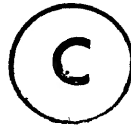LANGUAGE RETENTION AMONG
THE MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH
CLUB IN THUNDER BAY

by

(C)   DANIEL GENE LA BERGE

A Thesis
presented to Lakehead University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts
in
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Thunder Bay, Ontario, 1980

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to examine the process of linguistic assimilation that the members of an ethnic formal organization (in this case the French Club in Thunder Bay) experience.

There were several external factors that enabled the process of linguistic assimilation of the French Canadians to be accelerated. One of the most important was the geographical proximity of Thunder Bay to the "Soo-Mincton limits" as reported by Richard Joy. Several other factors were also presented, included was the changing identity of the French Canadians in Ontario from "French Canadian" to Franco-Ontarian. Such a shift in identity has had the effect of increased participation by the French Canadians into a strong dominant Anglophone environment. The end result of this participation has been increased useage of the English language.

The methodology used to establish linguistic assimilation rates consisted of the distribution of a questionnaire, coding the responses and submitting the raw data to the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) programme available on the university computer.

The results were analized through the theoretical model of assimilation as presented by Milton Gordon's book Assimilation in American Life (1964). The results demonstrated a steady progression in the use of English and the steady reduction in the use of the French language from the time when the respondents were young to the amount of French the respondents children currently use.

The results also indicated a lessing of participation as one moved through Gordon's stages, for example, there was a signficant decline in the respondents English participation in the identificational stage as opposed to the participation in the cultural assimilation stage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people are involved in the completion of a Master of Arts thesis. This thesis is not any different, though, the actual number of people involved is large enough that a separate work acknowledging their participation could be written. In this acknowledgement, I wish to give credit to those people whose contribution was of such value that without their assistance this work could not have been possible.

I would like to express by appreciation for my advisor, Professor James Stafford, for taking on this project. His tenacity and patience was most important. Professor Randle Nelsen's encouragement and sympathy carried me through many difficult moments. Professor Jacko's comments were helpful as well.

I would like to thank the members of "La Club Francaise de Thunder Bay" who responded to my questionnaire, without their help this research would not have been possible.

I would like to acknowledge Howard and Mabel Bargfeldt, my loving grandparents, for their financial and moral support during the entire Master of Arts programme. Without this assistance I could not have completed any part of this programme.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The problem of a minority group's assimilation into the
dominant group is a topic that has received much attention
in recent years (Barth:1969; Hughes and Kallen:1974; Gor-
don:1963). In Canada the problem has not only the attention
of academics but also the attention of both Federal and Pro-
vincial governments.

Much of this attention in Canada has been centered upon
the assimilation of the French Canadians outside of Quebec
(Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Volume
I:1967; Maxwell:1971; Joy:1972; Henripin:1974; Arès:1972).
In some of the works currently available on Francophone as-
similation, the role of Francophone formal organizations is
discussed (Maxwell:1977; Jackson:1975). Precious little
work has been published on the character of these groups and
on the assimilation patterns for the members of such groups.
This study will examine the assimilation patterns of the
French Club in Thunder Bay. The major focus will be upon
the degree of retention of the French language by the mem-
bers of the club.

The role of a minority group formal organization such as the French Club is to provide a means of identification within the dominant group. Such an identification should provide a means of retarding the assimilation of the minority group into the dominant society. One way that this is accomplished is through the use of the minority language in a variety of social settings.

The retention of the minority group's language is crucial to the survival of such a formal organization. This is due in part, to the function of the minority language as a means of accentuating the differences between the minority and dominant groups. It is also a common link between members who on other levels of social interaction, i.e. social class, may be quite different. If the members of the formal organization lose their ability to communicate in the minority language their participation in the minority formal organization will be greatly reduced or will cease to exist.

1.1   PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

The discussion of the parameters of this study is divided into three areas. Firstly, the sample of Francophones included in this study is limited to those people in Thunder Bay who are members of the local French club. The reason for this limitation is that the French club is the only Francophone formal organization currently in Thunder Bay.

Secondly, it is beyond the intended scope of this study to test for changes that may have been brought about by the election of the Parti Quebecois in Quebec.

Thirdly, it is also beyond the scope of this study to discuss the effects of any revitalization attempts that are currently in the planning stage of the Francophone community in Thunder Bay.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The major significance of this study lies in the testing of language retention by the members of the French Club. The results of the testing procedures will give a clear indication of the status of the French language within the French Club in Thunder Bay. This information should be able to assist the club's executive in its planning of programs.

Another significant aspect of this study is to contribute in a small way to the sociological understanding of the process of linguistic assimilation within a formal organization that is committed to the retention of the minority group's language.

1.3 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The remainder of the study is sub-divided into four chapters. The second chapter is concerned with the work of previous writers. It will also present the theoretical assumptions which underlie this study.

The third chapter describes the methodology used operationalization of the definitions and concepts, the construction of the data collection instruments, the methods used in collecting the data and finally, how that data is to be examined.

The fourth chapter will describe the results found from the analyses of responses to the questionnaire.

Finally, the last chapter will put forth the conclusions of the study and will provide recommendations.

Chapter II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter four main concerns will be discussed. The first concern is the current status of the French language outside of Quebec. The second concern will explore the position of the French in Ontario. The third concern will review some of the literature available on different types of assimilation, the last concern will discuss the role of language as an indicator of assimilation.

2.1 STATUS OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE OUTSIDE OF QUEBEC

During the last three decades the percentage of French-speaking Canadians outside of Quebec has been steadily declining. There is increasing evidence that Canada is being divided into two linguistic areas, a French-speaking Quebec and an English-speaking Canada.

Bordering Quebec is an area that Richard Joy in his classic book Languages in Conflict (1972) defines as the "Soo-Moncton limits". Joy arrived at this geographic boundary by dividing Canada into seven areas; 1.) Atlantic, 2.) Northern New Brunswick, 3.) Interior Quebec, 4.) Southern and Western Quebec, 5.) Eastern and Northern Ontario, 6.) Southern and Western Ontario and 7.) Western Canada. Of these seven, four make up the "Soo-Moncton limits" (Northern New

Brunswick, Interior Quebec, Eastern and Northern Ontario and Southern and Western Quebec).

The boundary of the "Soo-Moncton limits" is a line that runs from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario through Ottawa to Moncton, New Brunswick. Joy reports that "over 90% of all Canadians who claimed to have a knowledge of the French language were found within the Soo-Moncton limits. Outside this area, not one person in twenty could speak French and not one in forty would use it as the language of the home" (1972:24).

Using the framework of his first study, Joy reports in a second work, Canada's Official Language Minorities (1978) that the tempo of assimilation has increased. He states "although at least 23 percent of all Canadians of French origin are still to be found outside of Quebec, well over half of these now speak English even in their own homes, and it is only in the border regions of New Brunswick and Ontario that the French language has remained in popular use" (1978:6).

