

LANGUAGE and society

No. **8** Autumn 1982

TWO PASTS IN QUEST OF THEIR FUTURES

Anglophones in Quebec

Gary Caldwell

3

Francophones outside Quebec

Hubert Gauthier

7

Yugoslavia:
a linguistic mosaic

Ilija Topalovski

13

The linguistic pendulum
swings in Vancouver schools

Eileen Yeung

16

Culture shock:
more than words

Michael Argyle

19

Letters to the Editor

22

is a magazine of

information and opinion published by the Commissioner of Official Languages, Max Yalden. The quarterly magazine encourages a reflective approach to language matters, both Canadian and international, while providing a forum for informed debate on the issues.

The opinions expressed by contributors are their own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commissioner.

Advisory Council

Nick Ardanaz

Principal, Kennedy Elementary School, British Columbia.

Henry Best

President of Laurentian University, Ontario.

Jean-Denis Gendron

Director of the Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, Laval University, Quebec.

John Godfrey

Chancellor of the University of King's College, Nova Scotia.

John Gray

Ottawa bureau chief of the Globe and Mail, Ontario.

Manon Vennat

Vice-president, administration, and general counsel, AES Data Ltd, Quebec.

Bernard Wilhelm

Professor, University of Regina, Saskatchewan.

Language and Society is prepared by the Information Branch, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Director: Christine Sirois; Editor: Marie-Andrée C.-Renaud; Production: Roslyn Tremblay and Nevine Barsoum.

Letters may be sent to the Editor, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0T8 Tel.: (613) 995-7717.

Copies of the magazine may be obtained free of charge from the same address.

Articles may be reprinted with a credit to *Language and Society*, a publication of the Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada.

Editor's Note

Do our official language minorities have a future? Two of our contributors try to answer this question, which has haunted Francophones outside Quebec for generations and now worries Anglophone Quebecers too. One, Hubert Gauthier, was for many years a leading figure in the community of French language minorities. The other, Garry Caldwell, is a sociologist who has closely followed social and political developments in Quebec for the past 10 years.

As data from the 1981 census was not yet available when they wrote, Mr. Gauthier and Mr. Caldwell both based their work on 1971 and 1976 census figures. Preliminary findings of the 1981 census which have since been made public, hardly seem to indicate any improvement in the situation of the minorities, as readers will see if they consult the table of 1981 mother-tongue statistics we have prepared (page 12).

From a Yugoslav point of view, Canada may seem to have it easy with only two official languages to deal with. After describing the linguistic and cultural complexities of his country, Ilija Topaloski shows that only rigorous respect for language rights can ensure social harmony in multilingual countries.

Teachers and school administration in Vancouver had their world turned topsy-turkey by swelling numbers of students whose mother tongue was neither English nor French. Eileen Yeung tells of the tensions and difficulties that resulted, and of steps taken to resolve them.

In our final article, psychologist Argyle shows that successful intercultural communication takes more than a knowledge of languages. It must also respect non-verbal codes that express, even more than language, the deep-rooted values of each civilization.

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL
LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE
AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES



In recent Canadian history, the existence of Anglo-Quebec and the question of its future have become a matter of conjecture. How this population handles itself now will be crucial for the future of both Quebec and Canada... and to its very existence.



Sociologist Gary Caldwell was born in Ontario, but settled in Quebec in 1971. His

undergraduate studies were at Toronto and York Universities. He earned his Master's at Laval University. He taught at Trent and Bishop's and is now associated with the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture. He sits on the advisory committee of Quebec's department of cultural communities and immigration.

Anglo-Quebec on the verge of its history

GARY CALDWELL

Until quite recently, an entity such as that evoked by the term Anglo-Quebec hardly existed in the Canadian consciousness: it certainly did not exist in the minds of English-speaking Quebecers themselves. Until the seventies, Anglophone Quebecers of the twentieth century did not think of their way of life as being in question. Nor, for that matter, were they aware of leading a way of life that was in any way particular to Quebec. Recent Canadian history has, of course, conspired to change all that. One now speaks of the existence of a social entity called Anglo-Quebec much as one speaks of a French-speaking Canada outside of Quebec. And, as in the case of the latter, the continued existence of Anglo-Quebec has become a matter of conjecture.

Yet, the fact that the existence of Anglo-Quebec has been raised to the level of social consciousness and that its future has become an open question is not a cause for despair. Quite the contrary. History suggests that there exists in the fate of conscious minorities a cultural and political potential that is given to few collectivities of the same size. Indeed, Anglo-Quebec is now poised – in a way that it has never been before – on the tightrope of history. Quite literally, there is no going back and, on the way ahead, the risk of oblivion is not negligible. How this population handles itself in these circumstances will be crucial for the future of both Quebec and Canada – not to speak of its own precarious existence. A Quebec in which there is no non-Francophone minority might well become a closed, as opposed to an open and inclusive society. A Canada in which the English/French contradiction finds partial resolution in total geographic segregation would not be the same Canada as that which has existed for almost 150 years with the same contradiction. And, to push the logic further, if Quebec were to separate, a North America in which the United States has on its northern border a series of smaller states, as opposed to the Canadian Confederation, would not be the same North America that we know today.

That in cultural, religious and social class terms, a very heterogeneous collection of a million people should be so strategically

located with respect to the future of Canada is rather awe-inspiring. Admittedly, few people within Anglo-Quebec itself have been so inspired. Most have rather been concerned with more immediate matters such as numbers, the survival of institutions seen as essential, the process of adaptation to and integration into the social life of the wider Quebec society and, more recently, the edification of a Quebec-wide Anglophone political front. Let us look first at these more immediate issues. Then, having reviewed in these more concrete terms the situation as it is being experienced today, we will return to the cultural and political potential of Anglo-Quebec and the strategies it might give rise to.

The question of numbers

At the time of the 1976 short census, there were in Quebec more than three-quarters of a million people who reported English as their mother tongue. Four fifths of these lived in the Montreal metropolitan area. If one adds to this another quarter million whose mother tongue was not English but who had adopted English as their lingua franca, one is close to the twenty per cent of the overall Quebec population (six million) so often cited as being the Anglophone proportion in Quebec. In other words, at the time of the 1976 census, approximately a million people in Quebec spoke English as their primary language.

One might well ask, can this situation last, given that Anglophones are leaving Quebec faster than Francophones? Even before the Parti Québécois came to power in 1976, the propensity of Anglophones to leave was at least six times that of Francophones. How then, if there has been so much English emigration, does one account for the fact that the Anglophone proportion of the population of Quebec maintained itself at twenty per cent until 1976. Answering this question reveals much about the composition and strength, past and future, of Anglo-Quebec.

Since the War, natural increase has been responsible for only half the renewal of the Anglophone population. The other half was the result of a disproportionate Anglophone immigration to Quebec, linguistic assimilation to English of

Francophones and allophones¹ and, finally, a very considerable English-speaking migration from other provinces. These factors contributed to maintaining the English population at about twenty per cent of the overall Quebec population, a level which constituted a sort of historical equilibrium going back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

When the continuation of this historic equilibrium was threatened — as it indeed was in the sixties — it was not as a result of any change in the composition and sources of the English-speaking population but, rather, by a change among Francophones. The sharp decline of the birth-rate among French Quebecers and a renewal of Francophone migration, first to Ontario and then to the West, provoked by the periodic recessions of the post-war period, dramatically reduced the growth rate of Francophone Quebec. Had the trends prevailing in the sixties and seventies continued unabated, there would have been more children in English than in French schools in Montreal by 1980.

Once the prospect of a rupture of the demolinguistic equilibrium became apparent, the perceived consequences became the subject of a national trauma in Quebec. The Quebec intelligentsia, having just consolidated itself ideologically in terms of the territory of Quebec, after deciding that assimilation in the rest of Canada made the idea of a nation of French-speaking Canada a lost cause, now found itself menaced — demographically — *from within*. Consciousness of the demographic situation led to political action, the linguistic legislation of 1974 and 1977 (Bills 22 and 101) and a major reorientation of thinking about immigration policy.

This political action and accompanying legislation has in turn influenced (as it was indeed designed to) the demographic determinants of the English-speaking population. Anglophone immigration, as well as allophone immigration, (more than 80 per cent of which assimilated to English) declined. And a generation of young Quebec Anglophones, ill-prepared to function in a French Quebec and fearful about employment and career

prospects is, in all probability, leaving Quebec at a faster rate than the generation which immediately preceded it.

There are, nevertheless, some qualifications to be made to this somewhat bleak portrait of the demographic prospects of Anglo-Quebec. There is some return migration of Anglo-Quebecers who have discovered the existence of a quality of life in Quebec which is difficult to duplicate elsewhere. On the positive side, there is also the prospect of a higher birth rate among the Anglophone population — a prospect that is already a reality in the child-bearing age range outside the Montreal metropolitan area. On the other hand, the general stagnation of investment coupled with de-industrialization is the source of a more recent and, relative to the initial “political” phase, perhaps more substantial emigration. Moreover, the prolonged uncertainty and frustration being experienced by segments of the English-speaking population may overwhelm an earlier conviction, formed in the late sixties, that they are Quebecers and are here to stay. Recent departures of several such individuals do not auger well.

Indeed, there is no getting around it, the population of English-speaking Quebec, cut-off from its traditional outside sources and drained by an acceleration of an already substantial emigration, is declining and will not likely maintain its historic twenty per cent proportion of the Quebec population. A shakedown is in progress. The number of young Quebec Anglophones now in Alberta and the preliminary census results relative to the high level of departures from Montreal are an indication. New census results, which may be available before publication² of this article, will no doubt indicate a decline of the English mother tongue population — the cultural core of Anglo-Quebec — from its 1976 level of thirteen per cent of

the Quebec population to something in the range of ten per cent. It is entirely conceivable that, by the 1986 short census, the Anglophone population of Quebec will have contracted from its historic level of twenty per cent to somewhere below fifteen per cent.

Shaken down in terms of total numbers, the resulting Anglophone population will also be changed in nature. It will possess a continuity and stability that it has never known before. As late as the sixties, half of the active Anglophone population was not Quebec-born. Within a community in which turnover was so high, it was extremely difficult to develop a cultural tradition and a historical consciousness.

The survival of institutions

If those interested in the long-term survival of Anglo-Quebec can find some grounds for solace by peering into the demographic crystal ball, the prospects on the institutional front are unequivocally bleak at the moment. The erosion is both quantitative and qualitative. Serious spokesmen for Anglo-Quebec speak of the total disappearance of all Anglophone social service institutions within twenty years.

A process of standardization and bureaucratization, a by-product of the post-war modernization of Quebec, is eroding the communal character of Anglophone social service institutions such as hospitals, old-age homes and child care organizations. All this is particularly unfortunate, not only for Anglo-Quebec, but for Quebec in its entirety. A post-modernization consciousness is now emerging in Quebec. It is dawning on many that no system of norms or administrative controls can replace the organizational efficiency and the quality of human relationships attainable through the assumption of responsibility by natural communities. It will not be very long before communal particularities, be they geographic, religious or ethnic, may well be seen again as a source of social energy and responsibility to be tapped.

As for Anglophone educational institutions, problems are surfacing at all levels. Except in certain neighbourhoods of Montreal, the dispersion of the

1. Neologism for those whose mother tongue is neither English or French.

2. There was indeed a decline of the nature predicted by the author. Quebecers whose mother tongue is English now make up 10.9 per cent of the population. See table (prepared by the editors) at the end of this article, incorporating 1981 census data on mother tongue in the province of Quebec, Montreal and Quebec City. The Editor.

FRANCOPHONES, ANGLOPHONES AND OTHERS IN QUEBEC

Distribution of the population by mother tongue for the province of Quebec, Montreal and Quebec City, 1971, 1976 and 1981.

	1971					
	French		English		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Province of Quebec	4 867 250	81	789 185	13	371 330	6
Montreal	1 819 640	66	595 395	22	328 180	12
Quebec City	458 435	95	18 035	4	4 030	1
	1976					
	French		English		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Province of Quebec	4 989 245	80	800 680	13	444 525	7
Montreal	1 831 115	65	607 505	22	363 865	13
Quebec City	513 895	95	15 745	3	12 515	2
	1981					
	French		English		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Province of Quebec	5 307 010	82	706 115	10,9	425 275	7
Montreal	1 936 215	68	520 490	18	371 635	13
Quebec City	554 775	96	15 585	3	5 720	1

N.B. Table prepared by *Language and Society*.
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of 1971, 1976 and 1981.

Anglophone population makes it increasingly difficult to transport elementary and high-school pupils. Further, parents are manifesting an increasingly difficult to transport elementary and high-school pupils. School enrolments, after faring reasonably well relative to Francophone enrolments until the end of the seventies, are now in very serious decline.

That at least one-seventh of English-speaking families now send their youngest children to French schools is both a factor in and an indication of the potentially catastrophic nature of the enrolment issue. The parents in question are, generally speaking, the

Anglophone elite. Their abandonment of the English schools deprives the system of its most active and most demanding (in terms of standards and the need to learn French) elements. The present cultural trauma of Anglo-Quebec is reflected in the paradox that it is often these same parents who find themselves in the forefront of the campaign to preserve English schools, which are seen as the bulwark of Anglo-Quebec society.

The question of the future of English schools has been rather abruptly thrown into relief by the educational reform the government is preparing. As the Anglophone elementary and

secondary school system constitutes the most substantial institutional underpinning of Anglo-Quebec, resistance to its dismantling will no doubt exceed anything yet experienced.

A dimension of the institutional world of Anglo-Quebec which is rarely invoked but which was once the mainstay of this population (as the school system is now) is the complexity of religious institutions. These institutions, although short on manpower, still possess a substantial material base — the legacy of their past vitality. As this population becomes more concerned with its identity and the institutional underpinnings of this identity, it might well, in the spirit of a neo-conservative era, turn with reason and profit to its religious institutions. There are already signs that the leadership of several of the religious bodies of Anglo-Quebec are beginning to rise to the challenge.

Our knowledge of the linguistic adaptation of Quebec Anglophones — or at least those who are still in Quebec — is very imperfect. The best available estimates suggest that, whereas in 1970 only a quarter of Quebec Anglophones could function socially in French, today the proportion has risen to two-thirds. As for integration, generally understood to mean active participation in Francophone institutions as opposed to just linguistic accommodation, the situation is evolving very quickly. Bilingual Anglophone professionals, and businessmen are now an everyday phenomenon. And, after the generation now in elementary school becomes active in public life and in the market place, such "integrated" Anglophones may well be the norm. The question which several ask is, will their children be assimilated? More than three years ago, the historian Michel Brunet remarked that Quebec Anglophones had managed in the three previous years an adaptation that could have been expected to take thirty. What is far from clear, however, is whether this adaptation is a consequence of behavioural changes on the part of those who are in Quebec or of a rather intensive self-selection process in which those who are not adapting are simply leaving.

A new militancy

The major current development in Anglo-Quebec is, undoubtedly, a new militancy. Although at least two "consciousness-raising" groups were in existence before the Parti Québécois victory in November, 1976, it has been since that event that Anglo-Quebec has been in ferment. Local cultural animation groups led to regional associations and specialized research groups. Paralleling these various consciousness-raising activities, a whole series of more politically oriented groups came into existence. In "Alliance Quebec", a certain junction has been effected between the two types of group, cultural and political. This has come about as a consequence of a hardening of attitudes, one that risks eclipsing the edifice of cultural animation, research and advocacy that has been painstakingly put in place since 1976. The new militancy was catalyzed by such things as the difficult language tests for professionals, the coming into force of the unilingual sign legislation, and the much-touted school reform. An awareness of declining numbers and the uncertain future of many Anglophone institutions, compounded by the disappointment of the unexpected re-election of the Parti Québécois in 1981, also played a part in crystallizing a new hard-line position.

More moderate forces may yet prevail as they did in the past when the "Free Choice" movement was abandoned by the responsible leadership once it accepted that the practice of free choice and the long-term survival of a Francophone Quebec were not reconcilable. Once convinced of this, they dropped the free choice demand. Yet, the new militancy is, like all past protest movements in the Anglophone milieu, defensive in nature. Its purpose is to roll back the unilingual sign legislation, maintain existing English institutions and oblige the government to provide civil service jobs for Anglophones — all claims growing out of a reaction to the pressures of the moment. Apart from their affirmation of a commitment to full participation in a Francophone society, the various Anglophone fronts have not manifested very much creativity in terms of what might be called cultural strategies. With the single notable exception of a call for a united

Anglophone front, very few of the positions taken go beyond reaction. This brings us to the Achille's heel of the current collective political posture of Anglophones in Quebec: is it very difficult to mobilize a population *other* than for reaction when they have nothing in common, culturally, but the English language.

The cultural challenge

If there exists an alternative to the essentially reactive posture of Anglo-Quebec, an alternative one might characterize as being that of cultural challenge, it would arise out of the potential of Anglo-Quebec invoked at the beginning of this article. What then is the nature of this potential? It has, we suggest, at least four distinct facets.

The foremost is the superior cultural creativity of minorities — the protestants of the Republic of Ireland, the various communities of the Jewish Diaspora and, of course, Francophone Canada itself, to name but three. A resurgence of interest in the history, demographic make-up and culture of Anglo-Quebec effectively presages just such a potential cultural creativity among Anglophone Quebecers.

A further potential of Anglo-Quebec, one more specific to its geo-political context may lie in the fact that the English/French contradiction being experienced in Quebec is not an aberration in Canadian terms. In fact, as Herschel Hardin has aptly put the case in his *Nation Unaware*, it is one of the three central contradictions of Canada's history, the resolution or dissolution of which might well put an end to a political experiment which has lasted almost a century and a half. In other words, rather than interpret what is happening in contemporary Quebec as a denouement or a struggle against the enemy, one might well see it as one of the most pregnant and productive phases of a process which is as Canadian as our collective non-identity.

Yet, there is an even more specific contextual justification of potential than the "Canadian" one just invoked. Historical accident has been such that minority cultural communities — be they Jewish, Italian or Greek — have been more successful in maintaining

themselves in Quebec (more specifically in Montreal) than in other jurisdictions in Canada and possibly in North America. Such an apparent paradox is probably the product of the double-majority situation which prevailed in Quebec for so long. In light of this rather surprising particularity of Quebec history, one is able to envisage the possibility of a more promising future for minority cultural preservation within Quebec than outside. The eventual Canadian irony may be that the British cultural tradition, for instance, will persevere longer in Francophone Quebec than in Anglophone North America.

The challenge will be to discover how to facilitate the development of the several cultures of Anglo-Quebec, as opposed to provoking the abortion of their varied development in a forcing process imposed for political purposes. We suspect that the drive to create a united Anglo-Quebec for what are essentially political reasons presents just such a risk. One might rather think in terms of the carrying forward of the anglo-celtic, Jewish and Indian cultural traditions in Quebec, for example, as opposed to the forging of not — yet — existent Quebec Anglophone culture.

Finally, there is the challenge of cultural convergence in Quebec which is the challenge of Quebec society as a whole. This is the challenge of being able to maintain an open, inclusive society which will be able to incorporate new cultural elements in response to changing geo-political, economic and demographic conditions rather than falling back on strictly defensive and reactive postures. Cultural convergence implies that Quebec will survive but that it will not necessarily be the same Quebec. Contemporary Quebec has indeed opted for a posture of availability to cultural challenge and the strategy of cultural convergence is a manifestation of this availability. Anglo-Quebec has before it the opportunity both of making itself available to the creativity of cultural convergence and of playing a role in the realization of a process of cultural change which may well be the key to Quebec's as well as its own survival.

Most of the 900,000 Francophones living outside Quebec are geographically and culturally isolated. Some accept this and become assimilated; others fight for their rights. The author presents a personal view of the situation and outlines the conditions he feels must prevail if Francophone communities outside Quebec are to survive.



Born in St. Boniface, Hubert Gauthier worked for the Franco-Manitoban Society and

subsequently for Manitoba's ministry of education. Appointed director general of the Federation of Francophones outside Quebec, he helped prepare *The Heirs of Lord Durham*, a study of Francophones outside Quebec. For the past three years, he has been a member of the council for health and social services in the Quebec City area.

Francophones outside Quebec: do they have a future?

HUBERT GAUTHIER

Over the past few years, Francophones outside Quebec have prepared and published a number of major works, some of the most important being *The Heirs of Lord Durham* and *Face to Face with a Failing Country*.¹ These documents on social, demographic, economic, cultural, political and educational issues describe the harsh realities that Acadians, Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans and other Francophones in Western Canada face daily.

These studies have generated considerable publicity and increased general awareness of the situation. But, how have they changed the living conditions of the 900,000 Francophones outside Quebec whose mother tongue, if not their language of daily use, is still French? Where is the "progress" so loudly proclaimed by politicians, who have always managed to turn the problems of Francophones outside Quebec to their advantage, and by senior public servants? Is it realistic to expect improvements for these communities, to hope to check their assimilation or to work for their true development? Are the federal and their own provincial governments their only hope, or should they try to develop and strengthen relations with Quebec, the largest Francophone community in North America? Lastly, should we not examine the psychological assimilation of these Francophone communities and assess what remains of their will to survive?

We shall attempt to shed some light on these questions in the current Canadian context and in terms of the rights guaranteed by the *Constitution Act, 1982*, keeping in mind that, for historical reasons and although represented by a *federation* (the Federation of Francophones outside Quebec), not all Francophones outside Quebec have the same needs or aspirations.

History

Francophones outside Quebec fall into two distinct groups, each with its own origins. As the first inhabitants of New France, Acadians are the direct descendants of French colonists who settled on an island at the mouth of the St. Croix River. Port Royal, which became Acadia, was founded in 1605. Despite massive deportations by the British in 1755,

major Acadian communities still exist in the Maritimes, principally in New Brunswick, where almost 240,000 Acadians live today. Here, Acadians have lived on their land for almost four centuries and consider themselves distinct from Quebecers and other Francophones in Canada. Like Quebecers, they have roots planted directly in France.

Members of the second group are mostly descendants of Quebecers who moved westwards to take possession of new land in Ontario and Western Canada.

In short, the Acadians, Quebecers and Francophones in Ontario and the West were the first to colonize what is today called Canada. For this reason, they consider themselves one of the country's two founding peoples.

A minority in the country they founded

The tables in the following pages show how Canadians of French origin are distributed outside Quebec and the percentage of the total population that each community represents in its province. Table 1 indicates that while the number of Francophones has increased overall their position as a proportion of the total population has weakened nationally and in province except British Columbia, where there has been a very slight increase (a fact that, in itself, is not a sign of vitality). Table 2 shows what has happened to the identity and language of the 1,417,255 persons who, in the 1971 census, declared themselves to be of French origin.

Even a cursory review of the figures reveals a dramatic decline in the Francophone population outside Quebec. Close to half a million Canadians of French origin stated in 1971 that French was no longer their mother tongue. This is an irrecoverable loss. An additional 250,000 who claimed French as their mother tongue indicated they no longer use it. Over a ten-year period, massive language transfers² have resulted in a considerable rate of anglicization among Francophones outside Quebec.

1. More comprehensive information is given in Selected readings, page 11.
2. A person makes a language transfer by adopting a new language as the first language in the home.

TABLE I

POPULATION OF FRENCH ORIGIN INSIDE QUEBEC

Distribution of people of French origin by province (except Quebec) and percentage of total population: 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961 and 1971.

Province	1931		1941		1951		1961		1971	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Newfoundland	—	—	—	—	9,841	2.7	17,176	3.8	15,413	3.0
Prince Edward Island	13,962	15.9	14,799	15.6	15,477	15.7	17,418	16.7	15,325	13.7
Nova Scotia	56,629	11.0	66,260	11.5	73,760	11.5	87,883	11.9	80,220	10.2
New Brunswick	136,999	33.6	163,934	35.8	197,631	38.3	232,127	38.8	235,025	37.0
Ontario	299,732	8.7	373,990	9.9	477,677	10.4	647,941	10.4	737,355	9.6
Manitoba	47,039	6.7	52,996	7.3	66,020	8.5	83,936	9.1	86,505	8.8
Saskatchewan	40,700	4.4	50,530	5.6	51,930	6.2	59,824	6.5	56,195	6.1
Alberta	38,377	5.3	42,979	5.4	56,185	6.0	83,319	6.3	94,665	5.8
British Columbia	15,028	2.2	21,876	2.7	41,919	3.6	66,970	4.1	96,550	4.4
Total	648,466	6.3	787,364	6.8	990,440	7.7	1,296,594	7.1	1,417,255	6.6

Note: People of French origin in Quebec and percentage of total population: 1931 – 2,270,059 (79%); 1941 – 2,695,032 (81%); 1951 – 3,327,128 (82%); 1961 – 4,241,354 (80.7%); 1971 – 4,759,360 (79%).

Source: Statistics Canada – Census of 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961 and 1971. N.B. 1981 census figures on ethnic origins will not be made public until 1983.

Language transfers

The rate of anglicization is lowest in New Brunswick (7.7 per cent) and very high everywhere else (from 26.9 to 69.7 per cent). Statistics show that 75 per cent of those claiming French as their mother tongue, and 82 per cent of those claiming to use it at home, live in New Brunswick and Ontario, suggesting that the speed of assimilation is inversely proportional to the concentration of Francophones in a region.

After an initial period of massive bilingualization, it takes only two or three generations for the minority population to move from one type of unilingualism to another. Only New Brunswick and Ontario, which border on Quebec, have significant numbers of unilingual Francophones. The others

obviously suffer from geographic and cultural isolation.

Each Francophone community outside Quebec has a very different relative weight. When we consider the importance of communications and of educational, economic and legal institutions, we see that New Brunswick Acadians and even Franco-Ontarians, who together represent two-thirds of the Francophone population outside Quebec, are in a very enviable position compared with other groups scattered across the country.

The equality myth

For a number of years, some observers have tried to equate the situation of the Anglophone minority in Quebec with that of Francophones outside

Quebec. However, the two have nothing in common.

All statistics point to two realities: an obvious decline in the Francophone population outside Quebec and the linguistic vitality of Anglophones in Quebec. In socio-economic terms, the Francophones are not nearly as well provided for as the Anglophones. Studies reveal that unilingualism has not adversely affected the income of Anglophones in Quebec whereas Francophones, even if bilingual, cannot ordinarily hope to have incomes matching those of unilingual Anglophones. Indeed, they must become bilingual to prevent income disparities from growing. In education, the difference is even more marked. Not only do Francophones outside Quebec not control

educational services, they are often obliged to accept compromises like bilingual schools, which are, in effect, centres for assimilation. Quebec Anglophones, on the other hand, have their own education system at all levels, from elementary school to university.

The Anglophone minority in Quebec has always been treated equally, decently, and with respect. The exact opposite applies to Francophones outside Quebec: their language and culture are held in contempt. For example, we suffered 90 years of irreparable wrongs waiting for justice to be done in Manitoba. Yet, in its Constitution Act, 1982, the government of Canada has, under Section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867 (the British North America Act), recognized the Anglophone community in Quebec. At the same time, Franco-Ontarians don't enjoy the rights specified in Section 133. That is to sanction inequality.

The ravages of assimilation

Over and above these undeniable facts and figures, the insidious evil of psychological assimilation gnaws daily at Francophones, especially those who are most isolated geographically. It erodes the very foundation of Francophone communities and lies at the root of the negative image they have of themselves. Even today, we hear statements from Francophones like: "Yes, but the jobs are English here" or "Why make enemies for nothing?" or "I'm not racist, I'm Canadian." These expressions are used repeatedly, particularly by those who have become accustomed to the situation and are giving in to the forces of assimilation. When Francophones begin to feel that French should be used only at home and not in public, when they are afraid of shocking their neighbours by speaking their own language and by letting their culture show, then assimilation is already well under way. Although they may be able to express themselves in French, their way of thinking, of behaving in private and public, and of participating in society is no longer French. Thus, groups gradually fade into compromise, silence and anonymity. They lose the essential tool of self-development — their own way of thinking. This is psychological assimilation.

To treat this cancer with purely linguistic means is to avoid the real problem. The disease is social, economic and political. It spreads through the entire social fabric, the communications network, the work world, the education, health care and justice systems. To speak of a will to survive in this context is to propose that Francophones outside Quebec swim forever against the mainstream; accept a constant effort to counter the daily manifestations of a view of life that is foreign to theirs.

Biculturalism rejected

As we have noted, Francophones outside Quebec have always considered themselves a distinct people in this country. Unfortunately, governments are no longer much concerned, even if they once recognized the concept of the two founding peoples. Multiculturalism policies and the way the recent constitutional reform unfolded indicate a movement by federal authorities towards a formula which legally favours the individual to the detriment of the group. This has tended to reduce the Francophone community to the status of one minority among many.

Over the past several years, Francophones outside Quebec have always approached their municipal, provincial and federal governments with the same objective — to obtain effective tools of self-development through an overall development policy, power to initiate projects, and control French school boards and French-language municipalities. Until now, however, governments have systematically refused to grant them these political tools and have refused to share the power that would enable them, where it is still possible, to meet the challenges they face.

The federal government's answer has been grants. The annual budget for the major Francophone groups outside Quebec rose from some \$2 million in 1976 to nearly \$20 million in 1981. The recipients, busy managing these large amounts of money, very often forget that the real issue has been shunted aside, consciously avoided or even permanently shelved. At the provincial level, the matter has, with a few exceptions, been ignored. Certainly, the claim is made that we continue to make

progress. But, equality cannot be piecemeal; either it exists or it does not.

The constitutional illusion

The constitutional debate is now over. The most obvious inequality — at least the one most condemned by Francophones — that was sanctioned by the new Canadian Constitution is in the provision that makes some 500,000 Franco-Ontarians second-class citizens. Why are Ontario and the other provinces not required to provide bilingual services for their minorities, as are Quebec, New Brunswick and Manitoba?

Another more subtle inequality has serious consequences for Francophones outside Quebec. It involves the right to minority-language instruction and it merits closer examination.

What does Section 23(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982 really mean? For Quebec Anglophones, it confirms what they already have — a solid infrastructure in education as well as in health care and social services, and in the parliamentary, administrative and judicial domains. These infrastructures enable them to live in their language, not simply to survive.

The only concession that this same section makes to Francophones outside Quebec is the right to fight for the infrastructures Quebec Anglophones already possess. This "right" is already an intrinsic part of their daily lives. They are fighting battles for new French schools or for control of those that already exist. Nor do the constitutional experts appear to have examined the other problems facing Francophones outside Quebec — the lack of French daycare centres, recreational activities, communications, social and health services, and so on.

The debate paid no heed to the joys and trials of daily life for Francophones in St. Boniface, for example, even though these are the very conditions that should be addressed immediately. Everything was focussed on legalistic issues, on a so-called Charter of Rights that eased the conscience of some.

Quebec: a return to the source

The development of Francophone communities outside Quebec relies largely

TABLE II

RATE OF ANGLICIZATION OF FRANCOPHONES OUTSIDE QUEBEC

Number of Canadians who are of French ethnic origin, of French mother tongue and speak French most often at home, and rate of anglicization¹, by province (except Quebec): 1971.

Province	French ethnic origin (A ¹)	French mother tongue (A ²)	French language most often spoken at home (A ³)	Rate of anglicization (B) %
Newfoundland	15,415	3,640	2,295	37.0
Prince Edward Island	15,325	7,360	4,405	40.0
Nova Scotia	80,220	39,335	27,220	30.8
New Brunswick	235,025	215,725	199,080	7.7
Ontario	737,355	482,045	352,465	26.9
Manitoba	86,505	60,545	39,600	34.6
Saskatchewan	56,195	31,605	15,930	49.6
Alberta	94,665	46,500	22,700	51.2
British Columbia	96,550	38,035	11,505	69.7
Total	1,417,255	924,790	675,200	26.9

1. The rate of anglicization is calculated as follows:
mother tongue – language most often spoken at home × 100 ÷ mother tongue.

(A³) 1971 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Cat. 92-726

(B) Federation of Francophones outside Quebec, 1977, *The Heirs of Lord Durham*, Volume 1, p. 25

Source:

(A¹) 1971 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Cat. 92-723

(A²) 1971 Census of Canada, Statistics Canada, Cat. 92-725

N.B. 1981 census figures on ethnic origins will not be made public until 1983.

on the vitality of Quebec. By denying the collective rights of Francophones, the Constitution tends to weaken the ties that bind the group.

Quebecers cannot be indifferent to these 675,000 people who have kept French as their principal tongue, who want to live in French and often have no choice but to live where their ancestors settled. They must make Quebec the fortress, bastion and centre for the dissemination of Francophone culture. Quebec must be a fertile source of inspiration and must keep making concrete efforts to improve the daily life of Francophones outside Quebec. And, like Quebecers, other Francophones must constantly be on guard to defend the most vital rights of French speakers in America. Like Quebecers too, they

must share the ideal of a strong and vigorous community and together struggle against drowning in a sea of uniformity and domination. Francophones outside Quebec must also be careful not to fall into numerous traps like federal grants that could turn them against Quebec. A strong Quebec is the best guarantee of their survival in every way, including language. Francophones everywhere need to defend the ramparts of French culture together. Measures must be taken to include Francophones outside Quebec in the sphere of influence of Quebec's culture. A council of Francophones outside Quebec could be created to this end. And why not establish an orientation programme for Francophones outside Quebec who choose to move to "la belle province"?

Through interaction with a politically strong and culturally dynamic Quebec, Francophones outside Quebec can participate in a great program aimed at the vitality of the entire Francophone community in America. Perhaps action by Quebec will force other governments to understand the meaning and importance of the development of a Francophone community.

Francophones outside Quebec must henceforth understand that their most promising ally cannot be the federal government. Politicians in Ottawa have clearly demonstrated that they have no intention of really dealing with the question of Francophones outside Quebec. They want to approach the issue in a fragmented and *ad hoc* manner, dealing with each case individually,

without a global policy for Canadian Francophones.

None of them wishes to envision an overall development policy that would affect the entire lives of those involved. None wants a just settlement of the thorny issue of political status for the French minority outside Quebec, so that there could finally be a semblance of equality between the two national language minorities. Ottawa prefers instead to hide the real issue behind the costly veneer of assorted remedies that are always designed to leave the impression the problem is solely linguistic. It has abandoned the Francophones outside Quebec. From now on, they must turn to their only natural ally – Quebec.

Although this article has focused on the relations of Francophones outside Quebec with the federal government and the government of Quebec, it is understood that these Francophones must continue to deal with their respective provincial governments. However, we must recognize that, in many cases, the response of these governments wavers between passivity and *ad hoc* actions undertaken only after long struggles. Consequently, the links that must be forged with the government of Quebec cannot help but encourage other provincial governments to develop more sensitivity towards the needs of their Francophone communities.

Where possible, Francophones outside Quebec must establish institutions

whose dynamic local activities will produce the minimum basic guarantees of development and will enable them to conclude more beneficial alliances with Quebec. Where this is not possible, other groups must set themselves objectives they can achieve in the short-term and stop reaching for all kinds of will-o'-the-wisps. It is pointless for them to go on envisioning a complete life in French where this is simply not practical.

(Adapted from the French.)

SELECTED READINGS

Alliance Québec. *Working Papers on English Language Institutions in Québec*, Edited by Susan Schachter, 1982.

Arnopoulos, Sheila McLeod. *Hors du Québec point de salut ?* Montreal, Éditions Libre expression, 1982.

Caldwell, Gary. *Anglophone Quebec Outside of the Montreal Area in the Seventies*. Conseil de la langue française, Gouvernement du Québec, 1980.

Cartwright, Donald C. *Official language populations in Canada: patterns and contacts*. Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal, 1980.

Choquette, Robert. *L'Ontario français, historique*. Montreal, Éditions Études vivantes, 1980.

Clift, D. and S. McLeod Arnopoulos. *The English Fact in Quebec*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980.

Daigle, Jean (ed). *Les Acadiens des Maritimes*. Moncton, Centre d'Études acadiennes, 1980.

Fédération des femmes canadiennes-françaises. *Femmes et Francophones : double infériorité*. Ottawa, 1980.

Federation of Francophones outside Quebec. *The Heirs of Lord Durham*, manifesto of a vanishing people. Ottawa, 1978.

Federation of Francophones outside Quebec. *Canada's challenge: two communities, two standards*. Ottawa, 1978.

Federation of Francophones outside Quebec. *Face to face with a sailing country*. Ottawa, 1979.

Federation of Francophones outside Quebec. *Un espace économique à inventer*. Ottawa, 1981.

Federation of Francophones outside Quebec. *Pour nous inscrire dans l'avenir*. Report of the committee on overall development policy. Ottawa, June 1982.

Fédération des jeunes canadiens-français. *La dernière jeunesse (Resume)*. Ottawa, 1977.

Government of Quebec. *A Cultural Development Policy for Quebec: Vol. 1, A General View: the Culture under Consideration*, 1978.

Henripin, Jacques, and Réjean Lachapelle. *The demolinguistic situation in Canada: past trends and future prospects*. Institute for Research on Public Policy, Montreal, 1982.

Joy, Richard J. *Canada's Official Language Minorities*. C.D. Howe Research Institute, Accent Quebec series, 1978.

St-Germain, Claude. *La situation linguistique dans les écoles primaires et secondaires 1971-1972 à 1978-1979*. Gouvernement du Québec, 1980.

Vallières, Gaétan. *L'Ontario français par les documents*. Montreal, Éditions Études vivantes, 1980.

ENGLISH AND FRENCH IN CANADA

These figures, taken from the advance release (July 6, 1982) of the 1981 Census 100 per cent data base, show the number of Canadians in each province having English, French, or another language as their mother tongue.

					Canada			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					14,918,445	61.3	14,122,770	61.4
French					6,249,095	25.7	5,887,205	25.6
Other					3,175,640	13.0	2,982,630	13.0
Total					24,343,180		22,992,605	

					Newfoundland			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					560,460	98.7	545,340	97.8
French					2,655	0.5	2,760	0.5
Other					4,565	0.8	9,625	1.7
Total					567,680	2.3	557,725	2.4

					Prince Edward Island			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					115,045	93.9	109,745	92.8
French					6,080	5.0	6,545	5.5
Other					1,380	1.1	1,940	1.7
Total					122,505	0.5	118,230	0.5

					Nova Scotia			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					793,165	93.6	768,070	92.7
French					36,030	4.3	36,870	4.4
Other					18,245	2.1	23,630	2.9
Total					847,440	3.5	828,570	3.6

					New Brunswick			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					453,310	65.1	435,975	64.4
French					234,030	33.6	223,780	33.0
Other					9,065	1.3	7,495	2.6
Total					696,405	2.9	677,250	3.0

					Quebec			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					706,115	11.0	800,680	12.8
French					5,307,010	82.4	4,989,245	80.0
Other					425,275	6.6	444,520	7.2
Total					6,438,400	26.4	6,234,445	27.1

					Ontario			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					6,678,770	77.4	6,457,645	78.1
French					475,605	5.5	462,070	5.6
Other					1,470,730	17.1	1,344,750	16.3
Total					8,625,105	35.4	8,264,465	35.9

					Manitoba			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					735,920	71.7	727,240	71.2
French					52,560	5.1	54,745	5.4
Other					237,760	23.2	239,525	23.4
Total					1,026,240	4.2	1,021,510	4.4

					Saskatchewan			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					770,815	79.6	715,685	77.7
French					25,535	2.6	26,710	2.9
Other					171,960	17.8	178,930	19.4
Total					968,310	4.0	921,325	4.0

					Alberta			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					1,810,545	80.9	1,482,725	80.7
French					62,145	2.8	44,440	2.4
Other					365,035	16.3	310,875	16.9
Total					2,237,725	9.2	1,838,040	8.0

					British Columbia			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					2,249,310	82.0	2,037,645	82.6
French					45,615	1.6	38,430	1.6
Other					449,540	16.4	390,535	15.8
Total					2,744,465	11.3	2,466,610	10.7

					Yukon			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					20,245	87.4	18,940	86.7
French					580	2.5	525	2.4
Other					2,330	10.1	2,375	10.9
Total					23,155	0.1	21,840	0.1

					Northwest Territories			
					1981	%	1976	%
English					24,755	54.1	23,085	54.2
French					1,240	2.7	1,095	2.6
Other					19,750	43.2	18,430	43.2
Total					45,745	0.2	42,610	0.2

Yugoslavia is a Federation with six republics, five nations, two alphabets and many, many languages. A complicated situation but one that works. Here is a parliamentarian's view of how language rights are given meaningful official recognition in his country.



Ilija Topaloski is a former journalist, now a member of the Yugoslav parliament. He is also president of the Commission for Verifying the Identity of Texts in the Languages of Yugoslavia and president of the Yugoslav Inter-parliamentary Group. A member of the Macedonian minority himself, he was a signatory of the 1945 Proclamation of the Macedonian Literary Language which gave Macedonian official recognition.

Language rights in Yugoslavia

ILIJA TOPALOSKI

Language has always been extraordinarily important for the awakening of national consciousness. It has long been considered an essential component in the establishment and consolidation of a society or nation, irrespective of demographic proportions, the amount of territory occupied, or economic and other factors.

Lately, problems relating to the status of language in multinational countries have been attracting attention. Extensive literature exists on this subject, discussing many different theories. There is, however, only one way of assessing the value of each analysis. This is by asking: how do things work in practice?

In the period between the two world wars, one widely-held view was that greater industrialization would inevitably lead to the predominance of one "major" language in multinational countries while "minor" and "secondary" languages would gradually diminish in importance, eventually to vanish from public use. Simply speaking, this was explained in terms of economics. The rapid development of a modern, highly-industrialized society demands standardization and centralization. This applies to language as well as to the means of production. Thus, in this view one of the fundamental conditions for achieving industrial development is efficient communication in one and only one language.

However, events over the several past decades do not bear out this theory. On the contrary, we are witnessing the reverse of what was predicted. It is precisely these advanced, industrialized countries that are encountering the strongest and loudest demands for the rights of the "minor", "secondary", "unofficial" or "historically oppressed" languages. Specific examples can be found in Europe (e.g. Belgium, England and Spain), in America (e.g. Canada) and in other regions of the world. Thus, the industrial revolution (in both the technical and social senses) failed to "liquidate" multilingualism. On the contrary, by strengthening the material base of the society, it has given rise to profound aspirations for the equitable use of languages heretofore either suppressed for historical reasons or insufficiently

present in the socio-political, economic and cultural development of those countries.

Bearing these conclusions in mind, it is easier to perceive the essence of some language-related events (dissatisfaction, political riots, etc.) that have taken place in certain countries and to draw some useful lessons. One would certainly be that the harmonious development of multilingual countries cannot be ensured without the full equality of their languages, i.e. without the full national/political, cultural and socio-economic equality of all citizens, whether they belong to the "major" or "minor" nation, and to one or another national minority or ethnic group. In other words, the language problem cannot be solved separately but only as an integral part of overall social transformations.

The Yugoslav experience

A foreign observer of my country cannot easily grasp the complexities of our linguistic and social life — at least not at a glance. This is because some aspects of the Yugoslav system are quite novel to foreigners and do not fit into patterns they know from elsewhere. Difficulties also arise because the linguistic and social realities of Yugoslav society are sometimes presented one-sidedly, over-emphasizing various contrasts or past negative experience.

Occasionally, we come across descriptions with poetic overtones. Thus, one foreign visitor, describing the multilingual or multinational character of Yugoslavia, said that this country resembled a mosaic composed of many variegated and complementary colours. Less poetical but more witty, the late prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, once said that Yugoslavia was a country with seven neighbours, six republics, five nations, four religions, three languages, two alphabets and one President of the Republic. This remark, made in a friendly manner by a man held in high esteem in my country, contains today two "incomplete truths" as well as a point of definition that needs clearing up.

Nations and nationalities

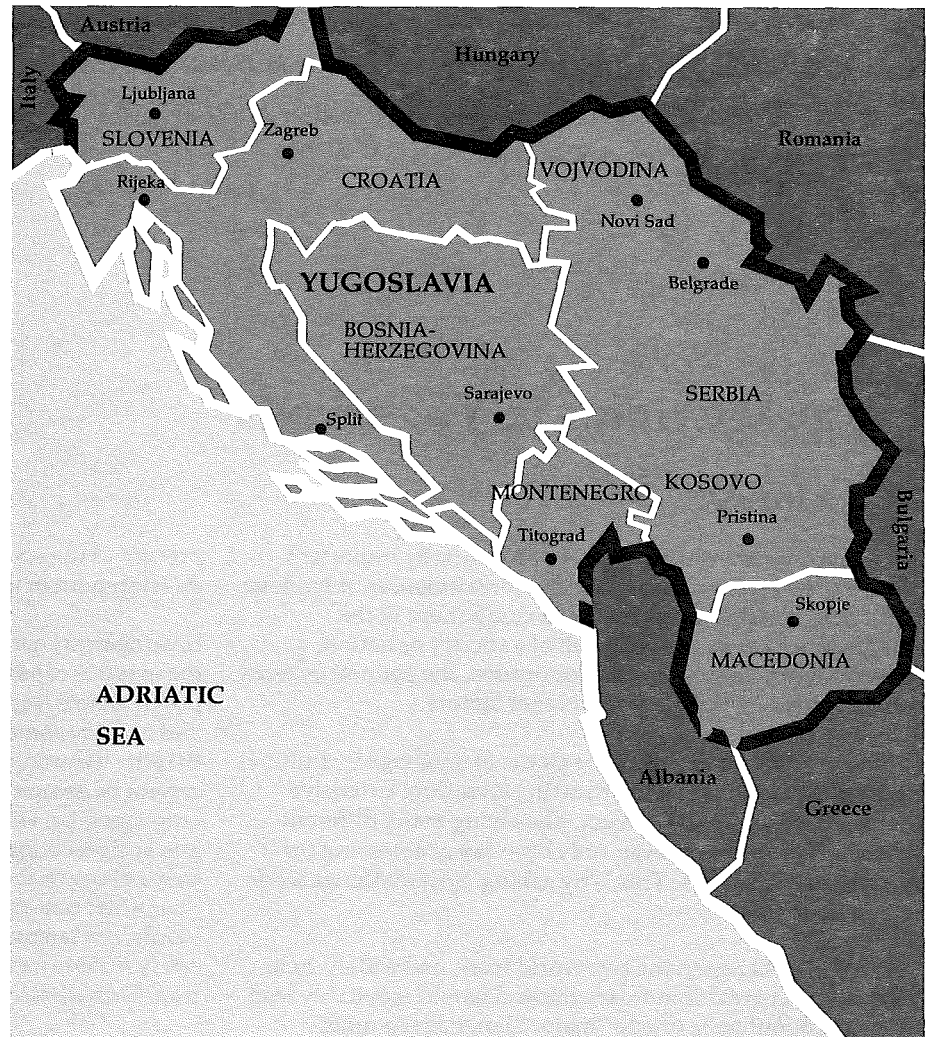
Dealing with the definition first. The words "nation" and "nationalities" are used in Yugoslavia in a particular way. A "nation" is a people whose main body lives within Yugoslavia – the Serb nation for example, which is found mainly in Yugoslavia, though there are also Serbs in Romania and Hungary. A "nationality" is the reverse. This word is used to describe a small group of a people living in Yugoslavia while most members of that people live outside the country. For example, some Italian-speaking peoples who live in Yugoslavia, while the main body of that people lives, obviously, in Italy.

Then, as far as the incomplete truths are concerned, we have not three languages in Yugoslavia but more. Secondly, after President Tito died, the function of President of the Republic was abolished to be constitutionally replaced by the office of President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). The presidency is a collective body with eight members (one from each republic and province) and the title of president of the Presidency passes each year from one member to another. Let us return to languages. The Yugoslav Constitution guarantees the full equality of all the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia, while the Constitutions of the six Republics and two Provinces guarantee the equality of the languages spoken on the individual territories. It might sound a bit odd, but it is a fact that in Yugoslavia there is no single official language. All languages are "official" from the level of the commune up to that of the Provinces, Republics and of the Federation itself.

Linguistic diversity

About 75 per cent of Yugoslavs speak Serbo-Croat. It is spoken in the republics of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro and in the two provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Slovenian is spoken in the Republic of Slovenia while Macedonian is spoken in the republic of Macedonia. It is worth noting that the provinces are especially rich as regards language. In Kosovo, the most widely spoken language is Albanian, followed by Serbo-Croat and Turkish. In Vojvodina, most people speak Serbo-Croat,

YUGOSLAVIA



followed by Hungarian, Slovakian and Romanian, while Macedonian is spoken in some villages by Macedonians resettled in Vojvodina after the Second World War.

A similar situation, though perhaps less complex, exists in some of the republics. In Macedonia, for instance, Albanian and Turkish are spoken, besides Macedonian. The Romany live in all regions of Yugoslavia, but the first grammar of the Romany language was published in Macedonia a few years ago. This sketch (which, owing to lack of space, has been drastically condensed) gives, I hope, an approximate picture of the Yugoslav linguistic map.

Looking at Macedonia

Let us now consider the effects of the practical application of Yugoslavia's

constitutional principles on language equality. Of special interest, perhaps, is the Republic of Macedonia. In the ninth century the great Slovene educators, the brothers Cyril and Methodius, created the Slovene alphabet and brought literacy to the Slovene people in Central Europe. The brothers were born in Macedonia. However, after eleven centuries of foreign oppression, the people in whose bosom Slovene literacy originated only won the right to use their standard language unhindered when the new Yugoslavia was created, 1941-1945.

In the old Yugoslavia, the Macedonian literary language was not recognized. Nor was the Macedonian nation. There were no Macedonian schools and no books, articles or pamphlets published in that language. Illegally, however,

various political proclamations and patriotic poetry and other texts were published in Macedonian, though this kind of publication was dangerous. Even children were punished if they dared use their mother tongue.

Much has been done to correct this situation in a relatively short time. An American professor at Harvard University, H. G. Lunt, in *A Survey of Macedonian Literature*, wrote that Macedonian enjoys today "a language standard comparable to that of the other Balkan languages".

It is necessary to emphasize that the languages of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia experienced a renaissance comparable to that of Macedonia in the post-war period. This has had positive effects in helping the separate parts of the Yugoslav community cohere and co-operate.

In Yugoslavia, every citizen is entitled to use his native tongue in communicating with the judiciary or other institutions in his own or another republic or province. He also has the right to be educated and to speak in public at all levels, including the federal parliament, in his native language.

The Parliament

Since we have already mentioned this subject, it might be useful to briefly comment on the workings of the Yugoslav parliament, which we call the Assembly of the SFRY. Even a superficial comparison with parliaments of both the Western and Eastern countries would reveal profound differences as regards underlying principles.

To ensure maximum democracy in harmonizing the pluralistic interests of the Yugoslav community, the Yugoslav Constitution has instituted the delegate system as the basis of all socio-political structures. Our parliament consists of two chambers (the Federal Chamber

and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces). Each republic, irrespective of its population, delegates an equal number of representatives to the Assembly, 30 to the Federal Chamber and twelve to the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. Provinces delegate twenty representatives to the Federal Chamber and eight representatives to the Chamber of Republic and Provinces. The strict observance of this principle is very important for the internal stability and overall development of Yugoslav society, since it ensures the full equality of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

In debates, each delegate can use his mother tongue and his speeches are simultaneously translated into the other languages of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. For example if a delegate of Italian origin (the Italian minority lives in the frontier region near the Italian border) wishes to make his speech in Parliament in his mother tongue, he does so and the relevant technical services provide the necessary simultaneous interpretation facilities. As a rule, all papers like draft bills, analyses and background material are published in the languages of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, so each delegate can read and use them in his mother tongue.

The Yugoslavian linguistic commission

Of particular significance is the special commission of the assembly which guarantees the authenticity of all the documents adopted. The official name of this body is the *Commission for Verifying the Identity of Texts in the Languages of the Nations of Yugoslavia*.

The Commission's duties are so complex it became necessary to enlarge the membership in a way not usual in parliamentary practice. The Commission is comprised now not only of delegates (members of parliament), but

also of eminent experts, like university professors and linguists, who have the same rights and responsibilities in the work of the Commission as the parliamentarians. The Commission has 29 members – fifteen delegates of the Assembly and fourteen experts. It works in plenary session when issues of general concern are discussed and in sections when dealing with specific matters. The Commission has seven sections, one each for Serbo-Croat, the Croatian literary language, the Croato-Serbian Jekavian dialect in official use in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonian, Slovenian, Albanian and Hungarian.

Each Section is composed of two delegates (members of parliament), and two experts. The Sections receive draft bills and other legislation in their own languages and members have to check drafts against originals prepared in other Yugoslav languages. After the Commission informs the presidents of the Federal Chamber and of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, in writing, that it has established that the texts in all the languages are identical, the regular adoption procedure follows, i.e. the bills and other pieces of legislation are put to the vote.

As a rule, the Commission devotes much attention to linguistic nuances which at first glance may seem unimportant but which, if not noticed and adequately defined in time (for each language separately), may cause diverse subsequent interpretations in the application of legal provisions and numerous adverse consequences thereafter. The Commission's task is complicated and difficult. Fortunately, during the many years of its existence, it has not registered many legal problems resulting from difficulties with translation. This fact is due, at least in part, to the skill of the linguistic experts who sit on the Commission alongside the members of parliament.

Programmes in Vancouver schools for children whose mother tongue is not English have grown and developed over the years. Now a further step is being debated.



Eileen Yeung is a language teacher in Vancouver and a sessional lecturer at the University of British Columbia. Born in Hong Kong, where she taught at the Chinese University, she came to Canada in 1969. She is active in the B.C. Heritage Language Education Steering Committee and the Association of B.C. Teaching English as an additional language.

New language programmes for new times

EILEEN YEUNG

Over the past twenty years, the ethnic and linguistic complexion of Vancouver has undergone dramatic changes that have had a powerful impact on the schools. Once predominantly English-speaking and white, the student body has become a diverse mix in language and culture. But this mosaic is not readily recognized by either the general public or by some administrators and teachers as an asset to the whole community. Resentment persists: to some, students whose mother tongue is not English are intruders, and the quality of education is being diluted at the expense of the English-speaking child.

One language, one class

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Vancouver schools were essentially structured to fit the needs of the English-speaking majority. Most immigrant children came from English-speaking countries, so special language programmes were not thought necessary. These immigrant children could, in fact, conveniently be placed with their Canadian-born peers and could follow the regular programme without much difficulty. The small number of children who did not speak English were also made to follow the same curriculum in the belief that they would eventually absorb the language and function with the same proficiency as children whose first language was English. It was assumed that children have an innate ability to learn a language simply by being exposed to it – that learning could be osmotic. Active participation in classroom activities (whether they understood what was going on or not), direct contact with native speakers of the language, and maximum exposure to the language itself were thought to be as much help as the non-English-speaking child needed to learn the new language.

There is no doubt that many immigrant children managed to cope under these circumstances – many, indeed, quite successfully. Consequently, the Vancouver schools maintained the educational goals and programme structure that had thus far proved sound for the English-speaking, Canadian-born children. The almost invisible minority of both immigrant and native-born children of immigrant parents was conveniently, if not intentionally, overlooked.

Little was done to monitor their progress, so little was known of either their academic success or their social development once they were placed in their local schools. Since the structure, the curriculum content and the delivery system were not affected by the presence of the few non-English-speaking children in the regular classes, there was no apparent urgency for school authorities to set up language classes. But no change that alters the fabric of society can long go unnoticed. With visibly increasing numbers of immigrant children expecting places in the classrooms but unable to speak English, the debate as to whether language training programmes should be provided became a real issue for school boards across British Columbia.

Real problems, a real issue

It was a real issue because there were real problems. Since immigrant children in need of language training programmes were widely scattered, it had been considered administratively inconvenient, if not impossible, to set up special programmes for them and to monitor their progress and success. One difficulty was that few school districts had enough children who could not speak English in one school at one time to make the formation of a special language class practical. Setting up a special class could mean transporting children by fours and fives from different neighbourhoods to a central school to make up a class of fifteen to twenty youngsters. Or it could mean assigning a number of language teachers to travel daily from school to school, where the children would be taken out of their regular classes to be taught English.

Vancouver, with a considerably higher percentage of non-English-speaking students than other B.C. school districts, picked the first option.¹ A limited number of centrally-located "New Canadian Classes" were set up, and students from neighbourhood schools were brought to them. Students were not to return to their home schools before they acquired sufficient English language skills in the "New Canadian Classes".

¹ In some Vancouver suburbs (like Burnaby, Richmond and Surrey), Victoria and where non-English speaking students were scattered in very many neighbourhoods, school authorities opted for the second plan – itinerant teachers.

Problems surfaced quickly. Most of the teachers responsible for "New Canadian Classes" were plucked from regular classrooms, untrained to teach English as a second language. Then, as very few administrators had experienced educating immigrant children, the "New Canadian Classes" were placed under the jurisdiction of the special education department. Thus, in lay eyes, a "New Canadian Class" carried the same stigma as classes for slow learners, for the emotionally disturbed or for the mentally deficient.

Many immigrant parents also took a sour view. They saw the "New Canadian Classes" as alienating their children from — rather than orienting them to — the Canadian school system. Consequently, they were reluctant to have their children attend these classes. This situation was exacerbated by the questionable quality of the programme offered in the "New Canadian Classes". The lack of committed funds, of trained teachers and instructional materials, of programme directions and coordination with the regular programme, even of public interest — all these hindered the success of the programme.

Gathering speed

Early in the 1970s, the flow of immigrants to Vancouver rose, bringing a marked increase in the number of immigrant children entering schools at different times in the school year. By 1974, approximately 34 per cent of elementary and seventeen per cent of secondary school students in Vancouver spoke a language other than English or French at home. As the linguistic background of the student body changed, the need for teachers trained to teach English as a second language became urgent, and administrators began to see that school programmes had to be reorganized. Among other things, it was seen that the problem was not confined to foreign-born children; English was a new language too for some Canadian-born children of immigrant parents. One consequence was that, by the mid-1970s, the "New Canadian Classes" had been re-named "English as a Second Language (ESL) Classes".

Vancouver's was the first school district in British Columbia to establish ESL

classes for children with limited or no facility in English. Children aged from nine to eighteen were placed in them, in their home schools if possible, or at schools located on major bus routes. It was believed that a year of intensive language training would enable a student to function in regular classes.

Not enough

However, a long-term study, done by the Vancouver School Board Task Force on English from 1974 to 1977, indicated that a year in an ESL class was just the minimum that students of this age needed. Before they could function comfortably at the level of their peers, it was suggested, these students would need two to three further years of less intensive support in an "English Language Centre" (ELC).

The task force recommended that ELCs, operating at both the elementary and secondary school levels, would be: exclusively devoted to the provision of intensive English language training for pupils for a short period of time every day. The student will spend the remainder of the day in regular classes. Approximately eight pupils at a time will attend the Centre for 40 to 60 minutes each day for intensive specialized work with the teacher and aide.

Entry into these centres would be either from ESL classes, or "directly, depending upon the student's facility with the language".

Thus Vancouver was elaborating its programmes for immigrant children. For the past seven to eight years, many new options have been offered to ESL students. For example, primary classes for children aged five to eight, emphasizing language stimulation and language development, are now available. Not only is the child in an ESL class given intensive support at the initial stage of learning the new language, he or she is also helped in the transition to regular classes and after. ESL is no longer considered a branch of special education; it has become an important component of the total curriculum.

In recent years, special attention to the individual needs of students, the gradual process of integrating students into

regular classes, and the emphasis on hiring experienced ESL teachers have made the adjustment to the programmes much smoother for the student, the programme itself more meaningful, and progress more visible to both student and teacher. This, of course, has done much to encourage acceptance of the ESL programme by immigrant parents and their children alike.

Frustrations

But problems persist. In spite of improvements in the quality of the programme and more thorough attention to individual needs, there is still a general feeling of frustration among ESL students at the secondary level. Many are discontent that they get no credits for academic work they complete in their native language: time spent in ESL classes is considered preparation, and credit is gained only for course work done in regular classes. This can mean marking time academically for two or even three years while English-speaking students progress steadily towards graduation. One result is a serious drop-out rate before Grade twelve is completed.

At the same time, many immigrant parents are unhappy with the lack of career-oriented vocational courses for youngsters who may be unable to pursue post-secondary education. A limited number of pre-employment programmes specifically designed for ESL students is now offered, but this type of programme does not necessarily provide actual job experience that the student needs to enter the work force successfully.

Too far, or not far enough?

Between 1979 and 1981, the numbers of refugees and immigrants coming to British Columbia — from Europe as well as from South America, Africa and South-East Asia — created another dramatic change in the ethnic makeup of the school population. It is estimated that by 1981, more than 40 per cent of Vancouver's students came from non-English-speaking homes.²

Between July, 1981, and May, 1982, 1,000 students were placed in ESL and

² Province-wide, the figure was much less than half — fifteen per cent.

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

Staffing and enrolment in Vancouver schools between June 1977 and May 1982

Year	No. of teachers	No. of ESL classes	No. of ELC	No. of students
June 1977	102	48	54	4,200
Sept. 1979	112	54	58	4,600
Sept. 1981	135	74	58	5,000
May 1982	150	87	59	6,000

ELC programmes in Vancouver, and youngsters continue to be enrolled in these programmes at the rate of 90 a month. Every month since June, 1981, at least four teachers have been hired on a temporary basis to meet the demands of this increasing enrolment.

Different mixes

The linguistic and ethnic mix varies significantly in different parts of the city and thus from school to school. Up to 80 per cent of the children attending schools in the north-east and south-east sectors of the city come from homes where English is not spoken. In some schools there is a predominant ethnic group, in some a dazzling variety of 25 or more linguistically different groups. At Lord Strathcona Elementary, in the heart of Chinatown, about 85 per cent of the children have one Chinese dialect or another in their background, while the remaining fifteen per cent include native Indians, East Indians and Caucasians. Just a kilometer and a half to the east of Chinatown, most of the children at Britannia Community School are either Italian or Chinese. Punjabi and Hindi are important languages at Walter Moberly Elementary in the south sector of the city.

The implication for the educational goals of these schools is obvious. Cross-cultural educational programmes have become a priority. Not only must the children learn the language of the environment and accept cultural elements which are characteristic of Canada. It is also important that they feel comfortable in the environment and take pride both in maintaining their own heritage and culture and in sharing them with their peers of other cultures.

All of this has certainly influenced school organization, staffing and programming, and have changed the focus of curriculum content as well as teaching methods. With declining enrolment and decreasing job opportunities in the schools, the influx of immigrants and refugees is a welcome asset to administrators and teachers. Administrators are now more knowledgeable and sensitive to the needs of children from different educational, linguistic, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Teachers, too, are more receptive to the idea of trying to integrate the ESL student quickly into the regular school programme and stressing subjects with the least language demand. The quality of the programme, the relevance of programme content and the success rate of individual students are given top priority.

Although the public is becoming more open and sympathetic towards the needs of ESL students, there is still concern about the quality of education being offered to English-speaking children — about the effect on them of absorbing large numbers of ESL students into the regular programme. Resentment against the attention and importance given to the ESL children is very strong. And B.C. taxpayers are reluctant to pay for programmes for immigrant children. The general feeling is that immigration is a federal concern, not a provincial one, and that ESL programmes should be funded by the federal government. This issue has been the subject of heated debate for a long time.

A new problem

As the "linguistic pendulum" swings in the direction it does, another issue emerges — the establishment of

heritage-language classes. Such classes have been offered for many years by enthusiastic minority groups in their own community centres. There is now much controversy over the possibility that heritage languages be offered as part of the school curriculum.

It is a fact that the existing heritage language programmes offered after school hours and on weekends are going strong. Despite the lack of funding and facilities, language schools continue to operate and expand in church basements, community halls and cultural centres. There is obviously a great interest among minority ethnic groups in maintaining and preserving the languages of their own culture.

From the educational and linguistic point of view, the addition of one more language to a student's repertoire is a definite asset, and a novelty for those who are already enjoying success in school. Nevertheless, school authorities are not enthusiastic about making heritage-language programmes part of the regular school curriculum. Setting up such programmes raises many questions. For example: if heritage language education is to become part of the school curriculum, will all minority languages be offered, or only some? How would a choice be made in terms of administration, staffing, funding, credibility and necessity? Who would pay, the province or the federal government? Could it be a cooperative effort? If the qualifications of capable heritage-language teachers do not meet the requirements for certification to teach in the public schools, will it be necessary to lower teacher requirements? How would teachers now in the schools react to inequality in qualification requirements?

Educating a multi-ethnic, multilingual population is an enormous responsibility. In Vancouver, educators will clearly have to shoulder this responsibility for a long, long time. It is also clear that if the society wants quality education for all its students, regardless of linguistic and ethnic background, then educational institutes, communities, universities, administrators, teachers, parents and students must work together. Without such cooperation, it is unlikely the goal can be achieved.

For centuries, people have had to cope with the misunderstandings that are inevitable when different cultures come face to face. But, the last half of the twentieth century has seen a veritable explosion of this intermingling of cultures.



Michael Argyle is Reader in Social Psychology and Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford. As a

specialist in the psychology of interpersonal behaviour, he has been published by major social psychology journals and served as editor of some. His books include *Social Interaction*, *Psychology and Social Problems*, and *Social Encounters*. In addition to teaching at Oxford, Dr. Argyle has held visiting lectureships in various universities around the world.

Problems of intercultural communication

MICHAEL ARGYLE

Many of us now have to communicate and work with members of other cultures, and some of us find it very difficult. Language barriers are only one of the problems. Value systems, rules of social behaviour and non-verbal communications are also crucial dimensions of intercultural communications. Like language, they must be learned and accommodated if successful human interaction is to occur.

Tourists are one of the largest groups that face these problems, but they confront unfamiliar cultures for the shortest period and need to master skills in only a few simple situations, such as ordering meals, travel, shopping and getting around in taxis. They are largely shielded from the local culture by the international hotel culture. Business, government and university visitors, on short business trips, have to cope with a wider range of problems, but they are often accommodated in hotels or similar places and looked after by expatriates. They, too, are somewhat shielded from the local culture; they rarely learn the language and are given a great deal of help.

Businessmen or others on longer visits that may stretch into years, students who stay one to three years and members of groups like the American Peace Corps, who stay for two years, face a quite different situation. Living in houses or apartments, they must cope with many aspects of the local culture and learn at least some of the language. These are far more demanding conditions. Some studies have shown that as many as 60 per cent of those sent abroad by firms or the Peace Corps have failed to complete their missions in some areas, especially in the Middle or Far East.

Competent performance visiting or dealing with members of another culture is a social skill, analogous to teaching or interviewing. Intercultural communication is different because it includes a very wide range of situations and types of performance as well as a variety of goals. The visitor to a new culture may be faced with the requirement of developing new social skills when special situations or rules are encountered, like bargaining or formal occasions. It may be necessary to use familiar skills in a modified style, for example

to adopt a more authoritarian style of supervision or accept more intimate social relationships. There are often a number of themes or modes of interaction in a culture which are common to a wide range of situations. Research in social psychology has now uncovered the main sources of difficulty, and some of these problem areas are outlined in this article.

Culture shock

There is a special phenomenon here, known as "culture shock", which has no clear equivalent in other social situations. Some culture shock is common among those living abroad for the first time, especially in a very different culture, and it may last six months or longer. Those going abroad for a limited period, like a year, show a U-shaped pattern of discomfort. In the first stage, they are elated, enjoy the sights and are well looked after. In the second, they have to cope with domestic life and things get more difficult; they may keep to the company of expatriates and are in some degree of culture shock. In the third phase, they have learned to cope better and are looking forward to returning home. Indeed, there may be problems when they do return home. Many people experience problems of re-entry owing, for example, to a loss of status or a less exciting life.

One issue in intercultural communication is how far a visitor should adapt to local styles of behaviour. Europeans and Americans in Africa and Third World countries usually find that they are not expected to wear local clothes or engage in exotic greetings. There seems to be a definite "role of the visitor" to which one is expected to conform. Rather greater accommodation to local ways, which may include mastering the language, is expected of those who stay for longer periods. In the United States, on the other hand, much greater conformity is expected, probably as a result of its long history of assimilating immigrants. Where total conformity is not required, visitors are still expected to show a positive attitude towards the local culture and not to complain or criticize.

There are many cultures where visitors, especially short termers, can get by quite well without learning the language, although this probably means that they are cut off from

communicating with most of the native population and that they do not come to understand fully those features of the culture conveyed by language.

Polite usage

Although there are clearly advantages to learning the language, the basics may not be good enough. Most cultures have a number of forms of polite usage which may be misleading. These may take the form of exaggeration or modesty. For example, Americans ask questions that are really orders or requests ("Would you like to . . .?"). But frankness by American Peace Corps volunteers in the Philippines has led to disruption of smooth social relationships. In every culture there are also special forms of words or types of conversation that are thought to be appropriate in particular situations — asking a girl for a date, disagreeing with someone at a committee meeting, introducing people to each other and so on. And there are cultural differences in the sequential structure of conversations. The nearly universal question-answer sequence is not found in some African cultures where information is precious and not readily given away. In Asian countries the word "no" is rarely used, so that "yes" can also mean

"no" or "perhaps". Saying "no" would lead to loss of face by the other.

Non-verbal communication

There are also cultural differences in facial expression, gaze, and other aspects of non-verbal communication used to express emotions and attitudes to other people. Several studies have found that if people from culture A are trained to use the non-verbal signals of culture B (gaze, distance, etc.) they will be liked more by members of that culture. The face is the most important source of non-verbal communication. The main cultural difference is in what Paul Ekman has called "display rules", rules about when emotions may be shown. For example, the Japanese rarely show negative emotions like sadness in the face.

In all cultures, gaze is used to communicate, but the amount of gaze varies quite widely. When people from different cultures meet, if one looks at the other with a low level of gaze he may be seen as not paying attention or being impolite or dishonest. Too much gaze may be seen as disrespectful, threatening or insulting. Spatial behaviour also varies between cultures. For example, Arabs stand closer and more directly facing than Americans.

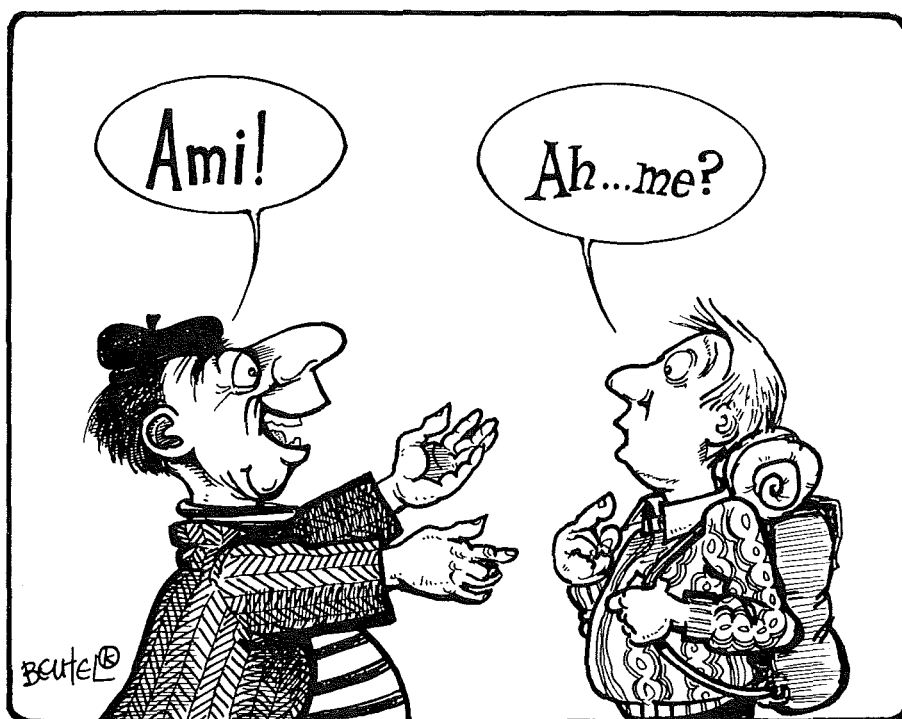
Bodily contact is widely practised in some cultures but allowed only under very restricted conditions in others. "Contact" cultures include Arab, Latin American, South European and some African cultures and these also have high levels of gaze.

Gestures, bodily movements and posture vary widely between cultures. There are few if any universal gestures. Some gestures are used in one culture, not in others. True to the stereotype, there are probably more gestures in Italy than anywhere else. And the same gesture can have quite different meanings in different cultures. For example the V-sign, showing the back of the hand, is a rude sign in Britain but simply means two in Greece. Greeting is performed in a great variety of ways, including the Japanese bowing, and the Indian placing of one's hands together. Disagreement is signalled by a head-shake in Western countries, but by a head-toss in Greece and Southern Italy.

Non-verbal aspects of vocalization also vary between cultures. Arabs speak loudly, giving others an impression of shouting. Americans speak louder than Europeans and give an impression of assertiveness.

Rules

Every culture has rules governing behaviour in the main situations in that culture. These are very useful in regulating behaviour but there are alternative sets of rules, like driving on the left or on the right side of the road. In some areas these rules can cause trouble in bribery, nepotism, gifts, buying and selling, eating and drinking, lateness and punctuality, seating of guests, religion and so on.



Montreal-born Josh Beutel has been a professional cartoonist for the past ten years. Since 1978 he has

been the editorial cartoonist for the St. John, New Brunswick Telegraph-Journal. His work is syndicated nationally and appears in numerous North American newspaper and periodicals.

Within developing cultures there are often two sets of rules, corresponding to traditional and modern attitudes, concerning such things as parental authority, gifts, time and the position of women.

Assertiveness, or dominance as opposed to submissiveness, is one of the main dimensions along which social behaviour varies. In the United States, social skills training has concentrated on assertiveness, presumably reflecting a widespread approval of assertive behaviour and desire to acquire it. This interest in assertiveness is strong among American women as part of the women's movement.

However, there are some cultures, like the Chinese, that do not value assertiveness highly: submissiveness and the maintenance of pleasant social relations are valued more. In Britain, candidates for social skills training are more interested in making friends than in becoming more assertive.

Maintaining face is very important in Japan and, to a lesser extent, other parts of the Far East. Special skills are required to make sure that others do not lose face. It has been found that students from the Far East who experience failure in an experimental task withdraw from whoever tells them of their failure. In negotiations with persons from the Far East, Europeans and Americans may find it necessary to make token concessions before the other side can give way. At meetings; great care must be taken in disagreeing or criticizing, and competitive situations should be avoided.

Certain aspects of life in another culture may be incomprehensible without an understanding of the ideas underlying them. Some of these ideas are carried by language, and knowing a language deepens understanding of the culture. Knowledge of the language provides knowledge of the culture. Knowing the nuance of words may lead to changes of emotional association, even within a single language. For example, the Australian word "Pom"



meaning "British immigrant", has negative and joking associations ("Whining": to complain and "Pome": Prisoner of Mother England). Words in one language and culture may have complex meanings which are difficult to translate, as with the Yiddish "chutzpah" (outrageous cheek). African languages are often short of words for geometrical shapes, so that it is difficult to communicate about spatial matters. Certain words and ideas may be taboo, like the discussion of family planning in some societies. Some of the differences in rules can be explained in terms of the ideas behind them.

While North Americans and Europeans value love and friendship, health and wealth, the Japanese have been found to value serenity and aesthetic satisfaction; in parts of India wealth is not valued, since it is thought to lead to arrogance and to thievery.

Training for inter-cultural communication

The rules and ideas of another culture can be learned. "Culture assimilators",

developed at the University of Illinois, use critical incident surveys to find the 40 or so most difficult situations. These are then incorporated in a tutortext describing how best to deal with these situations. Other educational methods include discussion of case studies, reading novels or ethnographic accounts of the other culture and studying films and video tapes.

It is also useful to train in the social skills needed in the other culture, like different styles of non-verbal communication, leadership or negotiation. This can be done by role playing with members of the other culture, using videotape playback. It is useful simply to meet members of the other culture and expatriates who have returned from exposure to it. Most of the training courses in current use include each of these components, as well as some language training.

Letters to the Editor

The Commissioner and language rights

As a faithful reader of *Language and Society*, I enjoyed reading issue No. 7, Winter/Spring 1982 and particularly appreciated the article by Robert Buchan entitled "The Canada Act and linguistic rights".

The new possibilities offered by the entrenchment of fundamental language rights in the Charter will serve to strengthen the hand of the Commissioner of Official Languages as he continues in his effort, whether before the courts or elsewhere. Patriation of the Constitution can only serve the cause of linguistic reform.

It is good to see that the powers of the Commissioner may be modified. Federal institutions wishing to avoid the provisions of the Official Languages Act will then have to think twice about it.

François-Xavier Simard
Chicoutimi, Quebec

Preserving Native language rights in B.C.

I have just read with interest the latest issue of your magazine (No. 7, Winter/Spring 1982) and I thought you might be interested in what I have been trying to do out here.

On June 3, I reintroduced a private member's bill to establish an Institute of Native Languages for British Columbia. One-half of the 60 Indian languages in Canada are situated in British Columbia. British Columbia is one of the most linguistically diverse areas on earth, yet every year, these languages move closer to extinction.

An Institute of Native Languages is needed to promote the means of preserving this irreplaceable aspect of British Columbia's cultural heritage. Organizations representing more than 300,000 people now support the adoption of this bill. Local Indian bands, Indian organizations, trade unions and churches all recognize the importance of preserving the Indian languages to the social and economic well-being of Indian people in British Columbia.

The bill gives the Institute the mandate to study languages native to British Columbia and to develop literacy materials, including alphabet and dictionaries. Additionally, the Institute would assist in the translation of important documents, provide for the development and dissemination of British Columbia Native literature, and train Native speakers to work as teachers and teacher aides in British Columbia classrooms.

Gordon Hanson
NDP Member of Legislative Assembly
Victoria, British Columbia

Quebecers and Canadian studies

The author of "Learning to learn about Canada", James Page, makes a good point in your No. 7 Winter/Spring 1982 issue. Expecting a run-of-the-mill listing of university programs specializing in Canadian studies, I was brought up short by the statement: "As well, there are some people in Canada who equate the term Canadian Studies with national unity promotional activities . . . The point is that formally designated Canadian studies programmes are found only in English-language colleges and universities". I wish to praise the candour of Mr. Page and that of the editorial staff of *Language and Society*.

The fact that Germany, Australia and Japan promote Canadian studies is of little concern to me. What is of concern is what the present Quebec government is concealing from primary and secondary school students in the province. I myself have suffered from such concealments by previous governments at every level of schooling. I developed my prejudices from compulsory textbooks and my children will do likewise. We will all continue to see red-coats behind every tree and justify our narrow-mindedness by the vastness of our great country.

James Page is quite right to shake up the university authorities, but his English-Canadian readers are entitled to know that in Quebec the problem has its roots at the primary, secondary and CEGEP levels. One only need consult the history books used

by Quebec students to learn the real definition of "québécoisité" and to be led to denounce the authorities manipulated by the Quebec Department of Education. A finger must be pointed at the economics teachers at the CEGEP level who are all too often solely concerned with the situation in Quebec. An attempt must be made to learn the real intentions of these educators turned preachers.

Well before reaching university, young Quebecers are denied the means required for a proper understanding of Canadian society. While wishing to underline Mr. Page's frankness, I also thought it important to give some background to his statement.

André Dulude
Montreal, Quebec

Canadian toponymy

Language and Society has so far examined a good number and variety of problems concerning bilingualism and multilingualism issues in both Canada and other countries.

In this vein, I would like to suggest that a future issue include an article on the question of geographical names and their linguistic treatment. A symposium organized last June in Ottawa by the Canadian Standing Committee on Geographical Names has shown that there is ample material for discussion in this field concerning such questions as the application of the provisions of the Official Languages Act to toponymy, and whether there are areas of conflict between provincial and federal linguistic policies. In a recent issue (*Language and Society*, No. 5, Spring/Summer 1981), Allan Fotheringham only revealed the tip of the iceberg when he raised the case of the Murphy Bridge/Pont Murphy in British Columbia. At the same time, it would also be possible to examine the solutions that other multilingual countries have applied to this type of problem.

André Lapierre
University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario