A SPECULATIVE MODEL OF INDIVIDUAL DECISION-MAKING AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN RESPONSE TO CHANGE IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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ABSTRACT

A SPECULATIVE MODEL OF INDIVIDUAL DECISION-MAKING AND RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN RESPONSE TO CHANGE IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

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The thesis constructs a speculative model of anglophone response to changing structural relations between French and English in Quebec. Current perspectives which predict conflict, or deal with attitudes, are unable to explain what seems to be an individualistic, non-conflictual response to threat on the part of the English community.

Based on interviews with anglophone parents about choice of schooling, the concepts of boundary between ethnic categories, of resources and resource management, and of innovation are developed. These are linked in a model of individual resource-management and choice. The model indicates that boundaries between groups are defined and redefined not only by objective criteria but by individual perception and choice based on resources.

The thesis concludes that the process of changing structural relations between ethnic groups is a process of category change. This change may remain latent at the individual level of choice or response through resource management, or it may be broadened through the mobilization of resources to societal recognition and institutionalization of the change.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A Change in the Structure of Intergroup Relations -- The Anglophone Community in Montreal in 1978

Linguistic and political changes occurring in Quebec, especially since the 1976 election of the Parti Québecois, have focussed attention on the historically predominant anglophone community in Montreal.[1] Although the effects of the changes have been mainly symbolic until now, they represent a threat and expectation of a transformation of economic and social power to the majority, at the expense of the English.

The changing position of the Montreal anglophone community in relation to the francophone bears a structural resemblance to the cases of the Walloon community in relation to the Flemish in Belgium, and to the Swedish community in relation to the Finns in Finland. Unlike many minority ethnic groups who are also subordinate, the anglophones, the Walloons and the Swedes have had a history of dominance in their respective contexts. Since the Conquest in 1760 the anglophone community in Quebec and particularly in Montreal, has supported its position through a social organization that has perpetuated its structural predominance, despite its numerical minority status. Only recently has this arrangement begun to falter.

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[1] Anglophone community as used here refers to the total English-speaking population of Montreal. Community does not have the sense of collectivity, but of a social category based on language and ethnicity.

This thesis asks how the members of such a group react when their position relative to the larger but subordinate group is threatened. Do they rally collectively to meet or resist change? Or does the response vary on an individual basis? The thesis examines individual choice of action in response to change. It asks what is the process of individual response to this shift within the formerly dominant group, and how is this response related to membership in an ethnic category?

Three Perspectives on Changing Intergroup Relations in Canada

Recent studies on intergroup relations and changing French and English relations in Quebec have made very significant contributions, both to the understanding of the emergence of new structural forms, and of individual response. Certain key studies or approaches address the process of this change from three perspectives: the conflict perspective, the intergroup perspective, and the individual perspective.

1. Caldwell — A Conflict Perspective

Caldwell's approach (1976) best exemplifies the first perspective. He has utilized a conflict model which sees structural inequalities as the source of contradiction, conflict and change. The relations between French and English in this light are clearly explained as structural relations between groups, and it is these same objective structural criteria that determine individual response. His approach would seem to suggest a garrison image of the Montreal English in changing conditions, with anglophone response likely to be a monolithic one based on a threat to the English as a social category. As Frye (1971) describes a garrison:

> A garrison is a closely knit and beleaguered society, and its moral and social values are unquestionable. In a perilous enterprise one does not discuss causes or motives: one is either a fighter or a deserter. (Frye, 1971: 226)

We do not quarrel with Caldwell's structural analysis which is both enlightening and explanatory, but with its determinism of individual response from a collective standpoint. We know from even casual observation that the anglophone response to threat in Montreal has been other than a group phenomenon, and has taken a variety of individual forms, from emigration to integration or absorption into the francophone category.

2. Breton -- An Intergroup Perspective

Breton's (1964, 1978) approach resembles Caldwell's in that it too stresses interaction and conflict between groups rather than individuals. Instead of addressing himself to the nature of the relationship between groups, however, he looks at the levels of institutionalization or "parallelism" within them, relating high internal organization to conflict between groups over jurisdiction. His contention is that the greater the parallelism or institutional completeness within an ethnic community, the more likely the conditions necessary for its maintenance and expansion will incur conflict between communities or ethnic groups. In other words, it could be said that in Breton's perspective, the individual who is a member of a highly institutionalized ethnic group will respond to threat to the group's position or jurisdiction on the basis of his ethnic membership, that is, in a collective manner.

Again, however, if we look at the English community in Montreal we can see that despite a high degree of parallelism and threats to

jurisdiction, concerted action has not been the response that Breton might have predicted. The anglophone community, as we have already mentioned, has responded in a variety of ways.

Both Caldwell and Breton focus on the collective aspects of intergroup relations,[1] and both address themselves to the macroscopic level of analysis.

3. Laczko — An Individual Perspective

The third perspective is exemplified by Laczko (1978), who deals directly with the individual members of ethnic categories. In Laczko's work there is an examination of Quebec anglophone sentiments of threat and sympathy regarding Quebec nationalism and independence, as revealed in a 1971 questionnaire-based survey. He claims that an examination of such perceptions is an important measure of the reactions of a dominant group in a situation where that dominance is being challenged. Yet with his correlations of status and attitude he is unable to explain why two people of the same status who are threatened by changes in the relationship between English and French choose different courses of action.

Formulation of a Speculative Model of Individual Choice

The purpose of the thesis is to formulate a speculative model of the reactions of the English community in Montreal, using the concepts of boundary, resource and innovation. This model of individual choice will be used to examine three theoretical questions about a changing boundary.

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[1] Unlike Caldwell, who has concentrated on the place of English Quebecers in the development of Quebec, Breton has tended to examine the multiplicity of ethnic groups in an urban setting.

Caldwell, for example, posits objective structural criteria for definition or redefinition of a boundary between groups. We would ask instead whether boundaries between groups are not also changed or redefined by individual perception and choice, and if so, in what ways.

Related to this is a second theoretical question of whether a changing boundary between ethnic groups can be defined only in terms of a single closed societal context or unit, as Breton seems to suggest. The parallelism he speaks of occurs within a single system. We raise the question of whether the individual in the instance of the Montreal anglophone group does not in fact define boundary in terms of not only Montreal, and Quebec, but also the context of Canada, and North America.

Both of these questions are related to the concept of resource. Thus, our third theoretical question is whether a changing boundary between ethnic groups creates or takes away resources, and whether a redefinition of the boundary is therefore not a redefinition of a resource base. Does the individual's access to resources have some bearing on his redefinition of the boundary, and in what manner? It is here that the concept of resource becomes the necessary link between Laczko's perceptions of threat amongst members of a no-longer dominant group, and their choice of action.

1. Individual Choice in the Education Sector.

The effects of the provisions of the language legislation, Bill 101, on the English community have been felt largely in the education and business sectors. Either of these areas would be revealing of individual choice processes, though of the two education proved to be the more practical for our purposes.

We chose to explore the process of anglophone response to change through a series of interviews with parents about school choice and language training.[1] These interviews were intended to initiate, not test, several theoretical ideas. Although we examined only one area here, i.e. education, the theoretical ideas developed as a result of the findings are applicable in other sectors as well, exploring as they do the relationship between individual choice of action, and changing structural relations between ethnic categories.

2. The Interviews

Thirty intensive interviews were carried out with English-speaking parents of elementary and secondary school children in the Montreal Urban Community, who were residents of Quebec before the language legislation was passed in August, 1977, and therefore were allowed the widest latitude in school and language-training alternatives. The selection of subjects was arbitrary, based on the suggestions of a variety of persons, who proposed the names of acquaintances. There was an attempt, not always successful, to include a certain balance between people who had chosen French schooling, immersion, or English schooling; between people who had lived in Quebec for more than ten years, and those who had lived in the Province for less; between geographical areas

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[1] Copy of interview outline, Appendix A, p. 79.

of the city; and between income levels.[1]

Subjects were first contacted by telephone, followed by the interview. Anonymity was assured. In 4 cases, follow-up by telephone was necessary to clarify some points in the interviewer's notes that were unclear.

We were looking at a particular situation within a particular period of time when the interviews were carried out, between February 16 and July 5, 1978, that is, less than a year after the passage of Bill 101. A series of events has taken place since, including the publicity concerning head office departures, the declining school enrollment, the election of Claude Ryan as head of the Liberal Party, a loss of PQ support in recent by-elections, and a Progressive Conservative victory in the federal sphere. It is therefore highly probable that new perceptions would be encountered should the interviews be carried out now.

Thesis Outline

Chapter II develops the metaphor of boundary as a means of

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[1] Of the 30 persons interviewed, 29 were female and 1 male; 2 were between the ages of 20-30 years, 21 between 31-40, and 7 between the ages of 41-50; 14 were born in Quebec, 9 in another Canadian province, and 7 outside of Canada. There were 2 Catholics, 15 Protestants, and 13 others; 25 had been in Quebec for more than 10 years and 5 for less; 6 had children in French school, 6 had chosen a mixture of French and immersion, 5 a mixture of immersion and English, 9 immersion only, and 4, English only; 6 lived on the West Island, 2 on the South Shore, 2 in Westmount, 2 in Outremont, 2 in St. Henri, 10 in N.D.G., 3 in Central City and 3 in the Town of Mount Royal (see map entitled % de la population dont la langue maternelle était le français en 1971, (Appendix B, p. 82); 23 owned property in Quebec and 7 did not; 18 were professionals, 6 in business, 2 in sales, 1 clerical, 2 blue-collar, and 1 unemployed. All families reported speaking English at home; 22 spoke English at work, 3 spoke French, 5 spoke both; 8 termed their own French good, 10 medium, and 12 poor; 14 said they intended to stay in Quebec, 12 were undecided, and 4 planned to leave in the case of independence.

describing the social organization that maintains differences between ethnic groups that share the same territory, or are in contact. This concept has application at both the individual and group level.

Chapter III explores the concept of resources and resource management. The boundary is a division of resources based on ethnicity. This is illustrated by reference to the resources of the anglophone community in Montreal. People are able to manage their resources, in a rational choice process of maximization of utility, which has significant implications for the conflict perspective.

Chapter IV turns to the individual, looking at individual response to structural change as an innovation that maximizes, restores, or creates resources. The innovation is thus new in a context wherein it is a resource. The context is the changing boundary.

Chapter V illustrates the decision-process as one of resource management by reference to the education sector in Quebec. The historical boundary, and changes in that boundary are set out. A simplified mapping of the choice points in arriving at a language training decision is presented and illustrated by quotations from the interviews with parents. Access to resources and resource management are shown to be related to perceptions of threat. The cumulation of resource management decisions gives shape to change, and has implications for collective mobilization for conflict.

Chapter VI concludes the thesis by pointing to refinements and further development of the model, as well as suggesting the applicability of the model in other sectors and between other social categories.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF BOUNDARY AND THE MAINTENANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN CONTACT

In this chapter, the concept of boundary is developed to describe a social organization or structure that maintains differences between ethnic groups in contact. The examination of the relationship between groups and the historical circumstances of this relationship is seen as being more revealing than an examination of group traits or degrees of assimilation.

The boundary is an organizing principle that generates between groups distinctions of not only a cultural but of a social and economic nature. The construct of boundary can be used at both the macro- and micro-levels. At the macro-level, it describes patterns of articulation and separation between groups. At the micro-level, it describes individual categorization on the basis of ethnicity. The link between the individual and the social structure is in this categorization which becomes part of a person's social location or context.

Social change in this perspective is a shift in the boundary and the rules of dichotomization. It would seem that individuals perceive a boundary shift between groups in terms of new rules in the relationship — rules related to real or perceived shifts in the power arrangement. It would seem also that as well as perceiving a shift, individuals form images of the new grouping or changed boundary by which they orient their

response. Examples of these perceptions of boundary shift and new boundary formation are taken from the interviews with anglophone parents in Montreal.