Joy also indicates that one "factor that is helping to accelerate the disappearance of French-speaking minorities outside Quebec is that Canada's population is increasingly being drawn into urban areas where the tendency towards conformity acts against survival of minority languages" (1978:9).

In the article "The Bilingual Belt: A Garrotte for the French" by Frank Vallee and Albert Dufour, the "Soo-Moncton limits" are re-defined. Sudbury replaces Sault Ste. Marie and the areas of New York, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine where French is a language still in use are added. Within this area Vallee and Dufour report that "84% of French mother tongue bilinguals speak mostly French at home" (1974:24).

The principal concern of this discussion is to consider those French-speaking Canadians outside the "bilingual belt" since JOY,VALLEE AND DUFOUR FIND THAT persons living in the this area are not under pressure to assimilate nor are they experiencing assimilation.

One report discussing the status of the Francophones outside of Quebec is "les hérités de lord durham" by La Fédération des Francophones Hors Quebec (1977). They report that between the years of 1961 and 1971 the percentage of French outside of Quebec declined from 7.1 per cent to 6.6 per cent (1977:22). Their conclusion about the state of the French language outside of Quebec is that, except in British Columbia where a small gain has occured, the relative importance of French has declined (1977:22) and regression from the use of French is dramatic (1977:23). They also see that this trend is irreversible in spite of the Official Languages act (1977:27).

Jacques Henripin in his government publication entitled "Immigration and Language Imbalance" (1974) maintains that "the relative importance of Francophones will diminish between now and the year 2000" (1974:17). The thrust of the Henripin article is the prediction of a reduction in the use of the French language in the future. In his article, Henripin (1974) refers to the work of Robert Maheu (1970). Maheu's _Les Francophones du Canada 1941-1991_ (1970) is a treatment on the status, past and future, of Francophones outside of Quebec. Maheu's discussion complements Joy's and Les Féderation des Francophones Hors Quebec's observations, in that all three predict a reduction in the percentage of French-speaking persons outside of Quebec within the next few years.

Richard Arès in his _Les positions ethniques linguistics et religiuses-des Canadien francais a la suite du recensement de 1971_ (1975) discusses the position of the Francophones using several variables. He presents the status of Francophones in the provinces outside Quebec. For Ontario, Arès reports that in each category the use of French is declining. His concluding remark on the discussion of Ontario, "La survivance française en Ontario se paie cher, tres cher" (1975:89) indicates that for the Franco-Ontarians the cost of survival of the French language is dear, very dear.

Charles Castonguay in his article "Les transferts linguistic au foyer" (1976) discusses linguistic transformation from French to English by age groups. In his graphic presentation of the assimilation rates of the French-Canadians in four English-speaking provinces, Ontario is second only to Alberta in the rate of assimilation.

In another article "Exogamie et anglicisation chez les minorités canadiennes-française" (1979), Castonguay considers the causal relations between linguistic exogamy and assimilation among the nine provinces. Castonguay found that those minorities who resist assimilation best are most affected by mixed marriages. Minority groups who are more assimilated tend not to be as affected by mixed marriages. The important point that Castonguay presents is that an even higher rate of anglicization will be found among the minorities in 1981 and 1991. (1979:21)

To this point this chapter has reviewed briefly some of the demography of linguistic patterns in the areas outside of Quebec and the "bilingual belt". The pattern is one of linguistic change from French and English and the consequential reduction of the influence of the Francophones outside of Quebec.

2.2   THE FRENCH IN ONTARIO

This section will examine four articles specifically on the Francophones in Ontario. The first by Lèopold Lamontagne (1960) views the relationship between the French and the English as being one of consensus. The second and third are by John Jackson, who see the relationship between the French and the English as one of conflict. Finally, the fourth will consider the contribution of Danielle Lee and Jean Lapointe's discussion on the changing identity of Franco-Ontarians.

Lèopold Lamontagne in his article "Ontario: The Two Races" (1960) discusses the history of French-English relations in Ontario. Lamontagne's concern centres mainly upon what he perceives as consensus between the two groups over the years. From the welcoming of the French to Ontario by Lord Simcoe to the present, Lamontagne views the situation of the French in Ontario as healthy for both the French and the English. For Lamontagne the question of assimilation by the French into the English culture is not perceived as a problem. In all of the hitherto and forthcoming review of the literature no one else considers the assimilation of the Francophones in a consensus framework.

An opposing view of the relations between the French and English is offered by John Jackson. Two of Jackson's studies "Institutionalized Conflict: The Franco-Ontario Case" (1973) and Community & Conflict (1975) will be discussed.

Jackson's notion of conflict can be seen as being functional to the divided parties (see Coser; 1956) in that the conflict tends to solidify the position of each group.

In "Institutional Conflicts: The Franco-Ontario Case" Jackson chooses to "view Franco-Ontarians and Anglo-Ontarians as collectives and their interaction as an incident of social conflict" (1973:219). This conflict is seen by Jackson as functional to the respective groups but not of an explosive nature. The reason for this lack of explosiveness lies in the institutionalization of the conflict through the agent of formal associations. The main function of these formal organizations is to lend support to the members within the organization and thus at an institutional level represent the interests of the members (1973:219).

In Community & Conflict (1975) Jackson examines French-English relations in a southwestern Ontario town. One area of conflict that Jackson discusses concerns the problems Francophones experience when using French in conversation. Jackson indicates that since the Francophones are in the minority their use of French is restricted. One reason for the restricted use centres on discriminatory behaviour by the English.

Jackson cites several experiences that Francophones had with Anglophones. He reports that "In the neighbourhood, at work and in the parish, French-speakers experienced discri-

minatory behaviour from time to time. One respondent reported the following: "At the shop, some of us will speak French to each other, and the other guys will say: 'Why don't you guys speak like Whitemen?' " (1975:94). Such experiences place social pressure upon the individual to change linguistic patterns as well as increasing the possibility of a conflict.

In their article "The Emergence of Franco-Ontarians: New Identity, New Boundaries" Danielle Lee and Jean Lapointe (1979) argue that due to "the emergence of a Quebecois nation-community that has modified the relations between the French of both provinces" (1979:101) the Franco-Ontarians no longer consider themselves as French Canadian but Franco-Ontarians (1979:101). Thus, the French Canadians who are not Quebecois are forced to find other institutions on which to rely for support. In Ontario, several organizations whose titles indicate their commitment to the French Canadian of Ontario were formed to bridge this gap. Hence, deprived of their wider identity as "French Canadian", the French in Ontario have found it necessary to re-orient their loyalties. The emerging identity of "Franco-Ontarians" indicates that the province is now a stronger object of identification. This has the effect, on assimilation, of directing attention towards a Province where English is by far the dominant language.

