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INTEGRATION OF ENGLISH INTO FRENCH QUEBEC SOCIETY:  
SOME NEW DIRECTIONS

Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
Sociology

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ABSTRACT

INTEGRATION OF ENGLISH INTO FRENCH QUEBEC SOCIETY:  
SOME NEW DIRECTIONS

Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos

The concepts of reference group and marginality have been used to examine shifts in cultural milieu among a minority of people in Montreal's English-speaking community.

The shifts from English to French community are seen as a response to inter-group power changes which have been marked by a reversal of English/French positions of dominance and subdominance as a result of the Quiet Revolution and the rise to power of the independentist Parti Québécois.

Three marginal man "ideal types" were constructed across a continuum of marginality to describe the process which is taking place at this important turning point in the history of English/French relations in Quebec.

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## PROLOGUE

### INTEGRATION OF MONTREAL 'ANGLOPHONES': SOME PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The purpose of this thesis is to look at the frontiers of anglophone integration into the Montreal French milieu in the light of shifting power relations between English and French groups in Quebec. By integration, I mean participation by English-speaking people in French institutions without loss of contact with the English community.

In the past, the English did not have to integrate into the French community because English and French were divided into "two solitudes" with power over separate domains. Relations between the two communities which maintained separate institutions were clearly defined. In simple terms, the English reigned over the economic sector in Montréal, while the French through church and government, controlled agricultural life and small towns. This division of domains of control served to support an overall English hegemony.

Over the past seventeen years, with the modernization of French Quebec and the resurgence of nationalism, relations between the two groups have changed. Traditionally separate community institutions, for example, were placed under the same roof. Health, education and welfare organizations were



run by corporation-funded groups on the English side and the Catholic church on the French side. Under the Quiet Revolution of the early 'sixties, the government took them over, imposed across-the-board standards, and broke down old English/French divisions. As Professor Hubert Guindon points out, this dramatically altered English community autonomy. For the first time, the English found out what it was like to be a "minority dependent on majority decisions, or more to the point, on the majority's definition of the game" (Guindon, p. 6).

English community autonomy was more seriously menaced as the French started moving into the coveted economic sphere. During the 'sixties, English private enterprise was untouched because the French concentrated on the development of French-speaking public and para-public corporations. By the 'seventies, however, expansion possibilities in this sphere were exhausted. To gain further control over the economic power levers, the French looked to positions in the unilingual English-speaking private sector. Guindon notes that it was at this point that language became a political issue. He explains that it is in the context of pressures on the economic structures that the most sociological sense can be made of the language issue (Guindon, p. 7).

Prior to the Quiet Revolution, the Quebec English operated with what could be called a "majority group psychology." Because they controlled economic life and

maintained separate English institutions, they spoke little French and had almost no contact with French Quebecers. With the spread of French influence across all of Quebec society, the status of the English slipped and they started to behave like a minority. The traditional "ground" or "territorial imperatives" of the English have been wavering and diminishing since the 'sixties. The process accelerated, however, with the rise to power of the independentist Parti Quebecois. It is clear that under pressures from the new government, sections of the English community reached their limits of accommodation and lost their cultural bearings. This phenomenon is not unusual. As Kurt Lewin observes in his book Resolving Social Conflicts, security about the social and cultural "ground" that people stand upon is more fundamental than the fear of hunger. "Whatever a person does or wishes to do, he must have some 'ground' to stand upon. This is probably the primary reason why he is extremely affected the moment this ground gives way" (Lewin, p. 145).

At this crucial transitional point in Quebec inter-group relations, a key question becomes this: which anglophones are coping best with the disturbing quicksands of change? This thesis will scrutinize a minority avant-garde group of anglophones who are successfully altering their cultural sights so that they can integrate into the French milieu. Who these people are, and what makes them more

capable than others in the English community of adapting to the new "ground", is the thesis subject.

To set the scene and put the focal group of the thesis into context, I have divided the Montreal mother-tongue community into three divisions in ascending order of integration into the French community. The first division, and the majority, consists of long-standing "die-hard" anglophones, most of them of British origin. Many came to Quebec generations ago and see themselves as indigenous to the province. These people, however, also identify themselves as part of Canada's English majority and believe they should be able to work and live largely in English. Generally speaking, they have not been subject to cross-pressures or conflicts from other cultures, French or otherwise. As a result, they now have little capacity to adapt to the cultural demands which began with the Quiet Revolution and accelerated under the Parti Quebecois regime.

The second group of people, who tend to be younger than the above, are a mixed cultural group comprising Jews, children of immigrants, as well as some British origin people. They are products of the anglophone community and its institutions, but unlike the first division, they are psychologically open to attempting integration into the French community. However, because the francophone community is unknown to them, they tend to view francophones and their leaders through the distorted lens of stereotypes.

The anglophones who fall into the third division are the subject of the thesis. In contrast to the first two divisions, these individuals have already integrated into the French community in a major way. When an individual belonging to one group works in the language of the other, it is clear that integration is well underway. It is through this indicator (working in the French milieu) that I will study anglophones integrating into the French community.

According to the Clift study of language of work in Montreal, about twenty per cent of Montreal's anglophones work completely in French (Clift, 1976). Some of these English-speaking people work in all-French low status sectors. Others, however, are located in high status French work milieux which they have chosen. It is this as yet unstudied minority group in the anglophone community which will be focussed upon. Unlike members of the first two divisions who comprise the majority of today's English community these individuals see themselves as a minority in the new modern and nationalistic Quebec and are ready to don new cultural clothes. Research shows that most of these people are culturally "marginal" to the mainstream anglophones who lead the English community. Their marginality stems from low socio-economic origins, leftist ideology, or mixed ethnic background (Jewish/English) for example.

The research question which emerges is this: is it

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marginality that allows these anglophones to blend into a new culture? Does this give them the necessary psychological distance from the English community to be able to evaluate political change and to make the required cultural accommodations? It should be understood here that this thesis is not designed to test hypotheses. Rather, it is to clarify and formulate a particular set of theoretical ideas regarding the movement of particular individuals from one socio-cultural setting to another.

In the precarious English/French power game, members of this group seem to be emerging as a creative interface between the two highly polarized communities. As such, I suggest that they may play an important historical role in the evolution of Quebec inter-group relations. In addition to their role as mediators, they may also serve as the anglophone prototype of 1980s Quebec. These anglophone "marginals", it should be noted, are not only bilingual, they are also increasingly bicultural. My speculation is that if the English are to prosper in Quebec over the long term, they must leave their English enclaves and circulate in the corridors of both English and French communities in the manner of the francophones outside Quebec. So far, the "mainstream" English are stubbornly resisting this. Once the present political tension dissipates, however, this may change. At that point, the "mainstream" English, in their attempt to find a more comfortable relationship with the

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French, may look to the example of the "marginal" English.

As can be seen from the above exposition, the thesis focusses on individual behavior and is therefore largely psycho-cultural or "micro" in orientation and treatment. However, the larger issues of Quebec society, which are "macro" as opposed to "micro" in scope, also figure prominently. These two approaches intertwine throughout the thesis.

## INTRODUCTION

To explore the nature and role of these anglophone "marginal men" in the present political context, I have divided the thesis into five chapters. Chapter One looks at the historical background of English/French power relations in Quebec over three periods: the conquest to 1960; the Quiet Revolution to 1966; and the rise to power of the independentist Parti Quebecois to 1978. I have elected to use two theoretical orientations regarding conflict between national groups in a single state to explain English/French inter-group relations during these periods. One is Stanley Lieberman's "indigenous subordination versus migrant superordination" approach. The other relates to Joshua Fishman's ideas about the politics of "diglossia" (the use within one society of different languages for different domains). The anglophone "marginal man" integrators in the French community are analysed in the light of these concepts.

Chapter Two concentrates on theoretical material regarding reference groups, "marginal man" and "stranger" concepts. This provides the conceptual framework for a more specific treatment of the Quebec anglophone "marginal man." General reference group theory as enunciated by Robert Merton, Theodore Newcomb, Muzafer Sherif and Tamotsu

Shibutani serves as the frame for the discussion. The focus then shifts to the type of marginality which prevails in highly mobile modern societies where individuals are subject to conflicting reference groups. The most lucid exponents of this concept are Everett Hughes and H. F. Dickie-Clark.

This is followed by an exposition of the "marginal man" ideas of Robert Park and Everett Stonequist who first introduced the marginality concept. In their view, marginality results when people come from more than one racial and/or cultural group and are neither fully accepted by nor at home with either one. Critical commentary on Stonequist's famous maladjusted marginal personality type is included as part of the review of the literature. The last part of Chapter Two deals with "the stranger" concept of Georg Simmel. "The stranger" is the Stonequist cultural hybrid marginal in its most enlightened form. As an objective observer of society, "the stranger" unites in his person "nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference" (Simmel, p. 685). Unlike the classic Stonequist marginal type, he is undisturbed about his role in society. Tied to Simmel's notion, are the ideas of Karl Mannheim, Arnold Toynbee and Walter Bagehot who found "the stranger" type the most creative citizen in societies undergoing crucial social change.

Chapter Three uses the perspectives elaborated in Chapter Two to produce a framework wedding marginality concepts to findings on Quebec's anglophone marginal men. The



marginal group is divided into three tiers or "constructed types" and analysed according to a continuum or range of marginality vis-a-vis the English community. Category One, at the foot of the marginality ladder, is marginal because of class or ideological differences with the mainstream English community. Category Two comprises the cultural hybrid marginal men described by Stonequist. Category Three, in a class by itself, consists of the Simmel "stranger" and the related Mannheim "socially unattached intelligentsia."

Chapter Four explains the methods of data collection. After initial exploratory research, "dimensional sampling" was used. An explanation of the reasons for this approach rather than the survey or the single case method follows. Chapter Five describes the sample in detail. It opens with some overall findings and then looks at ten individuals representing the various dimensions of the marginality continuum. A summary and analysis conclude the thesis.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ENGLISH/FRENCH HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter looks at the background of English/French power relations over Quebec history. Two periods are examined in some detail: the Quiet Revolution and the following ten-year period during the Parti Quebecois' rise to power. Two concepts treating conflict between national groups are used to explain English/French relations. One is Stanley Lieberman's "migrant superordination versus indigenous subordination" approach. The other focusses on Joshua Fishman's politics of "diglossia", which is the use within one society of different languages for different domains. This part of the discussion centers on the "macro" level of Quebec society. Macro and micro levels meet when the behavior of the marginal man integrators are seen through the perspective of the Lieberman and Fishman concepts.

A Stanley Lieberman's "Migrant Superordination Versus Indigenous Subordination" and Joshua Fishman's "Diglossia Without Bilingualism"

The integration process of Montreal anglophones at this point in Quebec's political, social and economic evolution cannot be seen in an historical vacuum. Over the

past 200 years in the province of Quebec, the English and French have for the most part lived in separate communities with their own institutions. The two communities had some links, but they were of a rather formal nature. The relationship between the two groups began with the conquest in 1760 when one fully-developed society, the British, conquered and subordinated another fully-developed society, the French. In the aftermath, the relations between these two very different societies were ones not of integration or assimilation but of "conflict and accommodation ... negotiation and alliances" between the elites of the two entities (Jackson, p. 64).

The French were allowed the provincial government and enjoyed under the constitution the right to control education, health care, social security and the status of the individual (property and civil rights). Yet they were essentially an agricultural society without economic power. The English-speaking entrepreneurial class which arrived in Quebec from the United States and Britain after the conquest wielded the economic power.

An alliance of English and French elites allowed the society to function smoothly. Bourque and Frenette comment that French seigneurs and high clergy allied with the English colonial administration from 1760 to 1800; French seigneurs and high clergy with the colonial administration and the

English bourgeoisie from 1800 to 1840; and the French urban bourgeoisie with the English bourgeoisie from 1840 until recently (Bourque and Frenette, p. 193). The alliance slowly broke down as a new French "technocratic" and nationalistic middle class now represented by the Parti Quebecois emerged.

Postgate and McRoberts observe that the influx of anglophone Loyalists after the American Revolution "changed Quebec once and for all from a homogeneous French-Canadian society to one with a prosperous and vocal English minority" (Postgate and McRoberts, p. 19). From an economic viewpoint, French Quebecers were a conquered people "colonized" by foreigners who lived in a parallel but separate society.

#### Migrant Superordination Versus Indigenous Subordination

Stanley Lieberson in "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations" contends that there are two major types of contact situations between different populations who rub shoulders in the same territory (Lieberson, p. 903). There is, first of all, the subordination of a migrant population by an indigenous group. Examples of this are movements of European and Oriental populations to English Canada and the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In these cases, the new arrivals -- the migrants -- had to accept political, economic and social subordination by the host group. Lieberson finds that when a population migrates to such a position, their subordination is not usually

converted into warfare, nationalism or long-term conflict.

When the indigenous population dominated the political and economic conditions, the migrant group is introduced into the economy of the indigenous population. Although subordinate in their new habitat, the migrants fare better than if they had remained in their homeland. Hence the subordination occurs without great conflict. In addition, the migrants usually have the option of returning to their homeland and the indigenous population controls the number of new immigrants to the area. (Lieberson, p. 906).

Quite a different pattern can develop when an indigenous group is subordinated by a migrant population, says Lieberson. This is the Quebec situation. Long-standing French settlers with their own society were subordinated by English migrants. Lieberson explains this type of inter-group relationship this way.

In societies where the indigenous population at the initial contact is subordinate, warfare and nationalism often -- though not always -- develop later in the cycle of relations ... Through time the subordinated indigenous population begins to participate in the economy introduced by the migrant group ... (but as the indigenous group becomes increasingly incorporated within the larger system) ... both the saliency of their subordinate position and its significance increase. No alternative exists for the bulk of the native population other than the destruction or revision of the institutions of political, economic and social subordination. (Lieberson, p. 908)

Lieberson makes another observation which is relevant to the Quebec English/French situation today. He says that it appears that considerable conflict occurs where migrants are not simply superordinate but where they themselves have also become indigenous by maintaining an established population through generations. Looking at eleven African

nations and using 1956 United Nations Demographic Yearbook data, he notes that in Algeria and South Africa, where racial turmoil at the time of writing (1961) was highest, there were also the largest number of whites born in the country. In Algeria, 79.8 per cent were born in the country while in the Union of South Africa it was 89.7 per cent. In Quebec the majority of Canadian-born English mother tongue residents were born here (Joy, p. 92). Lieberson adds that where the migrant population becomes established in the new area, it is all the more difficult for the indigenous subordinate group to change the social order. Increased conflict and disorder are often the result.

#### Diglossia Without Bilingualism

Joshua Fishman's notion of "diglossia" is a useful complementary concept. It explains inter-group tensions in places such as Quebec which have more than one linguistic group. The term "diglossia" describes a situation where in a single society opposing languages are used by different groups in certain domains. Fishman says that countries may have diglossia and bilingualism, diglossia without bilingualism, bilingualism without diglossia, and neither diglossia nor bilingualism. He cites German Switzerland as an example of diglossia and bilingualism. In this case, both high and low German are known by all the population which uses one as a literary language and the other for informal conversation.

Diglossia without bilingualism prevails, he says, in countries where language and economic underdevelopment correspond. Quebec fits this model. The English elite, which controls the economy, uses English for business, while the French mass and petite bourgeoisie uses French in the other domains. As long as the society experiencing diglossia without bilingualism remains stationary in inter-group power relations, tensions are minimal. Language problems emerge, however, as "social patterns alter as a result of industrialization, democratization and modernization" (Fishman, p. 101).

One of the problems in Quebec has been that the bilingualism which exists is most widespread among the French majority rather than among the English minority. This is evident in the language of work volume of Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec. A survey by the commission in 1971 shows that in Quebec there are 2,341,000 active in the labor force: 1,820,000 French-speaking (77.7 per cent); 344,000 English-speaking (14.7 per cent); and 177,000 "other" (9.7 per cent) (Gendron et al, p. 13). A breakdown of languages used by each group at work is presented in Table 1.

The percentages of English and French communities that use both languages is the same (32 per cent). However, the implications of this are misleading. When one examines the figures, it becomes apparent that 637,000 French-speaking people, or almost a quarter of the total labor force must

Table 1

Percentage of the language groups using one or other of the language formulas in communication at work for the whole of Quebec

Language groups	Language Formulas				Total
	Almost exclusively French	Almost exclusively English	Both Languages	Other Languages	
French-speaking	64% 1,165,000	3% 55,000	32% 582,000	1% 18,000	100% 1,820,000
English-speaking	5% 17,000	63% 216,000	32% 111,000	0% 0	100% 344,000
Others	14% 25,000	36% 63,000	40% 71,000	10% 18,000	100% 177,000
Number of workers who use each of formulas	1,207,000	338,000	760,000	36,000	2,341,000

Note: The Position of French in work and consumer activities of Quebecers, The Language of Work, Vol. 1, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on The Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, by Jean-Denis Gendron, et al, Government of Quebec, 1972, p. 17.



speak English on the job. This is almost double the total number of labor force English (344,000) who as a group comprise only 14.7 per cent of the total working population. Referring to the table, it is clear that 637,000 francophones must learn English to communicate with a meagre 216,000 unilingual anglophones, most of whom are members or appendages of the controlling business elite.

