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It would be presumptuous for us to try to study all the questions raised by the existence in Canada of "other ethnic groups," that is those whose ethnic origin is neither French nor British, in a single volume. Rather, we shall concentrate on examining the part played by these groups in the country's history and the contribution they make to Canadian life.

We are aware of the difficulty of this task. It is not easy—if possible—to distinguish clearly between an individual's cultural contribution resulting from his membership in a cultural group and his contribution resulting from deliberate integration with one of the two official linguistic communities. An individual's activity is often doubly motivated—by a desire to retain the cultural heritage of his forebears and a desire to feel that he is participating in the development of his adopted country. Should we interpret "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups" to mean the sum of the individual contributions, or the acceptance by Canadians as a whole of certain cultural characteristics that belong to a particular group? These are some of the basic questions, to which we cannot claim to have found final answers.

Hopefully, in the near future the field of sociological research in Canada will be enlarged to include a systematic study of such questions. There are historical essays and numerous monographs on one group or another, but very few attempts have been made to consider these problems as a whole. The Commission carried out research on various aspects of the ethnic question in Canada, and we have made use of these studies along with the information available in the various general and special studies at our disposal.¹ Our regional public hearings and the briefs we received have also been most useful. However, the fact remains that we have not been able to study these questions as fully as they deserve, and we admit that certain parts of this Book are far from complete. As a result, although it was prepared with considerable care, this Book may leave some readers unsatisfied. Rather than yield to facile generalizations, we have chosen to cast our Book within the perspective of our terms of reference, and have studied the cultural contribution

¹ See below for a Bibliography of the works consulted.

made by the other cultural groups by examining the patterns of their integration, as groups or individuals, into the life of the country.

The Introduction discusses certain concepts basic to an understanding of the Book and defines our use of certain terms; Part 1 gives an historical outline of the various phases of immigration to Canada; Part 2 considers the economic, political, and social role of the non-British, non-French cultural groups; in Part 3 we review their language patterns, education, the media of communications, and arts and letters. The Book includes 16 recommendations, and an appeal in the Postscript for further research on ethnic questions. The appendices contain the Commission's terms of reference, and much of the relevant statistical data on which this Book is based. Finally, the bibliography contains the titles of works used in the preparation of the *Report*, which readers may wish to consult for further information.

1. The terms of reference instructed the Commission "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, *taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution.*"¹ The Commission was further directed "to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of the country and of *the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures.*" The two passages in italics call attention to the key terms of our mandate concerning the "other ethnic groups." The subject of this Book, the fourth of our *Report*, is the "contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada."

2. It will be noted immediately that while the terms of reference deal with questions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, they do so in relation to the basic problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, from which they are inseparable, and in the context of the coexistence of the Francophone and Anglophone communities. Also, the terms of reference do not call for an exhaustive study of the position of those of non-British, non-French origin, but rather an examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that have provided Canada's social structures and institutions. We will look at their contribution to Canadian life, and especially to the enrichment that results from the meeting of a number of languages and cul-

¹ See Appendix I for the full text of the terms of reference.

tures. This contribution is seen, within the Canadian reality, in the active participation of those whose mother tongue is neither French nor English in various facets of community life. The resulting exchange of values—particularly those relating to language and culture—is beneficial to the country provided that it is carried out in a spirit of understanding and with a view to mutual enrichment.

A country
of heavy
immigration

3. Canada, like the United States, is a country of heavy immigration and can be called an “open” country. Its demographic make-up therefore differs from that of older European countries—such as Spain, Germany, or Poland—where one generation succeeds another with no substantial change as a result of waves of immigrants.

4. Canada, a vast territory inhabited in the beginning by Indians and Eskimos,¹ was first colonized by the French, beginning early in the 17th century, and then by the British. Late in this century, immigrants of different ethnic origins began to arrive; variations in the later flow of immigrants almost always depended on political and economic conditions. The first Germans arrived towards the end of the 17th century. One of the first Jews to come to Canada was Aaron Hart, who settled in Montreal in 1759. In the last half of the 18th century, among other immigrants, two Poles whose names were to become familiar came to Canada: Dominique Barcz around 1750 (his name was later spelled “Bartzsch” and “Debartzch”) and Auguste-François Globenski in 1776. After 1870, the Danes, Dutch, Icelanders, and others made their way to the prairies in ever-increasing numbers. In 1891, Wasyl Eleniak and Iwan Pylypiw symbolically initiated Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Even these few examples demonstrate that Canada’s population of non-British, non-French origin, often termed “New Canadians,” has a long history.

5. Immigration continues today with far-reaching effects on the two main linguistic communities, and the population of Canada is still undergoing changes whose future extent it is impossible to foresee with any certainty. It is highly desirable that newcomers to Canada receive full and clear information about their new country. It is not enough to assure an immigrant work and material comfort; he must also be made aware of certain fundamental principles that will bear upon his citizenship in his adopted country. In particular, he should know that Canada recognizes two official languages and that it possesses two predominant cultures that have produced two societies—Francophone and Anglophone—which form two distinct communities within an overall Canadian context.

¹ Since the terms of reference contain no mention of Indians and Eskimos, we have not studied the question of Canada’s native population. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction (Ottawa, 1967), §§ 21-3.

6. On the other hand, being Francophone or Anglophone does not necessarily mean that one is of French or British origin. Immigrants, whatever their ethnic or national origin or their mother tongue, have the right and are at liberty to integrate with either of the two societies. Those of French and British origin—who have the definite advantage of having colonized Canada—share with all Canadians the rights and obligations arising from the fundamental duality of Canada, as it should be, in the name of equality and the democratic spirit. The process of integration, which contributes to the development of the two societies, should therefore be guided by three conditions: the good of the individual, the good of the society he chooses, and the good of the country as a whole.

Integration
and the two
societies

7. Every Canadian should be able to enjoy all his natural and civil rights, within one of the two societies. Those of neither French nor British origin should have the same opportunities as citizens who belong to the two societies by birth. In keeping with the spirit of our times, the process of integration should be equally beneficial to the receiving society and to the individual joining it. The individual must have complete freedom of choice in his integration; the receiving society must, through its institutions, assure him equal opportunities for personal fulfilment.

8. Integration, in the broad sense, does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics or of his original language and culture. Man is a thinking and sensitive being; severing him from his roots could destroy an aspect of his personality and deprive society of some of the values he can bring to it. Integration is not synonymous with assimilation. Assimilation implies almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group. An assimilated individual gives up his cultural identity, and may even go as far as to change his name. Both integration and assimilation occur in Canada, and the individual must be free to choose whichever process suits him, but it seems to us that those of other than French or British origin clearly prefer integration.

Integration and
assimilation

9. We have said that there must be a free choice; but it is not easy for members of the other cultural groups to choose between the Francophone and the Anglophone societies. The economic factor exercises an important influence and the English language, with its unquestionable dominance in North America tips the scale strongly in its favour. Since economic, social, and linguistic factors all play a part, the Francophone community, being economically weaker than the Anglophone, cannot easily attract immigrants. This is evident in Montreal and elsewhere in Canada. Because of this imbalance between the two societies, most members of non-British, non-French

Integration and
the imbalance in
Canadian society

groups gravitate almost instinctively to the Anglophone side. The repercussions of this are felt in many fields, some of which lie within provincial jurisdiction, particularly in social and educational spheres. We caution readers against forming the impression, in reading this Book, that the Francophone group is on an equal footing with the Anglophone; in fact its position is inferior in all sectors in Canada, and in a number of sectors in Quebec.

10. During our public hearings, we were told a number of times, in Quebec and also in certain western cities, that it is possible for an immigrant to integrate with both the Francophone and the Anglophone societies at once and with equal satisfaction. We should like to believe this is so, but in fact such cases are exceptional. Those who make such claims appear to have in mind the mastery of the two official languages rather than a two-fold integration. It is a fact that members of non-British, non-French cultural groups, or at least most members, tend to accept the Canadian duality with reluctance, preferring by far a concept which could be designated as simply "Canadian." When they must choose between the two societies, with all that the choice implies, they lean quite naturally towards the stronger, namely the Anglophone.

Acculturation

11. The process of integration goes hand in hand with what anthropologists call "acculturation."¹ Anyone who chooses Canada as his adopted country adopts a new style of life, a particular kind of existence. This phenomenon is easily visible in the immigrant's experience in the work world, in his social contacts with other people, in the schools, where children acquire a major part of their preparation for life, and in all his contact with other citizens and public institutions. In office and factory, train and plane, in court and Parliament, the process of acculturation can be seen, despite the obstacles facing an individual as he becomes acquainted with his new environment, in which he is exposed to so many influences. Acculturation is the process of adaptation to the environment in which an individual is compelled to live as he adjusts his behaviour to that of the community.

12. Acculturation is inevitable in a multi-ethnic country like Canada, and the two main societies themselves are open to its influence. The integration of immigrants into the life of the country, with the help of its institutions, is surely the road to their self-fulfilment. But in adopting fully the Canadian way of life, sharing its advantages and disadvantages, those whose origin is neither French nor British do not have to cast off or hide their own culture. It may happen that in their determination to express their desire to live fully in this mode, their culture may conflict with the customs of their adopted society. But

¹ See *ibid.*, § 41 for a discussion of this term.

Canadian society, open and modern, should be able to integrate heterogeneous elements into a harmonious system, to achieve "unity in diversity."

13. We have already stressed in our General Introduction the danger of using ethnic origin as the basis for a simplistic distinction between the two "founding peoples" and the members of "other ethnic groups."¹ On the basis of such a distinction, the members of non-British, non-French cultural groups may feel that they are denied access to the country's spheres of influence, or that they are considered "second-class citizens." We repeat that we accept the words "race" and "people" only in their traditional sense—meaning a national group, with no biological significance—and we prefer to emphasize the facts of language and culture rather than the concepts of "race," "people," or even "ethnic group."

Ethnic origin and
"ethnic group"

14. What counts most in our concept of an "ethnic group" is not one's ethnic origin or even one's mother tongue, but one's sense of belonging to a group, and the group's collective will to exist. Ethnic origin, be it French, British, German, Italian, or any other category implies only biological affiliation and ancestry; an individual's loyalty to a group should, as we have said before, depend far more on his personal identification with it. To stress ethnic origin as a basic principle for shaping society would create closed groups based on accidents of birth. An "ethnic group" is consequently much more than a statistic based on one's ethnic origin; much more than the total number of individuals of the same origin; it is a force which draws its vitality from its members' feeling of belonging to the group.

15. In Canada, where some 30 ethnic origin categories are identified by the 1961 census,² the position of the various cultural groups is far from clear; in fact it is very complex, especially if we are attempting an objective study of their will to exist. Some groups draw together and develop, while others break up and disperse. For example, many Canadians of German and Dutch origin no longer have any connection with the German or Dutch cultural groups. On the other hand, a Canadian of Ukrainian origin whose family has been in Canada for three generations and who no longer speaks his ancestral language, or of Jewish origin who speaks neither Yiddish or Hebrew, may participate with great enthusiasm in the activities of his respective cultural group. Measuring the vitality of any cultural group by taking as a criterion the individual's sense of belonging to a particular culture is as difficult as determining the extent of the group's integration with one of the two societies.

The Canadian
situation

¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 4-15.

² See Table 2.