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Language Education as a Cultural Policy:
Canadian Multiculturalism and Official Language Training for
Adult Immigrants

by Naoko Kataoka

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
July 12, 1996

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Canadian Multiculturalism and Official Language
Training for Adult Immigrants"

submitted by Naoko Kataoka, B.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

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August 1996

Abstract

This thesis explores Canadian multiculturalism and official language education for adult immigrants. Language education for 'allophone' adults has not received much attention in the multiculturalism policy framework despite the fact that one of the initial objectives of the policy was to aid immigrants in acquiring one of Canada's official languages. The thesis attempts to relocate the language education issue in the framework of national cultural policy and to analyze its potential impact on the unity of Canadian society that the multiculturalism policy attempts to achieve.

Acknowledgment

I would like to thank Professor Julian Smith for his direction during the preparation of this thesis. I owe thanks as well to my practicum supervisor Kathleen Erault, all the teaching staff and the LINC students at Ottawa-Carleton Immigrant Services Organization, who welcomed me in their classrooms. I also want to thank Shelagh Ord at Ottawa-Carleton Language Assessment and Resources Center and Joy Baxter at Immigration and Citizenship Canada for providing substantial information on the LINC program.

Working on a thesis in a second language has been a big challenge for an 'allophone' student. My friends Barbara, Jennifer, Mami, Eve and Deborah have given me a lot of encouragement throughout the year. Thanks for fixing my broken English, Jen, I will learn how to use 'the's properly someday. My parents, Hisashi and Taeko Kataoka, my best friends Yuko, Akiko and Yayoi back in Japan have supported me from across the ocean. The enormous amount of money we spent on the long-distance calls wasn't wasted; I couldn't have survived without your cheers from home. Thank you all.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Government of Canada and International Council for Canadian Studies, for the generous funding and this wonderful opportunity to study in Canada.

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Introduction

Since the 1970s, Canada has experimented with a unique national cultural policy in an effort to design a harmonious society in which every different culture is respected. The country boasts of being *officially* multicultural; the official policy of multiculturalism claims that every different culture is equal in Canada, and the government of Canada promotes the equal social participation of people with different cultural backgrounds.

Because of their cultural background, colour, or origin, some Canadians face barriers that prevent them from fully exercising their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Federal multiculturalism policy aims to remove these barriers and promote sharing our multicultural heritage.

One may well assume that such a policy would have a positive impact on fostering official language training, which is vital to a newcomer's social participation. Those who do not speak the dominant language of the society can easily get marginalized and isolated, left unable to function as competent participants of the society. For many adult immigrants with a distinct culture and language acquired in their homelands, language is the biggest cultural barrier in their settlement process. Interestingly, however, language education for adult immigrants has not been fully integrated

Canada, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada,
Multiculturalism: What is really about? (Ottawa: Supply
and Services Canada, 1991), 11.

into the policy framework of multiculturalism, although one of the initial objectives of the policy was to aid immigrants in acquiring one of Canada's official languages.

This confusion arises because Canadian multiculturalism aims at integration without assimilation. According to the Multiculturalism Act, the government of Canada is committed to "preserve" and "enhance" the cultural diversity of Canadian society. This suggests that there is a strong emphasis on "sharing" the multicultural heritage that immigrants bring into the society. In North America, English-speaking culture is prominent both in the United States and Canada. In the States, the "melting pot" supposedly blends all immigrants together and everybody becomes "American". In Canada, such a model is rejected, and multiculturalism policy attempts to transform the "melting pot" into a "mosaic" by preserving minority cultures. This policy tries to overturn the premise that cultural minorities have to be assimilated in order to be fully integrated into the society.

The notion of "cultural preservation" is derived from the national unity concern that is unique to Canada. Canada was founded by two European peoples, the English and the French. In order to maintain unity based on an equal partnership of the two peoples, assimilation of the French to the dominant English had to be avoided. Federal bilingualism realized the nation-wide commitment to "preserve" French culture, and this inevitably caused

suspicion among other ethnic groups whose cultures were equally in danger of being "melted" into the English-speaking North American culture. In order to recognize the equal status of every different culture, a multiculturalism policy was proposed aimed at the "preservation" of cultures other than English and French. In this discourse, teaching Canadian official languages to immigrants is outside the scope of the policy, because the policy is not concerned with enhancement of the dominant language and culture, which can be "preserved" without such a policy. The cultural policy of "preservation" indicates Canada's unique perspective on culture: it suggests that a distinct culture has the right to survive and argues for national unity based on the equality of every different culture.

The notion of cultural preservation must be questioned when we look at the cultural integration of adult newcomers to Canada. Adult immigrants are the least likely to lose their distinct cultures, which must be "preserved" according to the multiculturalism ideology. For them, "preservation" of distinctiveness could mean the inability to speak Canadian languages or the lack of knowledge and values that are vital to function in Canadian society. Multiculturalism that emphasizes the preservation of cultural differences has little to offer in removing cultural barriers that hinder the social participation of adult newcomers.

In terms of language education, multiculturalism has had a positive impact on heritage language retention in

immigrant children. In the 1970s, efforts to integrate English as a Second Language (ESL) training and heritage language learning began at public schools. Meanwhile, the federal government dealt with ESL training for adult immigrants as a separate issue from multiculturalism. Language training for adults was treated as part of immigration policy, which has been mainly concerned with the employment of immigrants. Consequently, immigrants not destined for the Canadian labor market, who are most likely to experience severe isolation because of cultural barriers, were neglected in both immigrant integration policy and multiculturalism policy. While language education for immigrant children was integrated into the framework of the national cultural policy, national language training policies for adults have been implemented as a remedial social service for the linguistically handicapped.

In order to analyze the adult ESL issue beyond the framework of being a social service for the linguistically handicapped, this thesis will attempt to locate the issue in the framework of cultural policy, education and national unity. In doing so, the nature of culture will be looked at from an anthropological perspective. Terence Turner points out that multiculturalists have ignored anthropologists, just as anthropologists have dismissed multiculturalists' notion of culture as "overly textual, underanalyzed and naively unaware of the various dimensions and complexities

of cultural systems". The notion that culture itself has the right to survive and is therefore preservable exemplifies the "underanalyzed" nature of Canadian multiculturalism. In Turner's words, multiculturalism "risks essentializing the idea of culture as the property of an ethnic group or race". Anthropological theories that account for the dynamic aspects of culture will be useful in analyzing cultural policies beyond political correctness. The purpose of this thesis is to propose a perspective on Canadian multiculturalism by incorporating the language training issue into the cultural policy discourse, resorting to anthropological notions of culture and education.

The thesis will be addressed in the following order. In Chapter 1, the historical background that brought about a unique Canadian perspective on culture and language will be explored in order to explain why official language education was removed from multiculturalism. In Chapter 2, the policy development of immigrant language training will be reviewed. In Chapter 3, the nature of language education will be analyzed in terms of culture and education. Finally in Chapter 4, I will discuss the implication of the language training issue in the national unity discourse. As pointed out by Turner, multiculturalism tends to be used as a tool

Terence Turner, "Anthropology and Multiculturalism: What is Anthropology that multiculturalists should be mindful of it?" Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader, David Theo Goldberg, ed. (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 414.

in the group politics of cultural minorities. This essentially causes reproduction of political conflicts and thus enhances disunity. I would like to point out that "culture" has complex dynamics that cannot always be politicized. I will argue that multiculturalism should also be an ideology to define the *individual* mind set as opposed to group politics in order for the policy to serve the whole of a multicultural State.

Chapter 1

Culture and Language as Human Rights

Introduction

The federal multiculturalism policy was first introduced to the House of Commons in 1971 by the Trudeau government. There were four objectives of the policy: 1) to support the diverse nature of Canada's culture and assist in the development of cultural groups; 2) to support cultural groups in overcoming cultural barriers and in enabling them to participate in Canadian society; 3) to promote creative encounters and interchange between Canadian cultural groups; and 4) to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of Canada's official languages.¹

As was clearly stated in the fourth objective, the initial proposal of the multiculturalism policy was aimed at helping newcomers acquire one of Canada's official languages in order to be "full participants" in Canadian society. However, the federal agency responsible for implementation of multiculturalism is currently not involved in immigrants' official language training. Soon after the introduction of the multiculturalism policy, the official language training issue was removed from multiculturalism programs.

Exclusion of language training for adult immigrants from multiculturalism can be ascribed to the underlying philosophy of the policy. The ideal of multiculturalism is based on the Canadian mosaic paradigm, as opposed to the

¹House of Commons Debate, October 8, 1971.

melting pot of the United States. The melting pot paradigm assumes that all immigrants will eventually be assimilated into the mainstream culture of the society, whereas the Canadian mosaic paradigm assumes that "all ethnocultural groups in Canada are both able and willing to maintain their ethnocultural distinctiveness".² This ideal has come to be much boasted of by Canadians. As Bhatnager says, multiculturalism is considered to be "a policy of cultural democracy as opposed to cultural imperialism".³ In this ideology, assimilation is rejected "as an undesirable unacceptable goal".⁴ Multiculturalism strongly opposes the idea of assimilation, and this is reflected in the policy statement: as the Multiculturalism Act says, the government of Canada is committed to "preserve" and "enhance" the multicultural heritage of Canada.

In order to understand why Canada is obsessed with cultural preservation, the historical influences that brought about multiculturalism must be looked at. The most important factor that has reinforced the idea of cultural protection and preservation is the Canadian "French fact" and Canada's battle over national unity based on political

²Evelyn Kallen, "Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy and Reality," Journal of Canadian Studies 17.1 (1982), 52.

³J Bhatnagar, "Multiculturalism and the Education of Immigrants in Canada," Educating Immigrants (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 81.

⁴John Mallee and Jonathan C. Young, eds. Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984), 9.

biculturalism, a battle that is still continuing to the present day. The development of the Canadian "mosaic" ideal is an inevitable consequence of the protection of French culture, an issue that has preoccupied Canada since its establishment. The federal bilingualism policy guarantees equal status for English and French. However, it does not mean that those two languages are equal in reality. Rather, it is the very fact that English is much more dominant that necessitates such a policy. If French culture were equally as dominant as English culture everywhere in Canada, a policy that deliberately reinforces French language would not be necessary. The protection of a minority culture has come to be justified by the rationale that a group of people has the right to maintain its distinctive culture.

Increasingly, culture and language in Canada are discussed in terms of equality and rights. This notion of culture as human rights has been extended to people of other ethnicity. If the French have the right to maintain their culture, all other cultural groups should have the same rights. In this chapter, Canadian ideas about language and culture will be reviewed in order to understand why official language education for immigrants was separated from multiculturalism.

Bilingualism, biculturalism and multiculturalism

The modern development of "multiculturalism" has been a natural outgrowth of the preoccupation with bilingualism of the 1960s. It was inevitable that

those citizens who (whatever their languages) felt fully integrated neither in the French nor the Anglo-Saxon milieu stake a claim to their part of the polity in a country in which a single, unquestionable "establishment" no longer existed.

It is often said that bilingualism and multiculturalism are complementary policies to achieve "unity in diversity". It has also been argued, however, that multiculturalism and bilingualism are contradictory. The two policies show "inherent conflict",⁵ as multiculturalism inevitably necessitates multilingualism, which would undermine the principle of bilingualism. Whether it is complementary or contradictory, multiculturalism is a by-product of bilingualism. Federal bilingualism came into effect before the introduction of the multiculturalism policy, and the conception of bilingualism determined characteristics of the subsequent multiculturalism policy.

According to Evelyn Kallen, in the current Canadian context, the concept of "multiculturalism" is used in at least three senses:

1) to refer to the 'social reality' of ethnic diversity; 2) to refer to the federal government policy, designed to create national unity in ethnic diversity; and 3) to refer to the ideology of

⁵Julius H. Grey, Introduction, Multiculturalism and the Charter Canadian Human Rights Foundation, (Agincourt: Carswell, 1987), ix.

⁶E. Diane Pask, "The Charter, Human Rights, and Multiculturalism in Common-law Canada," Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John Berry and J.A. Lapointe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 124.

cultural pluralism (the Canadian mosaic) underlying the federal policy.⁷

It is said that social scientists agree that Canada is a bilingual society within a multicultural framework.⁸

However, the government takes the position that Canada is a multicultural country within a bilingual framework. The contradiction of these two statements shows that multiculturalism as the "social reality" does not coincide with multiculturalism as the "federal government policy". Canada has been a multicultural country since its establishment. Politically, however, Anglo-Saxon culture has dominated over other cultures. Multiculturalism as a federal policy tries to respond to multiculturalism as a social reality. However, Canada has to deal with the political biculturalism of French and English which historically takes precedence over multiculturalism.

As Milton Esman points out, the notion of French as an "endangered language" and "endangered culture" emerged in the 1960s. Until the middle of the century, French Canadians maintained a high birth rate that reproduced enough speakers of the French language to constitute 30% of Canadian population. However, during the 1960s, with the modernization of North American society, population growth

⁷Kallen, "Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy, and Reality," 51.

⁸T.C.Christopher, "The 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and Multiculturalism," Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism XIV.2(1987), 331.

in French Canadian communities declined dramatically. The weakening of the Catholic church in the trend of secularization also speeded the waning of the cultural identity of French Canada. At this point, French Canadians faced the fear of "minorization" in Canada. It was increasingly obvious that French Canadians were being assimilated into "American" culture, which is conveyed by the English language. The possibility of losing French culture and language stimulated a new nationalism in Quebec.

French Canadians slowly shifted from what scholars described as a church-dominated conservative nationalism that promoted the traditional ideas of land, religion, and family as a bulwark against assimilation, to the activist nationalism of the Quiet Revolution, in which the economic and political power of the state was used to protect and promote French Canadian culture.¹⁰

Quebec has come to seek more political autonomy with the rise of "activist nationalism". Quebec's activism was reinforced by the idea that "any weakening of Quebec government's autonomy was a threat to French Canadian survival".¹¹ Facing Quebec's increasing separatism, the federal government was compelled to develop "a national cultural and language policy" to maintain national unity.¹²

⁹Milton Esman, "The Politics of Official Bilingualism in Canada," Language Policy and National Unity, eds. William R. Beer and James E. Jacob (New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1985) 56.

¹⁰Robert Silbey, "From La Survivance to the Quiet Revolution," The Ottawa Citizen, 24 Sep. 1995:C1.

¹¹Silbey, C2.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in 1963 to study the bicultural nature of Canada and propose recommendations to develop the Canadian confederation on an equal partnership between the two founding peoples. The Royal Commission's investigation of the socio-cultural status of French Canadians concluded that the social conditions of Francophones' were below the Canadian average in such indicators as education, income, and employment. Also, French Canadians were underrepresented in the realm of federal administration and other civil services. In order to enhance the equal status of French Canada and English Canada, the Royal Commission recommended nation-wide bilingualism. The Official Language Act of 1969 legalized the equal status of the French and English Languages in federal institutions.

Nation-wide bilingualism reflected Pierre Trudeau's federalist policy to unite the country based on the cultural dualism of French and English. Trudeau stated that "Quebec could be treated as a province *comme les autres* in constitutional matters if Ottawa guaranteed linguistic and cultural equality for French Canadians".¹² Without deliberate protection of French culture in the federation, Quebec had little reason to stay in Canada, where they could not be

¹²Jim Cummins, "Linguistic minorities and multiculturalism policy in Canada," Linguistic Minorities, ed. John Edwards (London: Academic Press, 1984), 84.

¹³Paul W. Bennet, et al., Emerging Identities: Selected Problems and Interpretations in Canadian History (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986), 529.

"the master of their own house". With the Official Languages Act, French Canada gained a ground to protect their culture within the framework of Canadian federalism. Through the policy development of bilingualism, Canada has formed the idea that the State is responsible for protecting the linguistic and cultural equality of distinct groups of people.

The recognition of the equal linguistic rights of the French and the English inevitably caused scepticism among non-English/French speaking Canadians. The effort of the federal government to recognize the French language was perceived as an unfair treatment of linguistic minorities other than francophones.

Immigrants have accepted English as the language of Canada...new immigrants tend to be quite unsympathetic to public policies that confer any higher status on French or compel them to learn French for any purpose. The French, they believe, are another ethnic minority that should accommodate, as they have, to the North American majority.¹⁴

Later studies by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism were concerned with this scepticism by non-official language speakers. The report of the Royal Commission entitled The Cultural Contribution of other Ethnic Groups states:

The presence in Canada of many people whose language and culture are distinctive...represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians cannot afford to lose. The dominant culture can only profit from the influence of these other

¹⁴Esman, 53.

cultures...We have constantly declared our desire to see all Canadians associating in a climate of equality, whether they belong to the Francophone or Anglophone society. Members of "other ethnic groups"... must enjoy the same advantage and meet the same restrictions."

This recognition of non-official language groups formed the basis of the subsequent multiculturalism policy. For "other ethnic groups", French Canada should not be the only group of people who have the right to maintain their distinctiveness. The Royal Commission introduced the idea of multiculturalism as follows:

In the light of the political reality of Canada, the Commission retained bilingualism as a national goal, but modified its own terms of reference from "biculturalism" and argued for "multiculturalism" policy.¹⁶

Although the Trudeau government was willing to recognize the contribution of "other ethnic groups", it was reluctant to expand the linguistic rights of non-official language groups. In Trudeau's view, "pluralilingual Canada was not to be encouraged at the expense of the linguistic rights of the French and English".¹⁷ In order to obscure the government's endorsement of the dual dominance of French and English, the

¹⁵Canada, Report of Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 63.

¹⁶Canada, The Cultural Contribution, 63.

¹⁷Michael H. Hudson, "Multiculturalism, Government Policy and Constitutional Enshrinement- A Comparative study," Multiculturalism and the Charter: A Legal Perspective, Canadian Human Rights Foundation (Agincourt: Carswell, 1987), 63.

word "biculturalism" was expelled and replaced by multiculturalism. Neil Bissoondath points out that the nature of multiculturalism is to equalize Francophone Canada and all other ethnic groups.

If the emphasis on federal bilingualism had seemed to favour Francophone Quebec at the expense of the country, enhanced multiculturalism could be served up as a way of equalising the political balance sheet.

In order to truly equalize the "political balance sheet", all languages other than English and French must be recognised as having the same status. However, the government obviously could not afford official multilingualism. To solve the dilemma, the Trudeau government proposed the multiculturalism policy "within a bilingual framework", stating: "although there are official languages, there is no official culture" in Canada. In order to obscure the dilemma, culture and language are separated, and the meaning of culture had to remain ambiguous. It is such ambiguity that has brought about much conflict between multiculturalism and bilingualism. Proponents of multiculturalism have fought for a broader definition of multiculturalism that would include the

¹⁸Neil Bissoodath, Selling Illusions: Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada (Toronto: Penguin, 1994), 40.

¹⁹Office of Prime Minister, Statement by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, October 8, 1971.

protection of the linguistic rights of non-official language groups.

1982 Charter and Conflict of Bilingualism and Multiculturalism

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was included in the Constitution Act of 1982. Recommendations elaborated by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism are reflected in the Charter. As a result, Canada came to hold a unique charter "[that] is different from many others in the world in that it adds linguistic rights to the traditional rights and freedoms".²⁰ In addition to the principle of bilingualism, multiculturalism was also constitutionally entrenched. Although the initial proposal of the Charter did not include a multiculturalism clause, ethnic protests contributed to the inclusion of such a clause. However, the multiculturalism provision remained quite ambiguous. Section 27 of the Charter states:

This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.

In this statement, what should be "preserved" and "enhanced" is conspicuously absent.

There is no clear answer to how "multicultural heritage" should be interpreted. It could include government support for language retention, or merely government restraint from interference with cultural identities. On the one hand, it could

²⁰Walter S. Tarnopolsky and Gerald-A. Beaudoin, The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms: Commentary (Toronto: Carswell, 1982), iii.

recognize a multi-ethnic Canada where each group preserves its language and culture within official bilingualism; on the other hand, it may merely mean the basic equality of ethnic groups, but with all of them ultimately destined to be assimilated to either English or French Canada.

While multiculturalism provisions remained ambiguous, the principle of bilingualism was clearly spelled out in the provisions of linguistic rights. What characterizes the Canadian notion of "linguistic rights" is the provision of minority language education rights. Section 23 of the Charter protects the right of those whose mother tongue is either English or French to have primary education in their first language. Given that education plays a vital role in cultural reproduction, this provision reflects Canada's sensitivity to cultural preservation. Canadian "phobia" for cultural extinction considers assimilation as a "social problem", and the Charter provides a legal basis to combat the problem.

Section 23 covers a specific category of persons, and provides a remedy for a specific social problem. These persons are members of linguistic minorities, the problem is that of assimilation."

According to Pierre Foucher, Section 23 is interpreted as a "corrective device" to remedy historical errors. In Canada, assimilation of the English language by the French language is not likely. It is the historically disadvantaged

²¹Hudson, 78.

²²Pierre Foucher, Constitutional Language Rights of Official language Minorities in Canada (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1985), 232.

condition of French culture that has to be worried about. Foucher notes that Section 23 has the dual character of individual and civil rights and social and collective rights. Civil and individual rights protect the human liberty and dignity that are inherent to all human beings. Social and collective rights "do not exist inherently", and "the state must mobilise its entire legislative and administrative apparatus...to implement these rights".¹ As a corrective device, Section 23 necessitates that the State take action to prevent the assimilation of French Canadians as a distinctive collectivity. At the same time, Section 23 safeguards the rights of Anglo-Canadians in Quebec, where the power relation between English and French is reversed.

In 1978, Quebec government led by the Parti Quebecois adopted the nationalist policy, Bill 101, to preserve French culture and language.

Bill 101 turned [Quebec] sharply onto a course that undoubtedly left a number of English speaking Quebecers worrying. Rather than retain qualified freedom of choice, the Bill provided that French would be the language of instruction for everyone except those exempted by it.²

Only those who fell into the following categories were allowed to have an Anglophone education:

children whose father or mother received his or her elementary schooling in English in Quebec;

children whose mother or father who, having received elementary schooling outside of Quebec, were domiciled in Quebec on 26 August 1977; and

¹Foucher, 348.

²Foucher, 94.

any child who, prior to the above date, was receiving his or her instruction in English in Quebec, as well as younger siblings of that child.

In 1985, the supreme court of Canada ruled that the Bill violates Section 23 of the Charter. Section 23 guarantees minority language education rights anywhere in Canada. It was ruled that the "Quebec clause" in the provincial provision should not limit the "criteria applied throughout the country" guaranteed in Section 23.²⁵ Since legislation such as Bill 101 cannot prevent a minority's right to receive language education, the linguistic right of Section 23 has the character of an individual civil right that rejects the State's interference. The dual character of the constitutional language rights essentially balances the power struggle between French and English: it ensures that neither of the two languages dominate the other.

Section 23 has been a major source of criticism for supporters of multiculturalism. Canadian citizens whose mother tongue is neither French nor English do not enjoy the same minority language education rights as official language groups. This essentially legitimatizes the dominance of English and French over all other languages. Section 22 of the Charter states that the official language rights shall not diminish "any legal or customary right or privilege

²⁵Canada, Minority Language Education Rights: Section 23 of the Charter (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 1989), 6.

²⁶Canada, Minority Language Education Rights 6.

acquired or enjoyed either before or after the coming into force of the Charter with respect to language that is not English or French". This section may support the protection of non-official languages. However, as Dian Pask says, "most recognition given to unofficial languages tends to be passive in character".²⁷ Many non-official language groups are outraged by the omission of their linguistic rights from the Charter provision. If language is considered to be a Constitutional right, deprivation of it means denial of equality. For many multiculturalists, Trudeau's rhetoric, "official languages but no official culture", can only be an excuse to omit "other" ethnic groups from language rights provisions. Kallen argues that ethnic groups in Canada must be guaranteed collective rights. Kallen points out that the founding peoples are given collective rights to safeguard their culture, while the cultural equality of other ethnic groups remains a matter of individual freedom guaranteed in Section 15, and they have "no protection at group level". Kallen argues that individual freedom is not enough to realize a truly egalitarian society, since individual freedom, which ensures human dignity, can only be achieved with the protection of collective dignity.

How can one's individual right to human dignity be protected when one belongs to a stigmatized group? One's sense of human dignity is inextricably linked with the dignity of one's particular human group.²⁸

²⁷Pask, 130.

²⁸Evelyn Kallen, "Multiculturalism, Minorities and Motherhood: A Social Scientific Critique of Section

Kallen argues that ethnic groups must be accommodated with constitutionally guaranteed rights to perpetuate their distinctive culture in order to protect collective dignity.

Every ethnic collectivity must be equally respected and afforded equal opportunity to freely practice and transmit over the generations its people's distinctive language, religion, and cultural design for living...in a truly egalitarian Canadian mosaic, both the individual human rights of all citizens and the collective cultural rights of all communities should be recognized, respected and protected.²⁹

The omission of collective ethnic rights has given rise to an activist approach to multiculturalism. Critiques of multiculturalism often advocate political action to promote ethnic interests, which sometimes challenges bilingualism. Manoly Lupul maintains that linguistic equality of all Canadian citizens cannot be achieved within a bilingual framework. Lupul criticizes the separation of language and culture, as well as the failure to include ethnic minority language education rights in the Charter. Lupul calls for bilingualism within a multiculturalism framework in order for all citizens to have an equal opportunity to be educated in their mother language.³⁰ Cummins and Danesi point out the

27," Multiculturalism and the Charter: A Legal Perspective, Canadian Human Rights Foundation (Agincourt: Carswell, 1987), 124-125.

²⁹Kallen, "Multiculturalism, Minorities and Motherhood," 125.

³⁰Manoly R. Lupul, "The Contribution of Language Policies and Programs to Multiculturalism Education," Multicultural Education: A Partnership, ed. Keith A. McLeod (Toronto:

reluctance of founding peoples to promote non-official language education. Non-official languages must be preserved, they argue, and if multiculturalism does not commit itself in the education sphere, it would be "little more than a rhetorical facade obscuring an unrepentant assimilationist policy".³¹

Some Francophone Canadians show scepticism toward the expansion of multiculturalism. For French Canada, multiculturalism could mean the reduction of its privileged status as a founding people to one of a minority group.

Leslie Laczko argues:

[W]hile multiculturalism is a sociologically valid concept in Canada, it has no meaning politically...Canada is a country defined by a twofold culture, Anglophone and Francophone, and it is the interplay of political forces between these two "societies" that will determine the future of this country.³²

Laczko notes that "ethnic groups in Canada are in orbit of an Anglophone community" and that "90% of ethnic minorities in Quebec are opting for the English language and Anglophone culture".³³ Many Francophone Canadians see

Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, 1987), 85.

³¹Jim Cummins and Marcel Danesi, Heritage Languages: The Development and Denial of Canada's linguistic resources (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation, 1990), 78.

³²Leslie Laczko, "Multiculturalism: The Doubts of a Francophone," Canada, Conference Report, Second Canadian Conference on Multiculturalism, Multiculturalism as State Policy (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1976), 48.

multiculturalism as a policy to expand the Anglophone community, because ethnic groups see "bilingualism" not as English and French but as their mother language and English. Francophone suspicion towards multiculturalism reveals the existence of a cultural hierarchy in Canada. Anglophone and Francophone cultures are given the privilege of the official status of their languages, while other cultural groups are not. Defending their privileged position, Francophones approve of the cultural hierarchy as necessary in establishing the national identity of Canada. Laczko argues that nationhood cannot be founded on multiculturalism.

[A] Multicultural Canada is the absence of a national culture. What kind of nation, I wonder, can really exist on such a weak and unprepossessing base. I for one, know of no historical precedent for nationhood founded upon on the concept of a mini-united nations, as the Trudeau government is proposing.³⁴

Not surprisingly, defence of national identity based on bilingualism is attacked by multiculturalists. For "other" ethnic groups, national unity based on two founding cultures can mean the perpetuation of the old European rivalry of English and French, which should not be protected at the expense of the equality of ethnic groups.

³³Laczko, 48.

³⁴Laczko, 52.

Summary and Discussion

Due to the facts that are unique to Canadian history, Canada has acquired a sensitivity toward cultural preservation. First, it brought about bilingualism and biculturalism, which tried to build national unity based on the equality of two founding peoples. Then, the increasing presence of "other" ethnic peoples in Canada led the government to recognize their cultural equality. In order to achieve a more egalitarian society, biculturalism was replaced by multiculturalism. However, the two founding peoples remained more privileged with the constitutionally guaranteed language rights which safeguard their cultures. Proponents of multiculturalism have argued that all cultures should be granted equally recognised cultural rights as founding peoples.

In the debate of bilingualism and multiculturalism, we find that culture is used for group politics. French Canada demands its share of the pie in the federation, claiming its culture as one of the legitimate two founding cultures of Canada. Under the slogan of multiculturalism, other ethnic groups also demand an equal amount of protection by the State, claiming that all cultures are equal. What they have in common is the rejection of assimilation and Anglo-conformity: distinct culture is used to justify their argument for increased benefits.

In this argument for anti-assimilation, it seems that culture is treated as an "endangered species" needing special treatment to prevent extinction. In the Canadian sense, an endangered culture must be artificially reproduced, through the support of the State, because culture has the right to survive. And of course, no one can question protection of anything that is considered to be a right. However, it is rather short-sighted to assume that culture is unquestionably preservable. Before we reject cultural assimilation as an undesirable social problem that denies egalitarian society, we have to consider the meaning of assimilation, which may mean a completely different thing to different people.

Some immigrants, especially adult immigrants, are separated from the mainstream society because of their inability to speak mainstream languages. McLeod and Shin reported some experiences of abused immigrant women who speak neither English nor French. Not knowing official languages, it is extremely difficult for immigrant women to seek help when they are abused.

Abuse generally is fed by isolation and dependency. But for women who are abused by their husband or parents... and who don't speak either English or French, the fear, the isolation, the dependency, the helplessness and the hopelessness which are so much a part of life for all women who are abused, are multiplied many times over.³⁵

³⁵Linda McLeod and Maria Shin, "Like a Wingless Bird"... A tribute to the survival and the courage of women who are abused and who speak neither English nor French (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1994), 27.

For immigrants who are isolated because of their inability to communicate with the larger society, "linguistic rights" or "cultural protection" in the Canadian sense--to safeguard one's mother tongue and culture--have little meaning.

Keeping their native culture could mean keeping cultural barriers that prevent them from being active participants in Canadian society. Along with retention of non-official languages, should it not also be noted that immigrants have a right to acquire the dominant language of the society? If multiculturalism should serve as a policy to promote equal integration of immigrants, anti-assimilation should not be the only focal point of the policy. Cultural complexity allows both assimilation and non-assimilation to occur as a natural process. It is a multi-dimensional process, and it is neither totally inevitable nor avoidable. In the past, cultural policy promoted assimilation; today, it is the other way around. According to the functionalist view, culture perpetuates a distinct society that holds it. Cultural policies to resist a natural function have caused problems. For example, aboriginal peoples who were forced to live like Europeans lost life skills that are vital to tribal life. It is necessary to remedy past errors, but a simple reversal of past cultural policy may not work in a contemporary Canadian society where cultural dynamics are more complex. To control cultural dynamics by a policy requires a great amount of caution. Cultural policies can

control both assimilation and non-assimilation, but total rejection of either of them may actually cause a problem. In Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the nature of cultural dynamics will be further discussed.

To take culture as a "right" may be dangerous, because it inherently rejects any questioning. While culture is being discussed in terms of human rights, one of the initial objectives of multiculturalism--assisting immigrants to acquire Canada's official languages--was lost in the multiculturalism discourse. Who has been helping adult immigrants achieve actual social participation, then? In the next chapter, Canada's policies concerning official language education for adult immigrants will be reviewed.

Chapter 2

Policy Development of Official Language Training for Adult Immigrants

Introduction: Immigration, Multiculturalism, and Language Training

Official Language training for adult immigrants has been administered by the federal government as mainly an immigration issue. As Elliot Tepper says, "[i]mmigration and multiculturalism are inextricably linked".¹ It is the huge influx of immigrants from Third World countries that has caused the rise of multiculturalism since the 1970's. Tepper notes, however, that there are a limited number of studies concerning immigration and multiculturalism. This may be due to the historical connection of bilingualism and multiculturalism described in Chapter 1. Immigration policy and multiculturalism policy both concern immigrants' integration into the host society. In terms of language education, however, immigration policy and multiculturalism policy conflict with one another. As noted, multiculturalism is concerned with the survival of minority culture in Canada and combats assimilation, which is considered to be a "social problem". Immigration policy, on the other hand, mainly focuses on the economic integration of immigrants, which necessitates the linguistic assimilation of newcomers. Official language skills are essential to be employed in the

¹ Elliot Tepper, "Immigration Policy and Multiculturalism," Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John Berry and J.A.Laponce (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 95.

Canadian labor market, and the federal policy for language training for immigrants had a strong employment orientation until the 1990s. Immigrants who were not destined for the Canadian labor market were excluded from subsidized language training programs. In such an employment oriented policy, the cultural integration of immigrants, which should have been considered by multiculturalism, was absent.

In 1992, Immigration and Citizenship Canada implemented a new language program that focused on cultural integration of new immigrants. The target group of the new federal language program is those who lack a minimum knowledge of the official languages and are more likely to be isolated because of cultural and linguistic barriers. Also, the new program encourages teaching newcomers Canadian ways of living (i.e., Canadian culture) that are relevant to their settlement process. The mandate of the new language training policy certainly fills a loophole caused by multiculturalism. It links immigration and cultural integration, a link that was absent in the federal perspective on both immigration and multiculturalism.

Compared to English Canada, Quebec's language training policies seem to be more directed to the cultural integration of newcomers. In English Canada, language training and multiculturalism have been two separate issues. In Quebec, however, "francisation" of immigrants has been discussed within the framework of multiculturalism. Both multiculturalism programs for the development of cultural

communities and French language training are administered under the same authority. For Quebec, francisation of immigrants is vital in order to sustain Francophone culture. Just as Canadian economic growth relies on immigration, Quebec's cultural retention must rely on immigration. Considering the impact of immigration on Quebec's cultural maintenance, Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council states:

Immigrants are willing to replace their ancestral language with the language of environment. They will do so more readily if they are helped to learn the language of the country they are in.²

It is easy to imagine that such a statement would outrage multiculturalists in English-speaking Canada, if this was said concerning immigrants outside of Quebec, as it would endorse anglo-conformity against which both bilingualism and multiculturalism were established. Interestingly, this statement seems to be valid in Quebec. The language training policies in Quebec are worth attention when rethinking the meaning of multiculturalism.

Immigration Policy and Ethnic Demography

Canada has been a country of immigrants since the European invasion. The country was transformed by peoples with different origins. Canada has relied on immigration for

²Canada, Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, Immigration in the 1990s (Ottawa: Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1991), 24.

population and economic growth, and the management of migrant influx has been one of the most important issues for its nation-building. In order to develop the vast land of Canada, it seemed to be vital to increase manpower through immigration. Consequently, Canada's immigration policy has been concerned with the link between immigration and employment. In 1927, it was stated:

It is essential that immigrants coming to this country come not only to Canada but to employment....The task before Canada is...not only to find immigrants but to find employment for immigrants.³

It was important that immigrants were coming to Canada to work, and those unemployable were not desired by the country. In addition to employability, racial origin of immigrants was another factor that had to be considered by the government. When finding immigrants, Canada had to face a possible change in ethnic demography.

One of the recurring themes [in immigration policy]...is the tension between fear of the foreigner and the imperative need for labor and population.⁴

Due to "fear of the foreigner", Canada maintained restrictive policies concerning the racial origin of immigrants. The Oriental Exclusion Act in 1923 and 1930 restricted immigrants from Asian countries, who were seen as

³Canada, Minister of Immigration and Colonization, Canada and Immigration: A Brief Overview of Policy, Organization and Practice (Ottawa: Minister of Immigration and Colonization, 1927), 3.

⁴Tepper, 99.

the most resistant to assimilation. Racial and cultural diversity was considered to have a negative impact on Canada's nation-building, and a restrictive immigration policy lingered.

However, Canada's immigration policy became more open beginning in the 1950s.

Reforms begun in the 1950s culminated in the late 1960s with passage of new legislation, eliminating de facto racial and religious barriers to admission. The new openness, and shifting global trends in availability of migrants, have led to dramatic change in the ethnic, religious and racial characteristics of newcomers.

The change in the post-war immigration policy came to invite more "foreigners" to Canada. Before 1961, approximately 80% of all immigrants were from European countries and the United States. During 1971-1981, immigrants from Europe declined to about 34%, and the main source of immigrants shifted to Asian and African countries. According to the 1981 census, not only did the source of immigrants shift but it also diversified.⁶ Abolition of racial restrictions in the post-war immigration policy caused an influx of immigrants who did not have a good knowledge of the official languages. The percentage of immigrants who could not converse in English or French significantly increased after the 1960s. This meant that the

⁶Tepper, 102.

⁷Canada, Statistics Canada, Canada's Immigrants (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1984).

Canadian labor market was absorbing more people who were not familiar with Canada's official languages. According to the historical perspective that the State is responsible for immigrants' employment, language training had to be a concern of the government.

Another important characteristic of the post-war immigration policy is that it became more humanitarian. Acceptance of refugees and recognition of family unification became important criteria of immigration. With the recognition of "family ties" more sponsored immigrants who are less likely to have education and employment skills have been accepted. Federal language training policies for adult immigrants reflect such demographic changes caused by immigration.

Federal Language Programs for Adult Immigrants

Language training for adult immigrants is a multidimensional subject which involves various governmental administration branches such as immigration, settlement, employment and education. As a result, it is extremely difficult to offer organized services in this area. In 1991, the Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council (CEIAC) presented a comprehensive report on existing language programs for immigrants. In the report, it was noted:

A cohesive national language program is currently non-existent...the hodge-podge of programs that are

available invite the twin evils of duplication and insufficiency.⁷

At the federal level, language training for immigrants was a shared responsibility of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) and the Department of Secretary of State (DSS) until 1990. On the one hand, CEIC recognized the importance of the language ability of immigrants for their employability and economic integration. On the other hand, DSS was concerned with the long-term integration of immigrants; its language training was aimed at citizenship preparation. Multiculturalism policy was part of the rationale for DSS-sponsored language training. However, official language training was not included in multiculturalism programs. A DSS report in 1980 stated that the fourth objective of the initial multiculturalism policy, to assist immigrants in acquiring one of Canada's official languages, "no longer falls within the purview of multiculturalism program but is, instead, administered through Citizenship Registration Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State by means of federal-provincial agreements".⁸ Four years after the introduction of

⁷Canada, Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, Immigrants and Language Training: A Report presented to the Minister of Employment and Immigration (Ottawa: Canada Employment and Immigration Advisory Council, 1991), 54.

⁸Canada, Secretary of State, Report of the Task Force on Multiculturalism Policy and Program: A Discussion Paper (Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1980), 58.

multiculturalism policy, DSS signed agreements with the provinces and territories to reimburse half of the expenditure spent on the language instruction materials. In terms of budget allocation, DSS's contribution to language training remained smaller than that of CEIC. Throughout the 1980s, language training for immigrants maintained this labor-market orientation. In the fiscal year 1988-89, DSS allocated approximately \$20 million for language training under the federal-provincial agreement⁹ while CEIC spent approximately \$90 million for employment-oriented programs. (Table 2)

The shared responsibility of these two federal agencies was criticized for lacking a "clear mandate" and a "consistent action plan".¹⁰ Federal language training policy did not clearly spell out two different objectives: employment preparation aimed at the economic integration of labor-force destined immigrants and citizenship preparation aimed at the cultural integration of all immigrants. After DSS discontinued the federal-provincial agreement, language training for adults was placed under the sole authority of Immigration and Citizenship Canada. In the following

⁹Canada, Canada Employment and Immigration Commission, CEIC Settlement Branch Presentation to Standing Committee on Labor, Employment and Immigration (Ottawa: CEIC Settlement Branch, 1986?), II B.

¹⁰Canada, CEIC, CEIC Settlement Branch Presentation, 52.

summary, recent policy development in the area of language training for adults is reviewed.

1) Labor market-oriented language programs

As noted, immigration policy in Canada had a strong emphasis on economic growth. Originally, language training of immigrants was mandated to increase their employability. CEIC administered language training programs for labor-market destined immigrants under the Adult Occupational Training Act.

Immigrants are placed in language training by the application of that section of the AOT Act which states:

"...the employment officer may...arrange for the enrollment of that adult in any occupational training course that will, in the opinion of the employment officer, prove suitable for that adult and increase his earning or his opportunity for employment".¹¹

Thus language training for immigrants was included in the broader context of adult occupational training, rather than integration programs specifically designed for immigrants.

In 1985, CEIC introduced more comprehensive language training programs under Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS). The purpose of language training under CJS was "to assist or encourage specific groups of persons in making the transition to, or to participate effectively in, the labor

¹¹J.P. Zukowski, Issues Concerning Language Acquisition by Immigrant Women in Canada, Discussion Paper presented to the ICEM Conference on Migrant Women (S.l.: S.n., 1980?), 4.

market through training and work experience".¹² Under CJS, immigrants destined for the labor force had access to different types of language training. In the fiscal year of 1988-89, \$66.3 million was spent on full-time language training in which eligible immigrants were placed in community colleges for language instruction for up to 30 weeks with income support. During 1986-89, approximately 68% of all labor-market destined immigrants were enrolled for language training under the CJS. (Table 3)

As to the effectiveness of the federal language training, various problems were identified. In the Symposium on Immigrants Settlement and Integration held in 1990, Klaus Weiermair pointed out several reasons why federal language training for immigrants was not sufficient. Among those reasons were: variability of instruction quality, lack of curriculum development, inadequate length of training, lack of streaming immigrants according to their backgrounds, high dropout rates, etc.¹³ The biggest problem was the eligibility criteria. The labor-market oriented training came to be much criticized as it excluded those who did not intend to work in Canada. As mentioned earlier, since Canada adopted more humanitarian immigration policies, the number

¹²Canada, Task Force on Canadian Jobs Strategy Delivery, Report to the Minister of Employment and Immigration on CJS Delivery (Ottawa: s.n., 1988), Annex A 1.

¹³Klaus Weiermair, "Language Training for Immigrants: Its rationale and Delivery," Symposium Report: Symposium on Immigrant Settlement and Integration (S.l.: s.n., 1990), 11.

of immigrants entering the country for family reunification has constantly increased. Monica Boyd (1991) noted that more immigrants were entering Canada as sponsored by their family and relatives despite the fact that Canada's immigration policy is labor market-oriented in principle. Those who are not destined for the labor force are more likely to be women from Third World countries, having less education and minimal knowledge of Canada's official languages. They tend to be housebound because of family responsibilities as well as some traditional cultural values in which women are supposed to stay home. As well, older immigrants who have no knowledge of official languages avoid interacting in the host society, staying only in the sponsor's community. Federal language training policy did not include those most marginalized immigrants. Consequently, cultural and linguistic barriers that isolate adult immigrants were preserved.

During 1986-1989, more women entered Canada than men, and approximately 60% of those women were not eligible for CJS language training. (Table 1) The disadvantaged situation of immigrant women has been pointed out by many researchers. Milagros Paredes argues that the official language is linguistic capital that "provides access to social economic process", and the federal language training policy systematically denied immigrant women's access to the linguistic resources.¹⁴ Winona Giles also points out that the

federal policy was discriminatory against women and argues that "language rights for immigrant women must be understood in the wider context of human rights, whereby discrimination on the basis of sex is prohibited".¹⁵

Responding to the concerns regarding immigrant women, a pilot project was implemented by CEIC to meet the needs of those who are not destined for the labor force. The Settlement Language Training Program (SLTP) was implemented in 1986 by the Settlement Branch of Employment and Immigration Canada aimed at community integration of immigrants who have a minimal knowledge of official languages. Its primary target was immigrant women at home. Approximately 2.4% of the CEIC language training budget was allocated to SLTP during 1986-1989. This pilot project was found satisfactory in helping clients learn "things that would help them function in Canadian society".¹⁶

2) Language training for citizenship preparation

¹⁴Milagros Paredes, "Immigrant Women and Second Language Education: A Study of Unequal Access to Linguistic Resources," Resources for Feminist Research 16(1987):23.

¹⁵Wenona Giles, "Language Rights are Women's Rights: Discrimination against Women in Canadian Language Training Policies," Resources for Feminist Research 17.3 (1988):131.

¹⁶Barbara Burnaby, et al. The Settlement Languages Training Demonstration Projects: An Assessment (Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada, Policy Analysis Directorate, 1987).

In order to facilitate long-term integration of immigrants, DSS funded language training programs relating to citizenship preparation. School boards and community colleges as well as non-governmental organizations offered citizenship courses, but there was little consolidation and coordination among program providers. In 1987, DSS sponsored a national survey on citizenship education and language instruction programs. As the survey report says, there was "no formal mechanism that could provide citizenship educators with information regarding course content, availability of materials, innovative teaching techniques, and an opportunity to exchange ideas in all parts of country".¹ The survey identified some insufficiency of citizenship education. Particularly conspicuous is that citizenship education did not emphasize language training. Most programs were aimed at helping immigrants pass the court hearing for citizenship acquisition, and language learning was considered to be a secondary objective. (Figure 1)

Language training for citizenship preparation shared some problems with the labor market-oriented language programs. One such universal problem was the quality of teaching. The report noted that the education for citizenship course instructors was poor and that curriculum

¹ Tracy Dewing and Murray Munro, Citizenship Instruction for Adult(ESL) Learners (Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1987), 3.

development was not receiving enough attention. In particular, there was little language teaching material relevant for Canadian immigrants. There was comparatively little ESL teaching material with Canadian content as compared with the amount of American and British materials available.

It is wrong to assume, then, that Canadian issues are covered adequately in the ESL classroom, and that a short course to prepare individuals for the citizenship hearing is sufficient to help them become participating members of society.¹⁸

That language training for citizenship preparation suffered from a lack of funding may account for the poor quality of training. As noted, the federal contribution to this area was much smaller than for language training for employment preparation.

Representatives from nearly all programs said that they would be able to improve their courses with additional funding, and coordinators often complained that they did not have the money to buy simple items for their classrooms, such as a large map of the world.¹⁹

As figure 2 shows, the federal contribution comprised only a small portion of the external funding sources for citizenship programs.

The report recommended increasing funding for language courses for citizenship preparation. However, DSS discontinued funding language training in 1990. Language

¹⁸Dewing and Munro, 14.

¹⁹Dewing and Munro, 12.

training through which immigrants can learn "Canadian values" that are relevant for their long-term integration had to wait until 1992 to be implemented by the new federal agency, Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

3) Language training for all newcomers

In 1985, Canada reported to OECD that immigrant reception and their language training were federal responsibilities. Looking at the problems described above, it is questionable whether the federal government was adequately fulfilling its responsibilities. In the early 1990s, language training policy reached a turning point when Employment and Immigration Canada was split into Immigration and Citizenship Canada and Human Resources Development. Language training for adult immigrants was consolidated in the broader context of the immigration plan.

[The federal immigrant integration strategy] will bring all federal language training for immigrants under the direction of the immigration program, where it can be incorporated into a larger package of settlement and integration services.²⁰

The merging of immigration and citizenship in the federal agency marked a major change in language training policy: the priority shifted from employment preparation to settlement and integration of newcomers.

²⁰Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, The Federal Immigrant Integration Strategy in 1993 (Ottawa: Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1993), 2.

The new federal language training was implemented in two different plans: Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) and Labor Market Language Training (LMLT). The former aims at settlement and community integration of recent arrivals, and the latter is more advanced language training for employment preparation. LINC reflects the criticism of past federal programs compiled in the 1980s. It is concerned with cultural integration of all newcomers regardless of their intent to work in Canada or not. Its eligibility criteria was expanded to recently arrived immigrants and conventional refugees over 18 years old. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship are not eligible even if they have little knowledge of the official languages. LINC emphasizes the acquisition of very basic language skills that are necessary for adult immigrants to function in Canadian society. Although there is no standardized curriculum to be followed, LINC instructors are encouraged to develop course materials that are relevant to immigrant settlement. LINC curriculum guidelines developed by LINC Curriculum Project (1994) emphasize language teaching in real-life situations. The guidelines focus on thematic content that is relevant to the settlement process including topics such as housing, transportation, commercial services, Canadian law, Canadian society, etc.

All LINC clients are interviewed before they are placed in the program. This interview session is called A-LINC; it

is a tool to determine a client's linguistic ability. A-LINC defines five different levels of proficiency (see appendix). Those who do not have the level of LINC level 1 are placed in pre-LINC class, which focuses on basic literacy.

LMLT took over the language training for employment preparation that used to be administered by CEIC. Those who have completed LINC level 3 or those who are deemed to have a proficiency level of LINC 3 at the A-LINC interview session are eligible to enroll in LMLT.

The budget allocation for LINC and LMLT shows remarkable contrast to the proportion of budget for labor-market oriented language training and settlement oriented training in the 1980s. For the fiscal year 1994-1995, \$103.3 million was allocated to LINC and \$21.4 million to LMLT. In 1989, CEIC spent \$66.3 million on CJS language training while only \$2.5 million was spent on language training concerning settlement needs. This suggests a major policy shift to favor the population that was disadvantaged by the past policy. In fact, those who benefit most from the current policy are immigrant women who come to Canada with minimum education. Recognition of literacy training and on-site child care were implemented in LINC, which makes immigrant women the primary target group.

Immigration and Language Training Policy in Quebec

The objective of immigration in Quebec has a different meaning from that in the rest of Canada. Cultural solidarity in Quebec resulted in ambivalent attitudes toward immigration. Jacques Parizeau's speech after the 1995 referendum blamed "ethnics" for the defeat of a sovereign Quebec, which revealed Quebec's xenophobic sentiment toward "foreigners". On the other hand, however, Quebec must rely on immigration not only for its economic growth and population growth but also for its cultural growth. As noted by Vaillancourt, the main goals of Quebec's immigration policy are:

- 1) To slow down the aging and eventual decline of Quebec's population
- 2) To preserve Quebec's share of Canada's population
- 3) To integrate (assimilate) allophone immigrants into Quebec's Francophone community.

The third objective makes Quebec's immigration policy strikingly unique. It is interesting to note that the words "integration" and "assimilation" are used as synonyms. Considering the fact that the federal perspective of multiculturalism was originally founded upon the notion of integration without assimilation, Quebec's immigration policy seemingly suggests a contradiction to the "preservation" and "enhancement" of cultural diversity.

²¹François Vaillancourt, "The View of Immigration from Quebec- Quebec's Immigration Policy: An Economic Assessment of Its rationale and Impact", Policy Forum on the Role of Immigration in Canada's Future, Charles M. Beach and Alan G. Green (Kingston: Queen's University, John Deutch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, 1989), 19.

However, the province has developed its own vision of multiculturalism, which is called the "convergence" model of multiculturalism.²² In this model of multiculturalism, it is assumed that immigrants can maintain their own cultural heritage while they are linguistically assimilated into the Francophone community.

The development of Quebec's cultural groups can be achieved through the collective vitality of the majority Francophone society in much the same way that the trunk and roots of a tree nourish all its branches...assimilation of the minority group can be avoided if each and every one of them...become conscious of their original contribution to Quebec's cultural development.²³

In this model, linguistic assimilation into the host country is essential in order to be "nourished" and to achieve the cultural development of minority communities. Consequently, French instruction for immigrants has been included in the framework of Quebec's multiculturalism.

Compared to English Canada, policy development in the areas of immigration and multiculturalism has maintained close links in Quebec. In 1968, Quebec established the Ministère de l'immigration in order to allow immigrants "to contribute to the enrichment of the socio-cultural heritage of Quebec" and "ensure their harmonious integration".²⁴ It is

²²Christopher McAll, Beyond Ethnicity: Immigration in Contemporary Quebec (Ottawa: Economic council of Canada, 1991).

²³Québec, Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration, Quebecers each and every one (Montréal: Le Ministère, 1981), 12.

interesting to note that the ministry was mandated before the recognition of official multiculturalism at the federal level. In 1981, the Ministère de l'immigration was renamed the Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration. Again, multiculturalism policies designed to respect the development of ethnocultural communities were to be implemented in accordance with immigration policy.

In 1970, the Centres d'orientation et de formation des immigrants (COFI) was created, and full-time French as a Second Language programs were developed. In terms of funding, the federal budget for CEIC sponsored language training accounted for the sole source of French language instruction for adult immigrants until 1987. COFI's language programs were purchased under CJS, and again, its eligibility criteria were criticized as excluding those who were not destined for the labor force. In 1987, two other language instruction programs were implemented entirely funded by the provincial government. The 'Programme d'aide à la francization des immigrants' targeted disadvantaged immigrants (women, illiterates, and visible minorities). It extended financial aid to non-governmental organizations concerned about immigrant integration. The other program, the "Programme québécois de francisation des immigrants" provided full-time language instruction for immigrants who

²⁴Québec, Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration, cited in Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration (Québec: Direction des communication, MCCI, 1990), 6.

were not eligible for the federal program. This can be seen as an equivalent of SLTP at the federal level: it provided child care and targeted immigrant women.

The eligibility criteria of language instruction in Quebec exemplifies its orientation towards cultural integration. While the new federal language training significantly widened its eligibility criteria with implementation of LINC, it is closed to immigrants who have acquired Canadian citizenship but have little knowledge of official languages. In Quebec, French language instruction is offered not only to newcomers but to all those isolated because of their lack of French knowledge. Also, subsidized French language courses are open to those who speak English.

Vaillancourt argues that Quebec's distinctiveness regarding its cultural growth justifies its right to have autonomy in immigration matters. In fact, Quebec has had greater control over immigration policy with the federal-provincial agreements in 1971, 1975, and 1979. Preservation of Quebec's distinctiveness as a French-speaking society is incorporated in its immigration policy. In 1990, the Quebec government stated in its policy statement concerning immigrant integration: "because immigration is a privilege by the host society, it must make its expectations known to immigrants". One important expectation was to recognize the French language as "the common language of public life".²⁵

²⁵Québec, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'immigration, Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy

In 1991, the Canada-Quebec accord was signed, and the federal government withdrew from immigrant integration services in Quebec. For 1991-1995, a total of \$332 million was paid to compensate for the federal withdrawal.²⁶ The Quebec government announced that the number of French language training would be increased.²⁷

Summary and Discussion

As a result of changing immigration policies in the post-war period, profiles of immigrants to Canada changed significantly. The main source of migrant flow shifted from Europe and the States to Third World countries. More "foreigners" whom Canada historically was reluctant to accept settled in the country. Official multiculturalism was developed in order to manage the society's fear of foreigners and to recognize the equal participation of immigrants in Canadian society. However, in terms of policy development, multiculturalism and immigration did not maintain close coordination. Official language training for immigrants was left to the immigration sector, which historically has been more concerned about the economic impact of immigration. The purpose of language training was

Statement on Immigration and Integration (Québec: Direction des communication, MCCI, 1990), 15.

²⁶Margaret Young, Immigration: The Canada-Quebec Accord (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1992), 6.

²⁷McAll, 21.

to increase the employability of immigrants, and cultural integration through language acquisition was neglected. Immigrants not destined for the labor market, who were most likely to be isolated because of linguistic and cultural barriers, were excluded from federal language training programs. It was not until the 1990s that the federal government expanded the eligibility criteria of subsidized language training to all newcomers to Canada. The policy shift reflects the criticism voiced during the 1980s. Researchers looked at the lack of the language training for immigrants as a root of social inequality. They argued for the "language rights" of all immigrants, whether or not they are destined for the labor force, to acquire the official language. Language rights in this sense is very different from Constitutional language rights in the bilingualism-multiculturalism discourse described in Chapter 1. While multiculturalism supports the language rights of immigrants to collectively protect their native cultures, the "right" to be trained in one of the Canadian official languages was never discussed in the bilingualism-multiculturalism discourse.

Although the new federal policy is more sensitive to the cultural integration of immigrants, it is still not consolidated within the framework of cultural policy. Language training policy in Quebec has maintained much closer coordination with multiculturalism. One of the purposes of immigration in Quebec is to increase the French

speaking population. Quebec promotes the linguistic assimilation of immigrants, but this does not mean that the immigrants' unique backgrounds are denied in the host society. The convergence model of multiculturalism suggests that the uniqueness of each culture will be recognized while integrating immigrants into the French speaking society. In this convergence model, immigrant integration through linguistic assimilation is embraced in the cultural policy. In other words, making "allophones" part of Francophone society through language training is one of the purposes of multiculturalism in Quebec. Vaillancourt notes that Quebec residents prefer immigrants who are willing to assimilate into the French speaking community, while English Canada is indifferent to the linguistic assimilation of newcomers.²⁸ This indifference of English Canada to immigrant cultural integration through official language acquisition has kept language instruction and immigrant integration as two separate issues. Quebec's convergence model suggests that multiculturalism can include language training as a "right" and "obligation" of newcomers to be equal participants in French-speaking society.

It is interesting to note how the criticism of language training is going back to the issue of the employability of immigrants after the implementation of LINC. The criticism has been made that completion of LINC level 3 is not enough

²⁸Vaillancourt, 17.

for employment, which is often regarded as "real" integration for immigrants and that more money should be put into LMLT.²⁹ This essentially brings the language training issue back to the employment issue.

In the Dewing and Munro report, it was noted that the lack of child care facilities combined with "cultural restrictions" prevented immigrant women from taking citizenship classes. Also, they noted that certain ethnic groups "chose not to take courses".³⁰ Some cultures expect women to stay home, increasing the likelihood of isolation of immigrant women. The purpose of citizenship preparation courses can be interpreted as teaching newcomers values shared by Canadian citizens. In Canada, immigrant women are entitled to rights that may not exist in their native cultures. Apparently, citizenship courses that only focuses on passing the court hearing do not educate socially disadvantaged immigrants. The new federal language training policy not only teaches the language but compensates for the insufficiency of citizenship education in the past. In the next chapter, the language training issue will be looked at in terms of education in order to analyze its significance as cultural policy.

²⁹Elizabeth Carriere and Anne Cochran, LINC Consultations Initial Discussions: Issues, Concerns and Action (Vancouver: Affiliation of Multicultural Societies and Services Agencies of British Columbia, 1992).

³⁰Dewing and Munro, 10.

Table 1.

Immigrants not eligible for language training under the CJS
Purchase of Training option, by sex for the age group 18 to 60

	<u>1986</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1988</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Females</u>				
Total Arrivals	13,036	18,272	21,939	53,247
For Labour Force	5,144	7,100	8,577	20,821
Not Eligible	7,892 (60.5%)	11,172 (61.1%)	13,362 (60.9%)	32,426 (60.9%)
<u>Males</u>				
Total Arrivals	11,798	16,021	18,469	46,288
For labour Force	10,441	14,098	16,247	40,786
Not Eligible	1,357 (11.5%)	1,923 (12.0%)	2,222 (12.0%)	5,502 (11.9%)
<u>Total Arrivals</u>	24,834	34,293	40,408	99,535
For Labour Force	15,585	21,198	24,824	61,607
Not Eligible	9,249 (37.2%)	13,095 (38.2%)	15,584 (38.6%)	37,928 (38.1%)

Source: Canada, CEIAC, Immigrants and Language Training, 5.

Table 2.

Programs Funded by EIC Involving Language
Training in 1988-89

<u>Employment Programs</u>	<u>Millions \$</u>
Purchase of Training Option (CJS)	66.3
Job Entry Projects (CJS)	10.7
Innovations Projects (CJS)	2.0
Job Development Projects (CJS)	3.3
Language at Work (CJS) * (\$42.5 million over 5 years)	8.5
<u>Immigration Programs</u>	
a. Orientation Overseas * _____	10.5
b. Language Training by NGOs * _____ (\$52.5 million over 5 years for a. & b.)	
c. Settlement Branch	2.5
Total EIC Funding	103.8
* Components of new initiatives totalling \$95 million over 5 years.	

Source: Canada: CEIAC, Immigrants and Language Training, 21.

Table 3.

Immigrants eligible and actually enrolled for language
training under the CJS

<u>Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Females</u>		<u>Males</u>	
	<u>enrolled in</u> <u>training</u>	<u>labour market</u> <u>destined</u>	<u>enrolled in</u> <u>training</u>	<u>labour market</u> <u>destined</u>
1986-87	7,341	5,144	7,240	10,441
1987-88	7,392	7,100	6,900	14,098
1988-89	7,045	8,577	6,455	16,247
Total	21,778	20,821	20,595	40,786

Source: Canada, CEIAC, Immigrants and Language Training, 7.

Figure 1.

Main and secondary objectives of citizenship courses

- 1= To help students to pass court hearing
- 2= To help students to improve their English skills
- 3= To teach students about Canada
- 4= To develop students' participatory skills

Source: Dewing and Munro, 18.

Figure 2.

Sources of funding for citizenship courses by provinces

Source: Dewing and Munro, 11.

Chapter 3

Language Training and Multicultural Education

Introduction: Culture and Education

In this chapter, multiculturalism and the language training issue will be looked at in terms of education. Culture and education are closely related matters. In an anthropological sense, education is a process by which the cultural values of a society are transmitted to new members of the society. Through this process, novices to the society acquire behavioral patterns and mind sets that are considered to be suitable in the particular society. Behavioral patterns transmitted through education can be necessary life skills to survive in the particular environment. Also, education transmits ideological values that reinforce the structure of the society. The relationship between culture and education will be interpreted in such an anthropological sense in order to grasp the complexity of culture, which is often not recognized in multiculturalism discourse.

In a multicultural society, a critical question is whose culture should be transmitted to whom by the State. Education to reproduce the dominant culture and thus perpetuate the hegemony of the dominant cultural group is denied in multiculturalism. Instead, multiculturalism is concerned with reproduction and continuation of every minority culture. As noted in Chapter 1, assimilation of minority cultures is considered to be a "social problem" in Canada, and cultural preservation becomes an

important agenda of national cultural policy to ensure the "cultural equality" of all peoples. In order to reinforce the democratic coexistence of different cultures, multiculturalism also attempts to correct prejudice and racism in the mainstream society. Multicultural education that only focuses on cultural preservation has been criticized as not effectively promoting equality between cultural minorities. Responding to this criticism, anti-racism education has developed focusing more on "intergroup equity". This aims at uprooting racism and encouraging structural change in Canadian society to favour the aspirations of cultural minorities. There has been an active debate on multicultural education versus anti-racism education regarding whether they should be consolidated or the latter should replace the former.¹ In principle, however, both camps agree that no one culture should dominate another.

Language education within the framework of multicultural education has mainly been concerned with the preservation of non-official languages. As for official language training for adult immigrants, it has been a separate issue as described in the previous chapter. ESL education for immigrant children has attracted much more attention in multicultural education linked with heritage language retention. As for adult immigrants,

¹John W. Kehoe, "The Limitation of Multicultural Education and Anti-Racism Education", Multicultural Education: the State of the Art National Study Report #1, Keith A. McLeod ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, Faculty of Education, 1993), 3.

language education has been treated as a remedial social service rather than an educational issue.

The disadvantaged situations of linguistically handicapped immigrants has already been mentioned. It is ironic that the multiculturalism policy has not been much concerned with official language education for the most marginalized because of the principle that their distinct culture must be preserved. In this chapter, the nature of culture and education will be reviewed in order to analyze Canadian multicultural education and its relationship with official language education for adults. The LINC program, which was implemented outside of the multiculturalism policy framework, seems to be compensating for the inadequacy of multicultural education. The significance of this culture-oriented language program will also be discussed.

Anthropological Definition of Culture and Education

In order to analyze a cultural policy, one has to look at the meaning of culture. One of the problems of multiculturalism is the absence of a clear definition of culture. It is often taken for granted that culture means visible artistic or exotic expression. Indeed, the most visible effect of multiculturalism in its early stage was the promotion of the creative expression of 'ethnic' culture manifested in such activities as government-funded multicultural festivals. Promotion of exotic cultural expression was intended to 'preserve' and 'enhance' the multicultural character of the Canadian society and thus foster

the integration of ethnic minorities into the mainstream. This 'song and dance' type of multicultural awareness revealed the nature of the policy: an emphasis was placed on superficial and agreeable aspects of culture. Such superficial awareness of cultural differences did not actually aid equal social participation of visible minorities. Multiculturalism gradually shifted its focus from the preservation of the symbolic aspects of culture towards intercultural relations to combat racism in society. In this trend, the notion of culture was linked with race. A distinctive culture is most often conveyed and shared by a group of people with the same or similar racial origins. Increasingly, 'visible' biological differences attracted attention as the root of inequality.

In 1980, it was noted that:

The objective of the policy of multiculturalism [is] to ensure the cultural freedom of Canadians and the reduction of discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies.²

In order to promote the "cultural freedom" of non-English and non-French peoples in Canada, multiculturalism attempts to correct racism and discriminatory attitudes that exist in the mainstream society. Thus multiculturalism has become social activism, which is justified by the notion of "rights" and political correctness. This is the most difficult limitation of current multiculturalism to tackle, because, as Gilles Paquet

²Canada, Secretary of State, Report of the Task Force on Multiculturalism Policy and Program: A Discussion Paper (Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1980), 17.

puts it, "any questioning of multiculturalism is branded so quickly as racist".³

When culture is discussed in terms of "rights", its complexity is lost in the much politicized notion of "cultural freedom". Newcomers to Canada enjoy the freedom to maintain their native culture. They are encouraged to be Canadians without giving up their ancestral cultures. However, it is not realistic to assume that immigrants can be equal participants in Canadian society without acquiring the cultural values and the dominant language(s) shared by the host society. Settlement and official language acquisition are a process of cultural change experienced by newcomers. When a minority culture is considered to have the right to be protected, it inherently denies cultural change, especially assimilation into the dominant culture. Whether the emphasis is on preservation or anti-racism, multiculturalism tends to look at distinctive cultures as static entities. An anthropological perspective on culture may help to analyze the language and education issues beyond the notion of cultural rights, since anthropology accounts for cultural dynamics when discussing education. As Theodore Brameld says, "no anthropologist, regardless of his premises, would defend any notion of completely static culture; and no competent educator would defend any notion of static education".⁴

³Gilles Paquet, "Political Philosophy of Multiculturalism," Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John W. Berry and J.A. Lapointe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 77.

Anthropologists have studied the nature of culture for decades. There is no single agreed-upon definition of culture among anthropologists. However, they generally look at culture as a shared value system in a particular society. One of the original anthropological definitions of culture upon which anthropologists have developed modified definitions is that of Sir Edward Burnett Tylor. According to Tylor, culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society".⁵ According to this definition, culture is everything about a way of living and a value system shared in a particular society. When culture is looked at in this way, it is not merely the visible expression of human experiences nor does it merely mean the racial origin or ancestral heritage of an individual. Biesanz and Biesanz note three functions of culture:

Man's culture serves him in three ways: (1) It adapts man as a biological species to his environment; (2) It provides the individual with ready-made adjustment to his natural environment, his fellows, and his own biological needs and drives, and (3) It ensures the unity and survival of the social group."

⁴Theodore Brameld, "The Meeting of Education and Anthropological Theory," Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches, George Spindler, ed. (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winton, 1963), 93.

⁵Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom (London: J.Murray, 1871), 1.

⁶John Biesanz and Mavis Biesanz, "The Function of Culture," Readings in the Socio-Cultural Foundations of Education, John H. Chilcott et al., eds. (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1968), 63.

According to this definition, culture is acquired by members of a society in order to function within the particular environment of that society. The language of society is an important part of culture particularly in relation to the second function in Biesanz and Biesanz's definition. An individual can function in society because he or she shares the same communication mode with other members of the society. Also, the shared language has a third function, as it reinforces the solidarity of the social group. Immigrants' first languages acquired in their homelands lose their function significantly in Canadian society where the Canadian official languages are the most widely shared communication mode. Their first languages maintain cultural functions only within their individual ethnic communities. If immigrants are to participate in the host society, it is vital for them to acquire the cultural values shared in the larger society.

According to the notion that culture is what enables humans to function in a particular environment, culture inevitably changes as the living environment changes. Immigrants experience such an environmental change in their settlement process. A simple cultural change can occur in an automatic way. For example, an immigrant from an African country will learn how to dress warmly in the Canadian winter without formal instruction on how to do so. Immigrants from Asia may find it difficult to find food they normally eat back home. They will learn to change their dietary habits according to what is available in Canadian grocery stores. Thus immigrant dressing culture or food culture can

change as a result of environmental change. Second language acquisition does not occur in such a simple manner. For adults, second language acquisition is not as natural or easy as it is for young children. For adults to acquire a second language, conscious education is a vital process.

Anthropology looks at education as a process of cultural transmission. Cultural values are transmitted consciously or unconsciously from one generation to another or between different cultural groups. Anthropologists have studied how such cultural transmission occurs in various situations, and they have described and analyzed how a distinctive culture reproduces itself or disintegrates through education. The concepts of "recruitment and maintenance" used by George Spindler may be useful in analyzing multicultural and official language education. Recruitment is a process in which an individual comes to belong to a particular culture. Through education, one acquires "membership in the cultural system in general so that one becomes a Hopi or Tiwi".⁷ Thus education defines an individual's identity by transmitting socially shared values. Maintenance, on the other hand, is a function of education that determines the character of society as a whole. Education can perpetuate the structure of society by molding a group of people into one common set of values. In an isolated traditional society where external influences are minimal, recruitment reinforces

⁷George Spindler, "The Transmission of Culture", Education and Cultural Process: Anthropological Approaches, George Spindler, ed. (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1987), 327.

maintenance. Education recruits the younger generation to be "Hopi" or "Tiwi" and thus maintains the character of the social group as the distinctive cultural group. In contemporary society, however, recruitment and maintenance do not necessarily interrelate.

In this transforming world...educational systems are often charged with responsibilities for bringing about change in the culture...They become intentional agents of cultural discontinuity, a kind of discontinuity that does not reinforce the traditional values or recruit youngsters into the existing system."

In a multicultural society, education as recruitment and maintenance shows complex dynamics. The dominant culture as well as the minority culture experience both continuity and discontinuity. Before the recognition of multiculturalism, assimilationist policy recruited individuals in minority cultures to the dominant culture. Multicultural education as a cultural policy aims to overturn such a process.

Multicultural Education in Canada

When education is defined as a transmission process of culture, planning education policy in a multicultural society poses difficult questions: whose culture should be transmitted by the State? What aspects of culture should be taught at public school?

All societies are multicultural to a degree. In societies in which more than one relatively *distinct* corpus of cultural knowledge is transmitted, one of the

*Spindler, 327.

cultural groups is generally dominant in prestige and power or is in competition for this position with one or more of the others. This creates conflicts over cultural transmission which may affect the educational process in a variety of ways.

In Canada, multicultural education has attempted to counteract maintenance of the dominant culture: i.e., Anglo-Saxon Canadian culture. John Mallea criticizes the historical role of education to perpetuate the political and economic power held by the dominant group in society.

It is the dominant group's cultural and linguistic traditions that have been, and are being, produced, reproduced, and distributed in the schools. It is their interpretation of what knowledge, skills, and values... that has been, and is being, declared authentic and legitimized in both the formal and hidden curriculum of the school.¹⁰

Multicultural education has been the antithesis of the "reproduction of dominant culture". The history of Canadian multicultural education basically reflects the transition of the policy noted earlier in this chapter: namely, from "song and dance" to "anti-racism". Multicultural education started off from what is often called the "museum approach" or "cultural appreciation". Symbolic aspects of "ethnic" cultures were included in school curriculums, and students belonging to the dominant culture were encouraged to understand and appreciate

⁹Judith Hansen, Sociocultural Perspectives on Human Learning: An Introduction to Educational Anthropology (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1979), 26.

¹⁰John Mallea, "Multicultural Education: An Alternative Theoretical Framework," Multicultural Education: A partnership, ed. Keith McLeod (Toronto: Canadian Council for Multicultural Education, 1987), 6.

what was, to them, "exotic". This was the initial effort by the State to counter the cultural monopoly of the Anglo-Saxons at school and to "preserve" cultural diversity through education. However, appreciation of the superficial, visible aspects of culture came to be much criticized by supporters of multiculturalism who noted social inequalities experienced by cultural minorities which could not be eradicated by the museum approach of multicultural education. The focus of multicultural education was directed to structural change in schooling and education.

Mallea's "conflict theory" explains characteristics of multicultural education at this stage. "Conflict theory" takes into account the resistance of subordinate groups. As the resistance of French Canadians against assimilation to the Anglophone milieu led to the promotion of bilingualism and bilingual education, power conflict can result in "mutual accommodation and incorporation of alternative forms" in schooling.¹¹ This conflict approach can be seen as an evolved form of "preservation"-oriented multiculturalism. Different ethnic groups compete for the State's limited resources to reproduce their culture in the name of cultural freedom and cultural rights. Keith McLeod calls such a preservation-oriented multicultural education an "ethnic-specific" approach.¹² The

¹¹Mallea, 4.

¹²Keith A. McLeod, introduction, Multicultural Education: A Partnership (Toronto: Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education, 1987), vii-xi.

ethnic specific approach promotes the socialization of children in a specific ethnic culture, thus preserving the cultural distinctiveness of the group. In other words, this approach allows cultural reproduction in each "mosaic" cell of the Canadian society. Heritage language education is promoted by this approach. Immigrant children and descendants, who are in danger of language loss, are consciously "recruited" to their heritage culture through language education.

Multicultural education for structural change of the anglo-centered Canadian society has come more to emphasize "intercultural equity". The elimination of racism has become an important aspect of multicultural programs. The maintenance of the dominant culture is often considered to be reinforced by the ethnocentrism of the so-called "founding races". In order to recognize cultural diversity as the legitimate reality of Canadian society, multicultural education rejects ethnocentrism. Such anti-racism education is supported by the race relations approach, which looks at value differences between cultures in order to promote mutual understanding and thus eradicate racism that supposedly arises from ignorance. Obviously multicultural education is devoted to weakening the maintenance of the dominant culture of the founding races. Therefore, it is understandable that official language education for immigrants, which essentially means reproduction of the Anglo-Saxon culture, does not fit in.

In recent years, however, multicultural education that aims at preservation of diversity has caused concern with respect to

the national unity issue. Gamlin et al. points out that multicultural education "has tended to de-emphasize the importance of social cohesion at the national level".¹¹ The enhancement of "mosaic" suggests fragmentation of the country, and how to avoid fragmenting the Canadian society while recognizing diversity has become a question. Young Pai argues that cultural pluralism should have unity at its basis.

This unity should not come from establishing the linguistic, ethical, and behavioral pattern of the mainstream culture as the only idealized norms for all individuals. Rather, the unity should be based on the acceptance of the members of both minority and dominant culture on the belief that all human beings are to be regarded as ends in themselves, so no person can be exploited by other individual or institutions.¹²

Similarly, James Lynch argues that multicultural education should recognize human commonality as well as diversity. Lynch considers human rights to be "the only universally recognized code for the regulation of human behavior across the levels and dimensions of the global multicultural curriculum".¹³ Although human rights are often discussed in anti-racism education, they are seldom linked with the unity issue. However, if we look at the recent federal language training program for adults, we can see that the

¹¹Peter Gamlin, et al., "Multicultural Education in Canada from a Global Perspective," Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John W. Berry and J.A. Laponce (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 473.

¹²Young Pai, "Cultural Pluralism, Democracy and Multicultural Education," Adult Education in a Multicultural Society, Beverly Benner Cassara, ed. (London: Routledge, 1990), 22.

¹³James Lynch, Multicultural Education in a Global Society (New York: Falmer Press, 1989), 72.

alternative ideas of multicultural education described by Pai Lynch are being practiced.

The LINC Program and Integration

The recent federal policy for official language training is much more sensitive to the cultural needs of newcomers than the employment-oriented policies of the past. The following description of a language instruction class purchased under the federal LINC program in Ottawa, Ontario, is based on information obtained through participant observation in LINC classrooms at the Ottawa-Carleton Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO) and personal interviews with students and LINC instructors.

LINC serves clients who reflect the most multicultural reality of Canada but have little opportunity for formal education at educational institutions; it aids community integration of those who are disadvantaged because of cultural barriers. Also, LINC transmits cultural values shared in the Canadian society to newcomers, and thus recruits them to be Canadians.

1) Cultural diversity in the classroom

The student body of the LINC classroom reflects the diversity of the Canadian society. Students arrive from all over the world, and many of them are from a "traditional" society whose culture is very different from that of North America. There is a fairly large proportion of Somali women in lower LINC

levels. Immigrants from the Middle East and South America also make up dominant groups in the program. Those from North Africa and the Middle east are mostly Muslims. Muslim students leave the classroom at certain times of the day when they pray to Mecca. They go to the common lounge and pray, and when they finish, they return to the classroom.

Since there is no semester system in the LINC program, students are constantly joining and leaving the program. When a new student joins the class, he or she and the rest of the class introduce themselves to each other, and often they talk about their cultural backgrounds. Cultural differences are often talked about in the lesson context. Figure 3 is an exercise designed for LINC clients. In this exercise, students are invited to think about the cultural differences between Canada and their home countries. Respect for diversity is a recurrent theme in the lessons. Through this process students learn about the diverse nature of Canadian society. One student said that she liked the fact that every different person was welcomed in the program. "I may look strange because I cover my head, but it didn't matter".¹⁶

2) Language Learning and Settlement

In order to help newcomers to function in the host society, LINC emphasizes practical information and "survival" language.

¹⁶ Afra Mohamed Ahmed, personal interview, 4 August, 1995.

For newcomers, every aspect of daily life is a challenge: opening a bank account, grocery shopping, taking the bus, using community services, etc. In the LINC class, students can learn the basic vocabulary of these practical matters. At the same time, they can learn "how things work" in Canada. In one class, students learned how to use the bus system in Ottawa and how to find the number for the local bus service in the telephone directory. In this process, students had to understand the concept of "alphabetical order". Also, to use the bus transit information service, students practiced how to explain where they are and where they want to go and how to ask for schedules. Local materials are often used as in this lesson. In another class, the teacher used the classified section of a local newspaper to practice how to look for a job and write a resume. One student in this class mentioned that he did not know how to apply for a job until he had the lesson, although he had lived in the country for a few years.

The instructors play a significant role not only as language teachers but also as the first Canadians with whom newcomers interact. Because of their linguistic handicap, newcomers encounter many small problems in their daily life. Often they bring those problems to their teachers. One day a student brought in a complaint to her LINC instructor. She had bought a bed mattress, and it turned out be defective. The store would not give her a replacement. The teacher called the store on behalf of the student, and the store promised that they would send a representative to see the product and exchange it if

necessary. The teacher told the student that when complaining about a product, one should keep track of the names of the people spoken to. Also, one should keep the receipt, and if it is a final sale, the receipt should say "final sale, no exchange". This can be seen as an example of an ESL instructor transmitting a "Canadian way" of dealing with problems to the student. One student commented:

When I studied in Iran, always grammars. It was very difficult. We didn't speak English. Here, we do speaking, writing and dictation, too. And the topics of lessons are useful. We learn life skills in Canada.

Learning practical information and life skills through language training significantly supports students' community integration. In one class, students talked about housing. In this lesson, they learned the basic vocabulary for describing common household problems such as a leaking tub, a flooded basement, a clogged sink, etc. After the lesson the instructor distributed information on a meeting regarding landlord and tenant rights that was going to be held in the community where many of the students lived. She recommended that they attend the meeting and go with family members or friends who understand English better than they do.

OCISO invites guest speakers to the LINC classes on a regular basis. One day OCISO invited a liaison police officer from a local policing centre. The teaching staff prepared an interview sheet listing the questions that students wanted to ask the police officer. The purpose of the interview sheet was to get

¹⁷Siamak Hossein Dwost, personal interview, 4 August, 1995.

the students ready for the talk, because the listening comprehension of the students may not be enough to understand the speech without preparation. One of the questions on the interview sheet was: "Many people are nervous when they see a police officer. What is the best way to behave if we are questioned by a police officer?" The guest speaker repeatedly said that police officers in Canada are to help people; some people may have had bad experiences with the police in their home countries, but in Canada, police officers are there to help and work with people. Through this presentation, students learned the role of the police in their own community and how the police are cooperating with local residents. Also, students acquired some information regarding safety regulations in Canada, such as gun control. Other guest speakers invited in the past include settlement workers, a fire prevention officer and representatives from Immigrants and Visible Minorities Against Abuse.

3)Transmission of Canadian Cultural Values

In an anthropological sense, practical information and life skills transmitted to LINC students can be interpreted as Canadian culture. LINC also transmits Canadian culture as symbolic and ideological values. Figure 4 is an example of this cultural transmission of symbolic values. Through this exercise, symbolic aspects of Canadian culture such as "Maple Syrup" "A baseball cap" and "Bryan Adams" are transmitted. One student mentioned:

LINC is a good program. They not only teach English, they also teach about the country. I want to be a Canadian citizen, so I want to know about everything about Canada. My children, they went to the child care for LINC students, they learned many English songs, and even national anthem. That was very good.¹⁸

Figure 5 is an exercise where learners are invited to talk about wife abuse. Human rights is one of the subjects often used in the lesson context. In this exercise, students learn that wife abuse is not acceptable in Canada. According to Tylor's definition of culture, culture includes beliefs shared in the society. The concept of human rights is not necessarily shared in every country around the world. In Canada, however, it is the most commonly shared belief based on which the Canadian society maintains its legal and political systems. Such ideological values are also transmitted through language instruction.

Summary and Discussion

Multicultural education has been much concerned with the reproduction of minority culture and the political overturn of cultural dominance of the founding races, which reduces the "cultural freedom" of disadvantaged cultural groups. Seen in this way, it is natural that official language education for adult immigrants was removed from multiculturalism discourse, since it inevitably endorses the cultural dominance of the founding peoples. However, multicultural education based on the notion of cultural equality overlooks some dynamic aspects of culture.

¹⁸Afra Mohamed Ahmed, personal interview, 4 August, 1995.

Culture can be interpreted as a set of ideas and behavioral patterns that enable individuals to function in a particular society. According to this definition of culture, some aspects of immigrant culture inevitably change as their living environment changes through immigration. The LINC program compensates for the insufficiency of multicultural education that has failed to account for these dynamic aspects of culture. Through language instruction, LINC aids in the community integration of newcomers by transmitting relevant life skills to survive in the new environment. Also, by transmitting Canadian culture as symbolic and ideological values to newcomers, LINC recruits newcomers to the larger Canadian society beyond their ethnic communities.

This recruitment function of LINC has an important implication on national unity. Multicultural education has been concerned with the cultural recruitment of immigrants' descendants to their heritage culture, and this counteracts the "maintenance" of the social cohesion of Canada as a whole. With the "conflict theory", Mallea argues that competition among different cultural groups leads to a "more equitable form of multicultural education". That conflicts bring "equity" is questionable. As long as the State's resources to reproduce the cultural mosaic are limited, there will always be the problem of which culture should be chosen to be reproduced. Competition for resources would multiply conflicts over resource distribution for cultural reproduction and thus divide the country. Multicultural education has recently recognized the need for recognition of the unity issue. Human commonality, trans-cultural binding values,

and ESL education are some of the new agendas for multicultural education to include the unity issue.¹⁹ These are already realized in the LINC program. It can be said that the more evolved multiculturalism ideology is found in ESL classrooms.

Inclusion of the unity issue necessitates an overhaul of Canadian perceptions of culture and cultural rights. As noted earlier, both "cultural preservation" and "race relations" look at culture as an independent entity. Cultural preservation tries to freeze a culture that is essentially transformable and thus enhances cultural boundaries. The race relations approach that advocates intercultural understanding looks at culture in the same manner. When one is to "understand" a different culture, there exists a line drawn between one's culture and the culture that is to be understood. As long as culture is viewed in this way, Canadian society is perceived as the opposition of the mainstream versus the ethnic. According to T.R. Morrison, this is the limitation of cultural relativism. Cultural relativism asserts that every different culture is equally unique and must be equally respected. Morrison argues:

This view [cultural relativism] assumes a static conception of culture with no possibility of change or social reform.²⁰

¹⁹Gamlin, et al. 474.

²⁰ T.R. Morrison, "Transcending Culture: Cultural Selection and Multicultural Education," Intercultural Education and Community Development, Keith A McLeod, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto, Guidance Center, Faculty of Education, 1980), 14.

Morrison urges the need to develop a "transcultural" awareness to overcome the limitations of a relativistic view on culture.

The transcultural person is one whose horizon is significantly beyond his/her own culture in such a way as to come to grips socially and psychologically with the idea of a multiplicity of realities. What is unusual about the transcultural person is an abiding commitment to the essential similarities between people everywhere, while paradoxically maintaining an equally strong commitment to their differences.²¹

Recruitment of adult immigrants to Canadian culture through LINC can be seen as an educational process to realize such a transcultural personality. Looking at the multiplicity and dynamics of culture, it may be possible to consolidate the unity issue and multiculturalism. In the next chapter, the national unity issue will be further discussed by consolidating the language training issue and cultural policy issues discussed so far.

²¹T.R.Morrison, 16.

Figure 3. Learning about cultural diversity

1

Name _____

Street _____

ACTIVITY

A. Read each sentence about families.

In each space, write

- always
- usually
- sometimes, or
- never.

Talk about your answers.

	In my first country	In Canada	My choice
Example: Older people live with their children or grandchildren	always	sometimes	usually
1. Older people live with their children or grandchildren.
2. Husbands stay home with the children when their wives work.
3. Young single people live with their parents.
4. Children call parents by their first names.

Source: Fredeen et al., 1994.

Figure 4. Transmission of symbolic aspects of culture

and

Name _____

Address _____

GIFTS FROM CANADA
ACTIVITY

A. Look and read.

postcards	Aboriginal jewelry	a calendar of Aboriginal art

a book about Canada	photos of your family	a video about Canada

maple syrup	a T-shirt	jeans

money	a baseball cap	a Bryan Adams cassette

Source: Fredeen et al., 1994

Figure 5. Human rights education through language training

B. Match.

- _____ Her family calls the police.
- _____ Her husband beats her again.
- _____ She leaves her husband.
- _____ The woman gets married.
- _____ She goes to court.
- _____ She has a baby.
- _____ She talks about the beatings.
- _____ Her husband goes to jail.
- _____ Her husband beats her.

Chapter 4

Cultural Policy and National Unity

Introduction: Culture in the unity issue

In this concluding chapter, I would like to look at the relationship between culture and national unity. Much has been said about the insufficiency of Canadian multiculturalism that tries to achieve "unity in diversity" by preserving distinct cultures. As noted in the previous chapter, multiculturalism that over-emphasizes cultural differences has come to be perceived as contradicting the cohesion of the Canadian society. Distinctive culture reinforces the solid foundation of a nation, and as is obvious in Quebec, the strength of cultural collectivity reinforces nationalism. However, when a state embraces plural cultural collectivites, distinct cultural groups often involve each other in conflicts. How to balance unity and pluralism may be a more difficult task for a cultural policy than is perceived by many multiculturalists.

We have to remember that, as seen in Chapter 1, the transition from biculturalism to multiculturalism was a result of efforts to unite the country and not to *divide* the country. Multiculturalism based on the "mosaic" paradigm was supposed to realize a more democratic coexistence of different cultures: the picture envisioned by multiculturalism was a unified country that does not melt cultural differences into one overpowering culture. National unity has long been a major concern for Canadians, and the

same old question has to be asked again: what went wrong with the national policy to unite the country? The transformability of culture was mentioned in the previous chapter based on the anthropological definition of culture. Some aspects of cultural transformation will be further discussed in order to analyze the failure of multiculturalism and the significance of immigrant language training in the national unity discourse.

Nation and Culture

Cultural policy has a significant influence on the outlook and characteristics of a society. When a society is viewed within the framework of "nation", policy reflects what can be compared to schemes and designs of a house for a family to comfortably live in. Philip Resnick notes the concept of nation based on "a will to live together", which is not necessarily "common to those who live within a particular set of political boundaries".¹ In Canada, more than one family lives in the same house, and policies are responsible for building one big house that is comfortable for all the families. Culture as a shared value system has much to do with the idea of what makes a comfortable house. The well-being of the household--in other words, national

¹Philip Resnick, Thinking English Canada (Toronto: Stoddart, 1994), 5.

unity--cannot be discussed without taking into account cultural policy.

Anthropologists have explored the nature of "primordial attachment" that influences people's "will to live together" and national cohesion. According to Clifford Geertz:

The primordial attachment...stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices.²

In other words, primordial sentiments are derived from the particular culture into which one is born. Modern nation-states have been built on the premise that a culturally uniform group of people has the right to self-determination and therefore to be united politically. The primordial attachment reinforces the cohesion of a politically united cultural community. When Quebec is looked at as a nation, it is most obvious that the primordial sentiment of being "French" is one of the most significant factors that strengthens the Quebecois' "will to live together".

Primordial sentiments can, however, also threaten national unity when a political boundary embraces plural primordial groups. Minority groups that do not share the same primordial attachment with the ruling cultural group can be either assimilated or marginalized. Also, they can

²Clifford Geertz, "The integrative revolution: Primordial sentiments and civil politics in the new states," Old Societies and New States, Ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), 111.

undermine the social cohesion of the nation-state by challenging the dominant group whose culture is considered to be the legitimate national culture. Thus the presence of different primordial groups gives rise to the difficulty of national unity in a multicultural society.

According to Tamotsu Aoki, the difficulty of nation building in a multicultural society can be explained by what he calls "negativism of culture". According to Aoki, it is more conflict than integration that occurs immediately when different sets of cultures meet. Culture manifests its uniqueness in its differences from others, and differences in cultural value systems are the root of hostility. Culture has such a negative power to generate antagonism, and very often it entails bloody ethnic conflicts. Clashing value systems reject each other when forced to "live together", and this threatens the unity of a multicultural household. Aoki argues that nation-states inherently reject collective rights of minorities within their political boundary. Culture is conveyed collectively, and endorsing collective rights implies approving negativism of culture in minority primordial groups; this undermines national unity, which is founded upon the dominance of the ruling primordial group. Therefore, the structure of a nation-state must be based on the relationship between the state and the individuals who hold civil rights and obligations. By separating individuals from their primordial groups, the State offers rights and equality. A basic theorem of such a nation-state is that

individuals have rights, but individual groups do not.' As seen in Chapter 1, multiculturalism can be seen as the theoretical basis for recognizing the collective rights of cultural groups. We can see that multiculturalism is a radical challenge to the stability of a nation-state.

Canadian multiculturalism unconsciously "preserved" the negativism of culture because of the short-sighted assumption that cultural diversity only enriches the nation as a whole. It was a natural development that multiculturalism policy evolved to recognize racism as the target issue to be dealt with. Racism is the manifestation of negativism of culture that automatically rejects other cultures. Anti-racism programs attempt to eradicate negativism of culture among the dominant group. It must be noted, however, that negativism of culture is derived from the very essence of culture, i.e., its distinctiveness. Cultural distinctiveness cannot be "eradicated" although it may be reduced. Often it is assumed that racism only belongs to dominant cultural groups that have political power over minority groups. However, minority cultural groups also have the negativism of culture. So-called "reverse discrimination" often reveals hostility among disadvantaged primordial groups against the dominant group. Whether it is racism of the charter groups against "other ethnic groups" or grievance of the latter against the former, it is

³Tamotsu Aoki, Bunka no Hiteisei [Negativism of Culture] (Tokyo: Chuokoronsha, 1988), 70-86.

cultural differences that generate negative sentiments against each other.

Expanding on Ernest Lunan's notion of "amnesia", Aoki searches for a way to overcome negativism of culture that retards the foundation of a nation. According to Lunan, citizens with different cultural backgrounds should be in a state of "amnesia", that is, they must forget their own cultural background temporarily to form a new national culture. Admitting the limits of "amnesia", Aoki nonetheless emphasizes the significance of the notion. It is virtually impossible for people to forget their cultural background, and national institutions must be founded upon a particular value system that inevitably manifests a particular culture. Aoki argues, however, that it should be possible to reduce cultural conflicts and thus enhance national integrity, by making citizens aware of the potential of "negativism of culture" and thus able to restrict it.'

Neil Bissoondath makes a similar argument. According to Bissoondath, Canadian Multiculturalism enhances "self-ghettoization" of ethnic groups and thus keeps Canada divided. In order to achieve unity in diversity, Bissoondath argues, it is more important to "de-emphasize" cultural differences and emphasize common "Canadian-ness" that unites

'Aoki 45.

all Canadian peoples. Not surprisingly, Bissoondath's argument was dismissed by supporters of multiculturalism.

Instead of embracing the glorious complexity, diversity, true pluralism...the status quo (and Bissoondath) privileges the two European powers who continue to transplant their rivalry for domination to the so-called "New World" of North America.

This argument shows how multiculturalists often readily assume that cultural differences only enrich Canada as a whole. Such an argument unquestioningly glorifies cultural diversity and is blind to the negativism of culture that inherently exists in minority cultural groups.

It is important to note that primordial sentiments need both recognition and limitation in order for different cultural groups to peacefully live together. As noted by Lloyd Fallers, the unity of a multicultural nation state cannot solely depend on either rejection or recognition of diversity. When similarity is emphasized more than diversity for national unity, insistence on unity encourages "scrutiny to discover and eradicate diversity and thus exacerbates disunity". On the other hand, recognition of diversity can cause:

diverse solidarities to stimulate each other by opposition, to challenge each other and may even threaten the integrity of the nation-state itself if these solidarities, felt to be crucial, are insufficiently represented in the politics and culture of the state.

Bissoondath, 224.

Clifton Joseph, "on your mark! get set! go multi cult!!", This Magazine XXVII December/January (1995), 27.

Lloyd A. Fallers, The Social Anthropology of The Nation State (Chicago: Aldine, 1974), 3-5.

2

1

OF/DE

2

PM-1 3 1/2" x 4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
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PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

Unity and diversity can be mutually exclusive when negativism of culture is not recognized and controlled. For multiculturalism to serve the whole of Canada, its purpose should rather be written as a policy to manage "negativism of culture". "Preservation" and "enhancement" of cultural diversity should be part of the management of culture, not the goal of it. The paradoxical nature of culture that can both contribute to unity and disunity must be well recognized by policy makers.

As for recognition of diverse primordial sentiments, Canadian multiculturalism has served its purpose. The national commitment to the "preservation" and "enhancement" of cultural diversity as well as the promotion of intercultural equity has increased tolerance for differences. As for limiting primordial sentiments, this has not been tackled in multiculturalism programs. Cultural policy for national unity is often looked at as anglo-conformity and endorsement of the "melting pot" model. It is probably the unique Canadian sentiment that claims distinctive culture has the right to survive, as discussed in Chapter 1, that has hindered the inclusion of the unity issue in the multiculturalism ideology. Canadian multiculturalism has been too much concerned with the notion of "rights" somehow connected with cultural affiliation of individuals. Therefore, anything that suggests assimilation

is assumed to be a violation of cultural rights. In order to include the unity issue in the multiculturalism policy framework, the reality of assimilation and non-assimilation must be looked at.

Assimilation and Non-assimilation

Primordial attachment is hard to lose, but across generations, it is also hard to maintain. Cultural values change not only with contact with different value systems but also with the modernization of the society. It has been noted in the previous chapter that culture is subject to change according to environmental change. As Derrick Thomas says, "few immigrants have succeeded in replicating completely, in Canada, social structures and institutions they enjoyed in their country of origin".⁸ Once immigrants are separated from the home environment that nurtured their primordial sentiments, it is not easy to maintain the social structure that reproduces their culture.

Sugiman and Nishino point out that the rapid assimilation of Japanese immigrants to North American culture increases the likelihood of their economic success. In the traditional Japanese value system, primacy of family ties over individual will is important. Interdependency of

⁸Derrick Thomas, Immigrant Integration and the Canadian Identity (Ottawa: Employment and Immigration Canada, Strategic Planning and Research, Immigration Policy Branch, 1990), 20.

children and parents constitutes the basis of the Japanese social structure, and Japanese customs are designed to reinforce the social structure based on this primacy of family ties. Such Japanese culture in terms of social norms has "no reason for its perpetuation" in the Canadian context, where social mobility is valued more highly than in Japan and "the ideology of independence and individualism are effective". According to Sugiman and Nishino, second and third generation Japanese immigrants identify themselves more with the North American value system and it is this transition of identity that enables them to achieve economic success.⁹

In contrast, the least assimilated immigrants are more likely to be disadvantaged in terms of economic integration. Researchers noted the correlation between low-wage jobs and little knowledge of official languages.

[A] relatively large proportion of earlier arrivals of immigrant women working in the goods sector has no official language ability. It is possible that these women are working in ethno-linguistic ghettos, such as the clothing industry, where they have little opportunities to learn English or French.¹⁰

⁹Pamela Sugiman and H.K.Nishino, "Socialization and Cultural Duality among Aging Japanese Canadians," Canadian Ethnic Studies XV.3(1983), 31-33.

¹⁰Shirley Seward and Marc Trembley, Immigrant Women in Canada: Their Response to Structural Change (1981-1986), Paper presented at the Canadian Population Society Annual Meeting, Learned Society Meetings (Kingston: Queen's University, 1991), 14.

Those who are not able to speak the official languages tend to contribute to formation of a class structure associated with ethnicity. Christopher McAll notes:

Cultural attributes such as learned skills, dexterity and docility...may be considered to constitute cultural heritages that should be maintained for purpose of mutual "enrichment", in accordance with the official creed of multiculturalism, but that enrichment means minimum wages for the women and the maintenance of profit level of the employer.

Apparently assimilation correlates with successful participation in the larger society, and non-assimilation with the maintenance of what John Porter called "vertical mosaic", in which ethnic differences are structured into inequality. It has to be noted, however, that the ability to achieve economic success and upward mobility does not depend on total cultural assimilation. As Wsevold Isajiw says, it is "extremely naive" to assume that acceptance of a group into the mainstream society necessitates "complete removal of any ethnic identity" or that survival of an ethnic group necessitates "complete non-assimilation".

John Berry studies aspects of cultural transformation in complex societies. The transformation of culture has been termed "acculturation" in anthropology; this is a process of cultural change that takes place when different sets of

"Christopher McAll, Class, Ethnicity and Social Inequality (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 175.

"Wsevold W. Isajiw, "Multiculturalism and the Integration of the Canadian Community", Canadian Ethnic Studies XV.2 (1983), 103.

cultures encounter and influence each other. Figure 6 shows the mechanism of acculturation.

Figure 6. Mechanism of Acculturation
Source: Berry, 1992.

According to this framework, acculturation takes place both at individual and group levels, and the extent and characteristics of acculturation is determined by various factors that surround cultural groups in contact. According to Berry, acculturation takes four varieties: integration, assimilation, marginalization and separation.

When an individual in culture B does not wish to maintain his identity and seeks daily interaction with culture A, then the assimilation path or mode is defined. In contrast, when there is a value placed on holding on to one's original culture, and at the same time a wish to avoid interaction with others, then the separation alternative is defined. When there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture, while in daily interaction in others, integration is the option; here there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while moving to participate as an integral part of the

larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance...and little interest in relations with others...then marginalization option is defined.'

From this framework, we can see that assimilation is just an aspect of the diverse dimensions of acculturation. The Canadian ideal of "unity in diversity" is most likely to correspond to the integration option, where one interacts in the larger society while maintaining one's uniqueness derived from one's heritage culture. Cultural policy for unity in diversity should be directed at such integrative acculturation both at the individual and the group level.

Cultural Fusion

Robert Fulford writes; "it is as a post-modern state that Canada can be best understood", as a nation without "One agreed upon 'master narrative' that would enslave us to a single vision". " This well describes Canadian reality, where each piece of the mosaic is encouraged to have its own narrative. On the other hand, however, Canadians continue to

¹¹J.W.Berry, "Cultural Transformation and Psychological Acculturation," Migration and the Transformation of Cultures, eds. Jean Burnet et al., (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992), 36-37.

¹²Robert Fulford, "A post-Modern Dominion: The Changing Nature of Citizenship", Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship, Ed. William Kaplan (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 118.

question their identity and search for ways to unify the nation. Fulford also notes that Canadians "yearn for the day when all residents of all provinces will declare themselves Canadians first and loyalties of their regions or races second" . Apparently, Canada is not content with its "post modern" state of the country, and a trans-national "will to live together" is still sought by many. Canadian cultural policies of biculturalism, bilingualism and multiculturalism have attempted to realize national unity by recognizing the primordial sentiments of the non-Anglo-saxon population. Apparently, however, they also worked to exaggerate disunity.

When a primordial group demands recognition, oftentimes it ignores the trans-cultural will of all peoples to live together in Canada. When this happens, the politics of recognition enhances negativism of culture that rejects compromise and accommodation. Charles Taylor argues that the demand for respect justifies "insistence of beneficiary", and respect for diversity is reduced to a question of "taking sides of solidarity".¹⁵ Unfortunately, ethnic affiliation is often used to protect self-interest, and "heritage culture maintenance emerges by default as the only mechanism for reacting to perceived injustice".¹⁶ In order

¹⁵Fulford, 105.

¹⁶Charles Taylor, "Politics of Recognition," Multiculturalism: A critical reader, ed. David Theo Goldberg (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994), 100.

to realize a "genuine act of respect" Taylor argues that the politics of recognition need a "fusion of horizon" that is, to expand one's cultural capacity and explore the possibility of encompassing a foreign culture in one's own. This basically signifies the same concept as Morrison's transcultural awareness cited in Chapter 3.

An Asian American may discard the unquestioning obedience to elders and become more self-affirmative, but may retain the part of Asian culture that encourages one to be less egocentric and think in terms of relationships with others. This person is neither an Asian nor an imitation of the white American, but has emerged as a new Asian American.

This example of a "new Asian-American" can be seen as a positive "fusion of horizons" that emerges from two different cultures. This new Asian-American person has the transcultural personality: she or he has a cultural repertoire that embraces values derived from both North American individualism and Asian collectivism. Such cultural fusion would minimize negativism of culture without necessitating Lunan's "amnesia".

Milton Bennett calls such a transcultural personality "constructive marginality". Bennett offers a six-phase model that analyzes the development of intercultural sensitivity. The six phases are denial, defense, minimization,

¹⁷ Donald M. Taylor, "The Social Psychology of Racial and Cultural Diversity: Issues of Assimilation and Multiculturalism", Bilingualism, Multiculturalism, and Second Language Learning, ed. Allan G. Reynolds (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991), 11.

¹⁸ Young Pai, 24.

acceptance, adaptation and integration. Constructive marginality occurs as the most evolved form of intercultural sensitivity in the integration phase. As Bennett admits, marginality is most often associated with negative effects on the psychological well-being of individuals. However, when utilized positively, marginality allows one to respond to multiple dimensions of reality in a constructive way with the expansive choice of attitudes derived from the broad cultural repertoire. This gives a marginal person the quality of mediator, who is capable of reducing conflicts.

Cultural mediation could be accomplished best by someone who was not enmeshed in any reference group, yet who could construct each appropriate world view as needed.

Development of constructive marginality may have a positive impact on national unity. The positive use of marginality in nation-building has been noted in anthropology. Eric Wolf (1956) looked at nation-building as the integration of group relations. Wolf categorized social groups in Mexico into two categories: "community-oriented" groups and "nation-oriented" groups. The former refers to those living in closed, self-sufficient communities and the latter refers to those who have close interaction with national institutions. Marginal men who belong to both of

¹⁹Milton J. Bennet, "Toward Ethnorelativism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity," Education for the Intercultural Experience, ed. R. Michael Paige (Yarmouth: Intercultural Press, 1993), 65.

these groups act as "brokers" that bridge different levels of society and thus contribute to national integration.

Constructive marginality is an individual mind set and attitude: it is not a concept that determines the characteristics of a group. By transcending cultural boundaries, marginal individuals erase the lines drawn between cultures, which have been "preserved" by multiculturalism. Thus they have the potential to enhance the integrity of the larger society. It is important to note that this is not at all a revival of the "melting pot" paradigm, in which diversity is diluted into cultural conformity. Language education for immigrants suggests the possibility of a cultural policy to promote the formation of such constructive marginality.

Cultural Policy and Language Education

As mentioned earlier, the issue of immigrants' language training in the multiculturalism policy framework has focused on heritage language teaching and learning. Having said that multiculturalism that aims at the preservation of cultural differences *per se* does not contribute to national unity, multicultural education that only aims at the preservation of heritage languages may further divide Canadian society as a whole. However, if attention is directed more to integrative acculturation than to the preservation of languages, language education as a cultural

policy may actually enhance national unity. The key is to convert the marginality of immigrants to constructive power. Second language education increases the possibilities for cultural fusion, in which negativism of culture is reduced and minimized. Heritage language education for immigrants' children and official language education for adults have been implemented in separate frameworks: the former in multicultural education, and the latter in employment and immigration. It may be beneficial for national unity to consolidate these two issues in a framework of cultural policy. Whether the emphasis is on official language or heritage language, the purpose of language education for immigrants should be recognized as the expansion of the cultural repertoire and constructive marginality.

As for immigrants' children, attempts have been made to integrate heritage language education with official language training. In the past, official language education for immigrants' children was characterized by the assimilationist attitude.

[A]ll we did was plug English as a second language into the curriculum, pile kids into that, and push, push, push: if they didn't cope with the language particularly well, we waited patiently until they are old enough to leave.

²¹Duncan Green, "The New Socialization of Multi-Ethnicity," The Impact of Multi-Ethnicity on Canadian Education, ed. Vincent D'oyley (Toronto: The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, 1977), 35.

ESL education as a remedial service to the linguistically handicapped was criticized with the rise of multiculturalism ideology. Educational language policy for immigrants' children changed from remedial ESL to pluralistic programs integrated with heritage language learning in the school curriculum. The positive impact of bilingual ESL on academic achievement and the cognitive development of immigrant children have been suggested. (Bhatnager 1980, Cummins and Mulcahy 1978, Cummins and Danesi 1990) Also, it is suggested that such integrative language education benefits the larger society beyond ethnic communities. Cummins and Danesi argue that heritage languages are linguistic resources Canada cannot afford to lose.

[M]ultilingual abilities that children acquire in the home represent human resources that have enormous value to the nation's economic and diplomatic endeavors.²¹

By retaining heritage languages, immigrants' descendants can act as brokers bridging not only ethnic communities and the larger Canadian society but also Canada and their ancestral countries.

The same kind of constructive marginality may also be achieved for adults through language education. However, it is more difficult for adult newcomers to make their

²¹Jim Cummins and Marcel Danesi, Heritage Languages: The Development and Denial of Canada's Linguistic Resources (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation, 1990), 74.

marginality constructive. While school age children are still in their process of socialization, adults have completed their socialization process before they come to Canada. In other words, they are already "recruited" to their primordial groups. Understanding that primordial attachments reinforce negativism of culture, adult immigrants, especially those who have grown up in relative cultural homogeneity, are more likely to experience negative marginality.

The results of economic, cultural and linguistic discrimination are far-reaching and complex for ESL students. While many students express legitimate anger at discrimination, others blame themselves because of their inability to speak English. Such feelings create a negative acculturation and perpetuate the cultural conflict....Instead of positive or creative adaptation that incorporate elements of both cultures, ESL students may find themselves rejecting either American culture or their own."

The negative psychological impact of acculturation is termed "acculturative stress" by Berry. Berry includes social policy as one of the factors that determines the characteristics of the acculturation process. In order to reduce such acculturative stress, language instruction is particularly important for adults. When adult immigrants are left with no policy to facilitate their cultural integration in the host society, marginality has negative effects not only on individuals but also on society as a whole. As discussed, adult immigrants' inability to speak official

²²Nina Wallerstein, Language and Culture in Conflict (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1983), 7.

languages apparently contributes to labor market segmentation that reinforces class structure based on ethnicity. This may enhance the perception that ethnic groups are treated unequally and thus stimulate negativism of culture of ethnic communities. At the same time, linguistic non-assimilation prevents political integration of immigrants. As Thomas says, those who do not have the knowledge of official languages are "open to manipulation by unscrupulous elites or 'ethnic godfathers'".²³ With a cultural policy that only preserves cultural differences, adults are unable to convert their marginality to a positive asset. Language instruction that is sensitive to the acculturation of students, such as the LINC program, may contribute to the formation of constructive marginality. As seen in the previous chapter, some LINC instruction materials are designed to broaden clients' cultural repertoire. Conscious acculturation through language training does not aim to replace adults' native culture but to add cultural information that is relevant in the Canadian society. Just as heritage language retention for immigrants' children allows them to be brokers who can freely travel between the larger society and their heritage group, official language training for adults can loosen the rigid attachment to their primordial groups and enhance the sense of belonging to the host society.

²³Thomas, 24.

Finally, it has to be asked how the integration of adult language education and multiculturalism may be implemented. Language education for adults is more difficult to structure in the educational system because of the fact that they are not given education in a systematic way at public schools unlike the younger generation. Laura Ho laments the lack of "a text book to tell us how to organize adult education in a Multicultural society".²⁴ Ho argues that ESL education for adults is still conducted in the old assimilationist framework by separating students into isolated ESL communities as the linguistically handicapped. Ho notes that some adults are never be able to learn the second language well enough to compete with Canadian-born adults and that it is necessary to implement an integrative language education framework that enables adults to go beyond the ESL classrooms. The notion that language instruction has to get immigrants to go beyond ESL classrooms has some implications. For many adults, what is beyond the ESL classroom is the Canadian labor market. As noted earlier, immigrants' integration often means economic integration, and the language training policy has long been labor-market oriented. When the federal policy shifted in the early 1990s and became more sensitive to the cultural

²⁴Laura Ho, "Both Sides Now: Toward a Multicultural Framework for Adult Education in English Speaking Canada," Socio-Political Aspects of ESL, eds. Barbara Burnaby and Alister Cumming (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1992), 85.

integration of the most disadvantaged groups, criticism was again raised concerning the inability of such a program to get immigrants ready for the labor market. Ho's argument would support implementing on-the-job language training or a new type of employment practice that tolerates the linguistic insufficiency of adult immigrants. At the same time, however, it also potentially provokes skepticism: if adults are never to learn a second language well enough to compete with Canadians in the labor market, why should limited resources be spent on language training for those who are least likely to contribute to the Canadian economy? In order to be free from the labor-market oriented language training policy and defend the "right" of adult immigrants to learn the official languages, it must be recognized that language education has a function to connect newcomers and the host society, whether or not students are to participate in the labor force, by transmitting Canadian cultural values and thus recruiting them to be "Canadians". In other words, language training is the basis of forming the trans-cultural will to live together. As Berry says, society as well as individuals acculturate. By looking at language education as a cultural policy to ensure the positive acculturation of individuals, the society can also be acculturated in a positive manner and thus achieve national "unity in diversity".

Summary and Discussion

The anthropological notion of "primordial sentiments" explains the root of disunity in a multicultural state. "Primordial sentiments" are derived from the most distinctive form of culture, and by sharing the same primordial sentiments, a group of people enhances the "will to live together". Modern nation-states are political entities united by such a will to live together. Nation-states are built on the premise that a distinct cultural group has the right to self-determination. Paradoxically, nation-states are reluctant to recognize the same right for cultural minorities, since it threatens the authority of the ruling group whose culture is the foundation of the nation.

According to Aoki, cultural distinctiveness has a negative vector that automatically rejects differences. This negativism of culture causes intergroup conflicts in the multicultural nation-state. Having its ideological basis on "cultural rights", multiculturalism consciously or unconsciously defends the cultural purity of primordial groups and therefore is powerless in managing negativism of culture. In order to achieve unity in a multicultural nation, negativism of culture must be controlled, and this needs both recognition and limitation of primordial sentiments.

When the transformability of culture is taken into account, "preserving" cultural distinctiveness in defense of

"cultural rights" is not always relevant. Immigrants who identify themselves more with the culture of the host society than with their heritage culture are more likely to be equally integrated in terms of economic achievement. On the other hand, those who are least assimilated tend to be marginalized in low-paying industries reinforcing the "vertical mosaic", which divides the society into a class structure based on ethnicity. Multiculturalism that is only concerned with "cultural rights" does not have a positive impact on integrative acculturation either at the individual level or at the national level.

Considering that multiculturalism was originally intended for the unity of the multi-national state, its role as the national cultural policy should be to direct transformability of culture into the reduction of cultural conflicts. Morrison's transcultural personality, Taylor's cultural fusion, and Bennett's constructive marginality suggest that pluralism should rather be enhancement of individual capacity to embrace cultural differences than group politics. Multicultural education to produce such a pluralistic personality would reduce negativism of culture and thus make multiculturalism more suitable for the unity issue. Immigrants to Canada, who are already socialized in a particular culture and language, have the potential to broaden their cultural repertoire. Language education for adults tends to center on employment issues, and this prevents us from seeing the relationship between the unity

issue and language education. It must be recognized that language education facilitates the integration option of acculturation, and this further influences the integrative acculturation of the society itself. The convergence model of multiculturalism in Quebec cited in Chapter 2 seems to be more in accordance with integrative acculturation. Richard Bourhis noted that heritage languages are more likely to be preserved in Quebec, as immigrants in Quebec are more aware of the value of linguistic resources.²⁵ This suggests that immigrants are more sensitive to the values of marginality in a society where nation-building is under way.

The federal government is now transferring adult immigrant language training to the provinces. Considering that education is a provincial responsibility, this move may be appropriate to locate the issue in multicultural education rather than in employment and immigration. Also, this will reduce the duplication of services: most school boards do already have adult ESL programs. The question is whether the positive improvements implemented in the LINC program will still be maintained after being removed from federal responsibility. As noted, LINC practices what is seen as a more evolved form of multicultural education funded by federal resources. Two concerns regarding the federal-provincial transfer should be noted. One is whether

²⁵Richard Y. Bourhis, "Ethnic and Language Attitude in Quebec," Ethnicity and Culture in Canada: The Research Landscape, eds. John Berry and J.A. Lapointe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 328.

or not provincial resources will sufficiently be located to subsidize language training for the most disadvantaged, who are least likely to contribute to the host society as part of the labor force. The second concern is the lack of recognition for adult ESL in mainstream education. Burnaby notes that adult ESL education is in a chaotic situation in many ways. National standards for curriculum development and teacher training are needed as well as recognition for the status of ESL teachers.²⁶ Having seen that language education has a potential impact on national unity, it may be dangerous to totally disconnect the issue from the federal perspective. In order to avoid marginalization of language education for the culturally disadvantaged, it should be included in a national cultural policy along with heritage language education. In other words, official language education for immigrants, which was once separated from multiculturalism, should be returned to the policy framework as one of its objectives.

²⁶Barbara Burnaby, "Official Language Training for Adult Immigrants in Canada: Features and Issues," Socio-Political Aspects of ESL, eds. Barbara Burnaby and Alister Cumming (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1992), 4-23.

Conclusion

The separation of multiculturalism and language training for immigrants reflects a unique aspect of Canadian culture: that is, the conflict and unity of the English and the French. The weakening of Francophone culture and the dominance of the Anglophone culture in North America stimulated new nationalism in Quebec. The collective will of Francophones to resist assimilation invigorated separatism in Quebec. In this climate, prevention of assimilation has become an important objective of Canada's cultural policy, to ensure national unity based on cultural equality. The status of the English and the French was recognized as officially equal in the Constitution. This constitutional recognition implies an unwritten philosophy that distinct cultures have the right to survive. The State's efforts to prevent assimilation were then extended to "other" ethnic groups, who had to be equally recognized as contributing to the nation-building of Canada. In order to reinforce the equal partnership of the two founding races, bilingualism denies the dominance of the English. Similarly, multiculturalism challenges the dual dominance of the English and the French making all "other" ethnic groups the third political force. Both bilingualism and multiculturalism are based on the denial of cultural conformity. Therefore, it was natural that official language training for immigrants was removed from multiculturalism,

particularly in English Canada, since it inherently means undesirable Anglo-conformity.

As a by-product of the group politics of the English and the French, multiculturalism aims at the political recognition of cultural minorities at the group level. Distinct culture is conveyed collectively, and the promotion of collective rights has been a major issue for multiculturalism. In the early stage of multiculturalism policy development, a strong emphasis was placed on the "preservation" of symbolic aspects of "exotic" cultures. Then the focus of the policy was directed to correcting the social inequality related to racial and cultural heritage. In this transition, anti-racism has come to be a focal point of the policy, to serve 'visible' minorities. What was to be protected then was the rights of peoples of minority cultures rather than the visible expression of ethnic cultures.

In this multiculturalism discourse, barriers to the social participation of immigrants are often ascribed to the racism of the founding races of Canada. For adult newcomers, however, one of the biggest barriers to social participation is their inability to speak Canadian languages, which is not a problem inherent to the host society. Multiculturalism that links cultural affiliation and human rights can do little to remove the linguistic and cultural barriers that newcomers bring in themselves to Canada.

For a long time, language training for adults was left to the immigration sector, which has been concerned with the employment and settlement of immigrants. In the context of immigration policy, the primary purpose of language training was to increase the employability of immigrants. Immigrants who did not intend to work in Canada were excluded from subsidized language training programs. Those excluded from the labor-market-oriented language training policy exemplified the most multicultural reality of Canada. They were mostly sponsored immigrants from Third World countries, whose cultures were very different from that of North America. The employment-oriented immigrant integration policy and multiculturalism that was oriented to protecting "cultural rights" did not serve those who were most likely to be isolated because of cultural differences. It was not until the early 1990s that the federal language training policy recognized the cultural integration of all newcomers to Canada as a viable mandate.

When a culture is considered to have the "right" to survive, this ideology automatically rejects cultural change. Often forgotten is the fact that culture is not static. When plural sets of cultures meet in one society, acculturation occurs at both individual and group levels. The culture of immigrants as well as the cultures of the host society are transformed due to the contact. In an anthropological sense, culture is what enables humans to function in a particular environment. Immigrant cultures are

inevitably transformed according to the environmental change caused by immigration. Language learning facilitates cultural transformation for successful adaptation.

I have looked at the educational aspects of language training resorting to theories used in educational anthropology. Education by transmitting cultural values affects not only individual characteristics but also the climate of the society. According to Spindler, education "recruits" new members to a society into a particular culture and thus "maintains" the character of the society. LINC, the recent federal language training program, transmits not only official language skills but also ideological and symbolic aspects of Canadian culture to newcomers. Language training by "recruiting" newcomers to Canadian culture not only facilitates immigrants adaptation but also "maintains" valued aspects of Canadian culture such as the notion of human rights and respect for diversity. By sharing the symbolic and ideological values of Canadian society, immigrants may be able to enhance the sense of belonging to the host society. This function of education has an important implication for national unity.

In the bilingualism-multiculturalism discourse, the recognition of distinct culture implies "preserving" the distinctiveness. Such political recognition can both enhance and threaten national unity at the same time. These dynamics can be explained by the relationship between nation and culture studied by anthropologists. Culture generates

"primordial sentiments" among the people who share the same culture, which form the basis of the "will to live together" upon which a nation-state is founded. Strong primordial sentiments are derived from the essence of culture such as language and religion, and they reinforce the solidarity of a nation-state. However, in a multicultural State, differences in primordial sentiments create conflicts among different primordial groups and thus threaten national unity. Hostility derived from primordial sentiments was termed "negativism of culture" by an anthropologist. Multiculturalism that emphasizes the preservation of differences is not capable of reducing such negativism of culture.

Richard Gwyn argues;

Many multicultural groups don't practice multiculturalism. They practice what can be best described as mono-culturalism within the multicultural context that Canada provides for everyone.

Unfortunately, multiculturalism is often confused with the rationale to justify the demands of cultural groups other than the English or French. In order for multiculturalism to serve the whole of Canadian society, the unity issue must be embraced in its policy framework. Defense of "collective rights" can potentially enhance the "negativism of culture" by protecting primordial sentiments. In order to counteract

¹Richard Gwyn, Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995) 194.

the negativism of culture, multiculturalism should also be concerned with loosening rigid primordial attachment. This requires expansion of the policy ideology beyond group politics and an embrace of the individual mind set to deal with cultural differences.

In order to overcome the limitation of multiculturalism that over-emphasizes differences, scholars have recommended increasing the individual's capacity to embrace cultural differences. This is not simply to "understand" differences but to include the differences in one's world view. In Bennete's term, this is called "constructive marginality". Those who belong to plural cultures can deal with the multidimensional reality of a multicultural world because of the broad cultural repertoire derived from the marginality. They can also bridge different cultural groups as mediators and thus enhance the unity of the multicultural society. Immigrants who already have distinct cultural backgrounds have the potential to broaden their cultural repertoire in a constructive way. Second language education can enable them to expand their cultural repertoire by recruiting them to a new culture. Constructive marginality is the ideal acculturation option, in which one maintains a cultural affiliation with one's heritage group while interacting in the larger society. This suggests true "unity in diversity" where individuals are capable of embracing diversity and yet social conflicts are minimized.

As long as multiculturalism is used exclusively to benefit particular groups of people, opposition and conflicts will be reproduced. In order to counteract the negative consequences of group politics, multiculturalism should also be an ideological basis for converting negativism of culture into individual constructive marginality.

Appendix: A-LINC Level Descriptions

Source: Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada (LINC) : Guide for Applicants, 1995.

Level 1

May speak a little, but usually not at all. May recognize some letters but have trouble pronouncing them. Understanding is very limited and may range from no apparent comprehension, to comprehending short phrases or key words.

May be unable to copy Roman script. Can usually print own name, but cannot manage address or anything else. May not handle pen/pencil at all, or only with awkwardness. May not read or write in own language, or with minimal ability.

Usually has little or no sight recognition. Usually has little or no ability to phonetically decode words. If words can be decoded, there may be little or no understanding of their meaning.

Level 2

Minimal speaking ability, with very little vocabulary, usually limited to topics of personal information. Speech is frequently interrupted by hesitations while searching for needed words/structures.

Can understand only a little, usually with the help of gestures, and only if words are

spoken at a slow pace. May tend to repeat phrases/questions just heard rather than respond to them.

Writing usually quite limited, i.e. name/address, and some high-frequency words.

Can read the alphabet and numbers and basic words or sentences.

Level 3

Can speak with simple sentence structures, using present tense, but attempts at linking or sequencing sentences prove difficult. Speech is fragmented, i.e., a mixture of sentences and phrases, or single key words strung together without function words. Will struggle to search for words. Vocabulary limited to personal information, daily life, or similar topics. Pronunciation problems often makes speech difficult to understand.

Listening ability is often better than speech production, with the ability to understand basic instructions/questions, often by picking up on key content words rather than necessarily understanding everything.

Writing is mainly limited to single words, phrases, and simple

sentences, such as personal information required for filling out a form. Frequent errors in spelling, grammar, and punctuation.

Can read basic information presented in simple sentences within a known, usually practical context, such as basic forms, lists, familiar classroom materials.

Level 4

Speech is mostly understandable, although it is still limited to learned structures and familiar contexts. Basic structures are in place, using the past, present, future tenses, and active rather than passive voice. Vocabulary limited to familiar, high-frequency words. Will still hesitate, search for the right words. Can tell a basic story in sequence.

Listening comprehension is sufficient to follow basic instructions and understand questions spoken at a normal pace. Can ask for clarification when confused.

Can write down information of a personal, familiar nature, and take down short notes, messages, lists. Meaning is usually communicated despite frequent errors, although some misunderstanding may remain.

Able to understand at least some main ideas/facts from linguistically simple texts

related to familiar, practical topics.

In general, basic language skills are seen to be developing at this level. In conversation, can respond, although still not elaborate or initiate much change in direction, or speak at great length without guidance. In general, can function adequately within a known framework.

Level 5

Speech connected, with minimal hesitations, if not entirely fluent yet. Vocabulary range extended to lower-frequency words. Has ability to describe in detail, paraphrase, ask for detailed clarification when necessary. Shows confidence in ability to express different ideas.

Able to communicate main ideas and some details from longer segments of connected speech, in a wider range of contexts. Comprehension may be uneven depending on familiarity with topic, and how simply

information is presented.

Writing is produced with some confidence, especially in personal or practical areas. Elements of organization are evident and writing is generally understandable.

Able to read, with full understanding, simply constructed familiar texts, and with partial understanding of texts with a wider range of subjects.

In general, at this level, the confidence to deal with less familiar, unexpected language situations has begun to develop. Shows ability to control direction of conversation, initiate topics, elaborate on a subject with less guidance, and to self-correct when needed.

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