2.3   THE IMPORTANCE OF LANGUAGE

For the French Canadians language is the major means of identification. Lèopold Lamontagne aptly noted that "Ontarians of either English or French origin are both British and Canadian subjects, and they dress, eat, and live so much in the same fashion that, from a mere look at them, it is impossible to distinguish one from another" (1960:354). It is no wonder then that John Jackson reports: "From a Francophone point of view, French, or the loss of it, is a symbol of assimilation. To maintain the language is to maintain one's identity as a French Canadian, to lose it is to merge with the Anglo-Canadian culture" (1975:24).

Stanley Lieberson in his book <u>Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada</u> (1970) discusses the important relationship between language and assimilation. He states that, "The surrender of a distinctive mother tongue is a necessary step in the assimilation of ethnic groups in contact" and "language provides an important shield against assimilation" (1970:6).

Since as Lamontagne suggests, French and English are preceived as appearing essentially the same in English-Canadian society, the retention of the French language is seen as an index of their commitment to remaining "French".

What then persuades Francophones to gain competency in the English language? One reason is suggested by R.C. Gard-

ner and W.E. Lambert in their article "Motivational Variables in Second-Language Acquisition" (1972). They suggest that "a willingness to be like valued members of the language community" (1972:121) is one motivation. For Francophones who live in an area where English is the dominant language, such a motivation then would imply movement from French to English.

Another reason for the linguistic shift centres upon the need for English in the work world. Thomas Maxwell in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation reports that "the major point of articulation of the French population with the host English-speaking society has been employment in the Toronto work world" (1971:98).

The other side of the above question is, how do those Francophones who wish to retain their French language accomplish that objective? Leo Driedger's article "Structural, Social and Individual Factors in Language Maintenance in Canada" (1977), discusses factors related to language retention. Driedger's major focus is upon the function of ethnic enclaves for language retention. Further, in his discussion Driedger presents what he calls a "new enclave perspective". This new perspective is arrived at through the blending of Glazer and Moynihans's "melting pot theory" (1963) and Gordon's multi-variate approach (1964). Driedger cites the Hutterites as a rural example of "enclave cultural plural-

ism" (1977:2). A possible urban example could be the Italians in Toronto, where Clifford Jansen (1971) reports that all of the major services are available to the Italians in their mother tongue. (1977:225)

Driedger's notion of "enclave cultural pluralism" is quite similar to Raymond Breton's "Institutional Completeness" (1964). "Institutional Completeness" refers to the ability of an enclave to provide all of the needs and services in the language of the enclave, thus maintaining the group's solidarity and reducing the members' contact with the non-ethnic culture.

While certain "enclaves" of the French Canadians exist outside of Quebec (for example, St. Boniface, Manitoba and Essex county, Ontario) the possibility of entering an enclave for the migrant Francophone is minimal. Thomas Maxwell in his book The Invisible French (1977) discusses the assimilation patterns of the French population and its dispersed residential patterns which have "tended to minimize interaction among the French and maximize their exposure to the English language and culture" (1977:52).

There are two major factors which hinder the French Canadians from forming ethnic enclaves. The first is the status of the French as citizens in Canada. There is no need for an enclave since the norms and values held by the French are very similar to the English (Lamontagne 1960). Consequent-

ly, there is no need for a "buffer zone" to orientate the migrant to the Canadian "way of life". Second, since these values and norms are similar, the French do not settle in a particular pattern that would encourage an enclave to form (Maxwell 1977).

A brief summary of the points previously discussed should be advantageous in providing a focus for the last section of this chapter which will examine the process of assimilation.

1. The current demographic trends point towards two linguistically different areas of Canada-Quebec and Anglo-Canada.

2. A linguistic belt from Sault Ste. Marie (Joy 1972) or Sudbury (Vallee and Dufour 1977) exists where the French are not under assimilation pressure.

3. The Francophones outside of the linguistic belt are assimilating very rapidly (Arès 1975; Castonguay 1976 and 1979).

4. The situation for the Franco-Ontarians is one of changing identity (Lee and Lapointe 1979).

5. The Francophones, because of their value and normative similarity with the Anglophones, see the usage of French as a means of identification (Jackson 1975 and Lieberson 1970).

6. One reason for second language acquisition is social pressure (Gardner and Lambert 1972).

7. Another reason for the linguistic shift is the need for English in the Anglophone work world (Maxwell: 1978).

8. The residential pattern of the French Canadians does not permit the establishment of ethnic enclaves (Maxwell 1977).

9. Due to the residential pattern, "institutional completeness" is not possible and the services needed by the French Canadians must be in English (Breton 1964 and Driedger 1977).

2.4 ASSIMILATION TYPES

Milton Gordon's monumental work Assimilation in American Life provides a conceptual approach that enables the student of assimilation to study the processes involved in any minority group's interface with dominant groups in the latter's social milieu. The analytical distinctions make a more meaningful account of the actual process of assimilation.

Gordon envisioned seven types or stages of assimilation. These are presented in the following typology:

The Assimilation Variables

Subprocess or condition	Type or stage of assimilation	Special Term
Change of cultural pattern to those of host society	Cultural or behaviour assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of host society on primary group level	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behaviour receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict	Civic assimilation	None

(source Gordon 1964:71)

resolve such ambiguities. Gordon's first stage, "cultural assimilation", can be seen as the process whereby a new minority group begins the process of adapting its normative behaviour to that of the dominant group (Gordon 1964:71). Gordon delineates two important aspects of cultural assimilation. First "cultural assimilation is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene" (1964:77); and second, "cultural assimilation of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occur simultaneously" (1964:77).

Gordon further suggests that an ethnic group may maintain certain ethnic factors and not be required to pay any cost in terms of 'acceptability' by the dominant group. Such ethnic factors include, religious beliefs, literature, sense of common heritage and so on. Gordon labels this type of behaviour as "intrinsic". Outward kinds of behaviour such as dress, emotional expression, and minor oddities in pronouncing words in English (1964:79) are labeled by Gordon as "extrinsic" behaviour. "Extrinsic" behaviour then becomes a crucial factor in any discussion of assimilation. As well, "extrinsic" behaviour is more readily observed by the dominant group and this affects the speed of assimilation of the minority group.

"Structural assimilation" is seen by Gordon as the process whereby a minority group gains membership in the dominant group's cliques, clubs and other such institutions of the primary group (1964:71). This would, of course, involve full membership in such institutions. For Gordon "structural assimilation" has special importance: "Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (1964:81). Thus "structural assimilation" takes on a pivotal nature. Gordon observes that: "Structural assimilation, then, rather than acculturation is seen to be the keystone of the arch of assimilation. The price of such assimilation, however, is the di-

sappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values" (1964:81). Gordon therefore sees "structural assimilation" as pervasive, not only in its nature but in its consequences.

" Marital assimilation", according to Gordon, is an inevitable consequence of "structural assimilation". Gordon indicates that "entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs and institutions of the core society at the primary group level inevitably will lead to a substantial amount of intermarriage" (1964:80).

According to Gordon "Identificational assimilation" is the process whereby members of the minority group change their focus in terms of where their sense of peoplehood is derived. The minority group no longer perceives itself as being different from the dominant group.

Gordon maintains that once structural, marital and identificational assimilation have taken place, the remaining types of assimilation will occur like, "a row of tenpins bowled over in rapid succession by a well placed strike" (1964:81). Gordon's model therefore contains three essential or core assimilation variables; they are: "structural" "marital" and "identification." Gordon seems to imply that a causal ordering exists: "structural" "marital" "identificational" followed by the remaining assimilation variables.

This paper has purposely used the term "assimilation" rather than "acculturation", though Paul Comeau in his article "Acculturation ou assimilation" (1969) argues that the term "assimilation" implies the end result of a minority's contact with the dominant group. "Acculturation" Comeau argues is a dynamic process in which the individual is constantly absorbing in various degrees the values, norms and customs of the dominant group (Comeau 1969:159). From other discussions previously reviewed these two terms appear somewhat synonymous. According to Gordon "sociologists and cultural anthropolgists have described the processes and results of ethnic meeting under such terms as "assimilation" and "acculturation". Sometimes these terms have been used to mean the same thing; in other useages their meanings rather than being identical have overlapped (Sociologists are more likely to use "assimilation"; Anthropologists have favored "acculturation and have given it a narrower but generally consistent meaning") (1964:61). Due to the general useage of the term "assimilation" within the Race and Ethnic literature this paper will use the term "assimilation".

As has been indicated earlier, the one major difference between Anglophones and Francophones centres on linguistic use. Thus, when discussing "cultural assimilation" in a Canadian context linguistic use becomes the most meaningful measure to judge Gordon's assimilation stages. Other Canadian works have centered upon language as a means of measur-

ing assimilation. One such study is Patrick Vincent's unpublished Master of Arts thesis entitled "The Assimilation Process: With Special Reference to Italian Children In The Hamilton School System" (1968). Vincent states that "language is the most crucial and universally used feature of a given heritage. It is directly significant as a factor of assimilation" (1968:32).

Further in support of language as a predictor of assimilation, Joshua Fishman in his book, Language and Nationalism (1969), discusses the relationship between language and one's statement of nationality. He states that the "soul of a nation is its mother tongue" (1969:46); for Fishman the mother tongue is the all important means of identification. Clearly, the use of the minority language is an indicator of the degree of participation (or lack of participation) by a minority group in the larger dominant society.

Gordon's "structural assimilation" concept can also be viewed as a "structural assimilation resistor". Through the use of clubs or other voluntary organizations the minority group can meet apart from the main stream of the dominant group. Such participation should increase the members' intragroup solidarity and assist in mother tongue useage. Maxwell states that: "Absence of a social structure can facilitate social interaction with the majority rather than the minority population with consequent disintegration of ethnic solidarity" (1977:109), Maxwell also stated that

"there is evidence to show that a positive correlation exists between the presence of formal organization and participation within ethnic boundaries" (1977:109). Thus, the presence of formal association in the mother tongue of the ethnic group can work as a resistor to "structural assimilation".

The French Club in Thunder Bay was formed in 1965 by a group of French Canadian women who, after jointly appearing before the Bilingual and Bicultural Commission, decided to form a club where French Canadians could meet and interact in French. The focus of this paper is to examine the assimilation of members from that club into the Anglophone environment.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Gordon lists seven different assimilation stages, five shall be discussed: "cultural", "structural", "marital", "identificational" and "behaviour receptional."[1]

"Cultural assimilation" refers to the process whereby a new minority group begins to change its normative behaviour to that which is seen as being representative of the majority culture (Gordon 1964:71). A linguistic change from French to English is seen as the first step by the French Canadians in the process of assimilation to the English-speaking environment. Questions number 21 (parts a,b,c,) and number 22 (parts a,b,c,d,e,) in Appendces A (French) B (English) of the questionnaire deal with the aspect of linguistic assimilation. Question 21 deals with the linguistic practices of the respondent while question 22 deals with the linguistic practices of the respondent's children.

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[1] Prejudice and discrimination though analytically distinct are empirically related; of the two the latter is more important in that it refers to actual behaviour. The last stage, "civic assimilation" is not relevant to the analysis of Francophone assimilation since French Canadians are not an immigrant group and have shared the same "civic" culture with Anglophones since confederation.

"Structural assimilation" refers to the process of entrance into primary group relations by a large number of people from the minority group (Gordon 1964:71). Participation by a minority group in the formal organization of the dominant society indicates the minority group's desire to leave their culturally bound social institutions for the broader social institutions of the dominant ethnic group. The structural social pattern of the minority group then becomes merged with the structural social pattern of the dominant group. Question 27 asks for the linguisitic participation of the clubs and social groups that the respondents participate in. The purpose of this question is to examine the extent to which the respondents participate in English clubs and social groups, and thus, their extent of "structural assimilation".

"Marital assimilation" refers to the process by which large numbers of the minority group marry members of the dominant group (Gordon 1964:71). When the minority group no longer seeks to practice ethnic endogamy and the stigma from the dominant group is sufficiently reduced so that there is no major cost to the members of the dominant group, "marital assimilation" can and does take place. Question 29 asks the mother tongue of the marital partner. The responses to this question should give a clear indication of the extent to which "marital assimilation" takes place.

"Identificational assimilation" refers to the "development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society" (Gordon 1964:71). This involves an identity shift from French Canadian to "Canadian". Such a shift would give good indication that the French part of the hyphenated identity would have lost much of its importance. Question 31 asks for an identification of the respondent, the response will indicate whether this shift has taken place.

"Behaviour reception assimilation" refers to the absence of discrimination (Gordon 1964:71). It would be expected that if the respondents in this study felt fully accepted in English Canadian society they would not experience discrimination. Question number 32 requests this information.

3.1 POPULATION

The population of this study is the membership of the local French Canadian club. The reason for limiting the population to the members of the French club is because of the lack of any other French formal organization.

3.2 SAMPLE

The purpose of this section is to describe the sample this study was drawn from. In order to gain a perspective on the French Club, a comparison is made between the use of French mother tongue among the general population in Thunder Bay and among the respondents from the French Club. This is represented in Table 1.

The sample was derived by randomly selecting 200 respondents from the population of 387 members listed in the French Club's mailing list. The use of a table of random numbers facilitated the selection process. Once the sample was chosen, a questionnaire, in French, with a cover letter was sent to each to each of the respondents (see appendix A).

TABLE 1

AGE COMPARISON

French Club Sample			French Mother Tongue in Thunder Bay	
	number	percentage	number	percentage
20-24 years	4	5.9	160	06.6
25-34 years	13	19.1	335	13.8
35-44 years	26	38.2	445	18.4
44-54 years	18	26.4	375	15.5
55 and over	7	10.4	625	25.8
	68	100.0	1940	80.1

Note: this comparison does not include the members of the population under 20 years since no member of the respondents was under 20 years. (Source: 1971 census. Mother Tongue, by Age).

Before any further presentation is made it would be well for us to note the limitations of this sample. As was just presented this population does not represent the population of Thunder Bay. While the biases that are present do not affect the analysis of assimilation using Gordon's model,

any other usage would be misleading. Furthermore, any statement that is made in this paper represents only the findings for this group; any broader application would not be representative of the French population in Thunder Bay in total.

TABLE 2

SEX COMPARISON

French Club Sample			French Mother Tongue in Thunder Bay	
	number	percentage	number	percentage
male	24	35.3	1,060	54.4
female	44	64.7	1,890	45.6
	68	100.0	1,950	100.0

(Source Statistics Canada Bulletin 1. 4-5 Jan. 1975 Catalogue 92-733)

3.2.1 Validity

The aspect of validity that most directly concerns this study is known as construct validity. Construct validity "involves relating a measuring instrument to an overall theoretical framework in order to determine whether the instrument is tied to the concepts and theoretical assumptions that are employed" (Nachmias and Nachmias 1976:62).

The purpose of a questionnaire, in light of the above definition of construct validity, is to faithfully represent the theoretical constructs used. If the theoretical constructs are accurately represented by the measuring device (the questionnaire in this study) then the results from the measurement will reflect the accuracy of the constructs.

Thus, the questionnaire is the instrument which represents the constructs of the previous chapter. The questionnaire should yield information that will correctly measure the degree and type of assimilation that is experienced by the respondents to the questionnaire.

One of the most obvious and critical aspects of assimilation is the extent that linguistic assimilation of the minority group to the dominant group has taken place. If a minority group is not able to maintain the minority language it is then reasonable to expect that other forms of assimilation will take place.

Raymond Breton suggests that if an ethnic group can acquire all of its services with fellow ethnic group members it can be considered "institutionally complete" (Breton, 1964). Breton also suggests that social institutions within an ethnic enclave function through interpersonal networks, thus utilizing the minority language as the vehicle of communication. The validity of this section of the questionnaire (linguistic assimilation) has been substantiated by the works of others and is fundamental to this study.

The other aspects of the questionnaire that are under investigation, identificational assimilation, marital assimilation and behaviour receptional assimilation have been examined by others (Jansen:1971; Vincent:1968). Their work has given these concepts validation as working constructs that have application to empirical research.

3.2.2 Method of Analysis

The data shall be analyzed by utilizing the frequency distribution tables that pertain directly to the stages under study in this paper. The main purpose of this procedure is to examine each of Gordon's stages that have been discussed in this section. The appropriate questions from the questionnaire that apply to the respective stages in Gordon's model have been indicated.

Chapter IV

RESULTS

The purpose of this chapter is to compare the results of this study with the Gordon model. Such a comparison would focus upon the "goodness of fit" between this study and the Gordon model. Perhaps the clearest manner to examine the "goodness of fit" is to look at the five stages that are dealt with in this paper and discuss the level of participation of the French Canadians in this sample.

"Cultural Assimilation" has been described as a "change of cultural patterns to those of the host society" (Gordon 1964:71). One very important, cultural change for the French Canadian is the change in linguistic use from French to English.

Several questions were asked concerning language use. These are sub-divided into three sections, a.) historical; b.) present language patterns; and c.) language patterns of the children.

Two questions dealt with the historical aspect. The first question asked for the language that was used inside the home when the respondents were children. The second question was similar to the first, except that it asked for the language patterns outside of the home when the

respondents were young. Please refer to Tables 3 and 4. The mean of the French spoken inside and outside the home when the respondents were young was 84.6 per cent. This figure indicates the solid French background that the respondents have. This fact will have importance as we continue this discussion.

The next area of linguistic assimilation that was examined was present language use. Three sub-questions were posed; the first dealt with the language patterns at work; the second concerned the majority language spoken at home; the third, the majority language spoken outside of the home.

The results from the responses on the first question are presented in Table 5. In the Thunder Bay sample a total of 25.5 per cent spoke French either all or most of the time in the work place. A total of 70.6 per cent used French in some capacity. This figure appears to be very high considering the predominantly Anglophone work atmosphere.

Table 6 presents the computations of the majority language spoken outside the home. In this sample 45.6 per cent either spoke only French (7.4 per cent) or spoke French most of the time (38.2 per cent). The total percentage that spoke French all or most of the time is 45.6 per cent. This figure again appears to be quite large. The inference that could be drawn from this figure is that the linguistic patterns of the respondents in this study are strongly French in origin and in maintenance.

The last question in this topical set dealt with the language spoken in the respondent's home. In Table 7 the results demonstrate that a majority of the respondents speak French all of the time (19 per cent) or most of the time (32.4 per cent) for a total of 51.4 per cent.

TABLE 3

LANGUAGE SPOKEN INSIDE OF HOME WHEN YOUNG

Language	Number	Percentage
French	64	94.2
English	2	2.9
Other	2	2.9
	—	——
Totals	68	100

TABLE 4

LANGUAGE SPOKEN OUTSIDE OF HOME WHEN YOUNG

Language	Number	Percentage
French	51	75.0
English	5	7.4
Other	12	17.6
	—	——
Totals	68	100

The last topical set of questions concerning linguistic assimilation examined the linguistic patterns of the children of the respondents. The importance of this centres on the use of French by the young as an indicator of the extent to which linguistic assimilation has taken place.

TABLE 5

LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT WORK

Frequency of French spoken	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	2	2.9
Speak French most of the time	15	22.1
Occasionally speak French	31	45.6
Never speak French	11	16.2
Work at home	8	11.8
No response	1	1.4
Totals	68	100

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY OF FRENCH SPOKEN OUTSIDE THE HOME

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	5	7.4
Speak French most of the time	26	38.2
Occasionally speak French	32	47.1
Never speak French	3	4.4
No response	2	2.9
	68	100

One major question with three sub-areas was presented. The sub-areas dealt with languages used in the home by the children with their parents, grandparents, and outside the home with their friends and brothers and sisters. Tables 8 through 12 show the results of these questions.

TABLE 7

FREQUENCY OF FRENCH SPOKEN IN THE HOME

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	13	19.0
Speak French most of the time	22	32.4
Occasionally speak	25	36.8
Never speak French	4	5.9
No response	4	5.9
	—	———
	68	100

With the exception of Table 9, the category of "never speak French" is the largest. Of particular interest is that among brothers and sisters, the category of "never speak French" is the largest by a considerable margin.

TABLE 8

LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH PARENTS

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	7	10.3
Speak French most of the time	12	17.6
Occasionally speak French	10	14.7
Speak French with one parent only	7	10.3
Never speak French	18	26.5
No response	14	20.6
	—	———
Totals	68	100

TABLE 9

LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH GRANDPARENTS

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	20	29.4
Speak French most of the time	2	2.9
Occasionally speak French	8	11.8
Never speak French	18	26.5
Do you speak French with Grandparents or elderly relatives	5	7.4
No response	15	22.0
Totals	68	100

TABLE 10

LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH FRIENDS IN THE HOME

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	3	4.4
Speak French most of the time	6	8.8
Occasionally speak French	15	22.1
Never speak French	31	45.6
No response	13	19.1
Totals	68	100

Clearly, using the children as an indicator of French language retention, the children of the respondents in this sample are much further along in the first of Gordon's stages (cultural assimilation). It should be noted that though generally the parents are not nearly as far along as their

TABLE 11

LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH FRIENDS OUTSIDE THE HOME

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	2	2.9
Speak French most of the time	1	1.5
Occasionally speak French	13	19.1
Never speak French	39	57.4
No response	13	19.1
Totals	68	100

TABLE 12

LANGUAGE SPOKEN WITH BROTHERS AND SISTERS

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	5	7.4
Speak French most of the time	6	8.8
Occasionally speak French	14	20.6
Never speak French	25	36.8
No response	18	26.5
Totals	68	100

children they are "on their way" insofar as English is a language that most are at least somewhat familiar within the largely English environment of Thunder Bay. Linguistic assimilation as a process will continue for the respondents in this study.

"Structural assimilation" has been defined as that process whereby the minority group participates on a large-scale with the dominant group's cliques, clubs and social institutions (Gordon 1964:71). The results of the question which measures structural assimilation are presented in Table 13. If the first category (always speak French) were to be combined with the second (speak French most of the time) the resulting percentage would be 44.2. This figure indicates the percentage of social participation conducted in French. The third category (occasionally speak French) would normally be found in any non-French setting, since it is quite possible to meet or know another person who is French in any such setting.

Only 8.8 per cent of the respondents in this sample stated that they are members of groups that never speak French. The largest category "speak French most of the time" when combined with the first gives a combined total of 44.2 per cent. Thus, though the members of this sample still use French in many of their social organizations there is evidence that this stage is moving towards assimilation.

The extent of "marital assimilation" was determined by the question dealing with the mother tongue of the marital partner. The results are presented in Table 14. French was the largest category at 45.6 per cent. English was the next largest at 29.4 per cent. From this information it is obvi-

TABLE 13

SPEAK FRENCH AT SOCIAL GATHERINGS

Response	Number	Percentage
Always speak French	8	11.8
Speak French most of the time	22	32.4
Occasionally speak French	23	33.8
Never speak French	6	8.8
Do not attend social groups	7	10.3
No response	2	2.9
Totals	68	100

ous that the French Canadians in this sample are still some distance from marital assimilation, though like the other stages of assimilation there is movement towards assimilation.

TABLE 14

MOTHER TONGUE OF MARITAL PARTNER

Response	Number	Percentage
French	31	45.6
English	20	29.4
Other	9	13.3
No response	8	11.8
Totals	68	100

"Identificational assimilation", according to Gordon, is an indication of the development of a sense of peoplehood with the host society. Thus, if the French Canadians have a "sense of peoplehood", then it would be expected that a majority of the respondents would answer "Canadian" to the question "how do you define yourself". This, however, is not the case, as 67.6 per cent defined themselves as "French Canadian". Please refer to Table 15.

TABLE 15

IDENTIFICATION OF SELF

Item	Number	Percentage
French	2	2.9
French Canadian	46	67.6
Canadian	14	20.6
English Canadian	5	7.4
English	0	0
Other	0	0
No response	1	1.5
Totals	68	100

From this information it is obvious that the French Canadians in this sample are not assimilated in the identification assimilation stage. What is notable is that the level of identificational assimilation is lower than other types of assimilation measured here.

The behaviour characterized in the "behavioural receptional assimilation" stage is the absence of discrimination. The question dealing with the amount of discrimination found was used to provide information on this stage. Table 16 presents the frequency distribution of the responses to the question. Only 36.8 per cent of the respondents stated that they occasionally experienced discrimination, 20.6 per cent experienced it most of the time and 8.8 per cent experienced discrimination all of the time. Once again the evidence points to the lack of assimilation in one of Gordon's stages, but it does indicate the process of assimilation is taking place.

TABLE 16

AMOUNT OF DISCRIMINATION FOUND

Item	Number	Percentage
Yes, all of the time	6	8.8
Most of the time	14	20.6
Occasionally	25	36.8
None	23	33.8
	—	————
Totals	68	100

4.1 SUMMARY

Two trends were observed through the analysis of the results. The first trend concerns the degree of French language retention by the members of the Club. Overall, the

respondents appear to be retaining the French language very well considering the Anglophone environment. Note such indices as "Language Spoken At Work" (Table 5), "Frequency of French Spoken In the Home" (Table 7).

The second trend concerns the amount of language retention found among the children of the respondents. The children are assimilating quite rapidly into the Anglophone environment, as noted in Tables 10, 11 and 12. The pattern of linguistic participation is with the Anglophone not the Francophone environment. This pattern is similar to Jansen's (1971) findings among the Italians in Toronto.

There appears to be a "fit" of the empirical evidence in this study to the Gordon model, particularly in the assimilation type known as "cultural assimilation" as it relates to linguistic participation.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to receive succinctly the main points discussed in this study and to summarize the major findings. The main purpose of this study has been to assess the degree of retention of the French language by members of the French club in Thunder Bay using Gordon's assimilation model. Another one was to ascertain the "goodness of fit" of the Gordon model to the assimilation experience of the French club sample.

In the review of the literature chapter, the status of the French language in Canada was considered. The discussion included the presentation of a "linguistic belt" where the French language is not under assimilation pressure. (Joy:1972; Vallee and Dufour:1974). Outside of this area French language use is declining sharply (Henripin:1974; Joy:1972, Arès: 1975).

The importance of language was considered as an indicator of assimilation (Vincent:1968, Fishman:1972; Jackson:1975; Lamontagne:1960). Entailed in this discussion was the operation of French minority formal organizations (Jackson:1975 and Maxwell:1977) and the way such an organization could operate to attenuate to assimilation pressures.

Finally, Milton Gordon's assimilation model was presented as a means of understanding the process of assimilation. Gordon supplied five different types of assimilation to measure the integration of the members of the French Club of Thunder Bay into the Anglophone environment of Thunder Bay.

The empirical evidence was gathered by means of a survey. The first step was to randomly select a sample of 200 members from the membership list of 387 for the French Club in Thunder Bay. The questionnaires were then mailed and 68 were returned. The responses were coded and analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer program.

The results indicated that the respondents from the French Club were not rapidly assimilating into the dominant culture. Their children, however, were losing their preference to use French and thus were being assimilated into the Anglophone environment.

Another result concerned the ability of the Gordon model to provide a conceptual base in the understanding of the processes of assimilation. By examining the different stages that Gordon provides, assimilation is seen as involving many different facets which are important for the student of assimilation to consider.

5.1   RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has presented several different aspects of the linguistic assimilation of members of the French Club in Thunder Bay. Three recommendations are presented for possible future research.

The first recommendation concerns the need for further research on French Language retention of members of other French clubs outside of the "linguistic belt".

The second recommendation would involve a more rigorous application of survey research techniques. These would include a follow-up survey of those who did not respond to the mailed questionnaire. Such a follow-up would give the basis for comparison as well as increase the sample size.

The third recommendation is to alter the methodology to include participant observation and interviewing techniques to gain a fuller understanding of a French club's structure and function within the French Canadian community.

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APPENDIX A

Un mot d'introduction: je m'appelle Daniel Laberge; je suis étudiant à l'Université Lakehead. Je suis intéressé à obtenir des renseignements sur des personnes d'origine française qui, comme vous-même, vivent à Thunder Bay. J'aurais quelques questions à vous poser. Les réponses que vous donnerez pourront me permettre de mieux comprendre ce que cela signifie être Canadien français dans une ville comme Thunder Bay.

Prière de ne pas inscrire votre nom sur ce questionnaire.

J'aimerais d'abord obtenir quelques renseignements sur vous-même.

1. Sexe

    _ _1. Féminin

    ___2. Masculin

2. Age

    ___1. Moins de 20 ans
    ___2. De 20 à 24 ans
    ___3. De 25 à 29 ans
    ___4. De 30 à 34 ans
    ___5. De 35 à 39 ans
    ___6. De 40 à 44 ans
    ___7. De 45 à 49 ans
    ___8. De 50 à 54 ans
    ___9. Plus de 55 ans

3. Education

    ___1. Ecole primaire (Grades 1 à 8)
    ___2. Ecole secondaire (Grades 9 à 12, ou 9 à 13)
    ___3. Ecole professionnelle (Technique / Commercial)
    ___4. Université
    ___5. Autres (préciser) _____

4. Quel est votre emploi? (préciser) _____

    Si vous êtes une femme mariée, demeurant à la maison, quel est
    l'emploi de votre partenaire? (préciser)_____

5. Est-ce que votre réponse au #4 représente votre emploi habituel?

    ___1. Oui
    ___2. Non

6. Revenu total de votre famille

    ___1. Moins de $5,000
    ___2. Entre $5,000 et 10,000
    ___3. Entre $10,001 et $15,000
    ___4. Entre $15,001 et $20,000
    ___5. Entre $20,001 et $25,000
    ___6. $25,000 et plus

7. Religion

    _ _1. Catholic romain
    ___2. Protestant
    ___3. Autre
    ___4. Aucune

8. Assiduité à l'Eglise

    _____1. Régulier (de deux à quatre fois par mois)
    _____2. Semi-régulier (de six à 12 fois par an)
    _____3. Rarement
    _____4. Jamais

9. Région dans laquelle vous êtes né(e)

    _____1. Atlantique(Terre Neuve, Nouvelle Ecosse, partie sud du
               Nouveau Brunswick)
    _____2. Partie nord du Nouveau Brunswick
    _____3. Québec (centre, y compris la Gaspésie)
    _____4. Québec (sud-ouest et Abitibi)
    _____5. Est et Nord ontarien
    _____6. Nord-ouest ontarien
    _____7. Sud ontarien
    _____8. Provinces de l'ouest
    _____9. Autre (préciser) _____

10. Lieu de naissance (préciser) _____

11. Etes-vous né(e) à Thunder Bay?

    _____1. Oui
    _____2. Non. Passer à la question # 14

12. Votre père ou votre mère, ou les deux, sont-ils né(e)s à
Thunder Bay?

    _____1. Oui
    _____2. Non

13. Votre grand'père ou votre grand'mère, ou les deux, sont-ils né(e)s
à Thunder Bay?

    _____1. Oui
    _____2. Non. Passer à la question # 16

14. Combien d'années avez-vous vécues dans le Nord-ouest de l'Ontario?

    _____1. Moins de 5 ans
    _____2. Entre 5 et 10 ans
    _____3. Entre 11 et 20 ans
    _____4. 20 ans et plus

15. Combien d'années avez-vous vécues à Thunder Bay?

    _____1. Moins de 5 ans
    _____2. Entre 5 et 10 ans
    _____3. Entre 11 et 20ans
    _____4. Plus de 20 ans

16. Pourquoi vous ou votre mari avez-vous déménagé ici?

    _____1. Pour trouver de l'emploi
    _____2. Pour vous rapprocher de vos amis ou de vos parents
    _____3. La Compagnie pour laquelle vous travaillez vous l'a demandé.
    _____4. Vous n'aimiez pas la région où vous demeuriez avant
    _____5. La personne que vous avez épousée a été transférée ici
    _____6. Vous avez épousé une personne qui demeurait ici
    _____7. Vos parents sont venus ici quand vous étiez jeune
    _____8. Autre (préciser) _____

17. Quelle langue parliez-vous à la maison quand vous étiez jeune?

    ___1. français
    ___2. anglais
    ___3. autre

18. Quelle langue parliez à l'extérieur de la maison quand vous étiez jeune?

    ___1. français
    ___2. anglais
    ___3. autre

19. Quand avez-vous appris à bien parler l'anglais?

    ___1. Vous ne parlez pas "bien". Passer à la question # 21.
    ___2. Après être venu(e) à Thunder Bay
    ___3. Avant de venir à Thunder Bay

20. Où avez-vous appris à bien parler l'anglais?

    ___1. à la maison
    ___2. à l'école
    ___3. au travail
    ___4. avec les voisins
    ___5. autrement (préciser) _____

J'aimerais maintenant vous poser quelques questions sur la fréquence à laquelle vous et votre famille employez le français dans un nombre de situations données.

