and the rest of Canada are mostly small compared with the differences still existing between the native speakers, competent speakers, and non-speakers of English and French both in and outside of Quebec.

Because the suspicions between English and French Canadians in politics are naturally connected with the religious factor, it will be of interest to see whether views of the French Canadians' attempts at political influence remain associated with language competence when religion is taken into account. Although there are reports of considerable English-French hostility within the Catholic sector of the population,[1] we still expect that Protestants will be more likely to find French-Canadian attempts to gain political influence excessive in part because, as the adult survey shows, competence in French is higher, on the average, among Catholic than among Protestant non-French Canadians. One would expect attitudes toward such attempts to be much more charitable among those who might see themselves as the object of the question, of course. Let us therefore confine our attention to non-French Canadians and see whether, among Protestants and Catholics separately, competence in French was accompanied by a greater tolerance for French-Canadian influence in Canadian politics. Keeping in mind the regional difference revealed above and the fact that the question itself may have a different meaning in Quebec from outside Quebec, this territorial division is also incorporated into Table 6.12-A, where the results are shown.

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[1] E.g., Desbarats, The State of Quebec, p. 142.

TABLE 6.12-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, RELIGION, AND INTER-GROUP ATTITUDES WITHIN REGIONS:
NON-FRENCH CANADIANS

Percentage resenting French-Canadian influence, among:	Competence in Spoken French	
	More than Low	None or Low
Quebec Protestants	40%	54%
Quebec Catholics	46%	(45%)
Protestants elsewhere	63%	76%
Catholics elsewhere	(48%)	66%
Percentage favoring more high posts for French Canadians, among:		
Quebec Protestants	10%	11%
Quebec Catholics	15%	(14%)
Protestants elsewhere	4%	6%
Catholics elsewhere	(14%)	8%

Within three of the four regional-religious groups, those with no or low competence in French were more likely to resent French-Canadian attempts at political influence than those with at least medium French competence, although it is clear that the difference has been reduced by one or more of these controls. These same controls produce a similar but more pronounced effect for attitudes toward preferential hiring of French Canadians in government posts. We saw above that the only major differences on the question were between those with and without native competence in French. If we consider only non-French Canadians (as defined in Chapter IV), most respondents with native French competence will be excluded from the subsample being considered, and we can expect only minor differences on the issue of official recruitment policy between those with more and with less competence in French. As expected, the association between French competence and attitudes on this question is minuscule when these controls are performed.

Language and Group Identity

We have now observed two kinds of attitudinal differences associated with linguistic differences. First, we have seen how those with different native languages, and those with different levels of competence in their second language, tended to hold different positions on a number of social and political questions salient in Canada in 1965. And second, we have seen that several attitudes toward the two main ethnic groups of that country tended to vary with whether a person spoke each group's language at home, and if he did not, with how well he was able to speak it at all.

The third aspect of the attitudinal ingredient to be analyzed here is the sense of community. In some of its incarnations, this sense exhibited exceedingly close associations with language in the Canadian case. Asked to what ethnic group they considered they belong and to which of the two major groups they felt closer, English- and French-speakers answered in overwhelmingly different ways, as Table 6.13-A shows. Only 1 per cent of those whose principal language was English had a French-Canadian ethnicity (i.e., identity and felt proximity), and just two individuals out of 1488 who spoke mainly French had an English-Canadian one, while some of each language had ethnicities falling somewhere in between or outside.

Let us note a similar but weaker result in the case of a directly political aspect of identity, the question of what the boundaries of a political community should be. Speakers of the two languages in Quebec naturally differed in their propensity to favor the continued membership of Quebec in the Canadian polity. Of those speaking mainly English who gave initial or probed definite answers to the question, 1 per cent endorsed separation, while 11 per cent of those with French as their principal language did so.

Ethnic identity and proximity ("ethnicity"), which of the three types of attitudes being considered here shows the strongest association with principal home language, is strongly related to language competence as well. Over 99 per cent of the respondents who identified with and felt closer to the French Canadians were highly competent in French, and <u>every single</u> respondent who identified with and felt closer to the English Canadians had

TABLE 6.13-A

PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE AND ETHNICITY

Ethnic identity and sentiment (ethnicity)	Principal Home Language	
	English	French
English-Canadian	56%	0%
Mixed or non-ethnic	43%	22%
French-Canadian	1%	78%
N	2199	1488

native competence in English. The proportion giving mixed or non-ethnic responses was the one proportion that varied gradually across the whole English-French continuum of competence. As Fig. 6.14-A shows, the rate of mixed or non-ethnic identity and sentiment varies directly with the similarity between the levels of English and French competence.

It should be noted that there is nothing tautological about the fact that (practically) only fluent speakers of a given language identify unreservedly with the same-ethnic group. What is surprising about this result is that it shows uncompromising French-Canadian identification and sentiment to have disappeared among those of French origin who have been assimilated to the English language over the generations. Since, in all the provinces except Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario, there are more monolingual English-speakers than monolingual French-speakers among the French-origin population,[1] it is clear that rapid linguistic assimilation is occurring, and these figures show that ethnic assimilation follows close behind. Thus the French Canadians, who constitute by general recognition the most distinctive ethnic group of substantial size in Canada and do so largely because they have preserved their language, may become one of the least distinctive groups of all when they do not preserve their language.[2]

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[1] Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1961.

[2] Cf. Lieberson, Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada, p. 130: "Recognizing that ethnic isolation might be maintained even without linguistic differentiation, in Canada it is clear that there is little ethnic isolation when the French mother tongue is given up." Lieberson is discussing residential segregation.

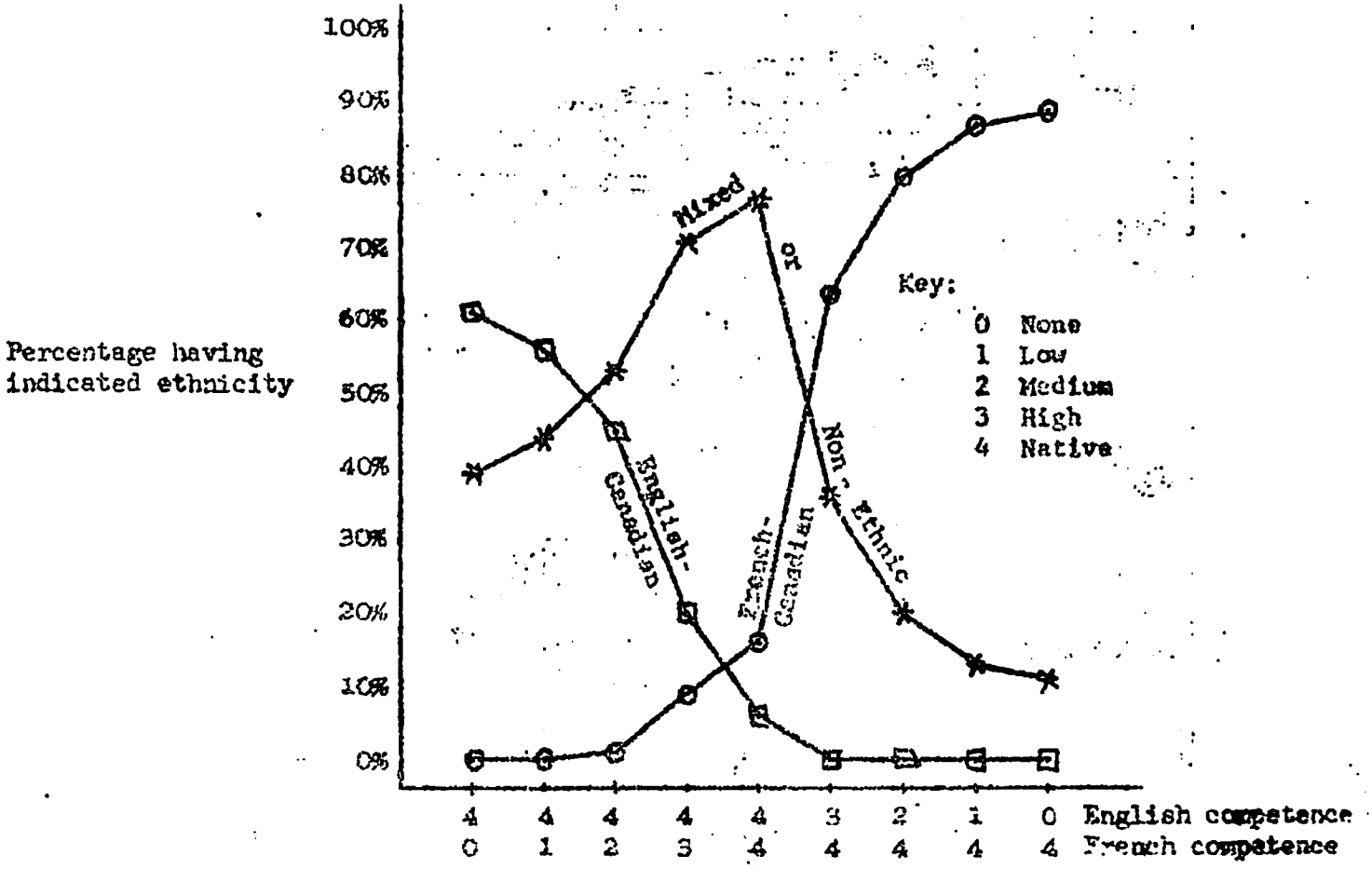

Fig. 6.14-A--Language Competence and Ethnicity

If those with competence in both English and French are more likely than monolingual speakers of either tongue to avoid identifying themselves with one of the two "charter" ethnic groups, then it would also seem sensible that bilinguals more often see the English and French Canadians as capable of living together in a single political community, the more so since bilinguals would be likely to see themselves as having made an investment in the viability of such a community. Surprisingly, however, this guess is wrong for the youth sample, which has asked what proportion of the issues about Canada's future English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians would agree and disagree on. The result was that French-speakers tended to see more interethnic agreement than did English Canadians, but that within each language group there was only minor and apparently random variation among those with different levels of language competence on the question of interethnic compatibility. Perhaps the jump from self-identification to social description is broader than was expected.

Opinions on the desirability of a separate Quebec varied little with language competence, and not according to any of the patterns so far observed. Although the speakers of French in Quebec were more frequently separatist than the speakers of English, it was not the monolingual French who were most often separatists, but the bilinguals among those for whom French was the principal language. The separatist fraction was greatest among those who spoke French as the principal language and English with medium competence.

Regional differences can account for variations in French speakers' separatism better than can linguistic ones. Montreal, it has been said,

has a culture in which the French are "allergic" to the English, in which "a French Canadian crashes against the 'English fact' at every turn," in which linguistic stratification is unconcealed in commerce, in which "the French-Canadian Montrealer feels threatened and oppressed by the English-speaking people," and in which French Canadians are "more aggressive, less tolerant," and irritated at the need to use their English in communications with English-speakers, whose French is poor.[1] The adult survey offers no way to separate Montrealers from the other respondents in the metropolitan areas of Quebec. But the former constitute a large majority of the latter, and when we divide the respondents into metropolitan and non-metropolitan residents we find that 14 per cent of the metropolitans and 7 per cent of the non-metropolitans favored Quebec separation, and in neither group did the percentage of separatists vary monotonically with competence in English. The results are shown in Table 6.15-A.

In addition to the languages a person speaks himself, his ancestry and the linguistic background from which he came would seem likely to contribute to his ethnic self-identification and sentiment. Since this same background is, to a great extent, responsible for the linguistic repertoire of any individual, it can be imagined that the relationship shown in Fig. 6.14-A between ethnicity and language competence was spurious. One test involves the isolation of two purebred groups: those with non-French names whose parents spoke nothing but English, and those with French names whose parents spoke nothing but French. In each case we can see whether

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[1] Tesbarets, The State of Quebec, pp. 74-5.

TABLE 6.15-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, COMMUNITY SIZE, AND SEPARATISM:
QUEBEC INTERVIEWEES WITH FRENCH AS PRINCIPAL HOME LANGUAGE

Percentage favoring Quebec separatism, among those living:	Competence in Spoken English				
	High	Medium	Low	None	Total
In a metropolitan area	11%	16%	19%	14%	14%
Elsewhere in Quebec	13%	9%	5%	7%	7%
Anywhere in Quebec	11%	13%	13%	9%	11%

those who were more competent in the other language tended more often to have a mixed or non-ethnic identification and sentiment, rather than aligning themselves unambivalently with the ethnic group associated with their parents' language (none associated themselves entirely with the opposite ethnic group). The number of respondents in each category being small, overall statistics of pairwise association will be more reliable than a comparative graph. When we take all possible pairs of respondents of indisputably English or French background who differ in competence in the <u>other</u> official language, we find that the more competent member of the pair is more likely to reject or modify the ethnic identity or sentiment associated with his own heritage, if the two respondents differ in ethnicity (see Table 6.16-A).

Language Competence and Attitudinal Integration: Cause and Effect

Of course, the only increase in competence or growth in mixed ethnicity that we have observed are the changes resulting from shifting our own focus from one to another subset of the respondents. We have seen several associations between linguistic and attitudinal characteristics, but little has been said about whether changes in attitudes and changes in language competence are associated, and, if so, which kind of change leads and which follows.

As has been discussed in previous chapters, we can explore the extent to which the correlates of language competence lead to, rather than follow from, such competence if we are willing to make certain assumptions, e.g., that intentions to learn will be realized. In this chapter, however,

TABLE 6.16-A

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, ETHNIC BACKGROUND, AND ETHNICITY

	Pairs of Respondents Differing in Competence in the Other Official Language and Being of Purely:	
	English Background	French Background
Percentage in which the two respondents differ in ethnicity, with the mixed or rejected ethnicity being that of the one whose competence in the other official language is:		
Greater	25%	17%
Less	15%	9%
Percentage in which the two respondents do not differ in ethnicity	60%	74%
N	98,147	93,725

to follow this course would amount to showing that the desire to learn the other language is associated with the possession of certain other attitudes, especially attitudes that are positive toward the other language and its associated ethnic group. Beyond telling us something about attitudinal consistency, this route would do little to answer the question whether attitudes influence language learning, for a positive answer would be an assumption underlying the inquiry. Even so, the intercorrelation of language-learning intentions with other attidues might suggest that, if intentions are realized, the effect of attitudes is different for different groups.

The intention to learn is associated, for example, with a desire for interaction with the ethnic group primarily speaking the language concerned. But, as we can see in Table 6.17-A, the association is weak regarding the learning of English and strong regarding the learning of French. This difference makes sense in the light of the already mentioned tendency for French Canadians to regard learning English as a matter of material advancement and for English Canadians to see the value, if any, of learning French as lying in cultural relations.

TABLE 6.18-A

DESIRE FOR INTER-ETHNIC FRIENDSHIPS AND DESIRE FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING

Non-English Canadians with Less Than High Competence in English			
	Want English Canadians among Best Friends?		
	Yes	Maybe	No
Percentage wanting to learn English or more English	91%	79%	69%
Non-French Canadians with Less Than High Competence in French			
	Want French Canadians among Best Friends?		
	Yes	Maybe	No
Percentage wanting to learn French or more French	78%	59%	34%

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Problem

Language and languages, spoken and written, have increasingly become an object of political conflict and of policy-making, although different chroniclers assign the principal expansion of the saliences of language as a political issue to different centuries. Reasons that have been cited for the rise into importance of this issue area include the extension of education to population masses, their social and economic mobilization, the growth of democracy and self-determination, and the rise of nationality as a major criterion of identification. These developments, and the increasingly political character that they have given to linguistic affairs, have both facilitated and frustrated man's attempts to reform and regulate language and language behavior. Continual progress in pure and applied linguistics is a fact which has also encouraged and aided such reform and regulation.

These attempts, in turn, arise in large part from a variety of beliefs, different ones of which are shared by different political actors and scholars, to the effect that things linguistic have important effects on things social and political. According to these beliefs, the influential variables include the position attained (or not attained) by a language as medium of education, of official or commercial communication, or of national symbolic representation; the development (e.g., written status,

standardization) of a language; the other characteristics (e.g., purity) of a language; the diffusion of knowledge of a language; and the linguistic unity or diversity of a population. The effects of these variables are believed to be worked on a number of social and political attributes, such as educational attainment, occupational status, political power, personality, and satisfaction, among individuals; and economic development, mass mobilization levels, centralization, and political integration, in societies.

Among the beliefs most persistently exhibited by students of comparative politics and of sociolinguistics is the belief that linguistic diversity poses a threat to "political integration," at least in certain types of societies (especially centralized, participatory, and egalitarian ones). One way to investigate such a claim is to compare linguistically united and linguistically diverse polities, seeing whether the former really tend to be politically more integrated than the latter. A second approach is to codify or formulate hypotheses about <u>why</u> linguistic disunity might be a threat to political integration. With this approach, one can see whether people behave in patterns which substantiate the belief in a tension between language diversity and political integration.

Of these two complimentary approaches, this study adopts the second, and therefore examines a set of hypotheses about the relationships between an individual's position (or change of position) with respect to a linguistic cleavage and certain of his behaviors, which are, for the purposes of this study, assumed to be ingredients of political integration. Taking three different views ("communicational," "allocational," and "attitudinal") of

political integration that have currency in the literature of political scholarship, we find hypotheses outstanding which relate patterns of language cleavage (i.e., who knows what language), both as cause and as effect, to political integration (i.e., to intergroup communication, intergroup allocation of benefits, and intergroup attitudes).

Communication is hypothesized to be more widespread, more frequent, and more elaborate among those with language communality than among those without it; changes in language communality and in the experienced amount of intergroup communication are hypothesized each to lead to the other. By extension, a similar relationship is hypothesized between competence in the official or political language and participation in political communication.

Linguistically diverse polities are hypothesized to favor one language over others, with the speakers of the favored language being more indulged than the speakers of the other languages. The propensity of a person to learn another language is hypothesized to vary with the reward he anticipates from knowing it, and also with the benefits (especially educational) he already enjoys.

Those sharing a language are hypothesized, finally, to share opinions as well, to have favorable attitudes toward each other, and to share with each other a sense of identity more often than those without a common language, while the existence of favorable attitudes and a common sense of identity are believed in turn to cause more successful language learning.

These three sets of hypotheses share the following characteristics: (a) Each set includes some hypotheses relating individual properties and

some relating the properties of groups and societies; (b) Some hypotheses in each set are contested by counter-hypotheses which may also be found in the literature; and (c) Each set contains some synchronic and some diachronic hypotheses, with the latter including both assertions that changes in a follow changes in b, and propositions that changes in b follow changes in a.

The Data

Two recent surveys of national samples of Canadians, conducted under the auspices of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and so far subjected to little published analysis, were used to test these hypotheses. The data were especially appropriate for three reasons. First, survey analysis has been utilized less than other major forms of analysis in the investigation of hypotheses dealing with this area of interest, so that relevant survey-amenable hypotheses have not often been tested. Second, Canada of 1965 is a relatively participatory, egalitarian, and fairly centralized polity, which furthermore clearly exhibits a highly salient linguistic cleavage and a number of linguistic issues usually found in linguistically split societies. Thus hypotheses based on the experiences of other such countries might be expected to be verified in Canada, too, and vice versa. And third, having been the subject of substantial macro-level and survey investigation, Canada has a number of relevant characteristics whose distributions across regions and population classes are well known; some of these distributions were adduced in assumptions useful for the controlling of relationships between survey responses.

The available surveys were more useful for testing some of the hypotheses presented than others, but each survey was used to fill some of the gaps of the other, and together with reasonable assumptions they were appropriate to the testing of several of the hypotheses. Although appropriate, the data had, like all data, limitations. The fact that they were survey data restricted their usefulness for testing hypotheses about changes over time. The fact that the data were from a single country means that alternative explanations may still be possible for the regularities discovered in that country, and that comparative research will in such cases be required to select among them. One important question is whether the same regularities will be found elsewhere for all cleavages, all cleavages of a certain (e.g., "primordial") type, all language cleaveges only, just salient language cleavages, or only language cleavages more salient than other cleavages present in the same society. Another question is whether the differences between the speakers of English and of French will be successfully explained as differences between a dominant and a subordinate group, or as differences attributable only to the two cultural histories of the English Canadians and the French Canadians.

The Findings

Language and Communicational Integration

It was discovered from the survey analysis that the non-English Canadians were more likely to have contact with English Canadians if the former knew English than if not. The analogous finding was made in the case of contacts with French Canadians by non-French Canadians who did or

did not know French. In addition, in each case those with contact had more frequent contact if they knew the language, and were also more likely to have close friends in the contacted ethnic group. Not only did these contact variables vary in the expected direction between those with and without any knowledge of the ethnic group's main language, but they also varied as expected with the level of competence in the language. These relationships remained strong when the major regions of Canada were examined one by one.

It was then hypothesized that the observed relationship would vary in strength with the relative dominance of the language concerned, because the speakers of a language would not be contactable only in their own language where the latter was subordinate. This secondary hypothesis was confronted with the data, which showed the respondents behaving as the hypothesis would predict if English was more or less dominant over French throughout Canada, even in largely French areas of Quebec (an assertion made by some observers, chiefly about economic domination). In other words, contact, frequency of contact, and frequency of friendships consistently varied with whether non-members spoke the language of the contacted groups, and these variables equally consistently varied more with whether they spoke English than with whether they spoke French.

If the reason for these associations is that linguistic ignorance is a barrier to contact, the data show that this barrier is not absolute, since substantial amounts of contact took place that would seem to be linguistically impossible. But ignorance of French was accompanied by a more widespread perception that French Canadians acted superior to others,

and this perception could be expected to reduce the rate of voluntary contact.

In contrast to this weak evidence for a linguistic influence on contact, the data support more strongly the belief that contact contributes to language knowledge. Whether or not respondents had studied either language formally as a second language, their knowledge of it was substantially greater if their early exposure to it had included using it in ordinary life, and those with use but no study had a better record of competence than those with study but no use. In addition, the desire to learn each language or learn it better among those not fluent in it was more frequent among those with contacts in the corresponding ethnic group.