The Boundary as a Maintenance of Differences Between Ethnic Groups

1. The Persistence of Differences Between Ethnic Groups

Empirically, we know that ethnic groups occupying the same territory can and do maintain their distinctiveness (Barth, 1969; Jackson, 1975 and 1978; Hechter, 1971; Breton, 1964 and 1978). Differences between groups can exist at the level of popular stereotypes, or at the more politically sophisticated level of contrasting pursuits of such goals as national rights, democracy, assimilation, cultural maintenance, individual and collective rights. They can be differences in cultural expression as reflected in the mass media and education, or differences based on institutional separation. They can be differences related to socio-economic cleavages and differential status arrangements. This thesis suggests that the reasons for the enduring nature of these differences, however, is not found in tracing and describing degrees of on-going manifestations of difference, but in the examination of the initial type of contact between ethnic groups, and the underlying social organization of differences based on ethnicity that has resulted from the nature of that contact.[1]

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[1] The host-migrant situation is only one of several types of inter-ethnic contact that have been isolated. Each type gives rise to a form of social organization between the groups (Lieberson, 1961 and 1970).

a) Trends in the Study of Intergroup Relations and Differences

The literature on intergroup relations reveals a variety of approaches to the problem of the persistence of differences between ethnic groups in a society, that ranges from analysis based on assimilation through to conflict perspectives. These approaches are based on contrasting assumptions about the nature and origins of the intergroup experience. This contrast has a bearing on our choice of approach for studying that aspect of French-English relations in Quebec in which we are interested.

i) Assimilation

Early treatments in the United States saw ethnic differences as steps on the road to the eventual assimilation of immigrant groups into the over-riding host culture. Distinctions were viewed as merely stages in a process or cycle of absorption (Park, 1950 and Warner, 1963). There was also the assumption that urbanization and modernization would have an homogenizing effect. In the main, the methodology used by these studies was based on empirical indicators as a basis for measuring the degree of assimilation.

ii) A Multi-Dimensional Approach to Assimilation

By the mid-1950's, a new perspective was apparent which, on the one hand, recognized that the differences between ethnic groups persisted, and on the other hand, based this recognition on the concept of the multi-dimensional nature of assimilation. Consequently, people like Eisenstadt (1954) and Gordon (1964) used several indices of assimilation. Gordon, for example, makes reference to structural assimilation, cultural assimilation, identificational assimilation, etc., to the point

where it is possible to conceive of an ethnic group that has "assimilated" along one dimension, but not along another dimension.

iii) Two Criticisms of the Multi-Dimensional Approach

Assumptions in this approach, similar to the earlier assimilationist ones make it unsuitable for examination of the relations between anglophone and francophone groups in Canada, however, in two ways. First, it too is developed on the basis of an immigrant-host model of contact presupposing one over-riding society. Ethnic group maintenance of differences in this perspective therefore is played out against a backdrop of a single culture and social structure[1] within which the ethnic groups vary in their degree of participation. The historical contact between English and French in Canada was one of the subordination of an established society by another. This type of contact, where an indigenous population is subordinated by an incoming population, is not the same as the subordination of voluntary migrants by a host society, nor does it have the same implications for the ensuing relations between groups.

This leads to the second criticism of the multidimensional perspective which is that it tends to study relations within ethnic groups rather than between them. Hughes (1952), Barth (1969), Jackson (1975) and Hechter (1971) have disputed this position, suggesting instead that it is the relations between groups that perpetuate differences and are the source of conflict. The accommodations worked out between groups,

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[1] Structure in this instance is used in the sense of status and roles, not of a certain relationship between groups.

often to perpetuate the subordination of one group by another, are more revealing than internal group organization.

Oberschall (1978) makes the same point when discussing social movements. He challenges what he terms the breakdown theories of social movements and conflict which assert that rapid social change destroys traditional social formations and communal solidarities. He shows how the original arrangement between groups can set up a basic conflictual situation and his point is that despite the alleged leveling and integrating effects of the spread of education and industry, administrative centralization, increased communications, labor mobility, the expansion of citizenship rights, and policies of linguistic and religious assimilation, ethnic solidarities and identifications (in this case in the British Isles) remain strong. This has historical roots in that:

> The superordinate core group institutionalizes its original advantages over the peripheral ethnic minority in a stratification system based on a cultural division of labor in which the minority's access to certain roles is denied and their share of societal resources limited .... In a stratification system based on the observable cultural differences of religion, language, and life styles, the disadvantaged group keeps reasserting its own culture and ethnic worth despite considerable costs and pressures for assimilation. (Oberschall, 1978: 299)

Oberschall, above, is echoing the views of Hechter (1971). Hechter has developed a theory of what he terms internal colonialism in which he suggests:

> ... if the investigator is interested in the longitudinal process of social change where the relevant groups are subject to frequent culture contact and interaction then the maintenance of cultural differences over time may be an important clue as to the nature of their interrelationship, particularly insofar as dominance and subordination are concerned. (Hechter, 1971: 38)

b) An Approach Based on Intergroup Structure

In this thesis we adopt an approach that takes into account what we term structure. By structure we refer to the organization of the relations between the English and French societies. This social structure or organization of a boundary is the historic context within which individual members of the two groups have perceived the relations between groups, and within which they take their decisions.

2. The Concept of Boundary

a) The Social Organization of a Boundary Between Ethnic Groups

Anthropologist Frederik Barth (1969) employs the metaphor of boundary between ethnic groups to describe the social organization of their interaction. The boundary is the organizing principle that generates distinctions of not only a cultural, but of a social and economic nature,[1] distinctions which maintain a certain societal division of assets.

When people share the same territory and assets they look for ways of dividing it up. Patterns of social stratification are one means of doing this, giving certain people access to resources and restraining others on the basis of rank. Another way is to divide things up on the

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[1] Jackson (1975, 1978) looks at the boundary in terms of collective interests based on language and religion and threats to those interests. The interaction between anglophone and francophone groups in Tecumseh, Ontario which he studied was based upon their membership in linguistically-based categories. The kinds of issues and events which appeared to activate roles related to language and religion were those which had to do with collective interests and threats to those interests. Conflict over language was not the result of disgruntled malcontents, therefore, but as a consequence of membership in particular social categories.

basis of ethnicity:

> ... one may say that stratified poly-ethnic systems exist where groups are characterized by differential control of assets that are valued by all groups in the system .... Since ethnicity is ascriptive rather than conditional on the control of any specific assets the persistence of stratified poly-ethnic systems entails the presence of factors that generate and maintain a categorically different distribution of assets: state controls, marked differences in evaluation that canalize the efforts of actors in different directions. (Barth, 1969: 27-28)

The boundary is that perpetuation of distinctions and differences that encourages members of both groups to view their social organization in a dichotomized fashion:

> The ethnic boundary canalizes social life ... the identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgement. It thus entails the assumption that the two are fundamentally 'playing the same game' and this means that there is between them a potential for diversification and expansion of the social relationship to cover eventually all different sectors and domains of activity.
>
> On the other hand, a dichotomization of others as strangers, as members of another ethnic group implies a recognition of limitations on shared understandings, differences in criteria for judgement of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of common understanding and mutual interest. (Barth: 15)

b) <u>The Macro-Level of Boundary Rules</u>

In the macro sense, the boundary rules referred to by Barth as patterns of articulation and separation, shape the interaction:

> Stable interethnic relations presuppose such ... a set of prescriptions governing situations of contact and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity and a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification. (Barth: 16)

Thus, the initial contact situation between French and English in Canada, for example, created a boundary line that as the years passed resulted in a dichotomization of domains of activity, based on

ethnicity and language. Resulting from the contact-situation of the conquest of New France by the British, and entailing the subordination of the one group by the other (Lieberson, 1961), the boundary and rules for the division of resources established the English/French dichotomy in fact and in people's minds. Social organization of the boundary was a set of rules for inclusion and exclusion from societal resources based on ethnicity and language. Although individuals have crossed to marry, to go to school and to work, until recently the unequal institutional separation of the two groups on the basis of ethnicity and language has been maintained. What has been described as the two solitudes is the boundary.

Looking at the concept of boundary between ethnic groups as a division of resources that evolves over time, we can see that what we call the boundary is neither unchanging nor enclosed. The social organization of the boundary does not occur within a single static context. Although the early economy of Canada, tied closely with British policies of colonial expansion and continentalism developed with Montreal as the centre of communications and later manufacturing and finance (Nader, 1976; Martin, 1974), it began to shift its focus to service industries, and also westward in the second half of the twentieth century. This on-going shift of the economic centre to Ontario and the Western provinces, though external to Montreal, has had an important bearing on the social organization of the boundary between French and English, because it signifies a removal of part of the resource base.

This raises an important point about boundary change. The

spatial shifts created by economic (business and industrial) factors as a whole -- changes in multinationals and American ownership -- may have more impact than Provincial political decisions. That is to say, that the shift in ethnic boundary, as exemplified in Bill 101, may be less important than the shift that is created by economic changes. If many of the English-speaking community of Montreal move to Toronto, or Calgary, because of job changes, the boundary too has changed, but not as a shift based on ethnicity.

c) The Micro-level -- Categorization or Membership Based on Ethnicity

At the individual, or micro-level, the rules of ethnic membership, ascription and dichotomization become part of what we can term a person's definition of the situation (Thomas, 1927). Individually, people interact on the basis of a multitude of roles and memberships as they go about their daily business: teacher, parent, salesman, consumer, etc. When a role becomes a means of group identification by self and others, e.g. children, teachers, parents, etc., it is what we call a category.[1] Some categories like age or sex, or parenthood for that matter, are based on ascription, rather than achievement. Ethnicity is one of these, as Barth states: "A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background" (Barth, 1969: 13). According to Barth, membership in an ethnic group consists in being looked at or identified as such, or categorized as

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[1] Jackson (1975) and Williams (1964) define a social category as a collection of people having some vague sense of membership and identity.

such by others, and being willing to be recognized, treated and judged as such. Ethnicity in a categorical sense is not an enduring compendium of cultural traits, but a label that has certain connotations about the meaning of ethnicity. In Canada, for example, being French or English implies more than language and culture. Where ethnic categorization becomes constricting, or potentially binding, is in a pluralist society where it can be identified with collective interests. In this sense, it can have the same constricting quality we associate with other categories we cannot ignore, like sex, or age, or race. It becomes a kind of imperative under these circumstances, implying a series of constraints on the kind of social roles the individual is allowed to play, the partners he may choose for different kinds of transactions, and the domains[1] in which he can function. For the ethnic group member it can imply a set of collective deprivations or, on the other hand, advantages. When an individual's membership in an ethnic category denotes a position of domination or subordination in the social structure stemming from both historical circumstances surrounding the meaning of his ethnicity and an ensuing social boundary organization based on ethnic dichotomization, ethnicity becomes political.

d) The Individual and Social Structure -- A Social Location or Context of Action

It is important here to make clear the link we are suggesting between the individual and his social structure. Crook (1973) points

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[1] Fishman (1972: 441) "Domains are defined regardless of their number in terms of institutional contexts and their congruent behavioral occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors."

out that social structure is an analytical construct describing or organizing the recurrences found in the examination of social life by the observer. It is in a sense a working solution to the problems of observer categories -- time, space, scale, etc. The actor, of course, does not see social structure when he makes decisions or choices. He does, however, base his action on a rational consideration (in his own terms) of the situation, the range of alternatives for action, and reciprocal expectations of others, which is a kind of model taking into account the parameters of his social reality.

> Social location thus is the structural or macro context within which, at the micro level, the existential situation is experienced and in terms of which we act. What from the observer's point of view is regarded as structural location, from the existential point of view is the context of action, and the range of choices (within the repertoire available to that person) which are perceived as existing. (Crook: 257)

Crook does not mention ethnicity or language as part of his discussion, but we can see that self-categorization or categorization by others as a member of an ethnic group, and dichotomization based on a boundary between ethnic groups, could well constitute part of the actor's consideration or reading of the situation. Crook points out that a person is constrained by the number of alternatives he has to manage his own interests. These are constraints based on differential access to information, opportunity and to power which he says exist by virtue of the person's ethnic membership and the position of his ethnic category which also affects his access and thus management of his interests. Such a linkage enables us to speak of individual models of social context and takes us out of totally idiosyncratic psychological proclivities.

3. A Changing Boundary -- Language Usage As One Example of a Changing Boundary Between Ethnic Groups

As we have said above, people do not perceive social structure, or structural change as such, but act within what they perceive as a social context or reality. In a situation of a changing boundary between two ethnic groups, such as we have at the present time in Montreal and Quebec, it is possible to use language and people's perceptions about language status and change to trace the process of structural change. Language, in a sense, exemplifies the changing relations between ethnic groups.

a) Illustrations From the Interviews of Perceptions of a Changing Boundary

In interviews with anglophone parents concerning schooling choice and language training, it was apparent that people recognized a changing boundary situation. One parent said:

> I saw a change in Quebec two elections ago. I realized how strongly the francophone population felt about the English-French unequal relationship. (Interview #9, March 6)[1]

> Adults who didn't have French felt a necessity to have French in this Province. (Interview #19, June 8)

> The French fact is here to stay. Bill 101-type provisions will stand, and the Province is going to be French. If one is going to be involved in a profession here French is necessary. (Interview #20, June 12)

Many have lived through a change that is quite striking:

> I grew up in N.D.G. and I never had to speak French. Then two years ago I had to speak it for my job. It was necessary in my community-organizing kind of work, and I wanted to do it. Unilingualism limits you now. (Interview #23, June 19)

b) The Changing Boundary as a Threat

To some, the change and the shift in the balance of power between

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[1] Sources of these quotes are my interview notes and in some cases tape recordings of the interviews.

anglophone and francophone communities is perceived as threatening. The individual member of the anglophone group at this point perceives the changing boundary as one that threatens group interests which, in turn, he identifies with his own personal circumstances:

> Pickings are slimmer here now for anglophones. Some people are just not here any longer, and the English scene is less lively. (Interview #27, June 21)
>
> I feel more tension now; not among friends, but in large groups. When I'm on Saint-Denis I feel if any incident occurs it will be because I'm English. (Interview #22, June 13)
>
> They've helped one group and hurt another. What's the use of living in a place where you are tied by limiting rules and regulations. (Interview #26, June 20)
>
> We thought we were ahead of the game when we put our kids in French schools six and seven years ago. Bilingualism seemed the way of the future. Now we feel it was useless. There is no place for English bilinguals. We would get out if we could sell the house. (Interview #3, February 27)
>
> We were getting along well. Anglophones were learning more French, and then the rules were changed. Now we don't know what this means. (Interview #26, June 20)
>
> Kids have to learn how to cope with people in a society where you are termed as a minority. (Interview #21, June 13)

As we have stated, a boundary is a metaphor for the social organization maintaining distinctions. Individuals do not perceive a boundary as such but are aware instead of the social rules governing intergroup relations. The use of language has been one such rule in Québec, and people perceive a change. They also perceive this change in the rules as threatening when it implies a threat to group interests and its members.

c) Images of a New Boundary

The interviews suggested that people not only perceived a change in the boundary, but had what we shall term images of the future reshaping or structure of anglophone/francophone relations. We shall group these images in five configurations or clusters, below, to suggest

several of what could be a countless variety, ranging from a changed boundary based on assimilation or integration through to a changed boundary through departure of the anglophones.

i) Image of Integration Into the French Majority

One image was the incorporation of the anglophone group into the French majority as one minority among others. People who held this view were concerned that they be able to participate fully in the society where they live. They suggested that they felt it important that they, and their children, integrate now.

> It is uncomfortable not to go with the dominant culture. We are in a ghetto otherwise. The English in Quebec must accept the French fact, and accept it for our children also. (Interview #4, May 31)

There was an identification with Quebec by people who held this picture of the future relationship:

> This is my home. I accept Quebecers more as people than I do their English equivalents in other provinces. When I'm out of the Province I defend it. I'm proud of what's happening. (Interview #23, June 19)

New social forms and networks are envisaged:

> The (bilingual English) children will be the first generation to be Quebecers and yet different. They can go English or French if they want to; they can do all the things they want to in English or French. They are a new generation who have had to be more integrated and open. (Interview #23, June 19)

ii) Image of the Status Quo With Adjustments

Another image of the change seems to be one in which the boundary remains as it stands, with necessary adjustments, language being one of them, made to contain conflicts and to maintain the balance of interests. People who spoke in this vein see themselves as Quebecers too, but are less ready to opt for integration into the francophone majority. Bilingualism for them becomes a means of maintaining the

status quo:

> In the early seventies there seemed to be a real spirit in Montreal for bilingualism. It was the exciting thing to do. (Interview #26, June 20)

Most said that they planned to stay in Quebec, but in anglophone sectors of Montreal. They mentioned they had looked for houses in neighborhoods where they could be sure of having French immersion classes, recognizing that "to stay in Quebec people have to be bilingual."

iii) Image of a Special Status For Members of Head Offices and Multinational Corporations

People who are part of the head office or multinational group see living in Quebec as one stop on the way:

> If we thought we were moving here for the purpose of learning French and French culture we wouldn't have moved to the West Island. But we kind of think of all of Canada as our home, and that we can move anywhere. We could live in any major city of Canada at any given time. So we go so far as to want our children to learn French and put them in immersion. We don't go so far as to move to the east end of Montreal and live in a totally French environment which we will move from in five years' time. We are fairly typical people that move every four or five years. Montreal seems to be more stable in certain respects, but I can't think of anybody I know in Winnipeg who hasn't moved out or moved back. So realistically speaking we don't think we're going to be here until the end of our lives. Which makes a difference in what we choose for our children. (Interview #8, March 6)

For them, their image of future relations in Quebec between French and English is one in which francophone participation expands, but the head office and multinational sector is able to continue on as is.

> If it becomes uncomfortable politically and economically then we'll leave. (Interview #26, June 20)

iv) Image of an Anglophone Minority Excluded on Language Grounds

Another image is of a beleaguered anglophone minority on the periphery of Quebec society:

> The longer I stay the more barriers I build up. I have become very self-conscious in the English community, caught in the anglo-saxon stereotype and the community of disgruntled anglophones. I feel impotent; I can't direct my situation. I find the language barrier very frustrating. I must understand a culture to participate. I can't live in a society where I'm not involved. (Interview #12, May 29)

v) Image of Anglophone Departure

A fifth image is to leave the field to the francophone majority and to live elsewhere:

> The recent legislation makes us think twice. We are not Quebecers and are happy and can easily move elsewhere. If we were native-born we wouldn't be pushed out. This is a local problem, not ours. (Interview #4, February 27)

It should be emphasized here that the boundary between ethnic groups may not be the most salient one for some individuals. Despite whatever image of the French/English relationship a person may hold, he may be affected more by the shift of the economic centre westward, the East/West boundary, than by changing rules between ethnic groups. The changing locus of employment may be the telling dimension, rather than an intergroup one:

> We're happy here and not looking to leave. But it depends on the business situation and if the company stays in Quebec. Or my husband might be offered a job elsewhere. (Interview #7, March 6)

Summary

The boundary is a metaphor for the perceptions people hold of a social organization based on differences between ethnic groups. When the boundary is perceived as shifting or in flux and those social rules as no longer applicable, people do not wipe out the boundary, but instead develop images of a new set of boundary roles or organization to which they adjust their actions.

CHAPTER III

BOUNDARY, RESOURCES AND CHANGE

In this chapter the concept of resources is developed. When we have employed the metaphor of boundary to describe the social organization between ethnic groups in contact we have in fact been referring to a division of resources based on ethnicity. A change in the boundary entails and is perceived as a loss or gain of resources to an ethnic category. Resources are objectively divided between ethnic groups by the social organization, and are perceived in relation to another group's resources.

The resources of the English-speaking community in Montreal are described both as an example of an ethnic group's historical pool of resources as organized by a boundary arrangement to perpetuate their subordination of the French community, and in terms of present resources, constrained by the changing boundary. These are grouped as population resources, and structural resources.

The dynamic factor in the concept of resources related to the boundary between ethnic groups is the management of resources by individuals. Based on an economic perspective of rational choice, resource management becomes the tangible process link in structural change. It is also the necessary step in the conflict perspective between structural sources of conflict and forms of response that we have been seeking.

Boundary and Resources

1. The Changing Boundary

We have described how the boundary between ethnic groups in a society is a metaphor or abstraction for describing forms of social organization that divide up societal assets on the basis of ethnicity. In a pluralist society, the boundary is a power relationship creating dichotomies that preserve the assets for one group and perpetuate a shortage for the other. In turn, members of the groups dichotomize their view of social reality, thereby enforcing the rules of the unequal relationship, yet also increasing its potential as a source of conflict and change.

When a social structure or boundary is changing, the question that most intrigues the social scientist is the direction and form of that change. And just as the sociologist looks to social structure as a means of organizing his observations, so the individual actor tries to define his activities in terms of some kind of model. As we have already shown, when relations between ethnic groups are in flux, people recognize a shift in the boundary and its rules, and they also formulate images or models of the future possible relationship within which they orient their actions.

Crook points out that, as stated above, a person is constrained in the management of his activities by differential access to information, opportunity and power by virtue of his social location. To this we have added by virtue of his ethnic membership as well.

2. The Boundary as Resources

In terms of this thesis, the information, opportunity and power

to which individuals have differential access are resources.

When we say that the boundary rules are in the process of changing — the rules of the game — we mean that not only is there a shift in the balance of power between the groups in some abstract sense, but more concretely that the resources created, preserved, or prohibited by the old boundary are shifting. These are objective resources created by the boundary that are lost, created, or transferred; and they are also resources inasmuch as they are perceived as such by individual members of the ethnic groups. The individual participates in his own category's objective resources, but also perceives those resources in relation to the other group's. It is in this sense that when we speak of individual images of the future relationship between two ethnic groups, it is an image of the division of resources that is being envisaged.

3. The Concept of Resource

Sociologists dealing with change and conflict processes have developed an approach which is referred to as resource management and resource mobilization. Tilly (1970), Oberschall (1973), McCarthy and Zald (1973, 1977) have seen this as a way of looking at the dynamics of social movements:

> The resource mobilization perspective tries to direct social movement analysis away from its heavy emphasis on the social psychology of social movement participants which links frustrations or grievances to the growth and decline of movement activity. Instead it emphasizes the variety and sources of resources. (McCarthy and Zald, 1977: 1212)

The basic idea is one of asset or resource:

> This can be anything from material resources — jobs, income, savings and the right to material goods and services — to

> nonmaterial resources — authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills, habits of industry and so on. (Oberschall, 1973: 28)

Resources belong to groups as well as individuals:

> At any given time some resources are earmarked for group ends and group use, not just individual use. (Ibid.)

We would expand the above by suggesting that resources, in addition to belonging to individuals or groups, are perceived in relation to other groups' resources and in fact are the creation of intergroup structures.

The Resources and the Boundary in Montreal

1. The English-Speaking Community in Montreal — An Historic Pool of Resources

The resources of the English-speaking population of Montreal, both individually and as a group, are many. The historical development of the community as a mercantile and industrial power in the nineteenth century has contributed to what we can call its resource inventory.

From the time of the conquest, first the British colonial administrators and then the English merchant class, enhanced their own position vis-a-vis the francophone population: "The two solitudes was a tacit agreement between two elites: the English merchant class of Montreal and the Catholic clergy of Quebec" (Guindon, 1978: 235). As Ossenberg puts it: "In plural societies the traditional elite groups of the subordinated culture are typically reinforced and sanctioned in their positions of power and consequently cooperate completely with the elite of the new regime in assuring plural institutional differentiation" (Ossenberg, 1974: 127).

What this meant for the English community, and was sanctioned by Confederation in 1867, was the development of an autonomous cradle-to-the-grave set of institutions, including education, social services, cultural and mass media organizations, coupled with non-interference by the Quebec government in industrial development. These collective and cultural rights[1] ensured by anglophone economic supremacy in Quebec included the absorption of immigrants into that community to buttress its numbers, its institutions and its labour force. For the francophone community in return it meant the preservation of language and religion. It also meant that its members would bear the costs of bilingualism, including some sacrifices and loss of cultural

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[1] Morris and Lanphier (1977: 7) distinguish between individual, collective and cultural rights, and pose the problem of how such rights should be accorded to minority groups in Canada. They point out that the English minority in Quebec has been privileged to have rights at all three levels.

distinctiveness if they wished to participate in the economic sphere.[1]

The political strength of the English community has lain not in its numbers, which have represented a minority of only one-sixth of the Quebec population, but in its corporate power, which has enabled it to arrange its affairs without regard for the majority, except where reciprocal needs existed as in the labour market. These have been the "rules of the game," both within the English and French communities, and between them. The rules have assured that the set of English institutions, defined and promoted as such, effectively excluded francophone participation and interference in the key industrial and anglophone sector of the economy.

2. The Present Resources of the Anglophone Community of Montreal

This section describes the aggregate of resources of the anglophone community as well as its resources in relation to the francophone

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[1] Breton (1978: 13) examines bilingualism in the light of basic economic theory. He concludes that in the small country case, the cost of learning a second language for economic purposes is largely borne by citizens of the small-country. In the North American context, this implies that the cost of communication between the English and French is borne almost exclusively by the French; a conclusion, he notes, that holds whether it is the French who learn the English language or the English who learn French. He also notes that it is the variance of supply and demand conditions to events in a small country that generates the above conclusion, not new public policies.

Brazeau (1971: 23, 27) has pointed out the consequences, both personal and for linguistic collectivities of belonging to one language group rather than another in a pluralistic context.

Morris and Lamphier (1977: 17) cite the reports of the Gendron Commission (1972) and the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1968): "English remains the dominant language of management even in areas of Quebec where most of the population is francophone. Anglophone businessmen find it impossible to imagine that French could ever become the language of management in Quebec ... an opinion echoed by many francophone business leaders."

community. Though historically interconnected, the resources are summarized under the headings of population and structural resources.

a) Population Resources

The population resources of the Montreal anglophone community include its size, its density, the immigrant input, its links to the North American English-speaking context and its historical roots in Quebec.

The Montreal region is the home of the majority of the English-speaking population of Quebec:

> Of Quebec's anglophones, 92 per cent live in the South and West — the majority of them in Montréal .... The 1971 census showed that the population of the metropolitan area was 66 per cent francophone, 25 per cent anglophone and 9 per cent other. (Joy, 1973: 32, 33)

A recent study by the Quebec Department of Immigration entitled Les futurs linguistiques possibles de la region métropolitaine de Montréal en 2001, published in January, 1979,[1] hypothesizes that given language transfers,[2] and with migration remaining at a constant level, the anglophone community will retain its relative strength of 24.3[3] per

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[1] Le Devoir, January 17, 1979: 2, by Bernard Descoteaux.

[2] Veltman (1977), basing his analysis on 1971 census data: "A language transfer occurs when a person reports usually speaking a language other than his mother tongue at home. Language transfers are important because they indicate a high level of integration into the new language group .... The net effect of language transfers among males has been to increase the size of the anglophone community by 4 per cent, to add marginal gains to the francophone community, and to decrease allophone groups by 4 1/2 per cent ... anglophone elites are constantly being strengthened by absorbing elites from other language groups and the pressure to adopt English ethnicity is one to benefit from income advantages" (12, 13, 17).

[3] 24 per cent if language of usage; 21 per cent if mother tongue.

cent from here to the year 2001. Even with a complete reduction in language transfers, coupled with massive departures, it is projected as still representing 16 per cent of the Montreal population in 2001.[1]

As well as representing one-quarter of the population of the Montreal region,[2] the anglophone sector is demographically concentrated or dense, and segmented from the francophone.[3]

Migration in Québec has become a resource for the anglophone community in two ways. First, there is a known tendency for migrants to assimilate to the anglophone population:

> The strength of the English language within the Province of Quebec has always depended on a continuing inflow of anglophones (from other provinces and from abroad) and of immigrants who become English-speaking after their arrival in Canada. (Joy, 1978: 26, and Cappon, 1974)

Joy notes, however, that in recent years the numbers of French-speaking immigrants have increased. Of all the immigrants arriving in 1976, 41.7 per cent could speak French on arrival, compared to 42.7 per cent who could speak English.[4]

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[1] It should be pointed out here that demographers disagree on the population trends, depending upon their assumptions, choice of methodologies and parameters.

[2] Proulx (1976: 17) points out the important degree of concentration on the Island of Montreal of English-speaking, and of immigrants speaking other languages. In fact, only 1 francophone out of 4 lives in Montreal, but in the case of Quebec anglophones, it is nearly 3 out of 5, and 4 out of 5 for others.

[3] Proulx (1976: 19, 20): maps entitled % de la population dont la langue maternelle était le français, en 1971, and Concentrations approximatives d'origines ethniques autres que française et britannique en 1973 are attached in Appendix B.

[4] Joy (1978: 27).

Secondly, immigration in and out of Quebec has increased social networks and social space for the anglophone community. As well as being able to maintain its size in relation to the francophone population through the assimilation of immigrants, the anglophone community over the years has formed an extended network across North America. Migration of Quebec anglophones out of the Province (Caldwell, 1978), although weakening immediate ties, also extends the community's reach.[1] Linked to these extended networks as another population resource is the population fact of the presence of two hundred million or so English-speaking people in Canada and North America, representing a large psychological support.[2]

Despite migration out of the Province, many of the families of the English-speaking Montreal population have roots that go back into the history of Quebec. They have lived in the Province for several generations, and consider themselves Quebecers. To them, Montreal has been one of Canada's largest English-speaking cities. As one of the interviewees stated:

> I resent outsiders like Americans who come here and are pro-French and who say that the English should just leave. I am fourth generation and I have a place here in Quebec. It is my fight and not the fight of newcomers and outsiders. (Interview #6, March 2)

On the other hand, a heterogeneity based on the immigrant input and on a range of religious, ethnic and cultural affiliations, has developed

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[1] Caldwell's study deals with young anglophone adults. Figures on the overall outward migration of adults broken down by motive, i.e. job transfer, etc., are unavailable, unfortunately.

[2] Brazeau (1971: 41): "... que la langue et la civilisation anglaises ont des assises telles en Amérique qu'elles n'ont pas besoin d'etre privilieglées au Québec."

over the years giving the community a varied aspect, although the English language may be the common denominator.

To summarize the resources created by migration, it is possible to say that the individual in the Montreal anglophone population has membership in several sets: a local ethnic community, Montreal, Quebec, Canada and North America. This multi-membership is a resource.

The population resources of the English-speaking community are thus its size, density and segmentation, the benefits it receives from both immigration into the Province, and migration outward, and its historical roots as a long-established group.

b) Structural Resources — Economic and Institutional

The structural resources of the English community are linked to the historical prerogatives of the English in the business sector of Quebec. These resources are particularly apparent relative to the francophone community's resources, both in the economy and in terms of the institutional completeness of the English sector.

In the economy, the anglophone community possesses the resources of education and skills,[1] occupational distribution,[2] job security and

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[1] Joy (1978: 29): "In 1971, only 7 per cent of Quebec's francophones had attended university as opposed to 19 per cent of anglophones ... a century of elitism in education could not be overcome instantaneously, but the 1981 Census will probably show francophones and anglophones close to parity in this domain." He does not make allowance for rural and urban here.

[2] Morris and Lanphier (1977: 13): "The Gendron Commission found a pattern of anglophone management and francophone work force in construction, primary and manufacturing industries. Public utility services and finance were in anglophone hands at all levels, while by contrast, public administration and commerce were in francophone hands at all levels."

advancement,[1] income,[2] and job mobility.

Related to this cleavage between anglophone and francophone communities along the economic dimension, is the privileged status of the English language. The burden of bilingualism in the workplace has fallen on the majority French-speaking community. The Gendron Commission (1972) found that as the proportion of written communication in jobs arose, the onus of becoming bilingual shifted from anglophone to francophone. In the market place, English services have until recently been available, and in education, English language schooling has been provided at all levels.

Breton (1964) has developed the concept of institutional completeness, in the context of an immigrant/host societal arrangement. The degree of institutional completeness of an ethnic group consists of the extent to which the group has developed formal structures and organizations: religious, educational, political, recreational, national, professional, welfare and mutual aid, communications media, commercial and service organizations, churches, schools and so forth.

> Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members. Members would never have to make use of native institutions for the satisfaction of any of their needs ....
> (Breton, 1964: 78)

Although this concept was developed by Breton in the context of

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[1] Morris and Lanphier (1977: 13): "For Quebec in 1970, the Gendron Commission found that 36% of anglophone employees were in administrative or professional occupations, compared with 23% of francophones. 13% of anglophones were labourers as against 29% of francophones."

[2] Dofny (1970) survey of engineers in Montreal.

a self-protective device, shielding a group from the influences of the more powerful host society, its applicability to the English community in Montreal is striking. The English community has over the years used the development of institutions as a means of enhancing its position as the dominant group. The community has been able to put its considerable financial and moral strength to their development, not as a shield, but as extensions and supports of a dominant position.

c) Inequalities Within the Anglophone Community Respecting Resources

We have been speaking of the resources of the English community, both in total and in relation to the francophone majority. It must be noted that in terms of individual anglophones, resources within the community are not apportioned equally; those who inhabit the less advantaged parts of Montreal, who have less education, fewer transferable and marketable skills, lower incomes, and fewer alternatives are restricted and participate less fully than some in the anglophone resource pool.

3. Recent Constraints on Anglophone Community Resources

There have been some constraints put on the resources of the anglophone community by changes occurring in the Province in the '60s and the '70s, including the modernization of the state, the centralization of institutions, and the weakening of ties between the anglophone corporate sector and the state. These changes could be called boundary shifts.

First, the modernization of the state in the '60s with the need for large-scale institutions of health, welfare and education, and the

emerging new middle class of francophone professionals, has taken the control of these institutions out of local hands and jurisdictions and made them part of "a state-initiated political integration and bureaucratic centralization" (Guindon, 1978: 214). Although this centralization has had bureaucratic rather than ethnic goals, it has touched English institutions. English-speaking institutions in these fields have felt the pinch as control was wrested from their hands and put in the state's.

> This new political dependency of institutional managers to the state had the added effect, in the case of the anglophone institutional managerial elite, of transforming them into a minority dependent on majority decisions, or more to the point, on the majority's definition of the rules of the game. This had been a secular experience for French Canadian institutional leaders elsewhere in Canada, but it was a new experience for the anglophones in Quebec. (Guindon, 1978: 215, 216)

Secondly, in centralizing the educational and welfare institutions, this transformation has in a sense taken control of some of the key cultural aspects of the English group out of English hands. Education being a provincial institution and jurisdiction, and the language of education not being part of the Confederation agreement, there has been no outside authority to adjudicate or to give support. And the Quebec state, on the other hand, has not been viewed by the English as a defender in these matters.

Thirdly, the corporate strength which has traditionally possessed the clout to give the English social and cultural institutions their autonomy and continuity, has come under attack as well. Francophones of the Quebec middle class, who have been overwhelmingly concentrated in the public and para-public sectors, have demanded that they be allowed to enter the corporate sector. With the election of the Parti Québecois

in 1976, anglophone business has found itself without the friends at court it had relied upon for its earlier accommodations. On the other hand, and unlike the anglophone educational sector, it is not necessarily bound by provincial jurisdiction, and can look elsewhere for its champions and allies.

The Management of Resources

1. Resources Are Managed

We have stated that resources are both real and perceived. They can be listed, counted, described and compared. In addition, we wish to suggest that people manage their resources:

> In ordinary everyday activity, at work, in family life and in politics, people manage their resources in complex ways: they exchange some resources for other resources; they make up resource deficits by borrowing resources; they recall their earlier investments. Resources are constantly being created, consumed, transferred, assembled and reallocated, exchanged, and even lost. (Oberschall, 1973: 28)

To speak about the management of resources is to adopt a rational choice perspective on human action. This is an economic approach (Buchanan and Tullock, 1967) involving costs and benefits, and maximization of utility, rather than socio-psychological variables of motive and affect. Resource management becomes a tangible way of exploring the process of change. What is lost, how new resources are created, what resources are transferred or exchanged, becomes the question.

2. Resource Management and the Boundary

As the boundary is a social organization based on a division of resources, changes in the boundary in the economic perspective are changes occurring as people make decisions and choices about their resources. They may make these choices as private undertakings, or as

Buchanan and Tullock suggest, may find it profitable to explore the possibility of organizing an activity collectively when an increase in utility is expected to be the result of such collective action. In other words, collective action is a means of reducing external costs that are imposed on the individual by purely private or voluntary action rather than a process of power-maximization.[1] The configuration of the changing boundary is not necessarily a reversal of the former unequal structure.

3. Resource Management and the Conflict Perspective

We have noted above that the conflict perspective, which posits objective structural criteria as the basis of social conflict forms does not encompass the response of the Montreal anglophone community to change in its position relative to the francophone. Oberschall (1978) makes the point that resources and the management of resources are important links in extending the scope of conflict theories. He suggests that any comprehensive theory of social conflict must include the following three aspects: the structural sources of conflict, in particular, structures of domination that make struggles over values and scarce resources likely; secondly, conflict-group formation, which includes the management and mobilization of resources; and third, the dynamics of conflict. He asks whether it is possible to account for

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[1] Buchanan and Tullock (1962: 24) point out that the power-maximizing approach must interpret collective choice-making as a zero-sum game. The economic relation, on the other hand, suggests that the political process, for example, taken in the abstract, may be interpreted as a positive-sum game.

forms of conflict directly from an analysis of structures of domination without recourse to mobilization and resource management theories. It is not the interaction of two groups (structures of domination) and their characteristics alone that determine the form of conflict or social change, but the intermediate process of management of resources in the face of changing circumstances. He suggests that a theory that omits the resource link will contain contradictions and inconsistencies.

We propose to take the aspect of resource management to explore the reactions of the anglophone community to a changing boundary. It would seem that the rational choice process of resource management by individuals may enlarge the conflict perspective to allow it to cover a broader range of response.

CHAPTER IV

INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE TO STRUCTURAL CHANGE AS INNOVATION THROUGH RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

This chapter explores the concepts of innovation and innovation adoption as being applicable to the choices people make in response to changing intergroup relations. The decision or choice of new action is an innovation. The adoption decision is made in the context of resource management, and is a judgement to maximize based on access to resources, alternatives for action, and the image held by the individual of the future relationship between ethnic groups.

The literature on innovation and innovation adoption suggests that perceptions of what constitutes an innovation, and of what is acceptable, occur in a context that changes over time. The thesis adds that this perception is based on the perception of a course of action as a resource in the context of a changing boundary. The innovation is not uniquely new, therefore, but is perceived as such as it is perceived as a resource.

The innovation choice is a rational decision weighting costs and benefits. Differential access to resources not only limits individual alternatives for resource management and maximization, but means that some are more threatened by change than others.

Innovation as a Choice Based on Resource Management

We have seen how the boundary between ethnic groups organizes a distribution of resources, and that a change in the boundary entails a new resource apportionment. Resources shift: some may be lost, some are gained, some disappear. The individual's response to this situation, we assume, is to make decisions in order to manage his resources as best he can to his own benefit. The alternatives that are open to him are constrained by the resources at his disposal, however, which, as we have seen, are related to his social location. This location entails both his own position in a system of stratification, and that of his ethnic group in relation to another.

We can never know the multitude or variety of individual choices or what we will call innovations, in response to a changing structural relationship between ethnic groups. What we can attempt, however, is to outline the components of that decision-process by relating access to resources, alternatives for action, and the image of the future relationship between groups held by the individual, to the choice of innovation.

1. The Innovation — New in a Context

The body of literature on the adoption of innovations provides some useful insights about decision-making and choice. Although the innovation perspective may be criticized on the one hand for its emphasis on modernization and adaptation rather than conflict, (Rogers, 1969, 1971) and technology (Zaltman, 1973 and Havelock, 1971) and for its failure to give sufficient consideration to social structure and structural relationships on the other hand, it can be employed with

the concepts of resources and boundary to examine the process of individual choice of strategies for coping with structural change. The innovation is the action taken based on a recognition of a changing boundary and a motivation to maximize resources.

People perceive a change in the structural relationship between ethnic groups, a boundary shift as we have called it, as requiring resource management. They recognize that patterns based on the old set of rules and social organization no longer hold. New behaviors and actions are required to meet what is a shift in the resource base. Thus, these new actions are not new in some unique sense, but new in terms of a perception of changing resources. Zaltman and Rogers both bring this out in their respective definitions of innovation,[1] which they claim is not something new in some objective, external sense of being unique or unheard of, but judged new in a context. For example, French schooling is seen as an innovation by some anglophones in Montreal where it was not before because it now creates a resource in the context of the changing boundary where new rules for French and English usage are operative. The interviews revealed a judgement of a changing situation on the part of parents:

> In my day, we felt sorry for the English kids who had to go to school in French. Now we want it for ours. (Interview #23, June 19)

> A few years ago, Geoff wanted a French school because his English-speaking friends were going there. We were put off

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[1]The innovation literature also deals extensively with the diffusion of innovations. This thesis is, however, concerned solely with the concept of innovation, and the innovation adoption decision.

> by the school's attitude, however, and felt it would be too stressful for him. If it was now we would have done it. We see the success of kids who did go to French school. (Interview #19, June 18)

Zaltman says that the criterion for defining something as an innovation is thus in the perception of the adopter, which can be an individual or a group, not in some objective essence of newness. This perception, he goes on, varies according to the context of the adopter, which means that not all members of a multi-member unit of adoption may perceive the item as an innovation; and that what is perceived as an innovation at one point by an adopter unit may not necessarily be perceived so at a later date. This is intuitively correct, but by supplementing his remarks with our concept of image of a changing boundary, and future relationship, we can see that some people may judge a course of action as a possible innovation, whereas others do not, and also why what seems like an innovation at one point in time may not seem so at another. Some parents, for example, see the English education and educational system as a resource they do not want to lose. Others have a different view:

> Many parents had fears based on the eligibility of their children for the English system. They pulled their children out of French school after Bill 101, whereas we were happy to have the opportunity. (Interview #7, March 6)

One parent explained why only her youngest child had received concentrated training in French:

> We didn't put the older kids in French classes. Drugs were the big issue at that time, not language. (Interview #6, March 2)

2. <u>The Choice of Innovation — A Management of Resources</u>

For the purposes of this thesis, the choice of innovation is

placed within a cost-benefit perspective.[1] The language training decision, in this case, is a rational decision taken to maximize real resources and perceived ones. The individual attempts to innovate not only in a way that is consistent with his own image of the future intergroup relationship, but in order to increase resources. The more resources he has, the more alternatives there will be for him to choose between to maximize his position, thereby enabling him to increase further his resources. Innovations are chosen, or discarded, on the basis of cost, returns to investment, efficiency, risk and uncertainty, complexity, and perceived relative advantage (Zaltman, 1973) in a context of a changing boundary and image of a future boundary. Thus, we cannot assume that the choice made by a person who has many resources will necessarily follow the former dominant-subordinate boundary line between two groups from which he benefitted. Choosing to maintain that alternative might in fact be more costly and actually expend more resources than it would gain. This person could very well hold an image of a new relationship instead, where he sees himself playing a prominent part. A member of an anglophone elite group in Montreal could see himself becoming an integrated member of a new Quebec society, and manage his resources such as training, language skills, access to networks, etc., so that he participates in an emerging French language work sector with a leadership role.

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[1] Breton (1975) has taken this approach to bilingualism, using three economic models of exchange to study the question of investment in language training in order to illustrate the determinants of the rate of return. In his models he looks at language training as a means of overcoming barriers to communication between traders in commodities, or in factors of production.

3. Access to Resources and Innovation Alternatives

Another element that we can add to Zaltman's discussion of innovation and innovation adoption is the differential access to resources within an ethnic group. All people do not have equal access, which in turn limits their innovation possibilities. When innovation is perceived to be required, the more alternatives open to the individual, the more likely is that person to be able to respond to change in the social structural relationship in a way that is compatible with the image he holds of the future intergroup relationship. Correspondence between alternatives and image is presumably less threatening than a discrepancy between them.[1] Anglophones with resources in Montreal by which they mean they can move, or re-train, or give their children the best opportunities for integration depending upon their view of the future relationship, are not threatened. Others with fewer resources are less sanguine, saying that they will just have to get along as best they can.

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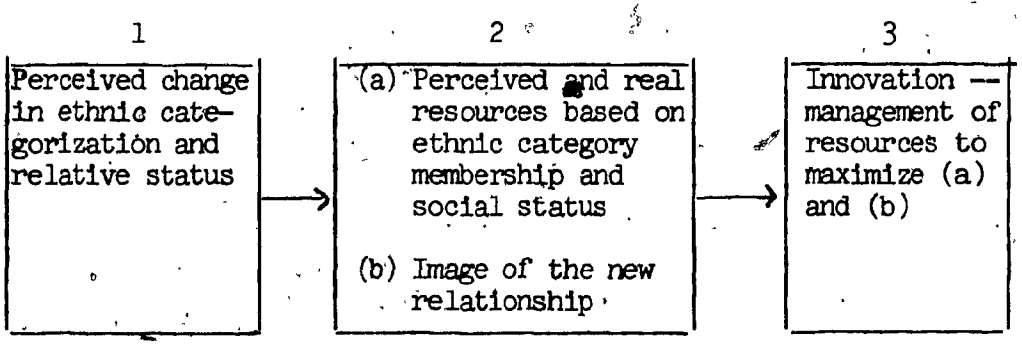
[1] Whites with plenty of resources, even where their image of the relationship between black and white was one of segregation, were able to maintain this structural conformation after the passage of the Civil Rights legislation in the United States. They were able to move, or send their children to private schools, or change the school district boundaries, in order to preserve their segregated and dominant position (Coleman, 1966 and Glazer, 1975). Those with fewer resources, i.e. lower income whites in urban areas were less able to innovate in ways that corresponded to their image of the relationship, if that image was one of segregation. And it is in the lower income areas where outbreaks of violence against integration occurred.

In an article on the Brown decision twenty-five years later, the New York Times of May 16, 1979 points out that in fact the legislation had a "devastating effect on the black community in Topeka." Resources they had from the old boundary — schools, teachers' jobs, a middle class — were lost, and only slowly replaced. A new boundary does not immediately create resources where there were few.

A Graphic Summary of Choice of Innovation

For purposes of summary and clarification, it seems useful at this point to illustrate our discussion so far with a simple diagram of the individual choice process in response to structural change, linking the concepts of innovation, boundary and resources.

The choice of a particular innovation in response to change seems to be a three-step process. The first step is a perception by the individual of a change. The second step is a perception of the resources available through membership in an ethnic category and position in the social structure, and the image of the new relationship between the ethnic categories. The third step is the choice of an innovation which is a management of resources in order to maximize both existing resources, and to approximate the image of the new relationship.



CHAPTER V

ILLUSTRATIONS OF RESOURCE MANAGEMENT AND INNOVATION FROM THE EDUCATION SECTOR

In this chapter we illustrate the process of resource management and decision-making in response to change in intergroup relations by reference to individual anglophone response to the Language Charter, Bill 101 and its regulations concerning language of schooling.

The historical boundary that has existed between French and English in Quebec is described, including recent changes in that social organization, and resources.

Anglophone response to these changes is set out as a series of choice points leading to a variety of decisions, or choices of action.

The cumulative effects of the choices taken are seen as having structural implications, and implications, in turn, for the mobilization of resources and collective response.

The Boundary

1. An Historical Boundary Between French and English in Quebec in Education

When we employ the concept of boundary between ethnic groups we are speaking of a division of resources. Historically, in the education sector in Quebec what could be called a boundary and division of resources was clearly demarcated until as late as the 1970's, when the education resources of the English community began to come in for

criticism and restraint.

The educational system for the English-speaking in Quebec was originally based on religious differentiation rather than language, although to be Protestant was to be English, for the most part. The essential structure of the educational system of Lower Canada was set in place during the Union Government, especially by the Acts of 1845, 1846, 1849, 1851 and 1856. This pre-Confederation legislation was then incorporated in the British North America Act (Jackson, 1976 and Audet, 1967).

> D'autre part, le caractère confessionnel qui est donné à ces structures, accentue le clivage du système scolaire public qui présente alors deux secteurs autonomes a peu près indépendants, le secteur protestant et le secteur catholique. (Audet, 1967: 32)

This complete separation, giving the minority anglophone community co-equal status and educational autonomy that reflected its economic predominance and autonomy, permitted the English Protestant school system to pursue its own course and to make use of the considerable resources of the non-Catholic community for its own enhancement and development. As Audet has described:

> The Acts of 1869 and 1875 rounded out this development by splitting the school system into two branches independent of each other, using religious persuasion as the basis for this division and fulfilling the intentions of Section 93 of the British North America Act. As a result of these decisions, generations of students, the products of this double system of education, have progressed through the system side by side for almost a century, ignoring each other almost completely. (Audet, 1970: 187)

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1968) highlighted the paradoxical situation of the English in Quebec with respect to education in their Report. Although English is the mother tongue of only one-sixth of Quebec residents, the Report stated,

because of its historically powerful position, the usual minority variables and indices of subordination and exclusion do not apply. In the education sphere, English-speaking children have been able to attend English-language school from kindergarten to the post-graduate university level within the Province. The Protestant school system has determined its own structure, curriculum, examinations, teacher training, and most important, tax levy. The English language Roman Catholics, although coming under the Catholic Committee's jurisdiction, have been able to receive English language education also, with curriculum, primary and secondary education, teacher training, and so forth, within their own purview (Royal Commission, 1968: 28, 29, 37).

2. Changes in the 60's and 70's

Two major areas of change in the Province affected the educational autonomy of the English community in recent years. The first was the "rationalization of Quebec's health and welfare and the field of education, and the resultant yielding of church control and anglophone hegemony" (Jackson, 1976: 62).

A coordinated Provincial system of education was established by Bill 60 in 1964, on the recommendation of the Parent Commission on Education, setting up a Ministry of Education. The anglophone minority expressed some misgivings about this development:

> Given a situation in which the minority had separate and almost independent school systems in practice, they were naturally apprehensive about a co-ordinated provincial system. (Royal Commission, 1968: 67)

Not only language, but representation of the minority on regional school commissions, and the implications of a uniform tax rate presented threats to the anglophone educational autonomy.

The second major area of change was growing nationalist sentiment, which viewed the English community's status and rights as an anomaly of major proportions. In the area of education, the main bone of contention was the access of children of non-anglophone parents to English language schools.

Until recently, 80 per cent of immigrants to Quebec integrated into the English school and institutional system (Joy, 1978; Cappon, 1974; Guindon, 1978). This absorption has had a certain imperative quality since the anglophone proportion of the population has been able to remain more or less constant over the last century by virtue of the inclusion of immigrants into its numbers, as we have noted above. This institutional integration, especially after World War II, helped not only to staff the lower echelons of the corporate sector, but to staff and patronize the anglophone parapublic sector as well. As Guindon points out:

> The private corporate sector, as an English workplace could not have maintained itself without a fully developed anglophone parapublic sector. Without it, it could not have attracted the 'managerial pool' of English-speaking Canadians (or Americans) to staff the expanding corporate bureaucracy. Without the absorption of immigrants, the anglophone parapublic sector would have collapsed. Skilled immigrants in turn chose the anglophone sector and institutions where they were needed professionally, and unskilled immigrants chose the anglophone sector to ensure upward mobility for their children in Quebec and the North American labour market. (Guindon, 1978: 240)

Bill 22, passed in 1974, was intended to upset the co-equal status of the English by declaring French alone to have official sanction. It was, however, ambiguous on the question of access to English-language schools.

> The Bourassa government was anxious to avoid explicitly adopting the goal of francophone nationalists: to force the children of non-anglophone immigrants to go to francophone schools, restricting English language schools to children whose mother tongue is English. (McRoberts and Posgate, 1976: 185)

A strategy of language tests to determine English language ability of immigrant children was tried and abandoned. And, in April 1975, the Minister of Education declared that enrollment in English language schools would not be allowed to grow beyond certain limits, except to accommodate children whose mother tongue is English.

3. Bill 101 — A Boundary Shift

In 1977, Bill 101, the French Language Charter, replaced Bill 22.

Bill 101 permits access to English schools for anglophones already within the Province. Article 73, which deals with access, states that schooling in English may be obtained upon parental request for the following: children whose father or mother received primary schooling in English in Quebec; children whose mother or father were at the time of the passage of the law domiciled in Quebec and who had received, outside of Quebec, primary schooling in English; children who before their last year of schooling in Quebec before the passage of the law were legally receiving school in English in a public kindergarten class, or primary or secondary school, and also the younger brothers and sisters of the children mentioned above. Any educational authority that does not already teach English must obtain permission to do so. Article 86 makes provision for the children of persons temporarily in Quebec to be temporarily exempted from the application of the law, and opens the possibility of reciprocal agreements concerning Article 73

with other provinces. For immigrants, and people coming from other provinces, except for special cases, Bill 101 prohibits entry into the English school system.

4. The Range of Alternatives in Language of Schooling

There are many language-based schooling alternatives in Montreal for those with access to both English and French schooling: French schooling in both the Catholic and Protestant systems, classes d'accueil intended for immigrants, but open to others, French language private schools, French immersion classes[1] in the English systems, and English language public and private schooling.

A Simplified Mapping of Resource Management and Innovation-Decision in the Education Sector

Despite the range in choices of schooling and language training that we found, the interviews suggested that there was a common pattern in the choice process — a certain logic or commonality of process to the decision-making.

In Figure 1, we present a simplified "mapping" of that process which sets out a series of choice points through which the interviews showed people progressed to reach a decision about language training. These choice points are in effect moments of evaluating resources, and lack of resources, of balancing losses and gains. The choice points

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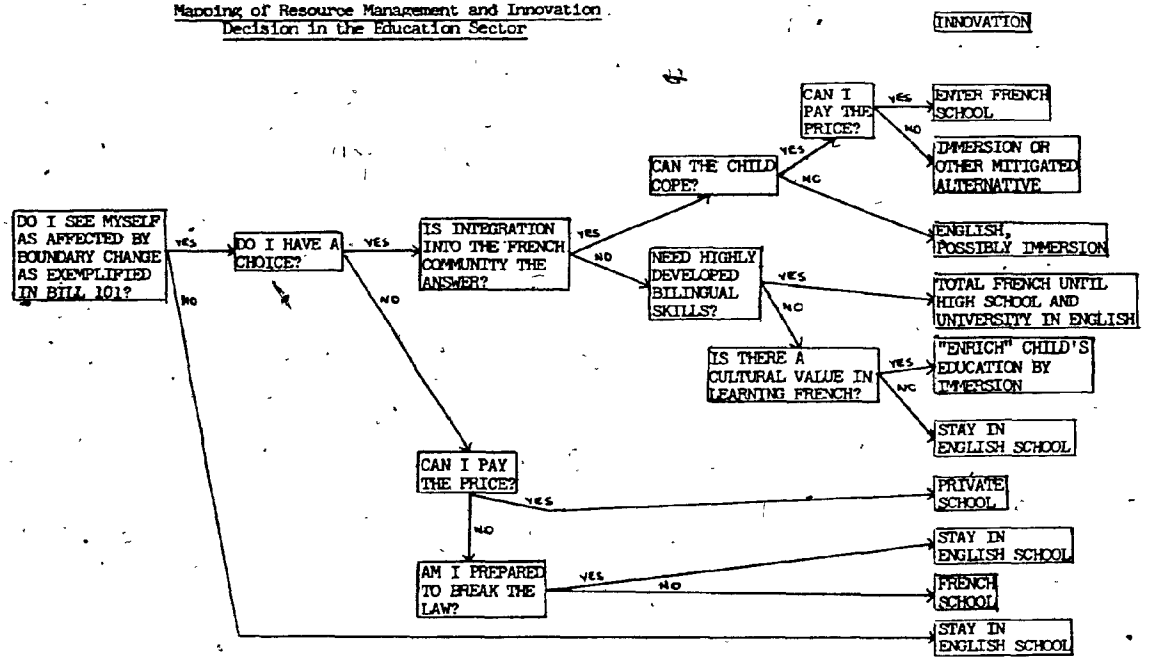
[1] The French Immersion programmes are designed to provide enhanced opportunities to benefit from a long-term experience in French in the English school systems. The ultimate aim is functional bilingualism by the time of graduation from secondary school.

Figure 1

Mapping of Resource Management and Innovation Decision in the Education Sector



are the following:

1. Do I see myself as affected by the boundary change as exemplified in Bill 101?
2. Does Bill 101 leave me a choice of language of schooling?
3. If I have a choice, is integration into the French community through schooling the best decision for my child?
4. If integration is chosen, can the child cope, and can I pay the costs?
5. If non-integration is chosen, is there some need for French, and how much?

Illustrations from the interviews will serve to expand on the resource management decisions that are involved at each choice point.

1. Do I See Myself as Affected by the Boundary Change as Exemplified in Bill 101?

a) The Boundary Shift is Irrelevant

This is a judgement about whether the boundary is in fact relevant to the person's circumstances. Those individuals who do not plan to remain in Quebec, or to whom Quebec is not the only base, may not see the boundary changes as encroaching on them. Their resources are based on other dimensions such as the westward move of the business community. In their case, changes in language usage and language training requirements do not represent a shift in resources, and their choice process regarding English/French relations stops there. Their decision path is brief, and leads to a choice of English schooling, which gives their children access to schools in other parts of North America. As one parent said:

> People who are brought up in Quebec and going to remain in Quebec have a different outlook from those people who are moving across Canada every four or five years. (Interview #8, March 6)

b) The Boundary Shift is Relevant

On the other hand, most people do perceive a shift in resources based on a change in English/French relations and language rules within Quebec as relevant to their interests:

> From 1964 on, everybody wanted more French. We knew we needed it. My husband at work; and we knew the kids should learn early. (Interview #24, June 19)

They will make their choice based on the resources they perceive as changed, and ways of recouping them:

> The children should be given the tools for living here — the tools for competing. The Province is going to be French. If you are going to be involved in a profession here French is necessary. (Interview #6, March 2)

2. Does Bill 101 Leave Me a Choice?

If a parent such as an immigrant has no choice under Bill 101, the decision regarding language of schooling is already taken. French schooling is required. The parent who is in this position must reckon with extra costs if English schooling is wanted. If the child remains in the English public system, the parent must be prepared to pay the costs of breaking the law; or pay the costs of private schooling in English. The costs and benefits of collective protest against the restrictions of the law may also be taken into account here.

The parents who do have a choice under Bill 101 move on to choice point #3:

3. Is Integration Into the French Community the Answer?

This decision is about the future boundary:

a) Non-Integration

A person who sees the old boundary between French and English

as being retained, with only a few minor adjustments, will expect that his children will be able to work in English in Quebec, and should be educated accordingly.

> When we came to Canada we were led to believe that it was an English-speaking country. The boys will not necessarily work in Quebec. But if they do, they will not put themselves in any position where they are forced to speak another language unless their particular desires at that time are such that they are happy to do so. (Interview #4, February 27)

In this view, capability in English is a resource to be developed:

> We feel that children should become really fluent in their own language — reading, writing and expressing themselves. If they went into a bilingual programme they would end up neither fish nor fowl. (Interview #4, February 27)

For the parent who opts for non-integration, French is a case of cultural and academic enrichment rather than a necessity:

> It is fine if she learns a reasonable amount of French as a second language. (Interview #1, February 16)

> To be bilingual is a fantastic opportunity; nothing to do with politics. It is a gift to any child. A well-educated anglophone child is far better prepared to meet many kinds of situations than an American of the same class. (Interview #11, April 12)

Other parents, though not choosing the integration route for their children, may see highly developed bilingual skills as a resource all the same: an instrumental choice.

> They (the children) will eventually work in Quebec if they feel comfortable in both languages, which is our aim. And then they can make a choice. If they are not fluent they will not feel as comfortable about staying here. (Interview #7, March 6)

> I want them to have equal ability and opportunity to work in Quebec in whatever language their job happens to be. (Interview #2, February 21)

b) Integration

The parents who opt for an integrative education, on the other

hand, see French becoming the operative language in the Province and the establishment of a new boundary. They will see French as a resource to be developed in the most efficacious manner:

> We had the option for immersion, but wanted her to have as much French as possible. We saw the future here, and didn't want the children to have the same struggle with language we did. (Interview #30, July 5)

This integration choice sets up a sub-set of choice points concerning the child's abilities, and the costs to be paid:

1) Can the Child Cope?

The interviews showed that the capabilities of the particular child have a bearing on the choice between intensive French language training, and less intensive training. It seems to be the children who can best handle the academic and social pressures of studying in another language and cultural milieu who do so. Parents who have opted for totally English education for their children have in many cases made the choice because they were taking into account personal or academic problems.

> We didn't see him learning French as easily as his sister. (Interview #30, July 5)

> We debated sending her to the French Catholic system but decided against it. She is not outgoing and confident. (Interview #24, June 19)

In terms of resource management and maximization, this suggests a reversal of who bears the burden of bilingualism in the anglophone community,[1] as contrasted with the experience of the francophone

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[1] This also seems to bear out the views of Breton (1975) who suggests that the yield on investment in language training is assymetric between two groups because of the existence of a dominant language. In using economic models to study language training returns on investment, he suggests that there exists a premium accruing to members of a dominant language group.

community in the past. In one which has been historically subordinate, it is the members who are least able or equipped to do so who often bear the burden[1] whereas in the case of the anglophone group, we find that it is those most able to accept the burden who take it on as a resource.

ii) Can I Pay the Price?

In the cases where French schooling is chosen, some kind of output is usually required. A parent asks, "Can I do it in spite of the costs? Is it worth the costs?" Factors such as the residential segregation along language lines in Montreal; which had a resource base in the old boundary arrangement but which now operates against access to French schools and language opportunities is a case in point. The output involves not only the child's academic and social efforts in the case of schooling, but the child's family who must expend extra effort and expense. Scholastically, this means encouragement such as coaching and summer language programmes. It may mean private school. It means moral support, and extra parental effort to meet teachers and principals. It involves social costs of going to school outside of a neighbourhood and the establishment of new networks of friends and activities. Parental choice here is a judgement made on the basis of weighting these costs against the benefits of language training:

> They're both going to get French properly at a very early age. We felt we got our French too late and with too much difficulty ... never mind whether the child has to be bussed, or whether he has to miss out on programmes after school. The language is of prime importance, and the other things we somehow make up ourselves. (Interview #5, March 1)

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[1] Brazeau (1971) points out that this burden is to the detriment of that community as a whole, as well as to individuals.

The management of resources to create new ones means a balancing of many factors such as cultural losses. A Jewish parent said that she and her husband had had some apprehensions about sending their child to a French Catholic school:

> Not only the religious factor, but we were worried about her missing out on English grammar; and we felt an emotional loyalty to the English system. We knew they were losing pupils and hated not to support them. However, we decided the language training outweighed other considerations. (Interview #6, March 2)

English training may be weaker:

> English classes do not begin in the French system until Grade 5. We found that our daughter was being used as a coach for her classmates to learn the basics of the language, and we objected to her not being given more stimulation in English reading and writing. (Interview #30, July 5)

The benefits of integration may outweigh the costs, however:

> I know I miss the cultural nuances, and I'm not socialized into the dominant culture. My son will be, however. (Interview #14, May 31)

Another added:

> I'll always be apart with my accent anglais, which sets me outside. I want my child to be inside. (Interview #23, June 19)

She also mentioned that in her particular case she was more constrained by the middle class nature of the French school he attends than by language. But she decided to risk that cost as well:

> I hope he won't pick up all those attitudes. (Interview #23, June 19)

Access to Resources, Resource Management and Threat

In the introduction to the thesis, three theoretical questions were raised, one of which was related to the individual's access to resources and his redefinition of the boundary and perceptions of

threat.

Two examples of the decision-making process taken from the interviews may assist in not only illustrating our model further, but in relating it to individual perceptions and threat.

1. Access to Resources

An anglophone parent who intends to remain in Quebec, who sees a boundary shift, and has the choice of English or French schooling might make a decision along the following lines:

a) The child will stay in the English community;

> Our daughter will always have the alternative of going elsewhere, but will try to have a career here. If there are no jobs for English she will go to university elsewhere. If there are opportunities here, and she has a role here, we want her to be allowed to play it. (Interview #6, March 2)

b) "Hedge the bet" regarding language capability in French, however: get French early, since test results show this works best. This will mean sending her to a school out of the neighbourhood for primary schooling:

> She will move to English in Grade 7. It has always been our intention that her secondary education be in English. We are hoping that both children will go to university, and there is more chance of them enrolling in an English institution. (Interview #30, July 5)

c) Choice: French language primary schooling and English secondary schooling.

2. Lack of Resources

A second example could be a person who also perceives a boundary shift and who also has a choice of language of schooling.

a) Prefers integration: he would choose integration, but lives in a neighbourhood where there is not a French public school.

b) French school not available: although his child is academically capable of learning French, the parent cannot pay the costs of bussing, nor of French private school. There is no French immersion in the English schools in his neighbourhood.

c) Choice: English school: thus, the child goes to English school, with reservations about his future:

> I have a fear of being pushed out the door. I wouldn't like to leave; it's our home. But I don't know about the future for the boys. (Interview #19, June 8)

3. Perception of Threat

If we return briefly to Laczko's analysis here, we can see clearly that threat is not a question of attitude, but a restriction concerning access to resources, and the management of resources. The opportunity to manage resources in terms of a changing boundary, is positively correlated with threat.

Innovation Choice and Structural Change

We have tried to illustrate from examples of school choice and language training, that response to change between ethnic categories is based on a judgement and a management of changing resources. The cumulation of these choices, and the variety, is in turn a shaping of the new configuration or boundary. The decision process followed in response to change, in turn gives that change its shape. This is related to a second theoretical question raised concerning individual choice and boundary redefinition.

Some of the effects of individual choice of French schooling as a resource by anglophones can illustrate:

> Many anglophones wanted bilingual education by 1970. For awhile there was a terrific wave to admit English to French kindergartens. There were no obstacles to enrollment. Then it got too much. They had to split the classes in half and teach the French kids separately. Otherwise, everyone was talking English. The French parents naturally became critical of the open-door policy to anglophones. (Interview #30, July 5)

The English educational institutions have also been affected, though by departures rather than influx.[1] They in turn have attempted to deploy their resources to meet the need for French language training in the English community to attract that clientele back to the fold, as it were. Special introductory French classes for immigrants who must have French schooling, and a new interest in the concerns of French Protestant education have been evident in the deliberations of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, for example. Taking this provision of French classes in the English system to its ultimate conclusion, we could even speculate that eventually the PSBGM and others will have to go back to stressing religion as it was in the BNA Act in order to maintain the differences and boundary that perpetuate the two systems. Or they may find that the pendulum may swing and that a demand for English classes that is not being met in the French system may give them another lease on life.

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[1] Many anglophone parents have opted for French schooling in both private schools and the public systems. In the Baldwin-Cartier district (English and French Catholic, West Island), they have "lost" 1400 students from their English sector in the past two years. According to a recent survey to determine where these students had gone, it was found that 87% of the students who had not enrolled in the fall of 1978 in the Baldwin-Cartier English system had switched to its French schools, 6.4% had enrolled in a Protestant school, and 5.9% in private school. 75.6% of the students enrolled in French classes in this group of switchers were legally admissible to English schools under Bill 101. Also, see Table 1 entitled, Evolution des inscriptions dans les commissions scolaires du territoire du conseil de 1975-77, following.

Table 1

EVOLUTION DES INSCRIPTIONS DANS LES COMMISSIONS SCOLAIRES DU TERRITOIRE DU CONSEIL DE 1975 A 1977

Commission scolaire	Réseau francophone*			Réseau anglophone			Ensemble de la commission scolaire*		
	1975	1976	1977**	1975	1976	1977**	1975	1976	1977**
CATHOLIQUE									
Jérôme-Le Royer	22933	21262	20310	7625	7283	7225	30558	28545	27535
C.E.C.M.	133601	124858	117250	40344	37021	34100	173945	161879	151350
Sainte-Croix	8150	7502	6900	3367	3120	2840	11517	10622	9740
Verdun	8338	7555	7050	1872	1691	1480	10210	9246	8530
Sault-St-Louis	12060	11945	11245	6395	6017	5620	19255	17962	16865
Baldwin-Cartier	9872	9579	9365	9695	9455	9115	19567	19034	18480
Sous-total (cath.)	195754	182701	172120	69298	64587	60380	265052	247288	232500
PROTESTANTE									
B.E.P.G.M.	1607	1608	1550	50786	48481	45640	52393	50089	47190
Lakeshore	33	31	30	16941	16630	16330	16974	16661	16360
Sous-total (prot.)	1640	1639	1580	67727	65111	61970	69367	66750	63550
TOTAL GLOBAL	197394	184340	173700	137025	129698	122350	334419	314038	296050

* y compris les classes d'accueil
** prévisions des commissions scolaires

C.S.I.H. - Equipement-démographie
Le 1er juillet 1977

Implications of Resource Management For Collective Mobilization of the Anglophone Minority in the Education Sector

No overall protest or collective movement can be said to have been mobilized by existing institutions and interests in the education sector, as Caldwell or Breton might have predicted. We would suggest that what their perspectives fail to take into account is the process of resource management here, which is the link between the changing boundary and emerging conflict forms. As the resource base changes new interests come into evidence and are mobilized and institutionalized over time.

Breton assumes that intergroup relations take place within a single territorial system. The higher the degree of parallelism of group organization within this single framework, he says, the more likely is concerted action and conflict. Group resources will be put in the service of the group. If we add the concept of a boundary here, based on resources, we can see that in answer to a third theoretical question raised, some people do not perceive the intergroup dimension as relevant as others, and therefore do not respond in the same way.

Caldwell's (1976) perspective also underestimates the intermediate step of resources between structure and conflict. He has attributed the lack of concerted action within the anglophone community in Quebec as a "situation which the elites are able to navigate" when he discusses the response to Bill 22 in education. He is in fact speaking about resource management when he goes on, albeit rather bitterly:

> ... one need not scratch very far below the surface of the educational establishment to find among the very pillars of anglophone education in Quebec individuals who send their children to French Catholic schools.

As for the lack of concerted protest in the anglophone community, he suggests that there are for its members only the alternatives of status quo or departure:-

> ... the missing presence of the English-speaking leadership in the public reaction to Bill 22. The higher echelons of the anglophone leadership -- newspaper editors, higher clergy, personalities of the financial and business world, university authorities, the judiciary, prominent and professionals and artists, etc. -- kept a low profile .... The reasoning is that nothing is to be gained by publicly opposing Bill 22, for in the short term this would only serve to provoke the French community; as for the long term, they can afford to sit it out. Should Quebec be successful in its attempt to establish the priority of the French language ... they are sufficiently mobile to be able to leave; should Quebec fail ... then nothing will have changed. (Caldwell, 1976: 10-11)

As an analysis of the situation, or as a prediction, this conclusion is singularly simplistic, leaving out as it does the range of individual choices and actions that are taken in response to changes in an inter-group relationship. Caldwell seems to have fallen into the trap of moving directly from structural ~~inequality to conflict~~ without taking into account the important intermediate consideration of resources and resource management. His zero-sum view of the English-French changing relationship ignores not only the management of resources, but other dimensions along which people may make their decisions that have nothing to do with ethnicity..

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this thesis we have employed the concepts of social category and a boundary between categories to describe and abstract the social organization of English-French relations in Quebec. For the social scientist, concepts such as these are tools: useful, arbitrary means of describing and synthesizing a certain reality or behaviour. The danger lies, however, in reifying what we should remember are mental constructs, thereby obscuring social processes with our abstractions.

We have suggested that individuals also categorize and make distinctions. This is not merely a linguistic phenomenon of vocabulary, but has a social base (Trudgill, 1974). People make distinctions between ethnic categories, for example, and of the boundary between them based on perceptions about a societal division of resources between the ethnic groups.

Anthropologist Edmund Leach (1966) argues that general categories reflect reality, but they do so at a price. This price is the suppression of certain intermediate areas in order that basic discriminations be clear-cut and unambiguous. Usually this suppression of the finer points or distinctions does no damage or is not incongruent with a person's reality. So long as its approximation is close enough, the category holds. Thus, historically speaking, the categories of English and French in Quebec were close enough to people's

experience, including their views of a resource division, that such dichotomization was unchallenged. People knew who was meant by "French-speaking" and "English-speaking." These categories, of course, suppressed or ignored certain distinctions within each group in order to make the dichotomy as unambiguous as possible. But they were buttressed by an institutional framework that encouraged individuals to overlook internal variations.

The question that the thesis raises is what happens when people perceive a change -- a slippage between the category and their experience? What happens when people no longer feel comfortable with an ascription, self-ascribed or made by others? What happens when an ascription no longer makes a clear distinction? The changing meaning of the term "Québecois" is a case in point here. What do we refer to when we use it? Premier Levesque, for example, has been heard to assign it several meanings, ranging all the way from a definition that gives "Québecois" an historical reference tied to language, culture and survival, through to meaning anyone who lives in the Province of Quebec.

The thesis is, essentially that: (1) people's categories can and do change; (2) that boundary points created by one set of categorical distinctions also change; and (3) the reaction to this may be the creation of new categories.

Categories and boundaries that are no longer perceived as satisfactory dichotomies describing a social reality will be modified or abandoned. As interviews with parents indicated, those who are affected by a changing boundary have some doubts about the old

categorization being any longer a resource. New behaviours or innovations have been adopted based on alternative images of the boundary; and institutional reinforcements such as French schooling in the English system have been developed.

People's choices have pre-dated societal recognition of new categories or category change in other domains as well. Individual choices have redefined the categorical dichotomies of male/female, old/young, heterosexual/homosexual, to name three areas where this is particularly clear. It is not that the boundary disappears in these cases, as Barth notes, but that individual choice has shifted it, modifying the categories with the introduction of new definitions.

The contribution of this thesis has been to show this process of categorical redefinition in action, at the individual level, by examining some of the choices that pre-date change, in a restricted, arbitrary sample of anglophone parents in Montreal. We have built a speculative model of that individual choice, terming it resource management. The flow chart or mapping of individual resource management decisions in Chapter V indicates what we would suggest is the emergence of some kind of new category. The individuals who have weighed their alternatives, and chosen French schooling, may be predating a new category which may be something like "French-speaking anglophone."

This idea of the changing category directly contradicts Caldwell who, though he realizes the anglophone community is changing, is nonetheless bound by analytical categories of his own which no longer reflect people's categories and the process of individual

redefinition. He is imposing categories on the situation, rather than seeking categories from it.[1] Just as the individual may become dissatisfied with a categorization when it no longer satisfactorily represents his image of a situation, so must the social scientist be prepared to recognize both slippages, and the formation of new categories.

The question that the thesis leads to is: can individual behavioural change or innovation become broader category changes, and if so, how? There are two aspects to an exploration of this question, first, establishing the extent of individual decisions and choice patterns, and second, looking at their potential for mobilization.

1. We must first establish how general are the choice patterns that have been identified in the model. How many people have followed the several paths suggested? The small, accidental sample of the thesis would have to be made more representative in this case in order to determine whether what is posited as an emerging new category is statistically interesting, or is an isolated phenomenon. The findings in the Baldwin-Cartier situation, already mentioned above, would indicate that the choice of French schooling is not so rare as all that.

2. Even though a certain pattern of choice may be found to be a general phenomenon, it will remain no more than an aggregation of individual preferences unless the tendency is mobilized. Unmobilized

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[1] Bill 101 seems to have been devised in the static perspective of the old English/French categorical distinction. It moves resources but ignores the aspect of categorical change signalled by the process of resource management and mobilization.

choice is only latent category change. Mobilization is the process that takes choice beyond the personal resource characteristics of individuals, such as education and occupation, to the level of forming new institutions. It introduces contextual variables, therefore, such as social and occupational networks, the composition of residential setting, political involvement in terms of type and intensity. By bringing these contextual factors into play, we are able to see the outlets and avenues for mobilizing the choices to create new general categories.

The theoretical framework that has been developed in this thesis has been based on the changing relations between ethnic categories. It is hoped, however, first, that the framework that utilizes the concepts of resources — their management and mobilization — is one that will be applicable in other domains or types of social organization where a boundary exists. Secondly, in exploring the process of changing categories as a process of redefinition of resources by individual choice and mobilization of those choices, some of the questions that are left unanswered in other perspectives may be satisfied.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Name
Address

Telephone
Time
Date

1. Age(s)
2. Birthplace(s)
3. Religion
4. How long in Quebec
5. Occupation(s)
6. Home owner
7. Language spoken at home
8. Language spoken at work
9. Age(s) of children
10. Sex
11. Birthplace
12. Language spoken at home by children.
13. Language spoken at school
14. At play
15. How many of your children go to French school? English? Since what date?
16. If some go to English and some to French, why?
17. How is your French?

Choice of School

19. How did you choose the school(s) your children attend?
20. Were both parents agreed on this?
21. If not, on what basis did you disagree?
22. What are your expectations for your children's schooling?
23. What do you think is the most important thing a school can teach a child?
24. How does learning French fit in with your expectations for schooling?

The School Setting

25. How much do you expect to participate in your child's school?

26. Do you visit the school very often?

27. How often do you talk to your child's teachers? On what basis?

28. How often do you talk to the principal? On what basis?

29. Do you participate in parents' activities? Which ones?

30. Who are your child's friends at school? What about after school?

31. What is your relationship with them?

Education Goals — Long-Term

32. How far do you want your children to go in school?

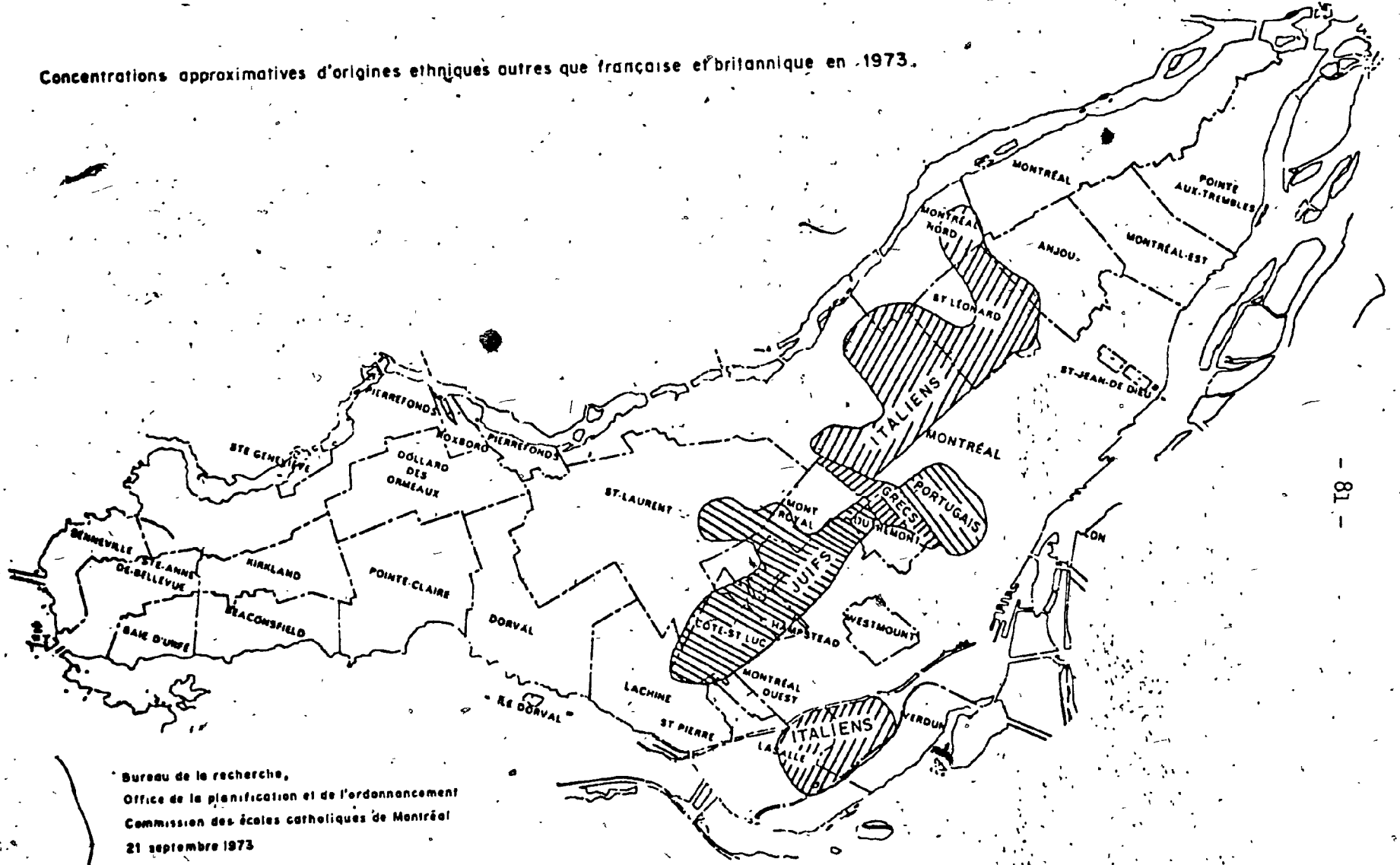
33. Do you think they will go to school in Quebec throughout their education? In French or in English?

34. Do you think they will eventually work in Quebec?

Feb. 21, 1978.

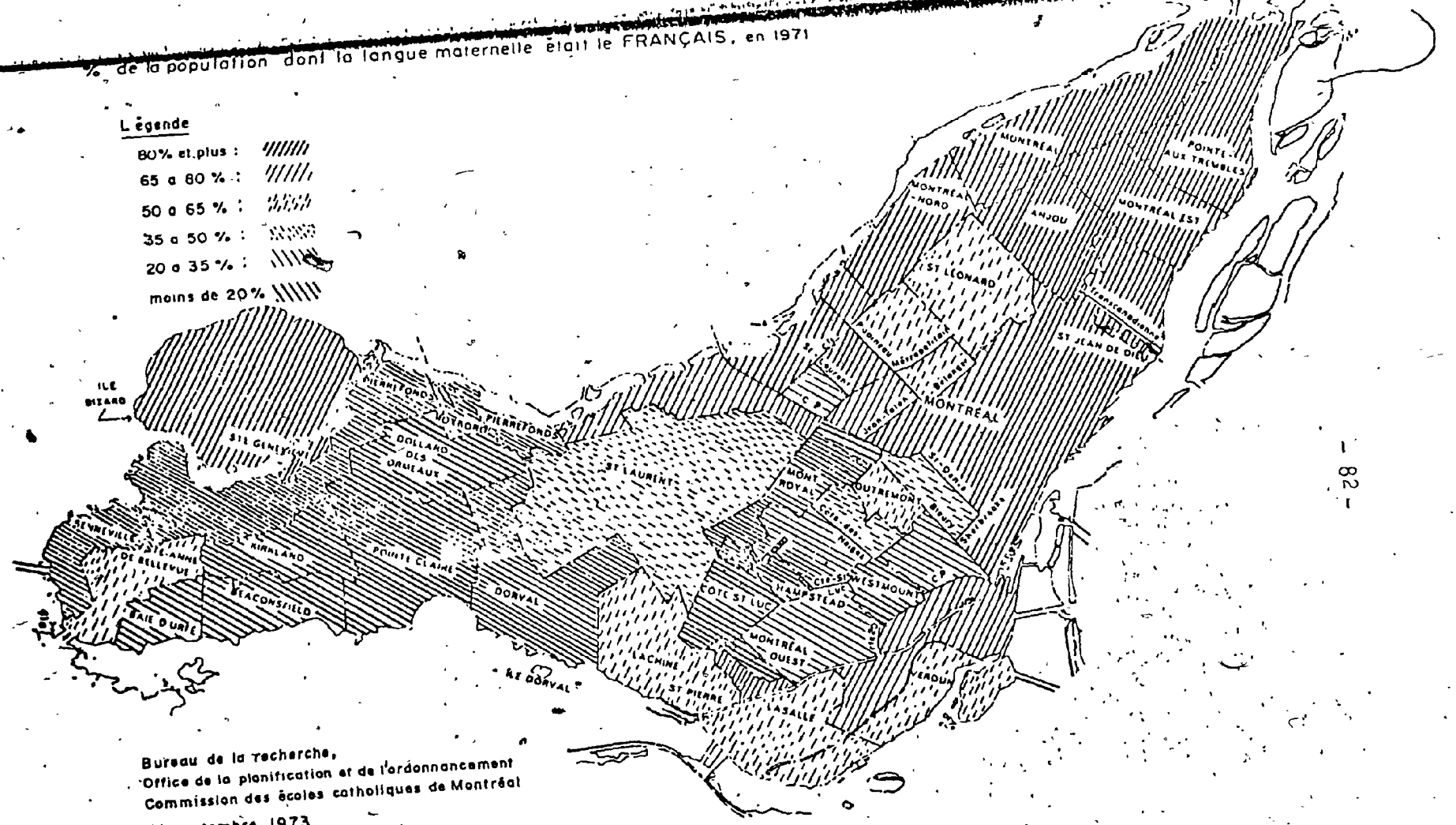
APPENDIX B

Concentrations approximatives d'origines ethniques autres que française et britannique en 1973.



Bureau de la recherche,
Office de la planification et de l'ordonnancement
Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal
21 septembre 1973

% de la population dont la langue maternelle était le FRANÇAIS, en 1971



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21 septembre 1973