21. Combien souvent parlez-vous français dans les endroits suivants:

    a) au travail

        ___1. Vous parlez toujours français
        ___2. Vous parlez français la plupart du temps
        ___3. Vous parlez français à l'occasion
        ___4. Vous ne parlez jamais français
        ___5. Vous demeurez à la maison

    b) avec vos ami(e)s à l'extérieur de la maison

        ___1. Vous parlez toujours français
        ___2. Vous parlez français la plupart du temps
        ___3. Vous parlez français à l'occasion
        ___4. Vous ne parlez jamais français

    c) avec vos ami(e)s à la maison

        ___1. Vous parlez toujours français
        ___2. Vous parlez français la plupart du temps
        ___3. Vous parlez français à l'occasion
        ___4. Vous ne parlez jamais français

22. Si vous avez des enfants qui sont encore à la maison, combien souvent parlent-ils français dans les situations suivantes?

a) avec leur parents

_____ 1. parlent toujours français
_____ 2. parlent français la plupart du temps
_____ 3. parlent français à l'occasion
_____ 4. ne parlent jamais français
_____ 5. parlent français avec un des parents seulement

b) avec leur grand parents ou avec les membres de la parenté

_____ 1 parlent toujours français
_____ 2. parlent français la plupart du temps
_____ 3. parlent français à l'occasion
_____ 4. ne parlent jamais français
_____ 5. ne parlent français qu'avec un des grands parents ou parents plus agés

c) avec leurs amis à la maison

_____ 1. parlent toujours français
_____ 2. parlent français la plupart du temps
_____ 3. parlent français à l'occasion
_____ 4. ne parlent jamais français

d) avec leurs amis à l'extérieur de la maison

_____ 1. parlent toujours français
_____ 2. parlent français la plupart du temps
_____ 3. parlent français à l'occasion
_____ 4. ne parlent jamais français

e) avec leur(s) frère(s) et soeur(s)

_____ 1. parlent toujours français
_____ 2. parlent français la plupart du temps
_____ 3. parlent français à l'occasion
_____ 4. ne parlent jamais français

Si en venant ici vous avez laissé une région où le français était parlé par la plupart des gens, répondez aux questions 23 et 24

23. Vous sentez-vous mieux ici que vous vous sentiez dans la région ôu vous demeuriez auparavant (économiquement et socialement)?

_____ 1. Oui, beaucoup mieux
_____ 2. Situation ni meilleure, ni pire
_____ 3. Situation pire, ici
_____ 4. Situation de beaucoup pire

24. Aimeriez-vous déménager ou retourner là où le français est la langue le plus parlée?

_____ 1. Oui
_____ 2. Non
_____ 3. Incertain(e)

25. Si vous ne parlez pas anglais, pensez-vous qu'il est important pour vous de savoir parler anglais?

        ___1. très important
        ___2. important
        ___3. quelque peu important
        ___4. pas important

26. Si vous avez des enfants qui ne parlent pas français, pensez-vous qu'il est important pour eux de savoir parler anglais?

        ___1. très important
        ___2. important
        ___3. quelque peu important
        ___4. pas important

27. Est-ce que dans les clubs ou les groupes sociaux auxquels vous participez, on parle:

        ___1. toujours français
        ___2. français la plupart du temps
        ___3. français à l'occasion
        ___4. jamais français
        ___5. vous ne faites partie d'aucun club social.

Si vous êtes célibataire, passez à la question # 31

28. Est-ce que la personne avec qui vous êtes marié(e) ou avec qui vous vivez

        ___1. parle français seulement
        ___2. parle anglais seulement
        ___3. est bilingue
        ___4. autre

29. Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre conjoint ou partenaire?

        ___1. le français
        ___2. l'anglais
        ___3. autre

30. Comment votre partenaire parle-t-il français?

        ___1. très bien
        ___2. bien
        ___3. assez bien
        ___4. ne parle pas bien
        ___5. ne parle pas français

31. Comment vous définissez-vous? Diriez-vous que vous êtes

        ___1. Français
        ___2. Canadien français
        ___3. Canadien
        ___4. Canadien anglais
        ___5. Anglais
        ___6. Autre (préciser) _____

32. Avez-vous le sentiment que vous avez déjà été objet de discrimination parce que vous étiez français ou canadien-français?

      ___1. Oui, tout le temps
      ___2. Oui, très souvent
      ___3. Oui, occasionnellement
      ___4. Non, jamais

33. Vos ami(e)s sont-ils(elles)

      ___1. tou(te)s de langue française
      ___2. la plupart de langue française
      ___3. quelques uns de langue française
      ___4. aucun de langue française

34. Etes-vous d'accord avec le désir du Parti Québécois de séparer la Province de Québec du reste du Canada?

      ___1. Oui, tout à fait
      ___2. Oui, un peu
      ___3. Peu vous importe
      ___4. Vous êtes plutôt contre
      ___5. Vous êtes tout à fait contre

35. Si le Québec se séparait, est-ce que

      ___1. Vous déménageriez au Québec?
      ___2. Vous penseriez sérieusement à déménager au Québec
      ___3. Vous déménageriez peut-être, mais c'est peu probable
      ___4. Vous n'auriez pas l'intention de déménager
      ___5. Vous n'êtes pas certain(e)

36. Quelle importance accordez-vous à la survivance de la langue française à Thunder Bay?

      ___1. Une très grande importance
      ___2. Une certaine importance
      ___3. Peu d'importance
      ___4. Incertain(e).

37. Veuillez exprimer votre opinion sur les deux affirmations suivantes:

a) "Une parroisse française ferait augmenter chez les francophones une plus grande participation à l'Eglise dans cette région"

      ___1. pleinement d'accord
      ___2. d'accord
      ___3. pas d'accord
      ___4. pas du tout d'accord
      ___5. incertain(e)

b) "La liturgie(messe, etc) en français vous aiderait à conserver la langue et la culture françaises"

      ___1. pleinement d'accord
      ___2. d'accord
      ___3. pas d'accord
      ___4. pas du tout d'accord
      ___5. incertain(e)

38. Est-ce que,pour vous, la radio et la télévision française, c'est quelque chose que vous considérez important?

       ___1. très important
       ___2. important
       ___3. pas important

39. Avoir une école française, est-ce que c'est pour vous quelque chose d'important?

       ___1. très important
       ___2. important
       ___3. pas important

40. Est-ce qu'il est important pour vous que (votre) vos enfant(s) épouse une personne de langue française?

       ___1. très important
       ___2. important
       ___3. pas important
       ___4. c'est à eux de choisir

Merci beaucoup de l'aide que vous m'avez apportée en répondant à ce questionnaire. Les résultats nous permettront surement de mieux comprendre ce que cela veut dire être Canadien-français à Thunder Bay. Si vous aviez quelques remarques à faire, veuillez les ajouter ci-bas: