BEING FRENCH-CANADIAN
IN LÉNOY PARK,
SAINT-BENOÎT-DE-BELLEVUE
AND MARCHÉLIN, SASKATCHEWAN

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ZENON PARK, SAINT ISIDORE-DE-BELLEVUE AND MARCELIN,
SASKATCHEWAN

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By
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ABSTRACT

This study was pursued in order to determine how and to what extent a minority ethnic group, French-Canadians in Saskatchewan, could maintain its distinct culture and language in a dominant anglophone environment. Three communities were chosen for a comparative analysis: Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin.

The historical research and literature review conducted for this study revealed that French-Canadians had been struggling to maintain their rights to live and be educated in French for over one hundred years. My primary research among French-Canadians showed that many were still struggling to obtain and maintain many of those same rights. The continued presence of French in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue demonstrated the success of French-Canadians’ efforts to maintain their language. Their strategies resulted in the creation of French language institutions which served to transmit and promote the French language. In Marcelin, where these institutions did not exist, the presence of the French language was minimal and no plan to build French maintenance institutions in the future was evident.

The present study contributes to the body of literature on the French-Canadians. It provides an anthropological perspective on the strategies employed by members of the Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin communities to
maintain their ethnic identity. It utilizes a model that can be applied cross-culturally. The text presented herein reflects only a part of what it means to be French-Canadian in Saskatchewan. Further ethno-linguistic studies are warranted. In the future, it is anticipated that the study group will have more involvement in analyses of their opinions and in developing the final drafts of research reports.

It is hoped that the conclusions drawn from this research will be useful to French-Canadians in Saskatchewan.
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Problem and its Background

The position of French-Canadians within the Canadian State has been under almost continuous debate since Confederation. Over one hundred years later, the discussions persist and many of the underlying issues and tensions remain unresolved. In 1990, the Meech Lake Accord and, in 1993, the Charlottetown Accord, attempted to recognize the special status of Québec within the Canadian Constitution. Both attempts, however, failed to be ratified. During this period, Canadians, once again experienced great debates about the rights of French-Canadians (and of the First Nations and Métis Nations as well). On the Prairies, tensions developed out of the many unresolved issues that have haunted French-Canadians since the west entered Confederation. The English-speaking majority had always been ambivalent toward the local use of French. Many resented the economic, social and political advantages allegedly enjoyed by bilinguals. They also were ambivalent about sharing their national identity with French-Canadians. French-Canadians were considered by many to be an ethnic group like any other, which should not be granted special rights and privileges.

The environment for French-Canadians in the late eighties and early nineties included an equivocal status for bilingualism: there were many arguments against it but at the same time there were many in its favour. The continuation of both the
French-Canadian cultural identity and French as a domestic and community language in Saskatchewan seemed to be linked inextricably with the national issues of bilingualism and the rights of French-Canadians. It was within this setting that the following study of French-Canadian ethnic identity maintenance mechanisms in Saskatchewan was conceived and developed.

**Being French-Canadian in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin, Saskatchewan** is a consideration of the mechanisms French-Canadians have put into place to maintain their French-Canadian identity. The theoretical paradigm ordering this work arises out of Fredrik Barth's model concerned with ethnic boundary maintenance mechanisms and Raymond Breton's institutional completeness model. Barth presents the reflective characteristics of ethnicity. The ethnic group requires an other to reflect its distinctiveness. It provides membership criteria that enable members to identify themselves with the group. The criteria must be visible to non-members as well. He also considers ethnicity to be flexible because ethnic group boundaries are permeable. Members can cross the boundaries and return to their groups. Constant identification as an ethnic group member is not necessary.

Breton looks at the institutions necessary to maintain those boundaries between ethnic group members and non-members. These can be as simple as institutions that are linked to the promotion of group identification and as complex as the development of social, political and economic support institutions.

The concept of ethnicity used in this study is derived from Barth. It is viewed as that which signals the attributes and activities of a group of people whose members have common ancestral origins, share a culture and a language and maintain
membership criteria. The ethnic group is defined as having a dialectic relationship with other groups. Successful interaction and ethnic group stability necessitate flexible boundaries.

My focus is on the subjective perceptions of identity and the corresponding maintenance strategies. As often as was possible within the text of the thesis, the respondents’ exact words were used to set forth their views. The opinions of the respondents from three different communities were contrasted to highlight the existence, importance and success of the French-Canadian ethnic boundary maintenance strategies.

Language became the focal point of the study because it was stressed by respondents, and was identified as crucial in the existing studies of Saskatchewan francophones. The questions used in the formal and short interviews, therefore, concentrated on language use and maintenance strategies and how they tied into the French-Canadian identity. The insider view of French-Canadian identity is provided through the reproduction of the research participants’ responses.

The circumstances in each of the communities were open and conducive the investigation. The majority of the people interviewed were ready and willing to discuss language issues and because of the political atmosphere that challenged French-Canadian rights, they manifested an immediate, personal interest in the outcome of the project as well.

The study presents the reader with the methodology employed and reviews the literature pertinent to the research problem. A chapter describing the historical processes undergone by French-Canadians in Saskatchewan provides the essential
context for contemporary French-Canadian ethnic boundary maintenance strategies. Selected opinions from most of the participants and many of my field observations are presented and interpreted in chapter five. The supporting quotations from respondents were subject to selection based on the theoretical framework employed. However, they provide a glimpse into the French-Canadian reality in these three communities. The data are analyzed in chapter six, entitled "Analytical Discussion." This chapter was separated from the presentation of the respondents' views to ensure that my analysis and their views were not mixed. The final chapter demonstrates specific conclusions in light of the conceptual framework employed.

The present study reflects a small part of the French-Canadian culture in Saskatchewan. More such studies are needed and will likely be pursued in the near future. The conclusions generated in chapter seven should also identify trends in similar communities in Western Canada.

1.1 Research Population

In 1991, the year I conducted the fieldwork portion of this study, people of French origins in Saskatchewan numbered approximately 30,070 (Statistics Canada 1991a:13); three thousand five hundred less than in 1986 (Statistics Canada 1986a:1-2). The total Saskatchewan population decreased from 1,009,613 to 976,040 between 1986 and 1991; over thirty-three thousand five hundred people (Statistics

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1 Please refer to Anderson's Ethnic Identity Retention in Francophone Communities in Saskatchewan: A Sociological Survey (1985b) and Yves Larochelle's The Francophone Community of Saskatchewan: A Socio-Demographic Profile in 60 Tables (1991) for extensive historical comparisons of French-Canadian demographics.

The drop in Saskatchewan’s French-Canadian population did not mirror that of the total population in the province. It appears that more French-Canadians than non-French-Canadians remained in Saskatchewan between 1986 and 1991. The birth rate among French-Canadians, according to Yves Larochelle, in The Francophone Community of Saskatchewan: A Socio-Demographic Profile in 60 Tables, was also higher than that of the rest of the population (1991:76). The decrease in French mother-tongue speakers was significantly less than the drop in French-Canadian population. It could be stated, then, that French as a mother-tongue increased among French-Canadians in Saskatchewan between 1986 and 1991.

The Village of Zenon Park consisted of approximately two hundred and fifty-four people in 1991 (Statistics Canada 1991c:362). The parish, on the other hand, included about four hundred members, according to respondents. Based on Statistics Canada data, sixty percent of the people from the Village had French as a mother-tongue, ten percent listed both English and French as mother-tongues while twenty-seven said English and three percent were listed as "other" (Statistics Canada 1991c:362). A small minority of the total population, three percent, in Zenon Park listed French as their sole home language, while one hundred and seventy-five used both French and English in the home (Statistics Canada 1991d:586). According to respondents, the primary ethnic group was French-Canadian. There were bilingual
Hungarians (possibly multi-lingual), anglophones of European descent and some non-francophone Asians.

Statistics Canada did not provide data for the Hamlet of St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. St. Isidore-de-Bellevue is situated within the rural municipality of St. Louis where the majority of residents are French-Canadian and French Métis. About one fifth of the rural municipality’s population is from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. To attempt to draw inferences from the statistics based on 20% would be misleading. Instead, a community profile developed by the Association Culturel de Bellevue (ACB) was relied on for this information. In May of 1989, the population of the parish was estimated at four hundred and twenty-five, ninety-five percent of whom were francophones (Association Culturel de Bellevue 1991:4). They stated that ninety-five percent of the people spoke French and the other five knew only English. Everyone I interviewed was able to speak both French and English. The elderly population, though, had more difficulty with the English language. It is likely that less than ninety-five percent of the population had French as a mother-tongue in light of the number of young parents who said they were not using French in the home with their children. I observed the ethnic make-up as being primarily French-Canadian with a few anglophone European descendants and some French Métis.

Of the one hundred and ninety-three people living in Marcelin, forty indicated they spoke French, seventy-percent said English was their main language and half of one percent spoke other languages (Statistics Canada 1991c:405). Five stated they learned both English and French as mother-tongues (Statistics Canada 1991c:405). A small minority used both English and French in the home while the majority
employed English (Statistics Canada 1991d:656). None were unilingually francophones (Statistics Canada 1991d:656).

Although the decline of the French-Canadian population in Saskatchewan did not mirror that of the provincial population between 1986 and 1991, it decreased between 1951 and 1986 (Larochelle 1991:76). This decline continued to 1991. The geographical concentrations did not change significantly. The dispersed French-Canadian communities are concentrated in the south and the central regions of the province. Their primary industries are in the agricultural sector. Because of this, French-Canadians earn less income on average than do non-francophones (Larochelle 1991:77).

The French-Canadian cultural presence in Saskatchewan cannot be summed up briefly with any degree of accuracy. It has elements in common with the French-Canadian culture elsewhere in Canada but also has characteristics which set it apart. The focus of this study is on French-Canadian perceptions of their ethnic identity and their use of institutions and other strategies to maintain the integrity of their ethnicity. It gives a voice to French-Canadians so that they can express to us what it means to be French-Canadian in Saskatchewan.
Legend

- STUDY COMMUNITIES
- SELECTED COMMUNITIES MENTIONED IN THE TEXT
- Urban Centres

Figure 1.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

The dominant themes in the theoretical discussion of ethnicity are maintenance of ethnic identity, membership criteria, formal and informal structures of ethnic social organization, institutional completeness, historical change, the symbolic order, ecological conditions and ethnic group interaction. Raymond Breton’s institutional completeness model and Fredrik Barth’s ethnic boundary maintenance mechanisms model formed the basis for the literature reviewed here. The conceptual framework used in the current study grew out of the models of Breton and Barth.

Breton and Barth were primarily concerned with ethnic-based action. Although their approach emphasized the versatility of ethnic groups, they overlooked the need to define ethnic identity as a pre-requisite of ethnic-based action. Those who advocated a synthesis between ideological and circumstantialist paradigms are also reviewed in here and support the method I used in this study.

2.1 Theoretical Discussions of Ethnicity

Raymond Breton considered the maintenance of ethnic identities among thirty ethnic immigrant groups in Montréal in "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants" (1964). He suggested that informal structures of ethnic social organization could consist simply of membership ascription. Members joined networks and developed interpersonal relationships with
others from their group (1964:194). A more formal network of institutions could also be developed:

Some have organized welfare and mutual aid societies. Some operate their own radio station or publish their own newspapers and periodicals. The community may also sustain a number of commercial and service organizations. Finally, it may have its own churches and sometimes its own schools (Breton 1964:194).

The development of ethnic-based organizations was seen as a means to protect the ethnic group from assimilative forces by decreasing the need for interaction with non-members.

In 1969, Fredrik Barth's "Introduction" in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, was a significant addition to the concept of ethnicity in that it considered individuals' capacity to draw upon their ethnic identity to function under changing circumstances. He stated that individuals had the choice to interact with non-members and could cross "ethnic boundaries" without risking the stability of the ethnic group (1969:15). This applied only in situations where individuals could hide their ethnic identity and produce the membership emblems required by the other. These emblems can be "overt signals or signs... and basic value orientations" (Barth 1969:14). He considered the importance of understanding ethnic groups' social constitution and their corresponding boundaries rather than solely their cultural traits. Social interaction and mobility, Barth stated, "are often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built" (1969:9-10). Prior to his pioneering work, much anthropological and sociological research tended toward the building of trait inventories and comparing cultural differences based on those traits (Barth 1969:9). Researchers did not look at inter-relationships between cultures because they regarded cultures as
isolates. It was felt that once interaction began, acculturation and assimilation were inevitable.

Identification of ethnic groups by their morphological aspects alone entailed "a prejudged viewpoint both on 1) the nature of continuity in time of such units, and 2) the locus of the factors which determine the form of the units" (Barth 1969:12). Researchers hastened to document what they judged to be dying cultures. Barth considered how distinct cultural attributes persisted despite contact (1969:10).

According to Barth, the standard anthropological definition of ethnicity tends to include the following:

- [an ethnic group] a) is largely biologically self-perpetuating; b) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; c) makes up a field of communication and interaction; d) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order (1969:11).

Although Barth does not have a quarrel with these characteristics, he is concerned that they do not explain ethnic group structure and function because they emphasize isolated group development. Barth contended that groups develop in a dialectical relationship with others. They develop boundaries to signify their group, distinguishing its members from others (Barth 1969:10-11). Interaction is necessary for boundaries and membership criteria. The ascriptive and adaptive nature of his definition allowed for continuity and transformation through the maintenance of ethnic group boundaries. The main boundary was group differentiation:

The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change - yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between members and outsiders allows us to
specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content (Barth 1969:14).

The fact that people successfully maintained their ethnic identity when they interacted with others necessitated criteria for membership. It also meant that there had to be mechanisms for the exclusion of parts of the culture from outsiders (Barth 1969:15-16). With insulated boundaries, symbiotic cultural groups interacted upon ethnic lines while many of their distinguishing cultural traits changed. The propensity to change "does not correlate in any simple way with a reduction in the organizational relevance of ethnic identities, or a breakdown in boundary-maintaining processes" (Barth 1969:33).

Individuals had the choice to identify with their ethnic group or not. Barth listed the strategies most ethnic group members who have choices engaged in for survival. According to Barth,

(i) they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group; (ii) they may accept a ‘minority’ status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differentiae in sectors of non-articulation, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized group in the other sectors of activity; (iii) they may choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes (1969:33).

Syncretism of some form is usually favoured, although a selection of traditions might be revived in order to overtly celebrate the group’s ethnicity. Barth’s model was flexible: it allowed for descriptions of ethnic groups as units of continuity and change (1969:35-38).
In 1970, Stanley Lieberson conducted a study among French-Canadians entitled *Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Evidence from his study determined a link between the maintenance of a distinct mother-tongue and ethnic group preservation (1970:6). Loss of a unique language, however, did not entail loss of a group’s ethnic identity (Lieberson 1970:240). Lieberson’s conclusions support Barth’s theory that features of a culture could change, while the ethnic group remained, even when the trait undergoing change is as significant as language. However, if the ethnic group identifies itself by its language, loss of that language could lead to the termination of the group.

A good example of the use of Barth’s ethnic boundary maintenance model was demonstrated by Michael M. Horowitz in "Ethnic Boundary Maintenance among Pastoralists and Farmers in the Western Sudan (Niger)" (1972). Systems maintenance of ethnic division of labour among the Manga, Wodaabe and Muslim Fulani were examined in light of their cultural, rather than solely ecological, commitments to either pastoralism or farming (Horowitz 1972:105). Membership in a particular ethnic group included, according to Horowitz, "a set of behavioural standards which affect the choices an individual makes, and tend to support customary ways of acting" (1972:113). It was through these customary ways of acting that the Manga, Wodaabe and Muslim Fulani lived in the same region, exploited different resources and maintained their distinctive identities (Horowitz 1972:114).

Fredrik Barth’s definition of ethnicity included the propagation of the ethnic group (1969:11). Akemi Kikumura and Harry H. L. Kitano in "Interracial Marriage: A Picture of the Japanese Americans" (1973) and John N. Tinker in "Intermarriage
and Ethnic Boundaries: The Japanese American Case" (1973), explored ethnic endogamy as an integral factor in maintaining ethnic identity. Kikumura and Kitano stated that endogamy was on the decline due to territorial distribution and opportunity for contact, less racism and less sexism (1973:72,77). Tinker also concluded that the boundary between ethnic groups was fading in the seventies. In exogamous relationships, socialization of children became a determining factor in ethnic maintenance strategies (Tinker 1973:50).

In "Barbers and Bearers: Ecology and Ethnicity in an Islamic Society," Michael M. Horowitz again applied Barth's theory of boundary maintenance introduced in 1969 (1974). Horowitz stated that the behavioural character of the ethnic group must be revealed in multi-ethnic interaction. He referred to Barth when asserting that ethnicity was maintained by mobility, contact and information exchange (1974:371). This suggested that there had to be a delineation between members and non-members for ethnic groups to exist. Leo Driedger reflected the need to develop ethnic institutions for members in order to maintain group distinctiveness, in "Residential Segregation and Institutional Completeness: A Comparison of Ethnic Minorities" (1974). He applied Breton’s institutional completeness model and stated that ethnic-based institutions reflected the sentiments and symbolism of a group’s solidarity (1974:32). Also, John Jackson applied Breton’s model in Community Conflict: A Study of French-English Relations in Ontario, adding that culturally-based institutions kept social relations within a boundary (1975:58). This suggested that organizations such as French cultural centres, Caisse Populaires and francophone schools could be considered as contributing to ethnic boundary maintenance strategies.
The relationships between ethnic groups in a pluralistic society were studied by Frank Salamone in "Becoming Hausa: Ethnic Identity Change and Its Implications for the Study of Ethnic Pluralism and Ethnic Stratification" (1975). Salamone, in concurrence with Barth, dismissed the practice of studying ethnic groups as isolates because it overlooked the potential for investigating the factors responsible for both permanence and change (1975:410). As had Barth, Salamone expounded on the interactive nature of ethnic groups: "Ethnic boundaries are permeable, and people, sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, cross them" (1975:410). Ethnic groups continually defined themselves because of interactions with non-members, thereby easing tensions that arose out of contact (Salamone 1975:410). Salamone stated that "ethnicity is a principle of organization that cross-cuts all other ties within a group" (1975:422). In a pluralistic society, the ethnic group was an organized political group (Salamone 1975:422) and provided its members and non-members with the rules of social and economic transactions, thereby superseding class distinctions. Members used their ethnicity "to achieve particular goals," explained Salamone (1975:410). Those individuals who changed ethnic identity, he added, likely benefited from doing so (1975:422).

Daniel Bell’s "Ethnicity and Social Change" added to the discussion of the effective quality of ethnic identification (1975:142). Ethnic identity and ethnic group membership were different. According to Bell, ethnic identity was psychological and consisted of individual motivation whereas ethnic group membership categorized one sociologically (1975:155). Ethnicity, therefore, was ideological, providing the individual with communal and cultural ties. Bell was in agreement with Salamone
regarding the usefulness of ethnicity: in a society where there is competition for social, moral and material values, ethnicity became a way to claim a place or advantage (Bell 1975:169). Bell provided three reasons for the upsurge of ethnic identification in the United States during the 1970s: 1) bigger environment: people wanted to belong to smaller units; 2) breakup of traditional authority: ethnic attachment replaced it; 3) politicization of decisions: ethnic grouping was a way of demanding group rights and defending the members from non-members (1975:171). Primordial attachments provided individuals with a very practical solution to a changing society where alienation and anomie were a reality for many people.

In *Interethnic Relations: An Essay in Sociological Definition of Ethnicity Theory*, E.K. Francis considered the social definition of group cohesion (1976). People understood that they belonged together because of a belief in common ancestral ties. This belief, according to Francis, provided them with a sense of identity from which individuals acquired sentiments of solidarity (1976:17). In situations of contrastive ethnic relations, ethnicity is a principle of organization and is salient in social action (Francis 1976:382). The definition of ethnicity and model for ethnographic description provided by Barth in 1969 is complemented by Francis’ focus on ancestral attachments and ethnic group organization when discussing ethnicity theory.

Raymond Breton applied his 1964 institutional completeness model in "Stratification and Conflict Between Ethnolinguistic Communities with Different Social Structures" to discuss ethnic parallelism and social stratification in a pluralistic society (1978). He stated that "a critical dimension of ethnic differentiation has to do
with the extent to which the ethnic communities have parallel social networks and institutions" (1978:149). Breton introduced the terms "enclosure" and "compartmentalization": enclosure referred to the structure of social boundaries erected and maintained between groups, whereas compartmentalization described the related institutions erected to maintain internal ethnic social networks and boundaries (1978:149). One of the main symbols of parallel institutions was a distinct language. Language was considered by Breton "as a symbol of identification and as an instrument of communication. Under social and institutional parallelism along linguistic lines, the latter aspect appears more critical than the first" (1978:151).

Upon completing the building of parallel institutional structures, conflict usually arose as communities competed for power (Breton 1978:153). Linguistic institutions were high on Breton's list of parallel structures. He noted that since language was an instrument of institutional control, whoever had the authority to create language legislation had ascendency (1978:153).

In "Ethnic Identity in Historical Perspective: The Case of Igbo Migrants in Jos, Nigeria," Mark Anikpo suggested a diachronic approach to studying ethnic phenomena (1979). As had Barth, Anikpo defined ethnic groups as biologically self-perpetuating, sharing common values, having a network of communication and interaction and sustaining criteria for membership (1979:21). He added that the historical experiences of change were reinforced by group membership (1979:21). Activities became symbols representing the identity of a group and their value orientations that enabled others to stereotype that group (1979:23). Anikpo wrote:
[Ethnicity] is that universal tendency to associate on the basis of primordial identities acquired by an awareness of a people [of] their cultural distinctiveness and reinforced by their common historical experiences as a people irrespective of its salience in economic and political competitions, or of the particular institutional symbols and strategies adopted by any group at any particular time and place (1979:31).

By looking at a group's representation of itself, its activities and symbols, Anikpo determined how ethnic groups were able to remain distinct units, regardless of changing ecological circumstances and symbolic transformations. There is a long tradition of oral narration among many groups. Consideration of these accounts in the presentation of a culture will provide invaluable information about the historical processes of the ethnic group.

The definition of ethnic groups, as used by Barth and Anikpo, was expanded by Kathryn Molohon, Richard Paton and Michael Lambart in "An Extension of Barth's Concept of Ethnic Boundaries to Include Both Other Groups and Developmental Stage of Ethnic Groups" (1979). Group strategies for maintenance of ethnic identity acted as boundary markers bringing about community closure (Molohon, Paton and Lambart 1979:6). Boundaries were affected by membership integration and non-member differentiation (Molohon, Paton and Lambart 1979:2). The boundaries were strengthened by standardization as well as ascribed characteristics such as physical type, common culture, history, customs, religion and social organizations (Molohon, Paton and Lambart 1979:6). Enclosing an ethnic community ensured its survival, especially in times of intense competition and urban sprawl (Molohon, Paton and Lambart 1979:15). Boundaries, they said, met internal and external needs to identify units maintaining reciprocal relationships (1979:8). Looking at the boundaries erected
by ethnic groups, according to Molohon, Paton and Lambart, was a beneficial way of studying ethnicity rather than listing the cultural features that objectively identified them (1979:7).

The social organization of boundaries was investigated also by Beverly Nagel Lauwagie in "Ethnic Boundaries in Modern States: Romano Lavo-Lil Revisited" (1979). Relying on Barth's ecological model, Lauwagie investigated the persistence of the Rom ethnic group in changing ecological conditions (1979:318). The identity of the ethnic group remained fixed while it changed its traditional cultural norms to meet changes in the group's immediate environment (Lauwagie 1979:312). In accordance with Barth's discussion of the permeability of ethnic group boundaries, Lauwagie stated that,

because socially relevant factors become the criteria for determining membership, individuals can shift membership from one ethnic group to another, again with no change in the ethnic group's boundary (1979:312).

Lauwagie concluded that ethnic boundaries and culture content were independent of each other. Also, when ethnic group identifiers and group membership criteria changed, existence of the ethnic group was not necessarily challenged. Lauwagie's treatment of ethnic groups essentially views them as adaptive units. During "modernization" the ethnic group that succeeds at maintaining its boundary, and ultimately remains distinct, employs a variety of strategies that enable it to grow and adapt to the new situation (1979:335). Lauwagie's conclusion suggests that if the ethnic group does not react to a challenging situation by using ethnic boundary maintenance strategies it will disappear. Lauwagie only gave attention, however, to the "ecological model of ethnic boundary maintenance" (1979:336). She did not
consider the intensity of the ethnic group’s ideological influences, such as ancestral ties to the land and common cultural origins among members.

In "Jewish Identity: The Maintenance of Urban Religious and Ethnic Boundaries," Leo Driedger, unlike Lauwagie, considered the institutions, enclave boundaries and symbolic means of identification in analyzing ethnic institutional completeness of Jews in Winnipeg (1980:67). Driedger confirmed Breton’s theory that the need to interact with outsiders decreased when an ethnic group had institutional support (1980:78). This entailed the creation of ethnic group membership criteria and boundaries. Symbols that are manifestations of ethnicity can be used to identify members. Both members and non-members have to recognize a certain number of symbols and behaviours so that they can in turn identify one another. Driedger’s conclusions about the permeability of boundaries and stability of membership categories concurs with Barth’s analysis of ethnic groups (1980:86).

Anya Peterson Royce’s Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity investigated the subjective feelings of group attachment and the interactive aspects of the ethnic group. She stated that "Ethnic identity is one of many identities available to people; it is developed, displayed, manipulated, or ignored in accordance with the demands of particular situations" (1982:1). Royce agreed with Barth that ethnic groups were flexible entities: evidence of this was seen in their ethnic symbols and boundary maintaining behaviour (1982:18). Ethnicity was divided along a continuum between the individual and institutions. She determined that the ethnic group was an institution because it was a referent (1982:6). The referent ethnic group was,
invoked by people who share a common historical style (which may be only assumed), based on overt features and values, and who, through the process of interaction with others, identify themselves as sharing that style (Royce 1982:18).

Ethnic identity itself was considered the main boundary marker because contact was a prerequisite for the relevancy of that ethnicity (Royce 1982:108). Overt cultural attributes and the values of a culture could be invoked to draw the ethnicity boundary.

The contrastive character of ethnic groups is illuminated by Royce’s discussion. It is highly unlikely that an isolated group (if such were to exist) would have need for ethnic-based action. Royce’s examination of the persistence of ethnicity coincided with Barth’s method of referring to cultural symbols and boundary organizations. The maintenance of boundaries required a display of markers, symbolic or behavioural, and symbols and behaviour needed to reflect boundaries which, in turn, gave symbols meaning (1982:7).

George De Vos and Lola Romanucci-Ross, editors of *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change*, studied ethnicity within a definition that took both psychological and social levels of ethnicity into account (1982:ix). They analyzed the experiences of individuals and their behaviour in situations concerned with ethnic-based action. Ethnicity is defined by De Vos and Romanucci-Ross as being at,

a social structural level; second, as a pattern of social interaction; third, as a subjective experience of identity; and fourth, as expressed in relatively fixed patterns of behavior and expressive emotional styles (1982:xi).

Ethnic-based action was not only adaptive to objective circumstances and guided by communal behaviour but also affected by individual personalities (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1982:xi). "An ethnic group," they stated, "is a self-perceived group
of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact" (1982:9). It is important to understand both the ideological and ecological aspects of ethnic groups. Like Barth, De Vos and Romanucci-Ross also considered ethnic identity to be a useful tool members could use to gain advantages or discard to make other gains (1982:10).

They listed the "aesthetic cultural patterns" used to identify a group, such as "tastes in food, dance traditions, styles of clothing, and definitions of physical beauty" (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1982:15). Language was usually cited by groups as a cultural emblem but, DeVos and Romanucci-Ross added, "ethnicity is frequently related more to the symbol of a separate language than to its actual use by all members of a group" (1982:15). Language in these cases is not the main criterion for group membership. They discuss further the importance of language, dialects and accents in cultural formation and identity maintenance. Yet, a group's ethnic identity consisted of actual and emblematic use of cultural features, they argued (1982:16). Emblematic usage existed to exhibit membership to outsiders but did not necessarily define group membership from within (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1982:16), thus suggesting that ethnic identity was contrastive. Ethnic-based behaviour tended to be exaggerated during interaction with non-members, but was not necessarily activated at home with other members of the group (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross 1982:53). A language that differed from the other groups could be used in these situations, as could the use of an accent that demonstrated linguistic variation.

Gerald Berreman, in "Bazar Behavior: Social Identity and Social Interaction in Urban India," concurred with De Vos and Romanucci-Ross regarding the shared self-
perception aspect of identity: "Ethnicity, like all aspects of social identity, is manifest both as that which is subjectively claimed and as that which is socially accorded" (Berreman 1982:71). Berreman emphasized the importance of reactions to ethnic behaviour (1982:71), necessitating consideration of ethnicity at the boundaries between members and non-members.

In Theory of Ethnicity: An Anthropologist's Perspective, Ronald A. Reminick explored ethnic identity at both social and psychological levels (1983:26). Ethnocentrism was the technical term he used to describe the "we-feeling" of ethnic groups and their consequent exclusion of others (1983:7). The security generated by ethnocentrism, he claimed, "generates one of the more powerful boundary-maintaining mechanisms for one's ethnic culture and identity" (1983:7). Ethnic group membership was the fundamental aspect of ethnic persistence. Reminick concluded that "Ethnicity can be seen as a highly structured, multi-level human phenomenon with multi-functional significance" (1983:63).

As stated earlier by Royce, stereotyping was a result of perceptions. Sandra Schultz in "Boundary Maintenance through Ethnic Stereotyping: A Study of Greek-American Attitudes" suggested that if the attitudes or perceptions of one group towards members of another group were analyzed, the presence of ethnic boundaries would be revealed (1984:349). An examination of the stereotypes people had of themselves might also reveal the ethnic boundaries they built around themselves.

He utilized Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann’s *Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (1967), as his basis for determining the dangers of anomie and alienation if the self was not recognized in the symbolic order. Language, Breton contended, was a component of that order. Changes to linguistic environments would be more resisted because of the symbolic nature of language than would be changes to the material order (Breton 1984:125-126). The symbolic and material orders of our world were equally real, he stated, and both must be presented equally when reflecting the structures of groups (Breton 1984:136). His article exposed the lack of attention paid by other academics to the cultural-symbolic aspects of group interaction:

> Without taking it [cultural-symbolic aspects] into account, we will overlook an important dimension of the dynamics of language and ethnicity and of the related institutional policies and practices (1984:138).

Twenty years after presenting his institutional completeness model, Breton provided an important addition by identifying the importance of the symbolic aspects in ethnic institutional development. This process led him out of the assimilationist trap of his earlier theoretical approach.

In *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations*, Harald Haarmann used language as the key factor in examining interethnic relations (1986:2). When studying language in ethnicity all variables affecting the ethnic group had to be considered because language established the links between members and others. The variables listed by Haarmann were: ethnodemographic, ethnosophiological, ethnopolitical, ethnocultural, ethnopsychological, interactional and ethnolinguistic (1986:6-7). He stated that language is important but warned sociolinguists against
establishing it as a central factor in ethnicity because of the variability of ethnic
groups’ environments. The importance given to language by ethnic groups
determined the role of language in maintaining ethnicity (Haarmann 1986:257-258).
Haarmann claimed that language was a function of ethnic boundary marking but was
not crucial to the ethnic group’s development (1986:260-261).

considered it a given that where ethnic group boundaries existed there were
mechanisms to maintain them. As did Barth in 1969, Nash described the boundary
maintenance mechanisms as cultural markers that differentiated groups. These
markers, which Nash termed "index features," had to be visible to both members and
non-members (1989:10). He listed kinship, commensality and a common culture as
creating a whole: "This trinity of boundary markers and mechanisms is the deep or
basic structure of ethnic group differentiation" (1989:11). A group had to celebrate
its difference at least once a year to be viable. In other words, demarcation of an
ethnic group had to occur regularly, even if only annually. The other side of the
ethnic-based action continuum was total community closure and the protection of the

In the study of ethnic change, Adeline Becker, in "The Role of the School in the
Maintenance and Change of Ethnic Group Affiliation," (1990) surveyed fixed
attributes as well as cognitive experiences. Her emphasis on both the structural and
symbolic aspects of ethnicity provided Becker with depth to her study. She saw
ethnicity as one of many strategies available to individuals, indicating membership
The variety of ways the ethnic community could be examined was comprehensively summarized by Raymond Breton in The Governance of Ethnic Communities: Political Structures and Processes in Canada:

as a network of interpersonal relations and of mutual assistance; as a set of institutions to meet the various needs of group members; as a system of social classes; as a microeconomy with enterprises, a labor market, a clientele for commodities and services, and sources of capital. It [ethnicity] can also be approached as a cultural entity that provides a framework for individual identities, means for cultural expression and development, and mechanisms for the transmission of the group's cultural heritage (1991:1).

The intent of his book was to analyze ethnic group governance in Canada. He employed both primordial and circumstantialist arguments and listed social boundaries as the results of the interactive character of ethnic groups (1991:7). His sophisticated framework considered all the sets of forces that shaped the collective identity: internal development; external relationships; and place in encapsulating society and international order (1991:159). As with Becker's study, Breton's analytical depth left little unconsidered.

Michael Rosenberg, in "Institutional Completeness, Ethnic Organizational Style and the Role of the State: the Jewish, Italian and Greek Communities of Montreal," considered Breton's institutional completeness model to have been germinal. Rosenberg criticized the model adding that it overlooked the possibility that ethnic institutions may have been "a mode of participation in Canadian social, economic, and political life" rather than simply parallel organizations (1992:267). Over the past thirty years, he claimed, analyses of ethnic groups were assimilationist. They have shifted now to "questions concerning social or cultural boundary maintenance and the persistence of cultural differences in the analyses of ethnic group relations."
(Rosenberg 1992:267-268). Researchers must now include questions about the underlying processes involved in ethnic group development and the forms they take. Ethnicity was a form of collective organization, it would follow then that ethnicity was used as a focal point for community mobilization and maintenance (Rosenberg 1992:269-270). Breton's work in 1991 took these questions into consideration.

Institutional completeness in the form of ethnic-based action, is closely linked to community closure. A study of the processes involved in ethnic enclosure through the organization of institutions could provide an understanding of ethnicity as long as the subjective characteristics of the ethnic group are included. Many theorists are again tending toward studying the processes of ethnic group social organization without due attention to the ideological basis for initial group creation. Back in 1985, Yuen-Fong Woon, in "Ethnic Identity and Ethnic Boundaries: the Sino-Vietnamese in Victoria, British-Columbia," suggested that both the primordial, or ideological, and circumstantialist paradigms were beneficial in analyzing ethnicity. "The primordial approach uses historical and psychological explanations to interpret the phenomenon of ethnic identity and ethnic group boundary maintenance," whereas academics approaching ethnicity from a circumstantialist framework concentrated "on the prevailing ecological, social, economic, and political conditions to structurally explain the origin and persistence of ethnic identity and ethnic group boundary maintenance" (Woon 1985:535, 536).

If the researchers of the nineties are studying underlying social processes alone, a return to assimilatistionist conclusions will be inevitable. The ideological and circumstantialist frameworks should not be considered in contrast to each other, as
some of the discussions above do. The approaches have to be synthesized in order to provide a holistic view of ethnicity. Such a synthesis is attempted in the current study by employing Breton’s institutional completeness model and Barth’s boundary maintenance model in concert with the respondents’ subjective notions of ethnicity and ethnic-based action. This method is supported by such authors as Bell, Royce, DeVos, Romanucci-Ross, Woon and later work by Breton.

2.2 Community and Rural Depopulation Studies

The question of whether to study the ethnic group from social, cultural and psychological perspectives or as a unit affected by external factors alone has also been debated in the literature. The debate surrounded the consideration of the community as an isolate or as a functioning and dependent part of the urban society.

Dichotomous concepts such as gemeinschaft-gesellschaft, localism-cosmopolitanism, community-society, and horizontal-vertical also inspired debates. The terms reflected community and society as binary opposites rather than complementary and mutually determining entities. For example, the terms gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, coined by Ferdinand Tönnies in 1887, corresponded to various types of social organizations as well as "a predominant occupation and a dominating tendency in intellectual life" (Tönnies 1973:61). According to Tönnies,

Gemeinschaft is related to family life and harmony with a household economy; rural village life with folkways, mores and an agriculture based on cooperation and custom; and town life and religion with a tendency toward a union of artistic wills.

Gesellschaft, on the other hand, incorporates city life and convention relying on trade based on commerce and contracts; national life regulated by legislation and an industry based on capital and labour; and the
cosmopolitan life as part of public life that is based on science as part of public opinion (1973:61).

These issues now appear to be dead. The dialectical nature of communities is accepted as the common academic premise for research. However, some of these studies bear discussion because they helped to form the modern sociological understanding of community. They also paralleled much of what was going on in ethnicity research.

By the late 1950s through to the 1970s, community studies were largely concerned with the rural-urban dichotomy. Academics elevated the community as a pristine location that was in flux as a result of external forces. The community was a valuable unit of study because it was considered to be a reflection of the bigger urban centres. The community was described as a structure functioning to serve the needs of urban centres.

As with ethnic group research, studies of the allegedly dying community were hurried. Academics were concerned that if they did not study the small communities, there would soon be none to investigate. The community, however, did not die precisely because it was never a pristine isolate and because it had, and has, a self-sustaining rationale for existence independent of urban society.

Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman in Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community, introduce their study by stating that the community is an isolate where information about society in general can be found:

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2 The "community" was referred to as "rural" as opposed to "urban". This suggested that communities did not exist in the urban locale.
This study views the community as a limited and finite universe in which one can examine in detail some of the major issues of modern American society. The dynamics of these major issues, then, can be placed under a microscope in the setting of one rural community (1958:vii).

They looked at the relationships between public life and an individual's private life. Springdale, as they saw it, was a community in constant conflict. Residents had no control over their objective reality and were "unwilling to recognize the defeat of their values, their personal impotence in the face of larger events and any failure in their way of life" (Vidich and Bensman 1958:314). The authors suggested that the members of the community unconsciously applied strategies to meet the demands of a changing society, resulting in some revitalized traditions and some behavioural modifications (1958:314). Because members did not overtly discuss their adaptations to change, Vidich and Bensman judged them unwilling to recognize that they had employed strategies to meet changing circumstances. Members likely chose not to overtly discuss the changes because they were an accepted aspect of their culture and not, as the authors suggested, because they were avoiding recognition that their values had been defeated. Vidich and Bensman did provide an in-depth description of a rural community, albeit from a paternalistic viewpoint. It is not, however, representative of mass society in America. A "microscopic" consideration of one community does not necessarily provide information about the structures of another. Indeed, they were not interested in the community itself but what it represented in terms of society in general.

As early as 1960, Maurice Stein, in The Eclipse of the Community: An Interpretation of American Studies, called into question the relevancy of using a
community to generalize about another location (1960:94). He challenged the isolationist view by including in his investigations the effects individuals had on their surroundings (1960:99-106). He stated that "every community can be viewed as an organized system standing in a determinate relationship to its environment" (1960:100-101). Stein appears to be suggesting that the community and the environment stand in a mutually determining association. Good community studies, he stated, are "transitional processes" themselves (1960:99). Stein's view challenges Vidich and Bensman's idea of the community as having no control over whether to embrace change, adapt it or resist it.

Two years later, Jessie Bernard reverted to a purely circumstantialist paradigm in The Sociology of Community (1962:1). She studied the community as an ecological organization with structural systems of power and concentrated on its capitalist and functionalist aspects in contrast with mass society (1962:2). She referred to the community as a form of gemeinschaft because it emphasized primordial attachments to a locale and social interaction (1962:3). Gesellschaft, she stated, was a paradigm of change in the form of urbanization and industrialization (1962:120), suggesting that the community could not maintain its gemeinschaft nature while immersed in capitalist ventures involving industrialization. To the author, small communities had to become like the industrialized society in order to participate in it. She did not take into consideration that such characteristics as ethnicity can be maintained and even promoted while industrialization takes place, or that the members of the community make decisions to accept change and to modify foreign objects to meet their needs as well.
Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball in *Culture and Community* used the community to investigate human behaviour because they considered human behaviour to be in its most natural state there (1965:42). Although guilty of viewing the community as a pristine enclave, they still managed to include the ecological effects of surrounding environments as well as the community’s own social form and cultural behaviour (1965:3). Arensberg and Kimball also dismissed the method of empirically describing community traits because it did not encompass the full spectrum of the processes of change (1965:326). As had Breton and Barth, they considered the institutional and organizational structures created by communities:

Institutional arrangements provide the framework within which various members of these separate communities related to each other in transitory or in permanent cooperative activities. Within each community one finds the economic, political, religious, social even familial activities which create cohesion among its members and also extend to or include those of other communities (1965:3).

Joel Halpern, in *The Changing Village Community* (1967), epitomized the concern over the loss of the rural community to the urban society. He saw the progressive elimination of the distinctive characteristics of rural and urban ways of life. The rural community, according to Halpern’s misguided assumptions, was either being carried by or being subsumed by the urban society through socio-economic means (Halpern 1967:1). This suggests that he did not consider the ability of the community to chose to engage or adapt influences emanating from urban communities. He took an external view of the community, concerning himself with the effects of outside forces with what seemed like total disregard for the community’s internal mechanisms. John W. Bennett, in *Northern Plainsmen*:
Adaptive Strategy and Agrarian Life (1971), observed internally the socio-economic adaptation of the community. Emphasis was put on the community's own patterns of behaviour: problem solving, decision making, consumption, inventing, innovating, migration and sedentism (Bennett 1971:9). Where Halpern ignored the rural community's ability to welcome and adapt to change, Bennett emphasized its control over its destiny.

Roland Warren dismissed the internal-external concepts in defining community social systems and introduced the terms "horizontal" and "vertical" to community studies in The Community in America (1972). Relationships among community institutions and members were described as horizontal; associations between members and outside persons and institutions involving hierarchies were vertical (Warren 1972:163). These terms still carried with them a dichotomous aspect. In Perspectives of the American Community, Warren moved away from the "either-or" definition of the local community and deemed it to be a dynamic power arranged so that it not only met the needs of its population but functioned as part of the larger society (1973:84). He advised researchers whose focus was on community interaction to investigate the institutional, demographic and ecological aspects affecting the locale (1973:74).

In the eighties, many academics studied the community from a perspective that saw the local community as having a stronger role to play in determining its own destiny. They also considered the effects of the small community's activities on the destiny of urban centres. G. Hodge and M.A. Qadeer, in Towns and Villages in Canada: The Importance of Being Unimportant, looked at the community from the
viewpoint of persistence. Their approach put "the emphasis on the people - their numbers, characteristics, trends and choices - rather than on the 'stores' in small centres" (1983:13). Although they recognized the metropolitan influences and depopulation trends, by looking at human demographics, motivations and decisions, Hodge and Qadeer demonstrated the viability of small towns. They developed a conceptual framework that accommodated the reality of community organization. Hodge and Qadeer demonstrated a more suitable approach to studying the community because they considered it a dynamic entity in its own right. Their work is indicative of the changing attitudes toward non-urban centres in the eighties.

Both communities and human beings are prone to change by the very nature of social organization. Contrary to the predictions of many sociologists and anthropologists, the community is not dying. The community has not resisted change, it has developed strategies to contend with, embrace and initiate change. Industrialization, urbanization and mechanization have had a great impact on the population of rural communities. Although research on depopulation trends in rural communities carried the signature of dichotomous and structural-functionalist approaches, some of those studies continue to be important because they served to increase our knowledge of community life.

Already in 1951, Jean Burnet, in Next Year Country: A Study of Rural Social Organization in Alberta, recognized that the community was not isolated enough to resist industrialization, urbanization and mechanization. Greater concern for the urbanization process became the focus of Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Walton Anderson's book entitled Rural Canada in Transition in 1966. Applying a rural-
urban dichotomy perspective, they discuss a litany of common grievances about modern society. They contended that the reduction in neighbourhood cohesiveness and community ties and the increase of alienation for rural people were a result of several factors combined. There was a greater need developing for higher levels of formal education, requiring young people to leave their communities (1966:63). They stated that there was a diminishing commitment to religion and that religion no longer played a part in the day-to-day affairs of its adherents because of rural depopulation and the rural church's inability to adapt to modern standards (1966:84-85). There was a loss of traditional social forms manifested in individualism and self-reliance due to an integration of farmers and business persons as contract farming became widespread (1966:211). As the rural community became more industrialized, traditional social forms that had been manifested in individualism and self-reliance were replaced by regional administrative types (1966:94). The weakening of traditional figures compounded with the departure of potential community leaders to urban centres served to undermine "confidence in the viability of local institutions among those who remain in the country" (1966:95). These complaints are commonly heard today.

Research in the seventies began to move away from depopulation studies and tended toward the changing functions of community institutions. Among these studies, A Region of the Mind: Interpreting the Western Canadian Plains (Allen 1973), Working Together: Women and Family in Southwestern Saskatchewan (Kohl 1976) and "Ethnic Identity in Saskatchewan Bloc Settlements: A Sociological Appraisal" (Anderson 1977), are notable. Richard Allen's preface discussed the
region as the unit for study in much the same way as Arensberg and Kimball and Stein viewed the community. He considered the region to be a geographical area whose people were subjected to similar environmental conditions and shared similar historical circumstances and problems. Through these shared experiences people developed similar life patterns. They acted in terms of regional interests and, therefore, had a regional identity (Allen 1973:ix). Allen ignored the importance of the strong ties people had to their ancestral experiences prior to joining others in a new region. Groups of people brought with them different cultural values and practices and consequently developed distinct strategies to contend with the environment and interact with their neighbours. He also overlooked the micro-processes of local community developments.

Transformations in family structures brought on by changes in agrarian life were the focus of Seena Kohl’s investigation. She believed families would evolve their cultural rules and styles of interaction so they could succeed (1976:3). Unlike many of the earlier studies, Kohl concentrated on the family as a unit in charge of its destiny rather than one that succumbed to macro-social impacts. She also centred on the pivotal position held by women in the household and in the agricultural sphere (1976:24). Her study complemented Alan Anderson’s comprehensive study of the processes of adaptation to the Prairie West by ethnic groups. He considered demographic and settlement patterns, ethnicity, linguistic affiliation and usage, religion, customs, ethnic voluntary associations and attitudes towards exogamy. He contended that both language and religion were key factors in ethnic identity maintenance. Both Kohl and Anderson’s work considered the community from
standpoints earlier investigators neglected. Kohl’s work lent credence to the role of women and of the family and Anderson’s showed the significance of the ethnic group’s strategies of adaptation.

Curiosity about the survival of the community returned in the eighties due to an economic recession. Roger Gibbons, in *Prairie Politics and Society: Regionalism in Decline*, took an ecological determinist view of the urbanization of communities (1980). He concluded that the Prairie settlement was losing its distinctive character (1980:2). A class society replaced the ethnic variations of communities, he judged, giving rise to the New Democratic Party victory in Manitoba (1980:75). Indeed, class became a central feature in community politics due to equity issues. However, the ethnic group maintained its distinctive character within a class structure.

In 1988, Brian MacLean, Alan Anderson and Peter Li conducted a comprehensive study entitled *Rural Depopulation and the Saskatchewan Economy*. The trends noted by the authors included a decrease in agricultural labour, a decrease in number of farms with an increase in size, rural to urban migration and an aging population. They concluded that small communities would remain viable if they could provide adequate services to the elderly (1988:6-13).

Two main themes are exhibited in the above studies: one, the viability of a rural economy; and two, urban migration. These issues were also of great concern to French-Canadians living in rural communities. The following review demonstrates community studies conducted among French-Canadians both in and outside of Québec.
2.3 The Study of French-Canadians in Québec and Outside of Québec

Early community studies, such as Horace Miner’s *St. Denis: A French Canadian Parish* (1939), Everett Cherrington Hughes’ *French Canada in Transition* (1943), Marcel Rioux’s *Description de la Culture de L’île Verte* (1954) and his *Belle Anse* (1961), and Père Anselme Chiasson’s *Cheticamp: Histoire et Traditions* (1961), discussed the whole community as a small scale society on the verge of mass encroachment by urban society. They looked at the sturdy church and its parishioners, the farm and local resource management structures and the social structure developed by the family to meet the needs of the economy. Although they gave admirable descriptions of community institutions, their analyses of internal social structures were weakened by their structural-functionalist approaches.

Among the more notable French-Canadian community studies from the seventies were those edited by Gerald Gold and Marc-Adélard Tremblay in *Communities and Culture in French Canada*, (1973), Gerald Gold’s *St. Pascale* (1975) and John Jackson’s *Community Conflict: a Study of French-English Relations in Ontario* (1975). There were two features that distinguished these studies from some of the earlier ones. First, the authors examined the community in a national context; and second, they focused on theoretical problems rather than strictly on ethnographic descriptions of community traits. For example, research was conducted to reveal the mechanisms involved in community relationships, identity, ethnicity, conflict, politics and economics. This approach also served to limit the focus, enabling the writer to present more detail on fewer aspects of the community.
Differences between studies carried out in French-Canadian communities in Québec and those conducted outside of Québec could be seen in the treatment of the language issue. For the most part, the studies in Québec were concerned with class oppression by the English élite. Because they were immersed in a primarily French-Canadian cultural environment, identity and language maintenance were less of a concern than they were for French-Canadians outside of Québec.

Community studies among French-Canadians outside of Québec focused on ethnicity, primarily through issues related to language. Because they lived in ethnic minority enclaves and English was accepted as the predominant language of the majority, the problems of maintaining ethnicity were inextricably linked to language protection. The French in Québec were at home in their own language milieu whereas the French outside of Québec had to develop strategies to maintain their ethnic identity within a foreign language environment.

An example of a study among French-Canadians outside of Québec was Frank Vallee and Norman Shulman’s "The Viability of French Groupings outside Quebec." They employed Breton’s model by considering institutional completeness and the levels of participation and activity in the institutions of an ethnic group to determine its strength (1969:87). They argued that concentration on developing segregated ethnic institutions and maintaining boundaries can have negative effects. According to Vallee and Shulman:

The more energy and resources an ethnic minority group puts into the provision of its own set of institutions, particularly educational ones, and the more these institutions give priority to the maintenance of language, religions, and other differences, the smaller the amounts of energy and resources available to transmit the educational and other skills required to
cope with the social and economic requirements of the larger system (1969:95).

They contended that members of the ethnic group concentrating on developing those institutions would have less ambition and would likely not "aspire to high-ranking social and economic positions in the larger system," (1969:95). Vallee and Shulman were entrenched in assimilation theories. They implied that the skills needed to maintain and promote the ethnic group were somehow unusable outside of it. This too meant that what the group does within its community is isolated and has unrealistic cultural objectives. Their conclusions also suggested that aspirations to high-ranking social and economic positions within the larger system were desirable to everyone. They did not consider two possibilities: one, that the ethnic group may have chosen to participate in other than "high-ranking" forms of social and economic activities; and, two, that oppressive forces may have played a role in obstructing their participation in the larger system.

Vallee and Shulman used 1961 Statistics Canada employment and education data to compare French-Canadians to non French-Canadians from outside the province of Québec (1969:95-98). Although their study was not complete, they drew the conclusion that where the French-Canadian ethnic group was strong, their members would be heavily disadvantaged economically and educationally (1969:97). They did not take into consideration the rural environment in which most French-Canadian communities outside of Québec are located. Educational facilities in rural communities usually receive less funding than do those in urban centres and towns. For Vallee and Shulman's study to have credibility, they would have had to consider
the amount of dollars each province spent on education in rural communities. They also would have had to recognize and evaluate their assimilationist orientations altogether in order to discover whether a strong ethnic group was, in fact, a disadvantage to individual aspirations. That ethnic group members might be capable of retaining and promoting distinctiveness and making choices about their participation in the larger system without losing their ethnicity in the process was a possibility that their model hardly envisioned.

Of particular interest to the present investigation are the studies conducted among French-Canadians in Saskatchewan. Rather than community studies proper, the focus of the investigations was on French-Canadian ethnicity in specific localities. Although there is a significant French-Canadian population in urban centres in Saskatchewan, studies concentrated on rural centres. Descriptions and analyses of language use, settlement patterns, class distinctions and histories were provided by historians, sociologists, linguists, lay persons and journalists. The following review covers some of the literature written on this subject.

Raymond Huel’s dissertation, entitled La Survivance in Saskatchewan: Schools, Politics and the Nativist Crusade for Cultural Conformity (1975), provided a comprehensive analysis of the history of French language and Catholic instruction in Saskatchewan schools. In "When a Majority Feels Threatened: The Impetus for French Catholic Organization in Saskatchewan" Raymond Huel not only considered the "natural process of assimilation by the English-speaking majority, but also ... the attitudes and actions of those who maintain that there is no room for a French presence or culture outside Québec" (1986:1). In "The Dilemmas of French
Language Education in Saskatchewan: L'Association Interprovinciale and the Recruitment of Bilingual Teachers, 1917-25" (1988), Huel gave an account of the involvement of the Catholic church in mobilizing French-Canadian resistance to ethnic and language oppression in education. In all three cases, Huel focused on the initiatives of the Catholic clergy in defending the French language. His research and interpretations provide the reader with a perspective on French Catholic resistance to anglophone dominance in the West.

Alan Anderson’s French Settlements in Saskatchewan: Historical and Demographic Perspectives (1985a) provided a historical overview of the establishment of French bloc settlements across the prairies. It provided itemized lists of French-Canadian communities, a brief synopsis of their histories, population and language statistics. A historical account of the migration and settlement patterns of the French in Saskatchewan was produced by Richard Lapointe and Lucille Tessier, entitled The Francophones of Saskatchewan: A History (1986). It relied on community histories, produced by local writers, and archival sources. Although beneficial, some of the information was suspect due to a lack of consistent academic referencing.

A regular column by Laurier Gareau about such topics as the history of anglicisms in the French language, historical events in small communities and influential people now deceased was published in L’Eau Vive, a weekly newspaper produced in Regina, Saskatchewan for francophone readers. Although written for the general public these pieces offer material of considerable interest to the researcher.
Alan Anderson, in "Ethnic Identity in Saskatchewan Bloc Settlements: A Sociological Appraisal," conducted a comparative analysis of the processes of ethnic identity change among French, German Catholic, Mennonite, Hutterite, Ukrainian, Polish, Doukhobor and Scandinavian communities (1977:187). Anderson considered that religion was as important in supporting ethnicity as language (1977:203). Religion contributed to a sense of identity, promoted social integration, validated customs and was, essentially, the pivot of the cultural tradition of a group (1977:206). His conclusions about French-Canadians are useful in the current study and were considered when analyzing my data.

The factors involved in French and English language switching were demonstrated by Peter Li and Wilfrid Denis in "Minority Enclave and Majority Language: The Case of a French Town in Western Canada" (1983). They identified the structural influences affecting linguistic shifting. These were: political and demographic forces, legislative restrictions (mainly through education), legal control over language, ethnic and linguistic exogamy, occupational stresses, the church, social class and age (Li and Denis 1983:18-30). Many of these influences were identified by respondents in the current study.

One of the more significant contributions was a paper delivered by Wilfrid Denis to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association. It was entitled "Language Loss and Social Class: A Theoretical Re-Assessment" (1985). Based on 1981 Census Canada data, local community studies of Saskatchewan francophones and data from other minority groups in Canada, Denis clarified two dimensions of language loss that had not been accounted for: one, the class position
of the French; and two, the control over the language utilized in the work place (1985:1). Because most French-Canadians in Saskatchewan were in weak economic and political positions, they were unable to pursue collective goals (Denis 1985:23).

He looked at the institutional structure of the French-Canadian minority group and its relationship with the dominant society (1985:30). Denis stressed that although ethnic identity was a subjective experience, it was also a product of an intervening dominant society:

Minority groups need to be studied in relation to a dominant society which not only establishes a broad economic and political context but which intervenes directly in the affairs, the life, the very structure of the minority group (1985:3).

Considering the earlier discussion of the contrastive character of ethnic identity, Denis' analysis lent support to those theorists who viewed the ethnic group and the community as dialectical formations.

In "The Politics of Language Loss: A Francophone Case from Western Canada" (1988), Wilfrid Denis and Peter Li set the stage for their discussion by commenting on the historical imbalance of power between francophones and anglophones in Saskatchewan. They provided the evidence to demonstrate political interference, in the form of legislation, that restricted French language schools. Radical, and sometimes illegitimate strategies, employed in the sixties by the French-Canadians to counteract these restrictions were described. Denis and Li discussed the French-Canadians' lack of legislative control due to their small electoral base (1988:358-361). In order to survive linguistically, French enclaves had to be secured, community and ethnic institutions fortified and ethnic identity strengthened. The greatest effect upon
French language maintenance, however, would come from favourable legislation. Denis and Li accented the importance of French-Canadians gaining political power and asserting influence in the Saskatchewan legislature (1988:364). It would be interesting to conduct a similar study in the 1990s. Many changes would likely be seen, especially in light of the recent constitutional debates in Canada and the Government of Saskatchewan’s entry into negotiations with French-Canadians for a French-Canadian School Board.

Nancy Senior and Bernadette Longpré’s "Le Français de la Saskatchewan: Étude de Lexique" was a preliminary study based on a survey conducted among University of Saskatchewan students and adults from the North Battleford region (1987:506fn4). The information revealed linguistic variations in the vocabulary and grammatical structures of the respondents. The French language in Saskatchewan, they concluded, demonstrated French-Canadian history in its continued use of old French expressions. Their study of the French language also gave evidence of French and English language shifting (Senior and Longpré 1987:506).

A study, entitled **Structural and Social Aspects of Language Change in a Francophone Town in Western Canada**, was conducted by Donna Rae Patrick in 1988 for her Master of Arts degree in linguistics. Her socio-linguistic approach provided an analysis of French usage among students in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Domrémy, Saskatchewan. Patrick also identified "the social and cultural processes and conditions which are significant to language maintenance and shift in these two communities" (1988:45). Demographic, ecological, historical, economic, political and identity factors were considered (Patrick 1988:47-58). Patrick’s anthropological
study considered many of the same factors under investigation in the current study of ethnic identity. However, Being French-Canadian in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin, Saskatchewan, places emphasis on the respondents' views of their ethnicity, primarily as it is manifested through the French language. Patrick's study did not present the subjective view.

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Many ethnicity and community studies reflected the urban bias of academics. The theories and methods employed were dichotomous, structural-functionalist, ecologically determinist and isolationist. None were sufficiently comprehensive. A shift occurred in the eighties. Scholars recognized that the ethnic group and the community were self-determining, commanding theoretical frameworks that reflected this nature. As discussed above, Yuen-Fong Woon concluded that both primordial and circumstantial paradigms were beneficial to the study of ethnicity. Due consideration of the interactive relationships of internal and external forces should be made when conducting community studies. Most importantly, however, the perceptions of the residents of communities under investigation should be highlighted. Studies of ethnicity must consider first the views of the ethnic group about their ethnic identity. A synthesis with theoretical constructs of social organization can then take place.

I determined that Raymond Breton's treatment of ethnic groups through his institutional completeness model and Fredrik Barth's model of ethnic boundary maintenance mechanisms provided me with the tools to obtain significant information
from respondents and to understand their views of ethnicity. Breton and Barth enabled me to build a framework of discourse with respondents. The outcome of Breton and Barth’s paradigms from the sixties and my interpretation and development of them, resulted in the method I used to present the respondents’ views in chapter five. The importance of the synthesis between ideological and ecological perspectives or psychological and social processes of ethnicity cannot be overemphasized. The current study attempts to use both as suggested by Bell, Royce, DeVos, Romanucci-Ross, Woon and by Breton in his recent works. Royce’s discussion surrounding the continuum between individuals and their institutions was of particular use in supporting my approach.

It is clear from the body of literature reviewed above that there has been only one other anthropological study conducted among the French-Canadians in Saskatchewan. The basis upon which most community studies have been developed reveals a need for a theoretical orientation that will bring to the foreground data on French-Canadian ethnic identity and ethnic-based action. Although the framework for the study is primarily based on Raymond Breton and Fredrik Barth’s paradigms of ethnic maintenance strategies, most of the information about ethnicity can be found in the words of the respondents rather than in theoretical discourse.
3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 The Beginning

In 1989, I began working on the subject of French-Canadian ethnicity and language maintenance in Saskatchewan. I was directed into this subject area by Dr. Robert Williamson. I had three reasons for choosing to work with French-Canadians in Saskatchewan: one, I had had no previous contact with the community and felt that this would be a good opportunity to learn how to initiate research contacts; two, I felt that because I am partly French-Canadian and speak French as a second language, I would have easier access to the community members; and three, I was fascinated by the endurance of French-Canadians as a distinct group in Saskatchewan.

I discussed some possible lines of investigation with several University of Saskatchewan academics who had either anthropological, sociological or historical expertise. They agreed that an ethnographic study would be valuable. The director of the Association Provinciale des Parents Francophones, Roger Gauthier, suggested that the ethnographic study could serve as background information for the various French-Canadian cultural and political lobby groups in Saskatchewan. I also conferred with Claude-Jean Harel, a Société Radio-Canada reporter who specialized in presenting the Fransaskois community on television. He considered the study worthwhile and suggested various francophone communities in which I might conduct my fieldwork.
3.2 Choosing the Appropriate Communities

The lack of studies conducted in northern bloc French-Canadian settlements in Saskatchewan made conducting such a research project in that area attractive. I consulted the available literature on every community north of Saskatoon that had been designated French in 1985 by Alan Anderson in *French Settlements in Saskatchewan: Historical and Demographic Perspectives* (1985a). I considered the demographic and ecological variables of each community. The statistics and characteristics that related most to the proposed study were population size; ethnic proportions; percentage of French mother-tongue and home language; whether hamlet, village or town; economy and resources; institutional completeness; ancestral origins; historical settlement patterns; isolation factors; and the regional census divisions set out by Statistics Canada in 1971. These in turn became the variables by which I chose a list of eight communities. Zenon Park was the only French-Canadian community in the northeast that had a significant proportion of French-Canadians living in the community: 87.8% (Statistics Canada 1971). In the north central portion of the province the French-Canadian ethnic proportion was 72.1% in Domrémy, 59.6% in St. Brieux, 57.9% in Duck Lake and 53.3% in the Rural Municipality\(^3\) of St. Louis (Statistics Canada 1971). In the northwest, the proportion was 67.2% in Debden, 61.0% in Léoville and 42.4% in Marcelin (Statistics Canada 1971).

Zenon Park was an obvious choice, being the solitary French-Canadian community in the area. Its proportion of French usage was significant as well. In the

\(^3\) I considered the Rural Municipality of St. Louis rather than only the Town of St. Louis in order to cover the area that comprises St. Isidore-de-Bellevue.
north central region, those communities were considered because I wanted another community with a high percentage of French-Canadians. Although Domrémy had the highest French-Canadian population of communities in the north central region surveyed in 1971 by Statistics Canada, out of curiosity I chose to tour the area in the Rural Municipality of St. Louis. During a stop in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue at the café, I was told by some community members, who showed great interest in my subject, that the community was at least 95% French-Canadian and that most people spoke French fluently. I decided to consider St. Isidore-de-Bellevue as one of my choices, regardless of the fact that it was a hamlet and would lack census data. During this trip, I took a detour to encompass a part of the northwest region. Due to time constraints I only visited Marcelin. It demonstrated many of the characteristics a non-French-Canadian or mixed ethnic community would display. Since I required a community that contrasted with both Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, Marcelin would prove to be a good choice over Debden and Léoville because of its lower percentage, 42.4%, of French-Canadians. I then approached academics and news reporters to obtain their opinion on which three would best suit investigation. They provided me with qualitative community descriptions of many places. From these discussions and my own methods of selection described above, I decided to study Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin.

The issue of whether the research communities were typical of others in Saskatchewan was not a factor in the decision to study them. This study represents the views of those French-Canadians who participated in the research. However, it is often tempting to look at the outcome of a study and attempt to apply the conclusions
universally. This is always a precarious application because no two communities are alike. If one considered the variables contributing to each of the communities' development and character and found others to be similar, one might be able to hypothesize about the nature of French-Canadian ethnic identity maintenance mechanisms. It may prove impossible, though, to find a community in Saskatchewan similar to St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, for example.

3.3 Making Contact

The first contact with one of the proposed study communities was made with St. Isidore-de-Bellevue in June, 1991. I met with the Coordinator of the Club Culturel Le Rendez-Vous and discussed the applicability of the study in her community. She agreed that St. Isidore-de-Bellevue would provide ample information on the subject of ethnic identity and language maintenance. We discussed the appropriate time to conduct the study and October was decided upon. I was invited to stay with her and her family for the period of my fieldwork. I came one more time that July to pilot my questionnaire and introduce myself to other people in the community. The pilot study was successful in assisting me to refine the questionnaire.

From a list of parents from the Association Provinciale des Parents Francophones, I telephoned a woman who participated in lobbying efforts for French education in Zenon Park. She invited me to come to Zenon Park and discuss the study. In July 1991, I visited Zenon Park for the first time. I met with the same woman who gave me further contacts in the community, including the mayor. I met with the mayor who showed me the village rental housing units in case I needed to
rent a place to stay. This first visit provided me with insight into language patterns of
the community as well as some attitudes toward the maintenance of French. Later
that month, I attended the Fête Fransaskoise in Ponteix. Through a mutual friend, I
was introduced to a prominent member of Zenon Park who was also active in the
promotion of the French-Canadian culture and language. He was enthusiastic about
my study being conducted in Zenon Park. He invited me to telephone him to discuss
details. I contacted his home in August and discussed the details with his spouse.
She offered to organize my stay in Zenon Park. We selected September as the
appropriate time to conduct the fieldwork. Upon my arrival, she had organized two
host families, including hers, for one week each. She said that she would find others
for the rest of my stay. She thought that it would be best if I divided my visit among
different homes so that I would not be a burden on one family. Also, she wanted me
to live with families on farms in close proximity to the village and those far from the
village, and with a family in the village to gain varying perspectives. Within the first
week of my fieldwork a family offered room and board to me for my final weeks. I
had met a man who had been very involved in maintaining French in his family and
community. His experiences became a focal point of several of our discussions, and
he and his wife invited me to stay with them for the rest of my visit. They lived in
the village so this provided me with the full spectrum my original organizer had
desired for me.

I made initial contact in Marcelin during a brief visit. Upon my arrival, I went
directly to the village office and spoke with the librarian about my intentions. She
gave me the name of the mayor and, because the mayor was not home that day, she
suggested I speak with her spouse at the local service station. I visited with the garage owner and he showed interest in the subject. He gave me his home telephone number and told me to call the mayor later that week. When I called, the mayor asked that I visit her to discuss the details of the project. After an enjoyable conversation about the research, she expressed her interest and invited me to room and board with her for the fieldwork. She also volunteered to distribute my letters of introduction to prepare community members for my arrival.

3.4 The Questionnaire

Frank Vallee and Norman Shulman, in "The Viability of French Groupings Outside of Québec," suggested that the history of the settlement of an ethnic group, the statutory provisions for recognition of the special status of the group, attitudinal data from group members and the demographic patterns and trends for the ethnic group were some of "the kinds of information sought when examining the position of an ethnic group in Canada" (1969: 85-86). Fredrik Barth’s theory, presented in the "Introduction" to Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference, contended that ethnic groups will display certain boundary mechanisms that will create group definition and cohesion (1969:10). The identification of one’s group as different from a perceived "other" defines group membership (Barth 1969:14). Barth’s paradigm encompasses change over time because he considers group membership criteria and the strategies employed to maintain group distinction (1969:10). Raymond Breton, in "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants,"

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identified the institutions required in an ethnic community to fulfil the needs of the group while maintaining its distinctiveness (1964:194). In 1978, Breton identified language institutions, such as schools, to be some of the more important institutions needed (1978:153). With these theoretical frameworks, a questionnaire was developed in order to elicit pertinent information from respondents and set parameters on the scope of the ethnographic study. The questionnaire was designed to allow respondents to talk first about their cultural background and ethnic identity. It progressed to perceptions of language, mother-tongue and home use, the language used at school, in the community, with friends and relatives and at church. Questions were asked about their participation in cultural activities and organizations. Inquiries were made regarding the impact of the media and their media language preference. Questions about issues of cultural and linguistic maintenance were then developed. Respondents were asked for perceptions of their community and the future of their culture and language. Questions to bring about a definition of what it meant to be "French-Canadian" in Saskatchewan were again put forth. Information to formulate a demographic profile was requested. The questionnaire ended by asking for comments about the study.

The questionnaire was first developed in English. It was field tested in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue with three francophone French-Canadians: a fifty-five-year-old woman, a woman aged sixty-nine and a seventy-year-old man. The interviews were

4 Further discussion of these theories and others are presented in chapter two, "Literature Review."

5 Please see Appendix A for a sample of the English questionnaire and Appendix B for the French questionnaire.
held in French. While interviewing, I informally translated each question from English to French. The questionnaire was later adapted to enable interviews to flow more easily. The English version was then translated into French. The questionnaire used throughout the study was comprised of sixty-nine questions that were primarily open-ended. In situations where respondents did not have the time to answer the lengthy questionnaire but wished to talk with me, I asked questions about their cultural background and identity, their views on the maintenance of their French language and demographic questions.

3.5 The Interviews

The fact that I was able to speak both English and French, and had the skill of switching between the two, allowed me to hold interviews in the respondent’s language of choice. At times, though, respondents from each of the communities were initially intimidated by my being a Québécoise. They were concerned that their French would be inadequate. After assuring them that my French vocabulary and grammar were not perfect, they relaxed. In some cases, as we carried along in our interviews, respondents would offer me French grammar corrections. I readily accepted their assistance.

One person from Zenon Park told me that the grammatical errors in my French Letter of Introduction would signal to potential respondents that I was not linguistically superior to them. Although he offered to correct the mistakes, he suggested I leave them in order to convey this message. I did not make any changes to the letter.
In a few other instances in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, I was suspected of being either a researcher hired by the Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne (ACFC) or a Société Radio-Canada reporter. When people learned that I was conducting interviews for my personal education, they explained that had I been working for either of those organizations, they would have declined an interview or would not have told me as much. They said that they were suspicious of ACFC’s political motivations and unhappy with the Société Radio-Canada’s media-type bias.

My background as an administrator with a non-government organization, the Aboriginal Women’s Council of Saskatchewan, enabled me to obtain three interviews in Zenon Park that might not have been available to me otherwise. These respondents said that because I knew what goes on between administrators and board members, I could be trusted to understand the challenges and struggles they faced. Their interviews gave me insight into the workings of some political and cultural organizations in Zenon Park.

Ninety-eight interviews were conducted: sixty-six formal interviews where the full questionnaire was employed and thirty-two interviews where a few selected questions were asked. Formal interviews were held with those respondents who had the time and interest to respond to the lengthy questionnaire. Respondents whose time was limited were generally those I interviewed at their workplace, such as the Caisse Populaire managers in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and the priest in Zenon Park. The one respondent in Marcelin who provided me with a short interview was someone who had originally misunderstood my reason for interviewing her and subsequently was not interested in pursuing the topics represented by the long
questionnaire. Other discussions were held with people who wanted to talk about issues pertaining to being French-Canadian but who did not want to enter into a formal interview situation. These persons usually controlled the discussions while I actively listened. I designated these as short interviews as well. In most cases, formal and short interviews were tape recorded while others were recorded with notes.

Names of people to approach for interviews came from a variety of sources. In Zenon Park, two of the host families gave me names of people to approach. I also located people to interview on my own, usually through chance meetings at the café. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue the Coordinator of the Centre Cultural Le Rendez-Vous gave me an initial list of names. Then as I interviewed people I showed them the list and more names were added. In both communities, the providers of names tried to give me an equal balance of genders, ages, backgrounds and perspectives. In Marcelin, the mayor, also my host, provided me with a list of names of people willing to talk with me. As I interviewed people I asked them if they knew of anyone else who would be willing to be interviewed. Usually I was given one or two more people to contact. In order to avoid bias in the sampling, I cross-checked the lists with people in the communities who I felt held views about ethnicity that differed from those who gave me names initially. Of course, I was not able to hold as many interviews as I had names due to scheduling or lack of interest on the part of would-be respondents. This method of gathering contacts was not haphazard; it was highly selective. By cross-checking and asking different people for new names, I had a wide cross-section and obtained a variety of views about ethnicity, thus avoiding sampling
bias as best possible. This is evident in the many different perspectives presented in chapter five, "Being French-Canadian in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin."

Due to the time constraints of the study, it was not possible to determine exactly how influential each respondent’s views might be in directing French-Canadian identity formation and language maintenance in their respective communities. The study aims to provide a cross-sectional view of what many people currently think they are doing and what they feel is going on with their identity and language.

In Zenon Park, twenty-three formal and twenty-two short interviews were held. Twenty-four formal interviews and nine short interviews were conducted in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. In Marcelin, I obtained nineteen formal interviews and one short interview. The average time spent with the formal interview was about one and one-half hours because the lengthy questionnaire guide was used. Often the visit itself lasted twice as long. The respondents and I spent time prior to the interview introducing ourselves and becoming comfortable with one another. We had general conversations over coffee or lunch after the sessions. On most occasions, respondents asked me many of the questions I had asked them. They were particularly interested in my family and cultural background, my language abilities and what I thought of French-Canadians in Saskatchewan. Many also wanted to know more about what I had yet to do to complete the study.

Interviews were usually conducted in respondents’ homes. They were carried out in the language of preference of each respondent. In Zenon Park, eighty-seven percent of the interviews were conducted in French with the remainder in English.
All the interviews were held in French in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. In Marcelin, forty-eight percent of the participants chose to speak in French while the majority chose English. When language switching occurred, it was generally during interviews held in French. This tended to happen when the respondent did not know certain words in French, primarily those related to business and contemporary farm machinery. However, there were many cases of switching that were specific to the individual and did not form patterns that I was able to distinguish.

The number of interviews conducted was not predetermined quantitatively. Once I had heard a wide range of perceptions repeated by different people and no new views were provided by my respondents, I determined I had heard from a representative sample of community members. I might have heard other unique opinions if I had had the time and resources to interview every member of each of the communities. Nonetheless, I believe that the views presented in chapter five are representative.

I transcribed from the interviews the information I considered pertinent to the ethnographic study. French interviews were translated into English by me. Quotations of respondents used in the study were kept in the language spoken by the participants. Standard French orthography was used in transcriptions but the respondents' grammar was left intact.

3.6 Participant Observation

In addition to holding formal and short interviews, participant observation, was employed to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. These observations were
integral to the fieldwork. In this study, qualitative research was depended on because respondents’ perceptions of their own identity were the foundation for determining that identity and their means of maintaining it. Quantitative methods did not apply to the research problem as stress was placed on respondents’ views of ethnic identity and ethnic-based action, thereby creating a more personal account of French-Canadian ethnicity. With quantitative methods I may have obtained statistical validity of how many people used French for what and when. However, I would have not been able to probe deeply into the feelings people had about using the language.

In Zenon Park, I participated in the home life of three different families over a four week period. I lived in a farm home one kilometre from the village. The second place I stayed was also a farm home but located approximately four kilometres from Zenon Park. My final stay was with a family residing in the village. I attended daily Roman Catholic bilingual church services in my first week and weekly French services thereafter. One of my hosts gave me a tour of the farms, explaining the agricultural diversity of the area. I went to the café every day to meet with the local women. I walked around the school yard during recess and talked with and listened to the students. I helped out in the garden of one host family, went fishing with another and took a day trip to Nipawin with a third. I also had the opportunity to go berry picking with some of the women from the community. I went to a potluck dinner hosted by the Club Âge D’Or. I bought my gasoline from the local service station and personal goods from each of the community grocery stores. I gave an interview to a son of one of my host families who wrote for L’Eau Vive. He submitted three articles about my study. One of my hosts brought me to a fall fowl
supper in Aylsham. I was involved in family events and was comfortable in each home.

In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, the intended host, unable to provide me with lodging, organized another home for me to stay in. The host was a French language facilitator for the École St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. She was a young Québécoise who provided me with an interesting insight into the work she did at the school. Her job was to develop activities that were carried out in French in order to improve the quality of language through practice and fun. Because she too was an outsider she was not able to be the cultural broker an ethnographer hopes for. This caused me to be more independent in my communications and participation in the community. While in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue for three weeks, I went to the Club Culturel Le Rendez-Vous daily for coffee and to observe the activities at the cultural centre. I made many contacts there. I took wood sculpting lessons from the Gareau Brothers. Some grocery shopping was done at the local grocery store. I attended the community’s fall fowl supper where I participated in a raffle and won a prize. While interviewing one of the respondents I was invited to attend a dance in nearby Hoey. I went and there were many residents from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. The group dynamics between community members were interesting to observe as there was a decidedly major split between those considered "anti-French" and those seen as "French fanatics." Due to church service time changes, interview schedules and a weekend visit out of the community, I did not have the opportunity to attend a church service.

During a two week period in Marcelin I was able to conduct interviews and participate in several activities. I went to a Grey Cup Party with my host family held
at the home of one of their friends who was Russian and was able to speak French. I observed the cultural exchanges exhibited by the guests as each one offered interpretations of words, traditions and foods in either French, English, Russian or Ukrainian. English, however, was the predominant language of the evening. I attended a Seniors Exercise Club. I went for coffee at the local café with my host. Although I did not attend a church service due to my interview schedule, I went to a choir practice where they rehearsed Christmas carols in both French and English. I had my car serviced by the local service station operator. While in Marcelin, a news reporter from La Société Radio-Canada interviewed my host and me about the study. It was an exciting event as many people in the community watched the French language television station that evening to see us on the news.

By participating in these events, I was also able to confirm what respondents told me in their interviews. I detected some contradictions in people’s statements by comparing them with their actions. I was able to gather objective information from the community, such as how many signs were in French or were bilingual, how many people spoke in French and switched and what language was spoken outside the school.

The effects the anthropologist has on her study population cannot be underestimated. Personalities, circumstances and agendas play an integral role in information gathering and interpreting. No researcher goes unnoticed and to try to do so may raise ethical concerns.

My presence as a researcher had, of course, an effect on the community. One woman in Zenon Park had not been to the café in many years. I invited her to join
me one day; she came and it was the talk of the village for three days after. Not only did everyone notice the visit, they attributed an improvement in the weather to it. I introduced the sport of triathlon to one of my host families in Zenon Park. During my stay, the National Triathlon Championships, in which my sister-in-law participated, were aired on television. My hosts had never before watched this sport and became involved in the excitement of the competition and later watched the World Championships in which she also competed. While in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, I won a clock radio as a raffle prize during the community's fall fowl supper and my companion, also my host, won a cake. While congratulating us, people commented on the luck of the two Québécoises: our shared provincial origin was salient. My presence in Marcelin had an obvious effect on the host family. On my behalf, they chose to speak French with me during my visit. They had been using English as their home language for nearly ten years. I noticed on occasion that they continued to use French among themselves. In fact, one of them told me he started talking to his son, who lived outside of the home, in French, forgetting that his son no longer understood French. Marcelin also had a physical effect on me as the Seniors Exercise Club took me through some painful work-outs. The Société Radio-Canada interviewed both my Marcelin host and me about the study. When the evening the news report aired on television, most of the respondents involved in the study watched the report. Watching the French channel was not a normal activity for them.
3.7 Gathering and Interpreting Ethnographic Information

The gathering and interpreting of ethnographic information involves a mediation of a minimum of three levels of interpretation, according to Giselle Marcotte et al., in *Métis, C'est ma Nation; 'Your Own People,' Comme on Dit: Life Histories from Eva, Evelyn, Priscilla and Jennifer Richard* (1993:12). The primary level emanates from the respondents themselves. To the subjects, the creation of answers based on recollections of one’s actions is a process of personal reflection which entails the capturing of impressions or feelings. People’s perceptions of their own experiences change as their attitudes and emotions develop. Respondents also may say what they think the interviewer wants to hear and, at times, what they feel they want the ethnographer to know about them and their community. They adjust to what the investigator wants knowing that what they say will be represented in the study. This could be a burden to the respondent. As I explained earlier, my personal orientations, including my ethnic identity and employment experiences, affected my interactions with community members. It is likely that I was welcomed into the lives of many respondents because of my French-Canadian background and language abilities but, by being so welcomed, my presence subtly changed the character and content of their responses.

The second level of mediation is that of the researcher whose agenda attempts to fulfill the parameters of the study. I developed a questionnaire to direct respondents to discuss topics pertaining to French-Canadian cultural identity and language retention. These were categories developed out of my interest which did not necessarily reflect the interests of the respondents. This became obvious when items
in the questionnaire did not elicit extensive responses. For example, I became aware of potentially false divisions I had imposed when interviewing non-francophone French-Canadians and francophones who lived their lives without a particular thrust toward maintaining their identity as French-Canadians. In these cases I would allow the respondents to discuss topics that interested them. However, these interviews were usually very short. In interviews where the respondents did not seem to want to follow my line of questioning but were interested in discussing French-Canadian ethnicity, I encouraged them to talk about what they felt was important. They created their own divisions and applicable responses were used as part of the data.

The content of the study also takes shape while conducting the research because of researcher and respondent interaction. The respondents influenced me as much I affected them with my questions. My agenda combined with their agendas and my personality interacted with their personalities to produce the results.

The third level of mediation arises from the readers who will cast their interpretative paradigms upon the data contained herein. These readers will be academics and non-academics, including the respondents involved in the study.

In a future study, a fourth level of mediation might be considered. Respondents could be invited to reflect upon and critique the outcome of the research. The final study would include their reactions to the data I interpreted from their initial responses.
3.8 Ethical Considerations

A letter introducing myself and my research intentions was distributed to as many residents as possible in each of the communities. Respondents were promised anonymity. When a tape recorder was used, it was kept in full view of the interviewee. When asked, I turned the machine off, which often occurred while sensitive issues were discussed. Upon request from the participants, I made duplicates of their taped interviews for them. The tape cassettes will remain in my possession until such time as permission from each respondent is granted to give the tapes to the appropriate archives. Copies of the study will be sent to each community. I intend to present formally the findings of this study to the Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne Rendez-Vous 1994 for community critique.
4.0 FRENCH-CANADIAN HISTORY IN SASKATCHEWAN

4.1 French-Canadian Settlement Experiences in Saskatchewan

Settlement experiences of French-Canadians in Saskatchewan were similar to those of other ethnic groups that settled the province. Like others in the Prairies, French-Canadians endured a pioneering life, suffered through droughts and economic crises. Many ethnic groups suffered the effects of governments whose legislation had a negative impact on them. French-Canadians have a history barbed with turmoil surrounding their legal right to live in French. In Saskatchewan, English language legislation has been used since the early nineteen hundreds to try to deter the growth of French culture. Those laws also served to strengthen the resolve of the French to maintain their culture. The following is a synopsis of French-Canadian history in Saskatchewan. Some of the events described were often referred to by the respondents of the study.

The Métis were the first French-speaking residents of the West. Most Métis were descended from the unions of aboriginal nations and French people who came to the Northwest during the fur trade era. In 1845, the Ordre des Oblats de Marie Immaculée (OMI) was established in the Northwest. The Oblates travelled with the

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6 For a detailed discussion about French-Canadian perceptions of their cultural rights, please read A.I. Silver’s The French-Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900 (1982).
Métis to their communities and built missions in their villages to maintain their Roman Catholic faith (Jackson 1972:3). Up until 1886, legislation in the West was conducive to French Catholic aspirations. The farming lifestyle induced by western settlement was also attractive to the French-Canadian leadership because it,

was in accordance with the religious ideology of the French-speaking clergy who contended that after attachment to the Church, the agrarian life was the surest guarantee of attaining eternal salvation. Since the clergy also considered attachment to the land as an essential requisite for national survival, the western plains were also an excellent milieu in which to preserve and enhance the ancestral heritage of French Canada (Huel 1975:31).

Immigration was strongly promoted by many Catholic clergymen. They often became leaders in promoting the immigration of the French and in the politics of the language problems which followed (Huel 1975).

In 1870, Canada acquired the North-West Territories (NWT) from the Hudson's Bay Company. There were concerted efforts by the Government of Canada and some Catholic clergy to draw French-Canadian leaders to the West. Two of those leaders were Monseigneur Alexandre Taché, Bishop and later Archbishop from St. Boniface, followed by Monseigneur Langevin. Concerned that the West would be settled by non-Catholic anglophones, Taché and Langevin worked to establish French settlements (Jackson 1972:3; Anderson 1985a:7). If westward expansion by francophones was successful, all of Canada would be bicultural. French-speaking settlers came from Québec, the United States, Belgium and from all over France. By the end of the nineteenth century it was considered prestigious to come to the "pristine" territories of the Canadian West (Jackson 1972:3).
The North-West Territories Act of 1875 provided for a dual education system in communities where either Protestants or Catholics formed a minority (Huel 1975:30). By 1877 there were approximately 6,000 non-aboriginal people in the NWT - 2,896 of whom were francophones (Genuist 1986:67). That same year, Article 110 of the North-West Constitution reproduced the sentiment of Article 133 of the British North America Act. It allowed inhabitants to use either French or English in the Legislative Assembly and in court proceedings (Arès 1967/68:563).

Further immigration schemes to draw people to the Canadian West were conceived. Hector Fabre established the Canadian and Québec Consulates in Paris in 1880. Monetary investments by French businessmen were made, with little success (Jackson 1972:3). Most immigrants from France and Québec came under the sponsorship of La Société d’Immigration Française in Montréal. People came from Europe to Québec and then moved on to Saskatchewan (Anderson 1985a:7). In 1884, an ordinance provided for one Catholic and one Protestant to be represented on the Board of Education (Huel 1975:30).

In the northern part of the territory, French-Canadians and French immigrants joined the Métis in Batoche and the surrounding area. Many Francophone residents left Batoche for the Duck Lake and St. Louis regions after the Riel Resistance of 1885. Batoche, however, continued to thrive as a Métis community for another thirty years and then started to decline steadily until the 1930s, according to Payment (1983:62). The francophones from Batoche joined the Métis and the new French immigrants from Europe in the community of St. Laurent in the Duck Lake and St. Louis areas: "St. Laurent became the nucleus of one of the largest French settlements
in the prairies, despite the scattering of the Métis" (Anderson 1985a:8). Although many settlers had begun living in the area prior to 1885, the francophone population increased significantly in 1886, and continued to rise after that (Anderson 1985a:8).

The years that followed saw the beginnings of English language entrenchment and advancement. In 1886, an amendment to the North-West Territories Act rescinded the provision for a dual system of education with the intent of curbing the separate schools (Huel 1975:34). Fredrick Haultain, Governor of the NWT, made changes to the territory's constitution in 1891 prohibiting the use of French in Legislative Assembly proceedings (Genuist 1986:68). In 1892, English became the predominant language of instruction. The school trustees were given the option to deliver one primary course in French (Denis and Li 1988:354; Dubois 1986:214). Catechism was relegated to the period after regular school hours but before the school closed, and limited to one-half hour a day (Huel 1975:34). The Catholic clergy grieved what they saw to be anti-French and anti-Catholic legislation, but to no avail (Huel 1975:34).

The "Manitoba Schools Question" polarized the nation during the 1890s. No political party was comfortable dealing with the issue. Assimilationist sentiments were ubiquitous. With Manitoba's Catholic population reaching forty percent, a solution that was agreeable to the Protestant majority could result in a lost election for a party (Waite 1971:245). Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a French Catholic, addressed the question of separate and public schools with a solution known as the Laurier-Greenway compromise in 1896: one public school system and one-half hour of religious teaching at the end of the school day (Brown and Cook 1974:13). Where
numbers warranted, for example if there were ten French-speaking children, a separate school could be established and French taught (Brown and Cook 1974:13). Few people were completely satisfied, especially the French Catholics whose language became secondary to English (Waite 1971:245; Brown and Cook 1974:13).

In 1901, the population in the area to become Saskatchewan was 91,279, of whom 2,634 were francophones (Huel 1975:33). By then, the Department of Education had taken over management of the school system and upheld the rules governing religious and language instruction (Huel 1975:35). As early as 1903, the French population began organizing their local communities to defend their rights (Genuist 1986:70).

According to Huel, "By 1905, the French in Saskatchewan no longer had a confessional school system that gave them control over all facets of education" (1986:3). In 1905, the Department of Education of the territorial council modified the system to allow any minority in any school district the right to a separate school, albeit subject to the same regulations as the public schools (Huel 1986:3). With the Manitoba Schools' Question issue still alive in memory and debate, resolution of the "North-West Territories' Schools Question" became the leading issue in the 1905 provincial election. Based on Monseigneur Langevin's recommendation, the Catholic clergy unofficially promoted the Liberal Party because of the Party's support for a separate school system (Regina Standard 1905:1). The Liberals were victorious but the Conservatives were outraged by what they considered a conspiracy between the Catholic clergy and the Liberal Party (Regina Standard 1905:1). In 1909, French-Canadians from all over Saskatchewan held a conference at Vonda to discuss
education, immigration and colonization, as well as to begin organizing a defence to protect their rights (Huel 1986:2). It was agreed that some form of communication was needed to inform the dispersed francophone population of the political climate and of the strategies employed by communities to maintain their culture (Huel 1986:4). Initial attempts at developing a French language newspaper failed but, in 1910, success came. The first editor, Abbé Adrien-Gabriel Morice OMI, selected both its name and motto: La Patriote de l'Ouest; "Notre Foi, Notre Langue" (Huel 1986:5). The newspaper became the protector of both French language and Catholic interests (Huel 1986:5). The two were interdependent:

During this early period of organizational efforts, the most distinctive attribute of the French-speaking Catholics in Canada was the strong bond, indeed fusion, between the French language and the Roman Catholic Religion (Huel 1986:12).

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the majority of the present day French communities were established. A series of bloc settlements developed in the southern and northern parts of the Saskatchewan prairies (Anderson 1985a:8).

In 1912, Abbé Morice continued to build a defence strategy for French Catholic rights and called a meeting in Duck Lake to organize the French population. Four hundred and fifty people attended the convention representing every French community in Saskatchewan (Huel 1986:8-9). With several local chapters already established, the participants organized a provincial chapter of the Société du Parler Français and sent delegates to its convention in Winnipeg (Huel 1986:6). A committee was formed to prepare a presentation for a conference in Quèbec. The
committee decided that an organization to unite French-Catholics was required in Saskatchewan. They named it the Association Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan (AFC). They chose not to use "canadienne-française" or "française" because these terms excluded either French-speaking immigrants from Europe or those from Québec (Huel 1986:10). The mandate of AFC included protection of "French linguistic rights and overseeing the teaching of French in schools and the supply of French speaking teachers, and ensuring communication and organization at the provincial level for Francophone communities" (Denis and Li 1988:356).

Soon after the establishment of AFC, La Patriote de L’Ouest printed and circulated a constitution for the AFC (Huel 1986:10). In 1912, the AFC was established as the political voice of the French. La Patriote de l’Ouest became the organization’s official organ (Huel 1986:10).

The key to the success of the AFC was the establishment of cercles locaux in every French community. In 1912, the Parish of Marcelin was the first to organize an AFC local circle (Denis 1974:79; Huel 1986:11). The same year the name was changed to the Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne (ACFC) to emphasize the catholic interests (Huel 1986:11). The ACFC,

sought to preserve and enhance what it deemed to be the rights of its members, that is, the ethnic rights of French Catholics by virtue of their Canadian citizenship and the educational privileges accorded them as residents of Saskatchewan (Huel 1986:12).

By the end of 1913, "there were thirty-five such [ACFC] circles and forty-five existed by May of 1914" (Denis 1974:79).
The activities of the ACFC were dominated by the issue in French language instruction (Huel 1986:12). With the continued shortage of francophone teachers, the ACFC instigated the establishment of the Association Interprovinciale in 1917 (Masson 1992:2). Its purpose was to recruit francophone teachers from Québec to Saskatchewan and ensure they obtained certification to teach in the province (Denis 1974:79). The Association Interprovinciale was also responsible "for providing loans and bursaries for Francophone education students" (Denis and Li 1988:356).

In 1918, such organizations as the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, Saskatchewan School Trustees' Association and the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities openly demanded that the use of "foreign" languages in schools be prohibited (Gareau 1992a:1). In 1918, English was made the sole language of instruction with the exception of French, which "could be used as a language of instruction for grade one, and taught as a subject for one hour a day in all other grades" (Denis and Li: 1988:355). Protection of French instruction for grade one "was a vital barrier against assimilation" (Huel 1986:3). Further erosion of their rights was anticipated. As a result, the Association des Commissaires d'Écoles Franco-Canadiennes was formed in 1918. Its purpose was to bring together school trustees from francophone communities so that they could defend education curriculum rights of the French. The organization worked closely with the ACFC. In 1919, religious instruction delivered in French for one half hour a day was permitted (Denis and Li 1988:355). Ten years later, this would be changed.

The Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne continued its lobbying strategies in an effort to improve French education. The ACFC requested support for French
language programming from the Department of Education. After continuous rejection, the ACFC established its own programme. The largely unpaid organizers developed curriculum, bought and delivered school books and supplies and administered annual provincial examinations of French grammar, composition and literature. The Department of Education approved the programme in 1928, but did not lend any real support to the volunteer organization (Denis and Li 1988:356).

The wave of anglo-nationalism continued into the economic crises of the thirties. The Ku Klux Klan7 entered Saskatchewan after the Great War and threatened French education and Catholicism (Gareau 1992a:2). Due to pressure from the Klan, the conservative government, elected under J.T.M. Anderson in 1929, escalated its attempts to assimilate the French-Catholics (Gareau 1992a:2), highlighting the 1929 provincial election with "religious, racial bigotry" (Huel 1975:97). A few months after that election, Anderson's government began to change the Schools Act. In September, the French instruction diploma programme with Québec was cancelled and by December, catechism classes had to be delivered in the English language (Gareau 1992a:2). Anderson permitted French language instruction of catechism for one-half hour a day but only during the one hour of French education after school hours. By 1930, Bill 1 was passed, prohibiting religious symbols and religious adornment of clothing in classrooms during school hours (Denis and Li 1988:355). Also, school trustees were required to have fluent English writing skills. Government inspectors were sent to communities to examine school premises. Anyone found breaking the

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7 By 1929 there were nearly twenty thousand Ku Klux Klan members in Canada and the United States (Friesen 1987:404).
law risked fines and imprisonment (Genuist 1986:68). The tenacity of the French population was evident in their strategies of resistance. According to respondents, some teachers, primarily nuns, engaged in civil disobedience by hanging crucifixes and wearing their crosses. When the inspectors were seen coming, the religious symbols were hidden.

The most devastating blow to French-Canadians came in 1931 when Anderson's government abolished French language instruction for grade one (Gareau 1992a:2; Denis and Li 1988:355). In 1944, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) came into power and created regional school boards called Larger School Units (Denis and Li 1988:357). Administration of the schools was centralized, leaving rural francophone communities with even less control over their education. Lobbying efforts of the Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne and the Association des Commissaires d'Écoles Franco-Canadiennes to dissuade the move to Larger School Units were unsuccessful (Denis and Li 1988:357). Francophone communities felt engulfed by a sea of English (Dubois 1986:215).

As a response, the French continued to develop more institutions. The first francophone radio station in the west opened in 1944 in St. Boniface. In 1952, Saskatchewan received two francophone radio stations: CFNS and CFRG (Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne 1992:6).

Favourable legislation did not come until the sixties though. Québec's political and cultural revitalization movement of the 1960s, known as the "Quiet Revolution," was a reaction against perceived English oppression of the French majority. Provincial governments paid heed, realizing they had to make concessions to their
French-speaking populations in order to discourage the support to the sovereigntist movement in Quèbec (Genuist 1986:71). The federal government’s response was to launch the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, known as the B&B Commission, in 1963. The B&B Commission recommended to the provinces that they take into consideration the rights of the French minorities.

In 1964, the Association Catholique Franco-Canadienne altered its name to reflect the change in the sphere of its activities. Because responsibility for French education was taken over by the Provinces, it began to concern itself more with cultural and political issues. The ACFC also wanted to distance itself from the misconception that anything French was necessarily Catholic (Huel 1986:14). The name was changed to Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne, retaining the acronym ACFC.

In 1966, the first Supervisor of French Instruction was hired by the Ministry of Education. The School Act was amended in 1967 and French was allowed "as [the] language of instruction during the one hour a day of French instruction" (Denis and Li 1988:358). In 1968 another amendment to the School Act permitted "the government to ‘designate’ schools where French could be used for more than one hour a day" (Denis and Li 1988:358). According to Denis and Li, the amount of French to be offered in the schools remained subject to government approval.

Despite the promising legislation, French-Canadians had to fight for their designated schools to the extent of having to take some regional school divisions to court. Thirteen designated schools were established in 1968 after much lobbying on the part of French-Canadians (Denis and Li 1988:358-360).
By the beginning of the First World War, **La Patriote de L'Ouest** was in debt. For nearly twenty-five years the editors struggled to keep the newspaper afloat. The editors decided to merge with **La Liberté**, the French newspaper in Manitoba, and on April 23, 1941 **La Liberté et La Patriote** circulated its first publication, serving both Manitoba and Saskatchewan francophones for another thirty years (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:272-273). The ACFC began distributing a news bulletin in 1967 due to the lack of Saskatchewan content in **La Liberté et La Patriote**. In 1971, the newspaper lost its status as the official organ of the ACFC (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:273). A weekly French language newspaper, **L’Eau Vive**, went into production in 1971 to fill the void. It provided the links between the dispersed communities and analyzed issues of concern to the French-Canadians of Saskatchewan (Genuist 1986:72).

In a telephone conversation with historian Laurier Gareau, I learned that the ACFC organized a contest in 1971 to provide a new name for the French-Canadians in Saskatchewan. The **L’Eau Vive** was used for the promotion of the contest. It was won by Abbé Jean Patoine with the term "Fransaskois" (personal communication with Laurier Gareau 1994; Gareau 1992b:11).

The Ministry of Education created a second position for a Supervisor of French Instruction in 1972 (Julé 1984:232). In 1974, the Commission Culturelle Fransaskoise was established by the Fransaskois (Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne 1992:6). It was the first organization to use the term "Fransaskois" in their name. The youth organized the Association Jeunesse Fransaskoise in 1977 (Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne 1992:6). In that same telephone
conversation with Laurier Gareau in 1994, I was told that in 1979 the ACFC
sponsored another nationalistic contest, this time for a flag. Laurier Gareau, Richard
Marcotte and Lionel Bonneville won the contest with a design carrying the colours of
the Saskatchewan flag and the fleur de lys (personal communication with Laurier
Gareau 1994). According to L'Eau Vive, the cross symbolized the efforts of the
missionaries who originated most of the francophone centres in the West and the
flower, which adorned La Vérendrye's flag, represented francophones (Eau Vive
1979).

In 1980, the Saskatchewan Government opened the Bureau de la Minorité de
Langue Officielle in Regina (Genuist 1986:71). In 1981, the Association des
Commissaires d'Écoles Franco-Canadiennes (ACEFC), in cooperation with the
ACFC, presented the Government of Saskatchewan with a proposal to implement a
French-Canadian School Board. The Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 gave
the French population outside of Québec renewed hope to gain the same rights
enjoyed by anglophones in Québec and the Acadians in New Brunswick (Genuist
1986:71). In 1983, the ACEFC became the Commission des Écoles Fransaskoises
(CEF) and, with parent committees, continued to push for repatriation of full control
over the education of their children. The CEF and ACFC presented another brief
but, in 1985, the Devine Government rejected their requests (Dubois 1986:215-216).

The 1980s saw many defeats for those seeking substantive recognition of French
linguistic rights in education. However, some struggles over linguistic rights resulted
in victory. One of these triumphs was won by the Abbé Mercure. After receiving a
traffic ticket in 1980, Abbé Mercure made the decision to go to court, requesting that
his trial be held in French. He based his request on the Haultain motion of 1892 which proposed to disallow French in the Territorial Assembly. Although French had not given legal recognition in the Territorial Assembly after 1892, it was determined that Haultain’s motion had never been proclaimed law under section 110 of the North-West Territories Act. Therefore, it could be interpreted that French remained one of the two official languages of the Saskatchewan government, and, accordingly, of the provincial courts (Denis and Li 1988:354; Sheppard 1971:85-89). Mercure was forced to pursue his case as far as the Supreme Court of Canada where a decision in his favour was handed down. According to Lapointe and Tessier, the decision explained that,

the law that governed Saskatchewan before it became a province in 1905, was still in effect. This means that citizens have the right to speak French in the courts and in the legislature and that provincial laws must be written in both official languages (1988:315).

In 1988, francophones celebrated another legal victory. Judge Wimmer, Court of Queen’s Bench, ruled that the French-Canadians of Saskatchewan had the right to manage their own educational institutions (Gareau 1992c:12). With the turn of the decade even greater triumphs were in store for French-Canadians. The 1991 Saskatchewan election resulted in a victory for the New Democratic Party (NDP). I attended the 1991 Annual ACFC Rendez-Vous, where the then Minister of Education, Carol Teichrob, addressed the assembly. She stated that the NDP would pass enabling legislation for a French-Canadian School Board. The members of the assembly showed their scepticism with a resigned applause. I was told by a Principal of a Designated School that people did not want to show eagerness because they were
wary of politicians' promises. The "Fransaskois" had been disappointed often and required action rather than promises from political addresses, he stated.

The next year, Laurier Gareau, a journalist and historian, wrote, "Aujourd'hui, en 1992, les parents francophones attendent toujours le droit de contrôler leurs écoles, comme le faisaient nos grands-parents au début du siècle" (Gareau 1992a:2). It is now 1994 and the French-Canadian school issue is being resolved. Elections were held for eight Fransaskois School Boards on June 24, 1994. The Gravelbourg school board took office immediately and the other seven on August 2, 1994. All school administration and full responsibility will be transferred to these new boards on January 1, 1995.

4.2 Community Histories

Francophone settlement in the North-West Territories developed in three stages. It began during the exploratory and fur trade era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. French-speaking Voyageurs established fur trading posts along significant river routes. Eighty-six trading posts were constructed during the fur trade era, approximately twelve of which became permanent settlements. The majority of posts that became permanent settlements were built by Québécois for the Northwest Company. The second stage began around the 1850s with the arrival of the Métis. They founded communities along river routes and across the Prairies. Métis immigration ceased with the Resistance of 1885 though the Métis nation continued to

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8 For a detailed discussion, please read Alan Anderson's *French Settlements in Saskatchewan: Historical and Demographic Perspectives* (1985a).
increase. For another fifty years, francophones from Québec, Europe and the United States joined the Prairie populations and established ethnic bloc settlements. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, two series of French bloc settlements developed across the northern and southern Saskatchewan prairies (Anderson 1985a:1-8). The current study is concentrated on the northern settlements where the communities of Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin are located. The profiles presented in the next sections are drawn primarily from community histories, supplemented on occasion by other sources. It was interesting to note the items chosen by each community for historical commemoration. Both Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue described their communities as French-Canadian, to the extent of keeping French spelling and language in the English versions of their accounts. Marcelin, on the other hand, made reference to their French heritage only at the beginning of the text when they described where the pioneers originated. Nothing was said about any organizations developed for the French, such as the ACFC, or even the French language instruction in the convent.

The following sections have a dual purpose: they serve to provide a general overview of the development of the three study communities and to draw attention to those aspects that can provide some context for the views of French-Canadians now living in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin.

4.2.1 Zenon Park

Settlement of the West was a high priority for the Canadian Government at the turn of the century. Much of the publicity was focused in Québec and in the United
States where many French Canadians had migrated to work in textile factories. Abbé Philippe Antoine Bérubé enticed hundreds of textile workers from New England to the prairies with promises of free transportation and one hundred and sixty acre homesteads with fertile farmland (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:120). Abbé Bérubé became concerned that French Catholics were not settling in Northern Saskatchewan as quickly as other ethnic groups. He furthered his recruitment strategy in the early nineteen hundreds by writing in eastern newspapers "that young Francophones need no longer fear losing their faith or their language since the school legislation in the North-West would satisfy Catholic hearts" (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:120). His colleagues in the Prince Albert Diocese were in serious disagreement with his view of the situation. They were supported by their Archbishop, Monseigneur Langevin, who declared to Bishop Pascal, "We cannot be satisfied with the school situation in either Saskatchewan or Alberta because, in principle, these schools are non-denominational" (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:120). Also, English was the main language of instruction and was not, to these clergy, satisfactory to French Catholic education. Despite Abbé Bérubé's recruitment methods, questionable in view of the eroding rights of the French Canadians, he was successful at influencing "Franco-American immigration to the northern regions of the Saskatchewan prairies" (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:120).

In 1910, a group of prospective Franco-American settlers travelled northeast of Prince Albert toward an area where they were met with hills covered in dense bush (Village of Zenon Park 1990:7). The conditions of the land were unexpected and those who could afford to do so, returned to their original homes in Québec and in the north central United States (Village of Zenon Park 1990:7). The people who
stayed cleared the required ten acres of land, received their 160 acre homestead titles and began farming: a community was started (Village of Zenon Park 1990:8).

According to local historians, Jeanne Hudon and J.L. Courteau, the clearing of the land led to an abundance of lumber (1980:3). In 1912, the first sawmill was erected (Hudon and Courteau 1980:3). The rural municipality of Arborfield was formed in 1913; the French homesteaders fell within its district (Hudon and Courteau 1980:3). The closest post office was over two and one-half miles north east of the present village site. The community members chose to send a petition to Ottawa to open a post office at the residence of Zenon Chamberland. Since Chamberland’s land already provided a park area for the people to gather on Sunday afternoons, the name "Zenon Park" was agreed upon for the name of the post office and the community (Hudon and Courteau 1980:4). That same year, 1913, the first church was built and in 1914 the Bishop, Monseigneur Pascal, visited and presided at the community’s first Confirmation. Later that year, the church witnessed its first marriage (Hudon and Courteau 1980:5). Soon, another petition was circulated requesting that the railway come to Zenon Park (Hudon and Courteau 1980:3).

According to B. Wilhelm, B. Rainey and C. Blachford, the spanish flu epidemic ravaged the region in 1919 and ten years later, diphtheria plagued the settlers (1976:23). There were no doctors in Zenon Park during these times. The community members had to travel thirty kilometres to Tisdale by a horse-drawn caboose for medical services (Wilhelm, Rainey and Blachford 1976: 23).

The children attended schools near the community. These included Old Arborfield School, Treasure School, Verchères, École Goyer and École La
Marseillaise. The first rural telephone in Zenon Park arrived in 1925. That year, a cheese factory was set up as a cooperative. It closed a few years later due to a poor market. The Zenon Park Public School was built in 1928. By 1931, approximately ninety children were attending the public school. In 1928, a Knights of Columbus sub-council formed and in 1948 they formed their own Council. The École du Village Zenon Park was built in 1928. A railway line travelling through Zenon Park was agreed to in 1928 (Hudon and Courteau 1980:7-13). Mr. Courteau built a store near the future site of the train station (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:93). The family still kept the store operating in 1991 when I conducted my fieldwork. The first freight train passed through in 1930 and the first passenger train came in 1931, carrying with it the mail. Also in 1931, the cheese factory re-opened as a private business (Hudon and Courteau 1980:7-13).

The 1930s brought to Zenon Park not only the international economic crisis but the harsh reality of Saskatchewan’s unpredictable weather system. In 1930, a tornado swept through and damaged many buildings, barns and houses. Then the first drought came. Financial difficulties did not subside at the close of the decade. A second drought hit the region in 1939 causing many farmers to default on loans and banks to foreclose on farms (Wilhelm, Rainey and Blachford 1976:22).

The first religious order, Les Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie, did not arrive in Zenon Park until 1932. They taught at the École du Village up to 1935 when they were replaced by Les Soeurs de la Charité de Notre Dame d’Évron, who also
operated a boarding school for students (Hudon and Courteau 1980:14). Electricity came to Zenon Park in 1935 (Hudon and Courteau 1980:16)\(^9\).

The lumber industry supplemented the poor farm economy during the depression in the thirties. Many farmers found employment in logging and lumber camps. The only sawmill operation in Zenon Park expanded during the 1930s, providing employment and even economic growth for the community (Hudon and Courteau 1980:16).

The Village of Zenon Park was incorporated in 1940 and with this decade local commerce developed and prospered. In 1942, the Caisse Populaire Notre Dame was established and a Co-op store opened (Wilhelm, Rainey and Blachford 1976:24). The first curling rink was built in 1946 and a covered skating rink was constructed in 1951 (Hudon and Courteau 1980:17). The Hôpital Notre Dame was officially opened in 1952 and was managed by Les Soeurs de Notre Dame de Chambriac with Doctor Mandin (Hudon and Courteau 1980:18). The Zenon Park Rural Telephone Company was formed in 1953 and serviced approximately twelve hundred people (Hudon and Courteau 1980:12). Under the direction of Les Frères du Sacré-Coeur, a boys' boarding school opened in 1956. That same year, ten self-contained suites were built as low rental housing for senior citizens (Hudon and Courteau 1980:18).

The main industry of Zenon Park was farming and the second, lumbering. In 1961, the community diversified and built the Zenon Park Co-operative Dehydrators Ltd: the first alfalfa dehydrator in Saskatchewan. As a Centennial Project, the curling

\(^9\) For a history of rural electrification, please read **Power for a Province: A History of Saskatchewan Power** by Clinton White (1976).
rink was replaced with a larger one in 1967. A second alfalfa plant, Parkland Alfalfa Products Ltd., was constructed in 1968. Also in 1968, a private honey farm business was started by the Moyen family and became the largest in the province. In 1972, a local employment scheme called Zenon Park Industries started manufacturing clothing (Hudon and Courteau 1980:17-20).

Factors contributing to Zenon Park's rural decline began to emerge in the late sixties and early seventies. By 1969, the Department of Health wanted to replace the hospital with an outpatient clinic. In 1972, Les Soeurs de Notre Dame de Chambriac left due to a lack of Sisters joining the order. Two Grey Nuns came but left in 1973. That year, Hôpital Notre Dame was converted to the Zenon Park Community Health and Social Centre, providing visits twice weekly by a doctor and four times a week by a nurse. A public health nurse held office hours once a week. Many services were delivered out of the Centre to assist senior citizens (Zenon Park History Book Committee 1983:25-26). According to the Zenon Park History Book Committee members, the residents felt these new services did not replace the benefits the hospital had offered (1983:26).

The dates when the boys' boarding school and the convent closed and when all Sisters left the community are not clear from the published histories. Participants in the study were not able to provide exact dates, however the mid-seventies seemed to be the approximate time of closures and departures most respondents referred to.

In 1977, Zenon Park engaged in a socio-cultural exchange with Baie St. Paul, Québec as a strategy to halt anglicization of the French language in Zenon Park. The project, named Saskébec, linked the two isolated communities together by satellite.
Approximately fifty communications of one hour each were transmitted through
colour televisions capable of providing immediate interaction between the members of
both communities (Wilhelm, Rainey and Blachford 1976:6-8).

By 1980, the community’s religious, social and French cultural services and
organizations numbered to nineteen (Hudon and Courteau 1980:22). According to the
Village of Zenon Park, as of 1990, there was a total of nineteen businesses there.
Twenty-five percent of the businesses were retail. Alfalfa dehydration, apiculture and
Hi-Ridge Television were a few of the unique enterprises. Parkland Alfalfa was the
main employer, the school second and the French institutions third (Village of Zenon
Park 1990:iv). The French institutions included La Pouponnière (a daycare), the
Association Fransaskoise de Zenon Park (a cultural and political organization) and the
Fédération des Aînées (a senior citizens society). The rest of the employment was
found on farms (Village of Zenon Park 1990:iv). Although food prices were only
slightly higher in Zenon Park, community members preferred to incur the travel costs
to shop in larger centres, such as Tisdale and Nipawin (Village of Zenon Park
1990:v). Many residents participated in community recreational activities and events,
such as curling, while retired couples travelled south in the winter.

3.2.2 St. Isidore-de-Bellevue

After the first Métis Resistance of 1869-70 in Manitoba, many Métis families
took refuge along the banks of the South Saskatchewan, forming the community of
Batoche. From Québec, Azarie Gareau joined his brothers, Ludger and Napoléon, to
work as a carpenter for the Oblates in 1882. Azarie Gareau subsequently brought his
whole family West and since the land at Batoche was occupied, they settled nearby on a homestead. This first homestead in 1883 was known as Garonne. Later, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was built around Garonne (Service Fransaskoise d’Éducation Adultes (SFEA) 1987:5; Lapointe 1987:101).

In 1885, Azarie Gareau and his entire family were placed under house arrest for assisting Métis refugees during the Resistance (SFEA 1987:8). The same year, the Bellevue school district was created and "was the first Catholic public school district in the North-West Territories" (Lapointe and Tessier 1988:35fn). An influx of French immigrants from Europe came soon after the Resistance to St. Louis and the surrounding area. Several communities nearby were also settled by immigrants from France, such as Hoey and Domrémy. St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, which was situated between Domrémy and Batoche, was settled primarily by Québécois and Acadians. Many francophone immigrants joined the Métis communities nearby, notably at Duck Lake and St. Laurent (Anderson 1985a:7-10). The influx of francophones to St. Laurent "became the nucleus of one of the largest French settlements in the prairies, despite the scattering of the Métis" (Anderson 1985a:8). St. Isidore-de-Bellevue grew in an area settled by French-speaking people.

The Government of Canada was anxious to settle the West with more Eastern Canadians. It hired Azarie Gareau in 1892 to recruit people from eastern Canada. He was successful with the Gaudets, his spouse's relatives, who arrived in 1894 (SFEA 1987:6). The Gareau and Gaudet families were the most extended kin networks in the community. They were "descended from Acadian exiles who had resettled around St. Jacques in Montcalm, Québec, before coming to Bellevue in 1883
and 1894" (Anderson 1985a:9). Other Acadian and Québeois families came in the following years and agriculture became their main industry.

In 1897, Gareau housed one of the first post offices to service the area. However, community members were still obliged to travel ten miles to the nearest church in Batoche. In 1902, the Abbé P.E. Myre arrived, taking a homestead on top of a hill with a little school house on it that served as a temporary church. Abbé Myre allegedly called the site "une belle vue" and the parish was founded as Bellevue. He later added St. Isidore to the name, this saint having been a labourer as were the people of the area (SFEA 1987:10). In 1902, Abbé Myre built a presbytery and l’École de Bellevue opened with catechism classes taught by the priest (SFEA 1987:16-17, 26). More francophone settlers arrived from Québec and the United States in 1903 (Association Culturelle de Bellevue (ACB) 1991:3). St. Isidore-de-Bellevue’s first official post office was established in 1904. Honoré Beaulieu opened the first store in 1907 (SFEA 1987:17). Construction on a new church began in 1907 but it was damaged later in a summer storm (SFEA 1987:10). École Gaudet started in 1912 (SFEA 1987:26). Another store opened in 1923 (SFEA 1987:17). Services began in a new church in 1926 though construction was not completed until 1927. The church was built on a swamp and, subsequently, suffered structural problems. Regardless of flooding, the parishioners continued to attend mass (SFEA 1987:10-12).

The depression hit the community hard in 1929 but, in 1930, École St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was constructed. In 1944, the Caisse Populaire opened (ACB 1991:3). Construction of the church in the twenties had left the parish with a debt. Abbé Hector Robert arrived in 1946 and had to eradicate that debt. Another building to
house Les Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie was needed but the parish was not able to afford construction. Abbé Robert later gave them the presbytery to live in when the Sisters arrived in 1958 (SFEA 1987:13). In 1947, another store opened in the community (SFEA 1987:17) and the first garage opened (ACB 1991:3). A centralized school was built in 1954 (ACB 1991:3). It was in the mid-fifties that St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was designated a hamlet (SFEA 1987:22). Several more stores opened in the area but in 1957 one of them became a coffee shop (SFEA 1987:17). By 1961, renovations to fix the damage and re-engineer the church structure were found to be too expensive and a new church was built. That same year, crops were abundant despite a small drought (SFEA 1987:13).

In 1963, a curling arena was erected and in 1967 the community hall was built. Also in 1967, the school in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue became a designated school in which French language instruction was predominant. The Club Âge D’Or was founded in 1967 as well (ACB 1991:3).

Donalda Topping organized a chapter of the Fédération des Femmes Canadiennes Françaises in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue in 1974. Also in that year, Madame Topping was a delegate at an information meeting sponsored by the Commission Culturelle Fransaskoise. The purpose of the meeting was to establish local cultural committees. The first such committee in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was formed under the name of Club Culturel in the 1970s. Madame Topping was the founder and president. They located the Club Culturel in a rented house, but the building was not large enough to house all its activities. Larger cultural events took place either at the school or the community hall (SFEA 1987:18-19).
In 1977, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was the first community in Saskatchewan to have a francophone scouting troop (SFEA 1987:24). The pea, lentil and bean processing plant, Belles Pulses, that began operation in 1976 opened a larger industrial building in 1978. The family business employed many local people during spring and fall seasons (ACB 1991:3). In 1980, a new building was constructed for the Caisse Populaire (SFEA 1987:20-21).

In the early eighties a theatre troupe, Les Quats’Coins, was organized (SFEA 1987:22). In 1981, the Association Culturelle de Bellevue was incorporated. The Club Culturel rented the presbytery as its main centre but the building was not large enough to house the growing club’s activities. In 1984, the community began construction on a cultural centre that would meet the needs of the francophone population. They integrated the Club Culturel to Association Culturelle de Bellevue. Members of the Association opened the Centre Culturel Le Rendez-Vous in 1985. It offered a coffee shop and restaurant, called Le Rendez-Vous, a private bar, arts and crafts activities, youth activities, performance art, a library and educational classes (SFEA 1987:18-19). A preschool opened in 1986 and the theatre group, Les Bel-Etoiles, was founded (ACB 1991:4). Many youth activities were needed; in 1986 the Club de Jeunes organized (SFEA 1987:24).

By 1986, the Centre had become the nucleus for cultural promotion in the community and became a cultural attraction (ACB 1991:4). It continued to serve the cultural and economic needs of the community, at least until 1991, when I conducted fieldwork.
4.2.3 Marcelin

Antoine Marcelin, a Québécois, moved from Olga, North Dakota to the Coteau Hills of the North-West Territories in 1889. In 1902, he acquired land scrip from the Métis and settled in an area known to the Cree as Sequopa, meaning a group of trees, which encompasses the present site of Marcelin. Antoine Marcelin intended to call the place St. Albert but the name had already been appropriated for a Catholic mission near Fort Edmonton. He then accepted the recommendation that the community be named after himself (Lapointe 1988:302; Bonin and Grenier 1980:20). French Catholics from Europe settled in the Coteau district to the west and east of Marcelin primarily between 1902 and 1917. In the 1930s, French-Canadians from the southern part of Saskatchewan settled in the area also. The parishes in Blaine Lake, Hafford and Alberton were founded by French-Canadians and were served mainly by French priests, although both Blaine Lake and Hafford were inhabited by Eastern European immigrants mainly (Anderson 1985a:14). Gradually, greater numbers of non-francophone immigrants came from Russia, the Ukraine, Poland and Hungary, and established their homesteads south and east of Marcelin (Bonin and Grenier 1980:3). According to Anderson, in 1971 forty-two percent of the population in Marcelin and the Coteau District were French-speaking (1985a:14).

The first Roman Catholic church was built in 1904 and blessed by Monseigneur Pascal in 1907 under the patronage of St. Albert. The founder of the parish, Abbé Charles Caron, also taught children the basics of reading, writing and mathematics (Bonin and Grenier 1980:16). A request for a school went out in 1906 and the Marcelin School District was established in 1907 (Bonin and Grenier 1980:20). In
1911, the Canadian National Railway was built in the area with the first train passing in July. The village moved one half mile west to the site of the railway. The church, school and cemetery moved and eventually the community grew and prospered. Houses, hardware stores, the Marcelin-Inn, the Windsor Hotel, a two-storey general store, a harness shop, a shoe store, a butcher, a blacksmith, a pharmacy, feed stables a barber shop and a medical facility were built (Bonin and Grenier 1980:4).

In 1912, the parish of Marcelin organized the first local circle of the Association Franco-Canadienne de la Saskatchewan (Denis 1974:79; Huel 1986:11). Les Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie founded a convent and began management of the school in 1914 (Bonin and Grenier 1980:19)10. In 1917, telephone lines were installed. The switchboard was located in the post office. By 1922, the parish had outgrown St. Albert's Church. Construction soon began on a new building and in 1923 it was completed and renamed St. Joseph's Church. St. Albert's Church was converted into the parish hall (Bonin and Grenier 1980:6). Also in 1923, the first high school opened under the direction of the Sisters (Bonin and Grenier 1980:21).

The economic crisis of 1929 brought an end to the construction boom. Between 1929 and 1936 at least five fires destroyed businesses, the school and barns and caused two fatalities (Bonin and Grenier 1980:4-5). During the thirties and forties some of the businesses were rebuilt and new ones were established. In 1937, the Marcelin Women's Institute, also known as the Marcelin Homemaker's Club, was

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10 Bonin and Grenier referred to Les Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie as the Sisters of the Presentation of Mary in their history of Marcelin. I chose to translate the name back to French because it better reflects the period of their presence in Marcelin and their role in the community.
The Club organized fundraising events and volunteers to realize such projects as a tennis court, a playground and the community hall. They also donated to the curling rink, skating rink and to sports events (Bonin and Grenier 1980:28).

Sorrow touched the community in the forties when five men from Marcelin were killed in action during the Second World War (Bonin and Grenier 1980:14). Construction on a new parish hall began in 1940 (Bonin and Grenier 1980:16). That year, the Marcelin Co-Operative Association Ltd. was created under the direction of a Board of Directors (Bonin and Grenier 1980:29). The Marcelin Savings and Credit Union was incorporated in 1944. A Co-op elevator was erected (Bonin and Grenier 1980:7). In 1948, three church bells were purchased and installed (Bonin and Grenier 1980:16). Interest in curling started in the forties but it was not until 1953 that a curling rink was built (Bonin and Grenier 1980:9). In 1954, a branch of the Catholic Women’s League was formed (Bonin and Grenier 1980:16). By 1959, the school population had risen to over three hundred due to the enrolment of eighty students from the Muskeg Lake First Nation reserve. Space became a problem and in 1960 the Marcelin High School opened and the Central School Board was established (Bonin and Grenier 1980:20-21).

A volunteer fire brigade was organized and in 1961 the first community fire truck was bought. Water and sewage came in 1965. A library board was formed in 1966 and the books were housed in the village office (Bonin and Grenier 1980:9). After fifty-two years of service, Les Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie left the community. The anonymous respondents, quoted here by Bonin and Grenier, reflected the spiritual loss felt by the community:
In 1966, the era of the influence of religious life in our district came to an end when the Sisters, after due consideration and regret, decided to leave Marcelin. All members of the Community are unanimous in saying it was a sorry day for Marcelin when the Sisters left (Bonin and Grenier 1980:19).

In the seventies many community facilities and services were established. In 1972, a covered ice rink was constructed and used mainly by the Marcelin Knights hockey team (Bonin and Grenier 1980:9). The Marcelin’s Pensioners and Pioneers Social Club formed in 1973 and the New Horizon Club incorporated. A hall was renovated for their activities (Bonin and Grenier 1980:29). The official library building opened its doors in 1975. The village hall was renovated in 1975 as was the fire hall in 1976. Ten senior citizens' low rental housing units were built by the Housing Authority in 1977. That same year, a new restaurant opened. In 1978, the Multi-Purpose Centre and a laundromat were constructed (Bonin and Grenier 1980:9).


There have been no histories about Marcelin published since 1980. Based on my observations and descriptions provided to me by respondents, very little construction has taken place in Marcelin since the eighties. Respondents were concerned about the continued depopulation and economic downtrends in their community and surrounding area and did not feel much hope for improvement or a return to better times.
4.3 Summary

The community histories presented above illustrated both the similarities and differences among Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin. Where possible, the French-Canadian aspects of the communities were described to provide a context for the cultural strategies which are the focus of this study. One can see from the above histories that, although Marcelin’s attempts to promote French-Catholic interests date back as early as 1912, they did not continue to develop as they did in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. In Marcelin, there was a steady increase in the numbers of non-francophones moving to the community to the point that French-Canadians now comprise a minority of the population. In Zenon Park, French-Canadians make-up approximately three quarters of the population and in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue non-French-Canadians constitute about five percent. When the community language in Marcelin became English, French language support institutions, such as the French mass and French Catholic convent schools, became obsolete. In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, the main community language remains French. The desire to maintain it as the communities’ principal language is reflected in the French institutions which persist. The following chapter illustrates the views some residents from Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin have about their ethnicity with particular emphasis on the importance of the French language.
5.0 BEING FRENCH-CANADIAN IN ZENON PARK, ST. ISIDORE-DE-BELLEVUE AND MARCELIN

The following chapter is organized thematically. Subject areas are based on the questionnaire topics and organized into chapter sub-sections. The communities' responses are discussed comparatively within each sub-section. Quotations from respondents were used often to represent their sentiments as fully as possible. This chapter does not rely on statistical evidence, rather, it attempts to express the subjective views and feelings of respondents. Numbers do not necessarily reflect the amount of influence an opinion may carry. The position of each person and their sphere of influence would have determined the representativeness of their viewpoints and their potential effects. However, due to the scope of this study and the anonymity promised to respondents I was not able to provide that information.

5.1 Ethnic Identity, Definition and Membership Criteria

In Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin, most French-speaking respondents identified themselves as French-Canadian rather than with other designators such as Canadian, French or Fransaskois. There was a small minority from other ethnic groups that was not French-Canadian but who identified as being francophones. Among the seniors, sixty years old and up, the term "Canadiens" was used to identify French-Canadians. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, some identified themselves as being both French-Canadian and Acadian. However, most who
described their Acadian roots did not refer to themselves as Acadian but simply
"descendance Acadien." In Marcelin, those whose parents came from France
identified themselves as being French and distinct from French-Canadians. In all
three communities, several identified themselves as Canadian because although their
parents were French-Canadian they themselves no longer spoke the language: a
necessary criterion for identifying as French-Canadian, in their view.

Fransaskois was used as a term to identify French-Canadians living in
Saskatchewan. Few respondents used this term. Those who did were generally
involved in promoting the French-Canadian culture through language-use activities
and political lobbying. To one seventeen-year-old living in Zenon Park,

Canadien-français, c'est trop global; comme tu peux être un Canadian-
français en Colombie [Brittanique]. Tandis que le Fransaskois, c'est
vraiment de la Saskatchewan. C'est plus précis. C'est quelqu'un qui
demeure en Saskatchewan et puis qui demande beaucoup pour la cause
française et puis parle, puis il est impliqué dans toute sorte de chose et,
vraiment, qui vie son français.

Conversely, a seventeen-year-old from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue stated,

"Personellement, je n'aime pas le mot Fransaskois. Je trouve que c'est trop 'clicky.'
J'aime mieux francophone, parce que c'est général."

Respondents who did not use the term Fransaskois classified those who did as
being Québécois living in Saskatchewan and activists belonging to the Association
Culturelle Franco-Canadienne. Many did not feel comfortable identifying themselves
as Fransaskois because they had spent many years identifying themselves as French-
Canadian. A man in his sixties from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue added, "C'est bien beau
d'être Fransaskois, mais il faut avoir de la sincérité; et à quel point il y a de la
sincérité, bien?" One young man from Zenon Park classified the older people as
"Français Canadien, c'est vieux ça; c'est le vieux monde. Les jeunes sont des
Fransaskois - le new breed. Le new breed c'est les jeunes, comme moi!"

The majority of those who self-identified as French-Canadian tended to define
themselves as Canadian first, French second. This was true of Zenon-Park, St.
Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin and was best described by a thirty-five-year-old
from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue:

Moi, je suis Canadien premièrement; ensuite, je suis Français de la
Saskatchewan. Moi, je ne suis pas un Français du Canada; je suis un
Canadien et puis après, ça s'adonne que je suis Français aussi. Alors, je
suis Canadien-français, et s'adonne que je suis Fransaskois, parce que je
viens de la Saskatchewan.

There were several people, on the other hand, who felt that being or speaking French
was not important, even though French had been their mother-tongue. These were
generally men in their thirties. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue one man said,

Je suis un résident de la Saskatchewan qui s'adonne à parler le français.
On est un petit peu différent, je ne suis pas sûr comment. Moi, je
n'attribue pas ça au français. J'attribue ça au sorte de monde qu'on est;
peut être que c'est la même chose.

A man from Marcelin stated that he was "mostly Canadian, I guess. I don't speak
French that much so I can't call myself French-Canadian. I am not trying to maintain
my French language because I do not think that I would have any hope with it." A
sixty-three-year-old from Marcelin suggested that being French was a part of her
heritage. "I suppose," she said,

it is what you are right from the beginning and you never totally lose that.
Why are natives, native? It is something that is part of your heritage. You
know it's there.
She did not say anything about language.

A person had to have been born and living in Canada to be Canadian and had to have French-Canadian origins to be a member of the French-Canadian group. Although most respondents deemed language to be a priority criterion for group membership, it was considered, by some, secondary to ancestral origins. Most, however, felt that a person at least had to be capable of speaking French to be considered French-Canadian because it was the only way people felt different from anglophones. A minority from all three communities felt that to be French-Canadian one had to be using the French language. Even fewer, from Zenon-Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, felt it necessary to be actively promoting its usage in the home and in the community in order to be French-Canadian. Nonetheless, language played a significant role in self-identification and in the identification of non-members.

Most respondents considered the French language to be a very important aspect of their lives. Those who no longer used it wished they had continued to do so, even if only for the benefit of their children. Most respondents who used French on a regular basis tended to be involved, in one way or another, in maintaining its vitality. The French language was important to them. This could be said of all three communities. Being French-Canadian meant, to most, that they were bilingual. The need to use English was an accepted fact. For those whose mother-tongue and home language was French, English was their second language although it was known to near perfection by many. French, however, had become the accepted second language for most respondents. Several people from each of the communities found this lamentable as they stated that the generation learning French in school rather than
at home will not have French as a first language. This anxiety was expressed well by a woman from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue involved in adult education:

Moï, je pense que le français qu'ils apprennent à l'école c'est un français de religion, un français d'histoire. Ce n'est pas un français de table. Ils n'apprennent pas le spontanéité. Ils n'apprennent pas à parler du cœur. Ils n'apprennent pas à dire que 'ça me fait de la peine quand tu me dis quelque chose de même.' Ils vont le dire en anglais.

Maintenant il n'y a plus assez de français dans l'école; il n'y a plus de moyen qu'il y ait assez de français dans l'école pour franciser une famille, s'ils ne sont pas portés à le parler à la maison. Ça va être le français langue seconde. Ça ne sera jamais la langue du cœur, la langue des émotions.

The meaning of being French-Canadian was explained to me by some respondents as someone who was able to speak French at their leisure without feeling shy. One person from Zenon Park explained that the attitude he wanted to help develop was "d'être sur que tu relax et puis si tu veux parler en français, bien, parle en français; gêne-toi pas." When pressed to go beyond a linguistic characterization, most were unable to define what it meant to be a French-Canadian. Many responded that they knew they were different from non-French-Canadians but they were not sure how. Several considered themselves to be more friendly and family-oriented than members of other ethnic groups. There is a French-Canadian interpersonal style which was perceived as significant and different from the interpersonal style of others. A few remarked that being French-Canadian had to do with their grandparents' history, coming to Zenon Park and clearing the bush for their farms. One woman in her fifties from Zenon Park told me with great fervour, "On a arraché la terre! On a dé- roché la terre!" to highlight the intensity of her commitment to the land and to being and staying French-Canadian. She was showing me the significance of that activity in
the construct of her identity by including herself in the social group that had had the experience nearly two generations earlier.

When asked about traditions most everyone described celebrating the réveillon on Christmas Eve and eating tourtière and soupe aux pois. For one woman in her mid-forties from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, these traditions had to take place in French:

Moi, ma perception de la culture c’est toutes les choses qu’on fait qui nous identifient comme groupe, peut-être un petit peu à part des autres. Et puis, si on ne le fait pas en français, bien, si on ne mange pas une tourtière en français à Noël avec notre famille, c’est rien qu’une tarte au porc. Je trouve que les danses folkloriques, la Ribambelle, si tu vas à un spectacle de Ribambelle et puis que tu n’es pas assis autour d’une table avec des amis, et puis une bouteille de vin, et puis un plat de fromages, et puis tu ne parles pas en français, bien, on pourrait bien être Ukrainien.

A tradition commonly associated with French-Canadians is wood sculpting. It was a favourite pastime of several people in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. One of the artists from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue told me that he was frequently asked if what he did was an example of Saskatchewan’s French-Canadian culture. He told me the following:

On sculpte, pas parce que c’est une coutume française. Le monde, ils nous disent ça. On faisait ça pendant cinq ans, ici à Bellevue, et le monde nous disent qu’on continue les vieilles coutumes du Québec. Quelqu’un nous parlait de culture et traditions françaises. Je ne savais même pas que ça existait. Ce n’est pas pour ça qu’on a commencé ça. Là, on commence à dessiner. Ce n’est pas à cause que c’est une tradition française qu’on fait ça. Si on était des Anglais on le ferait pareil.

His older brother added "C’est personnel, pas culturelle." On occasion he was interviewed by La Société Radio-Canada reporters. The reporters interpreted their sculpting as a French-Canadian tradition. One of the sculptors explained how he dealt about such reporting:
On les laisse faire, et puis qu’ils disent ce qu’ils voudront. S’ils veulent que le monde pense qu’on suit des traditions française, big deal. We don’t fight about it. S’ils veulent dire ça, go ahead, I don’t care.

A common identifier of French-Canadians is their religion. In the three communities studied all were Roman Catholic and most residents attended church on a regular basis. Several of the older members of the community attended mass daily. The majority of respondents stated that their religion was not a cultural fact; it was personal and spiritual. Many recalled that their fathers had told them they were only to marry French Catholic men. These women grew up believing that only the French were Catholic. Although most married Catholic French-Canadians, they realized when they moved out of their communities that there were non-French-Canadian Catholics. Many women told me this when addressing Catholicism and French-Canadian culture. It was their way of saying that Catholicism was something other than cultural because it was shared by other cultures.

Religion was a difficult topic to discuss because of the spiritual nature of their religion. Many respondents simply could not answer questions relating religion to culture.

More people in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue than in Marcelin identified as French-Canadian. In Marcelin, the parents of young families who did not identify as French-Canadian said that their children in turn will not. The ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity of Marcelin must also be considered. There were more ethnic groups speaking languages other than French and English than there were self-identified French-Canadians. I observed Russian, German and Ukrainian being
spoken. In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, francophone French-Canadians comprised the majority of the population.

5.2 Home Language Use

All respondents who identified themselves as French-Canadian or Canadian with French origins, said French was their mother-tongue. For many, as they started school, English replaced French in the home. Subsequently, when they had families of their own, English tended to be their main home language with French used on occasions of family reunions. Their children, in turn, tended not to speak French fluently and, as in Marcelin, many did not learn French at all. In Zenon-Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, I was told that few families maintained French as a regular home language. Those who did, raised children who spoke French fluently.

In the three communities, all but a few people felt it necessary to switch from speaking French to talking in English to accommodate non-French speakers. It was considered polite because it was accepted that all French-Canadians were bilingual whereas English speakers were not. English was usually spoken in public so as not to alienate one’s non-francophone neighbours. A seventeen-year-old from Zenon Park described the issue of switching as follows:

 Ça, c’est difficile, parce qu’il y a toujours des gens qui sont peureux [et] qui vont plier tout de suite, parce qu’ils vont dire ‘bien, on [ne] veut pas l’insulter et c’est notre devoir de parler en anglais.’ Mais il y en a d’autres qui vont dire qu’on devrait être capable de continuer à parler. Mais ça, c’est vraiment difficile parce que moi je crois beaucoup dans le respect. Tu peux dire quelques mots en anglais, parler avec lui, et après ça retourner en français.

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11 I was not able to confirm this statement.
An added issue regarding public language use was apparent in Marcelin. The community consisted of a variety of cultural groups that spoke either French or Russian or German as well as English. English became the public language as a matter of community unity. It was felt that had French been insisted upon by the French-speakers, community peace and solidarity would have been threatened. Most of the respondents had been in situations where they or someone they knew had been chastised for speaking French in the presence of anglophones.

Those who were dissatisfied with the need to speak English to accommodate anglophones, primarily members of Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, preferred using French and maintained French as their home language. In Marcelin, French-Canadians were completely at ease switching and felt no dissatisfaction. For the most part, English had become the preferred language of communication in their homes as well. The following statement from a man in his late sixties living in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue describes the sentiments and practices of many:

C'est accepté en principe que pour conserver notre langue, si on ne sert pas de tous ces moyens-là, éventuellement ça va disparaître, parce qu'on n'en aura pas besoin, puis, la loi du moindre effort s'applique tout le temps.

5.3 Francophone Television, Radio and Newspapers

In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, the majority of the people said they did not watch French language television. However, more people in Zenon Park than in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue reported watching some, though infrequently. I observed only one home, in Zenon Park, watching francophone television consistently. In
Marcelin, the French language television programs were watched for the occasional hockey game by at least one household. I observed the French language channel being watched once in my host family’s home when a report of this study was featured on the news. Many who did not watch the French television station claimed that there was little Saskatchewan news. They felt that there was far too much news about Québec. Several also felt that the shows were boring and that the French was spoken too fast.

Many respondents said that they did not listen to the radio at all. La Société Radio-Canada, the only francophone radio station in Saskatchewan, was listened to by very few people. In Zenon Park, those who did either performed music in the French language or had children in bands that played French music. In both cases, their music was played on the radio. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, only two respondents stated that they listened to the station and I observed one other playing it. In Marcelin, none of the study’s participants listened to that station12. Several people, however, felt that the radio station offered more local news than did the television station.

Approximately half the people interviewed in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue said they received L’Eau Vive, the French language newspaper produced in Saskatchewan. Several others said they no longer subscribed while others had never done so. One person said she no longer needed to have the paper come to her home because she read it at the local school, where it was received for student use.

12 Since not every inhabitant was interviewed it is possible that others watched francophone television and listened to francophone radio.
5.4 Language and Education

Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue currently have similar education systems. Both have French Designated Schools. From kindergarten to grade six, the school is considered Type A and is designated for French-speaking students. In Type A, there must be French instruction at least seventy-five percent of the time. Grades seven through twelve are considered Type B and are designated as immersion or bilingual. Fifty percent of the instruction time must be delivered in French (Saskatchewan Department of Education 1991). The rest of the instruction is in English. Marcelin Kihiw, the school in Marcelin, was run by the Muskeg Lake First Nation. Core French courses were offered at Marcelin Kihiw until the late 1980s when they were replaced by Cree courses. Most Marcelin respondents with school age children sent them to the school in Blaine Lake. None of the respondents sent their children to the local school though I was told that there were some non-Cree children from Marcelin who went there. In all three communities, the Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne (ACFC) had once offered one hour of French schooling as allowed by legislation prior to 1967. Respondents over the age of thirty had been to English language schools but also followed the ACFC programme. Many people, usually those over the age of sixty, recalled that school was all in French. Further discussion revealed that in fact schooling had been in English. Because French continued to be the language of communication among students, respondents either were not able to distinguish between language of instruction and language of interaction or considered the educational language inconsequential to school life.
Several thought it humorous when they realized they had forgotten which language they had been instructed in.

In all three communities, nuns at one time or another provided the French education. In 1991, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was the only community where the nuns, Les Soeurs de la Présentation de Marie, still lived and taught in the regular school system, though few remained. In Marcelin, the diminished use of the language was attributed to the loss of the nuns. Zenon Park interviewees did not make any such assertions, though the presence of the nuns was missed by some.

Most respondents who had been through the system of learning French grammar through ACFC wished that there were more formal French classes in the schools. They considered that the French learned through ACFC had been better than what was currently being taught. Also, they were concerned that too much English was spoken outside of classes. Others, however, felt that more subjects should be taught in English. These parents were worried that their children would not receive an adequate education if they did not have all core subjects taught in English. Everyone agreed that having a second language would offer greater employment opportunities. Fewer stated that it was important to transmit the French language through education for the sake of cultural maintenance.

In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue there was some debate over the quality of education offered by the École de St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. One couple, who claimed that French was their home language, sent their children to an English school in Prince Albert. They were not concerned about the language of the school because they spoke French in the home and were more concerned about the quality of education,
particularly in the sciences. They were also against exclusively French instruction. They suggested that people pushing for an all-French school did not speak French in the home. This couple considered themselves to be a minority in the community.

The husband said,

Quand tu vois qu’ils sont pas prêts à parler à la maison et de l’enseigner à la maison, ils veux toute ses droits là en dehors. It’s kind of two-sided, double-standards. Society has to teach our kids French but we don’t have to do anything about it. But give us all the rights and everything else in French.

He added,

Le monde pensent qu’on est contre le français. Mais on a toujours parler le français à la maison. C’est parce qu’on est contre le cent pourcent français à l’école. So we’ve been labelled as anti-French. En plus de ça, on envoi nos enfants en dehors [de St. Isidore-de-Bellevue pour l’école].

An educator from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, however, told me during a short interview that it was no longer realistic to expect parents to transmit adequately the French language in the home. Unlike the past generation where mothers worked in the home, they were currently employed outside of the home, requiring their young children to be with care givers for a large portion of the day. These care givers, the respondent claimed, tended to utilize English television as an entertainment device while taking care of children. Parents had to rely on external institutions, such as a French school, to teach the French language to their children, he said.

Most discussions in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue surrounding education and language revolved around the overuse of English outside of the classrooms. People were concerned about the lack of French being used by students in the school yard. Some young people in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue
felt that French was "baby talk" and English the language of the adults. One young man recently out of the École de Zenon Park said "À Zenon, les jeunes a poigner l'habitude à parler en anglais tout le temps et on pense que c'est pas 'cool' de parler en français." While observing the children in the school yard in Zenon Park, I noticed the children in kindergarten and grade one playing in French and the older students talking in English.

5.5 Language and the Church

At the Église Notre Dame de la Nativité in Zenon Park, French replaced the Latin services in the mid 1960s. Recently, an English service was provided on Saturday evenings with the main Sunday mass remaining in French. The Sunday service had the greatest attendance due to the high proportion of French speakers in the community. Many people felt they could not pray in English because it was not their langue de coeur. Others went to both services due to a strong commitment to attending church daily. Exogamous couples attend one or the other, and at times both, to accommodate the other one's language. It was felt by many that the Sunday mass was better because there was more music. One young French-Canadian woman felt it important to go to the English mass to play music for them. Several younger people attended the Saturday evening mass because of the timing. They knew if they went out to a party on Saturday night they would not be able to get up for nine o'clock mass. Rather than miss weekly mass attendance, they would go the night before.
While attending the Novenas in Zenon Park, a nine-day Roman Catholic devotion, I observed the rosary being recited in both languages although French predominated. The service was attended, though sparsely, by those sixty years old and older. The Église de St. Isidore was a francophone church. The priest told me that English was used only when requested during wedding and funeral ceremonies. There had been some pressure by an anglophone woman to use English during regular church services. The priest agreed and provided a mass in English. The residents complained and English was never used again for a regular church service. That single English service was consistently brought up by most respondents in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue as an example of the francophones' defence of French.

When discussing the issue of language in the church, a forty-two-year-old from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue stated that when the elderly die, English will predominate in the church. In contrast, at the Église de Notre Dame de la Nativité in Zenon Park the language issue did not dominate discussions because both English and French masses were provided. However, the resident priest told me that one Christmas in the late eighties he gave a bilingual mass and he, too, received objections enough to never repeat such a service.

In the late 1960s at St. Joseph’s Church in Marcelin, French first replaced Latin as the language of worship. However, soon both English and French were being used due to the ethnic heterogeneity of the community. The respondents were not sure when the language changed from French to English but they did say that when English predominated as the community language, it also became the church’s sole language during mass. My host family said that on occasion one of their brothers,
who is a priest in Manitoba, would come and give a French mass to the family and friends in Marcelin. However, it was done in their home and not at the church. In 1991, the priest in Marcelin was a non-French-Canadian, and did not speak French.

In Marcelin there were some remnants of the francophone past of St. Joseph’s Parish. Many of the Christmas canticles were sung in French. Although I was not there to observe the singing at Christmas, I attended a practice where the church choir sang some of the canticles in French for my benefit. I was told that these were a few of the songs that would be sung that Christmas. The parish newsletters usually included some news items written in French. Also, the cemetery still carried a francophone sign: Cimetière.

5.6 Community Language

In each community, all respondents agreed that the use of French had declined. French was usually used by francophones in addressing the French-Canadian elderly in all three communities. Although many younger people suggested that there were some seniors who could not speak English, I did not find this to be correct. A sixty-seven-year-old man from Zenon Park told me, “Moi, je ne peux pas parler en anglais. Bien, je peux, mais pourquoi?!“ I am not certain whether he made this statement to signal defiance against those who insisted on English or if he felt no personal need to speak English.

There were many opportunities to speak French in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. One could go to the grocery store to shop in French, the Caisse Populaire to do banking in French, go to the service station and receive service in
French or buy insurance in French. The Centre Culturel Le Rendez-Vous in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue provided even more situations for French communications. In Marcelin, one could interact in French at the local garage although only people in their sixties and older did so. The owner of the local café was a Chinese-Canadian who spoke French with customers who addressed him in French. All other business in the community was conducted in English. In all three communities, English was the language used when discussing contemporary farm machinery and agricultural business.

The village meetings in Zenon Park and Marcelin, and hamlet meetings in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue were predominantly held in English. Newsletters with information from the meetings in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue were first written in English, then translated and distributed in a bilingual format. In Zenon Park more people than in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue felt uncomfortable about conducting business in French. The only organizations that used French consistently were those developed specifically for French language promotion. The Knights of Columbus was organized in Zenon Park and Marcelin yet the language used was always English. The title of the Council always appeared in English but when I was engaged in French conversation about the group the speaker would use the term Les Chevaliers de Colomb. Les Dames de Ste. Anne was the only francophone association still operating in Marcelin. This church organization held its meetings primarily in French. It was an alternative to the Catholic Women’s League. All but one of the female respondents were also members of the Catholic Women’s League. The lack of institutions in Marcelin for French language and cultural maintenance was
conspicuous. I was told that it would not be prudent to have French ethnic institutions in Marcelin. Most people did not want to alienate their non-francophone neighbours. This was a common theme in Marcelin.

Most adults in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue were concerned about the increasing use of English. In Marcelin, it had become an accepted fact.

5.7 Perceived Language Differences with other French-Canadian Communities

Everyone felt that their language differed from others especially from those in Québec. Most considered that the French spoken in Québec was better than the local dialect of French. "Ils parlent un meilleur français que nous autres," a man from Zenon Park said. Several did not appreciate being corrected by Québécois and reacted by choosing not to speak French. Many respondents noticed, though, that in Québec they had a lot of English expressions too. A thirty-five-year-old considering improving his French by going to Québec, was not convinced that such a move would serve the intended purpose:

Moi, je n’ai jamais été au Québec et j’aimerais y aller. J’ai toujours voulu y aller pour améliorer mon français. Mais depuis deux ou trois ans, j’entends des gens d’ici qui vont là-bas qui reviennent avec des expressions, comme ‘on va aller au bar,’ ou bien ‘on va aller au party.’ Voyons, voyons, nous autres on n’a jamais parlé de même! On a toujours regardé au Québec, aux gens qui savent comment parler le français, et puis là, ils sortent avec ‘on va aller parquer.’ Mais, voyons, ce n’est pas comme ça qu’on parle. Et après ça, ils viennent nous dire que c’est accepté pour parler en français. Bien, give me a break!

Some noticed regional accents in Saskatchewan. One man stated that he could tell where people were from in Saskatchewan just based on their accents. Indeed, within the study groups there were significant phonetic contrasts. I detected an
alveolar trill among francophones in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and a uvular trill in Zenon Park. These are the sorts of phonetic features noticed by those who could determine regional differences.

5.8 French-Canadian Rights

Respondents in Zenon Park had shown a consensus regarding French-Canadian rights. They believed that because the French were one of the two founding European peoples of Canada they were entitled to full language rights. Most felt that the government had not done enough to protect the rights of French-Canadians. One person suggested that in theory the French-Canadians had equal language rights with anglophones but not in practice. A seventy-three-year-old from Zenon Park who was very active in French language voluntary associations expressed her feelings about language rights succinctly:

Nous voulons juste l'égalité entre francophones et anglophones, puis on peux marcher main dans la main, parce que c'est nos voisins. Mais nous aimerions donc que le gouvernement se penche sur cette affaire. Cette affaire n'est même pas naturelle; vraiment, ça devrait être égal. Vu que les deux langues sont officielles au pays, pourquoi qu'on n'aurait pas la chance de travailler dans notre langue et puis de fonctionner dans notre langue?

In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin there was a split of opinion regarding this issue. There were several people who felt that there was no need to grant French-Canadians any rights over those of other ethnic groups. Others felt bilingualism enabled people to be more employable. Many in both communities, however, did state that because French-Canadians were one of two founding nations, they should have more language rights than they have had.
In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue one person questioned the value of French when most business was done in English and another felt that too much money was spent on French language activities and institutions. These statements were countered by others stating that French was important for employability and that it did not cost more money to educate people in French. Although no consensus was found, there were very strong opinions about the French having less rights than the English. Most respondents felt that the French-Canadians should have equal language rights with anglophone Canadians and that other ethnic groups should not have the same status.

In Marcelin, the issue of language rights was connected with living in an ethnically heterogeneous community where everyone at least spoke English. In Marcelin, it was felt by many that everyone should be equal and that the French-Canadians should not have any more or less rights than their Russian neighbours. A few people, upon reflection, thought that as founding members of the country they should have rights. However, they told me they would not want to offend anybody with those rights.

It is interesting to note that most respondents felt that since aboriginal people were on Canadian soil first they should have had their rights settled a long time ago. A thirty-nine-year-old man from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue captured the sentiments expressed by many: "Je crois qu’ils devraient avoir des droits autant que nous autres, les Canadiens-français. C’est parce que c’était leur pays." One French-Canadian from Marcelin expressed a different sentiment regarding both French-Canadian and aboriginal rights:
Like the natives are demanding so much [rights] and the French are doing the same thing and if it comes to that point then the Russians can and the Ukrainians can and what do we become? A bunch of separatists. As far as I'm concerned we are all Canadians.

5.9 The French-Canadian School Board

A majority of the people interviewed in Zenon Park felt that a French-Canadian School Board would benefit their children. They felt that as French-Canadians they should have control over the education of their children because they know what their children need and anglophones do not. The minority views regarding an all-French school were strongly expressed. They felt that the Tisdale School Board understood the needs of the French-Canadians and was meeting those needs. One person in her fifties felt that French-Canadians already had control and to demand anything more would be too pushy. Several people felt that the French language instruction present in the schools at the time was sufficient. Many were concerned that there would be too much French and, therefore, not enough English. One woman explained that many residents in Zenon Park did not attend the meetings about the School Board because "they did not want to be associated with French fanatics. But you aren't. How can you be [a French fanatic] in a French community? It's an education issue not a language [issue]." Perhaps it is because people did not know enough about the subject that they felt they were unable to form an opinion about the School Board.

In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue most of the people interviewed were in favour of the French-Canadian School Board and an all-French school. However, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue had held a referendum on the issue. There was a lot of pressure from other
communities to join the French-Canadian School Board, explained one respondent, but there was not enough information provided to the residents. Another person told me that "when Bellevue refused to join the French School Board [the first time], it shocked people and they blamed St. Isidore-de-Bellevue for its failure." The proposed school board did not meet their needs at that time, I was told. Others expressed the need to have the right to French-Canadian control over their schools respected. "It is the answer to safeguard Fransaskois communities," as one resident put it. At the Rendez-Vous '92, Association Culturelle Franco-Canadienne's annual meeting, the NDP government in Saskatchewan announced that the French-Canadians would receive their School Board. The news was greeted with restrained applause. I was told that the applause was reserved because no one really trusted the government after so many years of being lied to. However, one person exclaimed, "On s'est battu pendant soixante-dix ans pour ça!"

In Marcelin, few people were informed of the subject because a French school was a non-issue in that community. The school was controlled by the Muskeg Lake First Nation. The majority of the people who knew about the French-Canadian School Board were in favour of it. Those who knew little about it tended to be against it. The main concern surrounded the issue of too little English. They felt that they would only learn French and not be bilingual. Bilingualism, one person stated, would be better for employment opportunities. English was deemed crucial to survival in Saskatchewan.

To summarize, those against the French-Canadian School Board felt it would impair the learning of English and of other crucial subjects. People in favour felt that
this would not be the case because English was being learned regardless of French education. Those in favour were considered radicals and fanatics, and those against were deemed anti-French. Both sides had reasons for their views but seemed defensive about them. This became evident in the tension that opposition aroused.

5.10 Ethnic and Linguistic Maintenance Mechanisms

The institution most often listed in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue as necessary for maintaining the French-Canadian culture, that is, language, was the school. A French school was deemed crucial to children learning French at a young age. Both communities have schools where much French is taught and it is possible that in the near future they will have a francophone school controlled and managed by a French-Canadian School Board. Marcelin lost most of its French language instruction soon after the Sisters left in 1966. A French school never developed because of the large anglophone population. Having more French language instruction in the school in Marcelin was never an issue, said one woman, "because by the time immersion came to the city schools, there was not enough funding to put it in our school and there was such a shortage of teachers for this unit. So, they left it as it was." According to one respondent, the lack of French was due to an anti-French attitude among French-Canadians. She said,

On a entendu dire que le monde n'avait pas besoin du français pour vivre et que ça n'est pas pour nous aider. A Marcelin, c'est à cause d'eux qu'on l'a [le français] perdu. C'est pas les Ukrainiens et les Russes; eux autres le veulent encore. Le français ils veulent l'apprendre.
The church was the second institution listed by Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue respondents. Most felt that the church with its French language services played a role in maintaining French in the communities. In Marcelin, the church and the presence of nuns were listed as the primary institutions that had maintained French for many years. The loss of the convent and of French language services at church and at school were deemed to be the main factors contributing to French language loss in Marcelin, according to many of the respondents. One woman in her sixties described the breakdown of one of Marcelin’s main francophone institutions:

They [the nuns] were a good influence on especially my older daughters, the ones who remember them most. But, then they [the nuns] left and that’s when the French really dropped. The nuns instigated the French [language] a lot and then once they left then it turned into a public school and the public school dropped the French as [one of] their two languages and then it continually went downhill.

"They did everything for us," said one man in his forties when he explained how much influence the nuns had had.

Another necessary ethnic maintenance institution listed by respondents in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue was a cultural centre where people could play and relax with a variety of recreational activities. Many talked about the use of the Centre Culturel Le Rendez-Vous as a place to recreate in French. Although some people felt that youth at the Centre still used too much English, the Centre as a whole was touted as a success. However, it alone could not maintain French. A thirty-nine-year-old explained:

On essaie de garder notre école en français le plus possible. Ensuite, on essaie d’organiser beaucoup d’affaires en français. On essaie de garder tous les programmes en français. Avec Le Centre, c’est un gros pouvoir pour faire ça, ces affaires-là. Et aussi, toutes les places d’affaires, ici, sont
toutes françaises; le monde sont français à Bellevue: 95%... Nos parents nous tiennent à garder ça. Bien, si ça n'était pas pour eux autres, premièremment, on n'aurait pas de français, parce qu'ils ont tout le temps dit que la culture commence à la maison, avant ailleurs. Si nos parents avaient parlé l'anglais, on aurait perdu notre français.

The majority of the people from each of the communities felt that daily usage by the family was necessary for maintaining the French language and culture. Most parents in their fifties and sixties whose children no longer spoke French blamed themselves for not having spoken it in the home. If you lose it at home you will never have the language as a langue de coeur, they said. Living in French was necessary for French language and French-Canadian cultural survival. It was explained to me that one should be able to sing in French, play in French, relax in French, go to school in French, attend French mass and do business in French. "D'avoir une qualité de vie en français," was a summary given by a respondent who was employed at the Centre Culturel Le Rendez-Vous.

La Fête Fransaskoise was considered, by Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue residents who had attended, an important event because it gave people an opportunity to enjoy themselves in French and meet with other francophones from Saskatchewan. It was something tangible where people could go and feel a sense of belonging "avec le francophonie... That's [sense of belonging] the big one. The most important. The rest I don't give a shit about," explained a Zenon Park resident. Only one person from Marcelin said that they had been to a Fête Fransaskoise. Most stated they never had the time to go and that the sites were too far away.

Respondents in all three communities stated that ethnic and linguistic exogamy were the main causes of French language loss. This is substantiated by my
observations in several homes where one parent did not speak French. Usually the
mother-tongue of the children was English because the home language of the family
was English. In homes where both parents spoke French, their children tended to
learn French first and English second. However, in most cases English predominated
later as children attended school and chose English as their main language of
communication. There were some homes in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue
where French did continue to be the home-language. These were usually cases where
the parents and children were consciously making an effort to keep French as the
main language. In Marcelin, no homes investigated with school-aged children spoke
French as a daily family language.

English language television was considered by many a deterring factor in French
language maintenance among young people. However, the strong opposition shown
toward television was countered by those who stated that it had less to do with
television than it did with the home environment. "C'est eux autres [les parents] qui
contrôlent [la télévision]. Ils vont voir les résultats seulement vingt ans après," said a
sixty-seven-year-old from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue.

5.11 Involvement in Institutions

The rate of involvement in ethnic identity and language institutions is one way of
determining how many people are consciously committed to maintaining their French-
Canadian ethnicity. In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, anyone with
school-age children was involved in some way or another in the francophone school
issue. As represented by the respondents, both of these communities showed high
rates of involvement in French-Canadian cultural organizations, French-Canadian political associations and French-language-oriented recreational activities. In Marcelin, no one had been involved recently in provincial French-Canadian voluntary associations. Since the only French language organization existing locally was Les Dames de Ste. Anne, there was a low rate of involvement in maintaining French through institutional means.

There were two groups in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue who considered themselves to not be involved in maintaining French through activities other than using French at home: parents with infants and the elderly. The young parents felt that they did not have the time though perhaps they would get involved when their children started going to school. Many of the seniors who had once been involved in the struggle for French-Canadian language rights were retired though they continued to attend activities. There were several elderly people in both communities, however, who continued to be highly active. In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue there were historians, cultural animators, lobbyists and group leaders for francophone youth activities. All were very political and highly motivated individuals whose goals in life included promotion of French language rights in Saskatchewan.

5.12 Québec’s Influence on the Maintenance of French-Canadian Culture in Saskatchewan

Most everyone felt that Québec had an influence on the promotion and maintenance of the French language. In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, going to visit relatives, going on exchange trips, the availability of French books and
funding were considered ways in which Québec had a positive influence on the maintenance of the language and, therefore, the culture. In Marcelin, most considered Québec to have had a financial and cultural influence.

Everyone showed concern about the potential break-up of Canada due to Québec separation, but yet, they understood Québec’s need for self-determination. They hoped that Québec would not separate because they felt that such an action would hurt all of Canada. Most of them also felt that the effects of separation would be devastating to French-Canadians outside of Québec:

> Le Québec est comme un tronc d’arbre et nous autres, on est les branches. Si le tronc meurt, nous autres on meurt avec. Le Québec est un gros points d’apuis même si ils sont un peu différents dans leurs manières. Ça sera comme coupé les branches d’un arbre; éventuellement on sècherait.

**5.13 Prejudice against French-Canadians**

The majority of the respondents said that they did not suffer any prejudice because they were French-Canadian. However, many of them described situations that either they or someone close to them had been in where what could be considered discrimination was displayed. These included being told not to speak French on the job or in public situations, and being teased with name calling. Others talked about how they had suffered because they were French-Canadian. One young woman from Zenon Park said that she had been called a "French chick" by some young men on a bus one day and a "French frog" by students from the neighbouring community of Arborfield. She was also told by other French-Canadian students to turn off the French music she was playing on her cassette deck at school. One man from Zenon
Park described having been told by his supervisor not to speak French at work because the English had won the war hundreds of years ago. After the employee threatened to quit, the supervisor apologized. The respondent asked the supervisor if he would like to be called "a limey." When he answered "no," the respondent then told him "Well, you are a Canadian and so am I." This respondent told me that things began to work out better between him and his supervisor once he discovered that the supervisor regretted not being able to speak French. Instead of fighting against prejudice many French-Canadians suffered in silence and eventually turned against their own people, stated that same respondent. Ridding himself of his French accent was another person’s strategy for avoiding prejudice. A senior citizen felt it unjust that people who spoke Chinese in public were not asked to speak English but people speaking French in public were told it was not polite. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, more people than in Zenon Park or Marcelin talked about having suffered directly from prejudice. One respondent told me her sister-in-law said "You’re just a dumb Frenchman." Others talked about having been harassed when they were young because they did not speak English perfectly. One elderly man initially said that he had never suffered prejudice but later stated "Quand j’étais petit bonhomme moi, c’était pas la même histoire. Il y avait un certain montant de discrimination qui se passait et on a développer un infériorité." Several respondents in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue who felt they had never been discriminated against described how a member of their community had been unable to teach because he had a French accent.

In Marcelin, most respondents said that they had not been discriminated against. A few mentioned that when they were young they had had some difficulties but that
these just made them learn English faster. A woman who identified herself as French said that she had been harassed by French-Canadians because of her Parisian, as opposed to French-Canadian, accent. Several of the senior citizens described situations of being told not to speak French during card games:

The people are angry when you speak French. I don't know [why]. 'Oh she's speaking French again,' you know? When they started the Senior Citizens [organization] here there was quite a few French ladies here. So, they'd be playing cards and there'd be four or five speaking French and maybe one or two English there and they'd really get put out, I'm telling you. But if they were speaking Ukrainian or Russian I don't think they'd have minded it. I think it is [prejudice].

Another said "I was told to stop speaking French at cards once. I cried, I was so upset." One woman went on to describe how "we were abused because we were laughed at for being French. We felt humiliated."

5.14 French "Fanatics" and "Radicals"

The terms "fanatics" and "radicals" were used by respondents to describe people in the community who insisted on more French being spoken. In Zenon Park, a woman said that "People were considered fanatic if they were associated with a French association. But you [meaning a person so associated] are not a fanatic." A man in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue said, "Quand je parle des fanatiques, je veux dire qu'il y a du monde qui parle rien qu'en français et si je dis un mot en anglais, ils me reprennent et puis ils me corrigen." In Marcelin only one person used the term "radical". She said no one from Marcelin was like this, only those in the city:

Les Fransaskois se sont des radicals [sic]. C'est du monde qui sont passionné, ambitionné pour retenir le français dans leurs familles, leurs écoles. Ils sont plus français que les Canadiens-Français.
Parents who send their children to all-French schools where students are allegedly not allowed to talk to each other in English were also considered "des 'radicals.' Ils sont fous!" One couple, also from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, charged, "Les fanatiques, je pense qu'ils ont créé une culture française." Another person from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue said that people considered him fanatical because he spoke French all the time. He suggested, though, that these people felt embarrassed because they could not speak as well as he. At least one woman from Zenon Park called herself a fanatic when describing how to maintain French. "Il faut être pas mal fou. Il faut quasiment être fanatique" she said.

5.15 The Future of French-Canadian Communities in Saskatchewan

Most of the people interviewed in Zenon Park felt that the French language would be a part of their community’s future, though in a diminished way. Many felt that due to the increasingly anglophone population, French would diminish in fifteen to twenty years. "En vingt ans la plupart vont encore parler le français, je pense," said a thirty-two-year-old French-Canadian. She added,

C'est plus angliciser à cet heure que c'était voila vingt ans. Un peu plus d'anglais [en vingt ans], je suppose, mais je ne pense pas qu'ils vont perdre la langue, complètement.

One young man in his twenties was less convinced of its survival:

Je ne pense pas. On va perdre un pourcentage mais, I think there will always be something there but not as much. Les âgées, l'âge de mes parents, sont toute en français. Moi et mes amis, je pense que ça va être encore moitié, moitié. Ça va être plus anglais later on than now. Les jeunes à l'école, ça parle plus d'anglais que nous autres and it's getting worse, parce qu'on parle pas le français.
There were several people who thought that the French language and culture was Zenon Park’s main asset and could be used to create a tourism industry. "The French have their language and they have to get their culture going. Advertise it. Make French do’s [organized social events], a French dance," suggested a French-Canadian. She also stated, though, that "a community this size can’t survive on French alone. People must support the businesses and a lot of the French don’t." Other respondents felt that it was due to the French language schooling that Zenon Park was able to keep its school. The school, they said, was what kept the community viable. Others considered that the loss of population and a poor economy precluded any efforts to maintain French in the community because the community itself might not survive.

The majority of the respondents in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue felt that their community would maintain its French language use. They felt that because of the French roots in the community the anglophones had no opportunity to gain strength. As in Zenon Park, they stated that the school played a large part in maintaining the community of St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. One woman from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue voiced a different opinion that echoed the sentiments of at least two other people from her community and many of those in Zenon Park and Marcelin:

Je pense que ça [le français] va diminuer et puis ça va venir pour la prochaine génération: les enfants de mes enfants ne parleront pas français, j’en suis certaine. That’s life. On vit dans une province anglaise. Ce n’est pas une province française.

One man added that it would diminish when the elderly left. He also made a similar complaint expressed in Zenon Park regarding how people prefer to go to big stores and the money does not stay in the community. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue "French is
an industry," said one inhabitant. The restaurant and cultural centre advertised as a tourist attraction by offering francophone service and French-Canadian cuisine. In Marcelin, the respondents felt that the French language would not be part of their community’s future. "Dans dix, vingt ans, le français, tant qu’à moi, c’est fini," said a sixty-year-old French-Canadian. A seventy-year-old woman said, "This is the last generation and there’s not too many of us left. It will be gone. It will stay in Saskatchewan if they keep fighting for it." A younger person stated, "I don’t think there will be much left. It is disappearing with the older people. The names will stay but the young people are not talking French anymore," stated a thirty-six-year-old.

Another person in his thirties said that regardless of the French language,

it is sad to say, in no more than twenty years it [Marcelin] will be a ghost town. We are just barely hanging on to our school. We will be losing our elevators in the next few years. There is nothing to hold the younger generation here.

The older generation seemed to lament the loss of French in the future yet the younger generations talked more about the loss of the community. This could be associated with the fact that the older generation is near retiring age or already retired and worries less about the community’s economy than the young farmers and entrepreneurs in the community.
6.0 ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

Chapter Five considered the subjective character of the French-Canadian identities of Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin. Although ethnic identity is highly subjective, objective criteria are also required to differentiate members from non-members (Barth 1969:15). The standards by which people determine membership have to be known to both insiders and outsiders. The purpose for which people belong to one group or another is a subjective notion that dictates a need for referents (Royce 1982:6). The minimum criterion for ethnic group membership is self-identification with that group (Breton 1964:194). Ascription, however, requires shared social definitions (Horowitz 1972:113; Molohon, Paton and Lambart 1979:6). French Canadians in the three communities studied indicated that sharing common ancestral origins was a base criterion for both self-identification and ascription of the identity to others. It was given little emphasis in Marcelin, some in Zenon Park and a considerable amount in St. Isidore-de-Bellevue. However, most placed more significance on the need to be able to speak French to be considered French-Canadian. The majority of the discussions surrounding descriptions of the French-Canadian identity tended toward language usage and maintenance strategies, the seriousness of language loss, the futility of language promotion efforts and the
acceptance of a language’s demise. French was the main topic of conversation\textsuperscript{13}, even when it was denied prominence in a person’s life. In the three communities, language was an extremely important aspect of group membership criteria. Not everyone, however, made a conscious effort to maintain French.

There was a significant minority that no longer spoke French and did not identify as French-Canadian, but as Canadians of French origin. They did not self-identify as French-Canadian nor, they said, would their children in the future. They also tended to be in ethnically and linguistically exogamous relationships. Exogamy was considered by the majority of participants to be responsible for much of the language loss. It can be said, therefore, that ethnic identity loss among descendants of French-Canadians is greatly influenced by exogamy. Researchers must be wary of using language as the main ethnic indicator unless it is identified as the most crucial referent by the ethnic group itself (Haarmann 1986:257-258). Language, as a determining factor in their identity, was given prominence by those who identified as French-Canadians and Fransaskois. The importance of French was exhibited in the historical processes engaged in by French-Canadians and the institutions built to maintain and promote their language.

The French-Canadians in the study considered themselves to be "one of the two founding nations of Canada." They have, in many cases, not consciously built ethnic boundaries but, by developing institutions specifically for French-Canadians, they have enclosed their communities. Ethnic and language-based institutions, such as

\textsuperscript{13} Based on the literature pertaining to French-Canadians in Saskatchewan, language was an organizing element of the questionnaire.
French schools and Caisse Populaires, that take the place of mainstream institutions, have restricted interaction with non-members. This may not have been their intention but it has had this outcome. Institutional restriction means that there will be differentiation between members and non-members. It necessitates criteria for membership, thereby creating recognizable boundaries (Barth 1969:14).

These boundaries are permeable. Ethnic groups are interactive (Salamone 1975:410). Their interactive nature enables them to grow culturally and socially; neither individuals nor groups live in isolation. Boundaries have to be crossed thereby creating the need for self-definition. French-Canadians crossed the boundaries when they desired to do so. Boundaries were crossed for a variety of reasons: 1) the community did not have a full complement of the institutions required or desired; 2) the French-Canadian institutions were undesirable or inappropriate; 3) to take advantage of the offerings of non-francophones; and 4) "to show respect" to non-members. To cross the cultural boundary, French-Canadians must have at their disposal the ability to speak English or a language other than French. For example, in Zenon Park several elderly couples who regularly travelled to the south western part of the United States of America, stated their desire to learn Spanish so that they could interact more freely with locals. All French-Canadians who participated in the study were bilingual and their children and grandchildren were either bilingual or unilingual anglophones.

Boundaries may be crossed by changing one’s identity or using one’s identity as a means for interaction in another group. Members must also know the membership criteria of their own ethnic group so that they are cognizant of crossing, even in cases
where they choose to assume a different identity. If they are not aware that they are traversing their cultural boundary, then it is possible that they will take their ethnic identity for granted and eventually lose it. This does not mean that people are constantly aware of being ethnic. There are times where it fades into the background. However, members do have to consciously reenact their cultural emblems in order to return to their group as members, in such ways as speaking the "home" language or accent or dressing in a particular manner.

Ethnicity is both situationally existential and phenomenological. It provides a means to explain 'who I am,' 'where I belong' and 'how I am different' (Fishman 1983:128). An ethnic identity, though, is but one of several identities available to an individual within society. French-Canadians are free to chose whether to identify ethnically or not. They may chose to distinguish themselves nationally, occupationally or spiritually rather than culturally. However, identifying with the ethnic group is the minimum requirement for ethnic group maintenance (Breton 1964:194). In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, there was a tangible French-Canadian identity expressed by the majority of residents. They stated that language was their main criterion for membership. They overtly demonstrated it so that their children would learn to identify as French-Canadians and so that others would identify them as French-Canadians. In Marcelin, the French-Canadian identity is highly attenuated. Within one generation, due to ethnic and linguistic exogamy and the unwillingness or inability to develop institutions to maintain and promote their ethnicity, it is unlikely that anyone in Marcelin will self-identify as French-Canadian. However, it is important to note that on occasion some French continues to appear in
the Church Bulletin, underscoring the strong association between language and religion that has been noted elsewhere.

In Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, the strategies in place to promote the French-Canadian identity through language may in themselves cause people to no longer identify as French-Canadians. If the French language is the only promoted criterion for membership, it is possible that the current ambivalence among the younger population toward learning the language in the home, using it outside of classes and increasing its use at the school, will continue to erode the ethnic presence in the population. As long as French language institutions remain the sole mechanisms for ethnic boundary maintenance, few will be able to identify as French-Canadian because many will not be able to speak French, or will chose not to, and many may never learn it as a mother-tongue. This was seen in the youth who were unwilling to speak French outside of the classroom and in young parents who were not using it in the home.

Promotion of the heritage and ancestral origins may be a stronger basis for establishing and celebrating membership. In St. Isidore-de-Bellevue there was evidence of this. Acadian history was taught in the school. In Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin, residents learned about the history of their ancestors through family stories. Ancestral origins, as an objective means for French-Canadian self-identification, lacked recognition among those thirty to forty years old. Origins were relegated to a heritage issue rather than a contemporary means of identity. Although not as emblematic as language, it can assist in the maintenance of the ethnic group’s boundaries, serving to ensure its survival. The French-Canadian
membership base could be expanded if French-Canadians placed more importance on ancestral origins and contemporary lifestyles as membership criteria.

French-Canadians are a minority in Saskatchewan. To transmit their culture to the next generation, be it through language, customs or heritage, a conscious effort will have to be made. Of the three communities, it is likely the residents of Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue will maintain their French-Canadian identity longer than those in Marcelin. These two communities were consciously employing many strategies for the maintenance of their language. The willingness to activate ethnic boundary maintenance mechanisms is likely the most important factor in cultural survival. It allows initiative in response to perceived threats to cultural identity and continued vitality. In Marcelin, respondents were not consciously exercising any maintenance strategies. This was revealed by the lack of French-Canadian cultural institutions and the lack of desire to create any. The French-Canadian ethnic group still persisted in Marcelin, though, because people still identified with the group and recognised members and non-members. Also, they celebrated cultural aspects of their ethnic identity at least annually, at Christmas time. It was the generation of young families that began losing their identity as French-Canadians because of the prevailing emphasis on language rather than on family history and the celebration of their culture.

The lack of ethnic-based institutions in Marcelin could be attributed to the need to expend energies on developing a poor economy. It is possible that Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue had a better rural economy than Marcelin and could therefore
afford the time and energy required to build, maintain and promote ethnic identity maintenance institutions.

The need for a conscious effort to maintain the French-Canadian cultural group was vividly present in the minds of those who were most active in ethnic maintenance. That effort must be present in order for the ethnic identity and language maintenance institutions to be developed and utilized in the first place. Although origins were an initial indicator for French-Canadian group membership, language was a determining factor in identifying members and non-members. Therefore, mechanisms to promote the French language will dominate French-Canadian identity maintenance strategies. The application of these strategies will determine the viability of the French-Canadian group.

Awareness of language loss stimulated the ambition needed to use French in the home and to teach it to children as a mother-tongue in cases where English had begun to predominate. It was the struggle to have legal rights recognized that activated the spirit and kept it alive to maintain and promote the French language and culture. Without this recognition and struggle to get constitutional rights enacted, language loss would almost certainly have been accelerated. That the French-Canadian identity is closely tied to this process is well understood. The awareness was crystallised in a statement made by a participant from St. Isidore-de-Bellevue who had become accustomed to sounding a warning note to others:

La langue devient quelque chose de culturel, au lieu d'une expression de vie. Malheureusement, je crains que ça devienne folklorique. Il y a tellement de français à Bellevue que je pense qu'on est un peu engourdi à la vérité. On vit un peu dans le passé en disant qu'on est encore une communauté française.
There has to be a deliberate effort made to preserve and promote the language. The greatest amount of effort, according to the respondents from Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin, must be made in the home. "Si tu perds ta langue chez vous, tu as perdue. Il faut que tu fasses plus d’efforts, parce que, si tu arrêtes, c’est fini," explained a thirty-two-year-old from Zenon Park.

As discussed earlier, the appearance of ethnic-based institutions signals the efforts and abilities of French-Canadians to create, maintain and promote them. The historical relationships between francophones and non-francophones have challenged French-Canadians who in turn have met these challenges with strategies of inclusion, exclusion and development. Social attachments and environmental inducements have interacted to produce the contemporary French-Canadian identity and the need for certain institutions whose primary purpose is to teach and promote the French language. Using Breton’s institutional completeness model and Barth’s ethnic boundary framework as analytical instruments, Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue stand a good chance of surviving as distinctive French-Canadian communities. They have built many institutions that protected, maintained, promoted and taught French. In contrast, members of the French-Canadian community in Marcelin did not succeed in maintaining these strategies for the promotion of French.
7.0 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Control over living in French has been a continuous struggle for French-Canadians in Saskatchewan. Their efforts have been thwarted by legislative and other discriminatory means consistently since Confederation. Activism to maintain or gain French language and religious rights has been an integral part of French-Canadian history in Saskatchewan. The struggle to keep French schools and have French Catholic religious education and worship resulted in the development of supporting institutions, such as the Association Culturelle (Catholique) Franco-Canadienne. Local ethnic maintenance institutions, such as Le Comité Culturel in Zenon Park, the Club Culturel de Bellevue, cercles locaux in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin, and, more recently, local French-Canadian School Boards were created to channel grassroots support.

Many French-Canadians in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin were sensitive to the negative aspects of their experiences. They were often frustrated with anglophones who assumed they were "separatists" simply because they were French-Canadian. They rejected this label, because they saw their predicament as distinct and different from that of the Québécois. Others were aware of the false categorization, but were more concerned with the losses they would suffer as French-Canadians if Québec did not receive proper recognition and if it separated from Canada. Many felt that there was a renewed anti-French backlash. Most of the
participants in the study were concerned with the loss of French-language rights.
Others expressed anxiety over the loss of financial support for French language institutions. In one connection or another, language was paramount in their concerns.

The future of the French language, though, was considered bleak by many respondents because it was not used on a regular basis by the youth. French was not used consistently in most homes and the majority of the participants considered the home as the primary place, the main institution, for French-language development, maintenance and promotion.

The research participants from each of the communities were concerned about the diminishing number of ethnic group members. Many residents of Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue were determined to change the trend. Marcelin was content with its current status. Of the three, Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue maintained many French-Canadian ethnic voluntary associations. The institutions in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue, which, in each, included a French school, a Caisse Populaire, a francophone daycare and a cultural centre (to name but a few), were strategies to strengthen the boundaries and fortify the culture. In contrast, Marcelin had only one French-Canadian institution: a church-based group called Les Dames de Ste. Anne. For the most part, the multiple strategies were working. This was confirmed by the higher rates of French language use in Zenon Park and St. Isidore-de-Bellevue than in Marcelin. Also, the former two had remained more culturally homogeneous. The majority of the participants, though, were sceptical of the future effectiveness of their ethnic-based organizations.
Some general conclusions about the linkages between the French-Canadian identity and language can be made. People whose mother-tongue is French, whose home language is English and who are able to speak French will identify themselves as French-Canadian. Those whose mother-tongue was French but who are no longer able to speak French will call themselves Canadian. Persons currently active in lobbying for French-Canadian rights will identify as Fransaskois. All French-Canadians living in Saskatchewan who use French on a regular basis will be bilingual.

Inferences regarding ethnic boundary maintenance strategies can be drawn from this study. Communities with French language and cultural institutions will have higher rates of French as a mother-tongue, as a home language and as a community language. Locales with church services held completely in French will have more French speakers among all ages. Communities with bilingual masses will have fewer speakers of French in the community. Places with French language schools, French-Canadian cultural centres and French language activities for all ages will have more French speakers and will likely transmit the language and culture to the next generation. Centres without French language institutions or observable French-Canadian markers will have lower rates of French speakers and will not transmit the language and culture to the next generation.

Conclusions about the ethnic and linguistic demography of communities can also be extracted from this study. Ethnically heterogeneous communities will use English as the main language of communication in most public situations. Ethnically heterogeneous communities will have few, if any, formal ethnic group maintenance institutions.
Regarding language promotion, it can be said that where language is the solely promoted aspect of the culture, changing ecological circumstances may cause ethnic membership loss. Where there are language institutions, there will be a conscious community effort to maintain the French-Canadian culture. Where there is a conscious effort to maintain and promote the French-Canadian identity, there will be an acknowledgement of language loss.

The framework applied in conducting the research for the current study relied heavily on Raymond Breton's institutional completeness model. The analysis employed Fredrik Barth's ethnic boundary maintenance model and theorists after him who drew from his premises. The application of these paradigms developed in this study could be extended to the investigation of other groups. Successful use of the model was also demonstrated by Marcotte et al. in their study of French Métis women in St. Louis, Saskatchewan in 1993. That study demonstrated the minimum requirement for ethnic group survival: self-identification as French Métis, regardless of French language maintenance. The emphasis for ethnic identification was placed on ancestral origins rather than on linguistic abilities. Language is highly vulnerable to changing ecological circumstances; origins are not. French-Canadians also self-identify ethnically. As long as they see the identification process as inextricably linked with the French language primarily, the institutions and strategies will be imperative for them. If they give up using French they themselves may feel their ethnicity is discontinued because the maintenance of identification becomes synonymous with language use.
Regardless of the specific and general theoretical conclusions, the participants' opinions presented in "Being French-Canadian in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin" were the primary focus of this thesis. The insight to be gained by concentrating on the words they spoke is as important as that arising from my interpretations of them. What the study population says should be accorded a more significant place in our theory building. It should not be mined merely to support a theory.

If I were called upon by the French-Canadian community to give advice based on this study, I would say that an added emphasis on ancestral origins and the celebration of a contemporary culture in ethnic maintenance strategies is necessary for the future of French-Canadians as a distinct cultural group. Heavy reliance on the French language as the main identifier for the cultural group is not enough to sustain it in a minority environment, especially when many of its younger members are not committed to speaking it. Granted, the French language is a vehicle for learning the culture. It should not, however, be relied on as its sole conveyance. More symbolic and material cultural emblems are required to buttress the language system and vice versa. French-Canadians could benefit from emphasizing other components of their culture while promoting language use. Respondents tended to list only traditions that were distinctive from the mainstream society as French-Canadian emblems. They did not consider that as contributing members to that society, many of those routine cultural markers were representative of French-Canadians too. This became evident to me when few people were able to describe what it meant to be French-Canadian. Most, as described in chapter five, identified traditions such as réveillon at Christmas
time and meals, such as soupe aux pois and tourtière as being distinctly French-Canadian. Although few indicated that these traditions had to be practised in French to make them French-Canadian, those who did not speak French but celebrated réveillon, for example, did not self-identify as French-Canadian because they did not speak French.

A future study in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin could test the conclusions that have been stated and the advice discussed. Participant reactions to the representations of their voices and the conclusions I have drawn from them, in light of the theories applied, will be useful in determining the applicability of the current thesis. Another dimension could be added to the method where the participants’ reactions become part of the document. A collaborative effort with the people whose identity is being defined may result in a more exact determination of their identity and of the mechanisms employed to maintain it. It is hoped that the current study will be of use, not only to other academics working in this field but to the French-Canadians themselves in the maintenance of their identity.
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APPENDIX A: ENGLISH QUESTIONNAIRE

Being French in Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue and Marcelin

Interview Questions

Purpose: The purpose of this questionnaire is to provide me with a guide to ask you some background information about your life as a francophone person in rural Saskatchewan. I am interested in learning about the French-Canadian culture and how people and communities have retained the French language or how it has not been retained. I will be asking you several questions. You are not obligated to answer these questions and your name will remain anonymous.

Date of Interview:________________________
Location of Interview:____________________
Name of Interviewee:______________________
Language used in interview:_______________

CULTURAL BACKGROUND AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

1. Are you a francophone?

2. Where are you or your ancestors from originally?
(Ask prompting questions about family history and/or choices for coming to Saskatchewan: Quebec, States, France, Acadia, Belgium, Switzerland, First Nations)

3. With which cultural group do you identify with? Prompt with the following if unable to answer:

   French?                         Les Fransaskois?
   French-Canadian?               Bilingual-Canadian?
   Canadian?                      Quebecois?
   Acadian?                       Belgian?
   French Métis?                  Swiss?
   Franco-Manitobain?

4. What does it mean to you to be a part of this cultural group?
5. What difference is there between …..(ethnic group identified) and being French or Fransaskois or French-Canadian, Bilingual-Canadian etc?

6. Do you share these feelings of being …..(use name of ethnic group identified by interviewee) with others at a community level, provincial level or national levels? (Who? Family, Friends, Provincially, Federally, France, Belgium, Quebec, Acadia?)

7. Do you have an allegiance with other ethnic groups? Such as the Franco-Manitobans, the Belgians, French Métis etc?

8. Do you automatically tell people you are …..? Is it spontaneous? Do you say it often? Sometimes? Under what circumstances do you identify yourself as …..?

9. How important is the French language to your identity? Or do you speak Acadian or…..?

10. How important is it to you to maintain (ethnic group identified) ties in marriage? Why?

11. How important is it to you as a …….. person in Saskatchewan, to live a culture that is distinctly ……..? Very important? Why?

Not important? Then what is important to you about your culture?

**LANGUAGE USE**

12. What languages do you understand? or have ever understood?

13. What was your first predominant language?

What language did you speak most of the time as you were growing-up?

Which language did you prefer to speak at home? With your friends? At school?

What language did you speak most often when you first went to school?

14. Was the language of your home different from the language used by the children you first played with in your neighbourhood?
How often do you use it as opposed to the language you mainly speak now?

15. Do you feel you understand English as well as you understand French?

Do you feel equally comfortable using both, in terms of obtaining information, for example at a department store in Prince Albert?

Are you able to say, or understand all that you want to say and understand in English? in French?

If you feel less comfortable with one of the languages, what do you feel you are missing? for example, can you get your full meaning across? Can you follow everything that the other person is trying to say?

16. Do you perceive a difference between the way you speak French and the way others speak French? Why?

Friends
Family members?
People from other French communities in Saskatchewan?
People from Quebec?
People from France, Belgium, ...(place of origin of interviews ethnic group identified)

How do you feel in these situations? Do you perceive your French to be better or worse?
In either case, what do you do?

17. How often do you use French instead of English?

<table>
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<th>listen</th>
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<td>read</td>
<td>write</td>
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<td>pray</td>
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18. Where do you use your French and when do use English?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>home</th>
<th>school</th>
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<tr>
<td>church</td>
<td>friends</td>
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<td>conferences</td>
<td>festivals</td>
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<td>radio</td>
<td>newspapers</td>
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<tr>
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Where in the Community? At what functions? situations?

19. Where do you most often use your French language?
Where do you most often use English?

20. In a situation where you are mainly with English speaking people do you let them know you are French or do you just talk in English?
Can they tell you are French?

21. What language is spoken in a situation where a member of a group does not speak any French?
What happens in a situation where one of the members in a group does not speak any English?

FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

22. Are all of your friends and relatives French speaking?
Which ones are? example, business friends, childhood friends, family friends?
Brothers, sisters, in-laws, aunts, uncles, parents?

23. How often are you in contact with your French and/or English friends and relatives?
In what circumstances do you meet? (holidays, celebrations, casual)

24. When you are with friends or relatives who are bilingual, does it matter to you or them which language either of you speaks?
That is, can you enjoy associating with them equally in either language; is it disagreeable to have to use either English or French with certain people?
if so, why?
Do you ever avoid, or limit contact with, friends or relatives because of language concerns?

CHURCH

25. Do you attend church regularly?
Which church do you go to?
Why do you go to this particular church?

26. Is the church an important factor in your family’s and/or friends’ lives?

27. What language or languages is mass (service) held in?
Specifically, the sermon?
Special occasions?

28. If there is a choice of languages, which do you prefer?
Which language do you prefer it to be held in?

If it is held in a language other than the one you prefer do you avoid or limit your attendance?

29. What other ethnic groups utilize your church?

Do they attend the French, English or mixed mass?

Do you exclusively attend that one or primarily attend it?

Circumstances for change?

30. Why does your church use English?

31. Do you think your church has had a part to play in the maintenance of the French culture in Saskatchewan? What aspects has it enhanced or suppressed?

32. If the church has had a part to play in the maintenance of the French culture in your community do you think it is due to the mass being held in French (if it is) or because catholicism is a part of the French culture?

SCHOOL

33. What parts of your schooling did you do in French and what parts in English?
When, where, what was it like?
Who decided that you would attend French or English school?

34. What language(s) did you use with your peers at school:
In class
In the schoolyard?

35. Did going to French or English school have any effect on you that you can think of?
French: such as learning the language of your parents, grandparents, a natural thing to do as it was your mother-tongue English: such as learning a second language, understanding other minorities, did you feel prejudice?

Was there much travel involved due to the choice?

36. Was the French taught at school any different from the French you used at home?
If yes, did this cause any problems that you can think of?
For example: was your French ever criticised by teachers or was it perceived as incorrect?
Did you feel that your home French was less acceptable than your school French or vice-versa?

37. Today there are French schools, English schools and French Immersion schools. If you had the choice which would you attend? Or which would you send your children to? Or which kind is your children attending? WHY?

38. Is religion a factor in the choice of school? Is it important to have catechism as a part of the school curriculum?

39. Are you involved on the School Board in any way? What kind of parental control is there in terms of the language(s) used in the schools in your community? In terms of curriculum content and development? Is it necessary to have a Francophone school board? Why?

PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

40. Do you participate in French cultural activities? If "yes", what are they? What do you do in these activities? If "no" why not or do you participate in any other types cultural activities?

41. Are you a member of any cultural organizations? If "yes" how do you participate in them?

42. Does religion play a role in the associations you belong to or in the cultural activities you participate in? Do people participate in these associations and activities because of a religious factor?

43. Which community organizations do you belong to? What is your role?

44. Are you a member of any provincial or federal organizations? What sorts of things do you do in them?
45. What do any of these organizations do for you?

46. Which of these organizations, if any, are specifically geared toward the French? What sorts of things do these associations do that makes them French?

47. What are the most important institutions for maintaining French ethnicity? (schools, church, French festivals, Special Occasions)

How successful are these institutions in your community?

MEDIA

48. What kind of impact has television had on the maintenance or loss of the French language?

Does the French media adequately meet your television needs?
Your radio needs?
Your newspaper needs?

How well does French television as opposed to English television fare in holding your attention?

Which do you prefer?

CULTURAL MAINTENANCE

49. Do you find it difficult to maintain your French culture in an English province? Why?

50. What are the ways in which you, as an individual, have maintained the use of French in English Canada? What ways has your family maintained it? What activities, institutions, laws, has your community employed to maintain or revitalize the French language? Is it a lot of work? Do you think it was a lot of work for your ancestors? Will your children, or the children of this community, have to work hard to maintain it?

51. Will you take part in any lobbying for French rights? What will you do?
52. Do you feel that the French in Saskatchewan have more or less rights than other ethnic groups? Why?

53. Have you ever suffered any prejudice because you are French? If yes, what form did it take? How did you deal with it?

54. What kind of influence has Quebec had on French cultural revival and language here in your community?

How do you feel about the possibility of Quebec separating?

How will it affect French communities outside of Quebec?

Do you feel that Quebec has any interest in the survival of French communities outside of Quebec?

55. To your knowledge, do you think that official federal bilingualism has helped or hindered the maintenance of the French language?

YOUR COMMUNITY

56. Was French or English used more often in past years in your community or is it being used more often now?

57. Who in the community is using French and who is using English?

58. What is keeping your community alive in these days of rural problems and economic hardships?

59. (Alter this question to reflect age of interviewee) Will the younger generations keep your community alive? Will they be able to keep it French? Do you think young people find it important to be French? How do you know this? What sorts of things are they doing to stay French?

THE FUTURE

60. Do you see French as being an important part of the community’s future? How?

61. Do you plan on ever moving away from this community? Why or Why not?
If "yes", will you be going somewhere that will enhance your or reduce your ability to be French?

62. Will the ...(ethnic group identified) people stay .... without the French language? How or Why not?

63. What do you think the future is for French culture in your community? In Saskatchewan? In Canada?

CULTURAL DEFINITION

64. What makes a French person "French" in Saskatchewan? That is, What is your definition of a Saskatchewan French person? What are the traditions of the French in Saskatchewan? (example: What kind of "Christmas" celebration will you have? and what of that do you think is French? (or appropriate holiday) or is it speaking the language only?)

65. Can people who do not speak French, call themselves French? Why? If "no", what could they call themselves if their parents and ancestors were French?

66. How are the French distinct from the rest of the people in Saskatchewan? (language, rural, heartiness, identification with Quebec, non-English ....)

What do French people do that makes them any different than other people?

67. What in the past week have you done that is distinctly French? (speak, write, think, listen, read, French festival preparations...)
DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

68. The following are a few questions I need to ask in order to describe the people participating in my study without using their names:
   Age?

   Occupation?

   Family make-up:
   Is your spouse French?
   What is the predominant language used in your home?

   Are both your parents French?

   What was the predominant language used in your parents home?

   What about your grandparents?

   What about your spouse’s parents?

   How long has your family been in Saskatchewan? (generations)

   How long has your family been in this community?

   What kind of formal education do you have?

YOUR COMMENTS

69. Do you have any comments about this questionnaire?
   About my research?
APPENDIX B: FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE

D'Être Canadien-français à
Zenon Park, St. Isidore-de-Bellevue et Marcelin

Questions pour les entrevues

Objet: L'objet de ce questionnaire est de me fournir une guide pour obtenir de l'information sur votre vie comme francophone dans une Saskatchewan rurale. Je veux apprendre tout ce que je peux sur le sujet de la culture Canadienne-française et comment le peuple et les communautés on pu retenir leur langue, ou comment il a été perdu. J'aurai plusieurs questions à vous demander. Vous ne serez pas obligé à répondre à mes questions et votre nom demeurera anonyme.

Date de l'entrevue:______________
Site de l'entrevue:______________
Nom de la Personne entrevu:______________
Langue Employé:______________

MILIEU CULTUREL ET IDENTITÉ CULTURELLE

1. Êtes-vous un francophone?

2. Quelle est votre origine ou celle de vos ancêtres?
(Demande des questions sur l'histoire de la famille ou sur ses choix pour avoir émigré vers la Saskatchewan. Origines de Québec, États-Unis, France, Acadie, Belge, la Suisse, Autochtones)

3. Avec quelle groupe culturel identifiez-vous? (Donne des choix si ils ont de la difficulté à répondre)
   Français(se)s?              Les Fransaskois?
   Canadien(ne)-Français(e)s?  Canadien(ne) Bilingues?
   Canadien(ne)s?              Acadien(ne)s?
   Belges?                     Les Français(se)s?
   Franco-Métis?               Suisses?
   Franco-Manitobain(ne)s?
4. Que signifie pour vous de faire partie de ce groupe culturel?

5. Quelle est la différence entre .....

6. Est-ce que vous partagez ces sentiments avec d'autres personnes au niveaux de la communauté, province, nation, international, amis ou familles?

7. Avez-vous des alliances avec d'autre groupe ethnic? Comme les Belges, les Franco-Manitobains, etc. ou pensez-vous que vous êtes tous des Francais?

8. Dites-vous automatiquement que vous êtes ......? Est-ce que c'est spontané? Est-ce que vous le dites souvent? Des fois? Dans quelles circonstances vous identifiez-vous comme français(e)s?

9. Quelle est l’importance de la langue française dans votre identité? Ou parlez-vous l’Acadien ou....?

10. Quelle est l’importance de maintenir des liens française dans la mariage?

11. Quelle est l’importance pour vous, un(e) ...... en Saskatchewan, de vivre dans une culture qui est distinctement ......? francophone? Très important? Pourquoi?

Pas important? Qu’est ce qu’il y a d’importance dans votre culture?

**EMPLOI DE LA LANGUE**

12. Quelles langues comprenez-vous? Parlez-vous d autre langues?

13. Quelle est etais votre première langue prédominante?

Comment souvent vous en servez vous comparativement au langage que vous employez au plus souvent maintenant? pendant que vous avez été élevé?

Quelle langue préferez-vous de parler chez vous? Avec vos amis? À l’école?

Quelle langue a-tu parlé le plus souvent quand tu a été à l’école?
14. Est-ce que votre language de maison a été différent de la language utilisé par les enfants que vous avez joué avec quand tu étais petit?

Comment souvent vous en servez de cette language comparé au language tu parle aujourd'hui?

15. Pensez-vous que vous comprenez l'Anglais aussi bien que le Francais?

Etes-vous également comfortable avec les deux langue pour l'obtention d'information, comme example a un magazin a Prince Albert?

Etes-vous capable to dire et de comprendre tous ce que tu veux comprendre et dire en Anglais? en Francais?

Si tu est moin comfortable avec une de ces langues, est ce que vous sentir de manquer quelque chose? comme example, etes-vous capable de vous faire comprendre complètement? Etes-vous capable de comprendre tous ce que le monde vous disez?

16. Avez-vous percevez une difference entre la maniere que vous parlez le Francais et la maniere que d'autre personnes le parle?
   Amis?
   Parente?
   Peuple d'autre communauté
   Peuple de Quebec?
   Peuple de la France, Belge,... (place d'origin...)?

Comment vous senti dans ces situations? Percevez votre Francais d'être meilleur ou plus mal des autres?
Dans ces situations, qu'est ce que vous faisez?

17. Comment souvent employez-vous le français au lieu de l'anglais?

parlé         écouter
lire          écrit
prié          pensé

18. Où employez-vous la langue française et quand employez-vous la langue anglaise?

maison        école
église        amis
conférences   fêtes
radio         journaux
livres        au travaille
Où dans la communauté? Au quelles fonctions? Dans quelles situations?

19. Où utilisez-vous le français le plus souvent?
Où utilisez-vous l’anglais le plus souvent?

20. Dans une situation où les personnes sont majoritairement anglophones leur dizez-vous que vous êtes francophone ou parlez-vous anglais tout simplement?
Peuvent-ils s’apercevoir que vous êtes francophone?

21. Quelles langue est utilisé dans une situation où un membre du groupe ne parle pas le français?
Qu’est ce qui arrive dans une situation où un membre du groupe ne parle pas l’anglais?

AMIS ET PARENTS

22. De quelles de vos amis sont français et les quelles sont anglais? Les quelles sont des amis de travail, amis proches, amis de famille?
Frères, sœurs, parente de mariage, tantes, oncles, parents?

23. Comment souvent êtes-vous en contact avec vos amis et parents français et/ou anglais?

En quelles circonstances vous rencontrez? (vacances, festival, temporaire)

Quand parlez-vous l’anglais avec ce monde?

24. Quand vous êtes avec des amis ou la parentes qui sont bilingue, en quelles langue préférez-vous de parler? Est-ce que ses plaisant de leurs parler dans une langue que vous n’êtes pas confortable?
Est-ce que ces disagreeable d’être oblige de parler l’Anglais? le Francais? avec certaines personnes?

Est-ce que vous limitez votre contacte avec des amis ou de la parente a cause des concernes linguistiques?

ÉGLISE

25. Allez-vous à l’église régulièrement?
Laquelle?
Pourquoi fréquentez-vous cette église particulièrement?
26. Est-ce que l'Eglise fait partie importante de votre vie et de celle de votre famille et amis?

27. Quelle langue ou langues est offer la messe (service)?

Les occasions spéciaux?

28. Si votre église offre la messe (service) en français, en anglais et/ou en langue mixte, quel service fréquentez-vous le plus souvent? Pourquoi? Quand?

Est-il important pour vous que la messe soit dite en français?

Est-ce que vous assistez a cette messe exclusivement ou presque toujours? Quels est les circonstances pour changement? Si elle est dite en anglais, est-ce que çà vous fait de la différence?

29. Quels sont les autres groupes ethnique qui emploient votre église?

Assistent-ils a la messe dite en français, anglais ou mixte?

30. Pourquoi votre église utilise l'Anglais?

31. Croyez vous que l'église a joué un rôle dans le maintien de la culture française en Saskatchewan? Quels aspects furent mis en valeur et quels furent refoulés?

32. Si l'église a eu une part dans le maintien de la culture française dans votre communauté, croyez vous que c'est parce que la messe est dite en français ou bien si c'est a cause que le catholicisme fait partie de la culture française?

ÉCOLE

33. Quelles parties de votre éducation scolaire ont été accomplies en français et quelles parties en anglais?

Quand, où et comment était-ce? Qui a pris la décision que vous iriez a l'école française ou anglaise?

34. Quelles langue avez-vous utiliser avec tes amis dans les classes?
La court de récréation?

35. Votre fréquentation de l'école francophone ou anglophone a-t-elle eu un effet sur ce que vous pensez?
Français: l’étude de la langue de vos parents, grands-parents, fut elle une chose naturelle vue que c’est votre langue maternelle?

Anglais: comme langue seconde, comprendre les autre minorités, avez vous ressente des préjugés?

Étiez vous sujet de beaucoup de déplacements à cause de la choix de l’école?

36. Est-ce que le Francais enseigner a l’école différent que le Francais utilise a la maison?
Si oui, est ce que ce si a poser des problemes?
comme example, est ce que ton français était critique par les professeurs?
Avez-vous senti que votre Francais d’école était plus acceptable que votre Francais de maison ou vice-versa?

37. Aujourd’hui il y a des écoles francophones, anglophones et immersion. Si vous avez eu le choix la quelles d’entre eux choisiriez vous pour fréquenter?
Pour tes enfants?
La quelle fréquente tes enfants?

38. Est-ce que la religion fait parti de l’école que vous avez frequenter? Est-ce que ca fait parti de la choix que vous avez fait pour vos enfants?
Est-ce important d’avoir le catechism a l’école?

39. Etes-vous implique avec les affaires de l’école?

Quelles sorte de controle on les parents a l’école pour la langues employes dans les ecoles?
La development de la Curriculum?

Est necessaire d’avoir une Commision Scolaire Canadienne-francaise en Saskatchewan?
Pourquoi?

PARTICIPATION DANS LES ACTIVITÉS ET ORGANISATION CULTURELLE

40. Participez vous dans les activitées culturelles francophones? Si "oui", quelles sont-elles?

Que faites vous dans ces organisations?

Si "non", pourquoi pas, ou, participez-vous dans d’autres genres d’activités culturelle?
41. Êtes vous membre d’organisations culturelles?  
Si "oui" comment participez-vous?

42. Est-ce que la religion joue un rôle dans les organismes et activités que vous participez?

Est-ce que le monde participe dans ces affaires à cause de la religion?

43. A quelles organisations communautaires appartenez-vous?  
Quel est votre rôle?

44. Êtes vous membre d’une organisation provinciale ou fédérale?  
Quelles sortes d’affaires faîséz-vous?

45. Qu’est-ce qui rend ces organisations francophones?

46. Quelles de ces organisations sont adaptées spécialement pour les français de la Saskatchewan ou Canada?

47. Quelles sont les institutions les plus important pour le maintien de l’ethnicité française? (écoles, église, festival...)

Sont ils des succès pour le maintien de l’ethnicité française?

MEDIA

48. Quelles sorte d’impact a la télévision sur le maintien ou perte de la langue Française?

Est-ce que le media francophone rencontre vos nécessite de télévision?
De Radio?
Des journaux?

La quelle d’entre la télévision francophone et la télévision anglophone vos tiens l’attention?

La quelle preferez-vous?

LE MAINTIEN DE LA CULTURE

49. Éprouvez vous de la difficulté à maintenir la culture française dans une province anglophone?
50. De quelles manière que vous, comme individu, avez pu maintenir l'emploi du français dans un Canada anglophone?

De quelles manière votre famille s'est elle servie?

Quelles activités, institutions ou lois ont été employés par votre communauté pour maintenir ou faire revivre la langue française?

Est-ce beaucoup d'ouvrage?

Croyez-vous que vos enfants et ceux de la communauté auront à travailler dur pour son maintien?

51. Allez vous prendre part aux pressions qui seront faites pour les droits des francophones?

Que ferez vous?

52. Croyez vous que les français de la Saskatchewan ont plus ou moins les mêmes droits que les autres groupes ethniques?

Pourquoi?

53. Avez vous déjà souffert des préjugés parce que vous êtes français?

Si "oui", quelle était la forme de ces préjugés?

Comment avez-vous réagi?

54. Quelle influence a Québec sur la survie de la culture et du langage française dans votre communauté?

Que pensez vous de la possibilité de la separation de Quebec?

Qu'est ce que sa va faire aux communauté francophone hors de Quebec?

Pensez-vous que le Quebec a d'interet a la survivance des communauté francophone hors de Quebec?

55. Pensez-vous que le Bilinguism Federal Officielle a assiter au maintien de la langue Francaise?
VOTRE COMMUNAUTÉ

56. Quelle langue, française ou anglaise, était employée le plus souvent dans votre communauté durant ces dernières années?

Est le français ou l’anglais employée plus souvent maintenant?

57. Qui dans la communauté emploi le français et qui emploie l’anglais?

58. Qu’est-ce qui garde votre communauté active durant ces jours de problèmes ruraux et d’épreuve économiques?

59. (Change cette question dépendant de l’âge)
Est-ce que les jeunes générations vont garder votre communauté active?

Est-ce qu’ils seront capables de le garder français?

Pensez-vous que c’est important pour les jeunes de garder leurs identité française?

Comment le savez-vous?

Quelles sortes d’affaires font ils pour maintenir leur identité française?

LE FUTUR

60. Croyez vous que le français sera important pour le futur de votre communauté?

61. Croyez vous qu’un jour vous laisserez cette communauté?
Pourquoi "oui" ou "non"?

Si "oui", allez vous demeurer dans un endroit qui mettra en valeur ou réduire votre capacité d’employer le français?

Tes enfants?

62. Est-ce que les …. (groupe ethnic mentionner) pourront demeurer …. si il perdent leur langage?

Comment ou pourquoi pas?

63. Quelles sont vos pensés sur le futur de la culture ….. dans votre communauté?
En Saskatchewan? Au Canada?
DÉFINITION CULTURELLE

64. Quelle est votre définition d'une personne française qui vit en Saskatchewan? Que signifie être française? Quelles sont les traditions des français de la Saskatchewan? (exemples: quel genre de fête de la Noël allez vous célébrer? et quelle partie de la fête est française? ou est-ce seulement parler le langage?)

65. Est-ce que les gens qui ne parlent pas français peuvent se dire française? Pourquoi?

Si "non", comment peuvent-ils s'identifier si leurs parents et leurs ancêtres étaient français et francophones?

66. Qu'est-ce qui distingue les français des autres personnes en Saskatchewan? Langue, vie rurale, chaleur, identification avec Québec, non-anglophone, d'être un peuple fondateur...?

67. Dans la semaine passée, qu'avez vous fait qui est distinctement français? Parler, écrire, penser, écouter, lire, préparations pour festival française...?
PROFILE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE

68. Ce qui suit sont des questions dont j'ai besoin les réponses à fin de pouvoir décrire les personnes qui ont participé dans cette étude sans employer leurs noms:

Âge?

Occupation?

Genre de famille:
Est-ce que votre époux(se) français(e)?
Quelle langue a de la prédominance dans votre maison?

Est-ce tes deux parents sont français?

Quelle était la langue utilisé le plus souvent dans la maison de vos parents quand tu était jeune?

Tes grand-parents?

Les parents de ton époux(se)?

Combien de générations a ta famille habiter en Saskatchewan?

Dans cet communauté?

Quelle sorte d'éducation formelle as-tu?

VOS COMMENTAIRES

69. Avez vous des commentaires sur ce questionnaire? Sur cette recherche?

À propos de mes recherches?