

Studies of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism



LIBR-01006

2

Young People's Images of Canadian Society

An Opinion Survey of
Canadian Youth
13 to 20 Years of Age

John C. Johnstone

with the assistance of
Jean-Claude Willig and
Joseph M. Spina

PROPERTY OF
PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
LIBRARY

PROPERTY OF
PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
MANAGEMENT INFORMATION CENTRE

Young People's Images of
Canadian Society

PROPERTY OF
PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
MANAGEMENT INFORMATION CENTRE

**Studies of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism**

-
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1 Kenneth D. McRae
Editor | <i>The Federal Capital: Government Institutions</i> |
| 2 John C. Johnstone | <i>Young People's Images of Canadian Society: An Opinion
Survey of Canadian Youth 13 to 20 Years of Age</i> |

To be published

-
- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 3 Gilles Lalande | <i>The Department of External Affairs and Biculturalism:
Diplomatic Personnel and Language Use</i> |
|-------------------------|--|

In preparation

-
- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Ramsay Cook | <i>Provincial Autonomy, Minority Rights, and the Compact
Theory, 1867-1921</i> |
| Frederick W. Gibson
Editor | <i>Cabinet Formation and Bicultural Relations: Seven
Case Studies</i> |
| Claude-Armand Sheppard | <i>The Law of Languages in Canada</i> |
| Ronald L. Watts | <i>Multi-Cultural Societies and Federalism</i> |

ACWD

Studies of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

2

Young People's
Images of
Canadian Society

An Opinion Survey of
Canadian Youth
13 to 20 Years of Age

John C. Johnstone

with the assistance of
Jean-Claude Willig and
Joseph M. Spina

This study has been prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Although published under the auspices of the Commission, it does not necessarily express the Commission's views.

© Crown Copyrights reserved

Available by mail from the
Queen's Printer, Ottawa,
and at the following
Canadian Government bookshops:

HALIFAX
1735 Barrington Street

MONTREAL
Eterna-Vie Building, 1182 St. Catherine Street West

OTTAWA
Daly Building, Corner Mackenzie and Rideau

TORONTO
221 Yonge Street

WINNIPEG
Mall Center Building, 499 Portage Avenue

VANCOUVER
657 Granville Street

or through your bookseller

Price \$1.50 (subject to change without notice)

Catalogue No. Z1-1963/1-1/2

THE QUEEN'S PRINTER,
Ottawa, 1969

List of Tables and Figures vi**Introduction and Summary of Findings xi**

- General Nature of the Study xi
- Principal Findings of the Study xiii

Chapter I Definitions of Canadian Society 1

- Salient Images of Canada 1
- Perception of the Canadian Social Structure 8
- Orientations to the Present and the Past 11
- Orientations to Different Levels of Government 16
- Perceived Distinctiveness of the Canadian People, and of the Two Main Canadian Subgroups 22

Chapter II Social Relations in Canadian Society 37

- Awareness of Social Diversity 37
- Areas of Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Life 43
- Relations between the Two Cultures—Present and Future 50

Chapter III Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism—I: Commitment to Bilingual Goals for Canada 55

- Measures of Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism 55
- Variations in Levels of Commitment to Bilingualism 58
- Intergroup Contact 67
- Bilingual Facility 72

Chapter IV Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism—II: Perceived Functions of Being Bilingual 79

- The Usefulness of Being Bilingual—Present and Future 79
- The Functions of Being Bilingual 83
- Bilingualism in One's Own Life and in the National Community 89

Chapter V Young People's Expectations Regarding their Future Location and Employment 91

- Residential Preferences and Expectations 91
- Readiness to Move in Response to Economic Incentive 97

Appendix A Methods of Study, Sample Design, and Field Results 105**Appendix B English and French Versions of the Questionnaire 113**

List of Tables and Figures

Tables in Chapter I

- I- 1 Salient Features of Canada, by language spoken at home 2
- I- 2 References to Specific Provinces in Content Assigned to Free-answer Maps of Canada, by language spoken at home 3
- I- 3 Salient Features of Canada, by language spoken at home and region 5
- I- 4 Degree of Similarity among Language and Regional Groups in Distribution of Content Entered on Free-answer Maps 6
- I- 5 Age Differences in Salient Features of Canada, by language spoken at home 7
- I- 6 Images of Canadian Opportunity Structure, by language spoken at home 8
- I- 7 Images of Canadian Opportunity Structure, by language spoken at home and region 10
- I- 8 Age Differences in Images of Canadian Opportunity Structure, by language spoken at home 11
- I- 9 Flag Preferences, by language spoken at home 12
- I-10 Regional Differences in Flag Preferences, by language spoken at home 13
- I-11 Age Differences in Flag Preferences, by language spoken at home 13
- I-12 Countries Named as Canada's Best Friends, by language spoken at home 14
- I-13 Regional Differences in Countries Named as Canada's Best Friends, by language spoken at home 15
- I-14 Age Differences in Countries Named as Canada's Best Friends, by language spoken at home 16
- I-15 Orientation to Different Levels of Government, by language spoken at home 18
- I-16 Perceived Similarity between Canadians and Americans, by language spoken at home 23
- I-17 Perceived Similarity between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, by language spoken at home 28
- I-18 Perception of Closeness of Ties between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, and Americans, by language spoken at home 33

Tables in Chapter II

- II- 1 Total Number of Groups Identified as Living in Canada, by language spoken at home, region and language spoken at home, and age and language spoken at home 38
- II- 2 Visibility of Specific Groups of People Living in Canada, by language spoken at home 39
- II- 3 Regional Variations in Visibility of Other Groups Living in Canada, by language spoken at home 40
- II- 4 Awareness of Linguistic Composition of Canadian Population, by language spoken at home 42
- II- 5 Regional Variations in Awareness of Linguistic Composition of Canadian Population, by language spoken at home 43
- II- 6 Age Differences in Awareness of Linguistic Composition of Canadian Population, by language spoken at home 44
- II- 7 Areas of Perceived Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Society, by language spoken at home 45
- II- 8 Regional Variations in Levels of Perceived Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Society, by language spoken at home 49
- II- 9 Age Differences in Levels of Perceived Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Society, by language spoken at home 50
- II-10 Perception of Relations between English and French, by language spoken at home 51
- II-11 Regional Variations in Perception of Relations between English and French, by language spoken at home 52
- II-12 Age Differences in Perception of Relations between English and French, by language spoken at home 54

Tables in Chapter III

- III- 1 Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism in Canada, by language spoken at home and language in which questionnaire answered 57
- III- 2 Interrelationships among Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism 59
- III- 3 Levels of Bilingual Commitment, by language spoken at home and sex 60
- III- 4 Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and age 60
- III- 5 Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and indicators of socio-economic position 61
- III- 6 Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and expectations regarding future socio-economic position 63
- III- 7 Method of Assigning Scores on Index of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility 64
- III- 8 Commitment to Bilingualism, by anticipated occupational mobility among Anglophone boys 65
- III- 9 Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and province or region 65

- III-10** Commitment to Bilingualism among Anglophone Young People, by religion and region 66
- III-11** Frequency of Intergroup Contacts, by language spoken at home and region 68
- III-12** Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home, region, and intergroup contacts 70
- III-13** Effects of Intergroup Contacts on Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and region 71
- III-14** Claims Regarding Facility in Second Language, by language spoken at home and region 73
- III-15** Modes of Communication Possible between Francophone and Anglophone Young People, by region 74
- III-16** Facility in Second Language, by language spoken at home and frequency of intergroup contact 75
- III-17** Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and self-ratings on facility in other language 76
- III-18** Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home, facility in second language, and frequency of intergroup contact 77

Tables in Chapter IV

- IV- 1** Perceived Utility of Bilingual Skills—Present and Future, by language spoken at home and sex 80
- IV- 2** Perceived Utility of Bilingual Skills—Present and Future, by language spoken at home and age 81
- IV- 3** Perceived Utility of Bilingual Skills—Present and Future, by language spoken at home and province or region 83
- IV- 4** Perceived Functions of Bilingual Facility, by language spoken at home 85
- IV- 5** Relationships among Different Assessments of Bilingual Utility, by language spoken at home 86
- IV- 6** Commitment to Bilingualism in the National Community, by perceived utility of bilingual skills—present and future, and language spoken at home 89

Tables in Chapter V

- V- 1** Attractiveness of Different Provinces as Places to Live, by language spoken at home 92
- V- 2** Attractiveness of Different Provinces as Places to Live, by region and language spoken at home 93
- V- 3** Number of Canadian Provinces in Which Young People Would Like to Live and Would Definitely Not Want to Live, by language spoken at home, region and language spoken at home, and age and language spoken at home 94
- V- 4** Residential Expectations in Ten Years, by language spoken at home 95

- V- 5 Regional Differences in Residential Expectations in Future, by language spoken at home 96
- V- 6 Age Differences in Residential Expectations in Future, by language spoken at home 97
- V- 7 Perception of Job Opportunities in Own Province and Elsewhere in Canada, by language spoken at home and region 98
- V- 8 Readiness to Move under Economic Incentive, by language spoken at home 100
- V- 9 Regional Variations in Readiness to Move under Economic Incentive, by language spoken at home 101
- V-10 Age Differences in Readiness to Move under Economic Incentive, by language spoken at home 102

Tables in Appendix

- A- 1 Sample Districts, by strata 108
- A- 2 The Canadian Population and Number of Interviews, by regional strata 110
- A- 3 Rates of Response, by age 111
- A- 4 Adjusted Weights for Respondents 111

Figures in Chapter I

- I- 1 Regional Variations in Orientation to Different Levels of Government, by language spoken at home 19
- I- 2 Age Differences in Orientation to Different Levels of Government, by language spoken at home 21
- I- 3 Ways in Which Canadians and Americans are Perceived as Similar and Different, by language spoken at home 24
- I- 4 Regional Variations and Age Differences in Perceived Similarity of Canadians and Americans, by language spoken at home 27
- I- 5 Ways in Which Anglophone and Francophone Canadians are Perceived as Similar and Different, by language spoken at home 30
- I- 6 Regional Variations and Age Differences in Perceived Similarity of Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, by language spoken at home 32
- I- 7 Regional Variations in Perception of Closeness of Ties between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, and Americans, by language spoken at home 35
- I- 8 Age Differences in Perception of Closeness of Ties between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, and Americans, by language spoken at home 36

Figure in Chapter IV

- IV- 1 Correlation Patterns among Different Assessments of Bilingual Utility, by language spoken at home 88

General Nature of the Study

This volume describes how the 1965 cohort of Canadian young people 13 to 20 years old perceived their homeland. It presents the results of a national sample survey in which 1,365 young Canadians gave their views on the nature of their country, its people and its problems, and on their own expectations about living in Canada as adults.

The main purpose of this research was to gain a better understanding of how contemporary Canadian youth feel about various social issues in Canadian life and, in particular, about the question of bilingualism in the national community.

The contents of this report are organized around three distinct themes: impressions of Canada as a nation, reactions to the internal make-up of Canadian society, and expectations and aspirations regarding the future.

Chapter I assesses young people's perspectives on Canadian society as a whole, and begins by exploring what they identified as the most prominent features of their country. Following this, the focus shifts to their assessments of what it takes to become successful in Canadian life. A third section then considers two areas concerning Canada's connections with the past: opinions regarding Canada's ties with other nations and attitudes on the national flag issue—which had been resolved just a few months prior to the beginning of the study. A fourth section examines attitudes regarding different levels of government in the Canadian federal system, and a fifth, by reviewing impressions of the extent and ways Canadians differ from their neighbours to the south, touches on the sensitive question of national identity.

In Chapters II and III, reactions to the internal complexities of Canadian society are discussed. Chapter II considers young people's awareness of the social diversity of the population, their impressions of consensus and cleavage in Canadian life, and their views on relations between the two main cultural groups within Canada. Chapter III then focusses exclusively on attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada.

The two remaining chapters deal with young people's feelings about their own position and role in Canadian life. Attitudes to bilingualism are re-examined in Chapter IV, but here

in relation to the uses young people see for bilingual skills in their own lives—both at present and in the future. And Chapter V, finally, reviews their thoughts on residential mobility in the future.

Although the young people were asked both what they thought and how they felt about these topics, the study is somewhat more heavily focussed on beliefs and impressions than on attitudes and sentiments—that is, on cognitive rather than affective reactions. These perceptual components are never easily disentangled, of course, and the adage that one sees what one wants to see is probably nowhere more applicable than in the case of a concept as emotionally laden as “homeland.” Nonetheless, the inquiry is more concerned with how young people see their country than in what they like or dislike about it; is more concerned with how they describe relations among Canadian subgroups than with their feelings about these groups; and is much more concerned with the problems they see as threatening national unity than with their own personal satisfactions or grievances as members of Canadian society or a particular subculture within it.

Data for the study were collected by means of a self-administered questionnaire distributed to a national sample of adolescents and young adults between May and early July of 1965. The study was carried out in conjunction with the Commission’s national survey of Canadian adults, the general strategy being to distribute questionnaires to all 13- to 20-year-olds living in the households contacted in the main survey.¹ A total of 1,365 usable questionnaires were completed by 66.6 per cent of the young people located.

As it turned out, response rates were considerably higher among younger adolescents than older ones, so it was necessary to weight the respondents not only according to the specifications of the original sampling plan but also in terms of the completion rate for the age group in which they fell. There were discrepancies in the rate of response, primarily because older teenagers were more difficult to locate at home, but in part because a number of 19- and 20-year-olds were interviewed as part of the adult survey and were therefore ineligible to receive a questionnaire.

The discussion is centred around three comparisons—language spoken at home, region, and age. The general strategy of reporting here is to introduce each topic by first comparing the views of young people who speak English, French, or a language other than English or French at home;² to assess variations in these points of view among Francophones living in two regions (Quebec and non-Quebec) and among Anglophones living in five (Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia); and then to evaluate the stability of these perspectives among Anglophone and Francophone young people in four age groups.³ In the first two chapters the emphasis is on describing and evaluating images of Canadian society rather than on tracing their social determinants.

¹ A more detailed description of the study methods, field procedures, sample design, completion rates, and weighting procedures is presented in Appendix A. A copy of the questionnaire, in both English and French, appears in Appendix B.

² Throughout this study the terms “Anglophones,” “Francophones,” and “Others” are used respectively to refer to persons who speak English, French, or another language in their homes.

³ Because only a small number of respondents reported speaking a language other than English or French at home, this group cannot be subdivided on additional characteristics. Comparisons based on region and age, then, are restricted to Anglophone and Francophone youth.

In Chapter III, attitudes to bilingualism in the national community are linked to a much wider variety of factors in the young persons' origins, and in addition the influence of inter-group contacts and bilingual facility on these dispositions is analyzed. In Chapter IV, the discussion concerns the different meanings Anglophone and Francophone youth attach to the importance of being bilingual, and in Chapter V, their expectations regarding where they will live as adults are again examined in relation to language, region, and age.

One of the principal concerns of this study is with the impact of adolescence on beliefs and attitudes regarding the homeland. Because all of the data were collected at just one period of time, developmental changes must be inferred from cross-sectional age comparisons, with a certain risk of misinterpretation. In a study of adolescents, however, these risks would be extremely slight. Not only is this stage of life one in which development is to be expected, but the age range is just eight years. All persons in the study were born between the late summer of 1944 and the late spring of 1952. Thus, except for the foreign-born, all had lived their childhood years during the post-war period of Canada's national growth and prosperity. Moreover, none had lived through the ethnic tensions of the World War II years, and all had been at least pre-adolescents at the time of the most recent upswing of ethnic tensions in Canada. In short, the young people studied here were raised in a fairly uniform national social climate.

Principal Findings of the Study

I. Definitions of Canadian Society

A. Sharp ethnic differences were found in the features young people identified as most prominent about their country. Francophones were markedly impressed by the provincial divisions of the nation, and showed a much greater propensity than either Anglophones or "Others" to define Canada in terms of its provinces. Members of both other groups, on the other hand, were much more likely to think of Canada in terms of economic characteristics—natural resources, industries, and general economic prospects for the future. Except for minor variations, these discrepancies were found in all regions of the country, and among younger adolescents as well as older. The results would suggest that Francophones learn very early in life to think of their country in political terms, while Anglophones and "Others" become much more conscious of Canada as an economic entity.

B. Anglophone and Francophone youth also differed in their perspectives on the Canadian opportunity structure. English youth viewed Canada very much as an open-class society, where the most important factors leading to success are hard work, good grades in school, a university education, and a pleasing personality. French young people by comparison held a more qualified view of the openness of Canadian society. They were more likely than the English to stress the importance of social background, and were much less likely to agree that hard work would result in success. For Francophones, being bilingual was seen as the most important single factor guaranteeing success in Canadian life.

Another extremely important difference between the groups was in the way their assessments about bilingualism changed over the teen years. Among the Francophones this factor was rated as increasingly important by older youth, while among the Anglophones the trend was exactly the reverse. The adolescent years thus appear to have a quite different impact

on young people's views about bilingualism in Canadian life: for the French they reinforce beliefs as to the necessity of being bilingual; for the English they convince many that the ability to speak French is less important than they had once thought. Variations on this result turned up again and again throughout the study.

C. Canadian young people define their country much more often from contemporary than historical perspectives. All three language groups felt that Canada has closer ties today with the United States than with any other country, and this conviction was particularly strong among the French. In addition, all three groups favoured the new Canadian flag over a hypothetical alternative that would be historically symbolic, and it was the French again who most substantially rejected symbolism of the past. Attitudes on the flag issue did vary markedly among Anglophone youth from different regions, however. Support for the new emblem was strongest among those from Quebec and British Columbia, and weakest among those from the Atlantic Provinces.

D. Strong regional differences were also found in young people's attitudes to different governmental bodies. Both the Quebec Francophones and the British Columbia Anglophones displayed a strong provincial emphasis in their evaluations, although the provincialism of the former was accompanied by strongly negative dispositions regarding the federal government, while that of the latter was not. Positive orientations toward the federal government were strongest among Anglophones from Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces, but here again there was evidence that the meaning of these assessments differed for the two groups: for the Quebec Anglophones, federal support seemed to stem from a lack of confidence in both the provincial and municipal levels of government, while for those in the Atlantic Provinces it was balanced only by negative impressions of the efficacy of local administrations.

One of the most striking age shifts found in the study was in orientations to government. Among both Anglophones and Francophones, positive evaluations of government at the provincial level increased sharply among the older age groups. It appears that during the adolescent years young people become aware of the importance of sectional interests in Canadian life.

E. Most Canadian young people viewed themselves, collectively, as more similar to than distinct from Americans. Anglophones and "Others" shared a high consensus about this, but an actual majority of Francophones too saw similarities as greater than differences.

All in all, there were relatively few features on which young people rated Canadians as distinct from Americans. The only marked distinctions they reported were in the relative wealth of the two peoples, and the nature of their form of government. Here again, however, Francophones saw a larger number of distinctively Canadian features than did Anglophones.

Although all three groups also rated Canadian Anglophones and Francophones as more alike than different, the two non-French groups did so just marginally. Both these latter groups, in fact, saw more areas of social and cultural similarity between Canadians and Americans than between the two main groups within Canada. Anglophones were therefore more likely than Francophones to stress differences between the two cultures, and this was particularly true in their ratings of English and French views on national goals for Canada, and on the form of government Canada should have.

Sharp regional variations were also found in these reactions, the English from the western provinces and the Quebec French being much more likely to stress intergroup differences than their counterparts in other regions. Regional perspectives seemed to be more influential here than ethnic ones.

Finally, when confronted with the issue directly, Anglophones agreed they had more in common with Americans than with French Canadians, while Francophones felt they shared more with English Canadians than with their neighbours to the south. The social and cultural orientations of Anglophone youth, in other words, would appear more frequently to cross national than ethnic lines, while those of the French would not. This indicates weak intergroup solidarity among Canada's young adults.

II. Social Relations in Canadian Society

A. At least the larger ethnic minorities in Canada were plainly visible to young people of the two main cultures. Awareness of them was found to increase somewhat with age but, more importantly, it varied sharply by region. Non-French minorities were much more visible to those living in regions of greater ethnic heterogeneity. Young people appear to derive their impressions of the social diversity of Canadian society more often from interpersonal encounters than from secondary sources of information.

There was also a marked tendency for young people from all three language groups to misrepresent their own numbers in the population. All three groups saw themselves as more numerous than they actually were and tended only infrequently to underestimate themselves. One revealing finding here was that the estimates made by Francophones changed markedly with age. Those just entering their teens were much more likely to over-represent themselves than to overestimate the Anglophone population, while those just entering adulthood did the opposite. It would appear that during the adolescent years Francophones become so impressed with the fact of English-language dominance in Canadian life that they see themselves as a smaller group than they really are.

B. All groups of young people felt that English-French differences of opinion about Canada's future posed a relatively greater threat to national unity than did differences between other social aggregates. Here again, however, the Francophones and Anglophones appraised the seriousness of their disagreements rather differently. The English saw fewer areas of potential agreement than the French. Interestingly, however, it was the "Others" who rated English-French cleavage as most serious.

On other social dimensions there was a fairly high consensus that regional interests and differences between the economic classes were more threatening to Canada's future than cleavages between immigrant and native-born populations, religious groups, or urban and rural populations.

C. All three groups of young people thus felt that during the early summer of 1965 English-French relations in Canada left considerable room for improvement. In the eyes of Anglophones, however, no improvement was to be realized in the short-term future: they felt that the trend at that time was towards a worsening of relations. Over a ten-year period they were more optimistic. Francophones, on the other hand, thought that the situation had already begun to improve, and they were highly confident about the longer-term prospects.

III. Commitment to Bilingual Goals for Canada

A. The Anglophones were only moderately tolerant in their attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada. Although they were almost as ready as the Francophones to support bilingualism for Canada as an ideal, they were considerably less likely to endorse positions which implied personal or social change. For example, they were much less ready to agree that instruction in the second language should be required universally in Canadian schools, that Canadians had some personal obligation to become bilingual, or that it would be a good idea to have bilingual road signs throughout Canada. In other words, they seemed to accept the fact that French has some role to play in Canadian life, but were rather reluctant to endorse any extension of that role.

B. Boys and girls reacted differently on this issue: in both main language groups girls showed a higher commitment to bilingual goals for Canada. With respect to age, however, different trends were found in the responses of the two groups. Among the Anglophones a slight but consistent diminution of commitment was found in each progressively older group, while among the Francophones an equally consistent trend was found in the other direction. As Anglophones pass through adolescence their tolerance for bilingualism appears to decrease while over the same years Francophones come to feel even more strongly about the position of their language in Canadian society. Members of the two cultures thus enter adulthood a good deal further apart in their views on bilingualism than they were when they entered adolescence.

Social class position was not found to have a very substantial impact on these attitudes, although there was evidence that Anglophones and Francophones from the middle classes were further apart in their views than those whose families were situated either higher or lower on the socio-economic continuum. Commitment to bilingualism was also found to be stronger among those with high educational and occupational goals for themselves. This was true in both language groups. Finally, the reactions of Anglophone boys reflected a pattern often found in studies of race and ethnic relations: levels of linguistic tolerance were highest among those anticipating modest upward social mobility and lowest among those expecting downward social mobility.

Among the Anglophones, Roman Catholics were somewhat more tolerant than Protestants on the language issue, but much of this relationship was accounted for by the influence of regional perspectives. Regional differences were extremely pronounced on these attitudes. Favourable sentiments were much higher among the Anglophones in the East than in the West, with the drop being particularly noticeable west of Ontario; among the Francophones, those outside Quebec felt most strongly on the issue. The general pattern which emerged was that commitment to a bilingual Canada was stronger among young people living in territories where their own language and culture were not dominant.

C. Intergroup contacts did not influence attitudes regarding bilingualism in any consistent manner: their impact depended on the type of demographic environment in which the contact took place. Although no instances were found in which intergroup contacts resulted in heightened linguistic intolerance among English youth, there were many situations in which contacts appeared to have little effect of any kind. Outside Quebec, for example, knowing Francophones at school, or even having them as close friends, did not meaningfully strengthen the convictions of Anglophones regarding the necessity of more widespread

bilingual practices in the national community. In Quebec, on the other hand, similar types of contact did result in more tolerant attitudes.

For English youth, attitudes regarding bilingualism seem highly responsive to local conditions: where a sizable proportion of the local population is French-speaking, their attitudes are much more tolerant; where the population is predominantly English-speaking, however, they see no reason to extend bilingual practices.

For Francophone youth, all types of contact with Canadian Anglophones greatly strengthened their convictions on the language issue. This was particularly true among those living outside Quebec.

D. Bilingual skills appear to be quite unevenly distributed among Canadian young people, just as they are among their elders. Interestingly, however, the ethnic imbalance in claims to bilingual facility was found only among those reporting frequent contact with members of the other culture: among those isolated from such contacts, identical proportions of Anglophones and Francophones claimed conversational skills in the other language. When young people from the two cultures do come together, however, it is obvious that the burden of linguistic accommodation is assumed primarily by the Francophones.

IV. Perceived Functions of Being Bilingual

A. As anticipated, many more French youth than English viewed bilingual skills as a necessity of life. Most Francophones were aware of this by the time they were 13, and if anything were even more convinced by the time they reached 20. For Anglophones, on the other hand, the teen years seem to teach different facts of life in so far as bilingualism is concerned: the older ones were considerably less convinced than their juniors about the value of bilingual facility either in their present circumstances or in the future. It is likely, in fact, that a good many learn during adolescence to regard a knowledge of French as valuable mainly in order to graduate from high school or college.

B. Both groups agreed that a knowledge of the second language would probably help them in finding a job, but it was only among the Francophones that large numbers saw a long-term occupational relevance for bilingual facility. Anglophones viewed bilingual skills much more as credentials for entering the labour market than for advancing their careers.

We also found that Francophones tended to orient their thinking about the value of being bilingual very much around occupational considerations: for example, those who thought that English would be useful to them for purposes of travelling in Canada, for reading or watching television, or for getting around more in their community seemed to interpret these uses primarily as channels to employment opportunities. For the Anglophones, similar evaluations of the uses of French were quite unrelated to occupational contingencies.

C. Finally, in both language groups, attitudes regarding bilingualism in Canada were found to depend very much on whether young people saw uses for bilingual skills in their own lives: those who did were much more likely to endorse bilingual practices in the nation at large. This tendency was much more pronounced among the English than the French, however. Among the latter even those who saw no personal advantage in knowing English were more likely than not to be strongly committed to bilingual goals for Canada.

V. Expectations Regarding the Future

A. Canadian young people showed definite preferences on the areas of their country where they would like to live. Although most rated their own province favourably, all groups thought that British Columbia and Ontario would be good places to live, and all mainland groups reacted negatively to the prospect of living in Newfoundland. These ratings varied sharply among the different language groups, of course, and as expected, Francophone youth identified considerably fewer locations in which they would consider taking up residence. The Quebec French, in fact, listed more provinces they would prefer to avoid than live in. More generally, both Anglophones and Francophones tended to restrict their positive evaluations to provinces within their own territories of linguistic and cultural influence.

In terms of expectations regarding the future, the Quebec Francophones were the most likely to anticipate staying in their own province, and seemed to become more certain of this as they grew older. Among the Anglophones, the Atlantic youth were most likely to anticipate moving to a different province, Ontarians had the most stable residential expectations, and those from Quebec and the Prairies showed the highest levels of uncertainty about where they would be living.

B. Anglophones also displayed a clear-cut readiness to accept employment opportunities wherever they might be found in Canada. In contrast, a majority of the Francophones rejected the idea of moving to a different Canadian region in response to economic incentives. Both groups looked with disfavour on the idea of taking a job in the United States, although among the Quebec Francophones slightly more recommended going there than to a different part of Canada. They saw their future job prospects as much better in their own province than elsewhere in Canada, but Quebec Anglophones thought they would probably do better somewhere else. Of all the regional groups, however, the Atlantic Anglophones most frequently saw their best prospects to be elsewhere than at home.

The child . . . preserves both an astonishing degree of ignorance and a striking insensitivity not only to his own designation and that of his associates . . . but toward his own country as a collective reality. . . . The adolescent is the individual who begins to build “systems” or “theories” in the largest sense of the term. . . . Most of them have political or social theories and want to reform the world; they have their own ways of explaining all of the present-day turmoil in collective life.¹

This chapter discusses a number of perspectives from which Canadian adolescents and young adults view their society. The main aim here is to compare the incidence of particular beliefs, impressions, and feelings among different subgroups of the population rather than to elaborate in depth the “theories” or “systems” young people construct regarding the nature of their homeland.

Three basic questions concerning young people’s definitions of Canadian society are dealt with: Do young people from different ethnic backgrounds share the same beliefs and opinions about their country? Do impressions about Canada vary among young people living in different parts of the country? Do beliefs about Canada remain stable over the adolescent years, or do they change?

Salient Images of Canada

This section examines the features Canadian young people most often associated with their nation. It reviews the answers they gave to the following question, which appeared on the last page of the questionnaire:

Question 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

¹ Bärbel Inhelder and Jean Piaget, *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence* (New York, 1958), 338, 340, 348.

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?

Due to the nature and location of this question, the responses it elicited can hardly be represented as young people's spontaneous impressions of their country. Indeed, the presence of the map outline, the particular phrasing used in the question, and its placement at the end of a lengthy series of references to Canada would all induce respondents to select features which might not have occurred to them otherwise. Nonetheless, the question did afford considerable freedom in the selection of answers, and the context was equivalent for everyone who answered it. Moreover, for purposes of intergroup comparisons it is no less valid or instructive to assess considered thoughts than completely unaided initial impressions.

Table I-1 reports the frequency with which features of different types were entered by young people from the three language groups.² The answer categories shown in this table include references of the following types:

Natural terrain or geography Owing undoubtedly to the stimulus of the map, the features most frequently cited by members of all three language groups were natural—oceans, lakes, rivers, mountains, or descriptive designations such as “beautiful country” or “big country.” References of this type were entered by approximately three-quarters of the non-Francophone respondents, and by two-thirds of the Francophones.

Table I-1. Salient Features of Canada, by language spoken at home

Per cent who assigned content of each type to free-answer maps of Canada ^a			
Type of Content	English (N=738)	French (N=448)	Other (N=31)
Natural terrain or geography	75	66	77
Economic resources or industries	67	44	61
Climatic conditions	15	4	7
Form of government or way of life	27	13	36
Political subdivisions—regional	14	18	12
Political subdivisions—provincial	12	52	16
Political subdivisions—municipal	11	26	18
Social environment—demographic	15	8	6
Social environment—social and cultural subdivisions	15	13	14
Personal characteristics of Canadian people	18	4	11
Symbolic-patriotic content	11	8	2
Total	280 ^b	256	260

^aPercentages exclude persons who did not answer the question, and are computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bTotals to more than 100 per cent because most respondents entered more than one type of content.

Economic resources or industries Either resources in their natural state (“forests” or “iron ore”), industries or the products of human industry (“wheat,” “tourist trade,”

² Eighty-nine per cent of the respondents entered content of some type on the maps while 11 per cent left the question unanswered. In this and subsequent tables pertaining to this question, percentages are computed only for those who did answer the question.

“manufacturing,” “fishing”), or general economic conditions (“land of opportunity” or “depressed area”) were often cited. Interestingly, Francophone youth entered such features much less frequently than did members of the other two groups.

Climatic conditions Canada’s climate was of little importance to most young people, although 15 per cent of the Anglophones did make such references. Most of them described the severity of the Canadian winter.

Form of government or way of life Moving into dimensions more reflective of the social order, a sizable minority made reference to the general political structure of Canadian society. The entries consisted in the main of terms such as “democratic” or “free society,” and were most frequent in the responses of the “Others” and least frequent in those of the Francophones.

Political subdivisions With the stimulus of the map outline, a number of respondents also identified specific locations in the country—regions, provinces, cities, or towns. The interesting point here was that Francophones made these references, particularly to provinces, much more often than members of the other two groups. More than half the Francophones, compared with just 12 per cent of the Anglophones and 16 per cent of the “Others,” entered names of provinces on the map. Table I-2 shows the rates at which all ten provinces were identified, and indicates that it was the French who most frequently listed specific provinces, except for Prince Edward Island.³ Forty-four per cent identified Quebec, 22 per cent Ontario, and 16 per cent British Columbia. Regions, provinces, and municipalities, in fact, represented the only features of Canada cited most frequently by Francophones.

Table I-2. References to Specific Provinces in Content Assigned to Free-answer Maps of Canada, by language spoken at home

Content	English (N=738)	French (N=448)	Other (N=31)
Percentage who named or identified provinces	12 ^a	52	16
Alberta	2 ^b	12	5
British Columbia	5	16	11
Manitoba	1	9	—
New Brunswick	1	5	—
Newfoundland	1	12	5
Nova Scotia	1	4	—
Ontario	4	22	—
Prince Edward Island	1	2	5
Quebec	7	44	10
Saskatchewan	1	8	—
Percentage who did not name or identify provinces	88	48	84
Total	100	100	100

^a All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^b Subtotals exceed group totals because most persons who named one province tended to name others.

³ Owing to a printer’s error, Prince Edward Island was not shown on the outline map.

Social environment—demographic features Table I-1 also indicates that 15 per cent of the Anglophones and smaller numbers in the other two groups referred to the general nature of Canada's population in defining their country. Most referred to Canada's population as "small," although some referred to it as "young" or as "heterogeneous." This dimension was not particularly stressed by any group.

Social environment—social and cultural subdivisions This category included all references to specific groups of people living in Canada, to the bilingual or bicultural nature of the country, and all designations suggesting consensus or cleavage among different subgroups within the population ("divided country"). Interestingly, only about one person in seven made reference to any of these characteristics, even though the questionnaire had dealt heavily with them. There were no meaningful differences among groups in the rates at which designations of this type were entered.

Personal characteristics of the Canadian people A small number of respondents, principally Anglophones, identified traits either of the Canadian people as a whole ("an industrious people") or of a specific group within the population ("religious"—written over Quebec). Only 4 per cent of Francophones made references of this type compared with 18 per cent of the Anglophones and 11 per cent of the "Others."

Symbolic-patriotic content The final category brought together all content of a symbolic or patriotic nature, and included references to the Queen, the flag, the RCMP, and the maple leaf. Very few young people described Canada in this way, however, although Anglophones and Francophones did so somewhat more frequently than the "Others."

The most important finding to emerge here is that there were prominent differences between the groups on references both to economic resources and to provinces. Francophones seem to be quite strongly impressed by the provincial make-up of Canadian society and, apart from features of the natural environment, they most frequently thought about this aspect of Canada when filling out the maps. Non-Francophones did not cite this feature of their country very often, and were very much more likely to think about economic characteristics when confronted with a map of Canada. In the eyes of young Francophones, Canada would appear to be seen fundamentally as a political union; for the other two groups it represents much more an economic union.

Next, these same responses are reported regionally in Table I-3. The Francophones were divided into two regional groupings and the Anglophones into five. The two Francophone groups differed most widely in the rates at which they assigned names of provinces to the maps, the Quebec Francophones doing so 17 per cent more often than those living in other regions. This tendency, coupled with the fact that the non-Quebec Francophones were 9 per cent more likely to cite economic characteristics of the country, suggests that of the two groups it was the Quebec Francophones who differed more widely from the Anglophones in their perspectives on these matters. At the same time, however, the responses of the non-Quebec French were more similar to those of the Quebec French than to those of the Anglophones.

In addition to these differences, the Quebec Francophones were 8 per cent more likely to refer to social and cultural subdivisions within Canada, while those living outside Quebec were 11 per cent more likely to cite symbolic or patriotic content and 10 per cent more likely to describe Canada's form of government or way of life.

Table I-3. Salient Features of Canada, by language spoken at home and region

Per cent who assigned content of each type to free-answer maps of Canada ^a							
Type of Content	French		English				
	Quebec (N=291)	Non-Quebec (N=157)	Atlantic (N=111)	Quebec (N=99)	Ontario (N=264)	Prairies (N=169)	B.C. (N=95)
Natural terrain or geography	65	66	65	70	81	76	72
Economic resources or industries	42	51	69	69	64	66	69
Climatic conditions	4	5	16	7	11	20	18
Form of government or way of life	11	21	34	32	29	23	19
Political subdivisions—regional	18	17	7	19	15	18	13
Political subdivisions – provincial	55	38	18	21	9	11	12
Political subdivisions – municipal	26	24	9	15	7	12	19
Social environment – demographic	8	4	14	14	15	16	16
Social environment – social and cultural subdivisions	15	7	17	23	16	14	10
Personal characteristics of Canadian people	3	5	25	20	16	18	13
Symbolic-patriotic content	6	17	16	12	9	10	11
Total	253 ^b	255	290	302	272	284	272

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted group totals.

^bTotals to more than 100 per cent because most respondents entered more than one type of content.

References to the Canadian way of life and to characteristics of the Canadian people varied among the Anglophones of different regions. Both these features were cited much less frequently by Westerners, with the East and West Coast groups being furthest apart of all. These trends cannot be immediately explained, but they do suggest a greater propensity on the part of Eastern young people to think of Canada in generalizations about either the nature of the society or the personal traits of its people. There are no equally prominent regional trends operating in the opposite direction.

The figures indicate a consensus among Anglophones from different parts of the country about the economy; the rates vary by just five percentage points across the five regions. On other features, the main findings were as follows: the Atlantic Anglophones referred most often to symbolic and patriotic themes; regions, provinces, and social and cultural subdivisions were cited most often by the Quebec Anglophones; young people from Ontario—for some reason not altogether clear—were the ones who most frequently identified features of the natural terrain; references to climate were made most frequently by young people from the Prairies; and British Columbia youth were most likely to identify specific cities or towns.

Although modest regional variations thus appear on a number of dimensions, Table I-3 also suggests that the differences based on language were more prominent than those based on region. This tendency is demonstrated more clearly in Table I-4.⁴ The results show that in all comparisons, levels of similarity were higher within language groups than between them, thus suggesting that ethnicity had a greater influence than region on these responses.

In addition, the figures confirm that, of the two groups of Francophones, the perspectives on Canada of those from Quebec differed more widely from the views held by Anglophones: for Anglophone youth from all five regions, levels of consensus were lower with the Quebec Francophones than with those living in other provinces. "Interethnic" consensus was highest between the Quebec English and the non-Quebec French (.819) and lowest between the Quebec French and the English from the Atlantic Provinces (.693).

Table I-4. Degree of Similarity among Language and Regional Groups in Distribution of Content Entered on Free-answer Maps

Groups	Scores on index of similarity						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(1) Quebec French	—	.872	.693	.767	.723	.743	.749
(2) Non-Quebec French		—	.760	.819	.770	.801	.813
(3) Atlantic English			—	.910	.889	.882	.860
(4) Quebec English				—	.900	.901	.890
(5) Ontario English					—	.931	.890
(6) Prairie English						—	.940
(7) B.C. English							—

Comparisons among the five Anglophone groups indicate a mild tendency for young people from adjacent regions to share more perspectives on their country. For those living in adjacent regions, the average level of shared response was .920; for those separated by one region it was .893; for those separated by two, .886, and it was .860 for those living at the eastern and western extremities of the country. This gradient, even though modest, nonetheless indicates that perspectives on Canada tended to be similar among groups of young people living close to one another. Levels of shared response were highest between Anglophones from British Columbia and the Prairies (.940), second highest between those from Ontario and the Prairies (.931), and lowest between those from the two coastal regions (.860).

Finally, to what extent do these impressions vary over the adolescent years? Table I-5 examines the same responses with the two groups divided into four age clusters. The main finding here is that the English-French differences observed for the sample as a whole tend

⁴ These measures are frequently employed in demographic and ecological studies, and indicate as proportions the extent to which two response distributions are identical. First, the figures in Table I-3 were repercentaged as profile measures totalling to 100 per cent. The "index of similarity" is 1.000 minus the sum of either positive or negative discrepancies between the two distributions of percentages.

Table I-5. Age Differences in Salient Features of Canada, by language spoken at home

Per cent who assigned content of each type to free-answer map of Canada ^a								
Type of Content	English				French			
	13-14 (N=239)	15-16 (N=242)	17-18 (N=190)	19-20 (N=65)	13-14 (N=126)	15-16 (N=141)	17-18 (N=121)	19-20 (N=55)
Natural terrain or geography	77	74	78	70	65	64	66	67
Economic resources or industries	63	68	66	72	45	37	44	49
Climatic conditions	19	11	15	17	6	5	3	3
Form of government or way of life	28	24	28	32	10	9	12	23
Political subdivisions—regional	14	16	12	17	16	17	23	12
Political subdivisions—provincial	10	11	14	12	50	63	48	42
Political subdivisions—municipal	9	11	13	8	22	22	27	37
Social environment—demographic	15	16	11	20	6	5	11	9
Social environment—social and cultural subdivisions	15	13	19	16	10	11	14	19
Personal characteristics of Canadian people	15	23	14	20	1	3	5	5
Symbolic-patriotic content	10	9	15	6	8	7	8	11
Total	275 ^b	276	285	290	239	243	261	277

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bTotals to more than 100 per cent because most respondents entered more than one type of content.

also to be found in comparisons between specific age groups, an outcome suggesting that the ethnic differences emerge before adolescence and are not substantially erased during these years. At all ages, Anglophone adolescents were considerably more likely to cite economic characteristics of the country, while Francophones were more likely to name provinces.

Several minor fluctuations, principally among the Francophones, should be noted. Older French youth showed a somewhat greater propensity to name cities and towns and to refer to social or cultural groupings within the country, and were a little less likely to name provinces. More 19- and 20-year-old Francophones, in fact, cited economic features than named provinces.

For the most part, however, the age trends revealed in Table I-5 are neither sharp nor consistent, and when further comparisons were made of the similarity of response between

Anglophones and Francophones of different ages, the results indicated no meaningful trend towards either agreement or disagreement. From youngest to oldest, these scores were .750, .718, .737 and .750. The main conclusion suggested here is that the ethnic differences in perspective which exist at age 13 are still there at age 20.

Perception of the Canadian Social Structure

Impressions regarding the social structure of Canadian society were measured by asking young people to rate the importance of 10 different factors in "helping a young person to get ahead in Canadian life today" (see Question 40, Appendix B). These evaluations included factors relating both to ascribed and achieved statuses, and thus allow an appraisal of the extent to which members of different groups think the opportunity structure of their society is open or closed.

Table I-6 shows the rates at which members of the three language groups evaluated each of these factors as "very important." While Francophones' ratings diverged widely from those given by both other groups, the evaluations of Anglophones and "Others" were very similar. On the average, English and French reactions differed by 20 per cent, while those of the "Others" differed from the French by 17 per cent and from the English by just 7 per cent. This suggests once again that young people from the "Other" groups tend to perceive Canada much more from English Canadian than French Canadian perspectives.

Table I-6. Images of Canadian Opportunity Structure, by language spoken at home

Factor	Per cent who said each factor was very important in helping a young person get ahead in Canadian life ^a		
	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
(1) Get good grades in school	95	69	94
(2) Work hard	94	47	90
(3) Have a nice personality	85	69	77
(4) Get a university education	80	49	83
(5) Know the right people	50	51	61
(6) Be able to speak both French and English	39	75	45
(7) Come from the right family	23	27	27
(8) Come from the right religious group	11	32	35
(9) Be born in Canada	10	22	2
(10) Have parents with a lot of money	6	11	11

^a All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

These responses also suggest that Anglophone youth view the opportunity structure of Canadian society very much as an open system—one where success depends primarily on talent and effort. They were virtually unanimous in the opinion that good grades in school

and hard work would lead to success, and were also in fairly high agreement on the importance of a pleasing personality and of a university education. By contrast, all four factors describing social origins—coming from the “right” family or religious group, being born in Canada, and having rich parents—were rated extremely low by the Anglophones.

Achieved statuses were also rated higher than ascribed ones by Francophones, but the factor perceived to be of most crucial importance was bilingualism. Seventy-five per cent of the Francophones evaluated language skills as “very important” compared with just 39 per cent of the Anglophones and 45 per cent of the “Others.”

Additional comparisons between Anglophones and Francophones suggest an underlying pattern of differences. All factors related to achievement were rated much higher by the English than by the French (hard work by 47 per cent, university training by 31 per cent, and academic performance by 26 per cent), while the four ascribed statuses were all rated higher by the French (religious background by 21 per cent, place of birth by 12 per cent, economic background by 5 per cent, and social class—coming from the “right” family—by 4 per cent). Thus, although all three groups of young people perceive the Canadian social structure as more open than closed, Francophones would appear to do so in much more qualified terms. In their view, opportunity is certainly open—providing one can speak English.

The widest discrepancy between English and French assessments, and certainly the most interesting, was in the importance attached to hard work. Virtually all Anglophones rated this as a very important ingredient of success, but among the Francophones it was endorsed by less than half and was rated only sixth highest out of 10. Of all the channels to success listed, hard work is undoubtedly the one most representative of an open opportunity system, since it makes no restrictions based either on social origins or on individual differences in ability. It is particularly in this evaluation that Francophones can be said to view the Canadian opportunity structure as relatively more restricted.

Next, Table I-7 indicates once again that the main regional variations in assessments occurred among the Francophones. Here, the pattern of differences is very interesting. It was the non-Quebec Francophones who rated achievement considerably higher, and on the importance of hard work and a university education their assessments were closer to the views of Anglophones than to those of the Quebec Francophones. These tendencies would suggest that, of the two groups, those living outside Quebec saw the Canadian social structure in more open terms. Yet this conclusion is clearly contradicted by the fact that all four ascribed statuses were also rated more important by the non-Quebec French, albeit just slightly so. They were also 15 per cent more likely than their Quebec counterparts to stress the importance of being bilingual. It would appear that the non-Quebec French on the one hand were more likely to share the central English Canadian beliefs regarding channels to social mobility, but on the other were more sensitive to the existence of social barriers which prevent completely free access to these channels.

Table I-7 also displays a strikingly high degree of consensus among Anglophones from different regions. The only evaluations which varied meaningfully among the five groups were those concerning the importance of bilingual skills—these were rated highest by a considerable margin by the Quebec Anglophones, and lowest by an equally great margin by young people from British Columbia. For the most part, Anglophones from all regions

Table I-7. Images of Canadian Opportunity Structure, by language spoken at home and region

Per cent who said each factor was very important in helping a young person get ahead in Canadian life ^a								
Factor	French		English					
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)	
(1) Get good grades in school	66	80	99	95	93	95	94	
(2) Work hard	42	73	91	97	95	94	92	
(3) Have a nice personality	70	64	86	81	87	85	81	
(4) Get a university education	44	67	82	82	75	82	87	
(5) Know the right people	49	56	50	52	47	51	57	
(6) Be able to speak both French and English	72	87	52	72	37	40	18	
(7) Come from the right family	26	33	24	27	25	21	19	
(8) Come from the right religious group	30	40	15	6	10	11	9	
(9) Be born in Canada	22	26	10	5	10	11	10	
(10) Have parents with a lot of money	10	12	2	8	5	7	6	

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

of Canada share the view that success in Canadian life is gained by scholastic achievement, hard work, higher education, and interpersonal know-how.

Finally, Table I-8 compares the ratings made by English and French young people in different stages of adolescence. The most interesting trend here is that the two groups grow further apart in their views on the importance of bilingualism as they pass through the adolescent years. Among Anglophones, this factor was rated very important by 44 per cent of the 13- and 14-year-olds, the ratings then falling off progressively to 29 per cent among those entering their twenties. Over the same years, however, the evaluations of Francophones rise moderately and consistently. This suggests that while adolescence reinforces the beliefs of Francophones that they need to be bilingual, it teaches many Anglophones that they do not really need to know both languages in order to get along successfully in Canadian life.

A second trend of some interest is that older Francophones were considerably less likely than their juniors to perceive religious affiliation as important. On this, their evaluations fell off sharply from 50 to 18 per cent. Coupled with the increasing propensity to cite linguistic skills, this suggests that during the adolescent years Francophones come to redefine the meaning and consequences of ethnicity in Canadian society. Among those just entering the teen years, both religion and language were felt to have an effect on one's chances of success; for those entering their twenties, on the other hand, ethnicity would seem to be interpreted much more exclusively in terms of language.

Table I-8. Age Differences in Images of Canadian Opportunity Structure, by language spoken at home

Factor	Per cent who said each factor was very important in helping a young person get ahead in Canadian life ^a							
	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
(1) Get good grades in school	97	94	96	91	76	69	62	69
(2) Work hard	95	92	92	98	52	45	41	55
(3) Have a nice personality	88	86	82	81	63	71	65	79
(4) Get a university education	84	76	79	79	55	38	51	54
(5) Know the right people	56	43	52	50	50	46	53	57
(6) Be able to speak both French and English	44	40	35	29	69	74	78	82
(7) Come from the right family	28	23	18	24	32	23	32	22
(8) Come from the right religious group	14	7	12	10	50	31	27	18
(9) Be born in Canada	12	10	10	4	27	23	16	26
(10) Have parents with a lot of money	4	8	6	4	13	12	9	9

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Orientations to the Present and the Past

All [societies] have their conceptions of the Past, the Present, and the Future. Where they differ is in the preferential ordering of the alternatives, and a very great deal can be told about the particular society or part of a society being studied and much can be predicted about the direction of change within it if one knows what the rank-order emphasis is.⁵

We next examine two sets of reactions which reflect young people's orientations to their country's present and past. The first of these concerns attitudes about having a completely new national flag, while the second focusses more on cognitive than evaluative reactions by looking at the countries which young people named as Canada's best friends today.

In order to avoid references to specific symbolism, attitudes on the national flag issue were measured by asking young people whether, if they still had a choice, they would

⁵ Florence R. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, *Variations in Value Orientations* (Evanston, 1961), 14.

prefer a flag "which makes you think more of Canada's past history" or one which is "completely new" (Question 1). In response to this particular phrasing, young people from all three language groups answered in favour of a new flag, the pluralities being 10 per cent among Anglophones, 14 per cent among "Others," and 23 per cent among Francophones (Table I-9). It is perhaps surprising that endorsements of the new flag were not highest of all among members of the smaller minorities, since an emblem symbolizing anything but the most recent Canadian history would tend to reflect Canada's primarily British and French heritage. Nonetheless, the Francophones rejected an historical emblem most substantially, although it is not altogether clear whether this can be interpreted as rejection of *any* historical content, or simply of the dominant British symbolism of former Canadian banners. At face value, however, the reactions of all three groups indicate support for contemporary rather than traditional symbols of Canadian nationhood. Young people also appeared to be quite involved in this issue, since only 15 per cent of the French and 10 per cent of those in the other two groups indicated they did not care one way or the other, and only tiny proportions said they did not know.

Upon more detailed examination, it turned out that the distribution of responses to this question tended to mask important regional and age variations. Table I-10 indicates that the principal regional variations occurred among the English rather than the French, for the responses of the two Francophone groups were virtually identical. Among the Anglophones, however, the reactions of those from the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, and British Columbia deviated substantially from the national average. Strongest support for a completely new flag came from the British Columbia and Quebec Anglophones, and by pluralities as large as 32 and 30 per cent. By contrast, the margins were only 11 per cent and 2 per cent among the Ontario and Prairie Anglophones, and young people from the Atlantic Provinces were 8 per cent more likely to prefer traditional symbolism. These results, then, indicate a considerable lack of consensus among Anglophones from different regions—a particularly meaningful outcome in view of the high levels of agreement they displayed on other points.

Table I-9. Flag Preferences, by language spoken at home

Question 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?			
Responses	French	English	Other
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	29%	38% ^a	35%
A completely new flag	52	48	49
I'm not sure	3	5	5
I wouldn't care one way or the other	15	10	10
Total	99	101	99
Base	(529)	(793)	(37)

^a All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Table I-10. Regional Differences in Flag Preferences, by language spoken at home

Responses	Per cent giving different responses ^a						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	30	28	50	23	37	42	25
A completely new flag	52	51	42	53	48	44	57
I'm not sure	2	7	4	7	4	6	3
I wouldn't care one way or the other	16	14	4	16	11	8	15
Total	100	100	100	99	100	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Among both language groups, moreover, support for traditional symbolism was much stronger among younger adolescents (Table I-11). This tendency was particularly prominent among the Anglophones, where the youngest group favoured a traditional emblem (by 7 per cent), while all three other groups favoured a new flag—and by margins increasing from 5 to 20 to 43 per cent. A similar trend may also be noted among the Francophones, at least up to the age of 17 or 18.

Table I-11. Age Differences in Flag Preferences, by language spoken at home

Preference	Per cent giving different responses ^a			
	A. English			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	47	40	32	20
A completely new flag	40	45	52	63
I'm not sure	5	4	4	8
I wouldn't care one way or the other	7	11	13	9
Total	99	100	101	100
Preference	B. French			
	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A flag which makes you think of Canada's past	33	30	29	25
A completely new flag	49	50	58	49
I'm not sure	4	1	6	2
I wouldn't care one way or the other	14	19	7	23
Total	100	100	100	99

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Table I-12. Countries Named as Canada's Best Friends, by language spoken at home

Per cent who named each country ^a			
A. Best Friend			
Country	English	French	Other
United States	65	72	67
Great Britain	29	6	31
France	1	8	—
All other countries	1	1	1
No country named	4	13	2
Total	100	100	101
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
B. Three Best Friends			
Country	English	French	Other
United States	94	84	98
Great Britain	89	58	98
France	33	64	35
Australia	18	1	10
Japan	7	4	2
All other countries	28	27	11
Total	269 ^b	238	254
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bTotals exceed 100 per cent because respondents asked to name three best friends. They do not total to 300 per cent because some did not name three countries.

A second indicator of young people's time perspectives was the countries they selected as Canada's best friends. The main issue here was whether they saw Canada as closer to the United States or to Britain (or France). These evaluations are reported in Tables I-12 through I-14.

Part B of Table I-12 indicates that a majority of the Francophones and virtually all of the Anglophones and "Others" included both the United States and Britain in their selections of Canada's three closest friends. The issue thus resolves into the question of which country was rated higher, and on this the results were strikingly clear cut: all three groups thought Canada's closer ties were with the United States rather than Britain, by margins of 36 per cent among the two groups of non-French, and 66 per cent among the French. Only 6 per cent of the French named Britain as closest friend and, interestingly, only 8 per cent named France. The main difference between the French and the other two groups, then, was in their tendency to omit Britain from their selections—although they were also more likely to name no country at all. Rates of non-response on this question (Question 11) were 13 per cent among the Francophones, but just 4 per cent and 2 per

cent among the Anglophones and "Others." This would suggest that considerably more Francophones found it difficult to think about Canada's ties with the outside world.

Another striking feature of these responses is that very few countries were nominated as best friends. Only 9 per cent of the Francophones, 2 per cent of the Anglophones, and 1 per cent of the "Others" named any country other than the United States or Britain as Canada's closest friend, and only two other countries—France and Australia—were named at all by more than one person in 10 from any group. Although not often selected as Canada's first friend, 64 per cent of the Francophones and about a third in the other two groups did include France in their selections, while 18 per cent of the Anglophones included Australia.

Table I-13. Regional Differences in Countries Named as Canada's Best Friends, by language spoken at home

Per cent who named each country ^a							
Countries	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A. Canada's Best Friend							
United States	73	66	68	72	63	62	69
Great Britain	4	12	28	21	29	32	27
France	9	4	—	2	1	1	1
All other countries	2	1	2	—	1	—	1
No country named	12	16	2	4	6	4	2
Total	100	99	100	99	100	99	100
B. Canada's Three Best Friends							
United States	85	82	98	95	93	93	95
Great Britain	55	73	89	93	87	92	91
France	64	61	36	58	29	31	35
All other countries	35	17	47	25	51	48	49
Total	239 ^b	233	270	271	260	264	270

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bTotals exceed 100 per cent because respondents asked to name three best friends. They do not total to 300 per cent because some persons did not name three countries.

Unlike attitudes on the flag question, these impressions were remarkably stable among different age and regional groupings. Table I-13 indicates that young people from all parts of the country placed the United States ahead of the United Kingdom by a considerable margin, the tendency being strongest in the case of the two groups from Quebec, and slightly less pronounced, inexplicably, among Anglophones from the Prairies. For the

most part, however, these results are more impressive in their similarity than their variation. The responses differed only slightly among the age groups (Table I-14). The only meaningful age trends were that older youth were a little more likely to think of the United States as Canada's first friend, and a little less likely to leave the question unanswered.

Table I-14. Age Differences in Countries Named as Canada's Best Friends, by language spoken at home

Per cent who named each country ^a								
Countries	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A. Best Friend								
United States	64	64	65	69	63	75	73	75
Great Britain	29	30	29	28	6	5	5	9
France	1	1	1	—	12	6	10	3
All other countries	1	—	2	2	(.3)	3	1	1
No country named	5	6	3	(.4)	19	10	11	12
Total	100	101	100	99	100	99	100	100
B. Three Best Friends								
United States	93	93	95	98	79	88	86	83
Great Britain	87	89	92	92	53	60	54	71
France	32	34	36	24	59	68	63	66
All other countries	50	44	46	63	28	32	34	31
Total	262 ^b	260	269	277	219	248	237	251

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bTotals exceed 100 per cent because respondents asked to name three best friends. They do not total to 300 per cent because some persons did not name three countries.

In the main, it would appear that all Canadian young people perceive their country more in terms of its North American roots than its European heritage. And to the extent that these reactions could be said to reflect orientations to the past, present, or future, it could perhaps be concluded as well that their viewpoint is contemporary rather than traditional.

Orientations to Different Levels of Government

According to Piaget,⁶ at the age of about 10 or 11 children are able to comprehend properly the notion of "country," that is, to understand the territorial relationships

⁶ Jean Piaget, "The Development in Children of the Idea of the Homeland and of Relations with Other Countries," *International Social Science Bulletin*, Vol. 3, 1951, 561-71.

between a country as a whole and the various administrative units which may function within it—towns, cities, provinces, cantons, states, regions, and the like. In a study of Canadian 13- to 20-year-olds, then, it is not at all fanciful to inquire into their attitudes toward different levels of government in the Canadian federal system. This section is concerned with how young people assess the effectiveness of their federal, provincial, and local governments in serving the needs of the Canadian people. The evaluations were measured in relative rather than absolute terms: the respondents were asked which government they felt did most and least for people (Questions 15 and 16). In addition, they were asked which one they thought would be best to work for—providing the remuneration from each was the same (Question 17).

Even though these questions avoided reference to specific administrations, political parties, or national, provincial, or municipal leaders, it is inevitable that in answering them some young people would have thought about the particular parties or individuals in power at the time. These results, therefore, cannot be represented as necessarily enduring orientations to government; there is no guarantee that the ratings would have been the same had other parties or persons been in office during the summer of 1965.

While only limited interpretations can be made from these responses when considered as national totals, Table I-15 does indicate a number of points of similarity and difference in the reactions of the three language groups. Considering the balance between positive and negative assessments in Parts A and B of the table, for example, the following tendencies may be noted. First, members of all three groups rated their provincial governments much more positively than negatively. The percentage margins were +27 among the Francophones, +21 among the Anglophones, and +20 among the "Others." Secondly, only Anglophones made an overall positive appraisal of the federal government. The scores in this case were +6, -3 and -12, respectively, among the Anglophones, "Others," and Francophones. Thirdly, the "Others" gave by far the most positive assessments to the role of municipal government, their net balance between positive and negative ratings being +27 compared with +2 and -7 for the French and English.

Generally, then, all three groups thought their provincial governments were effective in doing things for people; the "Others" rated local governments strongly; and no group favoured the national government. Such results indicate a decidedly provincial orientation in young people's thinking about public administration.

At the same time, however, the federal government fared much better when considered as an employer. Part C of Table I-15 indicates that all three groups rated it more strongly on this criterion than on the other, and that both groups of non-French youth preferred it. These same two groups also rated their provincial governments lowest, thus indicating that the governments they saw as most effective in serving people's interests were the ones they thought least attractive to work for. This reversal is especially curious since the employment question stated quite clearly that the salaries from each job would be the same. In effect, then, these youth used quite different criteria when evaluating an administration's service to the community and its employment potential.

Francophones, by comparison, were much more consistent in their ratings on these two dimensions. For them, provincial governments were ranked first both as servants of public interests and as potential employers.

Table I-15. Orientation to Different Levels of Government, by language spoken at home

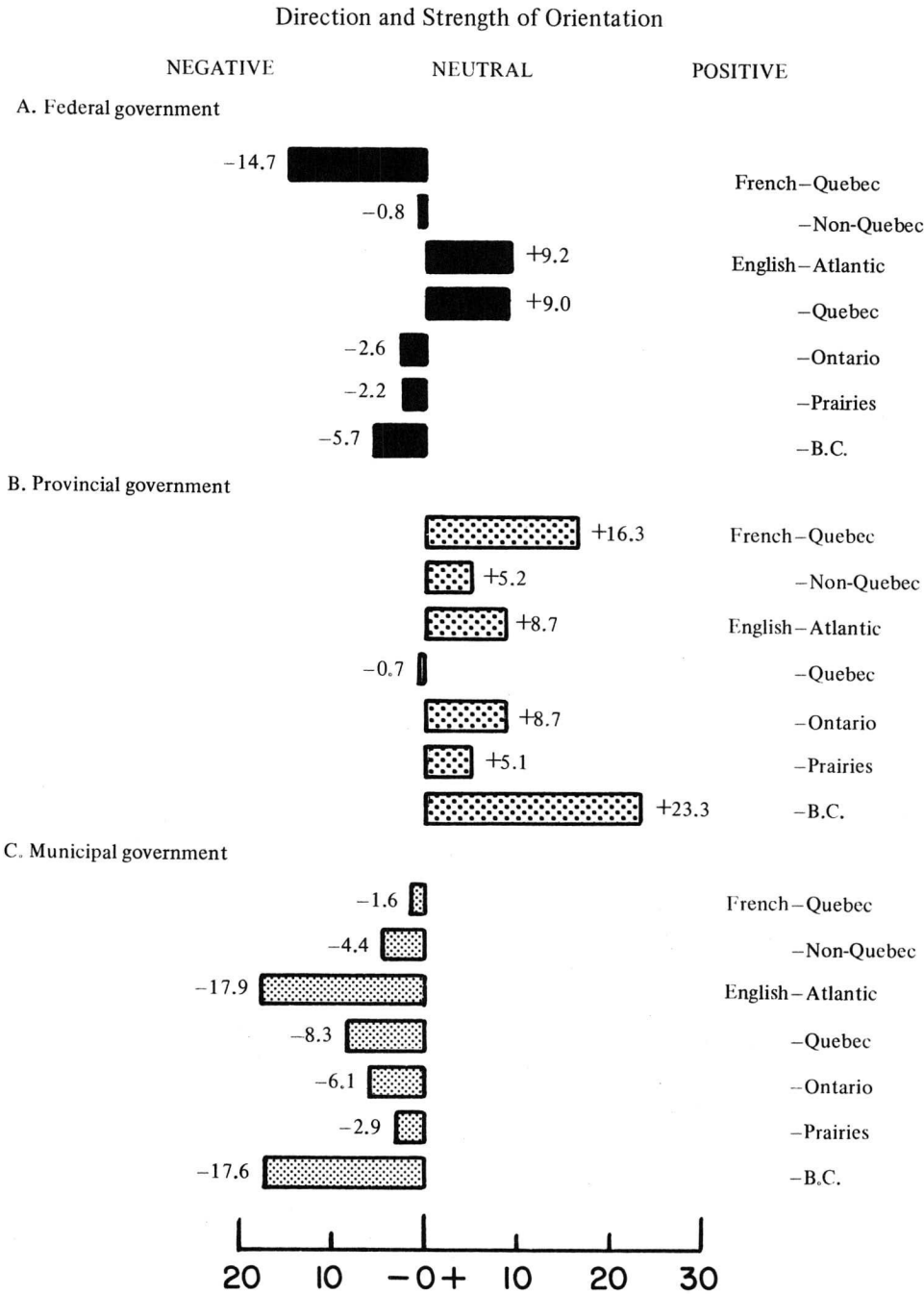
A. Question 15. Which government would you say does the <i>most</i> for people?			
Response	English	French	Other
The government of your city, town or township	23% ^a	23%	37%
The government of your province	33	40	39
The government of Canada	32	22	22
I'm not sure	13	15	2
Total	101	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
B. Question 16. Which one would you say does the <i>least</i> for people?			
The government of your city, town or township	30% ^a	21%	14%
The government of your province	12	13	19
The government of Canada	26	34	25
I'm not sure	31	32	42
Total	99	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
C. Question 17. Which government would be best to work for—if the salary was the same on each job?			
The government of your city, town or township	28% ^a	27%	27%
The government of your province	22	34	19
The government of Canada	39	28	38
I'm not sure	11	11	16
Total	100	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Although it would be highly instructive to examine the reactions of young people living in specific localities, the small number of individuals sampled in most cities and towns precludes this level of analysis. Regional variations, however, are displayed in Figure I-1. The rationale for this particular mode of presentation is that strictly by chance alone we would expect each level of government to be named both positively and negatively by one-third of the respondents. Figure I-1 thus highlights the extent to which the ratings deviated from random expectation. Here, the direction of the bars to the right or left of the centre line indicates either a positive or negative balance, while the length of the bar reflects the strength of departure from chance expectancy.⁷

⁷ The actual measures were computed by the following formula: (per cent positive assessments – 33.3 per cent) + (33.3 per cent – per cent negative assessments) divided by 2. Signs were taken into account and percentages were computed only for those persons who gave substantive answers to the questions. These measures have a zero-sum property, meaning that any imbalance in one direction must be matched by an imbalance of equal size in the opposite direction.

Figure I-1. Regional Variations in Orientation to Different Levels of Government, by language spoken at home



These data point to a number of important regional differences in young people's views of government. First, when we compare the two Francophone groups, it is clear that those from Quebec held much more positive views of their provincial government, and much more negative ones of the federal government than did their counterparts living in other provinces. By contrast the non-Quebec Francophones appear to have no particularly strong feelings about any level of government. Their reactions are all close to what would be expected strictly from random allotment.

Interestingly, the Anglophones in British Columbia showed an even stronger propensity than the Francophones in Quebec to favour the provincial level: their assessments deviate 23.3 points above chance expectancy compared with 16.3 points for the Francophones. Although both groups thus displayed strong provincial sentiments, their patterns of negative response were quite dissimilar: among the Quebec Francophones these were directed principally at the federal government while among the British Columbia Anglophones they clustered heavily at the local level. In other words, the provincialism of the Quebec Francophones was accompanied by strongly negative dispositions regarding the federal administration while that of the British Columbia group was not.

Figure I-1 also indicates that all groups except the Quebec Anglophones entered provincial governments on the positive side of the ledger. As might have been anticipated, then, the perspectives of the Anglophones and Francophones from Quebec were radically different. Although showing less consensus in their views, the Quebec Anglophones quite clearly perceived their primary source of support as Ottawa.

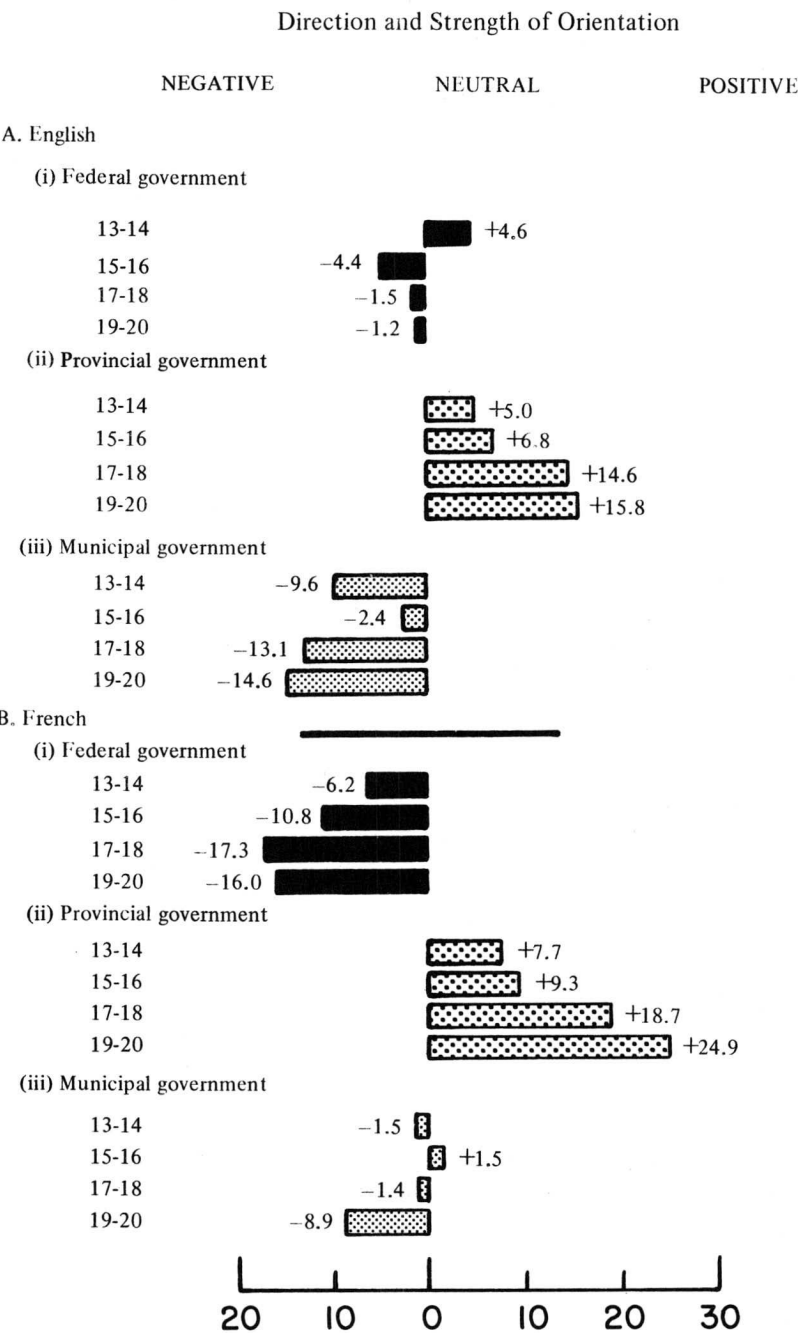
Besides the Quebec Anglophones, only those from the Atlantic Provinces rated the national government more positively than negatively, the reactions of both groups falling approximately nine points above chance expectancy. Unlike their Quebec neighbours, however, the Easterners also made positive assessments of their provincial administrations and, while both groups gave their most negative ratings to local government, those from the Atlantic Provinces were more negative. For the Atlantic Anglophones, then, federal support would seem to emerge primarily as a reaction to local inertia; for the Quebec Anglophones it would appear to stem from a relative lack of confidence in both local and provincial administrations.

Finally, Figure I-1 indicates that all groups rated the functions of municipal government relatively low. Since in a zero-sum statistic all deviations must be balanced, it is difficult to assess whether these particular ratings reflect genuinely negative sentiment or whether they emerge primarily because provincial administrations were rated so highly. It is perhaps most reasonable to assume the latter.

Apart from the pronounced provincial orientation of the British Columbia Anglophones, these results could be said to conform to expectation. Young people from the different regions seem to share the same kinds of perspectives as their elders regarding the structure of public administration in Canadian society.

Finally, Figure I-2 compares the evaluations of Anglophones and Francophones in the four age groups. The results indicate sharp changes of perspective with age. The older groups gave progressively higher positive ratings to their provincial governments. These trends are continuous among both language groups, and among the Francophones they are accompanied by consistently increasing negative feelings towards the federal government.

Figure I-2. Age Differences in Orientation to Different Levels of Government, by language spoken at home



These findings are important. They suggest that during the adolescent years Canadian young people become aware of the important sectional, regional, and provincial interests in Canadian life, and this awareness in turn is translated into beliefs regarding how well provincial governments serve the needs of Canadians. If then, as Piaget suggests, the first 10 or 11 years of life are characterized by a clearly marked process of widening perspectives regarding the homeland, "starting from motives essentially bound up with subjective or personal impressions and progressing toward acceptance of the values common to the group, first to the family group and then society as a whole,"⁸ then the adolescent years, at least for Canadian young people, could be characterized as the period of emergent sectionalism.

Perceived Distinctiveness of the Canadian People, and of the Two Main Canadian Subgroups

In the final section of this chapter we look at young people's impressions of the Canadian people both as a whole and as two major subgroupings. The discussion centres first on areas of similarity and difference between, on the one hand, Canadians and Americans, and on the other, Anglophone and Francophone Canadians. Following this, it then focusses directly on the triangle of relationships between English Canadians, French Canadians, and Americans by reviewing young people's impressions as to which pairs of groups share the larger number of things in common with one another.

We are dealing here with themes which might well be discussed under the labels "national identity" and "national solidarity." To the extent that national identity can be defined as the qualities a person associates himself with and differentiates himself from, the analysis could indeed be said to explore young people's identity both as Canadians and as "hyphenated Canadians." And to the extent that the solidarity of any group—a family, organization, community, or nation—is reflected in the degree to which its members have more in common with one another than they do with outsiders, then it also explores the social cohesiveness of the national community of Canadian young people.

I. Canadians and Americans

To what extent and in what ways do Canadian young people think of themselves as distinct? Questions 12 and 13 asked respondents to compare themselves with Americans on 11 specific traits and characteristics, and in addition to make an overall judgement as to whether Canadians and Americans were, in most respects, alike or different. In selecting characteristics for comparison, we attempted to reflect the kinds of things young people commonly say about themselves and about Americans, and at the same time to cover features relating to a number of different dimensions—personality traits of the two peoples, tastes and life-style preferences, characteristics of the social and institutional structure of the two countries, and most important, underlying values about life.

⁸ Piaget, "The Development of the Idea of Homeland," 566.

When asked for a global assessment, most Canadian young people viewed themselves collectively as more similar to than distinct from Americans. Seventy-nine per cent of Anglophones and 75 per cent of the "Others" perceived similarities between the two peoples (Table I-16). Francophones held these views much more tentatively, although a majority (56 per cent) thought similarities were more important than differences. The levels of response are somewhat difficult to interpret in isolation, but they suggest at the very least that Canadian young people's sense of national distinctiveness does not derive its shape from fundamental contrasts with Americans.

Table I-16. Perceived Similarity between Canadians and Americans, by language spoken at home

Question 12. Some people think that Canadians and Americans are very much alike, while others think they are very different. What would you say?			
Response	English	French	Other
Alike in most ways	79% ^a	56%	75%
Different in most ways	18	37	25
I'm not sure	3	7	—
Total	100	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

The international comparisons on specific features are reviewed in Figure I-3. These results are once again represented in graphic form so as to highlight only dominant opinion⁹ and are arranged in order of consensus. This chart shows marked opinions in both directions, and also illustrates a number of features on which members of the three groups differed.

The first three entries on the chart (Figure I-3) represent tastes or life styles, and all reflect a consensus of opinion on Canadian-American similarity. At the same time, however, the three groups did not share these views to the same degree. Virtually no Anglophones or "Others" saw anything particularly distinctive about Canadian food, musical tastes, or grooming styles and manners of dress, but a sizable minority of the Francophones did. One could conclude, therefore, that Francophone youth were at least relatively more sensitive to distinctively Canadian tastes and styles.

Next, there was general agreement that Canadians and Americans work at similar types of jobs, although here the "Others" made much more tentative judgements than either the Francophones or Anglophones. For the most part, however, young people did not recognize a uniquely Canadian occupational structure.

⁹ In this and other charts presented in this section, the figures represent the percentage discrepancies between those saying Canadians and Americans were "definitely alike" and "definitely different." These percentages were based on the responses of all young persons rather than just those who gave substantive assessments.

Figure I-3. Ways in Which Canadians and Americans are Perceived as Similar and Different, by language spoken at home

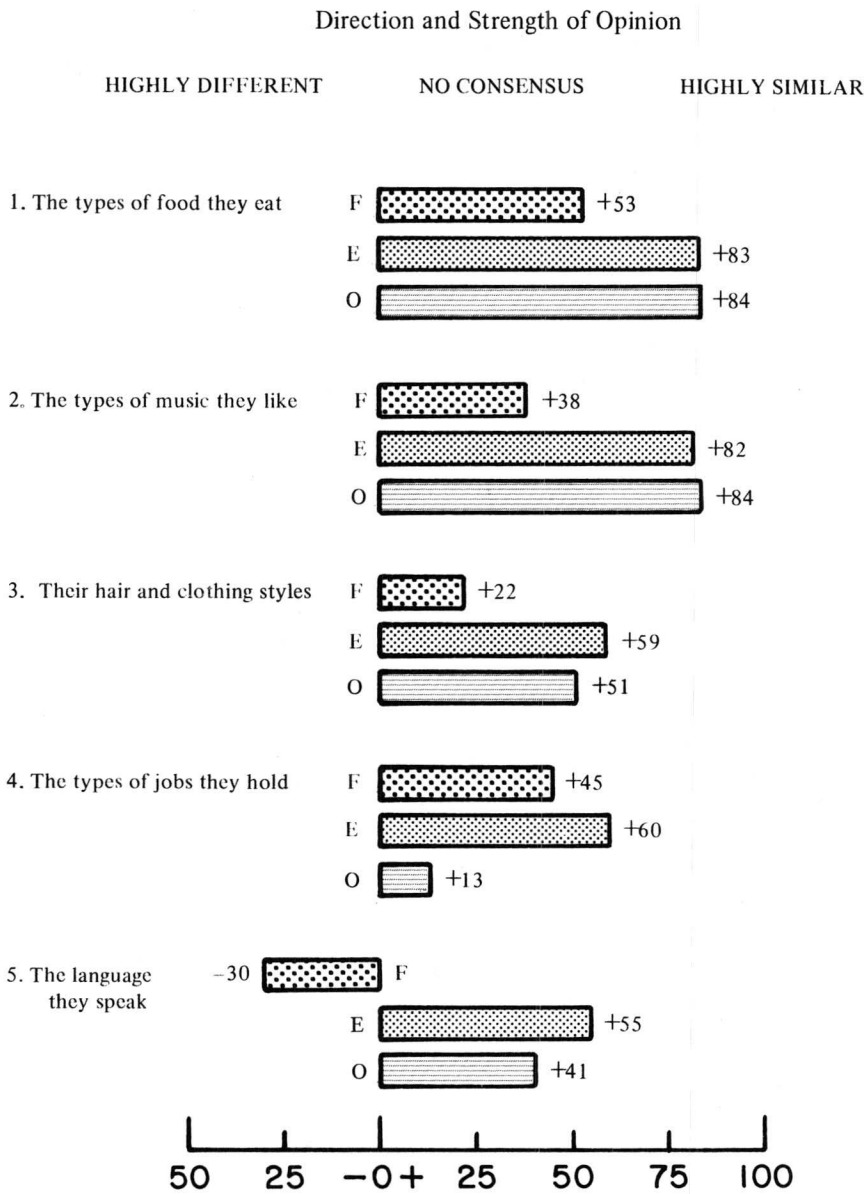
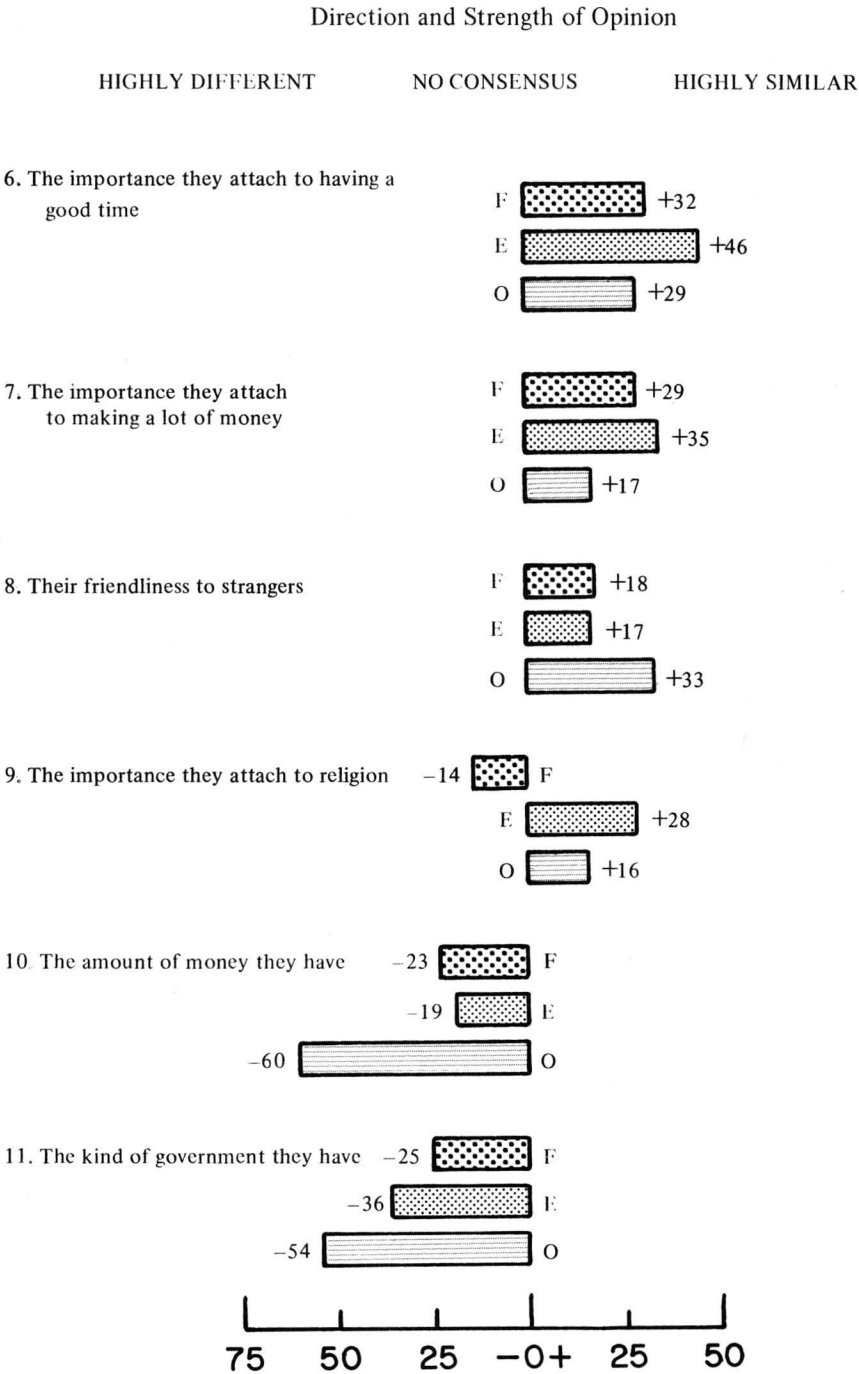


Figure I-3—(Continued)



As expected, Francophones recognized the difference in language of the two peoples much more frequently than others did. We might also conclude that in answering these questions Anglophones and Francophones tended to think about the Canadian people as a whole much as they thought of their own cultural group. By the same token, the "Others" appear to have defined the Canadian people in terms of predominantly English Canadian characteristics.

The sixth and seventh features listed both concern values—the importance attached to economic achievement and to enjoying life. Both sets of ratings illustrate moderately high agreement as to Canadian-American similarity, although levels of consensus on both points tended to be higher among Anglophones and lower among the "Others." These findings are perhaps a little surprising in that, along with "friendliness to strangers," these features are often the object of stereotypes regarding Canadian-American differences: Americans are often characterized as keener on making money, more gregarious, and more extroverted, and Canadians (or at least English Canadians) are usually stereotyped as more serious, more conservative, and more reserved in making friends. However, young people would appear not to reflect these stereotypes.

Members of the three language groups also differed markedly in the assessments they made of the importance Canadians and Americans attach to religion. The Francophones felt the two peoples placed quite different emphases on these matters, while the Anglophones and the "Others" thought the views were basically similar.

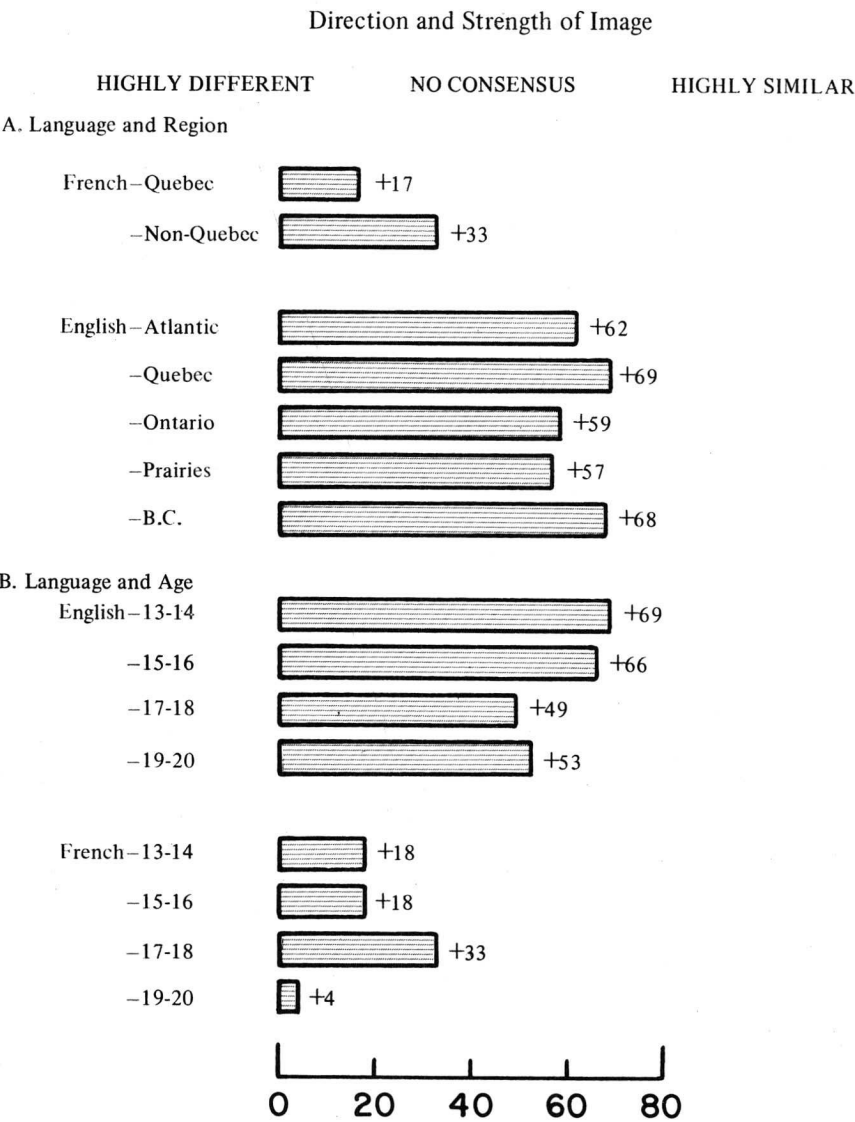
All in all, there were just two characteristics out of the 11 on which all three groups agreed that Canadians and Americans were definitely different: in economic wealth, and even more in the form of government of the two countries. These results are hardly surprising, but it is interesting that the two peoples were perceived as different when rated on actual wealth, but similar when rated on the importance they attach to making money. Otherwise, the responses indicate relatively few areas in which Canadians were seen as distinct from Americans, although Francophone youth tended to see more of these features as distinctively Canadian. In addition to wealth and form of government, they rated language and religious attitudes as different and were much more likely than their compatriots to perceive distinctive tastes and styles.

Regional and age variations on the global comparisons are reviewed in Figure I-4. The results indicate little variation of perspective among Anglophones from the different regions, but rather marked differences between the two groups of Francophones. All five groups of Anglophone youth viewed Canadians and Americans as highly similar by about the same degree, but the Quebec Francophones saw considerably more areas of national difference than did those from other provinces. The non-Quebec Francophones, in short, tended to view Canadians as more Americanized, and in this respect came somewhat closer to the views held by the Anglophones. There was a slight tendency for older youth to see more areas of national distinctiveness. These trends are neither pronounced nor linear, however, and as such do not warrant any definite conclusions regarding changes in perspective at different ages.

II. English Canadians and French Canadians

Further along in the questionnaire, respondents were asked to make similar judgements for English and French Canadians (Questions 25 and 26). These evaluations, while inter-

Figure I-4. Regional Variations and Age Differences in Perceived Similarity of Canadians and Americans, by language spoken at home



esting in their own right, take on added significance when interpreted in conjunction with the Canadian-American comparisons. All three groups rated the English and French as more alike than different, but the two non-Francophone groups did so only marginally. (See Table I-17.) Whereas 79 per cent of the Anglophones rated Canadians and Americans as alike, only 50 per cent rated the French and English in Canada thus, and for the "Others" the discrepancy was even wider—75 per cent compared with 42 per cent. The two sets of ratings were much more similar among Francophones, although they too thought the two Canadian groups were less similar (54 per cent compared with 56 per cent). Of the three groups, however, it was the Francophones who most often saw English and French Canadians as alike, and Americans and Canadians as different.

Table I-17. Perceived Similarity between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, by language spoken at home

Question 25. On the whole, would you say that English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians are pretty much alike or pretty much different?			
Response	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Alike in most ways	50% ^a	54%	42%
Different in most ways	41	38	40
I'm not sure	10	8	18
Total	101	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Comparisons on specific characteristics are presented in Figure I-5. Here, of 12 points of comparison, eight were rated by a majority as areas of similarity and four as areas of difference. All groups agreed on English-French similarity in food habits, economic motivation and types of employment, the pluralities in no case falling below 41 per cent. There was no consistent pattern to these three sets of ratings, however, consensus of opinion being highest among the Francophones on food, among the "Others" on economic motivation, and among the Anglophones on types of jobs held. The three groups also saw more similarity than difference in hair and clothing styles, but in differing degrees. Agreement here was higher among the Anglophones, and was much lower among the "Others." A similar pattern was also found in the importance attached to having a good time. Anglophones agreed slightly more often on similarity than the Francophones, and the "Others" perceived more differences. Finally, on wealth, musical tastes, and friendliness to strangers, all three groups made moderately high appraisals of English-French similarity, and their ratings were more alike than unlike.

Let us now turn to the differences. All groups felt that English and French Canadians place a different emphasis on religion. The "Others" thought this more often and the Francophones less. The more interesting differences, however, were on the statements reflecting national goals for Canada—the kind of government they want Canada to have and the type of country they want Canada to be in the future. Here the perspectives of

the three groups differed quite markedly. On both statements, the Anglophones and the "Others" saw the two groups as oriented in quite different directions, while the Francophones were much more evenly divided in their opinions. The English were 36 per cent more likely to see the two groups as wanting different goals for Canada while the French were 7 per cent more likely to see similar goals. And while the Francophones acknowledged differences of opinion on government, they did so by a margin of just 11 per cent, compared with 45 per cent among the Anglophones and 54 per cent among the "Others." These results are important even though they do not indicate specific points of disagreement. They suggest that while English and French Canadians are seen as having much in common, the points on which they are seen to differ are serious ones.

Finally, Figure I-5 shows that virtually all young people recognized that English and French Canadians speak different languages. Had the result been different, the credibility of the other responses would be questionable.

Variations by region and age are again presented only in relation to the overall assessments (Figure I-6). Here prominent regional variations may be noted in the responses of both groups. Among the Anglophones, especially those living further west, there is a clear-cut though slightly uneven tendency to see greater differences; whereas youth in the Atlantic Provinces were 30 per cent more likely to perceive similarities than differences, the groups were rated as more dissimilar than alike west of Ontario. Western Anglophones thus felt they had less in common with French Canadians than did their counterparts living in central Canada, who in turn saw fewer similarities than did young people from the Atlantic area. The two Francophone groups again gave radically different appraisals: consensus of opinion on English-French similarity was highest of all among those living outside Quebec, and by contrast the Quebec group held views more similar to those of the Quebec Anglophones than to those of the non-Quebec Francophones. On this issue, in short, regional perspectives could probably be said to over-ride ethnic ones.

The findings with regard to age are once again inconclusive, although among both groups agreement on similarity was highest among the 13- and 14-year-olds, and lowest among either the oldest group or the second oldest. This suggests at least mild support for the generalization that as Canadian young people pass through adolescence they become more sensitive to ethnic differences.

III. Interethnic Ties versus Ties over the Border

In addition to these separate evaluations, respondents were also asked directly which pairs of groups they thought shared more in common. The questions were phrased as follows:

(Question 14) Who would you say have more in common—English-speaking Canadians and Americans or English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians?

(Question 27) Who have more in common—French Canadians and Americans or French Canadians and English Canadians?

In effect, then, both Anglophones and Francophones were asked to rate the strength of their interethnic ties within Canada against their ties south of the border and to make a similar assessment from the point of view of the other group.

Figure I-5. Ways in Which Anglophone and Francophone Canadians are Perceived as Similar and Different, by language spoken at home

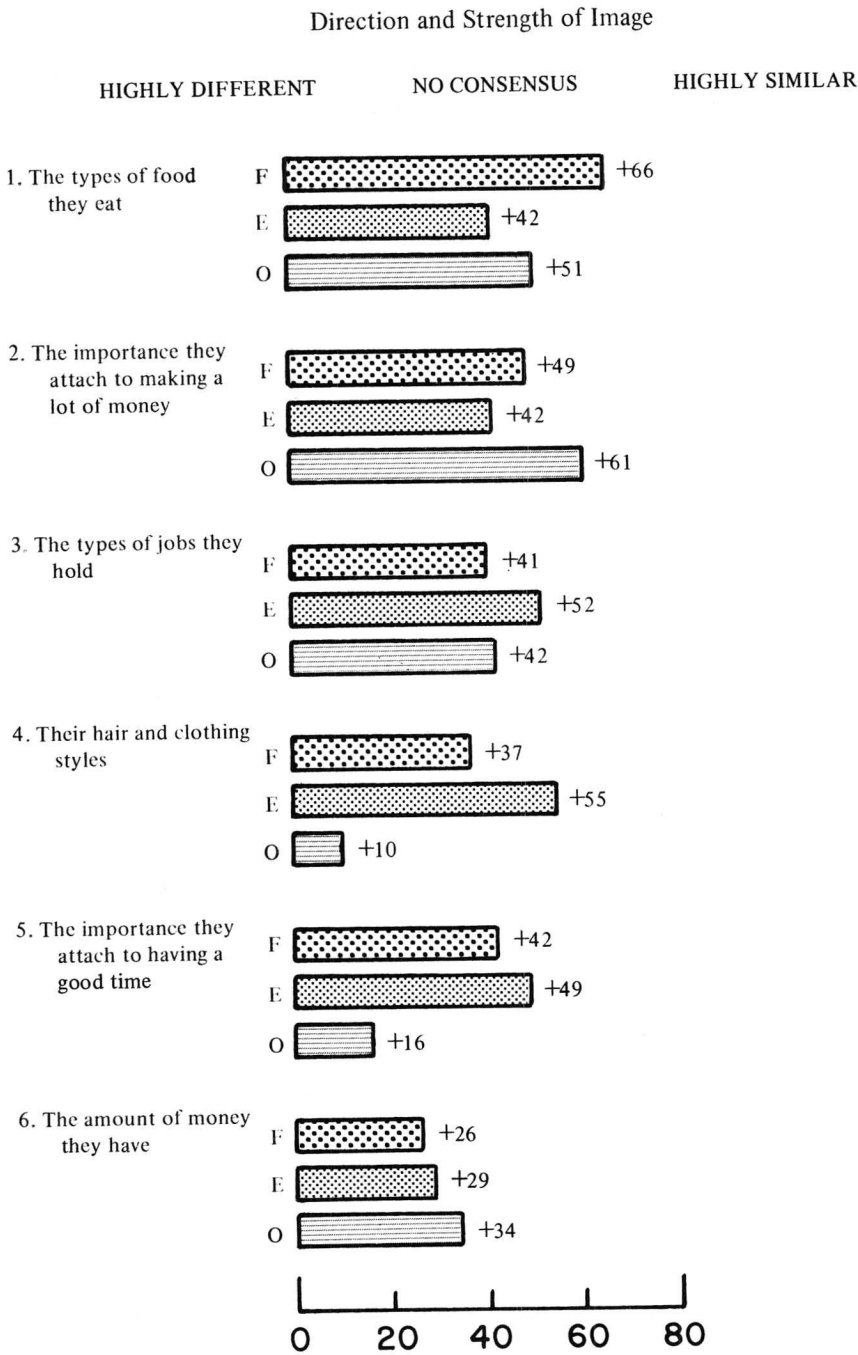


Figure I-5—(Continued)

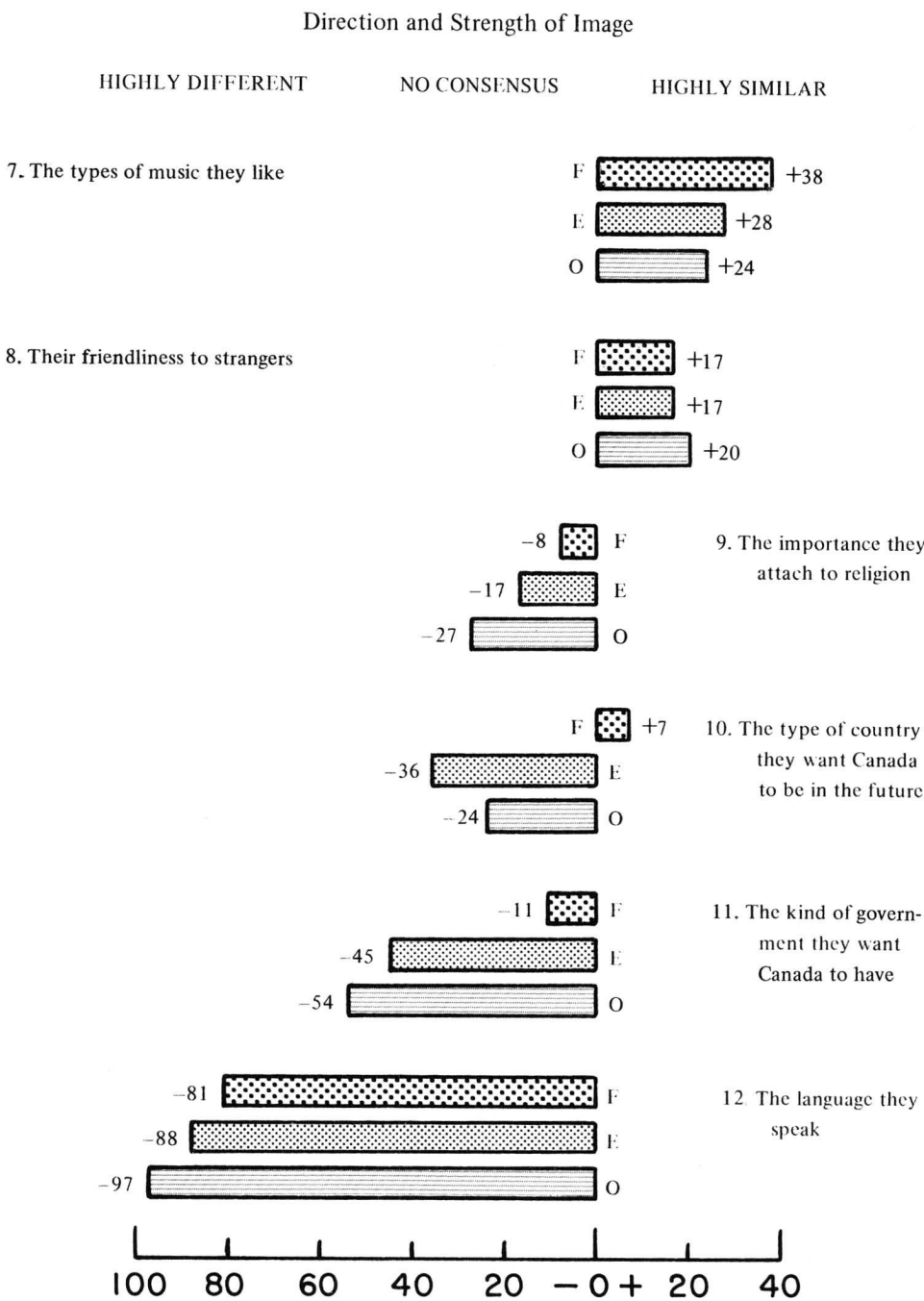
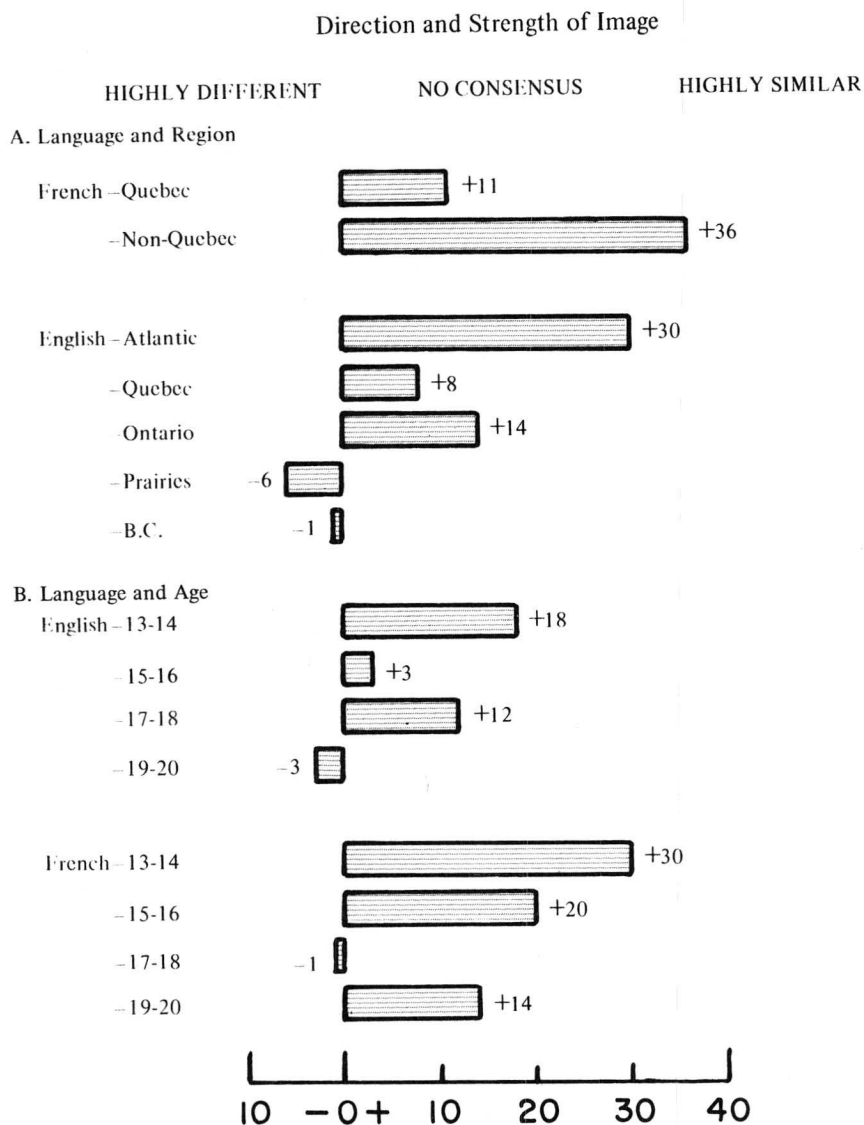


Figure I-6. Regional Variations and Age Differences in Perceived Similarity of Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, by language spoken at home



The responses elicited by these questions are reported in Table I-18, and indicate sharp differences of perspective among the three groups. The key finding here is that many more Anglophones felt closer ties to Americans than to French Canadians. Although already suggested by the responses to previous questions, this tendency is brought into sharp focus here: when forced to choose, better than two-thirds of the Anglophones said they had more in common with Americans and only one in five identified with French Canadians. The "Others" moreover, strongly agreed with this appraisal, and in fact stated it even more sharply: they were 60 per cent more likely to identify English Canadians with Americans than with French Canadians, while the Anglophones themselves did so by a margin of just 48 per cent.

French views on this were considerably different. Although more agreed with the appraisal than disagreed with it, they thought English Canadians' ties were with the French just 2 per cent less often than with Americans. Part B of the table illustrates the high degree of social-psychological difference in these appraisals. The Francophones felt they had more in common with English Canadians than with Americans, and by a margin as great as 39 per cent. Moreover, the other groups, and particularly the Anglophones, also thought they had.

Table I-18. Perception of Closeness of Ties between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, and Americans, by language spoken at home

A. Question 14. Who would you say have more in common—English-speaking Canadians and Americans or English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians?			
Responses	English	French	Other
English-speaking Canadians and Americans	68% ^a	41%	69%
English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians	20	39	9
I'm not sure	12	20	22
Total	100	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)
B. Question 27. Who have more in common—French-Canadians and Americans or French-Canadians and English-Canadians?			
French-Canadians and Americans	8% ^a	21%	10%
French-Canadians and English-Canadians	70	60	63
I'm not sure	21	19	27
Total	99	100	100
Base	(793)	(529)	(37)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Together, then, these reactions describe a grossly unbalanced set of relationships. The social orientation of the Anglophones crosses national lines much more frequently than ethnic lines, while that of the Francophones is exactly the reverse. The most interesting feature here, perhaps, is that this situation seemed to be clear to everyone: it was obvious

to the Anglophones and the "Others," and even the Francophones recognized it more often than not. The French did tend to overestimate the ties English Canadians felt toward them, and this can perhaps be interpreted as a reaction to the uncomfortable situation of recognizing attachments which are not reciprocated.

The results suggest a rather weak foundation for intergroup solidarity among Canadian young people. And while it would be foolish to suggest specific implications of this imbalance, it should be clear enough that a tendency to identify stronger social ties outside the national borders than within could become extremely significant in situations of either individual or collective cross-pressure.

To conclude the chapter, regional and age variations in these evaluations are reviewed in Figures I-7 and I-8. As with the ratings of French-English commonalities, Anglophones from the western regions less often identified themselves with the Francophones. When forced to choose, even the Atlantic Anglophones more often identified cross-nationally, and by a margin of 32 per cent. Nonetheless, the tendency was still much stronger in the Canadian West.

The two Francophone groups did not differ meaningfully when appraising English Canadian attachments, but they assessed the ties of their own group rather differently, and Quebec French were much less likely to perceive their primary ties within Canada. Anglophone assessments regarding French ties did not vary much from region to region, although they were particularly one-sided in British Columbia and Quebec, the same regions where Canadian-American similarities were rated the highest (Figure I-1). In other words, Anglophones in Quebec and British Columbia made both the strongest Canadian-American associations and the strongest French Canadian-American disassociations.

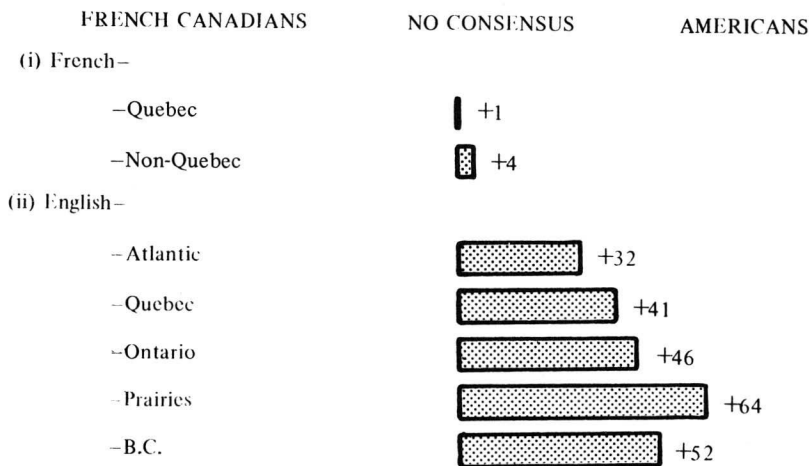
Finally, Figure I-8 shows extremely pronounced differences in these perspectives in various age groups. The most important finding here was that older Francophones were much more likely to rate English Canadians as closer to Americans. Over the teen years, then, Francophones appear to become much better informed on how English Canadians actually feel about this issue. At 13 and 14, most rated English Canadians as more closely tied to the French; at 19 and 20, the majority thought differently.

At the same time, however, the two older groups of Anglophones seemed to be more tentative about their ties with Americans, although still identifying solidly in that direction. This counter-trend is interesting, although its implications are not altogether clear. In Figures I-4 and I-6, for example, slight tendencies were noted for older Anglophone youth to see fewer common interests *both* between Americans and Canadians and between English and French Canadians. The trend in Figure I-8 probably does not reflect a growing tendency for English youth to feel they have more in common with French so much as it reflects their growing propensity to perceive themselves as nationally distinct. In this sense, the results suggest that over the adolescent years English youth perhaps become slightly more aware of the fact that one of the main things they do share with French Canadians is a common national identity.

Figure I-7. Regional Variations in Perception of Closeness of Ties between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, and Americans, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image

A. English-speaking Canadians have more in common with . . .



B. French-speaking Canadians have more in common with . . .

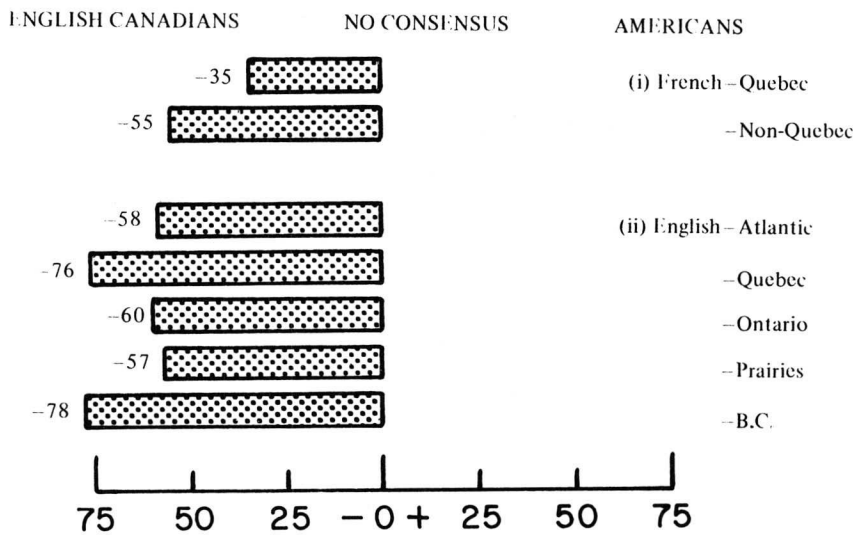
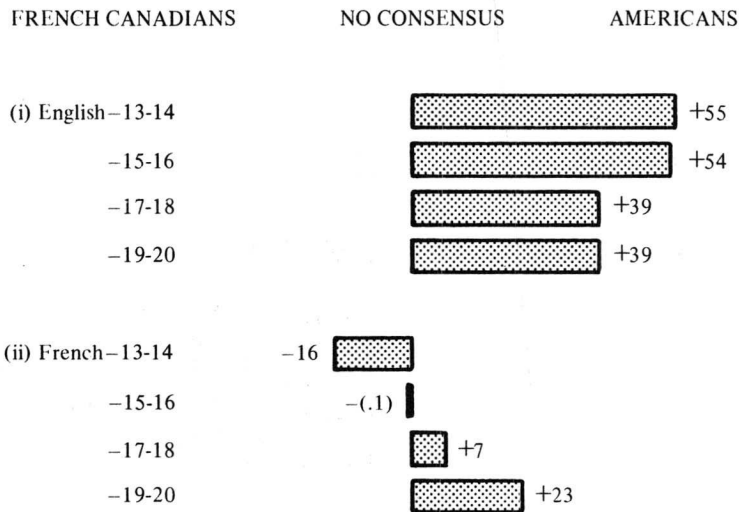


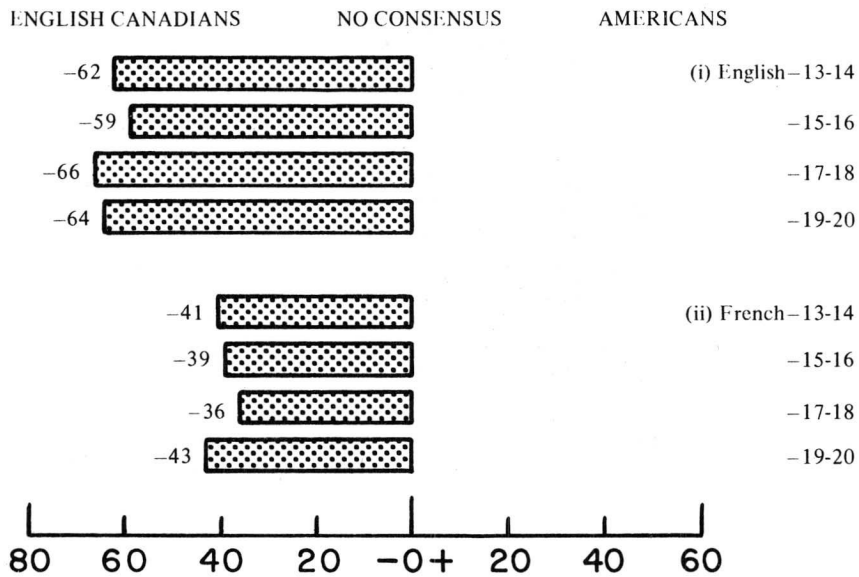
Figure I-8. Age Differences in Perception of Closeness of Ties between Anglophone and Francophone Canadians, and Americans, by language spoken at home

Direction and Strength of Image

A. English-speaking Canadians have more in common with . . .



B. French-speaking Canadians have more in common with . . .



The focus of attention now shifts from young people's perceptions of Canada as a whole to their impressions regarding social diversity in Canadian life. Once again the discussion is more concerned with beliefs than with feelings, and the evidence reviewed consists primarily of cognitive rather than affective reactions. Images of social diversity in Canada are discussed under three subheadings: the impressions young people have of the social and linguistic composition of the Canadian population; their opinions on the cohesiveness of various groups; and their opinions on relations between English and French.

Awareness of Social Diversity

As might well be imagined, a wide variety of groups were identified when respondents were asked to list the peoples, other than English or French, who lived in Canada (Question 24). Most young people listed between one and six groups, although some named many more than this and others were able to think of none at all.¹ Altogether, 7 per cent named more than 10 groups, 16 per cent named between seven and 10, 46 per cent named three to six, 18 per cent named one or two, and 14 per cent named none.

By way of introduction, Table II-1 reports the median number of groups identified by different young people. Part A of the table shows, first, that respondents who were themselves members of ethnic minorities were most aware of the existence of other minorities in Canada, and second, that the Francophones named fewer groups than did the Anglophones. The latter difference is large for comparisons of medians, and it suggests, there-

¹ Because the administration of the questionnaire was in most cases not closely supervised, it would have been possible for respondents to consult sources other than their memories when answering this question. There is no accurate way of determining how often this was actually done, but there was no evidence to suggest it was done frequently. Moreover, since different groups would have probably done so at uniform rates, it seems safe enough to make at least comparative statements regarding levels of social awareness.

fore, that of the three groups the Francophones were by far the least aware of the heterogeneity of their national social environment.

Part B indicates in addition that the Quebec Francophones were somewhat less well informed than their counterparts living in other provinces. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it turned out that this was the case only for Quebec Francophones living outside the Montreal area. Although not shown in the table, the medians for Francophones from Montreal and other parts of Quebec were, respectively, 3.62 and 2.09. Thus it was only the non-Quebec Francophones and the Quebec Francophones living outside Montreal whose entries were relatively less numerous.

Among the Anglophone groups, levels of awareness were higher in the West than the East, and were highest of all among those from the Prairies. This undoubtedly reflects the fact that the population living in western regions of Canada is more ethnically heterogeneous, and would suggest, therefore, that where ethnic minorities are more numerous in the local environment, more young people are aware of their existence.

Table II-1. Total Number of Groups Identified as Living in Canada, by language spoken at home, region and language spoken at home, and age and language spoken at home

Question 24. Besides the English and the French, what other groups of people do you know about who live in Canada?	
Median Number of Groups Named ^a	
Classification of Respondents	Median
A. Language spoken at home	
English (N=793)	4.26
French (N=529)	2.79
Other (N=37)	4.41
B. Region and language spoken at home	
French—Quebec (N=337)	2.74
—Non-Quebec (N=192)	3.05
English—Atlantic (N=122)	3.61
—Quebec (N=107)	4.34
—Ontario (N=291)	3.97
—Prairies (N=175)	5.41
—B.C. (N=98)	4.47
C. Age and language spoken at home	
English—13-14 (N=261)	3.88
—15-16 (N=260)	4.43
—17-18 (N=202)	4.41
—19-20 (N=68)	4.47
French—13-14 (N=161)	2.03
—15-16 (N=162)	2.85
—17-18 (N=140)	3.06
—19-20 (N=60)	3.23

^aMedians calculated from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Finally, Part C of the table shows higher levels of social awareness among older groups of respondents, particularly among the Francophones.

For the most part, these results line up as we would have expected, although it is revealing that the non-Montreal Francophones made noticeably fewer entries. However, it is not surprising to learn that Canada's social diversity is more visible to members of smaller ethnic minorities, or to young people living in areas of greater social heterogeneity.

These responses were also classified by the groups named, and Tables II-2 and II-3 thus indicate the relative visibility of specific minorities. The right-hand column in Table II-2 shows how frequently different groups were identified by the total sample, and indicates that only Italians were named by an actual majority (54 per cent). Almost half of the young people (48 per cent) noted the presence of Germans in Canada, and both non-French groups named Germans more frequently than they did Italians. For Francophones, Germans were considerably less obvious than Italians, but this again probably reflects differences in the location of these minorities throughout English- and French-speaking Canada.

Table II-2. Visibility of Specific Groups of People Living in Canada, by language spoken at home

Groups Named	Per Cent Who Named Different Groups ^a			Total Sample (N=1,359)
	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)	
(1) Italians	52	56	61	54
(2) Germans	58	23	72	48
(3) Chinese	38	31	30	36
(4) Europeans—unspecified or not elsewhere classified	30	34	31	31
(5) Polish	31	13	53	26
(6) Dutch	31	6	46	24
(7) Japanese	27	17	28	24
(8) Ukrainians	25	9	43	21
(9) Scandinavians	25	3	25	18
(10) Hungarians	15	11	35	15
(11) Irish	17	7	16	14
(12) Scottish	18	3	10	14
(13) Jews	12	21	19	14
(14) Russians	16	8	20	14
(15) Americans	10	13	2	11
(16) Negroes	11	11	9	11
(17) Indians—unspecified	13	4	8	10
(18) Greeks	9	10	18	10
(19) Eskimos	5	1	4	4
(20) Africans	4	4	—	4
(21) Indians—from India	3	2	—	3
(22) Australians	4	<i>b</i>	—	3
(23) Canadian Indians	3	1	4	3
(24) All other peoples	18	6	12	14

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bLess than one-half of 1 per cent.

Table II-3. Regional Variations in Visibility of Other Groups Living in Canada, by language spoken at home

Group	Per Cent Who Named Different Groups ^a						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
(1) Italians	59	43	48	66	65	31	53
(2) Germans	19	41	46	62	59	62	61
(3) Chinese	30	35	43	34	26	46	52
(4) Europeans—NEC.	36	26	19	38	34	26	33
(5) Polish	13	14	27	39	33	37	18
(6) Dutch	3	15	30	16	38	27	25
(7) Japanese	17	20	20	25	19	34	42
(8) Ukrainians	8	16	12	15	18	52	20
(9) Scandinavians	2	6	16	17	18	36	36
(10) Hungarians	11	11	16	29	15	16	12
(11) Irish	6	11	18	9	15	24	11
(12) Scottish	2	7	20	6	15	26	17
(13) Jews	21	20	12	23	12	11	6
(14) Russians	7	11	11	18	14	20	22
(15) Americans	14	9	10	7	10	12	10
(16) Negroes	11	10	6	9	10	15	11
(17) Indians—unspecified	2	10	13	15	11	16	15
(18) Greeks	12	3	13	17	7	8	8
(19) Eskimos	1	2	7	5	4	3	7
(20) Africans	4	4	4	9	5	5	3
(21) Indians—from India	1	4	4	3	3	1	6
(22) Australians	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	2	4	3	5	5
(23) Canadian Indians	<i>b</i>	1	4	7	2	2	4
(24) All others	5	9	15	8	14	21	30

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted group totals.

^bLess than one half of 1 per cent.

The listing corresponds moderately well to the size of various ethnic minorities in Canadian society, except that both Chinese and Japanese were cited relatively more often than would have been predicted by their numbers in the actual population. Of the 23 different groups classified, the Chinese were named third most frequently, and the Japanese seventh.

Table II-2 also indicates several sharp differences in the rates at which specific peoples were identified by members of the three language groups. The most typical pattern was for groups to be listed most often by the "Others," second most often by the Anglophones, and least often by the Francophones. This was especially pronounced in the case of people of European origin, and in particular Germans, Dutch, Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, and Russians. Francophones, on the other hand, were a little more likely than the others to list "Europeans" without making reference to specific national origins.

These responses are also reviewed by region in Table II-3, and marked discrepancies may be noted within practically all categories. The main tendency here was for groups to be named most often in those regions where they are actually most numerous. Thus Italians were identified relatively more often by young people from Ontario and Quebec, Chinese and Japanese more often by the British Columbia Anglophones, and Ukrainians very much more often by Anglophones from the Prairies. These detailed breakdowns add few new insights, and their major contribution is simply to confirm that young people were better informed about the social make-up of their own region.

While it is difficult to decide whether these patterns of response represent high or low levels of social awareness, one could at least conclude that the larger ethnic minorities in Canada are visible to sizable numbers of young people from the two main cultures. Levels of awareness also appear to increase with age, but the most important finding here is that awareness is influenced markedly by the demographic features of particular regions. On the whole, Francophones were less aware than Anglophones of the presence of other minorities in Canada, but in Montreal, where their chances for intergroup contacts are higher, they were no less well informed than many Anglophones. The results suggest that young people derive their impressions of the social diversity of Canadian society more often from direct personal experiences than from other sources.

A second indicator of social awareness was provided by the estimates young people made of the linguistic composition of the Canadian population. Respondents were asked to guess how many Canadians out of every 10 spoke English, French, or a language other than English or French as their first language (Question 23). According to the breakdowns by mother tongue in the census of 1961,² answers of five or six English, two or three French, and one or two persons speaking other languages would be correct. The responses were therefore scored in this fashion, and the results are reported in Tables II-4 through II-6.

The most important single finding in Table II-4 is that all three groups showed a marked tendency to overestimate their own numbers. Forty-three per cent of the Anglophones gave accurate estimates of their numbers, but almost as many (38 per cent) estimated too high; the Francophones' estimates were almost identical—44 and 37 per cent; and the "Others" were only a little more accurate about themselves—50 per cent estimating correctly and 27 per cent too high.

As it turned out, then, no group made its most accurate judgement about itself. The best estimate of the English-speaking population was made by the "Others" (49 per cent correct), while the Anglophones were the best at estimating the numbers speaking French and other languages (63 and 76 per cent, respectively).

To sum up, all three groups saw themselves as more numerous than they actually were, very infrequently underestimated themselves, and were in general more accurate in appraising other groups than themselves.

These estimates did not show much regional variation, although Table II-5 indicates one or two differences worth noting. First, the Francophones outside Quebec were somewhat more accurate in assessing the size of the English-speaking population, although they

²The distribution of population by mother tongue in 1961 was 58 per cent English, 28 per cent French, and 13 per cent other languages.

Table II-4. Awareness of Linguistic Composition of Canadian Population, by language spoken at home

Question 23. Out of every ten Canadians how many would you guess speak English (French, a language other than English or French) as their first language?			
Per Cent Making Different Estimates ^a			
Accuracy of Answers	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
A. How many speak English?			
Accurate answer (5-6)	43	34	49
High estimate	38	22	15
Low estimate	10	29	16
No estimate made	9	14	19
Total	100	99	99
B. How many speak French?			
Accurate answer (2-3)	63	44	48
High estimate	11	37	13
Low estimate	18	4	19
No estimate made	9	14	19
Total	101	99	99
C. How many speak other languages?			
Accurate answer (1-2)	76	71	50
High estimate	10	8	27
Low estimate	5	7	3
No estimate made	9	14	19
Total	100	100	99

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

were no more likely than their counterparts from Quebec to estimate correctly either themselves or the "Others." The Quebec Anglophones were least often correct in judging their own numbers and most likely to over-represent the French. In both these cases, however, the margins were only slight.

By comparison, the variations by age were much more pronounced. Although no large or consistent age trend was observed among the Anglophones, Table II-6 shows that older Francophones were a great deal more likely than their juniors to over-estimate the Anglophones. These errors increased steadily from rates of 11 per cent among the youngest group to 39 per cent among those just entering their twenties. The perceptual distortions of French young people thus showed a remarkable shift during adolescence: those just entering their teens were about three times more likely to over-represent themselves than to over-represent the English (36 per cent compared with 11 per cent), while for those just entering adulthood the errors were predominantly in the opposite direction (27 per cent

Table II-5. Regional Variations in Awareness of Linguistic Composition of Canadian Population, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Making Different Estimates ^a							
Accuracy of Answers	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A. How many speak English?							
Accurate answer (5-6)	32	44	42	36	46	38	54
High estimate	24	16	41	39	31	47	39
Low estimate	30	25	10	19	12	9	6
No estimate made	14	16	7	6	11	6	10
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	99
B. How many speak French?							
Accurate answer (2-3)	44	46	65	63	64	57	68
High estimate	38	37	15	18	8	13	8
Low estimate	5	2	13	13	18	24	14
No estimate made	14	16	7	6	11	6	10
Total	101	101	100	100	101	100	100
C. How many speak other languages?							
Accurate answer (1-2)	71	71	77	83	72	81	81
High estimate	7	10	6	10	12	10	5
Low estimate	8	4	10	1	5	3	4
No estimate made	14	16	7	6	11	6	10
Total	100	101	100	100	100	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

and 39 per cent). In effect, then, it would appear that during the adolescent years Franco-phones not only become aware of the dominance of the English language in Canadian society, but are so impressed by this fact that they see themselves more in the minority than they really are.

Areas of Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Life

Impressions about national unity were measured by asking young people the extent to which they thought different groups in Canada would agree on questions regarding Canada's future (Questions 4 to 10). These assessments were first made for Canadians as a whole, and then separately for six pairs of subgroups—Westerners and Easterners, Roman Catholics and Protestants, French and English, native-born and foreign-born, rich and poor, and urban

Table II-6. Age Differences in Awareness of Linguistic Composition of Canadian Population, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Making Different Estimates ^a								
Accuracy of Answers	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=160)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A. How many speak English?								
Accurate answer (5-6)	45	41	37	53	37	33	35	30
High estimate	36	37	42	40	11	17	28	39
Low estimate	12	11	10	7	30	37	24	22
No estimate made	8	11	11	1	22	13	13	9
Total	101	100	100	101	100	100	100	100
B. How many speak French?								
Accurate answer (2-3)	66	57	63	72	42	38	47	56
High estimate	12	14	7	8	36	45	34	27
Low estimate	14	19	20	19	—	4	7	8
No estimate made	8	11	11	1	22	13	13	9
Total	100	101	101	100	100	100	101	100
C. How many speak other languages?								
Accurate answer (1-2)	78	74	75	84	61	75	71	80
High estimate	9	10	9	11	9	6	10	2
Low estimate	5	5	5	4	7	6	7	8
No estimate made	8	11	11	1	22	13	13	9
Total	100	100	100	100	99	100	101	99

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

and rural. The replies, therefore, can be meaningfully interpreted either separately—as estimates of levels of agreement or disagreement between groups—or comparatively—as the dimensions perceived as more and less threatening to Canadian national unity.

Table II-7 reports the percentage distributions of response on all seven questions, and also shows the mean level of consensus for each dimension. These mean scores were calculated by assigning values of between one and five to the different responses, one representing appraisals of great agreement, and five appraisals of great dissent. The range of possible group scores, therefore, is between 1.00 and 5.00, with lower scores indicating higher estimates of consensus. Mean scores lower than 3.00 thus represent deviations in the direction of consensus, while scores higher than 3.00 indicate that the groups were more often seen to disagree than to agree. The issue here is whether the scores deviated above or below 3.00—the threshold between images of consensus and dissent.

Table II-7. Areas of Perceived Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Society, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a			
A. Canadians in General. Question 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?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
They'd agree on practically everything	5	6	1
They'd agree on most things	39	31	33
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	35	36	49
They'd disagree on most things	10	14	10
They'd disagree on practically everything	2	4	—
I'm not sure	8	8	7
Total	99	99	100
Mean ^b	2.63	2.78	2.74
B. Regions. Question 5. How about people from Eastern Canada and people from Western Canada—would they agree or disagree on most questions about Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	3	7	1
They'd agree on most things	25	23	14
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	35	32	43
They'd disagree on most things	20	15	11
They'd disagree on practically everything	5	5	1
I'm not sure	13	18	30
Total	101	100	100
Mean	2.98	2.85	2.96
C. Religion. Question 6. How about Roman Catholics and Protestants—would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	9	16	13
They'd agree on most things	35	30	20
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	29	21	22
They'd disagree on most things	11	12	21
They'd disagree on practically everything	3	6	4
I'm not sure	12	16	20
Total	99	101	100
Mean	2.61	2.54	2.78

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bBased on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

Table II-7.—(Continued)

Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a			
D. Ethnicity. Question 7. How about French-speaking Canadians and English-speaking Canadians—would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
They'd agree on practically everything	3	10	2
They'd agree on most things	16	26	3
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	32	30	37
They'd disagree on most things	28	18	28
They'd disagree on practically everything	13	9	22
I'm not sure	8	8	8
Total	100	101	100
Mean ^b	3.35	2.89	3.72
E. Birthplace. Question 8. How about people born in Canada and people born outside Canada—would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	9	15	6
They'd agree on most things	34	34	34
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	27	21	37
They'd disagree on most things	11	9	4
They'd disagree on practically everything	3	6	—
I'm not sure	17	15	18
Total	101	100	99
Mean	2.59	2.49	2.48
F. Social Class. Question 9. How about people from rich families and people from poor families—would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
They'd agree on practically everything	8	12	6
They'd agree on most things	25	24	22
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	31	30	24
They'd disagree on most things	20	15	23
They'd disagree on practically everything	7	9	6
I'm not sure	9	11	19
Total	100	101	100
Mean	2.93	2.85	2.98

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bBased on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

Table II-7.—(Continued)

Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a			
G. Place of Residence. Question 10. What about people from the big cities and people from the rural areas—would they agree or disagree on Canada's future?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
They'd agree on practically everything	5	12	6
They'd agree on most things	30	32	29
They'd agree on half and disagree on half	33	28	26
They'd disagree on most things	18	13	25
They'd disagree on practically everything	4	4	4
I'm not sure	11	10	10
Total	101	99	100
Mean ^b	2.85	2.61	2.91

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bBased on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

The first result to be noted in Table II-7 is that considerably more dimensions were rated as areas of consensus than as sources of potential cleavage. Of 18 mean scores of intergroup agreement, 16 were lower than 3.00 and, in addition, all three groups felt that Canadians in general would agree more often than disagree. Part A of the table shows that ratings of agreement outnumbered those of disagreement by as much as 44 to 12 among the Anglophones, 37 to 18 among the Francophones and 34 to 10 among the "Others." In the main, then, these evaluations could be said to reflect images of a basically cohesive social fabric.

One rather striking contrast in the response patterns of the English and French was the reversal of their positions when rating the population as a whole and specific groups within the population. On the global assessment the Anglophones saw relatively greater consensus, while on all six comparisons between subgroups, levels of agreement were rated higher by the French. This reversal is not easily accounted for, although there is some reason to believe that the question on overall consensus may have conveyed different meanings to members of the two groups. Because of their relative numbers in the population, for example, it is likely that many more Anglophones than Francophones thought about relations within their own language group when they were confronted with this question.

Of the seven sets of responses, then, only one contained ratings indicating serious dissent, both non-French groups rating levels of agreement between English and French decidedly below the threshold of consensus. On this dimension, Part D of Table II-7 shows that evaluations of disagreement outnumbered those of consensus by ratios of 41 to 19 among the Anglophones, and by as much as 50 to five among the "Others." Francophones, by comparison, saw a much higher level of consensus possible between the two cultural groups, although they too rated this dimension lowest of the six. The average rating of the Francophones, however, fell above the threshold of consensus (2.89), with more seeing the two groups in agreement than in disagreement (36 per cent compared with 27 per cent).

Over and above this discrepancy, the three groups made similar appraisals on the areas of high and low consensus in Canadian life. This tendency can be much more clearly noted when the average ratings are ranked.

English	French	Other
1. Birthplace (2.59)	1. Birthplace (2.49)	1. Birthplace (2.48)
2. Religion (2.61)	2. Religion (2.54)	2. Religion (2.78)
3. Urban-rural (2.63)	3. Urban-rural (2.61)	3. Urban-rural (2.91)
4. Social class (2.93)	4. Social class (2.85)	4. Region (2.96)
5. Region (2.98)	5. Region (2.85)	5. Social class (2.98)
6. French-English (3.35)	6. French-English (2.89)	6. French-English (3.72)

Except for inversions at the fourth and fifth positions, these rankings are identical.

These data suggest the following conclusions:

1. All groups of young people recognized that English-French differences of opinion posed the strongest threat to Canadian national unity.
2. Regional differences and differences between economic classes were regarded as the next most threatening problems.
3. All three groups agreed that consensus would be highest between native and foreign-born, second highest between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and third highest between people from the big cities and the rural areas.
4. The English and French made quite different appraisals of their differences of opinion regarding Canada's future. Anglophones saw the two groups as definitely in disagreement on this score, while Francophones were considerably more optimistic that agreement could be found. The "Others" were again closer to the English than the French position in these views, although they perceived even greater differences here than did the English.

These ratings are also reviewed by region in Table II-8. Several points of difference may be noted in the reactions of Francophones living in Quebec and in other provinces: the non-Quebec French saw considerably higher levels of agreement among Canadians as a whole (+.20), between Easterners and Westerners (+.19), and between English and French (+.12), but were considerably more likely to think place of birth a source of cleavage in Canadian life (-.20). Compared with the Quebec French, in other words, Francophones living outside their region of cultural dominance viewed Canadian national unity as relatively less threatened by differences of opinion between French and English, and relatively more threatened by those between immigrants and native-born groups.

Among the Anglophones, interestingly, a very similar pattern characterized the responses of young people from the Atlantic Provinces. They were less likely than other Anglophone groups to see East-West or French-English differences of opinion on goals for Canada, but much more likely to see disagreements between native- and foreign-born peoples. The most important regional variations in perspectives on national unity, then, were that both the Atlantic Anglophones and the non-Quebec Francophones tended to understate divergences of opinion between the "charter" Canadian groups, and overstate differences between New Canadians and native-born Canadians.

Table II-8. Regional Variations in Levels of Perceived Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Society, by language spoken at home

Mean Scores on Measures of Perceived Consensus ^a							
Dimension	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
Canadians as a whole	2.81	2.61	2.59	2.78	2.65	2.58	2.68
Region							
Eastern Canadians and Western Canadians	2.89	2.70	2.79	2.96	3.01	3.03	2.97
Religion							
Protestants and Roman Catholics	2.54	2.62	2.63	2.66	2.54	2.69	2.61
Ethnicity							
French and English	2.91	2.79	3.21	3.37	3.25	3.58	3.37
Birthplace							
Canadian born and foreign born	2.46	2.66	2.80	2.37	2.59	2.47	2.65
Social Class							
Rich and poor	2.85	2.85	2.90	2.91	2.99	2.98	2.71
Place of residence							
Urban and rural	2.62	2.58	2.95	2.97	2.88	2.81	2.69

^aBased on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

Turning now to the comparisons by age, the figures for Anglophone youth are impressive in their stability (Table II-9). Although the older ones saw slightly less overall consensus among Canadians, the figures for the six intergroup comparisons suggest no significant changes of perspective during the teen years. Rank-order comparisons among the four age groups, in fact, revealed an extremely high concordance of ratings.³ Definite shifts of emphasis may be detected among Francophone youth, on the other hand, and the concordance of their ratings was lower than that found for Anglophones.⁴ Although the trends are not perfectly linear, older Francophones were nonetheless more likely than their juniors to see divergences of opinion between ethnic and social-class groupings, and to see relatively more consensus between religious groups and native- and foreign-born persons.

To sum up, the findings in this section add further support to the conclusion that the years between 13 and 20 are extremely critical to French Canadian young people in the development of a collective identity. During these years Francophones realize not only their position as members of a minority culture in Canada, but also more ways in which their perspectives on Canada differ from those of the dominant group.

³ $W = .91$. This statistic, Kendall's coefficient of concordance, indicates the ratio of observed agreement among ranked judgements to the total possible agreement.

⁴ $W = .64$.

Table II-9. Age Differences in Levels of Perceived Consensus and Cleavage in Canadian Society, by language spoken at home

Mean Scores on Measures of Perceived Consensus ^a								
Dimension	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=160)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
Canadians as a whole	2.78	2.90	2.84	2.92	2.58	2.64	2.57	2.67
Region								
Eastern Canadians and Western Canadians	2.88	3.08	3.03	2.83	2.67	2.88	2.65	2.94
Religion								
Protestants and Roman Catholics	2.64	2.64	2.53	2.59	2.76	2.39	2.59	2.41
Ethnicity								
French and English	3.31	3.36	3.38	3.37	2.82	2.80	2.90	3.16
Birthplace								
Canadian born and foreign born	2.56	2.54	2.70	2.57	2.67	2.43	2.42	2.42
Social class								
Rich and poor	2.89	2.98	2.90	2.96	2.74	2.86	2.82	3.01
Place of Residence								
Urban and rural	2.78	2.90	2.84	2.92	2.58	2.64	2.57	2.67

^aBased on scores of 1-5 with low scores indicating higher levels of perceived agreement. Excludes those with no opinions.

Relations between the Two Cultures—Present and Future

Young people were also asked to rate the quality of present relations between the two cultures and the prospects for improved relations both in the immediate and distant future (Questions 37 to 39). These opinions are reviewed in Tables II-10 to II-12.

First, from Part A of Table II-10, it is clear that very few young people regarded the present state of English-French relations in Canada as particularly amicable. Considerably more rated them as "poor" than as "good": the pluralities here are 25 per cent among the "Others," 18 per cent among the Anglophones, and 7 per cent among the Francophones.

This pattern is therefore quite consistent with that found in the previous section, and the results confirm that intercultural relations were viewed as least strained by the French, and as least harmonious by members of the smaller ethnic minorities.

It was in their interpretations of the direction of short-run changes in these relations, however, that the three groups differed most radically (Part B, Table II-10). More Francophones saw relations as improving than as worsening (by a margin of 28 per cent), while both other groups viewed the situation as worsening, the Anglophones by a margin of

14 per cent, the "Others" by 21 per cent. Here again, the "Others" were the most pessimistic.

Table II-10. Perception of Relations between English and French, by language spoken at home

A. Question 37. Right now, how good would you say relations are between English Canadians and French Canadians—would you say good, fair or poor?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Good	12% ^a	15%	8%
Fair	52	53	53
Poor	30	22	33
I'm not sure	6	10	6
Total	100	100	100
B. Question 38. Right now, would you say that English-French relations in Canada are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?			
Getting better	22% ^a	41%	9%
Getting worse	36	13	30
Staying about the same	33	30	51
I'm not sure	10	15	9
Total	101	99	99
C. Question 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?			
Get better	47% ^a	57%	40%
Get worse	21	10	21
Stay about the same	14	14	10
I'm not sure	18	18	29
Total	100	99	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

In sharp contrast, Part C of Table II-10 indicates that all three groups saw an improved situation when they thought ahead a decade. In other words, both the Anglophones and the "Others" completely reversed their short-run interpretations, although here again the Francophones were the most optimistic and the "Others" least so.

To recapitulate, all groups of young people agreed that present relations between the two main Canadian groups were not as good as they might be, but they disagreed sharply on when an improvement might be expected. In the eyes of French youth, the situation was already improving, while both other groups saw no improvement in the immediate future. On all three evaluations, the French viewed intergroup relations most favourably, and the "Others" regarded them as most tenuous.

Unsurprisingly, marked discrepancies turned up when these assessments were examined region by region. Table II-11 indicates first that, of the two Francophone groups, those from Quebec saw current relations as more strained and also held more pessimistic views concerning prospects for both the immediate and long-range future. Although the groups differed by just 4 per cent in appraising current relations as favourable, the Quebec Francophones were 10 per cent more likely to rate them as "poor" than as "good," while for those living outside Quebec the balance was 5 per cent in the opposite direction. A similar index—the difference in the proportions who viewed the situation as improving and worsening—can be employed to summarize interpretations regarding change, and on both of these indicators the reactions of the non-Quebec French turned out to be the more optimistic (by +37 to +26 per cent in the short run, and by +52 to +45 in the more distant future). At the same time, however, it is meaningful that even the Quebec Francophones regarded the direction of current changes much more often as favourable than unfavourable.

Table II-11. Regional Variations in Perception of Relations between English and French, by language spoken at home

Responses	Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a						
	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
A. Relations right now							
Good	14	18	19	15	11	10	8
Fair	51	62	44	58	56	49	56
Poor	24	13	27	23	27	35	32
No opinion	11	7	9	3	6	6	5
Total	100	100	99	99	100	100	101
B. Direction of changes right now							
Getting better	39	50	25	15	24	19	17
Getting worse	13	13	36	41	32	37	39
Staying about the same	32	23	27	40	34	32	38
No opinion	15	14	12	4	10	11	6
Total	99	100	100	100	100	99	100
C. Changes over next ten years							
Get better	56	60	50	53	49	42	44
Get worse	11	8	20	11	21	25	15
Stay about the same	14	14	14	18	13	14	16
No opinion	18	18	16	19	16	19	25
Total	99	100	100	101	99	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Western Anglophone youth assessed the present situation much less favourably than those living in eastern regions. The proportions who described relations as "good" declined progressively from a high of 19 per cent among the Atlantic Anglophones to a low of 8 per cent among those from British Columbia. This trend is also reflected in the balance between the extreme ratings (per cent "good" minus per cent "poor"), these scores being -8 per cent for the Atlantic and Quebec groups, -16 per cent among those from Ontario, -25 per cent for the Prairies group, and -24 per cent among British Columbians. To sum up, all Anglophone groups viewed English-French relations more negatively than positively, but those furthest removed from French Canada were the ones particularly likely to do so.

A quite different kind of regional pattern was reflected in the evaluations regarding change. Here the east-to-west patterning was disrupted by the reactions of the Quebec English who, of the five Anglophone groups, were the most pessimistic about the short-run prospects for better relations, but were the most optimistic about long-term outcomes. Thus, while all five groups regarded the immediate future as unfavourable and the long-range prospects as positive, the Quebec Anglophones were most extreme in their reactions.

Finally, Table II-12 shows that older adolescents were a little more likely to perceive intergroup relations as strained. This tendency can be detected in the reactions of both language groups, although it is less consistent and less pronounced among the Anglophones. Among the Francophones however, the balance between "good" and "poor" ratings shifts progressively from a positive assessment of 7 per cent among the 13- and 14-year olds to a negative balance of 15 per cent among those entering their twenties. Parts B and C of the table, on the other hand, indicate no important shifts with age in evaluations concerning the future, although Part C does suggest that older Anglophone youth may have been a little more likely to hold optimistic views on the long-range prospects for French-English relations.

In conclusion, the most important finding here is that English and French youth, while sharing similar views on the state of present relations between their groups, made radically different assessments of the direction in which these relations were moving. In all regions of the country and in all stages of adolescence the Anglophones viewed intergroup relations as worsening while the Francophones saw them as getting better.

Table II-12. Age Differences in Perception of Relations between English and French, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a								
Responses	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=160)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
A. Relations right now								
Good	12	11	14	10	22	12	13	12
Fair	55	50	49	58	52	55	53	52
Poor	26	32	31	32	15	22	24	27
No opinion	8	7	6	—	11	10	9	8
Total	101	100	100	100	100	99	99	99
B. Direction of changes right now								
Getting better	22	23	25	13	43	38	44	41
Getting worse	40	31	34	37	10	18	14	8
Staying about the same	30	34	31	44	32	21	32	40
No opinion	9	12	10	6	16	23	10	11
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	100
C. Changes over next ten years								
Get better	43	47	49	51	61	54	57	57
Get worse	21	21	20	19	8	11	10	15
Stay about the same	16	14	11	17	13	15	17	11
No opinion	20	19	19	12	18	20	16	18
Total	100	101	99	99	100	100	100	101

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Chapter III Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism—I: Commitment to Bilingual Goals for Canada*

The next two chapters deal with the question of bilingualism. First we shall examine young people's attitudes on the use of two languages in Canadian society and their readiness to see bilingualism extended within Canada. Chapter IV deals with the ways in which young people think bilingualism is useful to them, and their motives for becoming bilingual.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section introduces the measures used to tap attitudes regarding bilingualism among both Anglophones and Francophones and reports the results. The second section shows how these attitudes vary among young people in different stages of adolescence, from different regions and social backgrounds, and with different aspirations for the future. Regional differences are discussed further in the third section, where an analysis is presented of the impact of contacts on attitudes. Finally, levels of bilingual facility among young people are examined, the connections between language facility, intergroup contacts, and dispositions regarding bilingualism are explored.

Measures of Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism

Although the survey did not confront young people with direct questions on their feelings regarding other groups of people living in Canada, their attitudes were at least indirectly investigated in the section of the questionnaire dealing with attitudes towards the other language. Indeed, since language constitutes the greatest difference between the two main groups under study here, a case could be made that reactions to the other language would largely coincide with reactions to the group itself.

* Parts of this chapter and the next were prepared in collaboration with Jean-Claude Willig, and some of the results also appear in Willig's paper "Canadian Youth and Bilingualism: Choice or Necessity?" unpublished M.A. research paper, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1965.

Attitudes to the other language were measured by asking respondents to endorse or reject a series of positions regarding desirable bilingual practices or goals for Canada. These positions covered the mandatory teaching of English and French in Canadian schools, the desirability of having road signs displayed in two languages throughout Canada, acceptance of the constitutional position of Canada's two official languages, acceptance of the ideal of a fully bilingual population, and reactions to the suggestion that Canadian citizens have some non-utilitarian obligation to acquire facility in both official languages (*see* Question 36).

A comment or two should be made here regarding the probable meanings these questions would have for Anglophone and Francophone respondents. There is little doubt that several of the positions are in advance of current bilingual practices and would improve the status and usage of French. Indeed, if bilingual road signs were introduced throughout Canada, there would be many more additions of French than of English. For the most part, the Francophones would have considerably more to gain than their Anglophone counterparts in endorsing these positions. How should the reactions to the question be interpreted? Those of Anglophone respondents could probably be labelled as "tolerance" (or "intolerance") for extended use of the "other language" in Canada; the reactions of the French, on the other hand, as convictions that one's own language should be accorded more widespread use in the nation. In any event, the questions undoubtedly conveyed different connotations to members of the two language groups, and we could therefore expect considerably higher rates of endorsement from the French.

Table III-1 reports the incidence of favourable reactions on each of the five statements, positive dispositions being indicated on some statements by agreement and on others by disagreement. In all cases we have interpreted "no opinion" answers as reflecting a negative response. Finally, because two of the statements were phrased differently on the English and French versions of the questionnaire, the table notes separately the responses of French youth who answered English-language forms.

As we expected, the figures indicate that all five positions were endorsed considerably more often by Francophones than Anglophones. In addition, they show that the reactions of the "Others" were again closer to the English position than to the French.

The reactions of Anglophone youth indicate what could at best be assessed as a modest level of linguistic tolerance. They approved only two positions—that a fully bilingual population would be a good thing for Canada, and that both languages should be taught as required subjects in all Canadians schools—while on the other three statements their responses hovered close to an even split between support and non-support. Moreover, whereas 81 per cent endorsed the ideal of a fully bilingual population for Canada, only 45 per cent acknowledged any obligation to become bilingual themselves, a rather marked discrepancy between a stated ideal and a readiness to act on it. Similar discrepancies may be noted in the responses of the Francophone groups, but these are considerably smaller than among the Anglophones (22 per cent compared with 36 per cent).

On all five positions, the French revealed the higher levels of commitment, and on four of the five, the highest rates of all were found among the small group of Francophones who answered English-language questionnaires. Most of the French who filled out English forms lived in predominantly English-speaking provinces, where Francophone

youth were somewhat more likely to hold strong convictions regarding bilingual goals for Canada.

Table III-1. Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism in Canada, by language spoken at home and language in which questionnaire answered

Per Cent Indicating Favourable Dispositions Regarding Bilingualism ^a				
Statement	English (N=781)	French Answered French Questionnaire (N=452)	French Answered English Questionnaire (N=77)	Other (N=35)
(1) "It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both French and English." (Per cent who agreed)	81	91	98	74
(2) "French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools." (Per cent who agreed)	65	86	92	63
(3) "As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language—English." (Per cent who disagreed)	58	—	94	59
"En ce qui me concerne, le Canada ne devrait avoir qu'une seule langue officielle: le français." (Per cent who disagreed)	—	70	—	—
(4) "It would be a good idea to have road signs printed in both English and French all over Canada." (Per cent who agreed)	54	86	80	60
(5) "There is no reason why an English-speaking Canadian should have to learn French if he is never going to use it." (Per cent who disagreed)	45	—	76	47
"Un Canadien de langue française ne devrait pas avoir à apprendre l'anglais s'il ne va jamais s'en servir." (Per cent who disagreed)	—	69	—	—

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

The most interesting feature about these responses is that the discrepancies in rates of endorsement between English and French vary markedly on different issues. When the two largest groups are compared, for example, the differences show little consistency:

Attitude	Per cent by which endorsement by French exceeded endorsement by English
(1) Bilingual population an asset for Canada	+10
(2) Canada should have two official languages	+12
(3) Mandatory instruction in all schools.	+21
(4) Individuals have obligation to become bilingual	+24
(5) Bilingual road signs a good idea	+32

These figures indicate a widening divergence of sentiment on the spheres more suggestive of behavioural implications and of change. The two groups are not too far apart in their views on whether a bilingual population would be a good thing for Canada, or in their acceptance of the existing constitutional position of French and English in Canadian society. They are considerably further apart, however, in their views on the teaching of two languages in school, and on the obligations that individuals have to become bilingual. And, curiously, they are furthest apart of all in their attitudes regarding bilingual road signs. On face value this latter position would seem to be an innocuous extension of French into English Canadian life, and its implications for young people would certainly be less direct than if French were made a compulsory subject in school. On the other hand, of the five situations posed, this one probably represents the most radical departure from current bilingual practices in English Canada, and it may simply be the novelty of the suggestion which produced the unenthusiastic reaction among the Anglophones. Indeed, French is already widely taught in schools throughout English Canada, whereas bilingual road signs are not found in many places outside Quebec. These results suggest, then, that English Canadians would find the use of French more acceptable if it were extended in areas where it is already established. All in all, the reactions of the Anglophone young people suggest that they generally recognize and accept Canada's other language but are not inclined to favour its spread.

Variations in Levels of Commitment to Bilingualism

I. Sex and Age

Next, we consider how linguistic attitudes vary among different groups of young people. To facilitate the analysis and reporting at this point, all five sets of responses are grouped together to form a single index of dispositions regarding bilingualism. Such a step is justified because the responses on the different statements were found to be highly correlated with one another, as indicated by the correlation matrices in Table III-2.¹ We may therefore infer that the set of statements probably does measure some common underlying disposition or reaction. As suggested earlier, there is some difficulty in naming this dimension precisely, but since the reactions of both language groups do reflect either favourable or unfavourable evaluations of bilingualism, we could at least label the combined responses as an indication of a "commitment to bilingualism," and, for Anglophone respondents, also linguistic tolerance.

The scores are reported separately for boys and girls in Table III-3. First, it should be noted that 24 per cent of the English and 49 per cent of the French reacted favourably to all five statements, and that 47 per cent of the English and 76 per cent of the French endorsed at least four of the five positions. In later sections of the chapter, persons who responded favourably on at least four of the five measures will be represented as revealing a high level of commitment to bilingualism for Canada.

¹ All of these relationships are statistically significant. Q is a non-parametric statistic, and can be interpreted as the percentage by which predictions about one attitude are improved over chance by knowing one's response on a second.

Table III-2. Interrelationships among Attitudes Regarding Bilingualism

Q Values					
A. Respondents who answered English-language questionnaires					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) French and English should be required subjects in all Canadian schools	—	+ .81	+ .40	— .77	— .75
(2) It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both French and English	—	—	+ .59	— .80	— .81
(3) It would be a good idea to have road signs printed in both English and French all over Canada	—	—	—	— .40	— .67
(4) There is no reason why an English-speaking Canadian should have to learn French if he is never going to use it	—	—	—	—	+ .73
(5) As far as I'm concerned, Canada should have just one official language—English	—	—	—	—	—
B. Respondents who answered French-language questionnaires					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
(1) Le français et l'anglais devraient être des sujets obligatoires dans toutes les écoles du Canada	—	+ .87	+ .70	— .63	— .73
(2) Ce serait une bonne idée si tous les Canadiens pouvaient parler français et anglais	—	—	+ .81	— .55	— .74
(3) Ce serait une bonne idée si les panneaux routiers étaient rédigés en anglais et en français partout au Canada	—	—	—	— .38	— .36
(4) Un Canadien de langue française ne devrait pas avoir à apprendre l'anglais s'il ne va jamais s'en servir	—	—	—	—	+ .73
(5) En ce qui me concerne, le Canada ne devrait avoir qu'une seule langue officielle: le français	—	—	—	—	—

Table III-3 also indicates that boys and girls differ considerably in their attitudes regarding bilingualism. Within both language groups, the girls—and especially the Anglophone girls—show higher rates of commitment than the boys. Among the Anglophones, 55 per cent of the girls show high commitment scores, compared to 39 per cent of the boys, while among the Francophones, the comparable proportions are 79 and 72 per cent. It is difficult to say whether these discrepancies indicate sex-linked differences in socio-political values or whether they simply reflect different attitudes towards learning languages. For example, it is often noted that girls show more aptitude for and interest in the humanistic and cultural subjects, while boys are more oriented to and skilful in the

theoretical and mechanical.² It may be that similar results would have been found had we measured attitudes towards the learning of any language.

Table III-3. Levels of Bilingual Commitment, by language spoken at home and sex

Number of Statements Endorsed Favourably	English			French		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Five	20% ^a	29%	24%	45%	52%	49%
Four	19	26	23	27	27	27
Three	18	17	17	16	12	13
Two	16	14	15	6	4	5
One	14	8	11	4	4	4
None	14	6	10	2	2	2
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100
Base	(402)	(390)	(792)	(226)	(302)	(528)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

Next, Table III-4 cross-classifies age with rates of high commitment. Here, countervailing trends are found in the responses of the two groups. The English commitment consistently declined with age, while the French increased. Again inferring longitudinal change from cross-sectional evidence, the results suggest that as Anglophones pass through adolescence their tolerance for bilingualism decreases, while over the same years Francophones come to feel more strongly about the position of their language in Canadian society. Members of the two cultures thus emerge from the adolescent years a good deal further apart in their views on bilingualism than they were when they entered this phase of life.

Table III-4. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and age

Per Cent with High Commitment ^a			
Age	English	French	Difference
13-14	51 (261)	73 (161)	-22
15-16	45 (260)	75 (162)	-30
17-18	45 (202)	77 (140)	-32
19-20	40 (68)	82 (60)	-42

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

² In studies of intelligence, males usually score higher on tests of mathematical reasoning and mechanical aptitude while females exceed males in vocabulary, verbal fluency, and general language skills. David Wechsler, *The Measurement of Adult Intelligence*, 4th ed. (New York, 1958).

II. Socio-economic Background

In Table III-5 rates of high commitment to bilingualism are reported in relation to three different indicators of socio-economic background: family income, father's occupation, and father's schooling. These figures clearly demonstrate that ethnicity contributes more to the determination of these responses than does social or economic position, since in all comparisons the Francophones have the markedly higher scores. English-French differences in attitudes regarding bilingualism, then, cannot be explained away simply as differences in the relative economic or social circumstances of the two groups.

Table III-5. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and indicators of socio-economic position

Per Cent with High Commitment ^a			
A. Total family income	English	French	Difference
Under \$4,000	51 (195)	71 (178)	-20
\$4,000 - 6,999	45 (307)	80 (178)	-35
\$7,000 and over	45 (195)	76 (70)	-31
B. Father's occupation	English	French	Difference
Farmers	42 (62)	73 (70)	-31
Semi-skilled and unskilled jobs	46 (215)	64 (151)	-18
Skilled tradesmen	49 (182)	79 (136)	-30
White-collar (proprietors, clerical and sales)	48 (201)	90 (106)	-42
Professional and managerial	44 (90)	74 (39)	-30
C. Father's schooling	English	French	Difference
8 years or less	47 (272)	71 (309)	-24
9 - 12 years	44 (301)	84 (129)	-40
13 years or more	53 (111)	89 (53)	-36

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

The more revealing feature suggested by these results, however, is the relationship between social position and language attitudes. Among the Anglophones the social position of the parents appears to have almost no impact at all on children's views regarding bilingualism. Rates of high commitment do not vary meaningfully along any of the three

dimensions identified, and what little differences there are tend to be highly inconsistent. The highest rates are found among those from the poorest families, those whose fathers went furthest in school, and those with fathers employed as skilled tradesmen or foremen, a category neither high nor low on the occupational prestige ladder.

For the Francophones, the results show a slight pattern, although here again the trends are not consistent. The rates on two of the dimensions are highest among persons from middle-status positions, by 4 per cent among those from middle-income families, and by as much as 11 per cent among those with fathers employed as small businessmen, and clerical and sales workers. On the other hand, the figures show an increment at each higher level of scholastic attainment of the respondents' fathers.

On the whole, these findings suggest that demands for linguistic equality in the national community are strongest among Francophone youth whose fathers are fairly well educated but who have achieved only a modest level of occupational and economic success. Middle-class Francophone youth, in short, have the strongest feelings on the language issue; because this commitment is not matched by a similar tendency among the Anglophones, it is middle-class young people from the two cultures who are furthest apart in their views on bilingualism in Canada. (Note the third column of figures in Table III-5.) All in all, however, social origins cannot be said to have a very substantial impact on the outlook of either group.

III. Expectations Regarding Future Social Position

In an age of rapid social and technological change it is perhaps more meaningful to examine young people's attitudes in relation to the social positions to which they are headed rather than those from which they have come. These two sets of statuses are by no means independent of one another, of course, but it is nonetheless true that today's young people will stay in school considerably longer than their parents did, and that the Canadian labour force is rapidly changing shape.

Table III-6 relates levels of commitment to bilingualism with young people's occupational and educational aspirations, the former classifying respondents by the occupation they hope for eventually, and the latter by the total number of years of schooling they expect to attain. These results describe a rather different pattern from that which emerged when we looked at the social position of parents. Here, among members of both groups, commitment to bilingualism rises fairly consistently as educational expectations and occupational aspirations rise. These trends are neither sharp nor perfectly linear, but they do reveal enough regularity to suggest that in the next generation of young Canadian adults those who are better educated and who occupy the more influential occupational positions will be most strongly committed to bilingualism in the national community. Thus, to the extent that educational levels are rising in both English and French Canada, it can perhaps be inferred that levels of commitment to these goals are rising moderately.

One dimension of considerable significance in the general study of ethnic tolerance and hostility is social mobility. Evidence has been repeatedly uncovered linking the degree and direction of social mobility with prejudice against minorities. Briefly reviewed, this evidence suggests first, that downward social mobility is usually accompanied by an increase in ethnic hostility; second, that rapid upward mobility—because of its disruptive

Table III-6. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and expectations regarding future socio-economic position

Per Cent with High Commitment ^a			
A. Educational expectations			
Total years of schooling respondent expects to attain	English	French	Difference
11 or less	40 (106)	69 (119)	-29
12 or 13	40 (193)	69 (120)	-29
14 or 15	46 (194)	79 (112)	-33
16 or 17	54 (189)	82 (81)	-28
18 or more	50 (105)	84 (78)	-34
B. Occupational aspirations			
Line of work respondent hopes to enter eventually	English	French	Difference
Semi-skilled, unskilled or farmer	44 (101)	69 (59)	-25
Skilled trade	34 (57)	74 (36)	-40
White-collar	48 (135)	76 (74)	-28
Professional or managerial	51 (399)	81 (257)	-30

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

impact on the individual—also works to increase prejudice; but third, that moderate upward mobility usually functions to increase tolerance.³ Although inferences regarding social mobility cannot be made from the results shown in Table III-6, a direct measure of anticipated social mobility can be obtained from our data by classifying respondents simultaneously by their own occupational aspirations and the occupations held by their fathers. From these cross-classifications, moreover, it is possible to extract a single measure which reflects the degree and direction of mobility. To derive these measures both sets of occupational titles were first divided into four groups to approximate different positions in the occupational prestige hierarchy. Professional and managerial occupations were placed at the top level of this scale, white-collar occupations at the second

³ Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Social Change and Prejudice* (New York, 1964), Chapter 2.

level, skilled trades third, and semi-skilled and unskilled occupations, plus farmers, at the bottom. When these two sets of occupational statuses are compared, individuals are classified by the hypothetical measures of mobility shown in Table III-7. Thus, someone whose father was a plumber and who wanted to be an electronics engineer would be said to be aiming two steps upward; if the same individual's father had been a lawyer, however, he would be classified as occupationally stable rather than mobile. In this way, then, the resulting measures reflect only the stability or change in occupational level across the two generations.

Table III-7. Method of Assigning Scores on Index of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility

Direction and Degree of Occupational Mobility				
Respondent's occupational aspirations	Father's Occupation			
	Professional or managerial	White-collar	Skilled trades	Semi-skilled or unskilled plus farmers
Professional or managerial	Stable	Up 1 step	Up 2 steps	Up 3 steps
White-collar	Down 1 step	Stable	Up 1 step	Up 2 steps
Skilled trades	Down 2 steps	Down 1 step	Stable	Up 1 step
Semi-skilled or unskilled work or farmer	Down 3 steps	Down 2 steps	Down 1 step	Stable

The relationship between anticipated mobility and attitudes regarding bilingualism is described for Anglophone boys in Table III-8. This analysis omits girls, because for them occupational goals are clearly of less salience than they are for boys and also because a large number of girls do not expect to enter the labour force. The analysis also excludes Francophone boys, since their attitudes to bilingualism are not being interpreted as indicators of ethnic tolerance.

For Anglophone boys, however, the findings are highly revealing and confirm all three propositions drawn from the literature on prejudice. They show that the lowest rates of tolerance occur among boys anticipating downward occupational mobility, that rates of tolerance increase as we move into positions reflecting occupational stability and moderate upward mobility, and finally, that the trend towards tolerance falls off among boys expecting a great deal of upward mobility. These trends are again not strong, but they do confirm that moderate upward social mobility is associated with a greater readiness to endorse an extension of French into English Canada. This also suggests that at least for the Anglophone boys, reactions to bilingualism are probably fairly good indicators of general dispositions regarding French Canadians.

Table III-8. Commitment to Bilingualism, by anticipated occupational mobility among Anglophone boys

Occupational Aspirations Compared with Father's Occupation	Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism ^a	Base
Higher by three steps	39	(47)
Higher by two steps	43	(50)
Higher by one step	44	(100)
Stable	35	(101)
Lower by one or more steps	31	(29)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

IV. Province and Region

Besides ethnicity, much the strongest predictor of commitment to bilingualism was found to be geography. This evidence is contained in Table III-9, where rates of high commitment are shown for Anglophones from five different regions, and for Francophones living both inside and outside Quebec.

Table III-9. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and province or region

Province or Region	Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism ^a	Base
A. English		
Quebec	61	(107)
Non-Quebec	46	(686)
Atlantic	63	(122)
Ontario	52	(291)
Prairies	35	(175)
British Columbia	28	(98)
B. French		
Quebec	74	(337)
Montreal metropolitan area	72	(134)
Other Quebec	76	(203)
Non-Quebec	82	(192)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

For the English sample, the figures describe a sharp decrease in favourable sentiment as one moves westward. This pattern is continuous from region to region and tends to accelerate as one moves further westward. Atlantic youth, interestingly, show the highest rates of favourable attitudes, although these are only 2 per cent higher than among Quebec Anglophones. Moving westward, the sharpest drop-off occurs between Ontario and the Prairies—from 52 per cent to 35 per cent. The trend then continues downward into British Columbia, where only 28 per cent revealed very favourable dispositions.

When the two Francophone groups are compared, slightly higher rates of commitment are found among those living outside Quebec. This result is a little surprising since it is the Quebec Francophones who have been the more vocal about French Canadian rights. On the whole, however, it would appear that strong feelings regarding the position and status of the French language in Canadian society are more widespread among French Canadian youth living in regions of predominantly English influence.

Commitment in both groups to a bilingual Canada is stronger among persons living outside their region of cultural dominance. For the Anglophones, the rates were 15 per cent higher among those living in Quebec rather than elsewhere, and, as just noted, they were 8 per cent higher among Francophones living in predominantly Anglophone provinces. The existence of such sharp regional variations suggests that attitudes to bilingualism may be influenced significantly by the extent of contact with the other culture. The relationship between contacts and commitment to bilingualism will therefore be explored at length later in the chapter.

V. Religion

Young Anglophones' attitudes on the language issue were also found to vary by religious background. Roman Catholic respondents showed considerably more tolerant attitudes than their Protestant counterparts (*see* Table III-10).

Table III-10. Commitment to Bilingualism among Anglophone Young People, by religion and region

Region	Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism ^a		
	Roman Catholics	Protestants	Difference
East (Atlantic Provinces)	72 (51)	57 (63)	+ 15
Central (Quebec and Ontario)	57 (150)	50 (211)	+ 7
West (Prairies and B.C.)	43 (65)	30 (194)	+ 13
All Canada	57 (266)	42 (468)	+ 15

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

Religious groups tend to be distributed quite unevenly throughout Canada, however, and because of this it is necessary to assess the influence of religious background by region. Table III-10 shows in addition that linguistic attitudes of both Protestants and Roman Catholics vary markedly from region to region. Levels of commitment for both groups are highest in the East and lowest in the West. Within all three regions Roman Catholics are still found to have the higher rates of commitment, although the discrepancy is considerably less pronounced in central Canada than in the East or West. More

importantly, however, the figures also indicate that Protestants from the Atlantic Provinces, Ontario, and Quebec are more tolerant than are Roman Catholics from western Canada. This demonstrates that the impact of region on bilingual attitudes is stronger than that of religion. It can therefore be concluded that both factors are related to attitudes on the language issue but that the influence of region is the more powerful. In combination, region and religion produce extremely wide discrepancies in rates of commitment to bilingualism: favourable dispositions are more than twice as likely to be found among eastern Roman Catholics as among western Protestants.

Intergroup Contact

Information was obtained from four questions about associations, ranging from intimate personal relationships to casual contacts in the community at large (Questions 32 to 35). Two of these deal with direct social relationships with individuals while the other two measure contacts in the wider social context of the neighbourhood or community.

Just how much contact do Anglophone and Francophone young people have with one another? Since these contacts would be expected to vary markedly depending on where one lives in Canada, Table III-11 reports their incidence separately for respondents living in Quebec and in other regions of the country. These results all line up in the expected directions, and confirm that contacts are indeed more prevalent for those living outside their region of cultural dominance. On all measures the rates are higher for the Anglophone youth who live in Quebec and for the Francophone young people living outside Quebec.

Table III-11 also shows that within regions of cultural dominance it is the French who are much more likely to have contacts with the other culture. Quebec Francophones rate 39 per cent higher than non-Quebec Anglophones on daily language exposure; 23 per cent higher on residential contacts; 19 per cent higher on contacts at school; and 19 per cent higher on friendships. Within regions of cultural dominance, in short, Anglophone young people are much more isolated from the Francophones than the French are from the English. This too is what we would have anticipated.

The most revealing figures in Table III-11 are those indicating rates of exposure to spoken French among Anglophone youth. Among those living outside Quebec, only 18 per cent reported hearing French spoken as often as once a week, and only 10 per cent reported hearing it daily. By comparison, considerably more reported contacts of other types. Eight per cent more said they had close friends who spoke French at home than reported even weekly exposure to spoken French (26 per cent compared with 18 per cent), and about twice as many said they knew French Canadians either at school or in the neighborhood than said they heard French spoken at least every week. These discrepancies make it quite evident that when Francophones and Anglophones meet, outside the province of Quebec, they necessarily speak English.

For Quebec Anglophones the pattern of contacts is quite different. Here, as one might expect, environmental contacts are much more frequent than personal encounters, with

the rates varying from 97 and 81 per cent for residential contacts and daily exposure to the other language, to 67 and 53 per cent for school contacts and intimate personal encounters. As far as cultural contacts are concerned, then, the main contact of Anglo-phones is environmental. Daily exposure to spoken French varies between 10 and 81 per cent outside and inside Quebec, a discrepancy which is both staggering and much larger than those occurring on other types of contact.

Table III-11. Frequency of Intergroup Contacts, by language spoken at home and region

Type of Contact	English		French ^a	
	Quebec	Non-Quebec	Quebec	Non-Quebec
A. Language exposure. Frequency of hearing the other language spoken in the community at large				
Practically every day	81% ^b	10%	49%	80%
Once or twice a week	11	8	22	14
Less than once a week	7	36	23	3
Never	1	47	6	3
Total	100	101	100	100
Base	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)
B. Residential contact. Knows of a family living within about a half a mile who speak the other language				
Yes	97%	39%	62%	74%
No	—	38	30	26
Not sure	3	24	8	—
Total	100	101	100	100
Base	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)
C. Contact at school. Has classmate who speaks other language at home (or had one when last in school)				
Yes	67%	35%	54%	68%
No	26	57	42	27
Not sure	7	8	4	6
Total	100	100	100	101
Base	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)
D. Close personal relationships. Has close friend who speaks other language at home				
Yes	53%	26%	45%	72%
No	47	74	55	28
Total	100	100	100	100
Base	(106)	(675)	(328)	(124)

^aOmits those who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

^bAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

The responses of the two Francophone groups show much less variation in the different types of encounters than among the Anglophone groups. The Quebec Francophones reported that the most frequent encounters were in the school and neighbourhood, but the rates of daily exposure to spoken English and of close personal contacts were not markedly below these. For those living outside Quebec, moreover, the variation was even narrower: rates of contact were high, and varied by only 12 percentage points across the four settings.

Additional insights regarding the nature of intergroup encounters for the two groups emerge when comparisons are made between the types of contacts inside and outside regions of cultural dominance. The preceding patterns for Quebec Francophones and non-Quebec Anglophones are not found among those living outside their own region. Comparisons between the non-Quebec Francophones and the Quebec Anglophones indicate that, when the two groups are equally exposed to the other language in the street and at school, 23 per cent more Anglophones report living close to Francophones, while 19 per cent more of the Francophones have friendships with Anglophone youth. These findings are interesting, and suggest that French Canadian young people living outside Quebec (at least those who still speak French at home) tend to be more segregated residentially than their Anglophone counterparts who live in the heart of French Canada. On the other hand the Quebec Anglophones are more segregated socially than are French Canadians living in the heart of English Canada. In the main, the responses confirm the expectations about patterns of contact between French and English in Canada—the average Francophone young person is much more likely to contact the other culture than is his Anglophone counterpart.

Our principal concern at this point, of course, is how intergroup contacts affect attitudes to bilingualism (*see* Table III-12). The most important single finding here is that in all cases a positive relationship exists between contact and commitment to bilingualism. In all 15 situations in which an assessment can be made,⁴ the higher rates of commitment are found among the exposed rather than the unexposed of both language groups, and among those living in regions of both English and French influence.

Upon closer scrutiny, however, Table III-12 also shows rather marked discrepancies in levels of impact. To summarize these tendencies into a more reportable form, Table III-13 isolates a single measure of the impact of each situation. The indicator employed here is the Q coefficient of association between contact and commitment to bilingualism—a statistic which, literally interpreted, represents the percentage by which a prediction about level of commitment would be improved over chance by knowing whether or not contact had occurred. These measures show a considerable range in level, suggesting that intergroup contacts have a different impact on attitudes depending on who the respondent is, where the contact occurs, and what form the interaction takes.

What should we expect the impact of these contacts to be? Drawing from studies on race relations—a field which while not directly applicable nonetheless provides the most

⁴ Because 97 per cent of the Quebec Anglophones reported residential contacts with Francophone families, it is not meaningful nor indeed possible to assess the impact of these particular contacts.

meaningful parallel—we might reasonably think that those situations in which the participants come together on terms of equality would be the ones which most effectively increase feelings of tolerance and acceptance.⁵ At least for the Anglophone respondents, then, we might anticipate that encounters at school, or those based on friendship, would show the strongest impact on levels of favourable attitudes to bilingualism.

Table III-12. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home, region, and intergroup contacts

Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism ^a				
Type of Contact	English		French ^b	
	Quebec	Non-Quebec	Quebec	Non-Quebec
A. Daily language exposure				
Yes	62 (86)	71 (68)	83 (161)	86 (99)
No	48 (20)	43 (607)	64 (167)	63 (25)
B. Residential contacts				
Yes	62 (103)	51 (263)	77 (203)	86 (92)
No	(3)	46 (412)	64 (125)	70 (32)
C. Contacts at school				
Yes	65 (71)	50 (236)	81 (177)	88 (84)
No	49 (35)	45 (439)	63 (151)	66 (40)
D. Close personal relationships				
Yes	67 (56)	51 (176)	80 (148)	86 (89)
No	52 (50)	44 (499)	69 (180)	72 (35)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

^bOmits those who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

⁵ The most pertinent results from the race relations field, of course, come from studies of Negro-white relations in the United States, and it would be grossly misleading to suggest any simple connection between the American and Canadian situations. Moreover, in recent years the applicability of the "equal status" hypothesis has come into some question. Evidence from recent studies suggests that it may be valid only within certain specified types of equal status contact. See George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, "The Sociology of Race and Ethnic Relations," in Merton *et al.* (eds.), *Sociology Today* (New York, 1959), 397.

Table III-13. Effects of Intergroup Contacts on Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and region

Q Coefficients between Contact and Commitment				
Type of Contact	English		French ^a	
	Quebec	Non-Quebec	Quebec	Non-Quebec
A. Daily language exposure	+ .28	+ .53	+ .47	+ .57
B. Residential contacts	— ^b	+ .10	+ .31	+ .45
C. Contacts at school	+ .32	+ .10	+ .43	+ .58
D. Close personal friends	+ .30	+ .14	+ .28	+ .41

^aOmits those who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

^bNot enough variation in exposure to allow computation.

This expectation, however, is not borne out by the figures in Table III-13. Although for Quebec Anglophones personal contact has a slightly greater impact, on the whole daily exposure to the other language most favours a commitment to bilingualism. This is particularly evident among the non-Quebec Anglophones, where language contact is the only form of encounter making any sizable impact on these dispositions.

This result suggests that the demographic rather than the interpersonal environment has the more powerful influence on dispositions regarding bilingualism—at least for groups other than the Quebec Anglophones. Outside Quebec, tolerant linguistic attitudes among Anglophone young people are much more a function of living in a community where French can be heard than of having face-to-face contacts with Francophone friends or classmates. Indeed, social contacts in areas where French is rarely spoken would appear to do little to impress the Anglophones with the need to extend bilingualism throughout Canada.

This outcome is curious sociologically, but can perhaps be interpreted through inferences regarding the quality of typical French-English interactions in English-speaking Canada. As already suggested, in these regions English is used almost exclusively; most of the Francophones speak English without much trace of accent. To the Anglophone participants, then, it is possible that the French seem quite assimilated into the English-speaking community, and perhaps even uncommitted to the preservation of their cultural identity. It would be understandable if these contacts seemed unconnected with the issue of bilingualism in Canada.

In communities where French is more frequently heard, on the other hand, the language issue would be much more evident. The data indicate that personal contacts were much more likely to affect the views of the Anglophones in Quebec than those living elsewhere in Canada.

In regions of English rather than French influence, contacts of all types have stronger effects on Francophone youth. Those outside Quebec not only feel more strongly about the issue of a bilingual Canada, but are more likely to have their convictions strengthened by cultural contacts. This probably reflects the fact that language survival is a more immediate problem outside Quebec.

In conclusion, there does not appear to be any single manner in which contacts affect attitudes regarding bilingualism. The effects, rather, depend on the type of environment in which the contact takes place. In English-speaking Canada, there are considerable differences in the effects on members of the two cultures. These are much less marked in Quebec. Anglophone youth in Quebec are not only more tolerant on the language question but seem more responsive when they come into direct contact with members of the other culture. Finally, it would appear that the "equal status" hypothesis of the race relations field is not really applicable to the Canadian situation. Intergroup contacts among equals do not have much impact on Anglophone young people except where there is a sizable Francophone population.

Bilingual Facility

Information on language skills was obtained by asking respondents to rate their speaking ability in the second language in one of five categories ranging from full fluency to a complete lack of awareness. These responses are reported by region in Table III-14, and at first glance appear to conform quite well to what might have been anticipated. They describe rather low levels of bilingualism among young people, but do indicate that the French more often than the English claimed facility in the other language.

Before interpreting these data it is necessary to point out that 78 Francophone young people filled out the English-language version of the questionnaire and were therefore asked to rate their facility in French rather than in English. Thus a small but significant group of Francophone youth are not accounted for in these figures. There is no sure way of determining how these persons would have rated their spoken English, but the fact that they received a questionnaire from an English-speaking interviewer and then filled it out in English suggests that most would have rated themselves highly. If we assume that all of these persons would rate themselves at either the highest or second highest levels of facility, then the proportion of French claiming conversational skills in English would be raised from 42 to 47 per cent. Among Quebec French it would rise from 36 to 37 per cent; and for those living outside Quebec it would go up from 80 to 87 per cent. Table III-14 thus under-represents the proportion of French youth who would rate themselves as bilingual.

It is clear, nonetheless, that the non-Quebec Francophones are the only group in which a sizable proportion claimed to be at ease in the second language. About 40 per cent of these persons claimed they could speak English without any difficulty; by contrast, only 11 per cent of the Quebec Anglophones claimed a similar facility in French. Virtually no Anglophone youth living outside Quebec said they could speak French without trouble, and it is striking that as many as a third from British Columbia and about a fifth from other English-speaking provinces admitted to knowing hardly a word of French. By comparison, only 12 per cent of the Quebec Francophones admitted a complete lack of knowledge of English.

If functional bilingualism were defined here as the ability to carry on a conversation in the other language, then the rate of bilingualism could be said to vary greatly among Anglophone youth living in different parts of Canada. These aggregates would be estimated at

Table III-14. Claims Regarding Facility in Second Language, by language spoken at home and region

Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a						
A. French ^b						
Self-ratings on facility in English	Quebec			Non-Quebec (N=124)	Total (N=452)	
	Montreal Met. Area (N=131)	Other Quebec (N=197)	Total (N=328)			
Can speak it without any trouble at all	20	7	12	40	16	
Can carry on a conversation but not easily	29	21	24	40	26	
Can speak a little but not enough to carry on a conversation	24	34	30	13	28	
Know a few words and phrases	20	22	22	6	20	
Know hardly a word	6	15	12	1	11	
Total	99	99	100	100	101	
B. English						
Self-ratings on facility in French	Atlantic (N=116)	Quebec (N=106)	Ontario (N=289)	Prairies (N=174)	B.C. (N=96)	Total (N=781)
Can speak it without any trouble at all	(.2)	11	3	—	1	2
Can carry on a conversation but not easily	13	59	25	24	17	23
Can speak a little but not enough to carry on a conversation	41	23	28	35	26	31
Know a few words and phrases	29	6	23	22	23	23
Know hardly a word	17	1	21	20	33	21
Total	100	100	100	101	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bOmits those who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

13 per cent in the Atlantic Provinces; 70 per cent among Quebec Anglophones; 28 per cent among Ontarians; 24 per cent among young people living in the Prairie Provinces; and 18 per cent among those from British Columbia.⁶ Self-ratings on facility in French were therefore lowest of all among young people from the Atlantic Provinces. This is surprising for two reasons: the Atlantic Francophone population is larger than that of any other

⁶ These estimates are of course very much higher than official census figures on bilingual persons in Canada. Part of the discrepancy here would be accounted for by the fact that rates of bilingualism probably are in fact higher among young Canadians than they are in the population as a whole, and part by the fact that the present measures do not constitute very stringent criteria on which to classify persons as bilingual.

English-speaking region of Canada, and Atlantic youth revealed the highest level of tolerance of any Anglophone group on the issue of bilingualism in Canada. The dilemma, then, is that the group indicating the highest level of tolerance for French is also the group claiming to be least skilful at speaking it. For Atlantic young people, favourable attitudes regarding a bilingual Canada clearly do not depend on the ability to communicate in French.

To sum up, many more Francophones than Anglophones, both in Quebec and outside it, rated themselves as functionally bilingual. Adding the Francophones who answered English-language questionnaires, rates of functional bilingualism among French and English would be estimated at 37 and 23 per cent for those living in their region of cultural dominance, and at 87 and 70 per cent for those living outside these regions. From these same four estimates, moreover, it is possible to calculate the probabilities that any random pair of young people meeting either in Quebec or elsewhere in Canada would be able to communicate with one another, and in which language or languages they would be able to talk to one another. These probabilities are shown in Table III-15, and reveal three general conditions governing possible modes of intergroup communication in English and French Canada. First, they indicate that more communication is possible in English-speaking Canada than in Quebec, since participants would be able to talk to one another in 90 per cent of all possible meetings outside Quebec, but in just 81 per cent of those occurring in Quebec. This discrepancy is produced by the fact that among persons living outside their region of cultural dominance a greater proportion of French than English are bilingual. Second, more transactions occurring in Quebec than in English-speaking provinces could be conducted in either language (26 per cent compared with 20 per cent). This result in turn is produced by the fact that within regions of cultural dominance more French than English claim to be bilingual. Finally, the figures clearly indicate that the mode of communication most possible in either setting would be the dominant language of the region. These tendencies are by no means balanced, however, since in English-speaking provinces 67 per cent of all possible interactions could be transacted in English only while in Quebec the comparable figure for communication in French is just 44 per cent.

Table III-15. Modes of Communication Possible between Francophone and Anglophone Young People, by region

Probabilities Governing Random Intergroup Contacts between Two Individuals		
Language in which transactions could take place	Quebec	Non-Quebec
Either English or French	.26	.20
English only	.11	.67
French only	.44	.03
Neither English nor French	.19	.10
Sum of probabilities	1.00	1.00

These figures indicate broad parameters, but being hypothetical they of course do not describe what actually occurs in intergroup contacts. Indeed, the central premise is somewhat unrealistic, for it assumes that any individual from one linguistic background would have an equal chance of talking with every person in his region who speaks the other language. The real impact of the ethnic difference in ability to communicate in the other language is obvious when comparisons are made between the language skills of persons having varying degrees of actual contact. These data are presented in Table III-16, where levels of functional bilingualism are shown in relation to the four types of contact discussed previously. Table III-16 indicates, interestingly, that levels are virtually the same among Anglophone and Francophone young people who do not have contact with the other culture, and that the real difference between the two groups emerges only when members of the two cultures interact. Here, considerably more French are bilingual: by 12 per cent among those who are exposed daily to the other language; by 22 per cent among those having residential contacts; by 26 per cent among those having contact at school; and by 27 per cent among those who say they have a close friend who speaks the other language. These results clearly demonstrate that when Francophone and Anglophone young people meet, the adjustments which each makes to solve the problem of communication are far from reciprocal.

Table III-16. Facility in Second Language, by language spoken at home and frequency of intergroup contact

Per Cent who Claim to be Functionally Bilingual ^a			
Type of contact	English	French ^b	Difference
A. Daily language exposure			
Yes	47 (154)	59 (260)	-12
No	22 (627)	23 (192)	- 1
B. Residential contacts			
Yes	32 (366)	54 (295)	-22
No	20 (415)	20 (157)	nil
C. Contacts at school			
Yes	29 (307)	55 (261)	-26
No	23 (474)	25 (191)	- 2
D. Close personal relationships			
Yes	32 (232)	59 (237)	-27
No	22 (549)	26 (215)	- 4

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

^bOmits French who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

The ability to converse in the second language also correlates positively with attitudes regarding bilingualism, as is indicated by Table III-17. Here rates of high commitment are seen to be 17 per cent higher among Anglophone youth who can communicate in French than among those who cannot, and 16 per cent higher among the bilingual Francophones. The effect of language facility on these attitudes is therefore quite strong and would appear to be approximately the same among members of both ethnic groups. Ethnicity has a more powerful influence than bilingual facility, however, since the rates among unilingual French are 9 per cent higher than among bilingual English (68 compared with 59 per cent). The ethnic differential is nonetheless smaller than most that have been uncovered so far.

Table III-17. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home and self-ratings on facility in other language

Commitment measure	English		French	
	Facility high	Facility low	Facility high ^a	Facility low
Per cent highly committed to bilingualism for Canada ^b	59 (239)	42 (536)	84 (295)	68 (232)

^aIncludes persons who filled out English-language version of the questionnaire.

^bAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

In conclusion, it would be meaningful to assess the combined impact of contact and the ability to communicate in the second language, and to try to determine which one contributes more to the development of positive dispositions. This assessment can be made from the figures in Table III-18, where rates of bilingual commitment are examined simultaneously by language spoken at home, facility in the second language, and experiences with different types of intergroup contact. Because this table is complex the results will be reviewed point by point:

1. The combination of facility and contact produces much higher rates of bilingual commitment. A comparison of the conditions where both are present with those where both are absent indicates an average percentage difference of 29.5 for the Anglophones and of 23.0 for the Francophones.
2. Comparisons among the figures for each independent factor indicate that for the Anglophones, rates of commitment are elevated an average of 16.4 percentage points by language facility, and an average of 13.1 points by contact. For Francophones, the comparable figures are 11.8 and 10.0. With each group, then, both factors make a substantial contribution to the differential, with language facility accounting for just slightly over one-half of the combined variance.
3. Although all 16 comparisons between Anglophones and Francophones show the latter to be higher on commitment to bilingualism, Table III-18 contains conditions in which the rates among the Anglophones exceed those among the Francophones. For

Table III-18. Commitment to Bilingualism, by language spoken at home, facility in second language, and frequency of intergroup contact

Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism for Canada ^a				
Type of Contact	English		French ^b	
	Facility high	Facility low	Facility high	Facility low
A. Daily language exposure				
Yes	75 (98)	63 (81)	87 (167)	79 (87)
No	54 (135)	40 (449)	75 (42)	61 (136)
B. Residential contacts				
Yes	69 (160)	44 (239)	86 (177)	70 (112)
No	48 (74)	41 (292)	75 (32)	66 (111)
C. Contacts at school				
Yes	66 (129)	45 (204)	90 (159)	74 (99)
No	54 (105)	41 (326)	68 (47)	64 (124)
D. Close personal relationships				
Yes	72 (114)	43 (159)	85 (154)	75 (76)
No	52 (118)	42 (369)	82 (54)	65 (146)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

^bOmits French who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

example, in all four situations of contact, the bilingual Anglophone youth who have contact show a higher level of bilingual commitment than Francophone young people who neither are bilingual nor have contact with English, demonstrating that the combined influence of facility and contact has a stronger effect on these attitudes than does ethnicity.

4. English and French opinion tends to converge in situations where bilingual young people have contact with one another, and is furthest apart in situations where contact occurs among persons unable to communicate in the other language. English-French differences across the four sets of combined statuses average out to 16.5 per cent among those having both contact and facility, 25.5 per cent among those who are bilingual but have no contact, 25.8 per cent where contact occurs without bilingual facility, and 23.0 per cent where neither condition is present.

5. Some types of intergroup contact have stronger effects than others. Among both groups, daily language exposure affects bilingual attitudes more strongly than language facility does, while facility has stronger effects than either residential contacts or close interpersonal contacts. With regard to contacts at school, however, the results are inconsistent: for Anglophone youth, language facility has an influence which supersedes that of school contact, while among the Francophones the order is reversed.

To sum up, bilingual skills are quite unevenly distributed among Canadian young people, just as they are among Canadian adults. This imbalance characterizes only those who have contact with the other culture, however; among those isolated from these contacts almost identical proportions of Francophones and Anglophones claim conversational facility in the second language. When young people from the two linguistic backgrounds come together, then, it is the Francophones who make the greater linguistic adjustment, and the language of intergroup transactions thus becomes predominantly English. Attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada are greatly influenced both by facility in the second language and by having contact with members of the other group. Young people who have the chance to converse in the second language and have developed a facility in it are much more likely to endorse the virtues of a bilingual national community.

The discussion now shifts from an emphasis on attitudes toward bilingual goals for Canadian society to a consideration of young people's assessment of the importance of bilingual skills in their own lives. Of course, these two perspectives are by no means completely independent of one another. Indeed, the fact that positive attitudes to bilingualism for the national community were much more prevalent among those who claimed to be bilingual themselves—and who had an opportunity to speak the other language—would suggest that young people evaluate the national language issue pragmatically.

This chapter has three specific goals: to find out how useful young people think facility in the second language would be to them, both in their present lives and in the future; to assess the different ways they feel bilingual skills would be helpful; and to determine whether attitudes regarding bilingual goals for Canada do in fact represent an extension of the feelings young people have regarding the functions of bilingualism in their own lives.

The Usefulness of Being Bilingual—Present and Future

On the basis of the results already reviewed, it is not surprising to learn that Francophones place a much higher emphasis than their Anglophone counterparts on the value of being bilingual. Table IV-1 indicates extremely wide discrepancies in these evaluations (Questions 29 and 30). Although both groups think that bilingual skills will be more useful to them as young adults than as teenagers, the Francophones think so more often. Moreover, comparing thoughts about the present and the future, the numbers estimating daily usage rise just 7 per cent among the Anglophones while they go up 22 per cent among the Francophones. Altogether, six Francophone youth in 10 expect to use the other language every day as young adults, a rate roughly three times higher than that found among the Anglophones. Nonetheless, as many as half the Anglophones (51 per cent) did think they would be able to use French "often" in their future lives, and this represents a sizable increase over the number who made a similar evaluation about their present circumstances.

Table IV-1. Perceived Utility of Bilingual Skills—Present and Future, by language spoken at home and sex

Per cent making different evaluations regarding how useful it would be to be able to speak the other language—or speak it better ^a						
Evaluations	English			French ^b		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
A. Utility at present						
Very useful: I could use it every day	11	13	12	42	35	38
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	19	22	20	38	44	41
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often	39	44	42	19	19	19
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	31	21	26	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Base	(398)	(382)	(780)	(199)	(252)	(451)
B. Utility in ten years						
Very useful: I could use it every day	16	21	19	63	58	60
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	31	33	32	29	29	29
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often	32	32	32	6	11	9
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	20	13	17	2	2	2
Total	99	99	100	100	100	100
Base	(398)	(382)	(780)	(199)	(252)	(451)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bOmits French who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

Table IV-1 also indicates that among the Anglophones slightly more girls than boys rated bilingual facility as useful—in thinking about both the present and the future. This tendency is reversed among the Francophones, however: 7 per cent more boys than girls said they could use English every day in their present lives, and 5 per cent more thought they could do so in the future. For the Francophones, the most reasonable interpretation of these discrepancies is that more boys than girls feel they need to know English as preparation for entry into the labour force. It is somewhat less clear, however, why facility in French should be viewed as more useful by Anglophone girls. It may be true that more girls than boys choose language courses in high school and college, but this would hardly explain why the discrepancies also appear in the ratings of future uses. These differences are modest, of course, and as such do not warrant elaborate explanation.

Another problem of interpretation here—and a much more serious one—is to decide whether the elevated expectations regarding language uses in the future mean, on the one

hand, that young people think their lives and experiences will be different when they are in their twenties or, on the other, that they think bilingualism will be more prevalent in Canada in 1975 than it was in 1965. There is no completely satisfactory way of resolving this dilemma from the available data, although some insights can be gained by examining the assessments made by young people of different ages.

Table IV-2 summarizes the responses by age groups and orders the results so as to highlight the comparisons between present and future evaluations. These data show, first, that ratings do indeed change with age. Estimates of bilingual utility are quite a bit lower among older Anglophone adolescents, with the drop-off being somewhat sharper on evaluations regarding the future than on those for the present. This would suggest that adolescence convinces additional numbers of Anglophones that they really do not need to be able to speak French in order to get along in Canada.

Table IV-2. Perceived Utility of Bilingual Skills—Present and Future, by language spoken at home and age

Per cent who say they would be able to use the other language "often" ^a				
Age	Present utility	Utility in ten years	Difference	Index of expected change
A. English				
13 - 14	34 (260)	58 (260)	+24	+36
15 - 16	35 (255)	49 (255)	+14	+22
17 - 18	33 (196)	48 (196)	+15	+22
19 - 20	26 (68)	43 (68)	+17	+23
B. French ^b				
13 - 14	78 (128)	95 (128)	+17	+78
15 - 16	80 (149)	88 (149)	+ 8	+40
17 - 18	79 (120)	86 (120)	+ 7	+33
19 - 20	81 (50)	85 (50)	+ 4	+21

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted bases.

^bOmits French who filled out English-language version of the questionnaire.

Among the Francophones, extremely high proportions of all ages rated the ability to speak English as a very useful skill. The evaluations of its present usefulness do not show any meaningful variation with age. In thinking ahead 10 years, however, older Francophone youth did not make as universally high estimates as did their juniors.

Table IV-2 contains two additional columns of figures, the first indicating the absolute percentage difference between present and future evaluations, and the second representing a standardized measure on which to assess the net change expected by each group. This latter measure is calculated by dividing the actual increase by the total increase possible, to control the fact that the absolute numbers who could expect increased uses in the future are much larger in some groups than in others. These figures in the main describe decreasing values among the older age groups—which in turn means that there are proportionately fewer older adolescents who rate future uses above present. For example, among Francophone 13- and 14-year olds, more than three-quarters of those who feel that English is not very useful now anticipate that this situation will change by the time they become young adults; among 19- and 20-year olds, on the other hand, only 21 per cent anticipate such changes. These measures do not decline as sharply with age among the Anglophones as they do among the Francophones, but it is clear at least that by age 15, considerably fewer anticipate change.

Generally, these results suggest that as young people grow closer to adulthood they more and more come to estimate their future uses for bilingual facility on the basis of their current experiences. And to the extent that older adolescents probably know better what adult life will be like, it can perhaps be argued that much of the discrepancy between their estimates of present and future uses for bilingual skills stems from uncertainty about their own future—rather than from expectations regarding changing bilingual practices in Canadian society.

Once again these findings describe what might have been anticipated, yet one cannot but be impressed with the extent to which young people from the two cultures differ in their expectations. Virtually all Francophone young people enter adolescence fully aware that the ability to speak English is of prime importance to their future, and their experiences during adolescence would appear to reinforce this understanding. During these same years, on the other hand, many Anglophones seem to develop the outlook that their use for French will cease once they have completed their high-school language requirements. For members of one group, in short, adolescence heightens an awareness of the necessity of being bilingual, while for the other it teaches that bilingualism is something not really expected of them.

On a more optimistic note, it must also be pointed out that a fairly substantial number of Anglophones do see a use for bilingual skills in the future. Even among those near voting age, better than two in five said they expected to use French often by 1975, and this constituted 17 per cent more than saw much use for the second language in their present lives. It is perhaps not unreasonable to conclude that a significant minority of Anglophone young people—perhaps as many as a sixth—do expect changing bilingual practices in Canada to have a direct bearing on their own lives.

These evaluations would also be expected to show considerable variation by region, and Table IV-3 demonstrates that this is indeed the case. Ninety-three per cent of Francophone youth living in English-speaking provinces regarded facility in English as highly useful now, compared with 83 per cent of the Montreal-area French and 73 per cent of those living in other parts of Quebec. And among the Anglophones, similarly, while 80 per cent of those living in Quebec recognized a frequent use for French, considerably fewer from regions of English-language dominance did so.

The rates tumble to approximately 33 per cent in the regions adjacent to Quebec, to about 25 per cent on the Prairies, and to just 13 per cent in British Columbia.

Table IV-3. Perceived Utility of Bilingual Skills—Present and Future, by language spoken at home and province or region

Per cent who said they would be able to use the other language "often" ^a				
Language and region	Present utility	Utility in ten years	Difference	Index of expected change
A. French ^b				
Quebec (N=328)	77	87	+10	+44
Montreal met. area (N=131)	83	87	+ 4	+24
Other Quebec (N=197)	73	88	+15	+56
Non-Quebec (N=124)	93	97	+ 4	+57
B. English				
Atlantic (N=116)	33	51	+18	+27
Quebec (N=106)	79	84	+ 5	+24
Ontario (N=289)	36	52	+16	+22
Prairies (N=174)	28	48	+20	+28
British Columbia (N=96)	13	41	+28	+32

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bOmits French who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

Table IV-3 also reveals pronounced differences in the rates at which different groups of young people think they will need in the future to speak the other language. The non-Quebec Francophones and the Quebec Francophones living outside the Montreal metropolitan area rated this need highest. Other than in the Montreal area, it could be concluded that proportionately more Francophones than Anglophones anticipate increasing uses for bilingual facility in the future—even though in absolute numbers more English than French do so. Finally, rates of expected change are also seen to be slightly higher among Anglophone youth from British Columbia, the region where current uses of French are rated the lowest.

The Functions of Being Bilingual

It is often said in discussions of bilingualism in Canada that members of the two cultures reflect quite different orientations toward learning the second official language. Anglophone Canadians are supposed to learn French mainly to broaden their cultural horizons, whereas Francophone Canadians learn English out of practical necessity. This distinction found expression in the *Preliminary Report* of the Commission, where it was observed that at regional meetings Anglophone and Francophone participants did not share the same views of the function and influence of the second language. Indeed, "the former saw in the French language essentially a form of cultural enrichment, whereas the latter looked upon English as a tool of practical necessity."¹

¹Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *A Preliminary Report* (Ottawa, 1965), 84.

In recent studies of language learning,² distinctions have also been noted between "integrative" and "instrumental" orientations to the learning of a new language. A person is said to reflect an integrative orientation when his motivation is a desire to talk to members of the other language group, or simply to learn more about the other group. An instrumental orientation, on the other hand, is said to exist when the new language is to be used as a stepping-stone to some other goal, such as getting a job.

This distinction provides a useful framework for discussing the functions which young people assign to bilingual facility. In addition to making general assessments, respondents also rated how helpful they thought these skills would be in relation to nine specific behavioural contexts (see Question 31 in Appendix B). Although this list contained just one situation which could be classed as "cultural enrichment"—the use of the second language for reading or watching television—several of the situations clearly reflect integrative and instrumental functions. Learning the second language to get better grades, find a job, or advance in a career all represent stepping-stone functions, while learning it to talk to friends, to make new friends, or to date are clearly integrative uses. At the very least, then, these data are a good test of the proposition that French Canadians are more likely to stress instrumental reasons for learning the second official language.

Table IV-4 shows the rates at which members of the two groups thought bilingualism would be helpful in various situations. These responses are ordered according to the extent of the discrepancies between the two groups. Although Francophones gave considerably higher ratings on six of the nine questions, the two groups were not grossly different in the *relative* importance they assigned the various uses. The Anglophones most frequently thought of French as useful for travelling, improving grades in school, and finding employment; the Francophones rated finding employment highest, travel second, and career advancement third. Moreover, both groups rated the functions of dating and talking with friends lowest, and the overall correlation between the two reflected a high degree of correspondence ($\rho = +.76$; not shown in table). This outcome, in short, is not at all what might have been expected.

The most direct evidence on which to test the proposition, however, is contained in the six situations which most clearly represent the instrumental and integrative uses of language; items 1, 5, and 8 on the one hand, and 3, 4, and 9 on the other. Here again, however, the data give little support to the hypothesis. Although the groups are furthest apart in their assessment of the value of bilingualism for advancing in a career, the third and fourth widest discrepancies are found in situations reflecting integrative uses—dating and talking with friends. In addition, identical numbers of Francophones and Anglophones cited making new friends as a way in which bilingualism would be helpful, and virtually identical proportions felt this skill would help them improve their academic standing. Both comparisons are again inconsistent with the general hypothesis. All in all, then, one could not conclude from

²R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert, "Motivational Variables in Second Language Acquisition," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, XIII, 1959, 266-72.

M. Anisfeld and W.E. Lambert, "Social and Psychological Variables in Learning Hebrew," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, LXIII, 1961, 524-29.

W.E. Lambert, *A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivations in Second Language Learning* (Montreal, 1961).

these results that Francophone and Anglophone young people differ radically in the *kinds* of benefits they think they would gain from being bilingual.

Table IV-4. Perceived Functions of Bilingual Facility, by language spoken at home

Functions	Per cent who say a better speaking knowledge of the second language would be helpful in these ways ^a		
	English (N=781)	French ^b (N=452)	Difference
(1) In getting ahead in the line of work I hope to enter	49	83	-34
(2) In reading or watching television	49	80	-31
(3) In going out on dates	21	51	-30
(4) In talking with my friends	24	49	-25
(5) In finding a job	67	92	-25
(6) In getting around to more places in my community	30	52	-22
(7) In travelling to different parts of Canada	86	89	- 3
(8) In getting better grades in school	68	71	- 3
(9) In making new friends	63	63	nil

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bOmits French who filled out English-language version of the questionnaire.

At the same time, however, the discrepancies are by no means identical, and the table does indicate some functions on which the groups made widely divergent assessments and others on which they did not differ at all. One tendency of considerable interest is that while many more Francophones than Anglophones perceived bilingual skills as helpful in their occupation, they differed more about advancing than on getting a job. This suggests that Francophones are more inclined to see a long-term use for bilingualism, and that Anglophones think of it mainly as a help in entering the labour market. This tendency is consistent with earlier findings and suggests that the two groups differ most on practical considerations when looking to the future. Of three practical problems, for example, getting better grades in school is clearly the most immediate, finding a job comes next, and advancing in a career is the most remote. And it is in these three stages or time periods that the groups diverge: from 3 to 25 to 34 per cent as the evaluations become more removed from the present. Francophone youth could definitely be said to reflect a higher sensitivity to the long-range instrumental functions of bilingualism. These data also support the idea that, for many Anglophones the completion of language courses at school eliminates one of the main tangible reasons for being bilingual.

Table IV-4 also reveals that many more Francophones than Anglophones evaluated bilingual facility as useful in reading and viewing television. This outcome is somewhat surprising since, if cultural enrichment is the chief reason why Anglophone Canadians learn French, one would have expected the discrepancy here to be at least relatively smaller than on other evaluations. Of the nine sets of ratings, however, the two groups differed more widely on just one. This would suggest, either that the general hypothesis is invalid for young people,

or that reading and television viewing are simply not used by young people as modes of cultural enrichment. Another possibility too is that the question itself conveyed different meanings to members of the two language groups. Anglophone young people, for example, might very well have interpreted reading French or viewing French-language television programmes as ends in themselves, things one would do for no other reason than intrinsic satisfaction. Francophone youth, on the other hand, might regard these exposures to English as ways of learning things one would need to know in order to achieve some ulterior goal—such as getting a job in an English- or American-owned company. It is possible, in short, that the very same language uses might denote quite different things to members of the two cultures.

To evaluate this latter possibility more systematically, a rudimentary form of cluster analysis was conducted on the data. First, within each language group the responses on each assessment were intercorrelated, a step which resulted in the two correlation matrices shown in Table IV-5. Next, all pairs of assessments revealing high levels of overlap (arbitrarily designated as those with Q values of .50 or higher) were extracted and examined for clustering properties. The results are diagrammed in Figure IV-1. Here, relations between pairs of assessments are indicated either by single, double, triple, or dotted lines, the number of lines representing the strength of the relationship. As it turned out, no negative correlation stronger than -.10 was found between any pair of responses. This means that the lines in the

Table IV-5. Relationships among Different Assessments of Bilingual Utility, by language spoken at home

[illegible]

diagram all represent positive relationships, and more generally that persons who thought bilingual skills would be helpful in one way were likely to think they would be useful in other ways too.

In charting these results in the fashion described, it was first assumed that three of the situations (talking with friends, making new friends, and dating) constituted measures of integrative uses of language and that three others (finding a job, getting ahead in a career, and getting better grades in school) were equally valid indicators of instrumental uses. The patterns which emerge in Figure IV-1 tend to support this assumption. Among both groups of respondents, the three integrative evaluations interrelate at levels of $+ .60$ or higher, while the two occupational evaluations correlate at better than $+ .70$. School grades are less strongly connected with the instrumental cluster—although the figures do indicate that these evaluations clearly belong there rather than on the other side of the ledger. The two clusters are also reasonably independent of one another, although among the Anglophones “meeting new friends” and “finding a job” did correlate at $+ .59$, while among the Francophones, curiously, uses of English for dating and job-finding correlated at $+ .53$. For the most part, however, the results describe a latent structure made up of two “factors” which could be meaningfully designated as integrative and instrumental uses of bilingualism.

The more important result to emerge from this analysis is that the three other sets of evaluations were interpreted quite differently by members of the two groups. Among the Francophones, assessments on all three of these uses bunch quite clearly with the occupational evaluations of bilingualism, while among the Anglophones they are much more closely connected with evaluations reflecting social uses of language. Travelling in Canada, reading, watching television, and getting around in one’s community, in short, convey quite different meanings to Anglophone and Francophone young people—at least as far as language learning is concerned. The Francophones who think English will help them in these ways are really thinking about finding a job.

On the other hand, these uses of bilingualism have quite different meanings for Anglophones. Table IV-5 indicates that travel was correlated at just $+ .29$ and $+ .17$ with job-finding and career development, but at $+ .43$ and $+ .48$ with meeting new friends and dating. Similarly, getting around more in one’s own community in the other language was much more frequently associated with social connections than with possible occupations. And finally, reading and television viewing in the second language would also appear to have a different meaning for the two groups of young people. Among the Anglophones, these uses take an intermediary position between occupational and social uses, the strongest correlation being with making new friends ($+ .55$) and the second strongest with job-finding ($+ .51$). Among the Francophones, on the other hand, these uses denoted primarily occupational consequences.

To conclude, then, the results confirm that members of the two cultures use the second language for different reasons. When Francophones assess the value of being bilingual, they think of occupational considerations, and they perceive the consequences in a much wider variety of situations than do their Anglophone peers. The main difference between the two groups in their orientation to learning the second official language, then, is that French youth are much more likely to view bilingualism as an occupational necessity—and particularly so when they think about their long-range career prospects.

Figure IV-1. Correlation Patterns among Different Assessments of Bilingual Utility, by language spoken at home

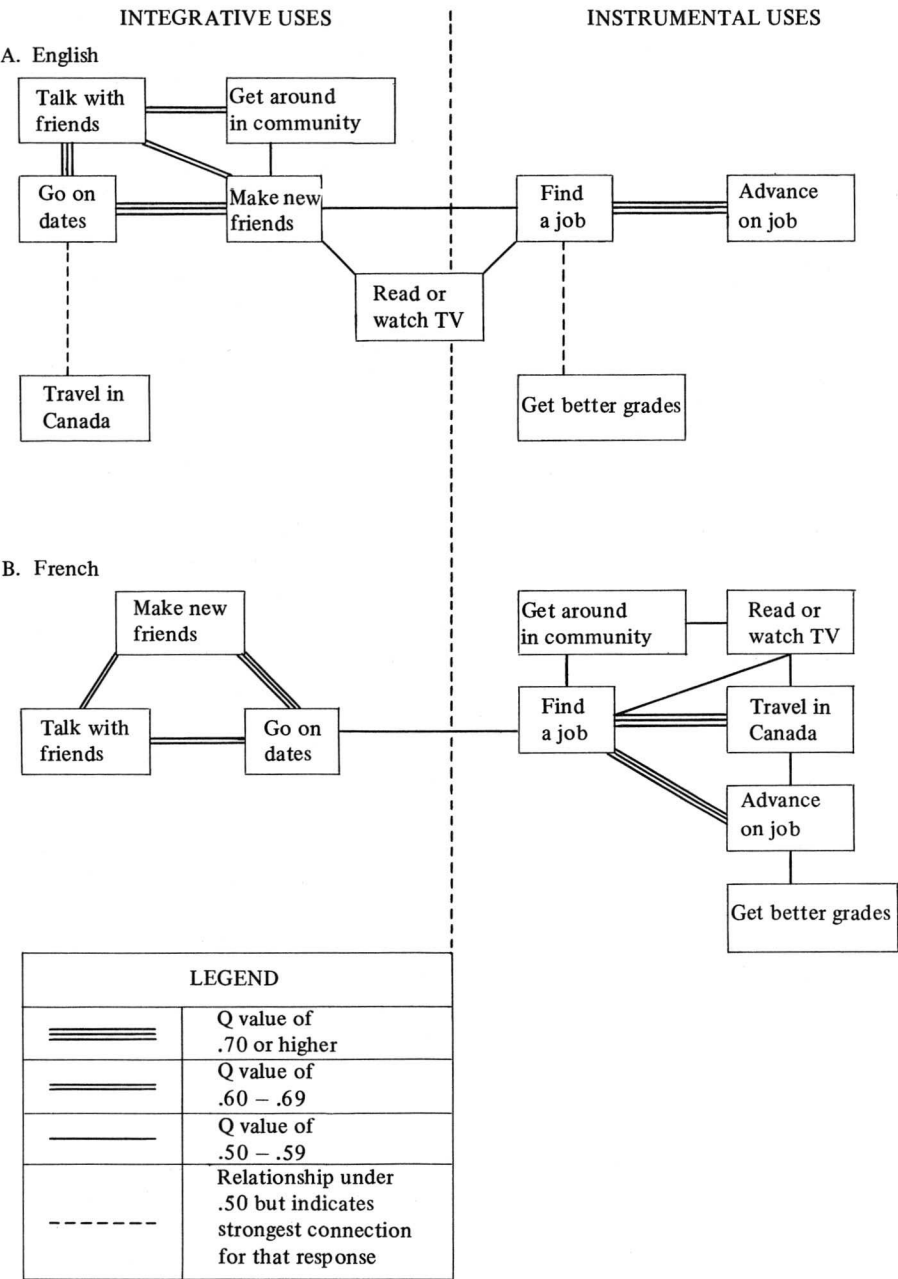


Table IV-6. Commitment to Bilingualism in the National Community, by perceived utility of bilingual skills—present and future, and language spoken at home

Per Cent Highly Committed to Bilingualism ^a		
A. Present utility		
Utility	English	French ^b
Very useful: I could use it every day	69 (N=143)	82 (N=181)
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	61 (N=175)	73 (N=170)
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often	50 (N=284)	66 (N= 73)
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	21 (N=162)	— (N= 7)
B. Utility in ten years		
Utility	English	French ^b
Very useful: I could use it every day	70 (N=192)	86 (N=269)
Quite useful: I could use it often but not every day	58 (N=244)	60 (N=120)
Slightly useful: I could use it sometimes but not very often	34 (N=213)	58 (N= 31)
Not useful at all: I don't think I'd ever use it	21 (N=114)	— (N= 8)

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bOmits those who answered English-language version of the questionnaire.

Bilingualism in One's Own Life and in the National Community

Having examined dispositions to bilingualism in relation to the individual's own life and as goals for the society at large, we must finally determine how these two evaluations relate to one another. To what extent do young people's attitudes on bilingualism in the national community represent an extension of their feelings regarding the functions of bilingual facility in their own lives?

The evidence bearing most directly on this question is contained in Table IV-6, where rates of high commitment to bilingualism in Canada are reported separately for groups of young people who made different personal assessments on the utility of being bilingual. That these two perspectives are by no means independent of one another is clearly evident in these figures. Among Anglophone young people, as many as seven in 10 of those who rated facility in French as highly useful—either at present or in the future—indicated strong support for bilingual practices in Canada as a whole: by contrast, of those who felt they would never use French, only one in five did so. For most Anglophones, it could be concluded that attitudes on the national language issue are in large measure based on personal experiences and expectations. Anglophone youth view bilingualism in their country from a highly pragmatic point of view, and their reactions on this issue could, if anything, be described as more egocentric than ethnocentric.

The two evaluations of Francophone respondents also overlap. Many of them also take their own linguistic needs into account when they think about bilingualism in Canada. The

basic difference between the two groups, however, is that even those Francophones who see relatively little personal advantage in knowing English are still more likely than not to endorse bilingual goals for the country at large. Their convictions, therefore, are not as strictly utilitarian as those of their Anglophone compatriots. The reactions of Francophone youth could perhaps be said to be based relatively more often on ethnocentric perspectives than on egocentric ones.

The most reasonable interpretation of these results is that both groups of young people, but especially the Anglophones, tend to evaluate the national language issue on the basis of personal experiences. Most Francophone young people can endorse bilingual goals for Canada simply because they are French—and therefore have the added investment of collective interests at stake. The attitudes of Anglophone young people, on the other hand, appear to be shaped much more exclusively by the demands of their own everyday experience: French is a commodity worth having only if you have a use for it.

While earlier sections of this study touched a number of points on young people's thoughts about the future of their country, this chapter focusses on how they perceive their own future position in Canadian society. The specific concerns here are with expectations regarding future place of residence and with evaluations of future job prospects. The first section looks at young people's attitudes regarding different Canadian provinces as places to live and examines where they actually expect to be located as young adults. The second section reports how young people from different regions rated their future employment prospects both in their own province and elsewhere in Canada, and then assesses how they would react to taking a high paying job if it involved moving to a different Canadian region or to the United States.

Residential Preferences and Expectations

Toward the middle of the questionnaire, young people were asked to indicate which Canadian provinces, including their own, they might like to live in some day, and also where they would definitely never want to live (Questions 20 and 21). These evaluations are reviewed first in Tables V-1 and V-2, the former indicating the proportions in each language group who assigned both positive and negative evaluations to each province, and the latter showing the balance between positive and negative ratings for young people living in different regions.

The first feature to be noted in Table V-1 is that not all ten provinces were equally likely to evoke a specific reaction from young people. As many as 68 per cent of the Anglophones had definite reactions (either positive or negative) to British Columbia, but only 32 per cent made a judgement about New Brunswick. Similarly, 75 per cent of the Francophones held definite views about Quebec while only 29 per cent rated Manitoba, and among the "Others," 57 per cent made judgements about Quebec whereas Prince Edward Island evoked a positive or negative reaction from just 16 per cent. Considered as places to live,

some provinces stimulated emotional responses from large numbers of young people, while others were for the most part regarded without effect.

The specific reactions noted in Table V-1 are: that British Columbia and Ontario were evaluated very favourably by Anglophone youth; that Quebec was the only province about which Francophones had a strongly positive consensus; and that Ontario and Alberta were viewed as the most attractive places to live by the "Others." The results also indicate that on balance both the Anglophones and the "Others" rated a majority of provinces favourably, while the Francophones made positive assessments only about Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia.

Table V-1. Attractiveness of Different Provinces as Places to Live, by language spoken at home

Question 20. In which Canadian provinces—including your own—do you think you might like to live at some time in the future?									
Question 21. In which Canadian provinces would you definitely never want to live?									
Provinces	English (N=793)			French (N=529)			Other (N=37)		
	Live in	Avoid	Balance	Live in	Avoid	Balance	Live in	Avoid	Balance
Alberta	33% ^a	11%	+22	12%	20%	- 8	41%	1%	+40
British Columbia	64	4	+60	23	18	+ 5	34	8	+26
Manitoba	20	13	+ 7	11	18	- 7	16	1	+15
New Brunswick	16	16	0	18	19	- 1	4	13	- 9
Newfoundland	11	33	-22	8	33	-25	4	25	-21
Nova Scotia	20	16	+ 4	10	22	-12	17	6	+11
Ontario	55	4	+51	35	15	+20	44	1	+43
Prince Edward Island	17	19	- 2	8	26	-18	10	6	+ 4
Quebec	21	36	-15	70	5	+65	40	17	+23
Saskatchewan	21	19	+ 2	8	22	-14	21	2	+19
Prefer to live out- side Canada	11	—	+24	7	—	+31	9	—	+50
Would live in any province	—	35		—	38		—	59	

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

These reactions are much more meaningfully interpreted on a regional basis, of course, and Table V-2 indicates, as was to be expected, that young people in general gave highly favourable ratings to their own provinces—especially the British Columbia Anglophones, the Quebec Francophones, and the Ontario Anglophones. At the same time, however, all regional groups regarded British Columbia and Ontario as good places to live, and all rejected Newfoundland. Moreover, Anglophone youth were particularly impressed with the residential possibilities of British Columbia and, in all regions except Ontario, more rated that province higher than they did their own. On the other hand, even though both groups of Francophones made positive evaluations of Quebec, one could infer from the figures that those living outside Quebec gave relatively higher ratings to their own provinces.

Table V-2. Attractiveness of Different Provinces as Places to Live, by region and language spoken at home

Net balance in ratings: Per cent who say they would like to live in the province minus per cent who say they definitely would never want to live there ^a							
Provinces	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
Alberta	-12	+ 9	+11	+ 8	+10	+54	+18
British Columbia	+ 4	+14	+46	+55	+53	+65	+83
Manitoba	-10	+ 4	+ 8	-10	+ 1	+26	- 2
New Brunswick	- 8	+29	+24	- 7	0	-11	-11
Newfoundland	-27	-14	-23	-17	-23	-22	-23
Nova Scotia	-14	- 7	+36	+ 1	+ 4	- 7	-11
Ontario	+14	+45	+43	+44	+64	+39	+43
Prince Edward Island	-20	- 7	+ 4	- 4	+ 2	- 7	- 9
Quebec	+74	+22	-14	+42	-10	-33	-14
Saskatchewan	-16	- 8	+ 6	- 3	0	+ 6	-10

^aPercentages for both positive and negative ratings computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

In addition, all groups of non-Quebec Anglophones viewed the prospects of living in Quebec more negatively than positively, and only two English-speaking provinces, Ontario and British Columbia, were given an overall favourable rating by the Quebec Francophones. In the main, young people from both cultures would prefer to avoid the territories where the other culture is dominant. The Anglophones from the Prairies most strongly rejected Quebec, while the Quebec Francophones viewed most negatively Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island, of the English-speaking provinces.

Next, Table V-3 summarizes the responses by showing the mean number of provinces identified both positively and negatively by different language, age, and regional groupings. The most important findings here are: that, of the three language groups, the Francophones chose the fewest number of provinces as places to live and the largest number as places to avoid; that the "Others" were the least likely to exclude specific provinces; that, on balance, the Quebec Francophones evaluated more provinces negatively than positively; and that between the ages of 13 and 20 the ratings of French youth shifted from a positive to negative balance. These results suggest that Francophone young people from Quebec not only show a definite inclination to restrict themselves territorially within Canada, but that their thinking in this regard becomes much more pronounced during the adolescent years.

In summary, Canadian youth could be said to hold quite definite views on the prospects of living in some areas of their country, while other areas have relatively little meaning to them. Moreover, since both Anglophones and Francophones tended to limit their positive evaluations to provinces located within their own territories of linguistic and cultural influence, one could conclude that Canadian youth by no means ignore bilingual and bicultural considerations when thinking about a future place of residence.

Table V-3. Number of Canadian Provinces in Which Young People Would Like to Live and Would Definitely Not Want to Live, by language spoken at home, region and language spoken at home, and age and language spoken at home

Mean Number of Provinces Named			
A. Language spoken at home	Live in	Avoid	Difference
English	2.77	1.72	+1.05
French	2.03	1.99	+ .04
Other	2.31	.80	+1.51
B. Region and language spoken at home	Live in	Avoid	Difference
French—Quebec	1.91	2.08	– .17
French—non-Quebec	2.51	1.62	+ .89
English—Atlantic	3.03	1.58	+1.45
English—Quebec	2.58	1.48	+1.10
English—Ontario	2.65	1.64	+1.01
English—Prairies	2.78	1.69	+1.09
English—British Columbia	2.87	2.25	+ .62
C. Age and language spoken at home	Live in	Avoid	Difference
English—13-14	2.85	1.58	+1.27
15-16	2.69	1.87	+ .82
17-18	2.72	1.69	+1.03
19-20	2.96	1.80	+1.16
French—13-14	2.34	1.82	+ .52
15-16	2.03	2.01	+ .02
17-18	1.73	1.83	– .10
19-20	2.10	2.52	– .42

When asked where they thought they would actually be living in 10 years, it is not surprising that the Francophones were most likely to anticipate remaining in their own province: they were 15 per cent more likely to say this than the Anglophones, and 37 per cent more likely to do so than the "Others" (Table V-4). By comparison, the rates at which the three groups had definite intentions to relocate were much more similar, the Anglophones being only 5 per cent more likely to cite a specific destination than the Francophones, and only 3 per cent more likely to do so than the "Others." The responses were brought back into balance, in the rates at which groups expressed uncertainty about the future: only 16 per cent of the Francophones, compared with 26 per cent of the Anglophones, and as many as 51 per cent of the "Others" indicated they were not sure where

they would be living in 10 years. The main difference between the groups, then, was that the French thought they were much more likely to remain in their own province.

One other feature to be noted in Table V-4 is that no single destination was cited very frequently by any of the groups: not more than 4 per cent indicated a specific Canadian location, and not more than 5 per cent a specific country. Of those who did expect to move, however, a majority in both non-Francophone groups indicated they would do so within Canada, while a majority of the French said they expected to leave Canada.

Table V-4. Residential Expectations in Ten Years, by language spoken at home

Question 22. Where do you think you'll actually be living ten years from now?			
Area of expected residence	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
Same province	56% ^a	71%	34%
Different Canadian province	10	5	9
Atlantic	1	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>
Quebec	1	2	—
Ontario	3	1	—
Prairies	2	1	4
B.C.	3	<i>b</i>	4
Province not indicated	1	<i>b</i>	—
Different country	8	8	6
United States	5	3	5
Great Britain	1	1	—
France	<i>b</i>	2	—
All other	1	1	1
No country named	1	1	—
Not sure	26	16	51
Total	100	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

^bLess than one-half of 1 per cent.

These responses are much more easily interpreted on a regional basis, and Table V-5 clearly shows that the high rates of anticipated stability among the Francophones reflect primarily the expectations of those from Quebec. Of the two Francophone groups, those living outside Quebec were 16 per cent less likely to cite their own province, and in fact were 10 per cent less likely to do so than the Ontario Anglophones. Thus, it was the Quebec Francophones and the Ontario Anglophones who most often expected to remain in their own provinces. By contrast, fewer than half of the Anglophone youth from either Quebec or the Prairies indicated a firm intention to stay in their own provinces, and both of these groups expressed much uncertainty about where they would be living as young adults. Nonetheless, more Atlantic Anglophones expected to move: 19 per cent named other Canadian provinces and 6 per cent other countries.

Interesting regional variations may also be noted in the destinations cited by young people who firmly intended to move. These are made more visible when the groups are ordered according to the extent to which Canadian locations were cited over foreign ones:

Grouping	Per cent by which Canadian destinations were cited more frequently than foreign ones
Atlantic Anglophones	+ 13
Non-Quebec Francophones	+ 10
Ontario Anglophones	+ 2
Prairie Anglophones	+ 1
Quebec Anglophones	0
Quebec Francophones	- 6
B.C. Anglophones	- 6

There are three distinct levels in these figures. The Atlantic English and non-Quebec French clearly chose Canadian destinations over foreign ones; the Quebec, Ontario, and Prairie English showed an even balance in their intentions to stay in Canada or leave; and the Quebec French and British Columbia English more frequently anticipated emigrating from Canada.

To recapitulate, Table V-5 indicates that more Quebec Francophones expected to remain in their own province—and were least likely to anticipate a move to a different province; that more Atlantic Anglophones thought of moving to another province; that the Quebec and Prairie Anglophones were least certain about where they would take up residence as young adults—and least convinced of the virtues of staying in their own province; that the British Columbia Anglophones and Quebec Francophones were more likely to think about leaving Canada than of moving within their country; and, finally, that of the Anglophone groups, Ontarians were the most firm in their intentions to remain in their own province. It is clear that both region and ethnicity have a great deal of influence on how Canadian young people view their future position in Canadian society.

Table V-5. Regional Differences in Residential Expectations in Future, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Who Expect to Live in Different Locations in 10 Years ^a							
Area Where Respondent Expects to be Living in 10 Years	French		English				
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)
In same province	74	58	51	45	68	43	54
In another Canadian province	2	16	19	11	6	12	5
In another country	8	6	6	11	4	11	11
Not sure	15	21	24	32	21	33	30
Total	99	101	100	99	99	99	100

^a All percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Residential expectations were also examined in relation to age (*see* Table V-6). It turned out that the number of Francophones who expected to remain in their own province increased steadily from 63 per cent among those just entering their teen years to 84 per cent of those entering their twenties. This increment is therefore quite substantial, and it would appear to be accounted for both by shifts in intentions regarding mobility, and by less indecisiveness. Over the eight-year span, responses indicating uncertainty about the future fell from 20 to 9 per cent among the French, while expectations regarding mobility showed a similar drop from 17 to 7 per cent.

Table V-6. Age Differences in Residential Expectations in Future, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Who Expect to Live in Different Locations in 10 Years ^a								
Area Where Respondent Expects to be Living in 10 Years	English				French			
	13-14 (N=261)	15-16 (N=260)	17-18 (N=202)	19-20 (N=68)	13-14 (N=161)	15-16 (N=162)	17-18 (N=140)	19-20 (N=60)
In same province	61	56	48	60	63	70	72	84
In another Canadian province	8	10	12	10	9	3	5	2
In another country	8	6	13	—	9	7	9	5
Not sure	23	28	26	30	20	20	13	9
Total	100	100	99	100	101	100	99	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

The most striking feature here is that none of these trends appears among Anglophone youth. Indeed, the responses of the older age groups suggest no increasing propensity to stay put but, if anything, increasing uncertainty. Even though at all ages more Anglophones than Francophones indicated they did not know where they would be located in the future, this difference widened considerably over the adolescent years: from 3 to 8 to 13 to 21 per cent. Thus, while virtually all Francophone youth had firm expectations by the age of 20, a substantial number of the Anglophones had still not made up their minds. These results suggest, in short, that Francophone youth decide where they are going to live as adults at a somewhat earlier age than do Anglophones.

Readiness to Move in Response to Economic Incentive

Economic considerations would appear largely to account for the regional differences found in expectations regarding residential mobility. When asked to rate their future job prospects (Questions 43 and 44), young people from the different regions made widely varying appraisals of the opportunities available to them both in their own province and in other parts of Canada. Part A of Table V-7 shows that the proportions who rated their

Table V-7. Perception of Job Opportunities in Own Province and Elsewhere in Canada, by language spoken at home and region

Responses	Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a									
	French			English					Other	
	Quebec (N=337)	Non-Quebec (N=192)	Total (N=529)	Atlantic (N=122)	Quebec (N=107)	Ontario (N=291)	Prairies (N=175)	B.C. (N=98)	Total (N=793)	Total (N=37)
A. Job opportunities in own province										
Definitely good	43	32	40	21	37	43	29	41	35	26
Probably good	29	29	29	42	39	31	48	35	38	23
Fair	19	23	20	19	15	17	11	15	16	23
Probably not so good	4	6	4	5	3	3	4	4	4	2
Definitely not so good	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	2	1
I'm not sure	5	8	5	12	4	5	7	2	6	25
Total	101	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	101	100
B. Job opportunities somewhere else in Canada										
Definitely good	21	26	22	33	41	30	28	27	30	21
Probably good	29	32	30	38	40	37	35	44	38	35
Fair	25	22	24	15	11	19	24	17	19	22
Probably not so good	5	5	5	b	—	2	4	7	3	4
Definitely not so good	5	b	4	—	4	b	1	—	1	1
I'm not sure	15	14	15	14	4	11	8	5	10	16
Total	100	99	100	100	100	99	100	100	101	99

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.^bLess than one-half of 1 per cent.

prospects as "definitely good" in their own province ranged from lows of 21 to 29 per cent among the Atlantic and Prairie Anglophones to highs of 43 per cent among both the Quebec Francophones and the Ontario Anglophones. In general, young people who lived in areas where job opportunities were thought to be best more often indicated they expected to remain there, and vice versa. Moreover, the extent to which a group perceived its job prospects to be better in other provinces than at home turned out to be a good predictor of the proportion of young people from that region who expected to move when they were adults.¹ All in all, the migratory expectations of Canadian young people would appear to fit the usual pattern.

From a strictly behavioural point of view, of course, individual decisions to change a place of domicile would be analyzed in terms of the forces which both attract the individual from the outside and which tie him to the local environment. Decisions not to change residence when given strong motivation to do so constitute a rough kind of index of the strength of one's attachment to one's environment, including the local government. In survey, young people were placed in precisely this kind of situation when asked whether they would advise a friend to take the better of two job offers if it involved moving "about 1,000 miles away in a different province of Canada," or moving to the United States (Questions 18 and 19). An examination of the responses to these questions offers some clue to the relative strength of both provincial and national ties when tested against strong economic incentives.

These responses are reviewed in relation to language spoken at home, region, and age in Tables V-8 through V-10.² First, from Part A of Table V-8, it is clear that members of the three language groups were quite differently disposed to the prospects of moving within Canada. Anglophone young people demonstrated a readiness to accept employment opportunities wherever they might be found in Canada, while an even more clear-cut majority of

¹When regional groups were ranked by the proportion who expected to move to a specific Canadian province in the future (Table V-5) and by the extent to which they rated "definitely good" job prospects more often to be found in other provinces than at home, the resulting rankings showed a correlation of +.86.

Group	Per cent expecting to move to a different province		Job prospects in other provinces compared to those at home	
		Rank		Rank
Atlantic Anglophones	19	1	+12	1
Non-Quebec Francophones	16	2	- 6	4
Prairie Anglophones	12	3	- 1	3
Quebec Anglophones	11	4	+ 4	2
Ontario Anglophones	6	5	-13	5
B.C. Anglophones	5	6	-14	6
Quebec Francophones	2	7	-22	7

$$\text{rho} = +.86$$

²A much more intensive analysis of these attachments will appear as part of Joseph M. Spina's doctoral dissertation, "Adolescent Attachment to Canada and Commitment to a National Community," Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, in progress.

Francophone youth rejected the idea of moving to a different Canadian province even if that meant getting a much better paying job. The "Others" were again closer to the Anglophone point of view than to the Francophone.

Table V-8. Readiness to Move under Economic Incentive, by language spoken at home

Per Cent Giving Different Responses ^a			
A. Readiness to move within Canada			
Question 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?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary	38	63	46
The job in another province which paid a lot better	52	31	53
I'm not sure	10	6	1
Total	100	100	100
B. Readiness to leave Canada			
Question 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?			
Responses	English (N=793)	French (N=529)	Other (N=37)
The job close to home which paid a pretty good salary	54	59	43
The job in the U.S. which paid a lot better	35	34	45
I'm not sure	11	7	12
Total	100	100	100

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases. Table shows unweighted case bases.

In Part B of the table, on the other hand, the English and French show much more agreement, and both substantially rejected the notion of emigrating to the United States in response to economic temptation. The "Others," on the other hand, reacted somewhat more favourably than the other groups to this possibility.

Although most Francophones would prefer not to migrate in either direction, it is revealing, nonetheless, that slightly more said they would recommend taking a job in the United States than in a different region of their own country (34 compared with 31 per cent). As might be anticipated, however, this discrepancy characterized the responses only of Francophones from Quebec. Table V-9 indicates that they, although not often in favour of either type of move, were nonetheless 7 per cent more likely to endorse a move to the United States than to a different province of Canada, while their counterparts living elsewhere in Canada were 9 per cent more receptive to job offers within the country.

Some of the other figures in Table V-9 represent sharp departures from the regional patterns found in earlier sections of this chapter, the most notable being the responses of Anglophone youth from the two coastal regions. The Atlantic English, while showing the greatest willingness to move between provinces, turned out to be least ready of all the Anglophone groups to accept job offers in either the United States or other regions of Canada; and the British Columbia Anglophones, who expressed the greatest reluctance to relocate within Canada, indicated strongly a readiness to do so if monetary gains were at stake. These discrepancies are somewhat perplexing, but perhaps do reflect genuine East-West differences in young people's readiness to take advantage of economic opportunities. The fact that these groups differed markedly in their views about moving elsewhere in Canada could, of course, be explained by the economic conditions in the respective regions.

Table V-9. Regional Variations in Readiness to Move under Economic Incentive, by language spoken at home

Language and region	Per Cent Who Would Advise a Friend to Move ^a	
	To another Canadian province	To the United States
French—Quebec (N=337)	27	34
—Non-Quebec (N=192)	46	37
English—Atlantic (N=122)	43	28
—Quebec (N=107)	45	43
—Ontario (N=291)	48	34
—Prairies (N=175)	63	39
—British Columbia (N=98)	56	37

^aAll percentages are computed from weighted bases and include those who are not sure. Table shows unweighted case bases.

The responses of the British Columbia Anglophones are also interesting when compared to the strong provincial orientation that group displayed in its evaluation of different levels of government in Canada. They gave their provincial government an even stronger vote of confidence than the Quebec Francophones gave theirs. In light of the present results, however, it would appear that the provincialism of the two groups is indeed different: that of the Quebec Francophones would seem clearly to over-ride economic advantage, while that of the British Columbia Anglophones just as clearly would not.

Finally, Table V-10 indicates that while older Anglophone youth were much more responsive than younger ones to the idea of changing provinces for economic gain, older Francophone youth were, if anything, less so than their juniors. Although at all ages more English than French recommended taking the better job, the discrepancies were considerably wider among older youth than younger: 40 and 25 per cent compared to 16 and 14 per cent. Neither Anglophones nor Francophones, however, displayed any shifts by age in their readiness to recommend accepting employment offers from the United States.

These results illustrate once again that as young people from the two cultures mature they come to reappraise their relation to the national environment in quite different ways.

Table V-10. Age Differences in Readiness to Move under Economic Incentive, by language spoken at home

Language and age	Per Cent Who Would Advise a Friend to Move ^a	
	To another Canadian province	To the United States
English—13-14 (N=261)	44	33
15-16 (N=260)	51	41
17-18 (N=202)	56	33
19-20 (N=68)	64	33
French—13-14 (N=161)	28	36
15-16 (N=162)	37	38
17-18 (N=140)	31	29
19-20 (N=60)	24	35

^aAll percentages computed from weighted bases and include those who are not sure. Table shows unweighted case bases.

Between the years of 13 and 20, Anglophone youth could be said to expand their territorial horizons quite literally while the Francophones seem to be limiting theirs.

We can conclude that neither the Francophones nor the Anglophones showed a propensity to value economic advantage above national attachments; that the provincial ties of the Quebec Francophones would appear to be relatively less vulnerable to outside economic stimuli than those of any other group; and that, among the Anglophones, provincial attachments seem to be stronger in the East than in the West, and to be relatively less important to older youth than to younger.

In the initial stage of this inquiry a series of exploratory interviews was carried out with 14 Anglophone and Francophone young people in Montreal, Ottawa, and Calgary. The first interviews were completely unstructured and were conducted in order to get a preliminary feeling for the kinds of subjects young people would identify when asked to talk freely about their country. Later interviews were partially structured in order to test the feasibility of certain lines of questioning and to suggest the phrasings of questions.

Next, a questionnaire was drafted and pretested on 124 Anglophone and Francophone youths. These pretests were carried out in Montreal and Ottawa with classes of high-school students,¹ and in Toronto with a small sample of young people contacted in their homes. Following the trial run in Toronto, the final version of the questionnaire was prepared.

The questionnaire was written in English and then double-translated. Translations were checked by a number of observers for suggestions and corrections. In its final form it was a 20-page self-administered questionnaire taking 30 to 40 minutes to complete. Copies are shown in both English and French in Appendix B.

This questionnaire was then administered to a national sample of Canadian young people by Canadian Facts Limited of Toronto. Field work was conducted between May and early July of 1965. The survey was carried out as part of the field work for the Commission's national interview survey of Canadian adults, the general procedure being to give questionnaires to all persons in the specified age range located in the households contacted in the main survey. No young people were sampled other than in households where an adult had already been interviewed. Age was the sole criterion for the selection of respondents. Persons between 13 and 20 were given questionnaires, regardless of

¹The Commission is grateful to Doctor Jacqueline Massé, who pretested the questionnaire among secondary school students in Montreal, and to Doctor Harry Pullen and Mr. J.W. Neil, of the Collegiate Institute Board of Ottawa, and to Père Rosaire Cloutier, O.M.I., of the High School of the University of Ottawa, who granted us permission to conduct pretests with his students.

whether they were married or single, working or attending school. Young people who had been interviewed as part of the adult survey, however, were ruled ineligible to receive a youth questionnaire.

The sample employed in the main study of adults was a weighted, multi-stage, stratified area random sample of 4,163 names appearing on the electoral lists of the 1963 general election. Stratification was carried out in the following steps. First the country was divided into five regions (excluding the Yukon and the Northwest Territories): the four Atlantic Provinces; Quebec; Ontario; the three Prairie Provinces; and British Columbia. The electoral districts (as defined by the *Report* of the Chief Electoral Officer for the 1963 election) were then classified as either urban or rural. An urban district was defined as one in which all the polling areas were considered in the *Report* of the Chief Electoral Officer to be urban or one which, irrespective of the classification of its polling areas, included one of the 23 large urban centres as determined by the 1961 census.² Any districts not classified as urban were automatically classified as rural.

The urban and rural districts in each of the four regions outside Quebec were then divided into three strata according to the proportion of Canadians of French origin in each district compared with the proportion in the region. In Quebec the districts were divided according to the relative proportions of Canadians whose origins were other than French (*see* Table A-1).

The electoral districts in which interviews were to be held were chosen at random from each of the resulting strata. From one to 16 districts were chosen in each stratum according to the relative size of the stratum. From the universe of 263 districts, 142 (or more than half) were chosen (*see* Table A-1). The total number of interviews to be given was fixed at 4,000, the number to be given in each stratum being determined proportionally according to the population as given in the 1961 census (*see* Table A-2).

In weighting the minority groups (French Canadians outside Quebec and non-French within Quebec) the polling areas of each district in the sample were divided into two categories: minority and majority. In the regions outside Quebec a minority category was formed by all the polls in which French names were at least 25 per cent of all the names listed for the polling area concerned. The remaining polls were assigned to the majority category. In Quebec a similar process was followed except that the criterion of division was reversed. The respective proportions of electors registered in each category of polling area served to determine the number of interviews to be given in each of the two categories of polling area in each electoral district sampled. Both minority categories were oversampled at a ratio of 3:1. Non-French electors living outside Quebec were under-sampled at a ratio of 2:3 while the Quebec French were sampled according to their actual representation in the population.

It had been agreed that the addresses at which interviews would be conducted would be chosen from 400 polling areas. Thus 10 addresses would be taken in each of the polling areas sampled. However, since the weighting necessitated that the minority lists be tripled

²These centres are: St. John's, Newfoundland; Halifax, Nova Scotia; Saint John, New Brunswick; Montreal, Quebec City, Sherbrooke, and Trois-Rivières, Quebec; Hamilton, Kingston, Kitchener, London, Oshawa, Ottawa, Sudbury, Toronto, and Windsor, Ontario; Winnipeg, Manitoba; Regina and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; Calgary and Edmonton, Alberta; Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia.

it was found that in choosing a list based on "blocs" of 12 (unweighted) potential interviews, about 400 polling areas would be covered.³

The number of polling areas, whether majority or minority, to be chosen in each electoral district was obtained by dividing by 12 the number of interviews to be made in each category of each electoral district.⁴ The polling areas within each group were chosen at random. However, as the interviews of minority groups were to be tripled, the minority polling areas chosen were immediately tripled; that is, for every minority polling area chosen two others were drawn. Within the areas drawn, whether majority or minority, addresses equal to the number of proposed interviews were drawn at a given interval (the number of registered electors divided by the number of interviews), the first residence being chosen at random within the first interval.

While choosing the addresses outside Quebec, each time the name of the elector at the address chosen was French, two other addresses were chosen from among those tenants who had French names. In Quebec a similar procedure was followed when the name chosen was *not* French. However, outside Quebec every third name chosen which was not French was eliminated in order to keep the total number of interviews at about 4,000.

It was arbitrarily decided that should it not prove possible to conduct an interview at the chosen address, the neighbouring address would be substituted. However, substitution for "minority" addresses was made from among the minority group whether or not the address substituted was next door.

In the original design for the survey, the field plan called for an individual administration of the questionnaire to each young person who turned up in the sample. Interviewers were instructed to deliver questionnaires in person to all respondents, and to remain in the household while the questionnaire was being filled out. After the field work had been launched, however, it became evident that the number of call-backs would seriously alter the schedule for the main survey, which called for the completion of over 4,000 adult interviews. Therefore, it was decided that questionnaires could be left with an adult member of the household and passed on to the adolescent. These questionnaires were then either mailed back to the field office or picked up by the interviewer on a subsequent field trip. All in all, 23 per cent of the completed schedules were deposited and returned in this way, but 77 per cent were delivered in person to the respondents.

Questionnaires were available in both French and English and were distributed according to the language spoken most frequently by the respondent at home. Persons speaking languages other than English or French at home were given English-language questionnaires unless they specifically requested a French form. It turned out, however, that 78 young people who filled out English-language forms indicated on their questionnaires that

³It was expected that about 8 per cent of the polling areas (that is, 32 out of 400) would be in the minority category. These being tripled, 64 areas would be added. Hence it was agreed to establish the approximate number of 400 polling areas at 336 (unweighted) in order not to exceed 400 (weighted). Since 4,000 interviews were to be held, the choice of 336 polling areas led to the decision that 12 addresses should be chosen in each polling area.

⁴For example, in a district where it had been established that 15 interviews would be held in the minority group and 24 in the majority group, the division of 15 and 24 by 12 gave 1.25 polling areas in the minority group and 2 in the majority.

they spoke French most often at home. These persons therefore had to be dropped from the analysis in the sections dealing with assessments of the utility of bilingual skills, and with the influence of intergroup contacts on attitudes regarding bilingualism.

In all, 1,365 complete and usable questionnaires were returned for analysis. This represented 66.6 per cent of the weighted total of young people located in the survey. As it turned out, however, the rates of response varied considerably over the eight ages sampled, and ranged from a high of 76.2 per cent among 13-year-olds to a low of 47.4 per cent of the 20-year-olds (see Table A-3). These differentials were produced in part by the fact that older youth were much less often found at home than their juniors, and in part because a number of 19- and 20-year-olds were ineligible to receive questionnaires because they were interviewed as members of the adult sample. This necessitated the reweighting of each individual according to the completion rate for all persons his age, a step which, when combined with the sampling specifications, resulted in a final set of individual weights ranging from 26 to 189 (see Table A-4). All computations and calculations for the analysis were therefore conducted on a total weighted case base of 119,039.

Table A-1. Sample Districts, by strata

Region	Type of electoral district	Stratum	Minority population* as percentage of district population	Electoral districts in sample
Atlantic Provinces	Urban	I	Less than 5	St. John's West, St. John's East
		II	5 - 10	Halifax
		III	More than 10	Saint John-Albert
	Rural	I	Less than 25	Queens, York-Sunbury, Victoria-Carleton, Royal, Cumberland, Colchester-Hants, Pictou, Cape Breton South
		II	25 - 50	Westmorland, Northumberland-Miramichi, Inverness-Richmond
		III	More than 50	Restigouche-Madawaska, Kent
Quebec	Urban	I	Less than 5	Hochelaga, Laurier, Sainte-Marie, Québec, Montmorency, Papineau, Trois-Rivières
		II	5 - 25	Cartier, Maisonneuve-Rosemont, Laval, Sherbrooke, Québec sud, Mercier, Dollard, Longueuil, Outremont-Saint-Jean
		III	More than 25	Verdun, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, Sainte-Anne
	Rural	I	Less than 5	Bellechasse, Joliette-L'Assomption-Montcalm, Rimouski, Beauce, Lévis, Chicoutimi, Lac Saint-Jean, Rivière-du-Loup-Témiscouata, Dorchester, Saint-Hyacinthe-Bagot, Richelieu-Verchères, Charlevoix

*French Canadians in regions outside Quebec, non-French within Quebec.

Table A-1. – (Continued)

Region	Type of electoral district	Stratum	Minority population* as percentage of district population	Electoral districts in sample
Ontario	Urban	II	5 – 20	Châteauguay-Huntingdon-Laprairie, Saint-Jean-Iberville-Napierville, Hull, Gaspé, Terrebonne, Richmond-Wolfe, Compton-Frontenac, Beauharnois-Salaberry
		III	More than 20	Gatineau, Brome-Missisquoi, Argenteuil-Deux-Montagnes, Chambly-Rouville
		I	Less than 10	Ontario, Hamilton West, Davenport, York Centre, Hamilton South, Trinity, Danforth, York-Humber, London, Rosedale, York-Scarborough, Kingston, Waterloo North, York East
		II	10 – 25	Carleton, Essex West
	Rural	III	More than 25	Ottawa West, Ottawa East, Russell
		I	Less than 10	Brantford, Halton, York North, Waterloo South, Grey-Bruce, Grey North, Lambton West, Huron, Prince Edward-Lennox, Hastings South, Wentworth, Peterborough, Brant-Haldimand, Middlesex East, Leeds, Niagara Falls
		II	10 – 25	Algoma West, Kent, Essex South, Renfrew South
		III	More than 25	Algoma East, Glengarry-Prescott, Simcoe East, Stormont
Prairie Provinces	Urban	I	Less than 4.3	Saskatoon, Winnipeg North
		II	4.3 – 5.2	Edmonton-Strathcona, Calgary South
		III	More than 5.2	Winnipeg South, Winnipeg North Centre
	Rural	I	Less than 10	Marquette, Selkirk, Brandon-Souris, Portage-Neepawa, Yorkton, Moose Mountain, Moose Jaw-Lake Centre, Qu'Appelle, Red Deer, Battle River-Camrose, Acadia, Bow River, Wetaskiwin, Medicine Hat, Macleod
		II	10 – 20	Lisgar, Rosthern, Prince Albert, Jasper-Edson

*French Canadians in regions outside Quebec, non-French within Quebec.

Table A-1. — (Continued)

Region	Type of electoral district	Stratum	Minority population* as percentage of district population	Electoral districts in sample
British Columbia	Urban	III	More than 20	Saint-Boniface, Provencher
		I	Less than 3.2	Vancouver South
		II	3.2	Vancouver East, Victoria
		III	More than 3.2	Vancouver-Burrard
	Rural	I	Less than 3.7	Coast-Capilano, Nanaimo-Cowichan-The Islands, Okanagan Boundary
		III	3.7 – 4.8	New Westminster, Kootenay West, Okanagan-Revelstoke
		III	More than 4.8	Comox-Alberni, Burnaby-Coquitlam, Kootenay East

* French Canadians in regions outside Quebec, non-French within Quebec.

Table A-2. The Canadian Population and Number of Interviews, by regional strata

	Population	Per cent	Number of interviews
Atlantic Provinces	1,897,425	10.4	416
Quebec	5,259,211	28.9	1,156
Ontario	6,236,092	34.3	1,372
Prairie Provinces	3,178,811	17.5	700
British Columbia	1,629,082	8.9	356
Total	18,208,724	100.0	4,000

Table A-3. Rate of Response, by age

Age	Total located (weighted)	Total returned and usable (weighted)	Completion rate (per cent)	Adjusted weight
13	1,797	1,370	76.2	13
14	1,702	1,121	65.9	15
15	1,734	1,231	71.0	14
16	1,843	1,331	72.2	14
17	1,518	976	64.3	16
18	1,672	987	59.0	17
19	1,050	544	51.8	19
20	521	247	47.4	21
Not given	—	81	—	
Total	11,837	7,888	66.6	

Table A-4. Adjusted Weights for Respondents

Age	Language and Region			
	Quebec French	Quebec Non-French	Non-Quebec French	Non-Quebec Non-French
13	78	26	26	117
14	90	30	30	135
15	84	28	28	126
16	84	28	28	126
17	96	32	32	144
18	103	34	34	153
19	114	38	38	171
20	126	42	42	189

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/

-2-

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
- A completely new flag 2
- I'm not sure 3
- I wouldn't care one way or the other 4

12/0

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
- A completely new flag 7
- They'd probably be divided about 50-50 8
- I'm not sure 9

13/5

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
British Columbia	5	6	7
Manitoba	1	2	3
New Brunswick	5	6	7
Newfoundland	1	2	3
Nova Scotia	5	6	7
Ontario	1	2	3
Prince Edward Island	5	6	7
Quebec	1	2	3
Saskatchewan	5	6	7

14/4
15/8
16/4
17/8
18/4
19/8
20/4
21/8
22/4
23/8
24/

-3-

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
- 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

25/0

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
- 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

26/0

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
- 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

27/0

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
- 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

28/0

-4-

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
 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

29/0

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
 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

30/0

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
 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

31/0

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/

-5-

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
I'd say they were different in most ways 2
I'm not sure 3

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

37/0

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	
(b) their friendliness to strangers 5	6	7	
(c) their hair and clothing styles 1	2	3	
(d) the language they speak 5	6	7	
(e) the types of music they like 1	2	3	
(f) the types of jobs they hold 5	6	7	
(g) the amount of money they have 1	2	3	
(h) the importance they attach to religion.. 5	6	7	
(i) the importance they attach to having a good time 1	2	3	
(j) the importance they attach to making a lot of money 5	6	7	
(k) the kind of government they have 1	2	3	

38/4

39/8

40/4

41/8

42/4

43/8

44/4

45/8

46/4

47/8

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
English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Canadians.. 6
I'm not sure 7

51/8

-6-

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
 The government of your province 2
 The government of Canada 3
 I'm not sure 4

52/0

16. Which one would you say does the least for people?

(Circle one answer)

The government of your city, town or township 6
 The government of your province 7
 The government of Canada 8
 I'm not sure 9

53/5

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
 The government of your province 2
 The government of Canada 3
 I'm not sure 4

54/0

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
 The job in another province which paid a lot better 2
 I'm not sure 3

55/0

-7-

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
The job in the U. S. which paid a lot better 6
I'm not sure 7

56/8

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
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

57/y

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
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

59/y

60/

-8-

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

-9-

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	

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE
BEGIN
DECK 2

(1-4)

5/0

6/4

7/8

8/4

9/8

10/4

11/8

12/4

13/8

14/4

15/8

16/4

17/8

18/

19/

-10-

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
 French-Canadians and English-Canadians 6
 I'm not sure 7

20/8

28. How well do you speak French right now?

(Circle one answer)

I know hardly a word of French 1
 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

21/0

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
 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

22/0

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
 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

23/5

-11-

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)

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

	WOULD BE HELPPFUL IN IN THIS WAY	WOULD NOT BE HELPPFUL 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 traveling 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
No 2

34/0

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
No 5
I don't know 6

35/3

34. Do any French-speaking families live within about a half mile of where you live?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 1
No 2
I don't know 3

36/0

-12-

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
 Once or twice a week 2
 Occasionally--but not as often as once a week 3
 Never 4

37/0

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
 Fair 2
 Poor 3
 I'm not sure 4

44/0

-13-

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
 Getting worse 2
 Staying about the same 3
 I'm not sure 4

45/0

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
 Get worse 7
 Stay about the same as they are now 8
 I'm not sure 9

46/5

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

-14-

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 _____

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

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

-15-

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

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

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

-16-

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE
BEGIN
DECK 3

47. Please indicate your sex.

(Circle one)

Male 1

Female 2

(1-4)

5/0

48. How old were you on your last birthday?

(Circle one answer)

Thirteen 3

Fourteen 4

Fifteen 5

Sixteen 6

Seventeen 7

Eighteen 8

Nineteen 9

Twenty 0

6/y

49. Are you currently attending school?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: full-time 1

Yes: part-time 2

No: not at all 3

7/0

50. Are you currently working?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: full-time 1

(What is your occupation?)

Yes: part-time 2

No: not at all 3

8/0

9/
10/51. By next summer, how many years of schooling will you have completed--
counting from the first grade of elementary school?

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____

11/
12/52. By next summer, how many years altogether will you have studied
French in school?

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____

13/
14/

-17-

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?

NUMBER OF YEARS: _____

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE15/
16/

54. Were you born in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Yes 1

No 2

17/0

55. Were your parents born in Canada?

(Circle one answer)

Yes: both parents were 6

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

18/5

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/

-18-

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

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

DO NOT
WRITE
IN THIS
SPACE

-19-

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)

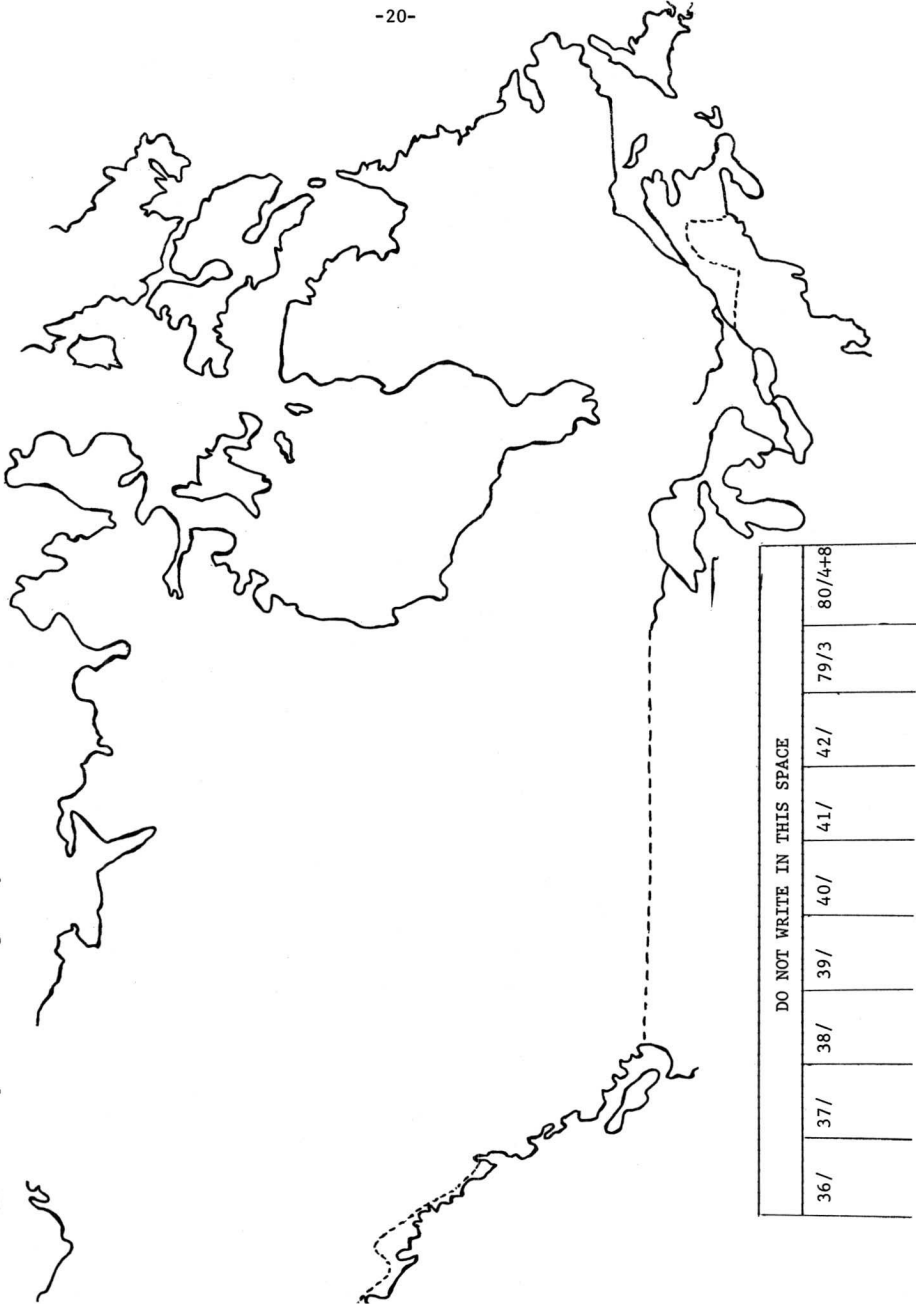
- Under \$2,000 0
- \$ 2,000 - 2,999 1
- \$ 3,000 - 3,999 2
- \$ 4,000 - 4,999 3
- \$ 5,000 - 5,999 4
- \$ 6,000 - 6,999 5
- \$ 7,000 - 7,999 6
- \$ 8,000 - 9,999 7
- \$10,000 - 14,999 8
- \$15,000 or more 9

35/y

-20-

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?



DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE					
36/	37/	38/	39/	40/	41/
				42/	
				79/3	80/4+8

NORC 488
3/65

NORC 488
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 côté 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 PLAÎT, ET COMMENCEZ AVEC LA QUESTION 1

MERCI.

N'ECRIVEZ PAS DANS CET ESPACE S'IL VOUS PLAÎT										
1/	2/	3/	4/	5/	6/	7/	8/	9/	10/	11/

-2-

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 SÛR
Alberta	1	2	3
Colombie Britannique ...	5	6	7
Ile du Prince Edouard ..	1	2	3
Manitoba	5	6	7
Nouveau Brunswick	1	2	3
Nouvelle Ecosse	5	6	7
Ontario	1	2	3
Québec	5	6	7
Saskatchewan	1	2	3
Terre Neuve	5	6	7

24/

-3-

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?

(entourez une réponse)

- Ils seraient d'accord sur pratiquement tous les points .. 1
 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

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

25/0

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
 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

26/0

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
 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

27/0

7. Et les Canadiens de langue française et les Canadiens de langue anglaise--seraient-ils d'accord ou non sur l'avenir du Canada?

(entourez une réponse)

- D'accord sur pratiquement tous les points 1
 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

28/0

-4-

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
 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

29/0

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
 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

30/0

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
 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

31/0

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/

-5-

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

A mon avis, ils sont différents sur la plupart des points... 2

Je ne suis pas sûr 3

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

37/0

13. Dans la liste suivants, 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

Les Canadiens de langue anglaise et les Canadiens de langue française 2

Je ne suis pas sûr 3

51/8

-6-

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
 Le gouvernement de votre province 2
 Le gouvernement du Canada 3
 Je ne suis pas sûr 4

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

52/0

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
 Le gouvernement de votre province 7
 Le gouvernement du Canada 8
 Je ne suis pas sûr 9

53/5

17. Pour quel gouvernement vaudrait-il mieux travailler--si le salaire était le même pour chaque emploi?

(entourez une réponse)

Le gouvernement de votre ville ou village 1
 Le gouvernement de votre province 2
 Le gouvernement du Canada 3
 Je ne suis pas sûr 4

54/0

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
 L'emploi dans une autre province qui est beaucoup
mieux payé 2
 Je ne suis pas sûr 3

55/0

-7-

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

L'emploi aux Etats Unis qui est beaucoup mieux payé .. 6

Je ne suis pas sûr 7

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

56/8

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

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

57/y

58/

21. Dans quelles provinces du Canada voudriez-vous certainement ne jamais vivre?

(entourez toutes celles
où vous ne voudriez
jamais vivre)

Alberta 0

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

59/y

60/

-8-

22. Où pensez-vous réellement vivre dans dix ans?

(entourez une réponse)

Dans cette province 1

Dans une autre province du Canada 2

(Laquelle? _____)

Dans un autre pays 3

(Lequel? _____)

Je ne suis pas sûr 4

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

61/0

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 vivent au Canada?

67/

68/

69/

79/1
80/4+8

-9-

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
 Je ne suis pas sûr 3

26. Dans la liste suivants, 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

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

COMMENCEZ
DECK 2
(1-4)

5/0

18/
19/

-10-

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
 Les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais 6
 Je ne suis pas sûr 7

20/8

28. Comment parlez-vous Anglais en ce moment?

(entourez une réponse)

Je connais à peine un mot d'Anglais 1
 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

21/0

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
 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

22/0

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
 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

23/5

-11-

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.)

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

	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 ou j'espere 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

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
Non 2

34/0

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
Non 5
Je ne sais pas 6

35/3

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
Non 2
Je ne sais pas 3

36/0

-12-

35. Combien de fois entendez-vous parler Anglais autour de vous?

(entourez une réponse)

Pratiquement tous les jours 1
 Une ou deux fois par semaine 2
 Parfois, mais moins d'une fois par
 semaine 3
 Jamais 4

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

37/0

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
 Assez bonnes 2
 Mauvaises 3
 Je ne suis pas sûr 4

44/0

-13-

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)

Elles s'améliorent 1
 Elles deviennent plus mauvaises 2
 Elles restent à peu près les mêmes 3
 Je ne suis pas sûr 4

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

45/0

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
 Deviendront plus mauvaises 7
 Resteront à peu près comme elles sont
 maintenant 8
 Je ne suis pas sûr 9

46/5

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

-14-

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE
MARGE

41. Quel genre de travail votre père fait-il? (Si votre père ne vit plus, indiquez s'il vous plaît 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

-15-

45. Dans quelle province habitez-vous?

(entourez une réponse)

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE

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 I

64/y

65/y

79/2
80/4+8

-16-

47. Indiquez votre sexe s'il vous plaît.

(entourez une réponse)

Masculin 1

Féminin 2

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE MARGE
COMMENCEZ
DECK 3

(1-4)

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/

-17-

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'ANNESS: _____

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE
MARGE15/
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 7Non: ma mère est née au Canada, mais pas
mon père 8Non: 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/

-18-

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.)

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE
MARGE

	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 31/0
Français 2
Autre (laquelle?) 3
()

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 32/0
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

-19-

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

N'ECRIVEZ
PAS DANS
CETTE
MARGE

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/y

-20-

64. Voici une carte blanche du Canada. Aucun endroit n'y est indiqué. Inscrivez cinq 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 cinq choses.

Quels sont les cinq endroits ou choses qui décrivent le mieux le Canada à votre avis?

N'ÉCRIVEZ PAS DANS CET ESPACE								
36/	37/	38/	39/	40/	41/	42/	79/3	80/4+8

PRIVY COUNCIL OFFICE
MANAGEMENT INFORMATION CENTER