Language and Allocational Integration

Given the existing knowledge about differences in education, occupation status, and income between English and French Canadians, an attempt was made to discover whether these differences were attributable to language competence differences or to other variables. As expected, respondents from French-speaking homes were found to have lower educational levels than those growing up in English-speaking homes. The association was not appreciably reduced by looking separately at Quebec and at the rest of Canada, nor by confining attention to French Catholics. Controlling for the educational and separately for the occupational levels of the respondents' parents did make the association decline, but most of the previous English-French discrepancy remained.

Occupational level and income were also confirmed as varying with the respondents' competence in English. This variation was not greatly reduced

when French Catholics alone were considered, and the differences between French Catholics who did and did not speak English were at least as great as those between English-speakers who were and were not French Catholics.

In addition, intergenerational assimilation to English was found to be accompanied by a higher than normal incidence of perceived upward movement in social status, and neither a regional control nor a control for intergenerational occupational mobility reliably reduced the association.

It would be wrong to assume that these associations resulted totally from the effect of language competence on the allocation of benefits, for the data also provide evidence that one important benefit, education, is a cause of the acquisition of competence in the privileged language. Competence in English varied considerably with education among those who grew up in non-English-speaking homes, and this was true even in Quebec, where education itself could be had in French. Naturally, an even stronger relationship was found between years of language study and competence in the language, which, for reasons that can be speculated, seemed to respond better to the study of English than to the study of French. Finally, competence in both English and French was greater among those non-native speakers who perceived a definite material advantage in knowing the language than among those who did not.

Language and Attitudinal Integration

Several differences in political and social opinions were found between those speaking French and those speaking English as their principal language, mostly being among the opinion differences between the ethnic or

language groups that had been revealed in earlier work. The speakers of French were more interested in provincial than federal politics (in Quebec), more supportive of the Liberal and the Social Credit Parties, more opposed to immigration, more in favor of a new Canadian flag, and more likely to avoid joining organizations.

An analysis was then performed to discover whether the respondents, when arrayed on an English-French spectrum of language competence, would have opinions varying monotonically along this spectrum or would have opinions differing principally between bilinguals and (both groups of) monolinguals. These two patterns, both of which were predicted by different hypotheses, both appeared, with asymmetrical variations of the former pattern also appearing. While bilinguals were more approving of a new flag than either group of monolinguals, for example, interest in federal politics among Quebec interviewees varied monotonically with proximity to the English-only end of the English-French competence spectrum (suggesting the hypothesis that political interest is focused on the level of government whose language one knows best). When different regions were analysed separately, the associations increased in some while decreasing in others, for it was found that the opinions of French speakers hardly varied from region to region, yet the interregional variation of English opinion was great. The opinions continued to vary substantially with language even when the most apparent likely cause of a spurious association was introduced as a control.

Even stronger associations were expected, and found, between the respondents' principal language and their intergroup attitudes. Specifically,

resentment of the attempts of the two main ethnic groups to gain political influence in Canada, and attitudes toward increased Federal recruitment of French Canadians into high government posts, both varied strongly between those with English and those with French as principal language, in the expected direction. The data showed that these differences could be explained no more than in part by religion and regionally varying characteristics. Smaller differences in the same direction were also found, among those with a given principal language, along the variable of competence in the other major language.

Finally, the strongest association of all was discovered between language--both principal language and position on the English-French spectrum--and group identity. Although the literature portrays ethnicity in Canada as a mixture of linguistic and ancestral attributes, these data indicate a clear predominance of the linguistic factor. Not only was the tendency to avoid giving oneself an unequivocal ethnic affiliation up to seven times higher for bilinguals than for monolinguals, but those without substantial competence in English or French almost never aligned themselves unambiguously with the English or French Canadians, respectively. The ethnic identity of the French Canadians thus appears menaced over time by a dependence on linguistic preservation as a necessary condition. The analysis of group identity did not reveal only confirmatory evidence, however. As opposed to personal identity, attitudes on the political compatibility of English and French Canadians in general, and on Quebec separatism in particular, did not vary as the hypotheses had predicted.

The tracing of cause and effect in these attitudinal associations is the most difficult of all because of the absence of information about attitudinal histories. Thus no attempt was made to test sequential hypotheses in this area. Evidence was found, however, for the contention that favorable attitudes toward the group speaking a language are more important causes of language learning motivation if the language is subordinate than if it is dominant: the desire to learn French was associated strongly with the desire for French Canadian friends, but the corresponding association for English was only weak.

The Significance of the Findings

The findings of this study mean, first, that a number of associations between linguistic and political behavior among individuals, hypothesized in various previous works, have been shown to obtain in the population of one country. As far as could be determined from a variety of tests on the available information, the other variables most likely to account for these relationships between linguistic and political behavior do not suffice to explain them. For a number of reasons, however, any conclusion about the truth of the tested hypotheses must remain tentative, pending further investigation. Canada may belong to a limited class of countries in which these hypotheses are confirmed, e.g., countries where language is a salient cleavage or other cleavages are fairly minor. And language, on the other hand, may belong to a larger set of cleavages about which a set of hypothesescapable of subsuming those tested here will be confirmed.

Although the testing of the stated hypotheses is still incomplete, the tests performed so far are not without some byproducts worth noting. A

theme that emerged continually from the data as the hypotheses were being tested was that although they were mostly confirmed for both English Canadians and French Canadians, the magnitudes of the associations differed from one group or language to the other in a way that suggested and reflected the dominance of the English over the French. Since "dominance" is a vague term, it might be better to say that the differences shown for these samples were evidence of the existence of kinds of dominance (i.e., the existence of similar differences in the whole Canadian population) which could be added to the catalogue of kinds of dominance that other information has shown to obtain. Chapter V and part of Chapter IV have begun to investigate the forms of dominance displayed by these data. An impressive finding is that in this regard Quebec, notwithstanding the popular French-Canadian saying to the contrary, is "a province like the others": the dominant behavior of English there was just as pronounced as elsewhere.

How do behaviors with respect to Canada's two official languages differ, so as to be interpreted as a manifestation of the dominance of English over French? A first approximation to the answer is the pattern that we observed earlier in the study: the associations between language competence and the ingredients of political integration were stronger for competence in English than for competence in French. Contact with the relevant ethnic group, and the receipt of educational and economic benefits, vary more with a French speaker's knowledge of English than with an English speaker's knowledge of French. But a correction to this approximation must be made for attitudinal variables.

While material variables were almost always more highly associated with competence in English, attitudinal variables tended often to be more highly associated with competence in French. This was the case for the desire for friends in the other ethnic group, satisfaction with treatment by the other group's members, and preference among parties. If one were to assume that persons now bilingual used to have attitudinal, as well as communicational and allocational, attributes distributed in the same proportions as among those of their fellow native-language speakers who are still monolingual, then the pattern just mentioned would lead to speculation that, in general, a subordinate group member who learns the dominant group's language also acquires the latter group's tangible attributes but retains many former attitudes (even ones conflicting with those normal among the dominant group); while a dominant group member who learns the language of a subordinate group does not become socioeconomically similar to members of that group, but does acquire some of their attitudes.

Given a situation of domination and subordination, one might expect what has indeed taken place: displays of resentment and rebellion in the subordinate group, and denials of domination or of the wrongness of domination in the dominant group. But the English-French conflict in Canada has been characterized by fairly peaceful negotiation and accomodation in most periods of history and on most sub-issues of the conflict, with Quebec separatism being the one sub-issue on which the two groups have been brought into violent clashes in the last decade. Our data provide information about individual behavior which is consistent with this pattern. On most attitudinal measures it is those who are most isolated from either ethnic

group (in the sense of being geographically distant or not knowing the group's language) who have opinions most different from theirs or most unfavorable to them. Whether or not this pattern is the result of physical and/or attitudinal migration, in which individuals move into environments where the modal attitudes resemble their own more closely or modify their attitudes to resemble those in their environment, our data do not reveal. But the static pattern shown by the data is what one might call a pattern of attitudinal buffering, reducing the likelihood that two people in close contact will be very hostile to each other. The major exception discovered so far is Quebec separatism among French-speaking Quebec interviewees, who were more likely to be separatist if they lived in a metropolitan area, i.e., near English Canadians. This, then, is one issue area on which strong disagreement varies with contact, not with isolation, and the comparatively explosive character of the separatist issue is not surprising in this light.[1]

Another remarkable regularity of the responses was the way they showed language to be the chief ethnic identity marker in Canada today. Although the terms "English Canadian" and "French Canadian" have had ancestral and, in the latter case, religious referents as well as linguistic ones, recent literature suggests that the linguistic criterion is becoming supreme, and the strong association between language competence and ethnic identification shown by our data is compatible with this observation. Going beyond identification, we also have seen that the income and educational dif-

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[1]Opinions on immigration among English speakers also provide a less pronounced exception.

ferences between French Catholics who do and who do not know how to speak English are as great as or greater than between French Catholics and non-French Catholics competent in English. Even if language defines, more than ever before, the major cleavage in Canadian society, it is interesting to note how much communication goes on, according to another of our findings, where no common language is likely to exist, at least among teen-agers.

Further Research Suggested by this Analysis

The analysis reported in this study is by no means exhaustive of the data on which it was performed. Further investigation can and should be conducted on some of the same questions by the use of the same two surveys. Besides introducing more controls, we could learn more by seeing how the associations discovered so far vary with the specific item or items used to stand for one or another notion. Contact with a given ethnic group, for example, can be defined not only as present contact in general but also as present or past contact, or as contact in a specific environment (e.g., store and restaurant, school, neighborhood). Thus one could discover whether language competence in English is better predicted by occupational contact and competence in French by non-occupational contact, as one would expect on the basis of what is known about the motives commonly expressed for learning the two languages. Competence itself, of course, could be variously defined as speaking ability, as has been done throughout this study, or as reading ability, and one could examine the assumption of many students of language that the spoken language is "primary" by learning whether the variations in group identity taking place with position on the English-French competence spectrum are

diminished when the spectrum is based on reading knowledge. A variety of different measures of favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward other ethnic groups are also available in the survey.

Another potentially useful direction in which the analysis of these data could turn is toward the analytical isolation and description of interesting types of respondents. This process could also involve the introduction of control variables not previously used. A study might be made, for example, of what, in parallel with Harold Isaacs' term "ex-Untouchables," might be called the "ex-French Canadians": those of French Canadian background who had little or no competence in French, all of whom, as we have discovered, also had a group identity that was mixed or non-ethnic. Another intensive description could be of the Quebec separatists.

An additional direction that further analysis could take is the use of these data to explore some general patterns of behavior expected to be duplicated by non-linguistic behavior in contexts where other cleavages are salient. One example would be the use of the data to test hypotheses about the correlates of different cleavage patterns. In this case, the language cleavage would be one among several, and predictions of individual or societal attributes would be made on the basis of such facts as whether the various cleavages coincide with or cut across each other. Another such study might investigate the processes of physical and attitudinal migration mentioned above: the apparent tendency for people to move physically from areas where their opinions are heterodox to areas where they are accepted, and for their opinions to move from whatever they are

at one time toward the modal opinions of those about them. The fact that those who live among, have contacts with, and/or speak the language of either major ethnic group are more likely to have opinions favorable to that group suggests that this pattern, found in American studies of voter opinion, may be strong in Canada with respect to ethnic relations.

A third example of such general comparative analysis would be the further investigation of the interactions among domination, assimilation, and attitudinal change. In spite of the widespread notions of "divide and rule" and of the co-optation of the upwardly mobile into origin-betraying attitudes, our findings suggest the hypothesis that in a society with dominant and subordinate groups the dominant one will display greater internal attitudinal heterogeneity, and the subordinate group's members will retain their previous attitudes more consistently than will the dominant group's members when members of one acquire non-attitudinal characteristics (linguistic, residential, etc.) of the other. At least one result of some recent research on attitudes of blacks and whites in an American city seems to support the first part of this hypothesis, and I hope to make a systematic investigation of this hypothesis in a comparative way in the near future.

APPENDIX A

THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The two surveys analyzed in this study were conducted by different organizations but administered simultaneously, using the same sampling procedure. The only published description of this procedure appears in Appendix A of Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society. In addition, a somewhat more detailed description of the same procedure appears as Appendice I of the confidential draft of the Final Report of the Groupe de Recherche Sociale.

According to the available information, the basic areal sampling unit was the polling area category (hereinafter referred to as PAC). A PAC consisted of a set of polling areas (as defined for the 1963 general election) in a single electoral district (also so defined). Every electoral district was divided, by definition, into two and only two PAC's: a majority PAC and a minority PAC. Inside each Quebec electoral district, the minority PAC consisted of all that district's polling areas in which 25 per cent or more of the names on the electoral list were not French names, and the majority PAC consisted of all the other polling areas in the district. In each district outside Quebec, the minority PAC consisted of all that district's polling areas in which 25 per cent or more of the names on the electoral list were French names, and the majority PAC consisted of all the other polling areas in the district.

The two sources differ, however, in that Johnstone says that the threshold was 25 per cent, while the draft report gives it as approximately (grosso modo) 25 per cent. The latter statement is probably the accurate one, since there is, to my knowledge, no published or unpublished etymological tabulation of the names on electoral lists, and a complete count would have required tabulating the names of about half of the electors in Canada, since all the polling areas in more than half of the electoral districts were grouped into PAC's for this study. While every district had two PAC's, it could happen that all the polling areas in a given district belonged to a single PAC, the other being empty.

The sampling procedure can be divided into that part which selected certain PAC's and omitted others, and the part which selected certain persons as respondents within each selected PAC. The first part began by classifying each electoral district in the country as belonging to one and only one of 31 "strata." One of these strata was that of a priori excluded districts, namely districts in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. The remaining 30 strata were formed by all possible combinations of five regions (Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario, Prairies, and British Columbia), two concentration types (urban and rural), and three composition types (high-French, medium-French and low-French). Johnstone

describes the definition of urban and rural districts. The three composition types were defined by a separate set of thresholds for each of the five regions, and in such a way that at least one district would belong to each combination of concentration and composition types in each region. The percentage of the population "of French origin" (outside Quebec) or "of non-French origin" (inside Quebec) was the statistic whose value determined the composition type into which the district fell, and examination of special census tabulations for electoral districts, kindly furnished by Prof. John Meisel of Queen's University, has confirmed that the variable in question must have been ethnic group, i.e., national origin as determined by the 1961 census. The thresholds for the composition types in the various regions are given in Johnstone.

The first part of the sampling procedure continued with the selection of 142 electoral districts out of the 261 in existence in the strata not a priori excluded. (Johnstone and the draft report give the figure for the universe of districts as 263, perhaps including the excluded stratum, but the district subtotals for the five regions given in the report draft add up to 261.) These 142 were selected by choosing at random between one and sixteen districts from each stratum, the number dependent on "the relative size of the stratum" according to Johnstone.[1] The draft report is no more precise in its explication of the criterion of selection of the number of districts in a given stratum, and it is thus unclear whether population was the basis of the criterion, and if so where the cutting points were, whether the minimum of one and the maximum of sixteen were imposed by fiat or by the observed minimum and maximum stratum populations, whether the number of districts to be selected was a linear or non-linear function of the stratum population, and whether the average or other modal district population in each stratum was taken into account in the formula for the number of districts to be selected (if not, strata with districts having large average populations would be over-represented). Once it had been determined how many districts would be selected from a given stratum, they were chosen at random, according to the draft report, with each district's probability of selection being proportional to the number of registered voters therein. The districts thus selected are listed in Johnstone, and it is these districts which furnished the majority and minority PAC's.

The second part of the sampling procedure selected certain respondents from each PAC. It first determined the number of respondents to be selected. This determination, in turn, consisted of two stages: determining how many respondents would be initially selected, and determining by what amounts certain classes of respondents would be padded or reduced after this initial selection. Initially, 4000 adult interviews were projected for the country, and these were allocated among the five regions according to their relative total populations as determined in the 1961 census. The interviews for a given region, however, were allocated among that region's six strata not according to total population, but according to the proportion of the region's registered voters living in each stratum.

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[1] Johnstone, Young People's Images of Canadian Society, p. 106.

(This statement is based on the draft report, and contradicts Johnstone, p. 106.) Likewise, the number of interviews projected for a given district was based on the proportion of the voters in its stratum living in that district. Finally, the number of interviews projected for a given PAC was determined according to the proportion of the voters in its district living in that PAC.

The other stage in determining the number of respondents to be selected was to establish the rule for weighting, i.e., padding and reducing the sample. This rule was that (a) those in Quebec without French names and those outside Quebec with French names would be padded by an additional 200 per cent, and (b) those outside Quebec without French names would be reduced by 33-1/3 per cent. This formula left the exact number of interviews dependent on the incidence of French- and non-French-named persons in fact selected during the initial sampling. The number of persons to be included in the youth survey was also left indeterminate, as will be seen below.

Once the number of respondents to be selected had been established in this fashion, the sampling procedure continued with the actual selection. This selection, too, had two stages. First, certain polling areas were selected from within each selected PAC, and then certain respondents were selected within the selected polling areas.

Although both descriptions of the selection of polling areas are somewhat unclear, my interpretation is that in each majority PAC a number of polling areas equal to 1/12 of the number of adult interviews projected for that PAC, and in each minority PAC a number of polling areas equal to 1/4 of the number of adult interviews projected for that PAC, were selected at random. The basis of the number to be selected was the number of interviews projected before any padding and reducing. When division by 12 or 4 produced a remainder, the corresponding fraction of one polling area was also selected; the quotient was not simply rounded. Each polling area was given an equal chance of selection, regardless of population.

Both descriptions justified the different divisors by saying that the number of minority polling areas was tripled because the number of minority respondents was going to be tripled. This assertion is misleading, however, because minority respondents (i.e., respondents who, when randomly selected, had French names outside Quebec or non-French names inside Quebec) would appear in both majority and minority PAC's, and would be tripled wherever they appeared. The need to increase the number of polling areas in minority PAC's arose because of the fact that the concentration of minority respondents was bound to be higher in minority PAC's, in general, and the need existed then only if an additional requirement (nowhere specified in the descriptions) of an approximately even or a certain maximum sampling density was also postulated. Since minority PAC's consisted of all polling areas about 25 per cent or more of whose potential respondents were minority ones, however, the tripling of minority polling areas would over-compensate for the padding of minority respondents except in those PAC's that were almost entirely composed of minority-name voters.

After the selection of polling areas within each PAC, the electoral lists for those areas were combined and sampled systematically, by the choice of every nth name, where n was the number of names in the combined list divided by the number of adult interviews projected (before padding or reducing) for the PAC. Padding was accomplished by selecting two additional minority-name respondents whenever one turned up at random, and reducing was performed by eliminating every third non-French name that turned up outside Quebec. Neither description indicates how--i.e., where in the lists--the additional minority names were selected in padding. One can apparently infer, however, that padding was accomplished in such a way as to render impossible the selection of more than one name at the same address.

Adult interviewees were selected by choosing at random one person among all those aged 19 or more living in the household of each person who was selected from the electoral lists. If the person randomly selected in a household could not be interviewed (but according to Johnstone it would seem that if no qualified person in the household could be interviewed), an adjacent address on the list was substituted if the defaulting household was that of a majority-name voter; if it was that of a minority-name voter, some other minority-name voter's household was substituted. In view of this rule it is possible that the number of minority-name respondents was artifactually increased.

Youth respondents were selected by selecting every person aged 13-20, inclusive, living in each household in which someone was interviewed in the adult survey, except the adult interviewee himself if the latter was 19 or 20 years of age.

In addition to those details of the sampling procedure about which some question is raised above, some preliminary inspection of the data themselves suggests that some possibly serious lack of care may have characterized some or all of the sampling operation. The adult data include no indication of the electoral district of any given respondent, but do include figures indicating the strata of each respondent (see above) and showing the ethnic composition of his electoral district in categories of population percentages formed by those of English, French, and other origin. In most cases, as I determined from the aforementioned special census tabulations, each electoral district listed as being in the sample was unique among all the sampled districts of its stratum in terms of the three figures which would describe the district's ethnic composition. In fact, however, when I performed an analysis of the 12 strata contained in the Atlantic and Prairies regions, I found that the figures given for electoral district ethnic composition in the cases of over 6 per cent of the adult respondents failed to correspond with the ethnic distributions of any of the allegedly sampled districts in the strata in which the respondents were coded as living. Without any independent information about the identity of the respondents' electoral districts, it is not possible to determine whether an additional percentage of the figures for district ethnic composition, while not prima facie impossible, were also incorrect, or to determine whether the errors which do exist are errors in punching, coding,

reporting of sampled districts, or other operations. But since the accuracy of sampling depended on the accurate handling of statistics on populations and their compositions, some doubt is necessarily cast on the execution of the sampling procedure, even if it was well conceived.

APPENDIX B

THE SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

This appendix consists of reproductions of the questionnaires analyzed in this study. The English version of the adult questionnaires is presented first, followed by excerpts from the codebook which are required to understand the definitions of variables given in Appendix C. The French version of the questionnaire is identical, except for the language in which it appears, and is not presented here. After the adult survey, the youth questionnaires are shown. Both the English and the French versions are presented, since they did not contain identical questions.

A. NAME OF INTERVIEWER.....

B. COUNTY..... LOCALITY.....
NO. OF ROLL.....
NO. OF INTERVIEW.....

C. ADDRESS INDICATED ON YOUR LIST

.....
(2) Substitute 1 .....
(3) Substitute 2 .....
(4) Substitute 3 .....
.....
.....

Is there a person 19 years of age or more at this address:

	First visit		Second visit	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1st address	___	___	___	___
Substitute 1	___	___	___	___
Substitute 2	___	___	___	___
Substitute 3	___	___	___	___

IF THERE IS NO PERSON AGED 19 YEARS OR OVER AT THE FIRST ADDRESS AT THE FIRST VISIT OR AT THE SECOND VISIT, WRITE THE ADDRESS OF THE FIRST SUBSTITUTE AT LINE C(2) ABOVE AND PROCEED AS BEFORE. REPEAT FOR EACH SUBSTITUTE USED.

D. CHOICE OF RESPONDENT IN THE HOUSEHOLD

1) ASK THE MAN OR WOMAN YOU CALL TO GIVE YOU THE FIRST NAME (ONLY FIRST NAME) OF ALL THE PERSONS AGED 19 YEARS OR MORE LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD AND WHETHER THEY BELONG, IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER: (a) HEAD OF FAMILY; (b) WIFE; (c) SONS; (d) DAUGHTERS; (e) OTHER RELATIVES; (f) OTHER PERSONS LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLD.

1st address:
1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5 .....
6 ..... 7 ..... 8 ..... 9 ..... 0 .....

1st Substitute:
1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5 .....
6 ..... 7 ..... 8 ..... 9 ..... 0 .....

2nd Substitute:
1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5 .....
6 ..... 7 ..... 8 ..... 9 ..... 0 .....

3nd Substitute:
1 ..... 2 ..... 3 ..... 4 ..... 5 .....
6 ..... 7 ..... 8 ..... 9 ..... 0 .....

2) CHOOSE RANDOMLY A PERSON ON THIS LIST USING THE TABLE OF RANDOM NUMBERS GIVEN TO YOU.
Example: The table of random numbers given to you looks like:
3, 8, 7, 1, 6, 8, 1, 5

There are four (4) persons on your list. The first number is 3; thus the third person on your list must be interviewed.

In the next household, your list contains only two (2) persons: a man and his wife. The following number: 8, is too big. Go to the following: 7, which is also too big. Go to the following: 1. Therefore, in this house, the head of the family must be interviewed.

Proceed in this manner.

3) CIRCLE THE FIRST NAME OF THE PERSON CHOSEN.

4) REPORT ON THE CHOICE OF RESPONDENT:

1st A Address	Substitutes 1	2	3	
___	___	___	___	Interviewed at the first visit
___	___	___	___	Interviewed at the second visit
___	___	___	___	Respondent absent at both visits
___	___	___	___	Refused to be interviewed
___	___	___	___	Interview interrupted

5) IF THE PERSON CHOSEN CANNOT BE INTERVIEWED GO TO THE SUBSTITUTE ON YOUR LIST, WRITE THE ADDRESS AT C ABOVE, AND PROCEED IN THE SAME MANNER.

E. DATE OF INTERVIEW: .....

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY: No.

Verified by ..... Coded ___ Punched ___

Card number Col. 5

EACH CARD {1-01 to 1-04. Respondent ID
1-05. Card no.

THE SOCIAL RESEARCH GROUP

ETHNIC RELATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE

1-06. VOTE SEX OF RESPONDENT [0 / 7 / 9]
1 ___ Man
2 ___ Woman

First, I would like to know your opinion on some questions of general interest.

1-07. Among the problems that Canada faces, which one worries you the most?

9 ___ Part II

1-08. Everyone worries more or less about some things. What is the thing that worries you the most?

9 ___ Part II

1-09. (HAND OUT CARD "A" TO RESPONDENT) Among these problems that Canada faces, which one do you consider to be the most serious? (CHECK ONE ONLY)
1 ___ The slow development of the Canadian economy
2 ___ The lack of government stability in Ottawa
3 ___ The lack of understanding between English Canadians and French Canadians
4 ___ Foreign control of Canadian industries
5 ___ The adoption of atomic weapons by Canada
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

1-10. (HAND OUT CARD "B" TO RESPONDENT) Here are other problems that Canada faces, which one do you consider to be the most serious? (CHECK ONE ONLY)
1 ___ The large number of immigrants coming to Canada
2 ___ The high cost of living
3 ___ The difficulties between French Canadians and English Canadians
4 ___ Too high taxes
5 ___ Unemployment
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

1-11. Do you think that French Canadians worry too much or not enough about the problems that exist between English Canadians and French Canadians?
1 ___ Worry too much
2 ___ Do not worry enough
3 ___ Worry just enough
4 ___ They don't worry at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified answer

1-12. Do you think that English Canadians worry too much or not enough about the problems that exist between French Canadians and English Canadians?
1 ___ Worry too much
2 ___ Do not worry enough
3 ___ Worry just enough
4 ___ They don't worry at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified answer

1-13. Do you think that French Canadian politicians worry too much or not enough about the problems that exist between English Canadians and French Canadians?
1 ___ Worry too much
2 ___ Do not worry enough
3 ___ Worry just enough
4 ___ They don't worry at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified answer

1-14. Do you think that English Canadian politicians worry too much or not enough about the problems that exist between the French Canadians and English Canadians?
1 ___ Worry too much
2 ___ Do not worry enough
3 ___ Worry just enough
4 ___ They don't worry at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified answer

I shall now read you a few statements. Some people agree with these statements, others do not agree. I would like to know if you agree or if you disagree with these statements.

1-15. When you start charging things very much, you usually make them worse.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 11 - Qualified answer

1-16. Governments are generally not interested in what most people think.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 11 - Qualified answer

1-17. Foreign industries established in Canada should employ people from Canada in their top management jobs instead of employing people from their own country.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4 - Qualified answer

1-18. When the majority of employees in a company are French Canadian the employees who do not speak French should learn to speak it.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
3 ___ Agree if in the province of Quebec
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4 - Qualified answer

1-19. Less foreign capital should be used to develop Canada even if the standard of living of some of the people were to decrease.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4 - Qualified answer

1-20. English and French should be the two official languages of all provincial governments in Canada.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4 - Qualified answer

1-21. More effort should be made so that all citizens of Canada feel that they are one people.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4 - Qualified answer

— 1-22. All citizens of Canada should be able to deal with the federal government either in French or in English whichever they choose.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-23. When you start changing things in a society as complicated as ours, there is a great risk of disorganizing everything.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-24. When the majority of employees in a company are English Canadian, employees who do not speak English should learn to speak it.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-25. French Canadians are trying to gain too much influence in the political affairs of Canada.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-26. English Canadians can speak English everywhere else in Canada, but they should speak French in the province of Quebec.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-27. It would be better if more employees of the federal government were to speak both French and English.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-28. French Canadians can speak French in the province of Quebec, but they should speak English everywhere else in Canada.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-29. English Canadians are trying to gain too much influence in the political affairs of Canada.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-30. French Canadians should expect to be treated like any other minority group in Canada.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-31. French Canadians are asking the rest of Canada for more than what they have a right to expect.
1 ___ Agree
2 ___ Disagree
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 4- Inscrit Answer

— 1-32. In addition to English Canadians and French Canadians, you know that there are in Canada Italian Canadians, German Canadians, Jewish Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians and Canadians of many other origins. I would like to know your opinion about these different groups of Canadians.

In general, who has the most chances of getting the best jobs in Canada: the English Canadians, the French Canadians or Canadians of another group?
1 ___ English Canadians
2 ___ French Canadians
3 ___ Canadians of another group (Specify which group:_____)
6 ___ All have equal chances (Go to Q. 1-35)
7 ___ Depends (Go to Q. 1-35)
8 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 1-35)
9 ___
Part II

— 1-33. Do you think that the people you have just mentioned should have or should not have more chances than other people of getting the best jobs?
1 ___ Should have more chances
2 ___ Should not have more chances
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___
Part II

— 1-34. Do you personally know of cases where these people had more chances of getting the best jobs, or have you only heard of such cases?
1 ___ Knows of such cases personally
2 ___ Has only heard of such cases
3 ___ Both knows and has heard
4 ___ Suspects that it is so
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___
Part III

— 1-35. When the federal government takes decisions which affect all of Canada, does the opinion of one of the following groups count for more than the opinion of the others: the opinion of English Canadians, the opinion of French Canadians, or the opinion of Canadians of another group?
1 ___ Yes, the opinion of English Canadians counts for more
2 ___ Yes, the opinion of French Canadians counts for more
3 ___ Yes, the opinion of Canadians of another group counts for more (Specify which group:_____)
6 ___ No, the opinion of no group counts for more (Go to Q. 1-37)
7 ___ The opinion of English and French Canadians counts for more
8 ___ Depends (Go to Q. 1-37)
9 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 1-37)
0 ___
Part III

— 1-36. Do you think that the opinion of the group you have just mentioned should count for more or should not count for more than the opinion of other groups?
1 ___ Should count for more
2 ___ Should not count for more
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___
Part III

1-37. When the government of your province takes decisions which affect the whole province, does the opinion of one of the following groups count for more than the opinion of the others: the opinion of English Canadians, the opinion of French Canadians or the opinion of Canadians of another group?
1 ___ Yes, the opinion of English Canadians counts for more
2 ___ Yes, the opinion of French Canadians counts for more
3 ___ Yes, the opinion of Canadians of another group counts for more (Specify which group: _____)
6 ___ No, the opinion of no group counts for more (Go to Q. 1-39)
7 ___ Depends (Go to Q. 1-39)
8 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 1-39)
9 ___ Part II

1-38. Do you think that the opinion of the group you have just mentioned should count for more or should not count for more than the opinion of other groups?
1 ___ Should count for more
2 ___ Should not count for more
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

1-39. In your opinion, which group tries too often to impose its point of view on the rest of Canada: the French Canadians or the English Canadians?
1 ___ French Canadians
2 ___ English Canadians
3 ___ French Canadians and English Canadians
4 ___ Neither one nor the other
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

1-40. Do you think that people of one of the following groups are better treated by the employees of the federal government than are people of the other groups: the English Canadians, the French Canadians, or Canadians of another group?
1 ___ Yes, the English Canadians
2 ___ Yes, the French Canadians
3 ___ Yes, Canadians of another group (Specify which group: _____)
6 ___ No, all are equally well treated (Go to Q. 1-43)
7 ___ Depends (Go to Q. 1-43)
8 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 1-43)
9 ___ Part II

1-41. Do you think that the people you have just mentioned should or should not be better treated than others by the employees of the federal government?
1 ___ Should be better treated
2 ___ Should not be better treated
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

ATTENTION

1-42. Do you personally know of cases where these people have been better treated by the employees of the federal government or have you only heard of such cases?
1 ___ Know of such cases personally
2 ___ Has heard of such cases
3 ___ Both knows and has heard
4 ___ Suspects it is so
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

1-43. In general who have the most chances of getting the best jobs with the federal government: English Canadians, French Canadians, or Canadians of another group?
1 ___ English Canadians
2 ___ French Canadians
3 ___ Canadians of another group (Specify which group: _____)
6 ___ All have equal chances (Go to Q.1-45)
7 ___ Depends (Go to Q. 1-45)
8 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 1-45)
9 ___ Part II

1-44. Do you think that the people you have just mentioned should have or should not have more chances than others of getting the best jobs with the federal government?
1 ___ Should have more chances
2 ___ Should not have more chances
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

1-45. Do you think that in Canada, English speaking children should learn French in primary school?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 5 - Two-fold Answer

1-46. Do you think that in Canada, French speaking children should learn English in primary school?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 5 - Two-fold Answer

1-47. In your opinion, is the French spoken by French Canadians better, as good as, or poorer than the French spoken by Frenchmen of France?
1 ___ Better
2 ___ As good as
3 ___ Poorer
4 ___ Different but as good
5 ___ Just different
6 ___ Not different
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Two-fold Answer

1-48. In your opinion, is the English spoken by English Canadians better, as good as, or poorer than the English spoken by Englishmen of England?
1 ___ Better
2 ___ As good as
3 ___ Poorer
4 ___ Different but as good
5 ___ Just different
6 ___ Not different
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 6 - Two-fold Answer

1-49 to 1-51. Do you think that it is the French Canadians, the English Canadians or Canadians of another group who have the most ability:

		French Canadians	English Canadians	Other group (Specify which group)	No difference	Does not know
1-49.	In the field of music, literature and theater?	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	7 ___ 9 ___
1-50.	In the field of business and finance?	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	7 ___ 9 ___
1-51.	In the field of sciences?	1 ___	2 ___	3 ___	4 ___	7 ___ 9 ___

Part II

1-52. In your opinion, who is better prepared to carry on his job: a person who has studied at a French Canadian school or a person who has studied at an English Canadian school?
1 ___ A person who has studied at a French Canadian school
2 ___ A person who has studied at an English Canadian school
3 ___ There is no difference
5 ___ Depends on the school
6 ___ Depends on the person
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-53. Some people say that an immigrant who is qualified in his work has less chances than others of getting promotions if he does not speak English. How much truth do you think there is in what these people say: a great deal of truth, a little truth or no truth at all?
1 ___ A great deal of truth
2 ___ A little truth
3 ___ No truth at all
4 ___ He is not qualified if he does not speak English
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-54. Do you think that an immigrant who is qualified in his work should have or should not have less chances than others of getting promotions if he does not speak English?
1 ___ Should have less chances
2 ___ Should not have less chances
3 ___ Should know English to get promotions
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-55. Some people say that among the employees of the federal government, English Canadians and French Canadians have more chances than others of getting the best jobs. How much truth do you think there is in what these people say: a great deal of truth, a little truth, or no truth at all?
1 ___ A great deal of truth
2 ___ A little truth
3 ___ No truth at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
5 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-56. Do you think that among the employees of the federal government, English Canadians and French Canadians should have or should not have more chances than others of getting the best jobs?
1 ___ Should have more chances
2 ___ Should not have more chances
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-57. Some people say that English Canadians and French Canadians do not pay enough attention to the opinions that other Canadians have about the affairs of Canada. How much truth do you think there is in what these people say: a great deal of truth, a little truth or no truth at all?
1 ___ A great deal of truth
2 ___ A little truth
3 ___ No truth at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-58. Do you think that English Canadians and French Canadians should pay more attention to the opinions that other Canadians have about the affairs of Canada?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
5 ___ Undecided
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

8 - Qualified Answer

1-59. Some people say that a French Canadian who is qualified in his work has less chances than others of getting promotions if he does not speak English. How much truth do you think there is in what these people say: a great deal of truth, a little truth or no truth at all?
1 ___ A great deal of truth
2 ___ A little truth
3 ___ No truth at all
4 ___ He is not qualified if he does not speak English
5 ___ Not qualified if he does not speak English
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer
? → 4 5
[4]

1-60. Do you think that a French Canadian who is qualified in his work should have or should not have less chances than others of getting promotions if he does not speak English?
1 ___ Should have less chances
2 ___ Should not have less chances
3 ___ Should not have less chances if he works in the province of Quebec
4 ___ Should know English to get promotions
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-61. In your opinion, has the federal government in Ottawa recently given too much attention or not enough attention to the requests of the province of Quebec?
1 ___ Too much
2 ___ Not enough
3 ___ Just enough
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-62. In your opinion, when the federal government of Ottawa spends money does it take more care of the interests of Quebec than of the interests of the other provinces, or does it take less care of the interests of Quebec?
1 ___ More care of the interests of Quebec
2 ___ Less care of the interests of Quebec
3 ___ No difference, taken care of interests of all provinces equally
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-63. Do you think that at present the private companies in Canada that are managed by English speaking people are giving too much effort to make important jobs available to their French Canadian employees, or do you think they are giving just enough effort or not enough effort?
1 ___ Too much effort
2 ___ Just enough effort
3 ___ Not enough effort
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer

1-64. Do you think that at present the federal government is giving too much effort to make important jobs available to its French Canadian employees or do you think it is giving just enough effort or not enough effort?
1 ___ Too much effort
2 ___ Just enough effort
3 ___ Not enough effort
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified Answer
[4]

1-65. Do you believe that French Canadians are right in wanting to be served in French when they buy in stores or go to restaurants and other similar places?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Yes, but only in the province of Quebec
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Inadequate answer

1-66. Do you think that provincial governments should finance French Catholic schools for the use of French Canadians who live outside of Quebec?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Yes, if there are enough French Canadians
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Inadequate answer

1-67. If these schools were not Catholic schools, do you think that provincial governments should finance French schools for the use of French Canadians who live outside of Quebec?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Yes, if there are enough French Canadians
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Inadequate answer

1-68. If it ever came down to a choice, do you think it would be better for Canada if schools were divided between Catholic and non-Catholic schools or divided between French and English schools?
1 ___ Divided between Catholic and non-Catholic schools
2 ___ Divided between French and English schools
3 ___ Can't choose, both are as important
4 ___ Can't choose, does not want either; prefers something else
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Inadequate answer

1-69. Some people say that French Canadians are wrong in putting the blame on others, because what they complain about is mostly their own fault. How much truth do you think there is in what these people say: a great deal of truth, a little truth or no truth at all?
1 ___ A great deal of truth
2 ___ A little truth or partly true
3 ___ No truth at all
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Inadequate answer

Now I would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

1-70. When you buy in stores or go to restaurants how often are you served by people who speak to you in another language than your own: very often, fairly often, rarely, almost never or never?
1 ___ Very often
2 ___ Fairly often
3 ___ Rarely
4 ___ Almost never
5 ___ Never (Go to Q. 1-73)
9 ___

1-71. Does it bother you to speak another language than your own in order to get served if you understand this language: very much, quite a bit, a little or not at all?
1 ___ Very much
2 ___ Quite a bit
3 ___ A little
4 ___ Not at all
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - never served in another language than his own

1-72. Do you feel that the service you get is poorer than it is when you speak your own language?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - never served in another language than his own

1-73. Usually when you buy in stores or go to restaurants do you think that you should be served in your own language?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 5 - does not matter
8 - qualified answer

1-74. What is your principal language, that is, the language you speak most of the time at home: English, French or another language?
(2026) -1 ___ English (Go to Q. 2-11)
-2 ___ French (Go to Q. 2-11)
3 ___ Other (Specify which other language:
(93) (103) 4 ___ English and French
5 ___ English and another language
6 ___ French and another language (Go to Q. 2-11)
9 ___
[7]

1-75. Do you read French without any difficulty, with some difficulty, with a great deal of difficulty or do you not read it at all?
1 ___ Without any difficulty
2 ___ With some difficulty
3 ___ With a great deal of difficulty
4 ___ Does not read it at all
9 ___ 0 - Principal language is French or French and another language

1-76. Do you speak French without any difficulty, with some difficulty, with a great deal of difficulty or do you not speak it at all?
1 ___ Without any difficulty
2 ___ With some difficulty
3 ___ With a great deal of difficulty
4 ___ Does not speak it at all (Go to Q. 2-09)
9 ___ 0 - Principal language is French or French and another language
[6]

1-77. Do you speak French every day, often, rarely or never?
1 ___ Every day
2 ___ Quite often
3 ___ Rarely
4 ___ Never
9 ___ 0 - Principal language is French or French and another language or does not speak French at all.

O - Principal language is French or French and another language, or does not speak French at all.

2-06 to 2-08. Did you learn French:

	Yes	No	Does not remember	
2-06. At home or with friends?	1___	2___	7___	9___
2-07. At work?	1___	2___	7___	9___
2-08. Through reading, or listening to television, or taking night courses?	1___	2___	7___	9___

2-09. Did you take French when you were at school?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
7 ___ Does not remember or does not know
9 ___

2-10. If you had the opportunity, would you like to learn to speak French or improve your French?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

O - Principal language is French or French and another language, ~~or does not speak French at all~~

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

IF RESPONDENT HAS SAID THAT HIS PRINCIPAL LANGUAGE IS ENGLISH (OR ENGLISH AND ANOTHER LANGUAGE), GO TO Q. 2-19 and 2-20.

2-11. Do you read English without any difficulty, with some difficulty, with a great deal of difficulty or do you not read it at all?
1 ___ Without any difficulty
2 ___ With some difficulty
3 ___ With a great deal of difficulty
4 ___ Does not read it at all
9 ___ O - Principal language is English or English & another language (2375)

2-12. Do you speak English without any difficulty, with some difficulty, with a great deal of difficulty or do you not speak it at all?
1 ___ Without any difficulty
2 ___ With some difficulty
3 ___ With a great deal of difficulty
4 ___ Does not speak it at all (Go to Q. 2-17)
9 ___ O - Principal language is English or English & another language (2379)

2-13. Do you talk English every day, often, rarely or never?
1 ___ Every day
2 ___ Often
3 ___ Rarely
4 ___ Never
9 ___

O - Principal language is English or English & another language or does not speak English at all.

2-14 to 2-16. Did you learn English:

	Yes	No	Does not remember	
2-14. At home or with friends?	1___	2___	7___	9___
2-15. At work?	1___	2___	7___	9___
2-16. Through reading, or listening to television, or taking night courses?	1___	2___	7___	9___

2-17. Did you take English when you were at school?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
7 ___ Does not remember or does not know
9 ___

O - principal language is English or English and another language

2-18. If you had the chance would you like to learn to speak English or improve your English?
1 ___ Yes (1272)
2 ___ No (282)
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ O - principal language is English or English and another language. (2376)

2-19 and 2-20. What is or what was the principal language of your father and mother, that is the language they spoke most of the time at home: English, French or another language?

	FATHER 2-19	MOTHER 2-20
English	1 ___	1 ___
French	2 ___	2 ___
Another language (Specify which language)	3 ___	3 ___
English and French	4 ___	4 ___
English and another language	5 ___	5 ___
French and another language	6 ___	6 ___
Does not remember or does not know (0)	7 ___	7 ___
	9 ___	9 ___
	[0]	[0]

2-21. Do your parents speak or did they speak another language in addition to their principal language?
___ Yes: which other language ?
1 ___ English
2 ___ French
3 ___ Other (Specify: ___)
4 ___ No
7 ___ Does not know, does not remember
9 ___
5 - English & French
6 - English & another language
8 - French & another language
0 - English & French & one or many other languages

2-22. Which language do you speak best: English, French or another language?
1 ___ English
2 ___ French
3 ___ Another language
4 ___ Two languages equally well
7 ___ Undecided or does not know
9 ___

2-23. Do you think that nowadays everyone should speak two languages?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ At least two languages
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified answer

2-24. Do you think that it would be a good thing if everyone in Canada spoke both French and English?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Qualified answer

2-25. Were you born in Canada?
1 ___ Yes (Go to Q. 2-27)
2 ___ No
9 ___

2-26. In what country were you born?
___
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

2-27. In what country was your father born?
1 ___ Canada
2 ___ Other country (specify which country: ___)
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

2-28. In what year were you born?

____

8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ Part II

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

IF RESPONDENT IS BORN IN CANADA, ASK FOR ANCESTOR ON THE FATHER'S SIDE.
IF RESPONDENT IS NOT BORN IN CANADA, ASK FOR SELF.

IF NECESSARY, EXPLAIN THAT ETHNIC OR CULTURAL GROUP REFERS TO GROUPS LIKE THE SCOTTISH, GERMAN, FRENCH, ENGLISH, UKRAINIAN, JEWISH, POLISH, ETC.

2-29. To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor on the male side belong on coming to this continent?

____

7 ___ Does not know or no answer
9 ___ Part II

2-30. To what ethnic group do you consider that you belong: English Canadian, French Canadian or another ethnic group?

1 ___ English Canadian
2 ___ French Canadian (Go to Q. 2-43)
3 ___ Another ethnic group (Specify which group: _____)
4 ___ Canadian
5 ___ Considers to belong to no particular ethnic group
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___

see H-70 H-71

[0]

ATTENTION

2-31. Do you know or do you have contacts with French Canadians?

1 ___ Yes (Go to Q. 2-33)
2 ___ No
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - French Canadian

2-32. Have you ever known or have you ever had contacts with French Canadians?

1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 2-40)
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember (Go to Q. 2-40)
9 ___ 0 - French Canadian, has contacts 0

2-33. Do you have (or did you have) contacts with French Canadians frequently, occasionally or rarely?
NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT'S CONTACTS HAVE CHANGED OVER TIME, ASK FOR PRESENT CONTACTS ONLY.

1 ___ Frequently
2 ___ Occasionally
3 ___ Rarely
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember
9 ___ 0 - French Canadian, never had contacts

2-34 to 2-39. In which places do you have (or did you have) contacts with them?

		Yes	No	Does not know or does not remember	
2-34.	In stores or restaurants?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-35.	At work or at business meetings?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-36.	In your neighbourhood?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-37.	At their home, at your home, or at friends?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-38.	At social gatherings?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-39.	At school or at church?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0

see 2-33

2-40. From what you have heard about French Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that you would like to have some among your best friends?

1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Already has some
4 ___ Does not matter
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - French Canadian

2-41. From what you have heard about French Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that you would like to have some among your close relatives?

1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Already has some
4 ___ Does not matter
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

ATTENTION

0 - French Canadian

2-42. From what you have heard about French Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that they treat other people as equals or that they act as if they were above other people?

1 ___ Treat others as equals
2 ___ Act as if they were above others
3 ___ Neither, they feel inferior
4 ___ Depends on the person
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - French Canadian

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

IF THE RESPONDENT HAS SAID THAT HE BELONGS TO THE ENGLISH CANADIAN GROUP, GO TO Q. 2-55; IF NOT, ASK THE QUESTION Q.

2-43. Do you know or do you have contacts with English Canadians?

1 ___ Yes (Go to Q. 2-45)
2 ___ No
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - English Canadian

2-44. Have you ever known or have you ever had contacts with English Canadians?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 2-52)
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember (Go to Q. 2-52)
9 ___ 0 - English Canadian, does know or has contacts with French Canadian

2-45. Do you have (or did you have) contacts with English Canadians frequently, occasionally or rarely?
NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT'S CONTACTS HAVE CHANGED OVER TIME, ASK FOR PRESENT CONTACTS ONLY.
1 ___ Frequently
2 ___ Occasionally
3 ___ Rarely
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember
9 ___ 0 - English Canadian, does not know, has had contacts with French Canadian [7]
[6]

2-46 to 2-51. In which places do you have (or did you have) contacts with them:

		Yes	No	Does not know or does not remember	
2-46.	In stores or in restaurants?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-47.	At work or at business meetings?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-48.	In your neighbourhood?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-49.	At their home, at your home, or at friends?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-50.	At social gatherings?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-51.	At school or at church?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0

Go 2-52 / 2-44

2-52. From what you have heard about English Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that you would like to have some among your best friends?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Already has some
4 ___ Does not matter
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - English Canadian

2-53. From what you have heard about English Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that you would like to have some among your close relatives?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Already has some
4 ___ Does not matter
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - English Canadian

2-54. From what you have heard about English Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that they treat other people as equals or that they act as if they were above other people?
1 ___ Treat others as equals
2 ___ Act as if they were above others
3 ___ Neither, they feel inferior
4 ___ Depends on the person
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___
0 - English Canadian ATTENTION

2-55. Now, I would like to ask you about other Canadians who are neither French Canadian, nor English Canadian, nor Canadians of your own ethnic group.

Do you know or do you have contacts with these other Canadians?
1 ___ Yes (Go to Q. 2-57)
2 ___ No
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

2-56. Have you ever know or have you ever had contacts with these other Canadians?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 2-64)
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember (Go to Q. 2-64)
9 ___ 0 - does know or has contacts with other Canadians

2-57. Do you have (or did you have) contacts with these other Canadians frequently, occasionally or rarely?
NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT'S CONTACTS HAVE CHANGED OVER TIME, ASK FOR PRESENT CONTACTS ONLY.
1 ___ Frequently
2 ___ Occasionally
3 ___ Rarely
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember
9 ___ 0 - never known or had contact with other Canadian or does not know, or does not remember

2-58 to 2-63. In which places do you have (or did you have) contacts with them:

		Yes	No	Does not know or does not remember	
2-58.	In stores or restaurants?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-59.	At work or at business meetings?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-60.	In your neighbourhood?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-61.	At their home, at your home, or at friends?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-62.	At social gatherings?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0
2-63.	At school or at church?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	9 ___ 0

Go 2-64 / 2-56

2-64. From what you have heard about these other Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that you would like to have some among your best friends?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Already has some
4 ___ Does not matter
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

2-65. From what you have heard about these other Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that you would like to have some among your close relatives?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
3 ___ Already has some
4 ___ Does not matter
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

2-66. From what you have heard about these other Canadians, or judging from your contacts with them, would you say that they treat other people as equals or that they act as if they were above other people?
1 ___ Treat others as equals
2 ___ Act as if they were above others
3 ___ Neither, they feel inferior
4 ___ Depends on the person
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

2-67. Do you feel closer to English Canadians or closer to French Canadians?
1 ___ Closer to English Canadians
2 ___ Closer to French Canadians
3 ___ As close to each
4 ___ Close to neither
5 ___ Somewhere in between
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Depends
[0]

2-68. Do you think that it is natural for an employer to give preference to people of his own ethnic group when he hires employees?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Ambiguous answer

2-69. Do you think that members of each ethnic group should try to get for themselves as many of the best jobs as possible and let other groups take care of themselves?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Ambiguous answer

2-70. Except for the province in which you are now living, have you ever lived in any other provinces of Canada?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 2-73 and 2-74)
7 ___ Does not remember (Go to Q. 2-73 and 2-74)
9 ___

2-71 and 2-72. In which other province or provinces have you lived?
___ Quebec
___ Ontario
___ Manitoba
___ Saskatchewan
___ Alberta
___ British Columbia
___ New Brunswick
___ Nova Scotia
___ Prince Edward Island
___ Newfoundland
9 ___

Part II

2-73 and 2-74. Except for the province where you now live which other province or provinces of Canada would you most like to live in?
___ Quebec
___ Ontario
___ Manitoba
___ Saskatchewan
___ Alberta
___ British Columbia
___ New Brunswick
___ Nova Scotia
___ Prince Edward Island
___ Newfoundland
7 ___ In no other province
8 ___ Does not know
9 ___

Part II

2-75. Do you have close relatives who live in provinces of Canada other than the one in which you live?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 3-06)
7 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 3-06)
9 ___

2-76 and 2-77. In which other provinces or provinces do they live?
___ Quebec
___ Ontario
___ Manitoba
___ Saskatchewan
___ Alberta
___ British Columbia
___ New Brunswick
___ Nova Scotia
___ Prince Edward Island
___ Newfoundland

Part II

3-06. Are you single, married, widowed, separated or divorced?
1 ___ Single
2 ___ Married
3 ___ Widowed
4 ___ Separated
5 ___ Divorced
9 ___

3-07. Concerning your occupation or work, in which of the following groups do you place yourself:
1 ___ Man with a paid job (Go to rectangle 1, Q. 3-08a)
2 ___ Woman with a full time paid job (Go to rectangle 2, Q. 3-21)
3 ___ Woman, housewife or housekeeper (Go to rectangle 2, Q. 3-21)
4 ___ Man or woman who works without pay on a farm or in a trade or in a business of a relative with whom he or she lives (Go to rectangle 2, Q. 3-21 and ASK FOR FATHER OR THE PERSON ON WHOM THE RESPONDENT DEPENDS)
5 ___ Man or woman who is permanently incapable of working (Go to rectangle 2, Q. 3-21 and ASK FOR FATHER OR THE PERSON ON WHOM THE RESPONDENT DEPENDS)
6 ___ Is a student (Go to rectangle 2, Q. 3-21 and ASK FOR FATHER OR THE PERSON ON WHOM THE RESPONDENT DEPENDS)
7 ___ Is unemployed (Go to rectangle 3, Q. 3-08c)
8 ___ Is retired or voluntarily inactive (Go to rectangle 3, Q. 3-08c)
9 ___

RECTANGLE 1

3-09a. Are you self-employed or employed by someone else?
1 ___ Self-employed (Go to Q. 3-10a)
2 ___ Employed by someone else
9 ___

3-09a. Is the business or company where you work managed by English Canadians, French Canadians, Americans, Jews or by people of some other group?
1 ___ English Canadians
2 ___ French Canadians
3 ___ Americans
4 ___ Jews
5 ___ English
6 ___ Other group (Specify which group: _____)
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ No group in particular or more than one group
9 ___
0 - self-employed

3-10a. What type of work do you mainly do? (SPECIFY EXACTLY THE TYPE OF WORK, ex.: Cashier in a bank.)
_____
9 ___ 0 - coded on card 4

3-11a. What is the main activity of the firm or place where you work?
_____
9 ___ 0 - coded on card 4

3-12a to 3-19a. What income do you receive for your work after taxes and other deductions?
Income $ _____
Is it per week ___
per month ___
twice a month ___
every two weeks ___
per year ___
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ Part II

3-20. Thinking about the next ten years of your life, how well would you say you can foresee what is going to happen to you in your work: very well, fairly well, not too well, or not at all?
1 ___ Very well
2 ___ Fairly well
3 ___ Not too well
4 ___ Not at all
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - if 2 to 8 in 3-07
(Go to Q. 3-22b)

RECTANGLE 2

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IF SINGLE: ASK FOR FATHER.
IF MARRIED, SEPARATED OR DIVORCED: ASK FOR HUSBAND
IF WIDOW: GO TO Q. 3-08b, ASK FOR HUSBAND.

3-21. Does your husband (your father) have a paid job or is he unemployed or retired?
1 ___ Paid job
2 ___ Unemployed
3 ___ Retired
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 0 - if 1 in 3-07 or 3 in 3-08

3-08b. Is (or was) your husband (your father) self-employed or employed by someone else?
1 ___ Self-employed (Go to Q. 3-10b)
2 ___ Employed by someone else
9 ___ 3 - retired

3-09b. Is the business or company where your husband (your father) works (or worked) managed by English Canadians, French Canadians, Americans, Jews or by people of some other group?
1 ___ English Canadians
2 ___ French Canadians
3 ___ Americans
4 ___ Jews
5 ___ English
6 ___ Other group (Specify which group: _____)
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ No group in particular, more than one group
9 ___
0 - self employed

3-10b. What type of work does (or did) your husband (your father) mainly do? (SPECIFY EXACTLY THE TYPE OF WORK, ex.: Cashier in a bank.)
_____
9 ___ 0 - coded on card 4

3-11b. What is (or was) the main activity of the firm or place where your husband (father) worked?
_____
9 ___ 0 - coded on card 4

3-12b to 3-19b. What income does (or did) your husband (your father) receive for his work after taxes and other deductions?
Income: $ _____
Is it per week ___
per month ___
twice a month ___
every two weeks ___
per year ___
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ Refuses to answer Part II
9 ___
(Go to Q. 3-22b)

RECTANGLE 3

3-08c. In your last job were you self-employed or employed by someone else?
1 ___ Self-employed (Go to Q. 3-10c)
2 ___ Employed by someone else
9 ___

3-09c. Is the business or company where you worked managed by English Canadians, French Canadians, Americans, Jews or by people of some other group?
1 ___ English Canadians
2 ___ French Canadians
3 ___ Americans
4 ___ Jews
5 ___ English
6 ___ Other group (Specify which group: _____)
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ No group in particular or more than one group
9 ___
0 - self employed

3-10c. What type of work did you mainly do in your last job? (SPECIFY EXACTLY THE TYPE OF WORK, ex.: Cashier in a bank.)
_____
9 ___ 0 - coded on card 4

3-11c. What was the main activity of the firm or place where you worked?
_____
9 ___ 0 - coded on card 4

3-12c to 3-19c. What income did you receive for your work after taxes and other deductions?
Income $ _____
Is it per week ___
per month ___
twice a month ___
every two weeks ___
per year ___
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ Part II

3-22a. How long have you been unemployed in the last twelve months?
Length of time _____ days ___
weeks ___
months ___
Part II
(Go to Q. 3-23)

3-22b. Have you been (has your husband or has your father been) unemployed at any given time during the last twelve months?
1 ___ No
___ Yes: specify length of time
___ days
___ weeks
___ months
7 ___ Yes, because of illness
8 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Part II

3-23. Have there been other people among the members of your family, living with you, who have been unemployed during the last twelve months?
1 ___ No
___ Yes: specify number of persons ___
9 ___ Part II

3-24 and 3-25. What kind of work did you do in the first regular full time job that you had? (SPECIFY EXACTLY THE TYPE OF WORK, ex.: Cashier in a bank.)
_____
76 ___ Does not remember
80 ___ Has never had a regular full time job
9 ___ 00 - coded on card 4

3-26. What was the main kind of work that your father did when you were about 17 years old (ex.: Cashier in a bank)? (IF THE RESPONDENT DID NOT LIVE WITH HIS FATHER AT THAT TIME BECAUSE THE FATHER WAS DECEASED OR FOR ANOTHER REASON, ASK WHAT WAS THE MAIN WORK OF HIS FATHER WHEN THE RESPONDENT LIVED WITH HIM LAST.)
_____
9 ___ Does not know or no answer
0 - coded on card 4

3-27. At that time, was your father self-employed or was he employed by someone else?
1 ___ Self-employed
2 ___ Employed by someone else
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 3 - two jobs
4 - dead

3-28. At that time what was the main activity of the firm or place where your father worked?
_____
9 ___ Does not know or no answer
0 - coded on card 4

3-29. Would you say that your actual financial situation is better or worse than it was 3 or 4 years ago?
1 ___ Better
2 ___ About the same
3 ___ Worse
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-30. Do you think that your actual financial position is higher than, lower than, or about the same as that a person with your education should have?
1 ___ Higher
2 ___ Lower
3 ___ About the same (Go to Q. 3-32)
5 ___ Undecided
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-31. How often do you think about this difference between your actual financial position and that you feel you should have considering your education: frequently, sometimes or never?
1 ___ Frequently
2 ___ Sometimes
3 ___ Never
9 ___ 0 - about the same } answered in 3-30

3-32. Considering the situation which you and your family are in now, how easy do you feel it is for you to make plans for a few years in advance: very easy, fairly easy, fairly difficult or very difficult?
1 ___ Very easy
2 ___ Fairly easy
3 ___ Fairly difficult
4 ___ Very difficult
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER
IN QUESTIONS 3-33, 3-34, 3-35 AND 3-36, ASK FOR THE HUSBAND IF THE RESPONDENT IS A MARRIED WOMAN; ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT THEMSELVES.

3-33. Do you have (does your husband have) some money or some savings in the bank, in a credit union or in government bonds?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 3-35)
7 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 3-35)
8 ___ Refuses to answer (Go to Q. 3-35)
9 ___

3-34. (GIVE CARD "G" TO RESPONDENT) Approximately how much money do you have (does your husband have) in savings?
1 ___ Less than $250
2 ___ $250 to $499
3 ___ $500 to $999
4 ___ $1,000 to $1,999
5 ___ $2,000 to $4,999
6 ___ $5,000 to $9,999
7 ___ $10,000 or more
8 ___ Refuses to answer or does not know
9 ___ 0 - if 2, 7, 8 in 3-33

3-35. Do you have (does your husband have) any shares or stocks in any firm or company in Canada or elsewhere?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 3-37 and 3-38)
7 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 3-37 and 3-38)
8 ___ Refuses to answer (Go to Q. 3-37 and 3-38)
9 ___

3-36. (GIVE CARD "G" TO RESPONDENT) Approximately what is the market value of the shares or stocks that you have (that your husband has)?
1 ___ Less than $250
2 ___ $250 to $499
3 ___ $500 to $999
4 ___ $1,000 to $1,999
5 ___ $2,000 to $4,999
6 ___ $5,000 to $9,999
7 ___ $10,000 or more
8 ___ Refuses to answer or does not know
9 ___ 0 if 2, 7, 8 in 3-35

3-37 and ~~3-38~~.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

FOR SINGLE, WIDOWED, DIVORCED AND SEPARATED ASK FOR OWN TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME.
FOR MARRIED, ASK FOR TOTAL ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME RECEIVED FROM ALL PERSONS LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD.

(GIVE CARD "H" TO RESPONDENT) In which of the following categories is the total income per year of your household before taxes and other deductions?

0 ___ Less than $2,500
1 ___ $2,500 to $2,999
2 ___ $3,000 to $3,499
3 ___ $3,500 to $4,999
4 ___ $5,000 to $6,499
5 ___ $6,500 to $7,999
6 ___ $8,000 to $10,999
7 ___ $11,000 to $13,999
8 ___ $14,000 to ~~$19,999~~ or more
9 ___ ~~$20,000 or more~~ don't know, refuse to answer, no answer
~~7 ___ Does not know~~
~~8 ___ Refuses to answer~~
~~9 ___~~

3-38 Q. left blank
3-39 to 3-42.

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER

IN QUESTIONS 3-39, 3-40, 3-41 AND 3-42, ASK FOR THE HUSBAND IF THE RESPONDENT IS A MARRIED WOMAN; ASK OTHERS ABOUT THEMSELVES.

Do you have (does your husband have):

	Yes	No	Does not know	Refuses to answer	
3-39. A mortgage on your house?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	8 ___	9 ___
3-40. A loan from a finance company?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	8 ___	9 ___
3-41. A bank loan?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	8 ___	9 ___
3-42. Other debts?	1 ___	2 ___	7 ___	8 ___	9 ___

IF "YES" TO QUESTION 3-39, or 3-40, or 3-41 or 3-42, ASK Q. 3-43.
IF "NO" TO ALL (in other words: IF "NO" TO QUESTIONS 3-39, 3-40, 3-41 and 3-42) GO TO Q. 3-44.

3-43. (GIVE CARD "G" TO RESPONDENT) Approximately what is the total amount of your debts including mortgages (or the total amount of your husband's debts including mortgages)?

1 ___ Less than $250
2 ___ $250 to $499
3 ___ $500 to $999
4 ___ $1,000 to $1,999
5 ___ $2,000 to $4,999
6 ___ $5,000 to $9,999
7 ___ $10,000 or more
8 ___ Does not know
9 ___ Refuses to answer
0 ___ if "no" — 3-39, 40, 41, 42

3-44. Considering your whole financial situation (or your husband's whole financial situation) would you say that you have more debts or fewer debts today than you had twelve months ago?

1 ___ More debts
2 ___ As much debt
3 ___ Fewer debts
4 ___ Have never had any debts
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___

3-45. Including yourself, how many people live on your salary (or on the salary of your husband or of your father)?

1 ___ 1 person
2 ___ 2 persons
3 ___ 3 persons
4 ___ 4 persons
5 ___ 5 persons
6 ___ 6 persons
7 ___ 7 persons
8 ___ More than 7 persons (Specify the number of persons:_____)
9 ___

3-46. In 3 or 4 years, do you think that your income (or your husband's income) will be higher, about the same, or lower than it is now?

1 ___ Higher
2 ___ About the same
3 ___ Lower
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-47. Do you think you have reached a social rank that is higher, equal or lower than your father's?

1 ___ Higher
2 ___ Equal
3 ___ Lower
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-48. During the first ten years of your life did you live mostly on a farm, in a village, in a town, in a medium-sized city or in a large city?

1 ___ On a farm
2 ___ In a village
3 ___ In a town (Specify name of the town and of the province:_____)
4 ___ In a medium-sized city (Specify name of the city and of the province:_____)
5 ___ In a large city (Specify name of the city and of the province:_____)
7 ___ Does not know or does not remember
9 ___ Part II

3-49 and 3-50. For how many years did you go to school?

00 ___ None (Go to Q. 3-53)

_____ (SPECIFY NUMBER OF YEARS)

99 ___ Part II

3-51. Have you studied in a classical college or in a university?
1 ___ Yes, a classical college
2 ___ Yes, a university
3 ___ Yes, both classical college and university
4 ___ No (Go to Q. 3-53)
9 ___ Part II

3-52. Do you have a university degree or diploma such as a B.A. or an M.A.?
1 ___ No
2 ___ Yes; which degree or diploma:_____
_____)
9 ___ Part II

3-53. Are you a member (or is the head of the household a member) of a labor union, a trade association or a professional association?
1 ___ No
2 ___ Yes, labor union
3 ___ Yes, trade association
4 ___ Yes, professional association
7 ___ Does not know, not sure
9 ___ Part II

3-54 to 3-59. Do you belong to:

		Yes	No	
3-54.	Sports clubs?	1___	2___	9___
3-55.	Social clubs?	1___	2___	9___
3-56.	Business associations?	1___	2___	9___
3-57.	Religious associations?	1___	2___	9___
3-58.	Political associations?	1___	2___	9___
3-59.	Any other associations or clubs?	1___	2___	9___

3-60. Which do you prefer: to belong to associations or clubs in which all members are people of your own ethnic group, or to belong to associations or clubs in which members are people of different ethnic groups?
1 ___ Prefer to belong to associations or clubs in which all members are people of my own ethnic group
2 ___ Prefer to belong to associations or clubs in which members are people of different ethnic groups
3 ___ Does not matter or indifferent
4 ___ Prefer to belong to no associations or clubs
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___
[8] [5]
[9]

3-61. What is your religion?
1 ___ Protestant (of any denomination)
2 ___ Catholic (of any rite)
3 ___ Jewish
4 ___ Ukrainian Orthodox
5 ___ Other (Specify which religion:_____
_____)
6 ___ No religion (Go to Q. 3-63)
9 ___
[7]

3-62. In general, people are not all religiously inclined to the same degree: as for yourself, do you go to church (or to a synagogue) more than once a week, once a week, not every week, rarely or never?
1 ___ More than once a week
2 ___ Once a week
3 ___ Not every week
4 ___ Rarely
5 ___ Never
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ 0 - if no religion

3-63. At the next federal election to elect a government in Ottawa, do you intend to vote for the Liberal candidate, the Progressive-Conservative candidate, the Social Credit candidate or the New Democratic Party candidate (NDP or CCF)?
1 ___ Liberal
2 ___ Progressive-Conservative
3 ___ Social Credit
4 ___ New Democratic Party (NDP or CCF)
5 ___ Intends to vote for another party
6 ___ Does not intend to vote
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ Intends to vote for the man
0 ___ the answer

3-64. At the last federal election in 1963, in which Mr. Pearson's government was elected, did you vote or not?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No (Go to Q. 3-66)
7 ___ Does not know (Go to Q. 3-66)
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___

3-65. Did you vote for the Liberal candidate, the Progressive-Conservative candidate, the Social Credit candidate or the New Democratic Party candidate (NDP or CCF)?
1 ___ Liberal
2 ___ Progressive-Conservative
3 ___ Social Credit
4 ___ New Democratic Party (NDP or CCF)
5 ___ Voted for another party
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ 0 - if 2, 7, 8 → 3-64

3-66. Do you talk about politics with people you know: regularly, occasionally, rarely or never?
1 ___ Regularly
2 ___ Occasionally
3 ___ Rarely
4 ___ Never
9 ___

3-67. Which interests you more, federal politics or provincial politics?
1 ___ Federal politics
2 ___ Provincial politics
3 ___ Both interests me equally
4 ___ Neither one, nor the other
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-68. In your opinion which government takes best care of the interest of people like you: the federal government or the government of your province?
1 ___ The federal government
2 ___ The provincial government
3 ___ Both take care equally well
4 ___ Neither one, nor the other
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-69 ~~and more~~. (GIVE CARD "E" TO RESPONDENT) Which solution do you prefer concerning the political future of the province of Quebec?
1 ___ That Quebec separates from the rest of Canada
2 ___ That the federal government have more control over Quebec than it has now
3 ___ That the federal government have less control over Quebec than it has now
4 ___ That the position of the province of Quebec in Confederation remain the same as it is now
5 ___ Other solution (Specify which solution: _____)
6 ___ Undecided or depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - Treat Quebec as other provinces

3-70 C'-dont

3-71. Are you in favor or not in favor of Canada and the United States joining together as one country?
1 ___ In favor
2 ___ Not in favor
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ No opinion or indifferent
9 ___

3-72. Are you in favor or not in favor of an economic union between Canada and the United States?
1 ___ In favor
2 ___ Not in favor
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ No opinion or indifferent
9 ___

3-73. Are you aware that there exists in the province of Quebec people who are actively working to obtain the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
9 ___ 3 - does not know

3-74. There are people who suggest that the province of Quebec separate from the rest of Canada to form an independent country while other people oppose this. Personally, are you for or against the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada?
1 ___ For (Go to Q. 3-76)
2 ___ Against (Go to Q. 3-76)
5 ___ Undecided
9 ___
[ ] [ ]

3-75. Perhaps you are not decided, but if you had to take a decision, would you be inclined to favor the separation of Quebec from the rest of Canada?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
7 ___ Does not know
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ 0 - if 1, 2 in 3-74
[ ] [ ]

3-76. Do you believe that, in five or six years, relations between English Canadians and French Canadians will get better, or do you believe that they will get worse?
1 ___ Will get better
2 ___ Will get worse
3 ___ Will stay the same
4 ___ Will get better first and then get worse
5 ___ Will get worse first and then get better
6 ___ Undecided
7 ___ Depends
8 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-77. Do you think that French Canadians should strive to keep their way of life or that they should live more like the rest of Canadians?
1 ___ Should strive to keep their way of life
2 ___ Should live more like the rest of Canadians
3 ___ Should keep their way of life if it does not interfere with the rest of Canadians
4 ___ Should keep their way of life and live more like the rest of Canadians
5 ___ It's up to them, their own choice
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Undecided
8 ___ Does not know
9 ___

3-78. Do you think that in fifty years the proportion of people speaking French in Canada will be greater than, equal to, or smaller than what it is now?
1 ___ Will be greater than it is now
2 ___ Will be smaller than it is now
3 ___ Will be the same
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

4-06. On the whole, how good a job would you say your local daily newspapers do in reporting news about your province: would you say a good job, a fair job or a poor job?
1 ___ Good job
2 ___ Fair job
3 ___ Poor job
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ No opinion or does not know
9 ___

4-07. How good a job do you think your local daily newspapers do in reporting news from the rest of Canada: would you say a good job, a fair job, or a poor job?
1 ___ Good job
2 ___ Fair job
3 ___ Poor job
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ No opinion or does not know
9 ___

4-08. Would you say that your local newspapers tend to be unfair to some ethnic groups in Canada or that they tend to be pretty fair to all groups?
1 ___ Tend to be unfair to some ethnic groups
2 ___ Tend to be pretty fair to all (Go to Q. 4-10)
5 ___ Undecided
6 ___ Depends
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___

4-09. To which ethnic group or groups do you think they tend to be unfair?
_____
8 ___ Refuses to answer
9 ___ Part II

4-10. Some people think that at the present time Canada would be better off if a lot more people came to live here, while others think there are enough new Canadians now. What would you say: does Canada need a lot more immigrants, a few more, or are there enough here now?
1 ___ A lot more
2 ___ A few more
3 ___ Enough here now
4 ___ Too many already
7 ___ Does not know
9 ___ 8 - depends

4-11. Have you heard of or have you read somewhere that the federal government in Ottawa has formed a Royal Commission to study the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada?
1 ___ Yes
2 ___ No
7 ___ Not sure
9 ___

4-12 and 4-13. Could you tell me the sex and age of the persons of thirteen (13) years old to twenty (20) years old inclusively living in this house. Let us begin with the sex and age of the one or of those who are thirteen years old.

	4-12 Sex (Check male by M and female by F.)	4-13 Age
1	___	___
2	___	___
3	___	___
4	___	___
5	___	___
6	___	___
7	___	___
8	___	___
9	___	___

0 — no answer — 0

4-14. Check which language was used for during the interview.
1 ___ English
2 ___ French
3 ___ Other language
9 ___
4 - more than one language

4-15. As we finish may I ask your name and telephone number?
1 Family name (surname)_____
2 Phone number _____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION

THE SOCIAL RESEARCH GROUP

March 1965

RELATIONS INTER-ETHNIQUES

MANUEL DE CODIFICATION

Section II

QUESTIONS — CARTE 2

2-29 A quel groupe ethnique ou culturel appartenait votre ancêtre paternel

Anglais	29/1
Ecossais	2
Irlandais	3
Français	4
Allemand	5
Italien	6
Ne sait pas, pas de réponse	7
Ukrainiens	8
Autres Européens	9
Asiatiques et autres, y compris Indiens et Esquimaux	0

CARTE 3

Revenu annuel du répondant ou de son mari ou de son père

3-13 Groupé détaillé

Moins de $2,500	13/1
$2,500 à $2,999	2
$3,000 à $3,499	3
$3,500 à $3,999	4
$4,000 à $4,499	5
$4,500 à $4,999	6
$5,000 à $5,499	7
$5,500 à $5,999	8
$6,000 à $6,499	9
Codé dans 14	0

3-14	$6,500 à $6,999	14/1
	$7,000 à $7,999	2
	$8,000 à $8,999	3
	$9,000 à $9,999	4
	$10,000 à $10,999	5
	$11,000 à $11,999	6
	$12,000 à $13,999	7
	$14,000 ou plus	8
	Ne sait pas, refuse de répondre, pas de réponse retiré, inactif	9
	Codé dans 13	0

Nombre d'années de scolarité du répondant

3-49	0 à 4 ans	49/1
	5 à 7 ans	2
	8 ans	3
	9 ans	4
	10 ans	5
	11 ans	6
	12 ans	7
	13 ans	8
	14 ans et plus	9
	Codé dans colonne 50	0
3-50	15 ans	50/1
	16 ans	2
	17 ans	3
	18 ans	4
	19 ans	5
	20 ans et plus	6
	Pas de réponse, ne se rappelle pas, refuse de répondre	7
	Codé dans colonne 49	0

CARTE 4

Région

Maritimes	24/1
Québec	2
Ontario	3
Prairies	4
Colombie Britannique	5
Non identifiable	9

Comté

Urbain	25/1
Rural	2
Pas identifiable, comté non indiqué	9

Strates d'après échantillon

Strate 1	26/1
Strate 2	2
Strate 3	3
Non identifiable	9

Proportion de personnes d'origine anglaise dans ce comté

0% à 4.9%	27/1
5% à 9.9%	2
10% à 14.9%	3
15% à 19.9%	4
20% à 24.9%	5
25% à 29.9%	6
30% à 39.9%	7
40% à 49.9%	8
50% à 69.9%	9
70% ou plus	0

Proportion de personnes d'origine française dans ce comté

0% à 4.9%	28/1

. . .

Proportions de personnes d'origine autre que française et anglaise dans ce comté

0% à 4.9%	29/1

. . .

Type de localité de résidence du répondant

Village	30/1
Ville ne faisant pas partie d'une agglomération urbaine	2
Ville faisant partie d'une agglomération urbaine	3
Ville faisant partie d'une zone métropolitaine	4
Localité du répondant est inconnue faute de renseignements sur la questionnaire	5

Proportions de personnes d'origine française dans l'arrondissement ou le répondant a été tiré

0.0% - 25%	32/1
25.1% - 50%	2
50.1% - 75%	3
75.1 - 100%	4
Proportions inconnues faute de renseignements sur la questionnaire	5

3-10a,b,c. Occupation du répondant, (père ou mari)

Groupé

Professional and Technical and kindred Workers	36/1
Managers, Official and Proprietors (except farm)	2
Clerical and kindred	3
Sales Workers	4
Craftsmen,Foremen and kindred	5
Operatives and kindred	6
Service Workers except Private Household	7
Laborers and Private Household Workers	8
Farmers and farm Laborers (owners or not)	9
Pas de réponse, inclassifiable	0

CARTE 5

Identification des strates de l'échantillon

Québec - français	7/1
Québec - autre	2
Reste du pays - français	3
Reste du pays - autre	4

NORC-488
3/65

CANADIAN FACTS LIMITED

and

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

Opinion Survey of Canadian Youth

You are one of about 2,000 people in Canada who have been selected to take part in this survey.

The purpose of the study is to find out what Canadians think of their country today, and about certain other events of the day.

It is important that you answer the questions exactly the way you feel. There are no right or wrong answers to any questions, and no one you know will ever see the answers you put down. IT IS NOT A TEST.

Most of the questions can be answered by putting a circle around one of the numbers printed next to the answers for each question. For example:

In which age group do you fall?

(circle one answer)

Under 25 .....(1)
25 to 39 2
40 or above 3

Please do not write in the right hand margins. The numbers in the margins are to help us add up the answers back in the office.

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE AND BEGIN WITH QUESTION 1. THANK YOU.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE										
1/	2/	3/	4/	5/	6/	7/	8/	9/	10/	11/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

1. As you know, Canada now has a new flag. Some people still think we would be better off with a flag which makes you think more of Canada's past history, while other people like having a flag that is completely new. If you still had a choice, which type of flag would you like better?

(Circle one answer)

A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	1	12/0
A completely new flag	2	
I'm not sure	3	
I wouldn't care one way or the other	4	

2. Which one do you think most other Canadians your age would like better--if the choice were still open?

(Circle one answer)

A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	6	13/5
A completely new flag	7	
They'd probably be divided about 50-50	8	
I'm not sure	9	

3. Suppose that votes were taken today on this question in all ten Canadian provinces. How do you think the votes would come out? (Circle one answer for each province)

	THEY'D VOTE FOR....			
	A FLAG WHICH MAKES YOU THINK OF CANADA'S PAST	A COMPLETELY NEW FLAG	I'M NOT SURE	
Alberta	1	2	3	14/4
British Columbia	5	6	7	15/8
Manitoba	1	2	3	16/4
New Brunswick	5	6	7	17/8
Newfoundland	1	2	3	18/4
Nova Scotia	5	6	7	19/8
Ontario	1	2	3	20/4
Prince Edward Island	5	6	7	21/8
Quebec	1	2	3	22/4
Saskatchewan	5	6	7	23/8
				24/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

4. Suppose that votes were taken on a lot of other questions about the future of Canada. Do you think Canadians would agree on most things about Canada's future, or that they'd tend to disagree?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything	1	25/0
They'd agree on most things	2	
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	3	
They'd disagree on most things	4	
They'd disagree on practically everything	5	
I'm not sure	6	

5. How about people from Eastern Canada and people from Western Canada--would they agree or disagree on most questions about Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything	1	26/0
They'd agree on most things	2	
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	3	
They'd disagree on most things	4	
They'd disagree on practically everything	5	
I'm not sure	6	

6. How about Catholics and Protestants--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything	1	27/0
They'd agree on most things	2	
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	3	
They'd disagree on most things	4	
They'd disagree on practically everything	5	
I'm not sure	6	

7. How about French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Canadians--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything	1	28/0
They'd agree on most things	2	
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	3	
They'd disagree on most things	4	
They'd disagree on practically everything	5	
I'm not sure	6	

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

8. How about people born in Canada and people born outside of Canada--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything ..... 1 — 29/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

9. How about people from rich families and people from poor families--would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything ..... 1 — 30/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

10. What about people from the big cities and people from the rural areas--would they agree or disagree about Canada's future?

(Circle one answer)

They'd agree on practically everything ..... 1 — 31/0
They'd agree on most things 2
They'd agree on half and disagree on half 3
They'd disagree on most things 4
They'd disagree on practically everything 5
I'm not sure 6

32/
33/

11. Which countries would you name as Canada's three best friends?

BEST FRIEND: _____ 34/

SECOND BEST FRIEND: _____ 35/

THIRD BEST FRIEND: _____ 36/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

12. Some people think that Canadians and Americans are very much alike, while others think they are very different. What would you say?

(Circle one answer)

I'd say they were alike in most ways ..... 1 — 37/0
I'd say they were different in most ways 2
I'm not sure 3

13. On which of the following things would you say Canadians and Americans are definitely alike, and on which are they definitely different? (Circle one answer for each part of the question)

	DEFINITELY ALIKE		DEFINITELY DIFFERENT	I'M NOT SURE	
(a) the types of food they eat	1		2	3	38/4
(b) their friendliness to strangers	5		6	7	39/8
(c) their hair and clothing styles	1		2	3	40/4
(d) the language they speak	5		6	7	41/8
(e) the types of music they like	1		2	3	42/4
(f) the types of jobs they hold	5		6	7	43/8
(g) the amount of money they have	1		2	3	44/4
(h) the importance they attach to religion..	5		6	7	45/8
(i) the importance they attach to having a good time	1		2	3	46/4
(j) the importance they attach to making a lot of money	5		6	7	47/8
(k) the kind of government they have	1		2	3	48/4

49/
50/

14. Who would you say have more in common--English-speaking Canadians and Americans or English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians?

(Circle one answer)

English-speaking Canadians and Americans ..... 5 — 51/8
English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians.. 6
I'm not sure 7

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

15. Which government would you say does the most for people?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township ..... 1 — 52/0
The government of your province 2
The government of Canada 3
I'm not sure 4

16. Which one would you say does the least for people?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township ..... 6 — 53/5
The government of your province 7
The government of Canada 8
I'm not sure 9

17. Which government would be best to work for--if the salary was the same on each job?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township ..... 1 — 54/0
The government of your province 2
The government of Canada 3
I'm not sure 4

18. Suppose you had a friend who had just finished school and was offered two jobs. The first was close to home and paid a pretty good salary. The second one paid a lot more money but was about 1,000 miles away in a different province of Canada. If you were asked for advice, which job would you tell your friend to take?

(Circle one answer)

The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary ..... 1 — 55/0
The job in another province which paid a lot better 2
I'm not sure 3

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

19. What if his choice was between a job close to home which paid a pretty good salary and a job in the United States which paid a lot better? Which would you tell him to take then?

(Circle one answer)

The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary ..... 5 — 56/8
The job in the U. S. which paid a lot better 6
I'm not sure 7

20. In which Canadian provinces--including your own--do you think you might like to live at some time in the future?

(Circle all those where you think you might like to live)

Alberta ..... 0 — 57/y
British Columbia 1
Manitoba 2
New Brunswick 3
Newfoundland 4
Nova Scotia 5
Ontario 6
Prince Edward Island 7
Quebec 8
Saskatchewan 9
None. I hope to live outside of Canada in the future .... X — 58/

21. In which Canadian provinces would you definitely never want to live?

(Circle all those where you would never want to live)

Alberta ..... 0 — 59/y
British Columbia 1
Manitoba 2
New Brunswick 3
Newfoundland 4
Nova Scotia 5
Ontario 6
Prince Edward Island 7
Quebec 8
Saskatchewan 9
None. There is no province where I definitely wouldn't want to live ..... X — 60/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

22. Where do you think you'll actually be living ten years from now?

(Circle one answer)

In this province ..... 1 — 61/0

In another Canadian province 2

(Which one? _____)

In another country 3

(Which one? _____) — 62/

I'm not sure ..... 4 — 63/

23. A. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak English as their first language?

NUMBER: _____ — 64/

B. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak French as their first language?

NUMBER: _____ — 65/

C. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak a language other than English or French as their first language?

NUMBER: _____ — 66/

(MAKE SURE YOUR NUMBERS ADD UP TO 10)

24. Besides the English and the French, what other groups of people do you know about who live in Canada? — 67/ 68/ 69/

79/1
80/4

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

BEGIN DECK 2 (1-4) 5/0

25. On the whole, would you say that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians are pretty much alike or pretty much different?

(Circle one answer)

I'd say they are alike in most ways 1

I'd say they are different in most ways 2

I'm not sure 3

26. On which of the following things would you say that French-Canadians and English-Canadians are definitely alike and on which are they definitely different? (Circle one answer for each part of the question)

	DEFINITELY ALIKE		DEFINITELY DIFFERENT	I'M NOT SURE	
(a) the types of food they eat	1		2	3	6/4
(b) their friendliness to strangers	5		6	7	7/8
(c) their hair and clothing styles	1		2	3	8/4
(d) the language they speak	5		6	7	9/8
(e) the types of music they like	1		2	3	10/4
(f) the types of jobs they hold	5		6	7	11/8
(g) the amount of money they have	1		2	3	12/4
(h) the importance they attach to religion	5		6	7	13/8
(i) the importance they attach to having a good time	1		2	3	14/4
(j) the importance they attach to making a lot of money	5		6	7	15/8
(k) the kind of government they want Canada to have	1		2	3	16/4
(l) the type of country they want Canada to be in the future	5		6	7	17/8

18/

19/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

27. Who have more in common--French-Canadians and Americans or French-Canadians and English-Canadians?

(Circle one answer)

- French-Canadians and Americans ..... 5 — 20/8
- French-Canadians and English-Canadians 6
- I'm not sure 7

28. How well do you speak French right now?

(Circle one answer)

- I know hardly a word of French ..... 1 — 21/0
- I know a few French words and phrases but I don't really speak French at all 2
- I speak a little French, but not enough to carry on a conversation 3
- I can carry on a conversation in French, but not very easily 4
- I speak French without any trouble at all 5

29. How useful would it be to you right now to be able to speak French--or speak it better?

(Circle one answer)

- Very useful: I could use it every day ..... 1 — 22/0
- Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day 2
- Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often 3
- Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it 4

30. Thinking ahead to the future--say ten years from now--how useful do you think it would be to you then to be able to speak French?

(Circle one answer)

- Very useful: I could use it every day ..... 6 — 23/5
- Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day 7
- Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often 8
- Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it 9

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

31. In which of the following ways would a better speaking knowledge of French definitely be helpful to you--either now or in the future? (Circle one answer for each part of the question)

	WOULD BE HELPFUL IN IN THIS WAY	WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL IN THIS WAY	
(a) In talking with my friends	1	2	24/0
(b) In making new friends	4	5	25/3
(c) In going out on dates	7	8	26/6
(d) In getting better grades in school	1	2	27/0
(e) In finding a job	4	5	28/3
(f) In getting ahead in the line of work I hope to enter	7	8	29/6
(g) In getting around to more places in my community	1	2	30/0
(h) In travelling to different parts of Canada	4	5	31/3
(i) In reading or watching television	7	8	32/6

33/

32. Do you have any close friends who are French-speaking--that is, who speak French at home?

(Circle one answer)

- Yes ..... 1 — 34/0
- No 2

33. Are there any French-speaking students in your class at school (or in the class you were in when you last attended school)?

(Circle one answer)

- Yes ..... 4 — 35/3
- No 5
- I don't know 6

34. Do any French-speaking families live within about a half mile of where you live?

(Circle one answer)

- Yes ..... 1 — 36/0
- No 2
- I don't know 3

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

35. About how often do you hear French spoken in your community--other than in French classes at school?

(Circle one answer)

Practically every day	1	37/0
Once or twice a week	2	
Occasionally--but not as often as once a week	3	
Never	4	

36. Here are some statements other people your age have made about speaking two languages. Would you agree or disagree with them? (Circle one answer for each part of the question.)

	I'D AGREE WITH THAT	I'D DISAGREE WITH THAT	I'M NOT SURE	
(a) French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools	1	2	3	38/0
(b) It would be a good idea to have road signs printed in both English and French all over Canada	5	6	7	39/4
(c) As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language--English	1	2	3	40/0
(d) As far as I'm concerned, Quebec should have just one official language--French	5	6	7	41/4
(e) It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both French and English	1	2	3	42/0
(f) There is no reason why an English-speaking Canadian should have to learn French if he is never going to use it.	5	6	7	43/4

37. Right now, how good would you say relations are between English-Canadians and French-Canadians--would you say good, fair or poor?

(Circle one answer)

Good	1	44/0
Fair	2	
Poor	3	
I'm not sure	4	

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

38. Right now would you say that English-French relations in Canada are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

(Circle one answer)

Getting better	1	45/0
Getting worse	2	
Staying about the same	3	
I'm not sure	4	

39. Over the next ten years, do you think English-French relations in Canada will get better, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

(Circle one answer)

Get better	6	46/5
Get worse	7	
Stay about the same as they are now	8	
I'm not sure	9	

40. How important do you think each of the following things is in helping a young person to get ahead in Canadian life today? (Circle one answer for each part of the question.)

	VERY IMPORTANT	SLIGHTLY IMPORTANT	UNIMPORTANT	
(a) Get good grades in school	1	2	3	47/0
(b) Know the right people	5	6	7	48/4
(c) Come from the right family	1	2	3	49/0
(d) Get a university education	5	6	7	50/4
(e) Come from the right religious group.	1	2	3	51/0
(f) Be born in Canada	5	6	7	52/4
(g) Be able to speak both French and English	1	2	3	53/0
(h) Have a nice personality	5	6	7	54/4
(i) Work hard	1	2	3	55/0
(j) Have parents with a lot of money	5	6	7	56/4

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

41. What type of work does your father do? (If your father is not living please put down the type of work he did during most of his lifetime)

OCCUPATION OR TYPE OF WORK _____ 57/ 58/

42. What occupation or line of work do you hope to get into eventually?

OCCUPATION OR LINE OF WORK _____ 59/ 60/

43. After you have finished all your schooling, how good do you think your chances will be of finding a good job somewhere in this province?

(Circle one answer)

Definitely good	1
Probably good	2
Fair	3
Probably not so good	4
Definitely not so good	5
I'm not sure	6

61/0

44. After you have finished all your schooling, how good do you think your chances would be of finding a good job somewhere else in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Definitely good	1
Probably good	2
Fair	3
Probably not so good	4
Definitely not so good	5
I'm not sure	6

62/0

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

45. In which province do you live?

(Circle your province)

Alberta	0
British Columbia	1
Manitoba	2
New Brunswick	3
Newfoundland	4
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	7
Quebec	8
Saskatchewan	9

63/y

46. Which other Canadian provinces have you either lived in or visited?

(Circle all the other provinces in which you have lived or visited.)

Alberta	0
British Columbia	1
Manitoba	2
New Brunswick	3
Newfoundland	4
Nova Scotia	5
Ontario	6
Prince Edward Island	7
Quebec	8
Saskatchewan	9
None. I have never been in any other Canadian province	X

64/y

65/y

79/2

80/4+8

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE
BEGIN DECK 3

47. Please indicate your sex.

(Circle one) (1-4)

Male 1 5/0

Female 2

48. How old were you on your last birthday?

(Circle one answer)

Thirteen 3 6/y

Fourteen 4

Fifteen 5

Sixteen 6

Seventeen 7

Eighteen 8

Nineteen 9

Twenty 0

49. Are you currently attending school?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: full-time 1 7/0

Yes: part-time 2

No: not at all 3

50. Are you currently working?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: full-time 1 8/0

(What is your occupation?)

_____

Yes: part-time 2

No: not at all 3

9/
10/

51. By next summer, how many years of schooling will you have completed--counting from the first grade of elementary school?

11/

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____ 12/

52. By next summer, how many years altogether will you have studied French in school?

13/

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____ 14/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

53. After next summer, how many more years do you expect to attend school altogether--including high school, college, university, technical school, business college, or anything else?

15/

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____ 16/

54. Were you born in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 1 17/0

No 2

55. Were your parents born in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: both parents were 6 18/5

No: my father was but my mother wasn't... 7

No: my mother was but my father wasn't... 8

No: neither parent was 9

56. From which country outside of Canada did your father's ancestors originally come?

COUNTRY: _____ 19/

☐ Check here if you don't know 20/

57. From which country outside of Canada did your mother's ancestors originally come?

COUNTRY: _____ 21/

☐ Check here if you don't know 22/

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

58. People your age often disagree with their parents. How often do you disagree with your parents on the following things? (Circle one answer for each part of the question.)

	WE DISAGREE....			
	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	NEVER	
(a) School	1	2	3	23/0
(b) What I do in my spare time	5	6	7	24/4
(c) Politics	1	2	3	25/0
(d) The line of work I want to go into	5	6	7	26/4
(e) Religion	1	2	3	27/0
(f) Who I go out with on dates	5	6	7	28/4
(g) The amount of time I study	1	2	3	29/0

30/

59. What language do you most often speak at home?

(Circle one answer)

- English 1
- French 2
- Other (Which one?) 3

_____

31/0

60. How many years, altogether, did your father attend school?

(Circle one answer)

- He never attended school 1
- 1 - 4 years 2
- 5 - 7 years 3
- 8 years 4
- 9 - 11 years 5
- 12 years 6
- 13 - 15 years 7
- 16 years or more 8
- I'm not sure 9

32/0

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

61. How many years, altogether, did your mother attend school?

(Circle one answer)

- She never attended school 1
- 1 - 4 years 2
- 5 - 7 years 3
- 8 years 4
- 9 - 11 years 5
- 12 years 6
- 13 - 15 years 7
- 16 years or more 8
- I'm not sure 9

33/0

62. To which religious group do you belong?

(Circle one answer)

- Catholic 1
- Protestant 2
  (Which denomination?)

  _____
- Other 3
  (Which one?)

  _____

34/0

63. What was your family's total income (before taxes) last year? (If you don't know exactly, please guess.)

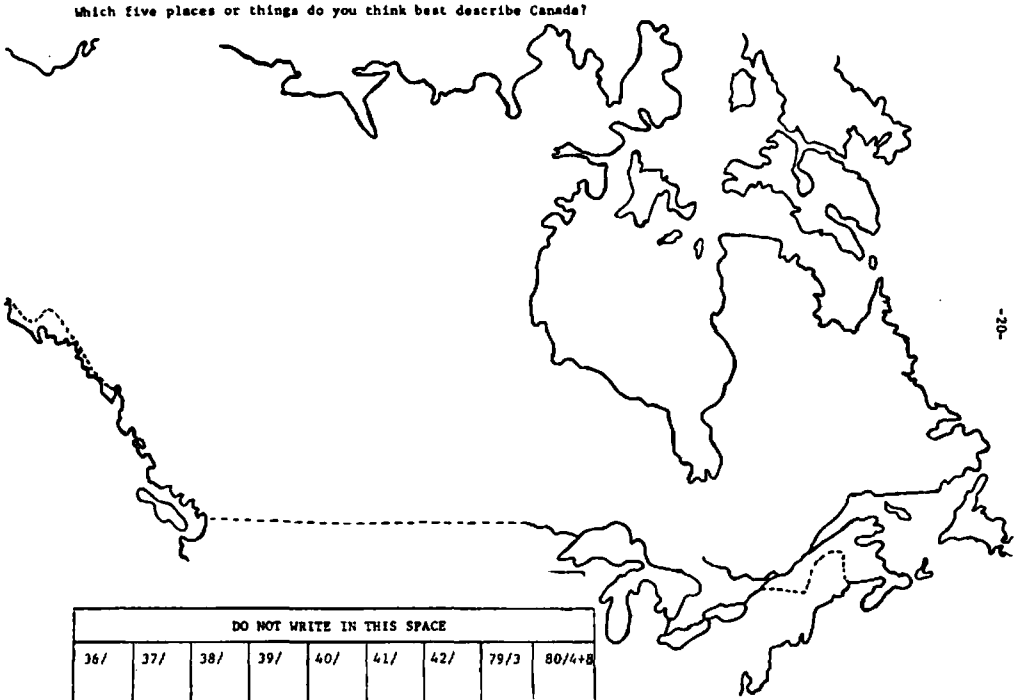
(Circle one answer)

- Under $2,000 0
- $ 2,000 - 2,999 1
- $ 3,000 - 3,999 2
- $ 4,000 - 4,999 3
- $ 5,000 - 5,999 4
- $ 6,000 - 6,999 5
- $ 7,000 - 7,999 6
- $ 8,000 - 9,999 7
- $10,000 - 14,999 8
- $15,000 or more 9

35/y

64. Here is a blank map of Canada. It has no place names on it at all. Your job is to write in five words or phrases that you think best describe Canada. You can put down anything you want, and write anywhere on the map, but you can only put on five things.

Which five places or things do you think best describe Canada?



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36/	37/	38/	39/	40/	41/	42/	79/3	80/4+8

HORC 486
3/65

HORC 486
3/65

CANADIAN FACTS LIMITED

et

CENTRE NATIONAL DE RECHERCHE D'OPINION PUBLIQUE

Etude d'Opinion de la Jeunesse du Canada

Vous êtes l'un des quelques 2,000 jeunes qui ont été sélectionnés au Canada pour prendre part à cette étude.

Le but de l'étude est de connaître ce que les habitants du Canada pensent de leur pays et de certains événements actuels.

Il est important que vous répondiez aux questions exactement comme bon vous semble. Pour aucune question, il n'y a de bonne ou de mauvaise réponse, et personne de votre connaissance ne verra jamais les réponses que vous avez rédigées. CE N'EST PAS UN TEST.

Il est possible de répondre à la plupart des questions en entourant d'un cercle un des chiffres imprimés à coté des réponses à chaque question. Par exemple:

Dans quel groupe d'âge êtes vous?

(entourez une réponse)

Moins de 25 ans ..... (1)

25 à 39 2

40 ou plus 3

N'écrivez rien, s'il vous plaît, dans la marge à droite de chaque page. Les chiffres dans cette marge sont là pour nous aider à additionner les réponses quand elles reviendront dans nos bureaux.

TOURNEZ LA PAGE, S'IL VOUS PLAIT, ET COMMENCEZ AVEC LA QUESTION 1

MERCI.

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CET ESPACE S'IL VOUS PLAIT										
1/	2/	3/	4/	5/	6/	7/	8/	9/	10/	11/

1. Comme vous le savez, le Canada a maintenant un nouveau drapeau. Certains pensent encore qu'il vaudrait mieux avoir un drapeau faisant penser au passé historique du Canada, alors que d'autres sont heureux d'avoir un drapeau complètement nouveau. Si vous aviez encore le choix, quel genre de drapeau aimeriez-vous mieux?

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

(entourez une réponse)

Un drapeau qui vous fait penser au passé du Canada ..... 1 — 12/0

Un drapeau complètement nouveau 2

Je ne suis pas sûr 3

L'un ou l'autre, cela me serait égal 4

2. Lequel, à votre avis, la plupart des habitants du Canada de votre âge aimerait mieux, si le choix était encore possible?

(entourez une réponse)

Un drapeau qui fait penser au passé du Canada ..... 6 — 13/5

Un drapeau complètement nouveau 7

Ils seraient probablement divisés moitié-moitié 8

Je ne suis pas sûr 9

3. Supposez que l'on vote sur cette question dans les dix provinces du Canada. Comment voteraient-elles à votre avis? (*Entourez une réponse pour chaque province*)

	ELLES VOTERAIENT POUR			
	UN DRAPEAU QUI FAIT PENSER AU PASSE DU CANADA	UN DRAPEAU COMPLETEMENT NOUVEAU	JE NE SUIS PAS SUR	
Alberta	1	2	3	14/4
Colombie Britannique ...	5	6	7	15/8
Ile du Prince Edouard ..	1	2	3	16/8
Manitoba	5	6	7	17/4
Nouveau Brunswick	1	2	3	18/8
Nouvelle Ecosse	5	6	7	19/8
Ontario	1	2	3	20/4
Québec	5	6	7	21/4
Saskatchewan	1	2	3	22/8
Terre Neuve	5	6	7	23/4
				24/

4. Supposez que l'on vote sur des tas d'autres questions concernant l'avenir du Canada. Pensez-vous que les habitants du Canada seraient d'accord sur la plupart des questions, ou bien qu'ils auraient tendance à ne pas être d'accord?

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

(entourez une réponse)

Ils seraient d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points .. 1 — 25/0

Ils seraient d'accord sur la plupart des points 2

Ils seraient d'accord sur la moitié et ne seraient pas d'accord sur l'autre 3

Ils ne seraient pas d'accord sur la plupart des points .. 4

Ils ne seraient pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5

Je ne suis pas sûr 6

5. Et les gens de l'Est du Canada et ceux de l'Ouest--est-ce qu'ils seraient d'accord sur la plupart des questions concernant l'avenir du Canada, ou bien est-ce qu'ils ne seraient pas d'accord?

(entourez une réponse)

D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points ..... 1 — 26/0

D'accord sur la plupart des points 2

D'accord sur la moitié et pas d'accord sur l'autre 3

Pas d'accord sur la plupart des points 4

Pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5

Je ne suis pas sûr 6

6. Et les Catholiques et les Protestants--seraient-ils d'accord ou non sur l'avenir du Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points ..... 1 — 27/0

D'accord sur la plupart des points 2

D'accord sur la moitié et pas d'accord sur l'autre 3

Pas d'accord sur la plupart des points 4

Pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5

Je ne suis pas sûr 6

7. Et les Canadiens de langue française et les Canadiens de langue anlaise--seraient-ils d'accord ou non sur l'avenir du Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points ..... 1 — 28/0

D'accord sur la plupart des points 2

D'accord sur la moitié et pas d'accord sur l'autre 3

Pas d'accord sur la plupart des points 4

Pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5

Je ne suis pas sûr 6

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

8. Et les gens nés au Canada et ceux nés hors du Canada--seraient-ils d'accord ou non sur l'avenir du Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 1 29/0
D'accord sur la plupart des points 2
D'accord sur la moitié et pas d'accord sur l'autre ... 3
Pas d'accord sur la plupart des points 4
Pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5
Je ne suis pas sûr 6

9. Et les gens des familles riches et les gens des familles pauvres--seraient-ils d'accord ou non sur l'avenir du Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 1 30/0
D'accord sur la plupart des points 2
D'accord sur la moitié et pas d'accord sur l'autre ... 3
Pas d'accord sur la plupart des points 4
Pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5
Je ne suis pas sûr..... 6

10. Et les gens des grandes villes et ceux des campagnes--seraient-ils d'accord ou non sur l'avenir du Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 1 31/0
D'accord sur la plupart des points 2
D'accord sur la moitié et pas d'accord sur l'autre ... 3
Pas d'accord sur la plupart des points 4
Pas d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 5
Je ne suis pas sûr 6 32/
33/

11. Quels sont, à votre avis, les trois pays les plus amis du Canada?

MEILLEUR AMI: _____ 34/

DEUXIEME MEILLEUR AMI: _____ 35/

TROISIEME MEILLEUR AMI: _____ 36/

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

12. Certaines personnes pensent que les habitants du Canada et les Américains se ressemblent beaucoup, alors que d'autres pensent qu'ils sont bien différents. Quel est votre avis?

(entourez une réponse)

A mon avis, ils se ressemblent sur la plupart des points ... 1 37/0
A mon avis, ils sont différents sur la plupart des points... 2
Je ne suis pas sûr 3

13. Dans la liste suivante, sur quels points--à votre avis--les habitants du Canada et les Américains se ressemblent-ils beaucoup, et sur quels points sont-ils très différents?
(Entourez une réponse pour chaque partie de la question.)

	SE RESSEMBLENT BEAUCOUP		SONT TRES DIFFERENTS	JE NE SUIS PAS SUR	
(a) les sortes de nourriture qu'ils mangent	1	2	3		38/4
(b) leur amabilité envers les étrangers	5	6	7		39/8
(c) leur façon de s'habiller et de se coiffer	1	2	3		40/4
(d) la langue qu'ils parlent	5	6	7		41/8
(e) les genres de musique qu'ils aiment	1	2	3		42/4
(f) les sortes d'emplois qu'ils occupent	5	6	7		43/8
(g) l'argent qu'ils possèdent	1	2	3		44/4
(h) l'importance qu'ils attachent à la religion	5	6	7		45/8
(i) l'importance qu'ils attachent à avoir du bon temps .	1	2	3		46/4
(j) l'importance qu'ils attachent à gagner beaucoup d'argent	5	6	7		47/8
(k) le genre de gouvernement qu'ils ont	1	2	3		48/4

50/

14. A votre avis, quels sont ceux qui ont plus de choses en commun--les Canadiens de langue anglaise et les Américains, ou bien les Canadiens de langue anglaise et les Canadiens de langue française?

(entourez une réponse)

Les Canadiens de langue anglaise et les Américains 1 51/8
Les Canadiens de langue anglaise et les Canadiens de langue française 2
Je ne suis pas sûr 3

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

15. Quel est, à votre avis, le gouvernement qui s'occupe le mieux des gens?

(entourez une réponse)

- Le gouvernement de votre ville ou village ..... 1 — 52/0
- Le gouvernement de votre province 2
- Le gouvernement du Canada 3
- Je ne suis pas sûr 4

16. Quel est, à votre avis, celui qui s'occupe le moins des gens?

(entourez une réponse)

- Le gouvernement de votre ville ou village ..... 6 — 53/5
- Le gouvernement de votre province 7
- Le gouvernement du Canada 8
- Je ne suis pas sûr 9

17. Pour quel gouvernement voudrait-il mieux travailler--si le salaire était le même pour chaque emploi?

(entourez une réponse)

- Le gouvernement de votre ville ou village ..... 1 — 54/0
- Le gouvernement de votre province 2
- Le gouvernement du Canada 3
- Je ne suis pas sûr 4

18. Supposez que vous avez un ami qui vient de terminer ses études et à qui on a offert deux emplois. Le premier se trouve près de chez lui avec un salaire assez bon. Le second est beaucoup mieux payé, mais se trouve à environ 1,000 milles dans une autre province du Canada. Si votre ami vous demandait conseil, quel emploi lui diriez-vous de choisir?

(entourez une réponse)

- L'emploi proche de chez lui avec un assez bon salaire ..... 1 — 55/0
- L'emploi dans une autre province qui est beaucoup mieux payé 2
- Je ne suis pas sûr 3

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

19. Et si votre ami avait le choix entre un emploi près de chez lui avec un assez bon salaire et un emploi aux Etats Unis beaucoup mieux payé. Quel emploi lui conseilleriez-vous de prendre?

(entourez une réponse)

- L'emploi près de chez lui qui est assez bien payé .... 5 — 56/8
- L'emploi aux Etats Unis qui est beaucoup mieux payé .. 6
- Je ne suis pas sûr 7

20. Dans quelles provinces du Canada--y compris la vôtre--pensez-vous aimer vivre dans l'avenir?

(entourez toutes celles où vous pensez aimer vivre)

- Alberta ..... 0 — 57/7
- Colombie Britannique 1
- Ile du Prince Edouard 7
- Manitoba 2
- Nouveau Brunswick 3
- Nouvelle Ecosse 5
- Ontario 6
- Québec 8
- Saskatchewan 9
- Terre Neuve 4
- Aucune. J'espère vivre hors du Canada dans l'avenir . X — 58/

21. Dans quelles provinces du Canada voudriez-vous certainement ne jamais vivre?

(entourez toutes celles où vous ne voudriez jamais vivre)

- Alberta ..... 0 — 59/7
- Colombie Britannique 1
- Ile du Prince Edouard 7
- Manitoba 2
- Nouveau Brunswick 3
- Nouvelle Ecosse 5
- Ontario 6
- Québec 8
- Saskatchewan 9
- Terre Neuve 4
- Aucune. Il n'y a pas de province où je ne voudrais certainement jamais vivre ..... X — 60/

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

22. Où pensez-vous <u>réellement</u> vivre dans dix ans?

(entourez une réponse)

Dans cette province ..... 1 — 61/0

Dans une autre province du Canada 2

(Laquelle? _____)

Dans un autre pays 3

(Lequel? _____)

Je ne suis pas sûr ..... 4 — 62/

63/

23. (a) Parmi dix habitants du Canada, combien, pensez-vous, parlent l'Anglais comme première langue?

NOMBRE: _____ — 64/

(b) Parmi dix habitants du Canada, combien, pensez-vous, parlent le Français comme première langue?

NOMBRE: _____ — 65/

(c) Parmi dix habitants du Canada, combien, pensez-vous, parlent une autre langue que l'Anglais ou le Français comme première langue?

NOMBRE: _____ — 66/

(VERIFIEZ QUE LE TOTAL SOIT EGAL A 10)

24. A part les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais, quels autres groupes de gens connaissez-vous, qui <u>vivent</u> au Canada? — 67/

68/

69/

79/1

80/4-8

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

COMMENCEZ DECK 2 (1-4)

25. En général, diriez-vous que les Canadiens anglais et les Canadiens français se ressemblent beaucoup, ou bien diriez-vous qu'ils sont très différents?

(entourez une réponse)

Je dirais qu'ils se ressemblent sur la plupart des points .. 1

Je dirais qu'ils sont différents sur la plupart des points . 2 — 5/0

Je ne suis pas sûr 3

26. Dans la liste suivante, sur quels points à votre avis les Canadiens anglais et les Canadiens français se ressemblent-ils certainement, et sur quels points sont-ils certainement différents? (Entourez une réponse pour chaque partie de la question.)

	SE RESSEMBLENT CERTAINEMENT		SONT TRES DIFFERENTS	JE NE SUIS PAS SUR	
(a) les sortes de nourriture qu'ils mangent	1	2	3		6/4
(b) leur amabilité envers les étrangers	5	6	7		7/8
(c) leur façon de s'habiller et de se coiffer	1	2	3		8/4
(d) la langue qu'ils parlent ..	5	6	7		9/8
(e) les genres de musique qu'ils aiment	1	2	3		10/4
(f) les sortes d'emplois qu'ils occupent	5	6	7		11/8
(g) l'argent qu'ils possèdent .	1	2	3		12/4
(h) l'importance qu'ils attachent à la religion	5	6	7		13/8
(i) l'importance qu'ils attachent à avoir du bon temps	1	2	3		14/4
(j) l'importance qu'ils attachent à gagner beaucoup d'argent.	5	6	7		15/8
(k) le genre de gouvernement qu'ils veulent pour le Canada	1	2	3		16/4
(l) ce qu'ils veulent que le Canada soit dans l'avenir .	5	6	7		17/8

18/

19/

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

27. Quels sont ceux qui ont plus de choses en commun--les Canadiens français et les Américains, ou bien les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais?

(entourez une réponse)

Les Canadiens français et les Américains ..... 5 — 20/8

Les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais 6

Je ne suis pas sûr 7

28. Comment parlez-vous Anglais en ce moment?

(entourez une réponse)

Je connais à peine un mot d'Anglais ..... 1 — 21/0

Je connais quelques mots d'Anglais et quelques phrases mais je ne parle pas vraiment Anglais 2

Je parle un peu Anglais, mais pas assez pour tenir une conversation 3

Je peux tenir une conversation en Anglais, mais pas très facilement 4

Je parle Anglais sans aucune difficulté 5

29. Aujourd'hui, comment vous serait-il utile de parler Anglais, ou de le parler mieux?

(entourez une réponse)

Très utile: je pourrais l'utiliser tous les jours ..... 1 — 22/0

Assez utile: je pourrais l'utiliser souvent, mais pas tous les jours 2

Pas très utile: je pourrais l'utiliser quelquesfois, mais pas très souvent 3

Totalement inutile: je ne pense pas que je l'utiliserais un jour 4

30. Si vous considérez l'avenir-disons, dans dix ans-comment vous serait-il utile, à ce moment-là, de parler Anglais couramment?

(entourez une réponse)

Très utile: je pourrais l'utiliser tous les jours ..... 6 — 23/5

Assez utile: je pourrais l'utiliser souvent, mais pas tous les jours 7

Pas très utile: je pourrais l'utiliser quelquesfois, mais pas très souvent 8

Totalement inutile: je ne pense pas que je l'utiliserais un jour 9

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

31. Dans la liste suivante, à quels points de vue une meilleure connaissance de l'Anglais vous serait-elle sûrement utile-soit maintenant, soit dans le futur?
(Entourez une réponse pour chaque partie de la question.)

	CE SERAIT UTILE A CE POINT DE VUE	CE NE SERAIT PAS UTILE A CE POINT DE VUE	
(a) pour parler avec mes ami(e)s	1	2	24/0
(b) pour avoir de nouveaux(elles) ami(e)s	4	5	25/3
(c) pour sortir avec des personnes de l'autre sexe	7	8	26/6
(d) pour obtenir des meilleures notes en classe	1	2	27/0
(e) pour trouver un emploi	4	5	28/3
(f) pour progresser dans le domaine où j'espère travailler	7	8	29/6
(g) pour aller dans plus d'endroits dans ma ville, ou mon village ...	1	2	30/6
(h) pour voyager dans différentes parties du Canada	4	5	31/3
(i) pour lire ou regarder la télévision	7	8	32/6

33/

32. Est-ce que vous avez des bons amis qui parlent Anglais--c'est à dire, qui parlent Anglais chez eux?

(entourez une réponse)

Oui ..... 1 — 34/0

Non 2

33. Est-ce qu'il y a des étudiants qui parlent Anglais dans votre classe (ou bien dans la dernière classe où vous étiez)?

(entourez une réponse)

Oui ..... 4 — 35/3

Non 5

Je ne sais pas 6

34. Est-ce qu'il y a des familles de langue anglaise habitant à environ moins d'un demi mille de votre maison?

(entourez une réponse)

Oui ..... 1 — 36/0

Non 2

Je ne sais pas 3

35. Combien de fois entendez-vous parler Anglais autour de vous?

(entourez une réponse)

		N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE
Pratiquement tous les jours	1	37/0
Une ou deux fois par semaine	2	
Parfois, mais moins d'une fois par semaine	3	
Jamais	4	

36. Voici quelques opinions que d'autres jeunes de votre âge ont exprimées concernant la possibilité de parler deux langues. Seriez-vous d'accord ou non avec eux?
(Entourez une réponse pour chaque partie de la question.)

	JE SERAIS D'ACCORD	JE NE SERAIS PAS D'ACCORD	JE NE SUIS PAS SUR	
(a) Le Français et l'Anglais devraient être des sujets obligatoires dans toutes les écoles du Canada	1	2	3	38/0
(b) Ce serait une bonne idée si les panneaux routiers étaient rédigés en Anglais et en Français partout au Canada.	5	6	7	39/4
(c) En ce qui me concerne, le Canada ne devrait avoir qu'une seule langue officielle: le Français	1	2	3	40/0
(d) En ce qui me concerne, le Québec ne devrait avoir qu'une seule langue officielle: le Français	5	6	7	41/4
(e) Ce serait une bonne idée si tous les Canadiens pouvaient parler Français et Anglais	1	2	3	42/0
(f) Un Canadien de langue française ne devrait pas avoir à apprendre l'Anglais s'il ne va jamais s'en servir	5	6	7	43/4

37. Comment sont, en ce moment, les relations entre les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais? A votre avis, sont-elles bonnes, assez bonnes, ou mauvaises?

(entourez une réponse)

Bonnes	1	44/0
Assez bonnes	2	
Mauvaises	3	
Je ne suis pas sûr	4	

38. Direz-vous que les relations franco-anglaises, en ce moment sont en train de s'améliorer, deviennent plus mauvaises, ou restent les mêmes?

(entourez une réponse)

		N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE
Elles s'améliorent	1	45/0
Elles deviennent plus mauvaises	2	
Elles restent à peu près les mêmes	3	
Je ne suis pas sûr	4	

39. Pensez-vous que, dans les dix prochaines années, les relations franco-anglaises au Canada vont s'améliorer, deviendront plus mauvaises, ou bien resteront à peu près comme elles sont maintenant?

(entourez une réponse)

Vont s'améliorer	6	46/5
Deviendront plus mauvaises	7	
Resteront à peu près comme elles sont maintenant	8	
Je ne suis pas sûr	9	

40. A votre avis, quelle est l'importance des points suivants, par la façon dont ils aident un jeune à réussir dans la vie au Canada aujourd'hui? (Entourez une réponse pour chaque partie de la question.)

	TRES IMPORTANT	ASSEZ IMPORTANT	SANS IMPORTANCE	
(a) Avoir de bonnes notes en classe	1	2	3	47/0
(b) Connaître les gens qu'il faut	5	6	7	48/4
(c) Appartenir à une famille influente	1	2	3	49/0
(d) Avoir une éducation à l'université	5	6	7	50/4
(e) Appartenir au bon groupe religieux	1	2	3	51/0
(f) Etre né(e) au Canada	5	6	7	52/4
(g) Etre capable de parler Anglais et Français	1	2	3	53/0
(h) Avoir une personnalité sympathique	5	6	7	54/4
(i) Travailler dur	1	2	3	55/0
(j) Avoir des parents qui ont beaucoup d'argent	5	6	7	56/4

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

41. Quel genre de travail votre père fait-il? (Si votre père ne vit plus, indiques s'il vous plait le genre de travail qu'il a fait pendant la plus grande partie de sa vie.)

OCCUPATION OU
GENRE DE TRAVAIL: _____ 57/ 58/

42. Dans quelle occupation, ou dans quel domaine, espérez-vous éventuellement travailler?

OCCUPATION OU
DOMAINE DE TRAVAIL: _____ 59/ 60/

43. Lorsque vous aurez terminé toutes vos études, comment seront, à votre avis, vos chances de trouver un bon emploi quelque part dans cette province?

(entourez une réponse)

Certainement bonnes 1
Probablement bonnes 2
Assez bonnes 3
Probablement pas très bonnes 4
Certainement pas très bonnes 5
Je ne suis pas sûr 6

61/0

44. Lorsque vous aurez terminé toutes vos études, comment seront, à votre avis, vos chances de trouver un bon emploi autre part au Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

Certainement bonnes 1
Probablement bonnes 2
Assez bonnes 3
Probablement pas très bonnes 4
Certainement pas très bonnes 5
Je ne suis pas sûr 6

62/0

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

45. Dans quelle province habitez-vous?

(entourez une réponse)

Alberta 0
Colombie Britannique 1
Ile du Prince Edouard 2
Manitoba 3
Nouveau Brunswick 4
Nouvelle Ecosse 5
Ontario 6
Québec 7
Saskatchewan 8
Terre Neuve 9

63/y

46. Dans quelles autres provinces du Canada avez-vous déjà habité ou lesquelles avez-vous déjà visitées?

(entourez toutes les autres provinces ou vous avez déjà habité ou que vous avez visitées)

Alberta 0
Colombie Britannique 1
Ile du Prince Edouard 2
Manitoba 3
Nouveau Brunswick 4
Nouvelle Ecosse 5
Ontario 6
Québec 7
Saskatchewan 8
Terre Neuve 9

Aucune. Je ne suis jamais allé(e) dans une autre province du Canada X

64/y

65/y

79/2
80/448

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

COMMENCEZ DECK 3 ____

(1-4)

47. Indiquez votre sexe s'il vous plaît.

(entourez une réponse)

Masculin 1

Féminin ..... 2 — 5/0

48. Indiquez votre âge lors de votre dernier anniversaire.

(entourez une réponse)

Treize ans 3

Quatorze ans 4

Quinze ans 5

Seize ans 6

Dix sept ans 7

Dix huit ans 8

Dix neuf ans 9

Vingt ans ..... 0 — 6/y

49. Est-ce que vous allez à l'école en ce moment?

(entourez une réponse)

Oui: à plein temps 1

Oui: à mi-temps 2

Non: pas du tout ..... 3 — 7/0

50. Avez-vous en ce moment un travail rémunéré?

(entourez une réponse)

Oui: à plein temps 1

(Quelle est votre occupation?)

_____

Oui: à mi-temps 2

Non: pas du tout ..... 3 — 8/0

9/0

10/

51. L'été prochain, combien d'années d'écoles aurez-vous terminé? (En comptant à partir de la première année de l'école élémentaire.)

NOMBRE D'ANNEES _____ — 11/ 12/

52. L'été prochain, combien d'années, au total, aurez-vous étudié l'Anglais?

NOMBRE D'ANNEES _____ — 13/ 14/

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

53. Après l'été prochain, pendant combien d'années au total pensez-vous encore faire des études? (en comptant l'école supérieure, le collège, l'université, les écoles techniques, les cours commerciaux, ou n'importe quoi d'autre)

NOMBRE D'ANNEES: _____ — 15/ 16/

54. Etes-vous né(e) au Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

Oui 1

Non ..... 2 — 17/

55. Est-ce que vos parents sont nés au Canada?

(entourez un réponse)

Oui: mon père et ma mère sont nés au Canada 6

Non: mon père est né au Canada, mais pas ma mère 7

Non: ma mère est née au Canada, mais pas mon père 8

Non: ni mon père, ni ma mère ne sont nés au Canada ..... 9 — 18/

56. De quel pays d'origine, hors du Canada, venaient les ancêtres de votre père?

PAYS: _____ — 19/

☐ Faites une croix ici si vous ne savez pas. — 20/

57. De quel pays d'origine, hors du Canada, venaient les ancêtres de votre mère?

PAYS: _____ — 21/

☐ Faites une croix ici si vous ne savez pas. — 22/

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

58. Les jeunes de votre âge souvent ne sont pas d'accord avec leurs parents. Quand est-ce que vous n'êtes pas d'accord avec vos parents sur les points suivants? (Entourez une réponse pour chaque partie de la question.)

	NOUS NE SOMMES PAS D'ACCORD...			
	SOUVENT	QUELQUES FOIS	JAMAIS	
(a) L'école	1	2	3	23/0
(b) Ce que je fais de mon temps libre	5	6	7	24/4
(c) La politique	1	2	3	25/0
(d) Le domaine de travail où je veux entrer	5	6	7	26/4
(e) La religion	1	2	3	27/0
(f) Qui je fréquente	5	6	7	28/4
(g) Le temps que je passe à étudier	1	2	3	29/0

30/

59. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus souvent chez vous?

(entourez une réponse)

Anglais 1
Français 2
Autre (laquelle?) 3
(_____)

31/0

60. Combien d'années, au total, votre père est-il allé à l'école?

(entourez une réponse)

Il n'est jamais allé à l'école 1
1 - 4 ans 2
5 - 7 ans 3
8 ans 4
9 - 11 ans 5
12 ans 6
13 - 15 ans 7
16 ans ou plus 8
Je ne suis pas sûr 9

32/0

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CETTE MARGE

61. Combien d'années, au total, votre mère est-elle allée à l'école?

(entourez une réponse)

Elle n'est jamais allée à l'école 1
1 - 4 ans 2
5 - 7 ans 3
8 ans 4
9 - 11 ans 5
12 ans 6
13 - 15 ans 7
16 ans ou plus 8
Je ne suis pas sûr 9

33/0

62. A quel groupe religieux appartenez-vous?

(entourez une réponse)

Catholique 1
Protestant 2
(Quelle dénomination?)
(_____)
Autre 3
(Laquelle?)
(_____)

34/0

63. L'année dernière, quel était le revenu total de votre famille? (avant impôts). Si vous ne savez pas exactement, donnez s'il vous plaît une estimation.

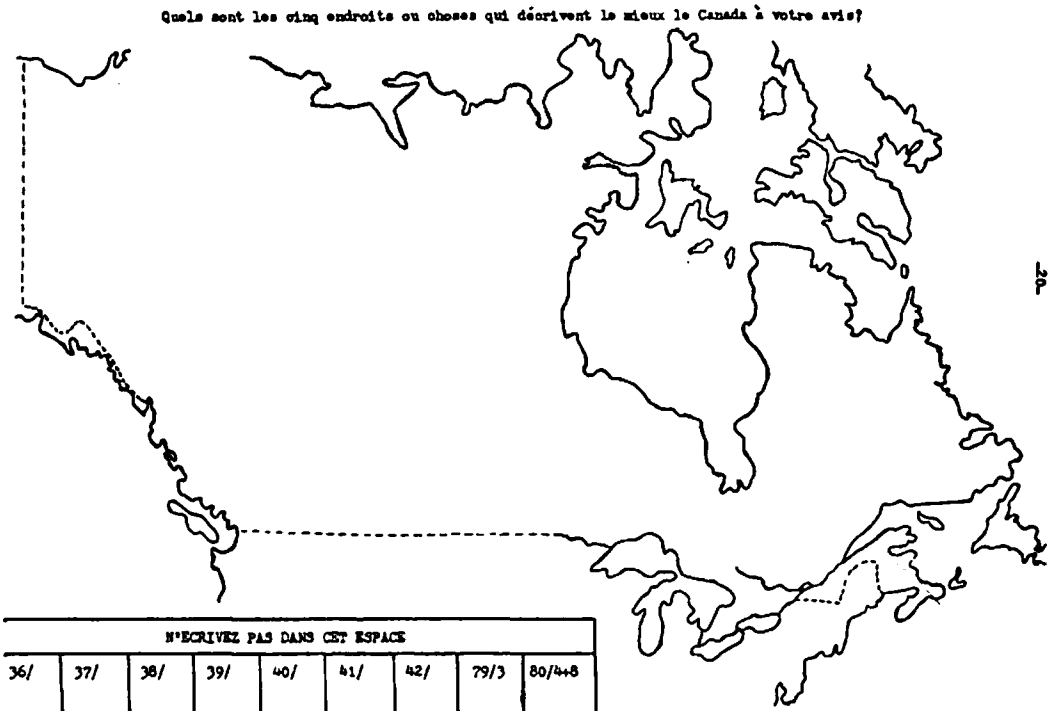
(entourez une réponse)

Moins de $2,000 0
$2,000 - 2,999 1
$3,000 - 3,999 2
$4,000 - 4,999 3
$5,000 - 5,999 4
$6,000 - 6,999 5
$7,000 - 7,999 6
$8,000 - 9,999 7
$10,000 - 14,999 8
$15,000 ou plus 9

35/7

64. Voici une carte blanche du Canada. Aucun endroit n'y est indiqué. Inscrivez <u>cinq</u> mots ou phrases qui décrivent le mieux le Canada à votre avis. Vous pouvez inscrire ce que vous voulez et écrire n'importe où sur la carte, mais vous ne pouvez mettre que <u>cinq</u> choses.

Quels sont les cinq endroits ou choses qui décrivent le mieux le Canada à votre avis?



N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CET ESPACE								
36/	37/	38/	39/	40/	41/	42/	79/3	80/448

APPENDIX C

THE VARIABLES EMPLOYED

To discover the definition of a variable appearing in any table or figure based on either of the surveys, look up the table or figure in the appropriate list below. Variables based directly on items in the surveys, without any transformations, are designated by "VARxxx," for the adult survey, or by "Qxx," for the youth survey, where "xxx" or "xx" stands for a number. To determine the definition of such a variable, simply look at the question having the indicated number, which will be found in the appropriate questionnaire reproduced in Appendix B. Variables that are not simply equivalent to a single item in a questionnaire are defined in the list following that in which the tables and figures for the given survey are listed.

In the lists of tables and figures, variables are named generally in the following order: dependent variable, independent variable, variant control variables, invariant control variables, where these terms designate variables having particular relationships with tabular presentation and direction of percentaging, not necessarily with hypothesized temporal sequences, if any. In the lists of definitions, "between" always means "between and including."

The only additional information needed is about two of the variables based directly on the adult survey. Wherever VAR436 is used, the term "white collar" encompasses responses 1 through 4, "blue collar" responses 5 through 8, and "agricultural" response 9. And throughout the text, whenever English or French is described as "principal home language" or "the principal home language," the reference is to response 1 or 2, respectively, on VAR174; but whenever English or French is described as "a principal home language," the reference is to responses 1, 4, or 5 for English, and responses 2, 4, or 6 for French.

Tables and Figures Based on the Adult Survey

Table or Figure	Variables Employed
Table 4.1-A	VAR243, ESPEAK, ECAN VAR231, FSPEAK, FCAN
Table 4.2-A	ECON, ESPEAK, ECAN FCON, FSPEAK, FCAN
Figure 4.3-A	ECON, ESPEAK, ECAN FCON, FSPEAK, FCAN

Table or Figure	Variables Employed
Figure 4.5-A	ECON, ESPEAK, VAR424 FCON, FSPEAK, VAR424
Table 4.6-A	ECON, ESPEAK, VAR424, ECAN FCON, FSPEAK, VAR424, FCAN
Figure 4.8-A	VAR243, ESPEAK, ECAN VAR231, FSPEAK, FCAN
Table 4.9-A	ECON, ESPEAK, EWEAK, ECAN FCON, FSPEAK, FWEAK, FCAN
Table 4.10-A	FORMALE, LIVINGE, ESPEAK FORMALF, LIVINGF, FSPEAK
Table 4.11-A	ESPEAK, FORMALE, LIVINGE FSPEAK, FORMALF, LIVINGF
Figure 5.1-A	YEARSED, EFOLKS
Figure 5.2-A	YEARSED, EFOLKS, VAR424
Figure 5.3-A	YEARSED, EFOLKS, FCATH
Figure 5.4-A	YEARSED, EFOLKS, DADSJOB
Table 5.7-A	VAR436, ESPEAK, VAR307
Figure 5.8-A	INCOME17, ESPEAK, VAR307
Table 5.10-A	VAR436, ESPEAK, VAR307, FCATH
Figure 5.11-A	INCOME17, ESPEAK, VAR307, FCATH
Table 5.12-A	VAR436, INCOME17, ESPEAK, VAR307, EDHI6, VAR174 VAR436, INCOME17, ESPEAK, VAR307, EDHI6, VAR174, FCATH
Table 5.13-A	VAR347, ESPEAK, EDAD
Figure 5.14-A	VAR347, ESPEAK, VAR424, EDAD
Table 5.15-A	VAR347, ESPEAK, EDAD, VAR424
Figure 5.16-A	ESPEAK, YEARSED, EFOLKS
Figure 5.17-A	ESPEAK, YEARSED, EFOLKS, VAR424
Table 5.18-A	ESPEAK, VAR217, EFOLKS FSPEAK, VAR209, FFOLKS
Table 6.1-A	VAR363, VAR174
Table 6.2-A	VAR410, VAR174
Figure 6.3-A	VAR367, LANGKNOW, VAR424 VAR363, LANGKNOW VAR410, LANGKNOW CHOSEHUM, LANGKNOW

Table or Figure	Variables Employed
Table 6.4-A	VAR363, VAR174, VAR424
Table 6.5-A	VAR410, VAR174, VAR424
Table 6.6-A	VAR367, YEARSED, VAR174, VAR424
Table 6.7-A	VAR367, ESPEAK, FSPEAK, YEARSED, VAR174, VAR424
Figure 6.8-A	VAR410, YEARSED, VAR174
Table 6.9-A	CLUBSHUN, ESPEAK, YEARSED, VAR428, FCATH
Figure 6.10-A	VAR129, ESPEAK VAR125, FSPEAK
Table 6.11-A	VAR129, ESPEAK, VAR424 VAR125, FSPEAK, VAR424 GIVEJOBS, FSPEAK, VAR424
Table 6.12-A	VAR125, FSPEAK, VAR361, VAR424, FCAN GIVEJOBS, FSPEAK, VAR361, VAR424, FCAN
Table 6.13-A	ETHNOS1, VAR174
Figure 6.14-A	ETHNOS1, LANGKNOW
Table 6.15-A	QSEP, ESPEAK, METROPOL, VAR174, VAR424
Table 6.16-A	ETHNOS1, FSPEAK, EDUC ETHNOS1, ESPEAK, FDUC
Table 6.17-A	ELEARN, EPALS, ECAN FLEARN, FPALS, FCAN

Transformed Variables Based on the Adult Survey

CLUBSHUN: Avoids joining organizations? CLUBSHUN is a version of VAR360 with fewer categories: 4 = "yes"; 1, 2, 3, 6 = "no."

DADSJOB: Father's occupation when respondent was 17. If VAR449 is between 1 and 4, DADSJOB = "white collar." If VAR449 is between 5 and 8, DADSJOB = "blue collar." If VAR449 = 9, DADSJOB = "agricultural."

ECAN: English-Canadian origin or identity? If VAR229 = 1, 2, or 3, or if VAR219, VAR220, or VAR230 = 1, ECAN = "English Canadian." Otherwise, if VAR229 = 7, or if VAR219 or VAR220 = 7, 9, or 0, or if VAR230 = 8, 9, or 0, ECAN = "indeterminate." Otherwise, ECAN = "non-English Canadian."

ECON: Degree of contact with English Canadians. If VAR243 = 2, ECON = "none." If VAR243 = 1, ECON depends on VAR245, such that if VAR245 = 3, 2, or 1, ECON = "low," "medium," or "high," respectively.

EDAD: Father spoke English? If VAR219 = 1, 4, or 5, or if VAR221 = 0, 1, 5, or 6, EDAD = "yes." If VAR219 = 2, 3, or 6, and if VAR221 = 2, 3, 4, or 8, EDAD = "no."

EDHI6: Years of education received. EDHI6 is a version of YEARSED with fewer categories, i.e., 0-7, 8-9, 10-11, 12, 13-14, and 15+ years.

EFOLKS: Parents spoke English? If VAR219 or VAR220 = 1, 4, or 5, EFOLKS = "a main language." If VAR219 = 2, 3, or 6, and if VAR220 = 2, 3, or 6, and if VAR221 = 0, 1, 5, or 6, EFOLKS = "known, but not a main language." If VAR219 = 2, 3, or 6, and if VAR220 = 2, 3, or 6, and if VAR221 = 2, 3, 4, or 8, EFOLKS = "not known."

ELEARN: Wants to learn (more) English if not fluent? If ESPEAK = "none," "low," or "medium," and if VAR218 = 1, ELEARN = "yes." If ESPEAK = "none," "low," or "medium," and if VAR218 = 2, ELEARN = "no."

EPALS: Desire for English Canadians as friends. EPALS is a version of VAR252 with fewer categories: 1 = "yes"; 3, 4, 6 = "maybe"; 2 = "no."

EPURE: Pure English family background? If VAR307 = 2 or 4, and if VAR219 and VAR220 = 1, and if VAR221 = 4, and if VAR229 = 1, EPURE = "yes."

ESPEAK: Competence in spoken English. If VAR174 = 1, 4, or 5, ESPEAK = "native." If VAR174 = 2, 3, or 6, ESPEAK depends on VAR212, such that if VAR212 = 1, 2, 3, or 4, ESPEAK = "high," "medium," "low," or "none," respectively.

ETHNOS1: Ethnicity. If VAR230 and VAR267 = 1, ETHNOS1 = "English." If VAR230 and VAR267 = 2, ETHNOS1 = "French." If VAR230 or VAR267 = 0, 7, 8, or 9, ETHNOS1 = "indeterminate." Otherwise, ETHNOS1= "mixed or rejected."

EWEAK: Region of English weakness? If VAR424 = 2, and if VAR428 = 0, and if VAR432 = 4, EWEAK = "yes." Otherwise, EWEAK= "no."

FCAN: French-Canadian origin or identity? If VAR229 = 4, or if VAR219, VAR220, or VAR230 = 2, or if VAR507 = 1 or 3, FCAN = "French Canadian." Otherwise, if VAR229 = 7, or if VAR219 or VAR220 = 7, 9, or 0, or if VAR230 = 8, 9, or 0, FCAN = "indeterminate." Otherwise, FCAN = "non-French Canadian."

FCATH: French Catholic? If VAR507 = 1 or 3, and if VAR361 = 2, FCATH = "yes." If VAR507 = 2 or 4, or if VAR361 = 1, 3, 4, 5, or 6, FCATH = "no."

FCON: Degree of contact with French Canadians. FCON depends on VAR231 and VAR233 in the same way as ECON depends on VAR243 and VAR245, respectively.

FFOLKS: Parents spoke French? If VAR219 or VAR220 = 2, 4, or 6, or if VAR221 = 0, 2, 5, or 8, FFOLKS = "yes." If VAR219 = 1, 3, or 5, and if VAR220 = 1, 3, or 5, and if VAR221 = 1, 3, 4, or 6, FFOLKS = "no."

FLEARN: Wants to learn (more) French if not fluent? FLEARN depends on FSPEAK and VAR210 in the same way as ELEARN depends on ESPEAK and VAR218, respectively.

FORMALE: Has had exposure to English through study? If VAR216 or VAR217 = 1, FORMALE = "yes." If VAR216 and VAR217 = 2, FORMALE = "no."

FORMALF: Has had exposure to French through study? FORMALF depends on VAR208 and VAR209 in the same way as FORMALE depends on VAR216 and VAR217.

FPALS: Desire for French Canadians as friends. FPALS depends on VAR240 in the same way as EPALS depends on VAR252.

FPURE: Pure French family background? If VAR507 = 1 or 3, and if VAR219 and VAR220 = 2, and if VAR221 and VAR229 = 4, FPURE = "yes."

FSPEAK: Competence in spoken French. If VAR174 = 2, 4, or 6, FSPEAK = "native." If VAR174 = 1, 3, or 5, FSPEAK depends on VAR176, in the same way as ESPEAK depends on VAR212.

FWEAK: Region of French weakness? If VAR424 $\neq$ 2, and if VAR428 is between 1 and 6, and if VAR432 = 1, FWEAK = "yes." Otherwise, FWEAK = "no."

GIVEJOBS: Favors more federal posts for French Canadians? GIVEJOBS is a version of VAR164 with fewer categories: 3 = "yes"; 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 = "no or apparently not."

INCOME17: Income. If VAR314 = 0, and if VAR313 $\neq$ 0, INCOME17 is equivalent to VAR313. If VAR313 = 0, and if VAR314 is between 1 and 8, INCOME17 is equivalent to VAR314.

LANGKNOW: Competence in English and French. LANGKNOW depends on ESPEAK AND FSPEAK.

LIVINGE: Has had real-life exposure to English? If VAR213 = 1 or 2, or if VAR214 or VAR215 = 1, or if EFOLKS = "a main language," LIVINGE = "yes." If VAR213 = 3 or 4, and if VAR214 and VAR215 = 2, and if EFOLKS = "known, but not a main language" or "not known," LIVINGE = "no."

LIVINGF: Has had real-life exposure to French? If VAR177 = 1 or 2, or if VAR206 or VAR207 = 1, or if VAR219 or VAR220 = 2, 4, or 6, LIVINGF = "yes." If VAR177 = 3 or 4, and if VAR206 and VAR207 = 2, and if VAR219 = 1, 3, or 5, and if VAR220 = 1, 3, or 5, LIVINGF = "no."

METROPOL: Interview in a metropolitan area? METROPOL is a version of VAR430 with fewer categories: 4 = "yes"; 1, 2, 3 = "no."

QSEP: Leaning on Quebec separatism. If 10·VAR374 + VAR375 = 1, 10, 11, or 51, QSEP = "favorable." If 10·VAR374 + VAR375 = 2, 20, 22, or 52, QSEP = "unfavorable."

YEARSED: Years of education received. If VAR350 = 0, and if VAR349 $\neq$ 0, YEARSED depends on VAR349, such that if VAR349 = 1 or 2, YEARSED = "0-4 years" or "5-7 years," respectively, and if VAR349 is between 3 and 9, YEARSED = "xx years," where xx = VAR349 + 5. If VAR349 = 0, and if VAR350 is between 1 and 6, YEARSED depends on VAR350, such that if VAR350 = 6, YEARSED = "20+ years," and if VAR350 is between 1 and 5, YEARSED = "xx years," where xx = VAR350 + 14.

Tables and Figures Based on the Youth Survey

Table or Figure	Variables Employed
Table 4.4-Y	LANGPALS, LANGKNOW, LANGCON, Q59
Table 4.7-Y	LANGPALS, LANGKNOW, Q45, Q59
Figure 5.5-Y	Q49, Q48, Q59
Table 5.6-Y	Q49, Q59, Q48, FOLKSED1
Figure 5.19-Y	LANGKNOW, ESTUD LANGKNOW, FSTUD
Figure 5.20-Y	LANGKNOW, ESTUD, LANGCON LANGKNOW, FSTUD, LANGCON
Table 5.21-Y	LANGKNOW, Q40G, Q59, Q49
Figure 6.3-Y	Q1, EFKNOW

Transformed Variables Based on the Youth Survey

EFKNOW: Competence in spoken English and French. EFKNOW depends on LANGKNOW and Q59. If a language is named in the answer to Q59, competence in that language is "native."

ESTUD: Years of study of English in school. If questionnaire is in French and Q59 = 2, ESTUD is equivalent to Q52.

FOLKSED1: Years of education of more educated parent. If Q60 and Q61 are between 1 and 8, FOLKSED1 is equivalent to Q60 or Q61, whichever is greater.

FSTUD: Years of study of French in school. If questionnaire is in English and Q59 = 1, FSTUD is equivalent to Q52.

LANGCON: Have neighbors or classmates of other language? If answer to Q59 = the language of questionnaire, LANGCON depends on Q33 and Q35, such that if Q33 = 4, or if Q35 = 1 or 2, LANGCON = "yes"; and if Q33 = 5, and if Q35 = 3 or 4, LANGCON = "no."

LANGKNOW: Spoken competence in other language. If answer to Q59 = the language of questionnaire, LANGKNOW is equivalent to Q28, such that 1 = "none," 2 = "low," 3 = "medium-low," 4 = "medium-high," and 5 = "high." If Q59 = 1 or 2 and the language of questionnaire is French or English, respectively, LANGKNOW = "high."

LANGPALS: Have any close friends of other language? If answer to Q59 = the language of questionnaire, LANGPALS = Q32.

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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

Jonathan Pool

Survey data from Canada are analyzed in this study in order to subject to empirical test a number of hypotheses relating linguistic with political and politically relevant behavior of individuals, such relationships being subjects about which knowledge is required for an understanding of the tension between linguistic diversity and political unity.

1. The Importance of Language as a Political Phenomenon

Language and languages, spoken and written, have increasingly become an object of political conflict and of policy-making, although different chroniclers assign the principal expansion of the salience of language as a political issue to different centuries. Reasons that have been cited for the rise into importance of this issue area include the extension of education to population masses, their social and economic mobilization, the growth of democracy and self-determination, the rise of nationality as a major criterion of identification, and continual progress in pure and applied linguistics. These developments, and the increasingly political character that they have given to linguistic affairs, have both facilitated and frustrated men's attempts to reform and regulate language and language behavior.

These attempts arise, in turn, in large part from a variety of beliefs, different ones of which are shared by different political actors and scholars, to the effect that things linguistic have important effects on things social and political. According to these beliefs, the influential variables include the position attained or not attained by a language as medium of education, of official or commercial communication, or of national symbolic representation; the development (e.g. written status, standardization) of a language; the other characteristics (e.g. purity) of a language; the diffusion of knowledge of a language; and the linguistic unity or diversity of a population. The effects of these variables are believed to be worked on a number of social and political attributes, such as educational attainment, occupational status, political power, personality, and satisfaction, among individuals, and economic development, mass mobilization levels, centralization, and political integration, in societies.

2. Language and Political Integration

A particularly noted problem is the relationship between linguistic cleavages and political integration, especially in highly participatory and normatively egalitarian polities. Taking three different views ("communicational", "allocational", and "attitudinal") of political integration that have currency in the literature of political scholarship, we find hypotheses outstanding which relate patterns of language cleavage (i.e. who knows what languages), both as cause and as effect, to political integration (i.e. to intergroup communication,

intergroup allocation of benefits, and intergroup attitudes).

Communication is hypothesized to be more widespread, more frequent, and more elaborate among those with language communality than among those without it; changes in language communality and in the experienced amount of intergroup communication are hypothesized each to lead to the other. By extension, a similar relationship is hypothesized between competence in the official or political language and participation in political communication.

Linguistically diverse polities are hypothesized to favor one language over others, with the speakers of the favored language being more indulged than the speakers of the other languages. The propensity of a person to learn another language is hypothesized to vary with the reward he anticipates from knowing it, and also with the benefits (especially educational) he already enjoys.

Those sharing a language are hypothesized, finally, to share opinions as well, to have favorable attitudes toward each other, and to share with each other a sense of identity more often than those without a common language, while the existence of favorable attitudes and a common sense of identity are believed in turn to cause more successful language learning.

These three sets of hypotheses share the following characteristics: (a) Each set includes some hypotheses relating individual properties and some relating the properties of groups and societies; (b) Some hypotheses in each set are contested by counter-hypotheses which may also be found in the literature; and (c) Each set contains some synchronic and some diachronic hypotheses, with the latter including both assertions that changes in a follow changes in b, and propositions that changes in b follow changes in a, with the resulting expectation that only careful measurement of the associations of the variables in the hypotheses would be likely to permit prediction of whether the chain of connections between language cleavages and political integration takes the form of a vicious circle or a chain reaction.

3. Two Surveys from Canada: A Source of Evidence for Verification

The existence and availability of two recent and under-analyzed surveys concentrating on questions relevant to the testing of the outlined hypotheses dictate that these data be further analyzed before new data are collected. The data are especially appropriate for three reasons. First, survey analysis has been utilized less than other major forms of analysis in the investigation of hypotheses dealing with this area of interest, so that relevant survey-amenable hypotheses have not been often tested. Second, Canada of 1965 belongs to the class of polities exhibiting the boundary conditions stated and implied in Chapters 1 and 2 for the hypotheses named in Chapter 2. And third, having been the subject of substantial macro-level and survey investigation, Canada has a number of relevant characteristics whose distributions across regions and population classes are well known; these distributions may be adduced in assumptions useful for the controlling of relationships between survey responses.

The available surveys are more useful for testing some of the

hypotheses presented than others, but each survey can be used to fill some of the gaps of the other, and careful analysis with reasonable assumptions can make them quite useful in testing several of the hypotheses outlined. They are subjected to testing in the last three chapters, one chapter for each of the three sets of hypotheses.

4. Language and Communicational Integration

It was discovered from the survey analysis that the non-English Canadians were more likely to have contact with English Canadians if the former knew English than if not. The analogous finding was made in the case of contacts with French Canadians by non-French Canadians who did or did not know French. In addition, in each case those with contact had more frequent contact if they knew the language, and were also more likely to have close friends in the contacted ethnic group. Not only did these contact variables vary in the expected direction between those with and without any knowledge of the ethnic group's main language, but they also varied as expected with the level of competence in the language. These relationships remained strong when the major regions of Canada were examined one by one.

It was then hypothesized that the observed relationship would vary in strength with the relative dominance of the language concerned, because the speakers of a language would not be contactable only in their own language where the latter was subordinate. This secondary hypothesis was confronted with the data, which showed the respondents behaving as the hypothesis would predict if English was dominant over French throughout Canada, even in largely French areas of Quebec (an assertion made by some observers, chiefly about economic domination). In other words, contact, frequency of contact, and frequency of friendships consistently varied with whether non-members spoke the language of the contacted group, and these variables equally consistently varied more with whether they spoke English than with whether they spoke French.

If the reason for these associations is that linguistic ignorance is a barrier to contact, the data show that this barrier is not absolute, since substantial amounts of contact took place that would seem to be linguistically impossible. But ignorance of either language was accompanied by a more widespread perception that the corresponding ethnic group acted superior to others, and this perception could be expected to reduce the rate of voluntary contact.

In contrast to this weak evidence for a linguistic influence on contact, the data support more strongly the belief that contact contributes to language knowledge. Whether or not respondents had studied either language formally as a second language, their knowledge of it was substantially greater if their early exposure to it had included using it in ordinary life, and those with use but no study had a better record of competence than those with study but no use. In addition, the desire to learn each language or learn it better among those not fluent in it was more frequent among those with contacts in the corresponding ethnic group.

5. Language and Allocational Integration

Given the existing knowledge about differences in education, occupation status, and income between English and French Canadians, an attempt was made to discover whether these differences were attributable to language competence differences or to other variables. As expected, respondents from French-speaking homes were found to have lower educational levels than those growing up in English-speaking homes. The association was not appreciably reduced by looking separately at Quebec and at the rest of Canada, nor by confining attention to French Catholics. Controlling for the educational and separately for the occupational levels of the respondents' parents did make the association decline, but at least half of the previous English-French discrepancy remained.

Occupational level and income were also confirmed as varying with the respondents' competence in English. This variation was not greatly reduced when French Catholics alone were considered, and the differences between French Catholics who did and did not speak English were greater than those between English-speakers who were and were not French Catholics.

In addition, intergenerational assimilation to English was found to be accompanied by a higher than normal incidence of perceived upward movement in social status, and neither a regional control nor a control for intergenerational occupational mobility reduced the association.

It would be wrong to assume that these associations resulted totally from the effect of language competence on the allocation of benefits, for the data also provide evidence that one important benefit, education, is a cause of the acquisition of competence in the privileged language. Competence in English varied considerably with education among those who grew up in non-English-speaking homes, and this was true even in Quebec, where education itself could be had in French. Naturally, an even stronger relationship was found between years of language study and competence in the language, which, for reasons that can be speculated, seemed to respond better to the study of English than to the study of French. Finally, competence in both English and French was greater among those non-native speakers who perceived a definite material advantage in knowing the language than among those who did not.

6. Language and Attitudinal Integration

Several differences in political and social opinions were found between those speaking French and those speaking English as their principal language, mostly being among the opinion differences between the ethnic or language groups that had been revealed in earlier work. The speakers of French were more interested in provincial than federal politics (in Quebec), more supportive of the Liberal and the Social Credit Parties, more opposed to immigration, more in favor of a new Canadian flag, and more likely to avoid joining organizations.

An analysis was then performed to discover whether the respondents,

when arrayed on an English-French spectrum of language competence, would have opinions varying monotonically along this spectrum or would have opinions differing principally between bilinguals and (both groups of) monolinguals. These two patterns, both of which were predicted by different hypotheses, both appeared, with asymmetrical variations of the former pattern also appearing. While bilinguals were more approving of a new flag than either group of monolinguals, for example, interest in federal politics among Quebec interviewees varied monotonically with proximity to the English-only end of the English-French competence spectrum (suggesting the hypothesis that political interest is focused on the level of government whose language one knows best). When different regions were analyzed separately, the associations increased in some while decreasing in others, for it was found that the opinions of French speakers hardly varied from region to region, yet the interregional variation of English opinion was great. Most of the opinions (avoidance of group membership being the exception) continued to vary substantially with language even when the most apparent likely cause of a spurious association was introduced as a control.

Even stronger associations were expected, and found, between the respondents' principal language and their intergroup attitudes. Specifically, resentment of the attempts of the two main ethnic groups to gain political influence in Canada, and attitudes toward increased Federal recruitment of French Canadians into high government posts, both varied strongly between those with English and those with French as principal language, in the expected direction. The data showed that these differences could be explained no more than in part by religion and regionally varying characteristics. Smaller differences in the same direction were also found, among those with a given principal language, along the variable of competence in the other major language.

Finally, the strongest association of all was discovered between language--both principal language and position on the English-French spectrum--and group identity. Although the literature portrays ethnicity in Canada as a mixture of linguistic and ancestral attributes, these data indicate a clear predominance of the linguistic factor. Not only was the tendency to avoid giving oneself an unequivocal ethnic affiliation up to 13 times higher for bilinguals than for monolinguals, but those who were less than fluent in English or French never aligned themselves unambiguously with the English or French Canadians, respectively. The ethnic identity of the French Canadians thus appears menaced over time by a dependence on linguistic preservation as a necessary condition.

The analysis of group identity did not reveal only confirmatory evidence, however. As opposed to personal identity, attitudes on the political compatibility of English and French Canadians in general did not vary as the hypotheses had predicted. Among Quebec French-speakers, for example, Quebec separatism was found in almost identical and relatively high proportions (16-18%) among those who either lived in a metropolitan area or spoke English fairly well or both, while only 1% of the most expressed separatist tendencies.

The tracing of cause and effect in these attitudinal associations

is the most difficult of all because of the absence of information about attitudinal histories. Thus no attempt was made to test sequential hypotheses in this area. Evidence was found, however, for the contention that favorable attitudes toward the group speaking a language are more important causes of language learning motivation if the language is subordinate than if it is dominant: the desire to learn French was associated strongly with the desire for French Canadian friends, but the corresponding association for English was only weak.

Summary and Conclusion

The limited task of testing three sets of hypotheses against two sets of data from a single country resulted in the confirmation, for the most part, of the hypotheses being tested. It should, however, be observed that:

a. The need for refinement of the hypotheses was shown in several cases by the results of controlling for additional variables.

b. Additional hypotheses, and additional investigation, were suggested by the consistent differences between the magnitudes of the associations for English and for French.

c. The confirmation of any hypotheses is naturally tentative, pending tests against other cases and their integration with these tests.

d. Considerable additional analysis can and should be performed on the present survey data, but many interesting hypotheses will not be testable with data of this sort.