Fishman notes that:

Since few polities that exhibit diglossia without bilingualism developed out of prior socio-cultural consensus or unity, rapid educational, political or economic development experienced by their disadvantaged groups or classes is very likely to lead to demands for secessionism or for equality for their submerged languages. The linguistic states of Eastern Europe and India and the language problems of Wales and Belgium stem from origins such as these. (Fishman, p. 102)

He adds that in contrast to the developing nations, language concerns are most noticeable today in Western countries "where we find socio-cultural distinctions remaining, particularly where hitherto backward, exploited or disadvantaged groups begin to experience great and rapid economic and cultural development in their own areas of primary population concentration" (Fishman, p. 125). He singles out as examples not only French Quebecers, but also the Flemings of Belgium and the Jura regionists of Switzerland.

#### B The Quiet Revolution and the Lieberman/Fishman Concepts

The beginning of the cycle of revolt and rising

nationalism by the French indigenous population against the English migrant superordinate population described by Lieberson and Fishman in their theories began around 1960. Cracks appeared in the French-speaking social structure with the death of Duplessis and the election of the Liberals under Jean Lesage on a platform of lifting Quebec out of rural backwardness and into modern life.

Modern industrial structures existed, but they were controlled by the English who held the keys to economic power. In an explanation of the migrant group's superordinate status, Richard Jones points out that the economic history of Quebec exhibited the dual structure characteristic of colonial economies.

On the one hand, there were giant public monopolies, exploiting the province's natural resources and almost totally foreign-owned. On the other, there were the French-Canadian 'mere and pere' establishments operated by the owners and directed toward the satisfaction of local needs. (Jones, p. 141)<sup>1</sup>

Jean Lesage wanted to change this. The election "manifeste" of 1962 spelled this out.

The era of economic colonialism has ended in Quebec ... now or never, masters in our own house ... the moment has come for an attack of fundamentals, without delay and without hesitation; through the exalting work of the economic liberation of Quebec. The Liberal party of Quebec exists for this principle. Never before

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<sup>1</sup>S. N. Eisenstadt deals with this phenomenon in The Absorption of Immigrants where he shows how Chinese in South East Asia similarly implanted themselves as urban economic leaders leaving the natives to the countryside.

has a political party fought so ardently for an idea ... The people of Quebec have confidence as have all young nations who, one day, resolve to affirm themselves ... For the first time in history, the people of Quebec can become masters at home. The era of economic colonialism has ended. We are marching toward the liberation.

It should be underlined that the nationalism of the pre-1960 period was different from the Quiet Revolution variety. The old nationalism was "survivance" through protection of language and religion in the traditional agricultural parish. It did not disturb the traditional power relations between English and French who lived in two well-defined solitudes. But the new nationalism of the 'sixties shifted into the economic and industrial sphere. It promised to end the comfortable old duality of Quebec society. Under the new nationalism, control of economic power, which the English held, was painted as a life or death matter as far as French-Canadian survival was concerned. In 1960 Father Richard Ares summed up this feeling in the periodical Action Nationale when he said:

The place occupied by the economic in national life has become so considerable that a vital challenge now faces us: either the French-Canadian culture is going to succeed with all the means at its disposal, including political means, in mastering the economic, in inspiring it, and in structuring it with appropriate institutions, or the economic is finally going to ruin for good the chances for the future of the minority culture in Canada. (Ares)

To accomplish these ends, important steps were taken in the field of education. School opportunities were increased for French Quebecois. In 1960, only 57 per cent

of the 13-16 age group was in school. By 1965, this figure increased to 80 per cent (Jones, p. 67). An education department was set up in 1964. Efforts were made to change education from its religious-classical approach to a more secular and business one. More funds for new programs in science and business administration were given to the French universities.

With these changes under the Quiet Revolution, the two solitudes (the "migrant" business-oriented English on the one hand, and the "indigenous" agricultural French on the other) started to break down. The Lieberon cycle of nationalism by the indigenous population was well under way.

As a result of the educational reforms, a new type of French middle class elite developed. Unlike the doctor/lawyer/priest bourgeoisie of the pre-1960s, the new group came from rural and proletarian roots. Partly because of this, it was more unilingual and more nationalistic.

Bourque and Frenette say the French-Quebec bourgeoisie was dominated by varying groups over four historical periods. Seigneurs and clergy ruled from 1760 to 1840; the rural-based petite bourgeoisie from 1840 to 1960; and the urban petite bourgeoisie, which spear-headed the Quiet Revolution from 1960 to 1964. After 1964, the urban bourgeoisie split into a "neo-capitalist" group favoring private enterprise and a new "technocratic" group supporting collective capitalism. The "technocratic" group, they point out,

dominates the Parti Quebecois (Bourque and Frenette, pp. 193-196).

As the growing "technocratic" group emerged from the universities armed with technological and commerce degrees, it started to move toward the managerial and industrial sector. At first, the newly-trained French-speaking managers sought jobs with the burgeoning Quebec civil service and the government-sponsored industries such as Hydro-Quebec. In these spheres, the work language and senior management was French.

By the 'seventies, these areas were almost full. At that point the new managerial group started to demand a place in English-run private industry. Guindon explains that the normal outlet for this new middle class elite "in all provinces except Quebec, in all nation states of the liberal democratic tradition, are the white collar ranks of the large corporations in the private sector. This has not taken place. And it is precisely because this did not take place that language became a political issue when it did" (Guindon, p. 27). Resentment about their frustrations in breaking into the English corporate structure fuelled the nationalism of the new French middle class elite. This was reflected in disappointment about Robert Bourassa's language legislation, which was perceived as soft on the business sector. It also played a role in the rise to power of the nationalist and more uncompromising Parti Quebecois.

C English/French Power Configurations in the Aftermath of the Quiet Revolution

What happened to the configuration of power relations between English and French in the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution which lasted until roughly 1966? The early stages of the Quiet Revolution, which were marked by changes in the fields of education, health care and labor relations, did not immediately indicate to either the French or the English groups that ethnic hierarchies would change. It was a modification of the class structure of French-Quebecois that was underway. Peter Leslie comments in Richard Simeon's Must Canada Fail that it was not initially recognized that the remaking of the class structure of French-Canadian society could probably not be accomplished without measures that would seriously impinge on the position of anglophone business leaders (Leslie, p. 115).

By the mid-sixties, however, "many (French) Quebecers came to think that it was not enough to sweep away the traditional reluctance to pursue a business career ... they began to believe that collective measures, i.e. state action, would be necessary to create new opportunities by more vigorous expansion of the public sector and by policies that would pry open more doors in the private sector" (Leslie, p. 115). By the '1970s action had been taken and more was in store. Crown corporations and government-sponsored investment and development corporations were fully developed and fully staffed (Guindon, p. 27). To break the exclusive

English hold on the private sector, language legislation starting with Bill 22 in 1974 and ending with Bill 101 in 1977 was passed to make French the language of business and to open up top senior executive jobs to francophones.

D Marginal Man Integrators: The New Interface

The mid-seventies are clearly a critical period for English/French relations. As never before, the English elite, and the anglophone community which depends upon it, is experiencing massive pressures economically, socially and culturally. At this point, anglophone institutions which are rooted in pre-Quiet Revolution norms, have not faced the new Quebec realities (Clift, 1977). They have not come to terms with the role changes predicted in the Lieberman/Fishman inter-group conflict models.

In this uneasy period of shifting powers, accommodation among the anglophones is evidenced not in the actions of the English collectivity and its associations, but rather in personal decisions made by particular individuals, namely, the "marginal man" anglophones. This group is able to perceive changing group powers and to integrate into the French community because it is detached from the English mainstream. Looking at the Lieberman model, the marginal men comprise a special new cultural unit hanging between the migrant superordinator group and the indigenous subordinate group. In a very real sense, the anglophone marginal men and women who are integrating into the French community face

in both cultural directions like the Roman god Janus.

These "Janus figures", I would suggest, are becoming the new interface between the two communities. They represent modern replacements for the obsolete English and French elite who handled links across the two solitudes in the Duplessis days of traditional Quebec. Ten or fifteen years from now when political and cultural relations are stabilized, integrating anglophones may not be confined to the English community's marginal men. In this transitional period, however, I would contend that it is mainly the marginal type which exhibits this integrative capacity.



## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical material on reference groups, "marginal man" and "stranger" concepts provides the conceptual framework for more specific treatment of the Quebec anglophone marginal man. This chapter, which reviews the relevant literature, is divided into five sections: The first part, on general reference group theory, serves as an umbrella to discuss the marginal man and stranger concepts. The views of sociologists and social psychologists such as Eugene Hartley, Robert Merton, Theodore Newcomb, Muzafer Sherif and Tamotsu Shibutani, will be discussed here.

The second section looks at a generalized concept of marginality in pluralistic societies as enunciated mainly by Everett Hughes and H. F. Dickie-Clark. An examination of the marginality concepts of Robert Park and Everett Stonequist who focussed on the marginality produced by cultural and racial mixtures follows. Part of Stonequist's concept included a marginal man personality type. This occasioned dispute in later sociological writings on the subject. The nature of the dispute, as carried on by J. W. Mann, Milton Goldberg, Alan Kerckhoff, Aaron Antonovsky and David

Golovensky, will be sketched.

The concluding part shifts to the Georg Simmel concept of "the stranger" who is the most enlightened marginal man type. Related to Simmel's concept are the ideas of Karl Mannheim, Arnold Toynbee, Walter Bagehot and Alfred Schutz. They looked to the stranger as the most creative citizen in societies undergoing important changes at crucial points in their history.

A Reference Group Theory -- Reference Groups and Reference Group Shifts

The reference group idea in sociology is a product of the study of pluralistic multi-dimensional communities marked by the push and pull of divergent and contradictory elements. In Group Relations at the Crossroads, Muzafer Sherif notes that in stable, integrated and homogenous societies, there would probably be little necessity for the reference group concept (Sherif and Wilson, 1953, p. 205).

In our highly differentiated twentieth century society, however, the concept is very relevant.

Modern man, especially in Western societies, is caught in the throes of vertical mobility, in the "dilemmas and contradictions of status" ... He finds himself betwixt and between situations as he carries on the business of living in different roles in relation to diverse groups which not infrequently demand contradictory adjustment of his experience and behavior. (Sherif and Wilson, 1953, p. 205)

In a discussion of cultural pluralism in mass societies, Tamotsu Shibutani talks of the diversity of perspectives created by the different social worlds people move in and

out of. He refers, for example, to the "worlds" of medicine, labor, opera; churches, fraternal organizations, the professions; the underworld, ethnic communities, the social elite, etc.

Worlds differ considerably in composition, size and territorial distribution of their participants. Some like local cults, are small and concentrated; others like the intellectual world are vast and participants are dispersed. Some, like many ethnic minorities, have relatively homogeneous populations; others, like most political parties, are utterly mixed. Worlds differ in the extent and clarity of their boundaries; each is confined by some kind of horizon, but this may be wide or narrow, clear or vague. Although some men regard their own perspective as absolute, the fact that social worlds are not co-terminus with the universe of men is usually recognized. Those in the underworld know that outsiders do not share their values. Worlds also differ in exclusiveness and in the extent to which they demand the loyalty of their participants. Some are open only to those who dedicate themselves completely; one cannot be a part-time nun. But there are others in which most of the participants are only occasional spectators. (Shibutani, p. 135)

Each social world, he says, is a "culture area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication."

Central to the notion of reference group is the fact that a discrepancy may exist between an individual's membership and his reference group. Newcomb (p. 225), Hartley (p. 470) and Sherif (1956, p. 681) all deal with this extensively in their writings on reference groups and human inter-action in modern industrial society. It should be noted here that an individual belongs to a membership group,

whereas he looks to a reference group as a model for behavior and attitudes.

Sherif comments that when the group the individual associates with is also the group he identifies with, internalizing its values and norms, then his membership and reference groups coincide. In stable cultures which "do not offer diverse opportunities for vertical mobility," the individual's reference and membership groups match. "But in highly differentiated societies with multiple groups representing diverse viewpoints and interests, there are many individuals whose reference groups are not the groups with which they are actually associating in day-to-day living" (Sherif, 1956, p. 631).

Given the multiple pulls of a pluralistic society, under what conditions do individuals tend to shift their reference groups, and possibly later, their membership groups? Robert Merton in his Social Theory and Social Structure, offers some of the most reasonable explanations for reference group shifts. When a society's system of stratification comes under wide dispute, reference group shifts frequently take place, he says.

In his chapter on reference group theory and social mobility, Merton says that "if the structure of a rigid system of stratification is generally defined as legitimate ... then the individuals within each stratum will be less likely to take the situation of the other strata as a

context for appraisal of their own lot ... But if the system of stratification is under wide dispute, then members of some strata are more likely to contrast their own situation with that of others and shape their own self-appraisals accordingly ..." (Merton, 1962, p. 267). A second interesting point about reference group shifts is that individuals will tend to bend to pressures exerted by other groups when they are nominally part of a group, but only slightly incorporated into its network of social relations (Merton, 1962, p. 270).

Theodore Newcomb offers a third set of explanations (Newcomb, 1950, pp. 234-236). In his view, events, persuasion and prestige (the possibility of increased status) may account for reference group shifts. Personal status considerations, remarks Newcomb, inevitably enter into motives for belonging to a group. In a study of student attitudes over a four-year period, Newcomb found that students became more liberal in college as their desire for status in the university setting rose. The "positive" reference group became the liberal college community. The "negative" reference group emerged as the more conservative family unit which had been the students' main reference group prior to college entry (Newcomb, 1943).

B Marginality: The Overall View --  
Conflicting Reference Groups

As has been mentioned, in modern highly mobile

societies, most people are subject to multiple reference groups as part of their daily lives. Simmel comments that each individual stands at that point at which a unique combination of his social circles intersects (Simmel, p. 127). Reflecting upon this, Shibutani remarks that incongruent and conflicting definitions are bound to rise as a result. He adds that most people live "compartmentalized lives, shifting from one perspective to another as they participate in a succession of transactions that are not necessarily related." Inconsistencies are therefore rationalized away causing no serious problems (Shibutani, p. 139).

Yet the conflicting demands and norms of more than one reference group do indeed cause major social and psychological problems for some people. When the conflicts are not passing or incidental and become central to an individual's existence, the resulting situation is called marginality. This happens when a "conflict of anchorage" arises and the individual is caught between conflicting "culture areas" or reference groups (Sherif, 1956, p. 635).

In his essay on marginal man entitled "Social Change and Status Protest," Everett Hughes says that the type of mixed and mobile society we live in tends to produce many people who have experienced some marginality in their lifetimes.

In our society, the contact of cultures, races and religions combines with social mobility to produce an extraordinary number of people who are marginal in some degree, who have some conflict of identity in their own minds, who find some parts of the

social world which they would like to enter closed to them, or open only at the expense of some treason to things and people they hold dear. (Hughes, p. 196)

H. F. Dickie-Clark, like Hughes, sees a range of intensity in marginal situations. Some are fleeting and trivial whereas others are long-term and disturbing. Dickie-Clark distinguishes between "all-embracing" and "restricted" marginal situations (Dickie-Clark, p. 43). The restricted and short-term marginals include apprentices, novices and the upwardly mobile, in general. The long-term all-embracing marginals comprise the cultural and racial hybrids. The latter will be extensively dealt with in the next section where Robert Park and Everett Stonequist marginality concepts are discussed.

Hughes and Dickie-Clark define marginality in a similar manner. Hughes claims a person is in a marginal position when he experiences a "status dilemma." This occurs when an individual in one social category breaks out and acquires the attributes of another supposedly superior group. The result may be an incomplete acceptance of this person by members of the new social category. Dickie-Clark defines marginality as "inconsistency in the ranking of an individual ... in any matter regulated by the hierarchical structure" (Dickie-Clark, p. 185). This is another way of talking about "status dilemmas."

What are some examples of these status dilemmas or inconsistencies in rankings? A "restricted" type of marginal

man is the foreman who is not considered a "worker" by fellow workers who perceive him as a boss, but is not considered "management" by the administration because he is too low in the hierarchy. Roethlisberger points out that management calls the foreman the "grassroots level of management" or the "front line personnel man." But the foreman calls himself a "go-betweener." He has to uphold management's standards and regulations and at the same time try to get workers to conform to them spontaneously. "Again and again he is put in a position of either getting the workers' cooperation and being 'disloyal' to management or of incurring the resentment and overt opposition of his subordinates" (Roethlisberger, p. 290). Adolescents caught between childhood and adulthood and only semi-accepted as members of each group are another example of the "restricted" variety of marginal person.

Two examples typifying "all-embracing" marginal situations concern women and blacks. A woman becomes a lawyer and is formally accepted into the Bar Association but is not welcomed into the informal male-dominated lawyer network. A black becomes a doctor but like the woman lawyer is only partially accepted by white colleagues.

Membership in the Negro race as defined in American mores ... may be called a master status-determining trait. It tends to overpower in most crucial situations, any other characteristics which might run counter to it. But professional standing is also a powerful characteristic -- most so in the specific relationship of professional practice ... (Hughes, p. 170)

With the professionally qualified black or woman, these two



characteristics clash. The dilemma for those who meet these people is in having to choose whether to treat them as blacks or women, or as members of their professions.

Referring to these "all-embracing" marginal men, Hughes notes that "the person who is the first of his kind to attain a certain status is often not drawn into the informal brotherhood in which experiences are exchanged, competence built up" and thus forever remains a marginal man (Hughes, p. 169). He points out that it is a necessary consequence of the high degree of individual mobility in North America that there "should be large numbers of people of new kinds turning up in various positions."

In spite of this and in spite of American heterogeneity, this remains a white, Anglo-Saxon male Protestant culture in many respects ... These are the expected characteristics for many favored statuses and positions. When we speak of racial, religious, sex and ethnic prejudices, we generally assume that people with these favored qualities are not the subjects thereof. In the stereotyped prejudices concerning others, there is usually contained the assumption that these and other people are peculiarly adapted to the particular places which they have held up to the present time: it is a corollary implication that they are not quite fit for new positions to which they may aspire. (Hughes, p. 169)

C High-Level Marginality -- Racial and Cultural Hybrids -- Everett Stonequist

The marginal man concept was conceived by Georg Simmel in the first decade of the twentieth century, labelled by Robert Park in the 'twenties, codified by Everett Stonequist, in the 'thirties and expanded after that by people such as Everett Hughes and H. F. Dickie-Clark. Chronologically,

therefore, I am out-of-step in dealing with Everett Hughes first, Stonequist second and Simmel last. In the progression from the general to the more specific, however, this treatment fits.

Before focussing on the Stonequist codification of the marginal man, let us first hear what Robert Park said about the historical development of the marginal man as a racial and cultural hybrid. Prior to the age of discovery and colonialization, says Park, the world was dominated by cultural homogeneity where men were "bound together by tradition, custom and natural piety." He goes on to make these comments:

The vast expansion of Europe during the last 400 years brought about changes more devastating than in any earlier period in the world's history. Europeans have invaded every part of the world and no part of the earth has escaped the disturbing, even if vivifying contacts of European commerce and culture. The movements and migrations incident to this expansion have brought about everywhere an inter-penetration of peoples and a fusion of cultures. Incidentally, it has produced at certain times and under certain conditions, a personality type which, if not wholly new, is at any rate peculiarly characteristic of the modern world. It is a type which some of us ... have given the title "the marginal man". (Park, xiv)

This then is the historical backdrop for the marginal man as Park sees him. How does Stonequist define the marginal man? It should be stressed that Stonequist's definition follows from the scenario of Park who guided Stonequist's work on marginality. For Stonequist, the marginal man is the person who experiences social dislocation because he falls between two major racial or cultural groups.

The individual, who through migration, education or marriage, or some other influence, leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another, finds himself on the margin of each but a member of neither. He is a "marginal man". (Stonequist, p. 3)

Later he has this to say:

The marginal man "is poised in psychological uncertainty between two more more social worlds, reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individuals from a system of group relations. (Stonequist, p. 8)

Stonequist mentions only in passing the tensions caused by the conflicting pulls of modern twentieth century life raised in general reference group theory. Instead, he confines himself to what Dickie-Clark and Hughes call the "all-embracing" variety of marginality created by racial and national minglings. Stonequist remarks that the "more general problems of transition" are important. But he stresses that "they are neither so profound nor so acute as the conflicts which center about race and nationality."

For the individual's racial and nationality membership is relatively fixed and permanent, and related to a definite group organization having political significance. His race he can never change, though some mixed bloods do "pass". His nationality forms the widest social environment in which his personality develops, and unless he separates himself from it when young, it prints an indelible mark. Thus the sense of racial or national identity is one of the very deeply lodged elements in an individual's self. (Stonequist, p. 7)

The most obvious type of marginal man, notes Stonequist, is the person of mixed race ancestry, such as the Eurasians of

India, the Cape Colored of South Africa, the Mulattoes of the United States, the colored people of Jamaica, the Metis of Brazil. For historical reasons, each of these racial minorities has a different status vis-a-vis the dominant racial group. The Anglo-Indians are outcast; the Mulattoes of the United States rejected by the whites but accepted by the blacks as leaders; the Metis of Brazil so assimilated with the whites that with them they form the controlling class (Stonequist, p. 49).

The person of culturally mixed background is the other hybrid type he focusses upon. This is the most relevant for the thesis. Examples cited are Europeanized Africans, the Westernized Orientals and the denationalized Europeans. These concern me less, however, than the Jews, and the first and second generation immigrants, which he discusses at length.

He describes the modern Jew as half deriyed from the traditional Hebrew culture and half from Western cultures.

Always on the move, he appears in each country as an immigrant. His children in turn belong to the new land in a way which he does not; In Western lands he is divorced in language, thought and sentiment from his parents. Yet, he is seldom accepted by the Gentiles ... therefore the Jew has a peculiarly complex problem of adjustment .... he is quick to adjust himself to his environment but slow to sink his roots in it. (Stonequist, p. 81)

The first generation immigrant, who chooses not to cushion himself in the immigrant ghetto as a half-way stopping place between the old and new world cultures, faces

similar adjustment problems. Under these conditions, he stands alone in his attempt to absorb the cultural differences of the two groups. The second generation immigrant, observes Stonequist, faces many of the same tensions. He is bound to his parents by the usual family sentiments. But his loyalty to them clashes with his loyalty to his friends and to the American culture they symbolize. The ways of his friends stand for the future; the ways of his parents for the past (Stonequist, p. 99). Later he says that when second generation immigrants become objects of discrimination, their positions are particularly difficult. "Their tendencies toward assimilation arouse the anxiety ... of their parents; their lack of assimilation incurs the antipathy of the native-born. They are between two fires and this condition is more or less true of every second generation group" (Stonequist, p. 101).

I turn now to a short discussion of the life cycle which characterizes the marginal man. According to Stonequist, a person only becomes marginal when he experiences group conflict as a personal problem and is forced to reconstruct a conception of himself and his role in society according to the cross pressures he is experiencing. Stonequist sees the marginal man as going through three phases.

At first he is unaware of any conflict. An example might be a Jewish child in the early grades of school who has experienced no anti-semitism and is socially comfortable. In

the second phase, the individual undergoes a crisis in response to pressure from more than one culture. At this point, he must critically analyse his position and the society he lives in, taking nothing for granted.

To explain these phases, Stonequist chronicles the experience of Ludwig Lewisohn who has written about the problem of Jews in the Western world. "Born in Germany and brought to the United States as a young boy, Lewisohn rapidly assimilated American culture and identified himself completely with American life. His literary talents induced him to set his heart on becoming a professor of English literature. At that time he did not realize the widespread nature of the prejudice against Jews.

"The difficulties he encountered seemed to him to be local and transitory. He did graduate work in a university and then looked for a teaching position. After receiving a letter from his teacher telling him 'how terribly hard it is for a man of Jewish birth to get a good position' teaching in an American university, Lewisohn finally -- as a kind of climax to a summation of events -- realized the bearing of the Jewish-Gentile cleavage upon his personal life:

I ate nothing till evening when I went into a bakery and, catching sight of myself in a mirror, noted with dull objectivity my dark hair, my melancholy eyes, my unmistakably Semitic nose ... An outcast ... A sentence arose in my mind which I have remembered and used ever since. So long as there is discrimination, there is exile. And for the first time in my life, my heart turned with grief and remorse to the thought of my brethren in exile all over the world.  
(Lewisohn, pp. 122-123)

After the crisis is the response. It may be to accommodate to the dominant group; to become a nationalist who identifies with the original oppressed sub-group; or to become an intermediary who tries to effect rapprochement between the two clashing cultures.

C. Wright Mills, in his work on character and social structure, defined four types of Jew according to the Jew's claim for status in society. In Mills' view, different personality types result from the Jew's status situation and "his cumulative reaction to it and interactions with it" (Mills and Gerth, p. 326).

The points in terms of which personality types may be constructed are, first, the groups in terms of which the minority group man or woman seeks status -- his own minority group or the majority society; and the status symbols by means of which he strives to claim status -- again, those of his minority group or those of the majority society. In terms of these two points, we can gain a view of four types:

<u>The Symbols and Styles by Which Status Is Sought</u>	<u>The Groups in Which Status Is Sought</u>	
	<u>In His Own Minority</u>	<u>In the Majority Society</u>
Of His Own Minority	I	II
Of the Majority Society	III	IV

Within each of these four situations there are many possible varieties and types of men and women. Perhaps most Jews in the United States, for example, are in none of these situations: they seek status among both groups and with the symbols of both. Still, they are sociologically differentiated by means of the proportion of their relations and roles that are based on Jewish or on Gentile symbols, and which involve Jewish or Gentile contexts. The compromises are many and result in a range of types from the utterly bewildered, caught in bitter conflicts of self-esteem and guilt, through the embittered and disillusioned, to those who feel secure in strict segregation.

In situation I, in which status is sought among one's minority by means of minority group symbols, we find the ultraorthodox Jew, whose time is spent in a ghetto-like world, who withdraws from and minimizes all contacts with the outside, and has no significant others among Gentiles. Or, he may be a middleman who confines his contacts with Gentiles to strictly segmental business relations; unlike the ultraorthodox, he faces the two worlds but chooses the Jewish as his status area. Socially and psychologically he is unavailable to outgroups.

In situation II we find those personality types that have been formed by identification with Jewry as a whole and who seek status from this identification, but among Gentiles. One finds here resentful, militant anti-Gentiles who in extreme cases may accurately be called Jewish chauvinists. For they ascribe all Jewish ills to the anti-Semitic Gentiles. There is also "the crusader" who is understandably touchy and "out to see that Jewish toes are not stepped on"; and on higher ethical and intellectual planes there is the individual who seeks to build up the culture of his people and their prestige by fruitfully using their cultural symbols in a Gentile world.

In situation III, we find those "emancipated Jews" who use the status symbols of the larger society in order to gain status among their own minority group. In status situation IV are those Jews who successfully escape Jewish status by using Gentile symbols and styles among Gentile groups. Here overreaction is not infrequent; on the one hand, there is "the social climber" who by his conspicuous economic success and sometimes fawning conduct would buy the respect of the majority community and, on the other hand, "the 100 per cent American" who is conspicuously attached in a kind of superloyalty to Gentile ideals and status symbols. And in the extreme, there is the person who chooses not to be a Jew, and who, in completely successful cases, is not a minority type of personality at all; he has left not only minority status but its marginality as well. (Mills and Gerth, pp. 326, 327)

In contrast to Mills, Stonequist stresses the personal maladjustment that accompanies marginal situations.

At the minimum, it consists of an inner strain and malaise; a feeling of isolation or of not quite belonging. This may be subtle and evanescent in quality. From an external point of view the individual appears to be socially adjusted; he has



a family and friends, perhaps a good position and a measure of success. But his mind is not quite in harmony with his social world. (Stonequist, p. 201)

At the extreme, the mental conflict becomes a disorganizing force which can lead to discouragement and despair. In general, he sees the marginal man as a particular psychological type. Because of the cross pressures of the two cultures, he is ambivalent, moody, temperamental, excessively self-conscious and hypersensitive.

D Stonequist's Marginal Personality  
Type: Critical Commentary

In the years following Stonequist's work on the marginal man, sociologists began to question his assumption that the marginal personality type he described was an inevitable product of marginal situations. None questioned the actual existence of the marginal personality. What they tried to show, however, was that the marginal personality, as defined by him, emerged only under certain conditions. Alan C. Kerckhoff and J. W. Mann, to pick out only two writers, did some important work in the area. Both claimed that marginal personality traits were related to:

1. The general status of the sub-group the individual was part of.
2. The orientation or subjective response adopted by the individual in a marginal situation towards his own and the dominant group.
3. The permeability of the barriers of the privileged

group.

The idea of "barrier" was first used by Kurt Lewin who conceived it as being the force exerted by the privileged group to prevent entry of under-privileged people. Lewin felt that the "mid-point of the range of repulsion is the one associated with the most personality problems. Relatively, absolute rejection is probably easier to bear than grudging, uncertain, unpredictable acceptance" (Lewin, p. 136).

It is for this reason that Lewin felt that more Jews were likely to have marginal personalities than blacks. This was because the barrier between white and black is nearer complete than between Gentile and Jew (Dickie-Clark, p. 12). In observing the behavior of Jews in the United States, Aaron Antonovsky in contrast to C. Wright Mills set up six levels of Jewish orientation toward their own and the dominant group. He decided that only one level, which he called the "ambivalent orientation," fostered the appearance of the Stonequist personality type.

Mann did an empirical study of South Africa mixed bloods and he too found that the marginal personality was by no means common to all his sample. Again, the orientation to the dominant group and the height of the barriers were the key determinants. He found that the marginal personality accompanied two types: High passibility subjects (those easily mistaken for whites) who had strong pro-white

preferences but met with low acceptance; and low passibility subjects who have difficulty in choosing between whites and coloreds and who again met with low acceptance from the white group (Mann, p. 89).

Some sociologists, among them Milton Goldberg, Everett Hughes, J. W. Mann and MUSAFAER Sherif, believe that certain marginal men avoid psychological problems by attaching themselves to an "informal reference group." (This concept, as will be evident later, is relevant to the Quebec anglophone group crossing into the francophone cultural area). Sherif says the following:

Whenever individuals cannot consistently relate themselves to the scale of values of the groups within which they move and function, there is a tendency for these individuals to gravitate to one another and to form informal reference groups, from which, at least for the time being, they derive their major self-identity, aspirations and values. (Sherif, 1956, p. 643)

Sometimes these informal groups co-exist for the individual with his original and newly acquired reference groups. At other times, the informal reference group is the only true reference group for the person, and he cannot see beyond it. As Hughes claims, very often certain marginal people establish and live their lives in a marginal group "hardly knowing they are doing so. There are whole segments of marginal society, with their marginal cultures among various ethnic and religious groups ..." (Hughes, p. 195).

E Georg Simmel's Stranger Concept

"The stranger," as defined by Simmel, reflects the marginal situation described by Stonequist in that he is a product of more than one culture. But there the similarity ends: For Simmel's stranger is free from the self-consciousness, the concern for status, and the divided loyalties of Stonequist's marginal man. His response to the marginal situation is philosophical rather than engagé.

The stranger, writes Simmel, first appears as a trader, one who is not fixed in space, yet settles for a time in the community -- a potential wanderer. He unites in his person the qualities of "nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference." This gives him an attitude of objectivity, a freedom from local prejudices and values and thereby makes his social relations more abstract and generalized (Simmel, p. 685).

What is the significance of Simmel's stranger in history? According to Frederick J. Teggart, the stranger is released from the domination of a particular way of thinking and therefore becomes an indispensable personality in the contacts between cultural groups. Teggart calls attention to the implications of the stranger in his study of great men.

Now, while historically, advancement has been dependent upon the collision of groups, the resultant response has taken place in the minds of individuals and so we are led to see that all transitional eras are alike in being periods of individual mental awakening, and

of the release of emancipation of individual initiative in thought and action. This applies equally whether we consider the past or the present, and consequently, since the antecedents of advance are realized only in exceptional cases, we are forced to rely, for the verification we are now discussing, upon the testimony of exceptional individuals. That the historical process of individualization of thought is also the form through which advancement proceeds today would be best shown by an extended examination of the biographies of notable men. But for the present we may accept the evidence adduced by psychologists and other investigators who have already called attention to the facts. (Teggart, pp. 155-56)

Arnold Toynbee in his Study of History looks at the lives of such men of genius as St. Paul, Buddha, Caesar, Lenin, Confucius and Kant to discover the "interaction between individuals and growing civilizations." He discovered that these men must at least temporarily turn themselves into Simmel-type strangers to gain the critical powers necessary for creative thought.

In terms of his external relations with other individual human beings in the social life which is the common ground of his and their respective fields of action, we shall be describing the same movement if we call it a disengagement and temporary withdrawal of the creative personality from his social milieu, and his subsequent return to the same milieu transfigured: in a new capacity with new powers. The disengagement and withdrawal make it possible for the personality to realize individual potentialities which might have remained in abeyance if the individuals in whom they were immanent had not been released for a moment from his social toils and trammels. (Toynbee, Vol. III, pp. 263-264)

Even within a culturally uniform society, Karl Mannheim looked to a stranger type he called the "socially unattached intelligentsia" to provide the most creative ideas for the modern industrial state. In an introduction to Mannheim's

Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning, Ernest Bramsted comments that this group is "mentally and socially highly mobile, emancipated from the fetters of the feudal patronage system and not enmeshed in the bureaucratic structures and machines of metropolitan society" (Bramstead, lx). Mannheim notes that "the very competition in ideas inspires" the socially unattached intelligentsia "to gradual synthesis of partial perspectives and thus leads them to a professionally comprehensive and rational understanding of reality which is the prerequisite of a scientific approach to politics and social change" (Mannheim, p. 143).

This then provides the conceptual raw material from which "constructed types" or "ideal types" relating to marginality can be formulated to explain anglophone integration into the French community. General reference group literature sets the framework for the discussion of the marginality created by reference group conflicts. The key writers on marginality fall into three groups. H. F. Dickie-Clark and Everett Hughes see marginality across a wide range of social situations. Everett Stonequist focusses on the type of marginality related to racial and cultural hybrids. George Simmel and Karl Mannheim concentrate on a particular cast of marginal man whom they describe as the disengaged "stranger", the member of the "socially unattached intelligentsia," the creative force in societies undergoing social change.

## CHAPTER THREE

### QUEBEC'S ANGLOPHONE MARGINAL MEN: SOME THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

This chapter will look first at the development of the English community's perceptions of itself as a "majority group" in Quebec. The behavior of present-day integrating anglophones, who see themselves as a minority, differs from the traditional pattern. Their actions will be viewed against the backdrop of the current power shifts between English and French groups. These "new integrators" will be analyzed in three categories according to a continuum or range of marginality vis-a-vis the English community.

These categories or types are based on theoretical material on marginality already described in the previous chapter. In concept they derive from Weber's "ideal-types" or Becker's "constructed types." Weber observes that as soon as a social scientist "attempts to go beyond the bare significance of even the simplest individual event in order to characterize it" he "must use concepts which are precisely and unambiguously definable only in the form of ideal types" (Weber, p. 92). He defines the ideal-type in this way:

An ideal type is formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present

and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct (Gedankenbild). In its conceptual purity, this mental construct (Gedankenbild) cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopia. Historical research faces the task of determining in each individual case, the extent to which this ideal-construct approximates to or diverges from reality ... (Weber, p. 90)

Becker sees the use of "constructed types" which are similar to Weber's "ideal-types" as a useful way of categorizing materials in order to make predictions. Like Weber, he notes that "constructed types" are essentially tools and that no type is ever found "concretely exemplified." The constructed type, he says, has been created "along lines sufficiently general so that it can be set down on this or that portion of the given terrain without tipping over ... and it then becomes possible to survey that territory" (Becker, p. 107).

The category which is least marginal to the English community comprises anglophones of British origin. This category, on the lowest rung of the marginality ladder, is marginal because of class or ideological differences with the mainstream English community. It belongs to the "restricted" spectrum of marginality described by Hughes and Dickie-Clark.

The second category covers second generation immigrant anglophones who are not of British origin. Unlike members of the first category, who have solid cultural identities, representatives of this group are Stonequist cultural hybrids suffering from cultural ambivalence. Their



marginality is of "all-embracing" proportions. Some, who have been deeply affected by their life-long marginal situations, exhibit signs of the Stonequist "marginal personality."

The third category consists of the Simmel "stranger" type. Members are society's philosophic and disengaged critics celebrated by Arnold Toynbee, Frederick Teggart, Karl Mannheim and others as the focal personalities of societies in transition.

Different societal pressures have affected the attitudes of each of these categories. British-stock members of category one play a different role in English/French power relations than non-British immigrants of categories two and three who serve as a kind of "third force" in the game. The different dynamics of each category will be described not only in the light of reference, marginal man and stranger concepts, but also in terms of Lieberman's migrant superordination and indigenous subordination theory. It is in looking at the relevance of Lieberman to Quebec that we note key differences in the Canadian as opposed to the American integration/assimilation pattern. American integration/assimilation theories are not applicable to Quebec and Canada. In the United States integration proceeded toward one "host group." In Quebec and Canada, there are two dominant host groups. The role of immigrants toward these two groups demands a theoretical perspective which

uses not only integration models but also inter-group conflict models.

#### A English Community Self-Perceptions

British-origin English in Quebec never possessed a minority vision of themselves as a group. Although a numerical minority in Quebec, they saw themselves as part of Canada's English majority. For a while in Montreal -- between 1830 and 1865 -- the English in Montreal were the majority. Their numbers and influence, however, was shored up by immigration (Joy, p. 104).

In the 1851 census, of 57,715 Montrealers, 26,020 were French-speaking and 31,695 were English-speaking. Of the anglophones, only 12,494 were born in Canada. The rest came mainly from Ireland, Scotland and England.

This trend of maintaining the English-speaking community through immigration was an important factor in English/French relations in Quebec. Even though the French birth-rate soared, the English-speaking community kept its percentage at over 30 per cent in Montreal and about 20 per cent in the province. With increased immigration from Europe, English-speaking people of British ethnic origin in Quebec declined, as the following table shows. Yet, because immigrants assimilated to the English rather than to the French group, the English-speaking community which was led by the dominant elite flourished.

Table 2

Evolution of French, British and other groups  
in Quebec 1871-1971

	French	British	Other
1871	78.0%	20.4%	1.6%
1881	79.0%	19.2	1.8
1901	80.2	17.6	2.2
1911	80.1	15.9	4.0
1921	80.0	15.1	4.8
1931	79.0	15.1	6.0
1941	80.9	13.6	5.5
1951	82.0	12.1	5.8
1961	80.6	10.8	8.6
1971	79.0	10.6	10.4

Note: Les Positions Ethniques, Linguistiques et Religieuses des Canadiens Francais a la suite du recensement de 1971, by Richard Ares, Bellarmin, Montreal, 1975, p. 35.

Elements of Lieberson's theory regarding migrant superordination versus indigenous subordination are relevant here. Using Lieberson's model, Quebec minority English, who imposed themselves on the French after the conquest, are the migrant superordinators while the majority French are the indigenous subordinate groups. One of the points which Lieberson makes about migrant superordinators is that they encourage entry of new immigrants to hold their power position. This, he says, is because the indigenous population which has its own society and institutions, is unwilling to participate in the new economic and political order introduced by the migrants.

Although immigrants fed the English community, the English remained a numerical minority from confederation on. However, because, as migrant superordinators they held economic control and kept their numbers constant through immigration, they maintained a "majority group" psychology. As a community they never saw themselves as an integral part of French-Quebec. They had their separate institutions and lived in separate neighborhoods. Most important, they not only controlled Quebec corporate life, but also held influential positions in Canadian business as a whole. The central operations of national firms such as the Royal Bank of Canada, the Aluminium Company of Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway were located in Montreal and Quebec English figured prominently in them.

In their view, French was not necessary. Throughout Quebec history, the English clung to their majority psychology and tended to refuse to assimilate. When the prospect of assimilation loomed in communities outside Montreal, they usually moved to Montreal where they could remain English. Shortly after confederation, most of the Quebec English (78 per cent) lived outside Montreal. One hundred years later, this pattern had reversed. According to the 1971 census, the majority (75 per cent) of the Quebec English now live in Montreal.

Richard Joy attributes the reduction of the English in areas such as the Eastern Townships, the Gaspé, the

Ottawa Valley and Quebec City, where they formed substantial communities in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to English determination to resist assimilation. This, he points out, contrasts with the situation in other provinces where the French-speaking minority faded, not because of "outward migration" but because of assimilation (Joy, p. 91).

Montreal has now become the main arena in English/French/Immigrant "Other" relations. The majority of Quebec non-French, whether of English or "other" mother tongue, are located in Montreal as the following table shows.

Table 3

Concentration of French, English and other  
mother tongue groups in Montreal

<u>Residence</u>	Quebec Province	Metropolitan Montreal	Percent in Montreal
<u>Mother Tongue</u>			
French	4,867,250	1,819,640	37.4
English	789,185	595,395	75.4
Other	371,330	328,175	88.4
Total	6,027,765	2,743,210	45.5

Note: 1971 Census, Catalogue 92-725

The attraction of English for the immigrant group can be seen in the following table which breaks Montreal down by ethnic origin, mother tongue and language use.

Table 4

Population by ethnic origin, mother tongue and language of use

Ethnic Group	Linguistic Group	Ethnic Group	Mother Tongue	Language of Common Use
French	French	1,762,690	1,819,640	1,818,865
British	English	438,505	595,395	683,390
Other	Other	542,040	328,200	240,980
Total	Total	2,743,235	2,743,235	2,743,235
			64.3	66.3
			16.0	24.9
			19.7	8.8
			100.0	100.0

Note: Metropolitan Montreal Region, 1971 Census, Catalogue 92-762, 92-726 and 92-725.

Focussing on the English group, it is clear that roughly a quarter of the mother tongue English have non-British origins and that one-third of those using English regularly are non-British. In the English mother tongue community, therefore, 75 per cent are "hard-core" English. Admittedly, not all these so-called "hard-core" English were born in Quebec. Unfortunately, the census no longer breaks down inter-provincial migration by language groups. In 1941, the last year for which such figures were available, one-sixth of the Canadian-born, English-speaking population of Quebec came from other provinces (Joy, p. 92). Using an estimate, English of British origins with roots in Quebec should comprise about 60 per cent of the mother tongue English population.

Members of this group have supplied the corporate elite to the English-speaking community. They understandably have the biggest stake in continuing traditional English/French power relations based on the pre-Quiet Revolution hierarchy. This group which dominates the anglophone community thinking has the most psychological problems in accepting integration. Following in the tradition of the English who lived in the Eastern Townships, the Ottawa Valley, the Gaspé Peninsula and Quebec City, its members are resisting integration and acceptance of a minority position. As a result, they are either leaving, contemplating leaving or fighting to keep their former status.

B The Marginality Continuum

Category One: Pure English Marginals  
(Everett Hughes type)

We cannot compare what happened to the English during the first half of the twentieth century in the Eastern Townships and the Gaspé to what is happening to the English in Montreal today. The solutions for the Eastern Township English, who could move to Montreal, were easier than they are for the Montreal English who have nowhere to go but out of Quebec. Pressures from the French on the English are enormous. It is apparent that those who want to stay must make major concessions.

During this crucial transition period, there are an avant-garde group of people in the traditional English community who are prepared to integrate. The question is: Who are they and what makes them prepared to leap over the cultural iron curtain which has for so long separated English from French? Members of the traditional English community prepared to make cultural transfers at this volatile period in Quebec history, are, I contend, those who for one reason or another are "marginal" to the English mainstream community. Using Everett Hughes' concept of marginality, these anglophones suffer from a "status dilemma." Their "status dilemma" comes from the fact that their class or ideological stance is out-of-line with that of the traditional English community. For example: they come from working class families; they are Irish Catholics



rather than the favored English Protestants; or they are leftists, if not Marxists, and identify with the French whom they see as an oppressed group.

Under more stabilized English/French relations, these "status dilemmas" described would probably not result in cultural transfers. However, the juxtaposition of English and French power domains -- i.e. the overall stratification system -- is under fire. Most of the marginal pure English type of anglophones are social democrats who can identify with the Parti Quebecois social program. They look at statistics on income differences between English and French; they listen to the cries of "English economic domination" from the French nationalists; and they can only concur that something is wrong with the social order. Because (1) they are only slightly incorporated into their English membership group's social relations network and (2) the Quebec system of stratification is making them question their position in it and the role of French versus English, they are prime candidates for a change of reference/membership groups.<sup>2</sup>

Political events and social change very much affects this group. As the quasi left wing of the English community, their leftist social status becomes questionable the longer they continue to identify with the economically

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<sup>2</sup>For theoretical treatment of this, see Merton's discussion of reference group shifts, 1962, pp. 267 and 270.

dominant minority. This, then, is an additional factor pushing them to integrate.<sup>3</sup>

The British-style marginals differ very much from the cultural hybrids in the anglophone community whose lives have been marked by ever-present and often disturbing marginal status. Like many other groups, the pure English marginals are simply the product of the conflict between many reference groups in our pluralistic society. Under the particular political circumstances of Quebec, an identity conflict has pushed them to shift reference and to some extent membership groups. It is interesting to note that they operate on a different time frame from the cultural hybrid marginals. British-type marginals, particularly those with strong Quebec roots, made integration moves in the 'seventies in response to heightened political feeling. The cultural hybrids, who are more marginal and more sensitive to inter-group shifts, tended to move in the 'sixties.

Category Two: Second Generation Immigrant Anglophones  
(Stonequist cultural hybrid type)

Members of category two are the marginal men who have been so extensively written about in Everett Stonequist's seminal work on the topic. This category is the product of English institutions. However, their background, through

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<sup>3</sup>This relates to T. M. Newcomb's view that personal status considerations often determine reference group shifts, pp. 234-236.

their parents, who were not born here, is non-British immigrant, i.e. Eastern Europe Jewish, Ukrainian, Greek, Italian ... As a result these individuals are cultural hybrids marked by both the immigrant culture of their parents and, in this case, the British-style host culture of Quebec.

Category two marginal men are far less accepted in the traditional English community than category one marginal men who are culturally, if not ideologically, in tune with the English community. What exacerbates category two's position is that in addition to being marginal to the English, they are also marginal to their ancestral cultural group. To repeat Stonequist's description of the dilemma of the cultural hybrid:

He is poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds, reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often 'dominant' over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes individuals from a system of group relations. (Stonequist, p. 8)

This description accurately reflects category two marginal men. Because they find themselves in limbo culturally, they frequently band together to form an informal reference/membership group.<sup>4</sup> This phenomenon will be discussed in detail when the sample is described in Chapter Five.

As we have seen in the discussion on Quebec historical

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<sup>4</sup>For theoretical discussion, see Sherif, 1956, p. 643.

background, the immigrant has tended to automatically join the English minority community in Quebec. The following table, which shows the percentage of ethnic children in French and English schools in the Montreal Catholic School Commission, indicates this.

Table 5

Ethnic children in Montreal Catholic School Commission French and English schools

	French classes	English classes
1930-31	53.2%	46.8%
1940-41	40.9	59.1
1950-51	34.3	65.7
1961-62	25.5	74.5
1971-72	10.6	89.4

Note: Montreal Catholic School Commission, Bureau of Statistics

The main reasons why immigrants joined the English community were that the English were economically dominant, encouraged immigration, and promised more chances for advancement than the French. If the English/French hierarchy of the pre-1960 period had remained, the immigrants would probably have continued "going English." However, new societal dynamics vis-a-vis French, English and newcomers emerged with the Quiet Revolution. These dynamics tended to push the cultural hybrid marginal anglophones to consider scaling the English/French cultural wall well before the WASP marginal

anglophones.

In terms of the Lieberson concepts, how is this explained? As the nationalistic phase of the Lieberson cycle took hold in the early 'sixties, the French "indigenous subordinates" group started to unseat the English "migrant superordinate" group. This process was more readily apparent to the cultural hybrid anglophones than to the WASP group. As was explained earlier in the discussion about Lieberson, immigrants are a key tool of the migrant superordinate group. It needs them to feed its economic structures which stand apart from those of the indigenous subordinate group. However, as the indigenous group moves into the domains of the migrant group and seeks to take them over, the immigrant's self-interest quickly shifts from migrant to indigenous group.

It is not difficult to understand why the anglophone cultural hybrid can so readily shift his reference group. The English community sees him as a cultural parvenu. He accepts this marginal position but it now occurs to him that it doesn't matter whether he is marginal to the English or to the French communities. His English cultural loyalties are low. Because he is not "culture-bound" he can perceive political and social change and the shifting roles of English and French. These factors allow the cultural hybrid anglophones, who are drawn from the 25 per cent of the English mother tongue community of non-British origins, to take the

lead in integrating into the French community.

Category Three: Second Generation Immigrant Anglophones  
(Simmel's stranger type)

Category three individuals are marginal in that most are the product of more than one culture. However, they differ from the category two people because they are free from the self-consciousness, the concern for status and the divided loyalties of Stonequist's marginal man. Quoting again from Simmel, "the stranger" unites in his person the qualities of "nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference." This gives him an attitude of objectivity and a freedom from local prejudices that makes his social relations more abstract. Like category two, the stranger marginal men shifted their cultural sights to the French group early, but unlike category two, they stand at a point where they can observe all groups with critical detachment. Most of category three are cultural hybrids. However, using Mannheim's "socially unattached intelligentsia" notion, one does find stranger types among category one individuals. These are not cultural hybrids. Details of this will be provided in Chapter Five.

In summary, it should be noted that all three categories are integrating and not assimilating. As mentioned in the prologue, all the integrators sampled have one characteristic in common. They have chosen to work in all-French work milieux. (Other criteria to indicate

integration could have been chosen, however). Levels of integration in other areas -- schools, recreation, social services -- varies. Members of all the categories have some links with both English and French groups, though this varies as well. Because these individuals have an ear to the two main cultures of Quebec, they are in a unique position to perform at the new interface between the two communities. As mentioned before, they appear to be replacements for the obsolete English and French elite who handled links across the two solitudes in the pre-1960 days.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

In "Dimensional Sampling: An Approach for Studying a Small Number of Cases, David Arnold writes that most sociological research involves either the statistical analysis of large numbers of cases or the study of single cases. The "middle ground," or the study of small numbers of cases, is occupied only rarely and frequently suffers from "a direct extension of the single-case study logic or an attempt at following the logic of statistical studies with an inadequate number of cases." To deal more reasonably with the "middle ground," Arnold recommends "dimensional sampling." This approach, he says, "takes advantage of the number of cases involved and has definite advantages for the development of theory not found in either the single-case study or the large-numbers approach" (Arnold, p. 147). I have used dimensional sampling to approach this thesis topic. Before explaining the dimensional sampling method and its application for the thesis, some comments on why I did not consider using the survey method are in order.

#### A The Survey Problem

Arnold points out that large-numbers research has two



drawbacks in developing theory. Firstly, it requires that "attention be directed to relatively few attributes of each case," and secondly, "it necessitates a greater distance between the researcher and his data." At this point a restatement of the burden of the thesis might be useful. It is that at this transitional point in Quebec inter-group relations, those members of the English mother-tongue community (migrant superordinate group) most capable of making cultural transfers to the French community (indigenous subordinate group) are in the main marginal to the English community.

A survey looks like the logical approach here at first glance. It might proceed something like this:

- Survey a sample of the Montreal English mother-tongue community to establish what percentage are "mainstream" and what percentage are "marginal."

- Of the "mainstream" people, determine what percentage are integrating.

- Of the "marginal" group, establish what percentage are integrating.

- Look at the "integrated" group to find out what percentage are "mainstream" and what percentage are "marginal."

There are several problems here, however. Establishing "marginality" is not a simple matter which can be operationalized by collecting a few facts. It requires considerable information. The most important material focusses on the

individual's perception of himself regarding the anglophone community. As was observed earlier, a survey necessarily collects only a few attributes about each case and does not allow the researcher to get close to his subjects. Research into marginality, however, requires extensive probing which can only be accomplished through in-depth interviewing.

To examine marginality, the English mother-tongue community could be divided into two groups. The first group, which comprises 75 per cent of the community, are British-origin and therefore, from a cultural viewpoint, mainstream. In-depth interviewing would be required to determine what percentage of the group perceive themselves to be marginal because, for example, they have low-class origins, are Catholic, or left-wing, etc.

The second group, consisting of 25 per cent of the English mother-tongue community, are to some degree "cultural hybrids." As has been explained in Chapter Two, this may lead to a high degree of marginality. The question is: how high if at all? Two factors, among many, are important for this group. One is the closeness of the "other culture" to the English mainstream one; the other is the depth of roots in Canada, i.e. whether second, third or fourth generation immigrant. Only in-depth interviewing to probe the individual's perception of his social place in the English community can properly determine marginal or mainstream status. Clearly, therefore, the survey method is not

appropriate here.

### B The Single Case Problem

Drawing generalizations from a single case or from a group based on a single type would, on the other hand, be equally inappropriate. Arnold doesn't dismiss the study of single cases. He says such studies can be useful "if, as with O'Dea's study of the Mormons (O'Dea) knowledge of the particular case being studied is important in and for itself, or if as with Lipset's study of the ITU (Lipset, Trow and Coleman) it is possible to draw generalizations from a case study and apply them to a wider range of phenomena in an attempt to generate theory" (Arnold, p. 147). Generally though, Arnold finds this a dangerous way to proceed and says that the sociologist would find himself on much safer and more productive ground if he used more than one case, provided he selected them by dimensional sampling.

For my thesis, the use of a single case to show the relationship between marginality and integration might have involved picking, say, a second generation Jewish/Anglo cultural hybrid. What is wrong with this is that the Jewish/Anglo cultural hybrid represents just one notch on the marginality continuum. Restricting the sample to this type -- even if many individuals of the type were interviewed -- would have created a distortion. The generalization, however, might have been tempting because the Jewish/Anglo marginal does constitute a significant group within the anglophone marginal

group opting to stretch its cultural horizons over to the French group.

### C Dimensional Sampling

Dimensional sampling gets around the superficiality of the large survey and the bias built into the extension of the single case type. Arnold says that what it does is to provide a framework for drawing a "purposive sample representative of the universe to which one wishes to generalize." Three steps are involved:

(1) "Explicitly delineate the universe to which you eventually wish to generalize.

(2) Spell out what appear to be the most important dimensions along which the members of this universe vary and develop a typology that includes various combinations of values on these dimensions.

(3) Use this typology as a sampling frame for selecting a small number of cases from the universe typically drawing one case from each cell of the typology" (Arnold, p. 147).

Dimensional sampling admittedly cuts down on the bias built into the single case study and allows for the necessary in-depth interviews ruled out in a large survey. But the approach provides no assurance that the most effective dimensions of the universe will be selected. This depends on the thoroughness and perceptiveness of the researcher in acquainting himself in the preliminary exploratory stages with the general nature of the universe.

Arnold notes that "in sociology we have yet to reach a consensus regarding the most useful dimensions for our research ... sampling can be no better than the dimensions selected and there is no automatic procedure for this selection" (Arnold, p. 148). However, he adds that "since dimensional sampling ensures that we explicitly spell out the dimensions along which we believe the phenomenon varies, it makes it possible for, and indeed encourages, others to critically evaluate the sample's adequacy, which in turn should hasten the development of better conceptual frameworks" (Arnold, p. 148).

Arnold remarks that different techniques are usually used to examine different dimensions of the sample. He comments that Taylor Buckner's thesis on deviant group organization, based on dimensional sampling, used three techniques: participant observation, a mail questionnaire, and library research. Only one method was used for my thesis: Robert Merton's "focussed interview" which will be described later.

#### D Dimension Selection

##### Exploratory Work

I will now describe how I went through the three steps described earlier to arrive at the various marginality dimensions. I should explain by way of background that I am a newspaper reporter. In January 1977, two months after the Parti Quebecois came to power, I decided to write some articles about Quebec anglophones who work in all-French

milieux. The reason for this was that the government was preparing a white paper and legislation on language which would strengthen French in the work place and make it more and more difficult for unilingual anglophones to make a living in Montreal.

The overall mood of the anglophone community, as expressed through long-standing English institutions such as the Board of Trade, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, and the English media was firstly, that it was almost impossible for adults to learn a second language well enough to make a living in it, and secondly, that English people would not be accepted and promoted in French milieux even if they spoke French. Anglophones were persona non grata in Quebec who would be discriminated against no matter what they did.

The purpose of the articles was to find out whether there was any validity to these claims. The questions raised were these: What was the experience and treatment of mother-tongue anglophones who had plunged into French culture as adults and were now functioning in all-French work milieux? Were these anglophones accepted or not? How did they get the jobs to start with? What was their knowledge of French when they began? What motivated them to take jobs in French in the first place?

Four work sectors were selected for examination: business, the various civil services, universities and unions.

Choice of interviewees within these sectors was haphazard: names were supplied by personnel offices, friends, interviewees, etc. Individuals selected for the sample, however, had to meet two criteria. They had to be of English mother-tongue and they had to work in all-French work places. An anglophone who worked part of the day in French in a large company, where the executives and the working language is still mainly English, did not qualify. A total of about 50 individuals were interviewed. Business was represented by Hydro-Quebec, Surveyer, Nenniger and Chenevert (SNC), Sidbec-Dosco and the Desjardins Caisses Populaires conglomerate; the civil services by the Quebec Civil Service, the City of Montreal administration, and the Montreal Island School Council; unions by the Quebec Federation of Labor; and the universities by the University of Montreal and the University of Quebec at Montreal.

The research for these articles, which became the exploratory phase of the thesis, was done with no preconceptions or theoretical framework about the nature and experience of these anglophones. Little information on anglophones who work in French was available anywhere. In March 1976, Dominique Clift, then at The Montreal Star, did a scientific survey on work and language in Montreal which showed that about 20 per cent of Montreal anglophones (defined as those whose household language was English) worked predominantly in French. According to the Gendron Commission, Montreal's

English mother-tongue population active in the work force in 1971 was 261,000. Though a direct correlation cannot be made between mother-tongue anglophones and those whose household language is English, we have some idea of the numbers involved. There would be between 40,000 and 50,000.

The Clift survey sample was not large enough to break down the twenty per cent by occupation, income and education. Some of this twenty per cent are in lower income blue collar sectors where the language of work is French and where most of the bilingual anglophones have usually been found. As the following table shows, among English-speaking people, higher levels of bilingualism are found among less-educated individuals. (The reverse is true for the French).

Table 6

Percentage of workers with excellent knowledge of the other everyday language by level of education

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>French-speaking Persons</u>	<u>English-speaking Persons</u>
0 to 8 years	7.6%	16.0%
9 to 11 years	19.6	12.0
12 to 14 years	29.8	12.3
15 to 16 years	35.9	10.5
17 years and over	35.5	7.3

Note: The Position of French in Work and Consumer Activities of Quebecers. The Language of Work, Vol. 1, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, by Jean-Denis Gendron et al, Government of Quebec, 1974, p. 107.



One could surmise from this that a good proportion, probably the majority, of the twenty per cent of the anglophones who work in French are at low socio-economic levels. Nonetheless, some of the twenty per cent are professional and managerial anglophones in higher paying jobs. It is this elite group who have not tended, or needed, to learn French in the past, that was focussed upon for the articles.

#### The Marginality Dimensions Made Precise

Four main points emerged from the articles:

(1) Anglophones chose as adults to work in French sectors. All could have had equally good positions in English.

(2) Most entered the French milieu with inadequate French knowledge and picked it up on the job.

(3) All were sympathetic to expansion of French in Quebec.

(4) All felt accepted by their French-speaking colleagues.

It was not until the interviews and the overall research was completed that it became clear that the interviewees had some cultural characteristics in common. They were all in some sense marginal to the mainstream (i.e. British-origin) English community. From the viewpoint of origins, these marginal anglophones fell into three groups.

Foreigners to Quebec, such as Americans, British and Ontario anglophones, constituted one group. These people shifted their allegiances when they left their homelands and

were thus marginal when they arrived. Although anglophones, they were prepared to integrate into the French community. Anglophone Quebecers with roots in the province but who come from mixed cultural backgrounds formed the second group. They included children of immigrants and Jews. The last group comprised British-origin anglophones with roots in Quebec who were marginal because they had low-class backgrounds, were Irish Catholic, left-wing, etc.

From these three groups of people, I then rearranged them so that they fell along a continuum of marginality. The continuum consisted of three main categories or "ideal types" based on marginality literature. They are as follows:

Category One (A): Least marginal are British-origin anglophones from a combination of low-class background and social democrat political orientations.

Category One (B): Up a notch are British-origin anglophones who are lower class and more leftist (Marxist) than division A.

Category One marginal men are marked by what Everett Hughes calls "restricted marginality."

Category Two: Moving into classic Stonequist marginality are second generation non-British origin immigrants and Jews. These are cultural hybrids who suffer from "all-embracing" marginality.

Category Three: In a class by itself is the Simmel "stranger," a cultural hybrid. Included here is also

Mannheim's "socially unattached intelligentsia" member who is not a cultural hybrid. Category Three is in a sense a combination of Category One and Two people who are marginal but take a special attitude toward their social situation and the society they live in. This attitude throws them into Category Three.

These then emerged as the dimensions or the "ideal types" of marginality of this minority group in the anglophone community who were choosing to integrate with the French by working in French work milieux. For the articles, I had not interviewed seeking the roots of marginality. With this orientation in mind, from an initial sample of 50, I re-interviewed in depth ten individuals who represented various dimensions of the marginality continuum.

#### E The Focussed Interview

The interview method used was taken from Robert Merton's The Focussed Interview (Merton, 1965). According to this method:

(1) Interviewees are selected because they are known to have been involved in a particular situation. (For my purposes, they are anglophones who have chosen to work in French and have thus given evidence that they are changing their reference/membership group).

(2) The investigator has provisionally analysed the situation and developed hypotheses regarding probable responses to it. (Anglophone behavior here is linked to

marginal man and stranger concepts).

(3) The situation analysis provides the basis for the interview guide setting forth major areas of inquiry and providing criteria of relevance for the interview data.

(4) The interview focusses mainly on subjective experiences to ascertain the interviewees' definitions of the situation in which they are involved.

#### F The Interview Guide

Below is a listing of the general areas covered in the interviews:

1. Political Affiliation:

Quebecer first, Canadian second, or vice versa  
Separatist or federalist  
If independence, would he stay or leave  
Attitude to independence  
Voting patterns provincially, federally,  
municipally

2. Attachment and Belief in English Rights:

English schools  
Courts and parliament  
Right to social, health and government services  
in English

3. Relationship to English Establishment:

Attitudes to:  
Senior business community (business)  
Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal  
(education)  
Montreal Star (media)

4. Attachment to English and French Institutions:

Doctors, dentists, hospitals  
Schools  
Recreation outlets  
Newspaper, radio, television, magazine habits

5. Social Contacts:

French  
English  
Other

6. Work Setting:

When did he start working in French  
How did he do it  
Why  
Level of French on entry  
Acceptance by French at work

7. Cultural Background:

Reference group: childhood  
adulthood  
Reference group shifts during childhood and  
adulthood  
Attitudes toward English, French, other in the past  
Perception of self regarding English, French,  
other now  
Attitude of English, French, other reference and  
membership groups toward him now  
Acceptance in French community  
Engagé or stranger (marginal man or marginal  
man/stranger)

8. General Information on Interviewee:

Mother-tongue  
Language spoken  
Birth place  
Age  
Education  
Schools attended  
Religion  
Occupation  
Residences (childhood and adulthood)  
Parents: cultural background, birth place,  
occupation  
Spouse: cultural background, birth place,  
occupation

The aim of the interviews was to secure information on  
four main topics:

- (1) Attitudes to the two language groups.

(2) Integration to the French group through French work milieux and other domains. Degree of attachment to English institutions.

(3) Marginality to the anglophone community.

(4) History of reference and membership group shifts.

The reasons for each set of questions is as follows.

Political affiliation questions scrutinized the extent to which the individual identified with French Quebec versus English Canada.

Attachment and belief in English rights questions were posed to discover the individual's attachment to the continuation of the English community.

Relationship to the English establishment questions focussed on the acceptance by the individual of the current English community leadership.

The above sets of questions relate to (1) of the aims. They were designed to establish the degree of political attachment to the English as a legitimate group in Quebec.

Attachment to English and French institutions looked at integration with English and French community organizations and associations at the day-to-day level.

Social contacts questions examined the individual's personal kinship and friendship networks in the English and French communities.

Work setting questions looked at the motivation and experience of the individual in becoming part of the French

work milieu and therefore integrating in a major way with the French group.

The above sets of questions relate to (2) of the aims which is the degree of integration into the French community and the level of English community attachment.

Cultural background questions relate to (3) and (4) of the aims and focus on perception of marginality in the English community and reference and membership group shifts.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE ANALYSIS

#### A Overall Observations

Some overall observations which emerge from the sample are as follows:

- Individuals tend not to belong to English or French pressure groups on the political situation. Their role in the community is not therefore in the public eye.

- They have integrated but not assimilated into the French community and continue to have links with English and other groups.

- None identify with the English establishment. All reject the kind of leadership which the English community is now receiving through the media, educational authorities, and corporations.

- The English rights issue draws mixed feelings. Some feel the English community is using English rights to maintain what they see as English privileges. However, for civil rights reasons, the majority stand behind English rights. Those most in favor are representatives of Category One (A), the English WASPs, as well as the strangers of Category Three. The latter take an objective and philosophic view of the machinations of Quebec inter-group relations.



- Category One members, who are British-origin, integrate to the French community later than Category Two and Three cultural hybrids. This is because the political pressures to change occur at different rates for each group according to their different positions in the hierarchy of groups in Quebec society.

- Anglophones suffering from "all-embracing" marginality of the most severe sort (cultural hybrids) rely on informal reference groups for close relationships. Their intimate-level reference group is a sub-culture of cultural hybrid marginals who have shifted to the French community. Their overall reference group is the French community.

#### B The Marginality Continuum

##### Category One: Pure English Marginals (Everett Hughes type)

The general characteristics of the WASP-style marginal men have been described in Chapter Three. To briefly reiterate: they are marginal in that their class, ethnic/religious origins or ideological stance is out of line with that of the traditional English community. Pushed by political events and a questioning within Quebec society of the English/French power relations, they are prepared to shift or accommodate to French culture.

This category falls into the "restricted marginality" group as described by Everett Hughes who observed that in our pluralistic society most people suffer from marginality

at some time. Those in Category One are not the cultural schizophrenics of Categories Two and Three. They are anglophones with English traditions and an English identity. Their marginality stems from socio-economic status and ideological positions rather than cultural origins. A description of Category One individuals follows. They are divided into A and B as marginality in the English community increases. The description covers origins, French work experience, marginality, English community attachment, integration, and reference and membership groups, in that order.

A Division

Alfred W:

Origins. Alfred W. is a 31-year-old former teacher born in Lachine of working-class Protestant parents. He is now working for an English-speaking teachers' union. However, from 1972 to 1974, he worked for the Provincial Education Department in Quebec City, where as assistant director of curriculum, he worked completely in French. Alfred's goal is to take a Ph.d. in education at the University of Montreal and permanently enter the French work milieu as a university teacher. Even though he now works in English, he was chosen to be interviewed because he recently worked for the Quebec civil service.

French work experience. Prior to entering the Quebec Education Department, Alfred worked for the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers which frequently met with

the Conseil des Enseignants de Quebec (CEQ) which is the French-speaking teachers' union. Alfred seized upon the opportunity of attending these meetings which forced him to speak French and to make close contacts with French-speaking people in his field. In 1972, through CEQ friends, he heard of a job opening in the Quebec Education Department. He applied and was accepted. Anglophone applicants, however, were few and far between. At the job interview officials told him there were few anglophones in the public service and asked whether he thought he'd be happy in an all-French milieu.

When he took the job, Alfred decided to live in French and avoid clinging to the few anglophones in the department. Most of the Education Department anglophones were in English divisions where little French was spoken. These individuals were hold-overs from the pre-Education Department days when there was a separate Protestant Education Committee, which operated in English. Alfred was one of the rare anglophones who worked outside these English divisions.

His position in the department surprised the anglophones, he recalls. They couldn't understand why he would want to work in a job which did not deal with English education. It also surprised the francophones who rarely encountered English-speaking people who were interested in such jobs. Rather than identify with English-speaking people who tended to segregate themselves in Quebec's English ghetto,

Alfred chose to become part of French Quebec. He made friends with French colleagues; joined an all-French recreation club; and dated French-speaking girls. Although initially considered an oddity, he says he was quickly accepted by colleagues. He recalls that when he wore a fleurs de lys in his lapel, his boss commented: "Tu es un frère." It was appreciated that he saw himself as a Quebecois. Alfred left the department in 1974 not because he was dissatisfied but because an exciting job came along in another field. He says he was comfortable in the civil service and will return to a French work setting though not necessarily with the government.

Marginality. Although Alfred was brought up in English institutions and lived in an English-speaking neighborhood, he did not wholly identify with the mainstream English community. His recognition that he was different came at 16 when most of his friends joined the Royal St. Lawrence Yacht Club. "I didn't like the phoney attitudes of the kids that went there," he said. "It was prestige based on wealth." Instead of joining the yacht club, he opted for the Lachine Canoe Club, a mixed English/French association which he says had a "lower class image."

The Lachine Canoe Club drew teenagers from Eastern Lachine which was French as well as Western Lachine which was English. In spite of the fact that half the members were French, the language of the club was English. Alfred felt

this was odd. It was, he recalls, his awakening to injustices against French-speaking people.

Five years later, upon graduation from Mount Allison University (1967), he decided he wanted to start integrating into the French community. He feels it was at this point that he became sympathetic to Quebec nationalism. He applied to the University of Sherbrooke's bilingual literature post-graduate program. Acceptance came late. Meanwhile, he won a scholarship to go to McGill University where he decided to take a teacher training program and a Master's of Education. However, his resolve to move into the French community remained.

English Community Attachment. Alfred sees himself as an anglophone and refuses to deny his roots. But his attachment to the English community is weak. He sees himself as a Quebecer before a Canadian; supports Quebec independence; and has always voted Parti Quebecois.

His support for English rights is low. He would prefer a unified French school system; feels courts should be all-French; and would support English health and social services for only a limited time period. "Demands must be placed on the English population to deal in French ... I support Dr. Camille Laurin's idea that Quebec be as French as Ontario is English." He does not relate to the English establishment identified with McGill University, the English business community or The Montreal Star, which he boycotts because of

its positions on the Quebec government.

Integration. Social contacts are half English, half French though he lives with a French Quebecois girl and speaks French with her most of the time. His dog, he observes wryly, is "unilingual French." He belongs to a unilingual French runners club and a unilingual English ski club. Other recreation activities, he says, are mostly in French. Doctors and dentists are English-speaking.

Reference and Membership Groups. Alfred is marginal to the English community because of his origins and his ideological position. His mother was a Scottish immigrant whose father was a bricklayer; his father was a federal civil servant and his father was a carpenter. Although the family lived in the middle-class part of Lachine, their origins were working class and outside the English mainstream. Alfred doesn't feel there is an English culture in Quebec worth saving. "The only origins I have real identity with are Scottish. I'd be a Scottish nationalist if I lived in Scotland." In some way, however, he is an English community member, if only because his job is with an English teachers' union. But his reference group, and in an increasing way, his membership group, is the French community. "I feel I'm immigrating to French-Canada," he says. "I'll always be an anglo, but that's okay as long as I'm accepted."

Keith C:

Origins. Keith C., 30, comes from lower-middle-class

Irish Catholic background. He was raised in St. Michel, an area of the city which is French and Italian with only a small English community. Keith started working completely in French in 1974 when he became information director of the Montreal Island School Council.

French Work Experience. He worked up to taking an all-French job slowly but deliberately. When he graduated from Loyola College in 1967, he says, he knew almost no French. His first job was as a clerk with the federal defense department where English was the working language. However, he had an opportunity to speak some French which he insisted upon doing. The following three jobs -- with Molson's public relations department, the Montreal Catholic School Commission information division and the Montreal English CEGEPs as information director -- were in English. However, in all three jobs he was surrounded by French colleagues and he took that opportunity to perfect his French. He remembers that he liked working in the French milieu which he found "warm and attractive." As a result, he claims he deliberately chose jobs where he was surrounded by French-speaking people.

By 1971, half way through his stint with the Montreal Catholic School Commission, he became convinced that the future for an English-speaking person such as himself lay in working in French in the French community. He did not leap completely into a French job until 1974 when he took the

Montreal Island School Council job which demanded both written and oral fluency in French. His written French was poor at the time, he says, but the council wanted him and gave him extensive help at the beginning. It was initially very difficult, he remembers, but he got accustomed to it, and is now very comfortable in the language. His "langue de usage" he points out is now French not only at work, but also at home where he speaks French to his French-Quebecois wife. He says that he sometimes feels more fluent in French than English. "There are days," he explains, "where I can't find the words in English."

Marginality. Keith was never part of the mainstream English community or very exposed to it. As a Catholic living in St. Michel, half his classmates at school were of Irish Catholic background; the rest were Italian immigrants. He feels no strong ties with the English establishment but harbors no resentment against it either. He feels that his being a Catholic sets him apart from the English WASP community. Catholic upbringing, he observes, provides him with certain bonds with the French who are also Catholic and think in similar ways. Keith has not experienced strong crises, anxiety, or rejection by the English community. A small crisis point regarding his knowledge of French, however, came when he was 17, in 1964. A teaching brother he was close to told him he must become fluent in French if he wanted a good life here. This experience, which he recounted



in two different interviews, marked him.

English Community Attachment. Keith feels strong attachment to English culture and supports basic English rights. However, he is wary of the English establishment institutions which he sees as unsympathetic to French epanouissement. He feels both Quebecois and Canadian but he is a federalist. Because of its independence platform, he would not vote Parti Quebecois.

He takes a strong English rights stand. He supports a strong and separate English school system and believes all individuals in Quebec prior to the passing of Bill 101 should be eligible for them. In addition, he believes English-speaking people should be able to go to court in English; receive laws from the provincial parliament in English; and have access to social, health and other government services in English.

He does not link the English establishment whose positions he does not support to maintenance of English culture and rights. The senior business community he finds has not sufficiently promoted French. "They embarrass me when they make comments which seem based on ill-will." He feels torn about the behavior of the Protestant School Board and supports some of their actions but not others. The English media he finds biased and often irresponsible. "They don't represent me because they aren't presenting the full picture of Quebec."

Integration. Both professionally and socially, Keith is well integrated into the French community. Most of his social contacts are French except for his association with Participation Quebec, an English-speaking pressure group. Unlike most of the anglophones interviewed, he uses some French health services; his dentist is French-speaking; and he would go to a French-speaking hospital if sick. This shows an advanced degree of integration. Many anglophones who are fluent in French automatically go to English-speaking doctors because they want the security of their original cultural group when ill.

Reference and Membership Groups. Keith sees himself as belonging to both French and English cultures. But although he works in French and wants it that way, he comments that he feels very attached to English culture and wants English institutions to stay viable. He went to Loyola College where he majored in English literature, and for him "the most beautiful things are still in English." He feels he is not capable of appreciating French culture in the same way. His reference and membership group still very much includes the English community. He wants the English group in Quebec to remain healthy enough so he can return to his roots to receive "cultural sustenance" when he needs it. He was thinking of sending his child to French school. Now that it appears that Bill 101 will reduce English schools over the long-run, he will send him to

English school because he believes English-speaking people have a responsibility to keep English institutions going.

For Keith, the French community is also a reference and a membership group. He wants to work in the French milieu and is well-integrated into the French-speaking community outside his job. He strongly supports the flowering of French life in Quebec and feels very warm toward French-speaking people. The French, he claims, very much accept him. They see him as an anglophone, but an anglophone sympathetic to French aspirations, and this, he says, makes all the difference. His colleagues favor independence. They know he is a federalist, but they respect his position.

In summary, Keith is a marginal man, though less marginal than Alfred who does not have Keith's attachment to English culture. Keith's marginality stems from his Catholicism; his Irish ethnicity; his family's socio-economic status; and his lack of contact with the mainstream English community. In many respects, Keith is a bicultural person tied and sympathetic to both English and French cultures.

Charles M:

Origins. Charles, 33, Catholic, and one of 10 children, is a British immigrant who came to Canada eight years ago. Before his arrival he had already lived in different cultures. As a university student, he studied in Italy as well as in Germany. He was fascinated by the new world, and half way through his university program, he came to the

United States for a summer when he worked at an American children's camp. After university graduation, he worked as a social worker in an English mining town, but in his desire for something new, he decided to emigrate to Canada.

Because he had already learned to adapt to other cultures, it was not difficult for him to entertain the idea of learning French and becoming part of a new culture upon arrival here. However, he knew no French at all and was fired from one of his first jobs because of it. After nine months he found a job teaching in an English high school.

From the beginning of his stay, he started learning French. He read the French papers and made friends with French-speaking people. In 1972, two years after his arrival, he became interested in community issues and social problems. First he became involved in setting up a special residence for newly-arrived refugees. This put him in contact with French-speaking people in the provincial and federal immigration departments. That year, he became interested in issues raised by the Common Front and joined the Parti Quebecois. He felt Quebecers had not had fair treatment as a "founding people" and had the right through a referendum to pronounce on their future.

French Work Experience. In 1973, he found a job in an English CEGEP and became head of the union. He pushed the union to become more active in the umbrella association of unions in CEGEPs which was predominantly French and in the

Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN). At meetings, he started making speeches in French. That year he was active in the election with the Parti Quebecois and continued his involvement through the 1976 election. After the election, he joined the government as a special assistant. Eight years after arriving in Canada, with virtually no knowledge of French, he was working completely in the language.

Marginality. Although English, Charles never had any deep roots and links with Montreal's mainstream English community. He was marginal to the English group when he arrived and therefore felt free to move as he liked. His strongest English contacts were with social democrat types in the English intellectual community who were sympathetic to the French fact. His overall orientation and concern for social justice led him naturally to the French community through the Common Front, the CEGEP union movement and the Parti Quebecois.

English Community Attachment. Charles feels attachment to the English community but makes a distinction between the upper-class English establishment, which he sees as "fossilized in thought and lifestyle," and the middle-class liberal intellectual English he feels close to. He feels a Quebecer before a Canadian; favors Quebec independence; and supports "special status" rather than "rights" for the English. In his view English schools, CEGEPs and universities should remain. Health, social and other government services

should be available in English at the grass-roots level, but parliament and the courts should be unilingual, except in the case of courts where there is an entente between the parties.

Integration. Charles is integrated into both French and English communities. Two-thirds of his friends date from his teaching jobs in high school and CEGEP and he still sees these English-speaking people. One-third of his friends are French-speaking people he met through the Parti Quebecois.

Reference and Membership Groups. Charles' main reference group is the French community through the Parti Quebecois which he very much identifies with. An experience he enjoys very much is going to the party's National Council meetings where he feels very much part of the group. "It's a sort of substitute for lack of family ties." His acceptance by the Parti Quebecois members who are the province's strongest nationalists, took time. After he joined the party in 1972 until 1975, he says he was sometimes seen as a curiosity piece by members who were not used to anglophones supporting their cause. He encountered some skepticism and occasional hostility from strangers. By 1976, he says, this hostility had vanished. Generally he feels very comfortable speaking and working in French. Under tense situations, however, jokes, asides, quick understandings can't take place because he is not of French mother-tongue or culture, and this is sometimes frustrating.

Among the mainstream English community, which he must encounter in his work, he finds hostility and skepticism. This he has found difficult to cope with. From a cultural viewpoint, he identifies with the English -- "I come from their stock after all" -- but he feels they should become part of majority French life in Quebec. His strong emotional link with the English community is with his CEGEP friends who are bilingual, sympathetic to Parti Quebecois aims, and respectful of his work. This forms his "informal reference/membership group" where he feels most free to let down his hair.

In summary, Charles became a marginal man early in life when he started living in different cultures and adapting to them. His first experience was in Italy at the age of 18. When he came here, therefore, it was not strange for him to consider joining the French community. It was mainly, though not entirely, because of his interest in social issues, that he quickly identified with the French. Although English, he wasn't from Montreal and had no family restraints or long-standing ethnic affiliations to hold him back. From a cultural viewpoint, Charles is English. From a social and collective perspective, he identifies with the French. His Catholicism and his feeling for the collective find echoes in French Quebec that are missing in English Quebec. In an important sense, Charles crosses both cultures and could serve as an interface between them.

Angus G.

Origins. Angus, 43, of Protestant Scottish background, and originally from Toronto, is a University of Montreal political science professor. His first career was with the Ottawa External Affairs department. There he met French-speaking colleagues and gravitated toward them because he found their interests broader. His wife was an artist and she found she was more accepted by the French than the English.

French Work Experience. During his External Affairs career, Angus was sent to Paris with the NATO delegation. He worked on his French and tried to participate as much as possible in French life. Because he was attracted by French people, when he returned he decided to take a doctorate at Laval University. Upon graduation, he had job offers from Queen's, Carleton, Laval and the University of Montreal. However, because he and his wife liked living in French and felt her artistic career would fare best in Montreal, he took the University of Montreal job offer in 1964.

Angus is marginal in that he never really identified with English mainstream culture anywhere. He has always been an intellectual quasi-Marxist which immediately put him on the fringe. He moved around to such cities as Toronto, Kingston, Ottawa, Paris, Quebec, Montreal, and never attached himself to any community. His cultural roots, he identifies as Toronto/Queen's English. However, he feels part of a



North American sub-group which he says is socialist, culturally mixed and urban. In many respects, Angus is a member of Mannheim's "socially unattached intelligentsia."

English Community Attachment. Politically, Angus is caught between French Quebec and English Canada. He would like to keep his Canadian citizenship, but he is disappointed with the Canadian government's performance on civil rights (RCMP activities), social issues and economic problems, and for those reasons doesn't feel inclined to fight for Canada. He is sympathetic to Quebec independence and voted Parti Quebecois in the last election. He supports institutions for the English community -- schools for English mother-tongue children; bilingualism in the courts and parliament; and English social, health, and other government services. However, he does not identify with the English establishment or English pressure groups. He says that at one point he could have identified with the Positive Action Association, but not now.

Integration. At a professional level, Angus is integrated into French life, but beyond that he has little contact with the French community. He reads a combination of English and French papers during the week and the New York Times on weekends. His children attend English schools. Social contacts, he says, are "90 per cent English."

Reference and Membership Groups. His most important reference group is an informal reference/membership group

which he sees as North American, leftist and internationalist. He feels that in North American pluralistic cities, there are many culturally mixed people experimenting with different ideas and lifestyles and he identifies with that group.

Regarding the English, he identifies with bilingual leftist-oriented people of the Democratic Alliance variety. He has no English roots in Montreal and therefore has never identified with the mainstream. He feels little sympathy for the English establishment, especially the business community.

Angus feels accepted by the French and is generally sympathetic to their aims. French colleagues, he says, see him as an integrated anglophone "not like other anglophones." Although he is comfortable in the French work milieu, he does not feel he is integrated into the French community. Even within the intellectual community, he finds certain French ways of thinking foreign. The French, he says, have an absolutist way of thinking which he can't identify with. He finds French Marxists stronger than English ones, for example. "No English Marxists in the English-speaking universities are as dogmatic as they are."

In summary, Angus falls into Category One but in many ways, he is a Category Three "stranger" type who belongs to Karl Mannheim's "socially unattached intelligentsia." He is part of what he describes as the internationalist, socialistic and culturally mixed North American intellectual group. He is marginal in that he identifies with no one culture,

rather a set of ideas which is cross-cultural. Angus is North American; he is English-Canadian; he identifies with the French. He belongs to all three groups in varying ways, but to no one culture.

#### B Division

Category One (B) is similar to Category One (A) in that it consists of British-origin marginal men. However, those in the B division are more marginal to the English community and are therefore one peg up the marginality ladder. The B division representatives come from lower socio-economic backgrounds; are more left-wing; barely identify with English culture; and concern themselves only slightly with English rights. Except for Keith C, A division members support English rights and although they do not identify with the English establishment, they are attached to English culture.

#### John G:

Origins. John G., 33, a former highschool teacher, is a Montreal Citizens Movement city councillor in a working-class riding. One of eight children, he comes from a working-class background. His father was a Hydro-Quebec linesman who was electrocuted twenty years ago; his mother is on welfare.

Unlike others in the sample, John spoke French as a child. This was because he was brought up in a small French town. However, he attended English institutions -- Protestant School Board schools, Sir George Williams

University, McGill University -- and, as a result lost much of his French fluency.

Between 1971 and 1973, he taught French at Montreal High School. During this period, he began to feel that the only way children could properly learn French was to become part of the French community. Class-room French teaching was inadequate; "social immersion," he felt, was the appropriate method. In the 1973 Protestant School Board elections, he ran and was elected school commissioner in a working-class riding. He resigned his teaching position and as a school commissioner, took strong stands favoring a unified French school system where English would be an important subject and no more than that.

French Work Experience. John had been socialistic since early college days. As he became more so, he saw that socialistic aims had to be promoted in the French rather than the English community. "I couldn't do much in English-speaking Town of Mount Royal," he commented. "Besides, I didn't have an entry there." In the municipal election of 1974, he ran as a Montreal Citizens Movement city councillor representing a working-class riding. He won and has been working there in French ever since.

Marginality. John is marginal to the English group firstly because of his low-class origins and secondly because of his socialism. As a result, he feels few attachments to the mainstream English community where he feels he

was never accepted. He sees himself firstly as a Quebecer integrated into French life and secondly as a Canadian who is part of a larger mostly English society. He favors Quebec independence in so far as it could contribute to the development of a socialistic society which is his main goal for Quebec. He has always voted Parti Quebecois, believes the French have a right to independence, and would vote yes in a referendum.

English Community Attachment. When asked about the English fight for rights, he retorted that what the English were trying to maintain were privileges rather than rights. He believes the English oppose Bill 101 because they want to retain dominant status. He concedes that the English should have rights "but only under normal conditions when French is predominant. Now French is threatened." Under "normal conditions," the English should be able to go to court in English and receive health, social and other government services in English. However, at no time would he support a separate English school system. He feels Bill 101 is very generous to the English on schooling because it gives them "far more than the French have in the rest of the country."

John doesn't identify with such English establishment institutions as McGill University, the Protestant School Board or The Montreal Star, which he believes are trying to keep the English economically dominant. The English institutions, he says, don't represent his views. That's why

he and a number of other left-wing anglophones, many of whom work in French, prepared a brief for the Bill 1 parliamentary commission in July 1977.

The group called itself Comité Anglophone Pour un Québec Unifié and saw itself as a temporary organization. In John's opinion, the English should not be organizing under an ethnic banner. However, because in the wake of Bill 1, "English views" were presented to the government which he and others opposed; this group was formed to present a different perspective.

The Comité Anglophone Pour un Québec Unifié told the commission it was against positions taken by most other English groups. Members said they supported the Bill 1 aim that French become the main language of Quebec. They saw Bill 1 as a tool to fight economic exploitation and to promote the socialist society. However, they criticized the bill for not providing language training and job security for the working class English.

Integration. John is integrated into the French community over and above his job which he does almost completely in French. He has more French than English friends and feels equally at home in French as in English. The French community is more his reference group than the English community because he believes he must work primarily in French to achieve socialist aims. He feels accepted by the French who don't see him as "un Anglais" but "un Anglais récupéré."

Reference and Membership Groups. John doesn't have much to do with English-speaking people who aren't integrated into the French community and who don't share his view of Quebec life. When he was a PSBGM commissioner, he was looked upon with suspicion by the administration because his views were off-beat. "I was tossed as inconsequential ... somehow I was the Martha Mitchell of the school board." He doesn't believe in labelling himself as English, but because of what the main English institutions said regarding Bill 1, he joined the Comité Anglophone Pour un Québec Unifié. The association will probably take a position on the referendum. Generally speaking, he doesn't feel there is an English culture in Quebec worth saving.

Bob C:

Origins. Bob C. is a 37-year-old American-born biochemist of working-class background. His father was a plumber; his mother a secretary.

French Work Experience. He came to Montreal in 1967 when he was offered a job in the biochemistry department at the University of Montreal. He knew no French when he was hired but had met many French-Quebecers while taking a doctorate at Cornell University and felt he would enjoy French Montreal. The University of Montreal has an unofficial rule that newly-hired foreign anglophones get special consideration for the first six months while they learn French. As a result, the biochemistry department

allowed him to do research plus teach one lab in English while he frantically studied the language. The following year, he took on a full teaching load and has been working and living full-time in French ever since. "It took me six months to understand the language and another six months to express myself properly," he said. He claims he still makes mistakes but he feels comfortable in the language.

Marginality. Bob came to Canada as an American immigrant and as such was marginal to the Montreal English community when he arrived. Even in the United States, however, Bob says he was considered off-beat. He was less nationalistic than the average American and never wanted to do draft duty. Unlike his peers, he saw Blacks as equals (his wife is Black) and was left-wing politically. Bob sees himself as a working-class oriented person, and finds he is most at home with working-class French people who live in his east-end Plateau Mont-Royal neighborhood. He is active in the cooperative movement and feels even more comfortable there than he does at the University of Montreal which he finds "too upper class."

English Community Attachment. Of the sample, Bob has the least attachment to English community institutions. He feels more like a French Quebecer than an English Canadian and is sympathetic to French-Quebec nationalism. Bob is not yet a citizen and a voter but he has worked for the Parti Quebecois. He feels Quebec is a French society and that its



residents should be able to function in French. As a result, he does not think that English should have rights or special status. He favors unilingual French parliament, courts, and education. Social and health services, he thinks, should be offered in more than one language, but English should be on an equal footing with other foreign languages in the province. He finds the English establishment operates with a "colonial mentality" and finds it reprehensible.

Integration. Of the sample, Bob is the most highly integrated into the French milieu even though he was not born here and learned French from scratch at the age of 27. He lives in a French neighborhood; reads French newspapers, participates in French organizations, sends his child to French school and goes to French hospitals and doctors. Most of his friends are French-speaking. The only place where he speaks English is at home with his wife who is from Panama and is of English mother-tongue. She learned French after she came to Montreal as well and now teaches linguistics at the University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM).

Reference and Membership Groups. As far as Bob is concerned, the English community hardly exists for him either as a reference or a membership group. He relates almost exclusively to the French community where he feels accepted. He does have some English-speaking friends, but little contact with the English community as such. In his view, it wouldn't have mattered whether he worked in French or English

in Montreal. He would have naturally gravitated toward the French upon arrival. "I was sympathetic to the French even when I was in Toronto before I came here."

Category Two: Second Generation Immigrant Anglophones (Stonequist Cultural Hybrid Types)

The characteristics of the Stonequist cultural hybrids have already been extensively elaborated upon in previous chapters. In summary, members of this category are psychologically torn between two cultures, neither of which completely accept them. They are anglophone in that their mother-tongue is English and they were raised in English institutions. They are also of non-British immigrant cultural background (Eastern Europe Jewish, Ukrainian, Italian ...) through their parents who were not born here.

Because of their anomalous cultural positions, Category Two anglophones early in life developed psychological distance from the English community. This allowed them to absorb what was happening between English and French and to make the required cultural accommodations. During the Quiet Revolution days of the 1960s, Category Two members who felt resentful about their treatment in the English community started edging over to the French group. By contrast, the more culturally secure Category One anglophones waited until the political situation boiled over later on. Culturally, Category Two members who were loosely attached to the English community had less to lose in crossing over

to the French community. Consequently, they moved earlier.

Alex K:

Origins. Alex, 43, works for the City of Montreal as an urban planner. He was born in Montreal of Ukrainian working-class immigrants. He was brought up in the St. Urbain Street area immigrant ghetto. During the depression his father was unemployed and his mother cleaned houses and waitressed. Later, his father found work as a factory mechanic.

French Work Experience. Alex was brought up in the English public school system and attended McGill University where he studied architecture. For ten years after he graduated, he worked for English-speaking architectural firms. However, in 1966, he decided to join the city's planning department because he felt out-of-step with the English establishment. At the time, he spoke almost no French. "I had perhaps 100 words," he said. It took him five years to become fluent because when he joined, English was still widely spoken in the office. Now the working language is French only.

Marginality. As a child, Alex felt at home in the English school milieu which was mainly immigrant. Through his experience at McGill University, however, he became aware that there was an English traditional establishment group he was not part of. Although he didn't feel completely accepted by the English at McGill, he did well in

sports and in the classroom, suffered no traumas, and claims he had a good time. "I knew I could never be accepted in the English establishment because I came from an immigrant working-class background. But I never let that bother me," he remarked. "I felt I could do most things better than other people." He equated his position to that of an American Black who excels in sports or entertainment but is never accepted in the mainstream White world.

After university graduation, during the 10-year period he worked for English architectural firms, he felt increasingly uncomfortable with the traditional English. Socially, he felt out-of-step with them. "As an immigrant from a working-class background, I just didn't have the right mannerisms, dress, speech, etc." Ideologically, he also inhabited a different camp. "I was 'class-conscious' and tended to oppose their private enterprise values," he said.

During this period, he became friendly with some French sculptors and found he felt more at home with them than with his English-speaking colleagues. "I could be more myself with them ... they liked my spirit ... they were more open." As a result of his contacts with French-speaking people, he began to consider moving into the French work milieu. He chose the City of Montreal planning department because he felt he could pursue his socialistic goals there.

What finally pushed him away from the English architectural work milieu was a disagreement regarding a job he

was doing on a building project up north. The task was to build lockers for workers. Alex says the firm didn't think the job was important and asked him to hurry up with it. "You don't have to do that good a job," he quoted his boss as saying. "After all, it's just lockers for bohunks." Alex replied that he was a bohunk too and that he would take his time. He was fired from the company.

English Community Attachment. Although Alex has never identified with the English establishment as represented by such institutions as the English business community, the PSBGM, The Montreal Star, or McGill University, he feels strongly about English rights. In his view, courts and parliament should be bilingual; health and social services (should be offered in the languages of all the national groups (not just in French and English) and English and French schools should be available to all Quebec residents. However, he believes French should be the language of work. He is a Parti Quebecois member and votes Parti Quebecois because of the party's social program although he is against independence.

Integration. At work he feels well-integrated into the French milieu and is friendly with Quebecois colleagues. However, his closest friends are English-speaking second generation immigrants like himself who are marginal to the English community. Many also work in French. Socially and professionally, he has almost nothing to do with the

traditional English. Those he meets can't understand how he can "put up with working with all those Frenchies. They think I must be in an uncomfortable situation and liken me to a stranger in a foreign territory."

Reference and Membership Groups. Alex's immediate informal reference/membership group is the small group of cultural hybrid marginals like himself, who through their jobs, are part of the French community. Ideologically, they tend to be left wing. Culturally, they are mixed. All started off with two cultures and compounded the mix by marrying outside their ethnic groups. Alex's larger reference/membership group is the French community. Although he is not in favor of sovereignty for Quebec, he strongly sympathizes with the French Quebecers' overall orientation, and in turn feels accepted by them. He is vocal about his anti-independence position but says his separatist colleagues accept his approach. In summary, Alex could have remained with the English reference group. However, because of his Ukrainian working-class background, he felt happier working in French for the public service.

The following two individuals exhibit the most extreme form of marginality in the sample. Both are second generation Jewish immigrants who first experienced discrimination by British-origin English when they entered McGill University. Their marginality to the English-speaking community was compounded by inner conflict about Jewish

culture. Both show hostility to the traditional English community and feel more accepted in French circles. Like the previous individual described, their informal reference group consists of other English-speaking cultural hybrids like themselves who are partially integrated into the French-speaking milieu.

Stanley R.

Origins. Stanley R. is a second generation immigrant Jew who for the past seventeen years has worked as an engineer for a French-run company. Like Alex K., he comes from a working-class background. His father was a tailor and his mother a factory worker. He too was brought up in the St. Urbain Street immigrant ghetto.

French Work Experience. In 1960, five years after graduating from McGill University, Stanley joined a French-managed engineering consulting firm. Until the early seventies, most of the firm's contracts were conducted in English. This was because most of the engineers on staff were English-speaking. With the arrival in the late sixties and seventies of French-trained staff, the language of work started to shift to French. Stanley's French was faulty. However, he decided to stay and adapt. In 1974 and 1975, he worked on major contracts in French and is now fluent. Although English is still used in the firm, French is the main language of work. He expects to work more in French and is comfortable in the French work milieu.

Marginality. Until he was 17, Stanley knew very little about either the English or the French milieu. Neighbors and friends were Jewish; recreation was Jewish; even school (Baron Byng) was Jewish. He had no contact with the mainstream English community until he went to McGill University to study engineering. Exposure to WASPs came as a shock. He felt frozen out by them and gravitated toward the few French-speaking students on campus whom he found friendly and warm.

The discovery that he was part of a minority group, which was not completely accepted, was difficult. What made it even more uncomfortable was that he could find no cultural resting spot. He was not welcome in the WASP milieu; but he was not at home in the Jewish community either. Although he had been brought up Jewish, in his teens, he started to move away from Jewish values.

English Community Attachment. Stanley never identified with or felt accepted by the mainstream English community and has had little to do with it since he left McGill University. Shortly after graduation, he joined a French-managed firm and now works mostly in French. He feels no loyalty to establishment institutions such as The Montreal Star, McGill University or the English business elite which he has always managed to avoid. In his view, Quebec should operate in French and English community institutions should wither away. He would, for example, phase out English schools and replace them with a unified French system with strong English



programs. As the English population became fluent in French through the changed school system, he would then reduce English social, health and other government-sponsored services.

Integration. Although Stanley supports a French-only province and does not identify with the English, he is only partially integrated into the French community. French activities are limited to his work and political involvement in the predominantly-French Montreal Citizens Movement.

Reference and Membership Groups. He spends his leisure hours in English but not with people in the mainstream English community. His English-speaking friends tend to be cultural hybrid marginals like himself who have gravitated to the French work milieu. Many of these people are Jewish. They constitute his "informal reference group" where he feels most at ease.

Stanley has little contact with either the traditional English or the traditional Jewish communities, both of which he says would oppose his views. In many respects Stanley is in a cultural no-man's land. He is English by language; Jewish by culture; French by profession. His wife is Estonian-Canadian. Although he supports French aspirations, he feels like a by-stander in Quebec. The French majority, he says, deserve a French-run society and independence from the rest of Canada if they choose. But his support for them is intellectual rather than emotional. "I'm not really in

their camp ... I'm sympathetic to them ... but it's their fight, not mine."

Jacob E:

Origins. Jacob E., 45, is a Hydro-Quebec program analyst. Like Stanley, his parents were immigrant Jewish working-class people who lived in the St. Urbain Street ghetto. Jacob started working in French in 1967 when he joined Hydro-Quebec as a program analyst. He had been laid off by a large English corporation where he had worked for the previous three years.

French Work Experience. When he joined Hydro-Quebec his French was poor. "But I didn't let that bother me," he said. "I was quite happy to work in French. I found it a little hard writing at first, but it quickly improved ... there are no problems." Although he was working in his second language, he felt more comfortable at Hydro-Quebec than with the English corporation. He found the English management "arrogant" and objected to the "rat-race atmosphere" of the company.

Marginality. Up to the end of high school, Jacob knew very little of either the traditional English or French communities in the city. He was part of the immigrant Jewish ghetto and did not step beyond it. His cultural perspectives changed when he entered McGill University around 1950 to take civil engineering. Like Stanley, he found he had no cultural nest.

The values of the Jewish immigrant community he was brought up in started to appear confining to him. He suddenly wanted to break out of the Jewish ghetto and to get away from his parents. "First generation immigrants like my parents thought it was important to make money and get ahead. Getting money was an important part of the culture and I rebelled against it."

However, he found no acceptance among the traditional English that he encountered at McGill University. "I found myself in a cultural no-man's land," he recalled. "I hung around with three other guys who were in the same position. ... we wanted out of the Jewish ghetto but there was no replacement for it."

Jacob says that the four felt lost and alienated. All, with the exception of Jacob, came to a tragic end. One was killed in Israel in a bus accident; another committed suicide; and a third died of an intestinal disease. Jacob still feels in a cultural no-man's land. "But I've accepted it ... I know I can't go back to cultural roots for identity ... I'm now more interested in personal development." Among other things, he mountain climbs, composes electronic music, paints, and plays in a chamber music group.

English Community Attachment. Like Stanley, Jacob feels little attachment to the English mainstream community and is bitter about how it excluded him. His disapproval of the English establishment runs deep. In his view, the

English business community, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and The Montreal Star are all promoting vested interests which do not help ordinary English-speaking people. Although Jacob dislikes the community's leadership, he believes English rights must be respected. There should be a separate English school system and English health and social services, he believes.

Integration. Like Stanley, Jacob is integrated into the French community mainly through his job. He has almost no links with the traditional English community. However, most of his close friends are English-speaking rather than French-speaking.

Reference and Membership Groups. His close friends are cultural hybrids like himself who are on the fringes of both the Jewish and English communities. On the broad level, Jacob's reference group is the French community. On the more intimate level, his reference group constitutes cultural hybrids like himself.

It is apparent that Category Two members suffer from "all-embracing" marginality. They are not only culturally marginal but also socio-economically and ideologically out-of-step with the mainstream English community. Because of the cross-pressures from birth of two conflicting cultures, they suffer from the self-consciousness and hypersensitivity which Stonequist associates with cultural hybrids. Category One representatives, by contrast, avoided the psychological

stress of being subject to the demands of two cultures. Their marginality, which is "restricted," stems solely from socio-economic or ideological positions in the English community.

Category Three: Simmel's "Stranger" and Mannheim's "Socially Unattached Intelligentsia" types

There are two types of Category Three individuals. One is the Simmel "stranger" who is the product of more than one culture. The other is the member of Mannheim's "socially unattached intelligentsia" who is not necessarily of dual cultural background. The Simmel/Mannheim type is marginal in that he is not integrated into any mainstream society. However, what differentiates him from the Stonequist type is that he is not "poised in psychological uncertainty between two or more social worlds, reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsion and attractions of these worlds ..." (Stonequist, p. 8). Instead, he is marked "by an attitude of objectivity, a freedom from local prejudices and values ..." (Simmel, p. 685).

These "strangers" or members of the "socially unattached intelligentsia" have been released from the domination of a particular culture or way of thinking. They are not alienated or disoriented by their lack of cultural identity as are the Category Two cultural hybrids who suffer from the marginal personality described by Stonequist. Instead, they delight in their cultural and social no-man's land which gives them the perspective to be able to perform

as the philosophers of the larger society.

These people become the key creative personalities in the contacts between the cultural and social groups of a society in flux. Of all the marginal men who are integrating into the French community, they are the most important in the development of English/French inter-group relations. In the sample, they are represented by two men. One is a cultural hybrid and from that point of view a member of Category Two and a "stranger." The other comes from a culturally homogeneous background, but is ideologically out-of-step with the English community. He falls into Category One and is a Mannheim's member of the "socially unattached intelligentsia." Both, however, have the same general approach to the overall society and the groups within it.

#### Irving M:

Origins. Irving M., 45, is a University of Montreal constitutional law professor. Like the previous two individuals described, he was brought up in the St. Urbain Street Jewish ghetto. He became involved in the French community in 1960 when he enrolled for a Master's program in English at the University of Montreal. After he graduated he entered the law faculty.

French Work Experience. In his last year he was offered a teaching position in the law faculty and has been there ever since. He says that when he started teaching in 1969, his French was poor and his students complained. He

told them he'd heard that "the French wanted the English to integrate. Why not start with me?" he said. After that, he smiled, "I got no complaints." It took him two years of teaching before he felt highly fluent in the language. He feels very comfortable in the French milieu and would not work in English institutions in Quebec.

Marginality. Of all the cultural hybrids interviewed, Irving is the most at ease in Quebec society, whether in the French, English, or Jewish communities. However, he has no strong national identity and feels detached about his position in Quebec. "I could be happy anywhere ... Boston, California ..." This year he is doing research in Aix-en-Provence in France where he feels as at home as he does in Quebec.

Irving went to English elementary and high schools but because they were located in the Jewish ghetto, he did not meet members of the traditional English community. Later, he went to Sir George Williams University at night, but did not encounter the English in the same way that Alex, Stanley and Jacob did during the day at McGill University. From Sir George Williams University, Irving jumped to the University of Montreal where he stayed, thus breaking links with the English.

English Community Attachment. Irving is related to the English-speaking group in that it provided him with his basic education. However, his experience with the English did not

produce the alienation and resentment found in the Stonequist cultural hybrids of Category Two. Irving feels connected with the English community mainly because he speaks the same language. But he has no strong feelings about the English as a group. Emotionally and culturally, he is detached and looks at the English with the objectivity of a visiting social scientist.

Unlike many of the other marginal men, particularly the last two described, Irving feels strongly about English rights. This is not because of personal attachment to the English. Rather, it comes from his civil libertarian view that sizeable minority groups have rights which must be respected. He believes in a separate English school system for mother-tongue English, as well as bilingual courts, parliament, and social and health services.

However, he agrees with the aims of Bill 101 that French be the main language of the province. Although he has publicly supported English rights in both the English and French press, he does not see eye-to-eye with the English establishment. He feels the establishment is against the spread of French in the work milieu. "Some English call me a separatist ... I'm not, but I don't care what they think."

Integration. Emotionally, Irving has more feeling for the Jewish and French communities where he lived most of his life and feels accepted and comfortable. The main



reason he likes working in French so much is "because the action is on the French side" and he wants to be part of it. He is well-integrated into the French community and has many close French-speaking friends.

Reference and Membership Groups. Irving's reference group in Quebec is a combination of French and Jewish. Unlike the Stonequist marginals described in Category Two, he does not cling to an informal reference group of marginal men like himself where he seeks solace from the warring pulls of different cultures. On the larger level, Irving's reference group goes beyond Jewish/French. His true reference group is a world of ideas that transcends culture. As a Simmel "stranger," Irving unites in his person the qualities of "nearness and remoteness, concern and indifference." This is what makes him capable of seeing all aspects of Quebec intergroup relations and of being able to arrive at creative solutions to current social problems.

Angus G:

Angus' case has already been studied in the Category One (A division). Unlike Irving, Angus comes from a culturally homogenous background and therefore has a stronger sense of cultural identity and roots. However, like Irving, his main reference group stretches beyond culture or ethnicity and reaches into the world of social criticism and ideas.

For both Angus and Irving, identification with any

single national or cultural group is weak. The trans-national world of socialism, civil rights, political development, for example, are of greater importance. It is through the prism of these orientations that both view intergroup relations in Quebec.

In this present period of polarization and political upheaval, they can do this only because as Simmel/Mannheim types, they have virtually no cultural vested interests or resentments. This breadth of vision and overall neutrality allows them to act as a valuable inter-face between English and French groups in Quebec which are in the painful process of working out fresh power relations and accommodations to fit the 1980s.

### C Concluding Remarks

These ten in-depth interviews represent three "ideal types" or "constructed types" of marginality which fall along a marginality continuum. There are the pure English marginals; the second generation immigrant anglophone marginals; and the "stranger" or "socially unattached intelligentsia" marginals.

The "types" were created from two main sources. One was the theoretical literature on marginality drawing mainly from Everett Hughes, Everett Stonequist, and George Simmel. The other was after an appraisal of the dimensions of marginality in the Montreal English community following

exploratory research which included interviews with about 50 anglophones working in French milieux in the fields of business, civil service, academia and unions.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to look at the frontiers of anglophone integration into the Montreal French-speaking milieu in the light of shifting power relations between English and French groups in Quebec. Shifting power relations refers to the gradual reversal of status positions between the English and French communities. The minority English were dominant and operated with a majority psychology, while the majority French were subdominant and behaved like a minority.

With the Quiet Revolution of the 'sixties and the rise to power of the independentist Parti Quebecois in the 'seventies, the English have been falling to a subordinate minority status level, while the French have been rising to assume a dominant majority status position.

In certain situations, people may perceive a threat to their status when objectively, a change in status relations is not taking place. In the case of the Quebec English, the group's perceptions of a drop in status was accompanied by an actual decline in status. This is reflected in many segments of Quebec life. The most noticeable is in the big business sector. Until 10 years ago, it was an almost exclusively English domain. Starting with Bill 22 and

culminating with Bill 101, language legislation was introduced to make the business sector increasingly French, not only with respect to language use, but also with respect to ethnic origin. Changes in language use have taken place and provide a basis for the perceived status drop. These changes herald later actual shifts with respect to ethnic origin.

During this period of intergroup shifts, some members of the traditionally dominant anglophone community have been transferring reference group and integrating into the traditionally subdominant French milieu. The research questions which emerged were these: Who are these anglophones? Compared to others in the English-speaking community, what makes them more prone to integrate and more capable of altering their cultural colors at this uneasy juncture of intergroup relations in the province?

In response to this, the thesis attempted to formulate and clarify a particular set of theoretical ideas regarding the movement of individuals from one socio-cultural setting to another. The theoretical framework was divided into two closely-linked parts to cover both "macro" and "micro" levels of Quebec society.

At the macro level, community conflict models were used to explain intergroup power shifts between separate national and linguistic groups living in a single society. At the micro level, reference group and marginality concepts were

employed to account for the behavior of individuals who shift from one group to another during crucial stages of inter-community power changes. Community conflict models, it should be pointed out, look at the relationship between collectivities. The link between community or group and the individual, however, must be made. The use of reference group and marginality concepts allowed the individual to be brought into play at the social level.

The first conflict model selected to explain macro shifts was drawn from an approach developed by Stanley Lieberson. It can be labelled "migrant superordination versus indigenous subordination." In "A Societal Theory of Race and Ethnic Relations," Lieberson contends that there are two major types of contact situations between different populations rubbing shoulders in the same territory.

There is, first of all, the subordination of a migrant population by an indigenous group, such as the movement of European populations to North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this case, the new arrivals -- the migrants -- were inclined to accept political, economic and social subordination by the host group. When a population migrates to such a position, their subordination is not usually converted into long-term conflict. Aspiring to a place in the host society, the migrants tend to temporarily accept their inferior status. Questions of equality here are likely to revolve around individual to the exclusion

of collective rights.

Lieberson notes that intergroup tension is more likely to develop when an indigenous group is subordinated by a migrant population. These are the ingredients of the conflict model which fits Quebec. Long-standing French settlers with their own society were subordinated by English migrants who introduced a parallel but dominant society. With this model, collective rather than individual rights take precedence. Looking at Quebec, the collective rights of the "indigenous" and subordinate French were eventually pitted against the collective position of the "migrant" and dominant English.

Lieberson comments that usually it is late in the cycle of relations between the indigenous and migrant communities that a bid for reversal of power positions take place. Through time, he says, the subordinated indigenous population begins to participate in the economy introduced by the migrant group. But as the indigenous population becomes more incorporated within the larger system, it tends to revolt against its inferior status and to demand a revision of the dominant migrant group's political, economic and social institutions.

Joshua Fishman's ideas on the politics of "diglossia," which is the use within a single society of different languages for different domains, provides a second and related conflict model to explain English/French tensions in

Quebec. To date, Quebec has suffered largely from what Fishman calls diglossia without widespread bilingualism.

Management of Quebec society was divided up both ethnically and linguistically with little overlap between the sectors. It was a society marked by "two solitudes." The minority English elite controlled the economy exclusively in the English language, while the majority French mass and elite petite bourgeoisie controlled the other less vital domains exclusively in the French language. This was an accommodation of convenience which suited the elites of both groups. The English elite maintained control over the financial domain. This allowed the church-dominated French elite to control the mass in the other domains.

Fishman observes that as long as the groups in a society experiencing diglossia without bilingualism are comfortable with their status positions, tensions are minimal. Language problems, however, often emerge when the subordinate group undergoes processes of modernization and no longer accepts exclusive control of high status domains by the dominant linguistic group.

Echoing the views of Lieberman, Fishman comments that "since few polities that exhibit diglossia without bilingualism developed out of prior socio-cultural consensus or unity, rapid educational, political or economic development experienced by the disadvantaged groups or classes is



very likely to lead to demands for secessionism or for equality for their submerged languages" (Fishman, p. 102). It was the modernizing reforms of the Quiet Revolution which allowed francophones to more clearly perceive their sub-dominant economic position vis-a-vis anglophones, thus setting up demands for independence and supremacy of the French language.

The link between the Lieberman and Fishman conflict models can be seen this way: Language became an important factor distinguishing the migrant superordinate population's domains from the indigenous/subordinate population's domains. When the indigenous subordinate population made its claim for higher status, the language of the areas it wanted to enter became an important issue in the intergroup conflict that ensued.

How do these community conflict models help in an understanding of Quebec? In this province, there are two important communities manoeuvring for status and power. This situation is unique in North America. On the rest of the continent, inter-community relations tend to be viewed more in terms of one dominant host group integrating or assimilating various immigrant groups. Integration and assimilation models are therefore appropriate. The Quebec configuration of communities demands a different approach.

Development of the macro level conflict models showing one group (the French) pitted against a second group (the

English) as modernization policies transformed French aspirations was a necessary first step in the theoretical framework of the thesis. This paved the way for the formulation of theoretical orientations at the micro level to explain the behavior of anglophones integrating into the French milieu.

It must be underlined here that English and French communities do not appear to face each other with a view to accommodation, but rather in terms of a power struggle. Members of the English-speaking group are affected by this. Those who choose to integrate into the French culture at this polarized point in English-French relations must necessarily possess special characteristics. For the English community or collectivity, these individuals could be perceived as deviant. Their deviance, which will be elaborated upon, takes socio-economic, ideological and cultural forms.

From the macro level discussion, the thesis developed a theoretical framework at the micro level to explain reference group shifts among certain anglophones who are moving from the English to the French group. This brought the discussion closer to the overall purpose of the research as initially set out, which was to look at the frontiers of anglophone integration into the Montreal French-speaking milieu.

The theoretical approach drew heavily on reference group literature which deals extensively with reference group

conflict and marginality concepts. Reference group materials emerged from the study of pluralistic multi-dimensional societies marked by the push and pull of contradictory elements. Reference group conflicts arise when one or more groups with opposing norms tug at the loyalties of an individual. When the conflicts become central to the individual's existence, the resulting situation is called "marginality."

Case studies drawn from the Montreal English community indicated that reference group shifts during the present English/French power changes are limited to anglophones who are marginal to the English-speaking group. These studies suggested that marginality among anglophones, who are shifting reference group, did not derive from the same sources and was not of equal magnitude. Therefore, using literature on reference group conflict and marginality, three "constructed types" were sketched across a continuum of marginality to explain anglophone shifts to the French milieu. The marginality concepts of four main social theorists were used in the elaboration of these types. They were Everett Hughes, Everett Stonequist, Georg Simmel and Karl Mannheim.

The first marginal type consisted of British-origin (pure English) people whose marginality is explained by what Everett Hughes calls a "status dilemma." The status dilemma of these people comes from the fact that their class or ideological stance is out-of-line with that of the

traditional English community. For example: they come from working-class families; they are Irish Catholics rather than the favored English Protestants; or they are leftists, if not Marxists, and identify with the French as an oppressed group.

Under more stabilized English/French relations, these status dilemmas would probably not result in cultural transfers. What makes for reference group shifts is that the overall stratification system, with its particular juxtaposition of English/French power domains, is under dispute in Quebec society. Because these marginal English tend to be leftist in orientation, they readily identify with French claims about English economic domination. Under these conditions, an identity crisis develops which compels them to shift reference group.

The second marginal type covered second generation immigrant anglophones who are not of British origin. This type consists of cultural hybrids, as described by Everett Stonequist. This type has always suffered from deep-set ambivalence concerning its position in the English-speaking community. Culturally, members live in a no-man's land between their ancestral ethnic group and the English community, neither of which completely accepts them. Their uncertain position in the English community allows them to more easily shift from the English to the French milieu in response to new political realities and imperatives.

The third marginal type is the Simmel "stranger" who is sufficiently disengaged from all cultures to serve as society's social critic. Members include cultural hybrids as well as British origin anglophones. This type is marginal to the English community. But unlike those covered by types one and two, the stranger's marginality is not a source of resentment. Rather, marginality gives him the broader philosophic perspectives which makes him so valuable to a society undergoing social change.

How efficacious was the marginality concept and the three constructed types in explaining the frontiers of anglophone integration into the French milieu? Given the historic high status character of Quebec's English community, marginality was perhaps the only concept which could be employed to deal with members who could break away and identify with the lower status community. Other concepts which have been used to explain transfers from one group to another focus on assimilation. This conceptual framework was rejected because the historical situation in Quebec as compared with the rest of North America is different.

In the United States and English-Canada there was one dominant group which accepted immigrants into it. By contrast, in Quebec, intergroup relations have been marked by two key groups which have been in varying relations of accommodation and conflict. Immigrants were a third force which performed different political roles according to the

power positions of the two key groups. Until the early 'sixties, they assimilated to the dominant English. Now they are turning toward the newly dominant French.

The power configurations which have marked English/French relations until the late 'sixties died hard in the minds of the English who were accustomed to dominant status. Intergroup shifts from the English to the French community have therefore been slow. The majority of the Quebec English cannot readily move from a majority group psychology to a minority group psychology in less than one generation. They cannot quickly accept the prospect of diminishing control over power levers and a general drop in status.

English-speaking people who can adapt to the shifts in power are those who have always been marginal to the central core of the English community. In changing reference group and transferring to the French community, they will again be marginal. However, marginal status is not something new for this group.

In summary, it is personalities on the periphery of the power centres of communities, social structures and groups who can change, integrate and shift allegiances. The reasons for their marginal status may be various, as I tried to illustrate through use of the three ideal marginal types. But whatever the cause of their marginality, they are the members of society who can most absorb the shocks of social change and adapt to them. These marginal men and women will

never be part of the committed cultural stream of any society, but they will be the most culturally flexible.

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