

Language Loyalty in the United States: The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English

Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups. by Joshua A. Fishman

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Transforming America: Patterns of Social Change. By Raymond W. Mack. New York: Random House, 1967. 199 pp. \$2.95. Paper.

This book, according to the author, is not intended for a professional audience. It is designed to provide the educated lay reader with a brief résumé of major social trends in the United States. The objective is to popularize social science knowledge concerning the form, causes, and consequences of social change during the last 150 years or so.

The author attempts to catalog major trends relative to five societal prerequisites—replacement, education, production and distribution, order, and purpose. He tries to link these changes to scientific and technological advancement. In addition, each chapter includes a brief discussion of "crucial questions" for Americans. These include such things as how to reduce the rate of population growth or how to insure racial justice.

In my opinion the book only partially fulfills its objective. Most of what the author presents as social science knowledge is already pretty much common knowledge, at least for the educated layman. Much of the material is so routine by now that it can probably be recited by most high-school seniors. This makes it a little embarrassing for the book to be advertised as a marshalling of the "latest findings of social science research." The author simply does not present the trends or analyze them in more than a superficial manner. He certainly does not present much evidence, even at times offering assertions that are highly questionable without documentation (cf. p. 64).

There are some parts that seem to me to be particularly weak even for a book aimed at the masses. For example, in discussing replacement, the author describes patterns of world population growth and then shifts to population growth in the United States without clarifying the differences. He does not explore fertility trends in the United States, much less explain them; and he presents very little about family instability or the explanations thereof. With respect to education the author does not really show the full impact of technological change on the educational system, especially higher education.

When the question of order is taken up, the focus is on the size of governments and the things governments do, but the question of who in the social structure has lost and who has gained power is ignored. Everybody knows that governments are bigger now and do more things; it doesn't take social science research to determine that. But not so many people know whether businessmen or journalists are more or less powerful now than in the past. Moreover, in talking about the normative structure, the author seems engrossed in describing what norms are and how they influence behavior while forgetting to address the problem for which the book was purportedly written, that is, change in the normative system.

If social change means anything, it surely means change in patterns of behavior. The book does not tell the reader what behavior is now appropriate that was not appropriate in the past or what was appropriate but is not now, much less offer explanations for such changes. It does not show how patterns of deviance have changed or even how "morals" have been affected by technological advancement.

The book ends with a pretty trite appraisal in which the United States predictably comes out looking pretty rosy. It is the kind of thing one reads in eighth-grade civics books. Thus, although this book is well written and well organized, it has little to offer the sociologist and it probably would be a bit disappointing to the educated layman. At least, I hope that sociology will not be judged by these kinds of summaries of social science knowledge.

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LANGUAGE LOYALTY IN THE UNITED STATES: THE MAINTENANCE AND PERPETUATION OF NON-ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUES BY AMERICAN ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS. By Joshua A. Fishman et al. Introduction by Einar Haugen. The Hague: Mouton & Company, 1966. 478 pp.

Professor Joshua Fishman and his associates present us with one of the most penetrating studies of the American immigrant to date. Instead of the usual Americanization/acculturation/assimilation conceptual framework, this study investigates the self-maintenance efforts, rationales, and accomplishments of non-English speaking immigrants. This is done by exploring the current extent and status of culture and language maintenance efforts in the United States.

The first six chapters deal with formal language maintenance resources and institutions. These data include: size and socio-demographic characteristics of the "Immigrant-derived non-English mother tongue" population; the foreign language and ethnic group press, periodic publications, and radio broadcasting; and the ethnic group school and parish.

Chapters 7 and 8 present the ethnic family organization and community as bases of negative or positive language maintenance attitudes and behavior.

The next four chapters deal in depth with specific languages and ethnic groups and their maintenance efforts: German-Americans of the Midwest, Franco-Americans of New England, Mexican-Americans of the Southwest, and Ukrainian-Americans.

The remainder of the book is devoted to summaries, recommendations, and conclusions. The appendix includes methodological notes and a statement on language maintenance and shift as a field of inquiry. This latter statement is important because it is an attempt to define the field

and offer suggestions for its further development. It is comprehensive in that the field is divided into three major subdivisions: (1) establishment of habitual language use in a contact situation; (2) psychological, social, and cultural processes that are associated with changes in language use; and (3) behavior toward language. This delineation of the field, placing it in broad perspective, is an important contribution.

If one considers seriously the quantity and quality of data, the methodological problems, the theoretical insights, and the careful scholarship throughout the work, one cannot help but feel indebted to Dr. Fishman and his associates for a stimulating, fresh look at the American immigrant.

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Public Opinion and Canadian Identity. By Mildred A. Schwartz. With a Foreword by Seymour Martin Lipset. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967. 263 pp. \$7.50.

The author claims that "despite major problems of external relations and internal cleavages, Canada...continues to exist." But one wants to know why. This study attempts to answer this question, at least in part, by showing the extent to which Canadian political parties have succeeded in forging national ties and in creating a national identity. Using public opinion poll data covering the period 1941-1963, Professor Schwartz shows the extent of opinion agreement on a range of problems—"external problems of independence and foreign commitments, internal problems of internal cleavages and the role of government, and symbolic problems"—and in so doing indicates the effect on opinion of social and economic characteristics.

Part 1 of this study discusses the conceptual apparatus which the author uses, particularly the notion of national identity, and a brief, some might think a too brief, summary of the historical antecedents of present-day Canadian society. This excursion into historical fact is intended to provide the reader with a limited understanding of the genesis of certain facets of the Canadian identity. To succeed in this particular aspect of the study requires a more closely-knit interweaving of historical fact and contemporary opinion than the study data allow.

Part 2 covers a range of opinion data analyzed in terms of external problems, internal problems, and problems of symbolic representation. From this analysis emerges an image of Canada which is somewhat blurred by ethnic and economic differences which are cross cut by regional considerations and by social class. The "innovative potential" of upper-class leaders in matters related to national identity is constrained by the incompatible demands of regional, ethnic, and economic groups with the result that solutions are based on tradition—a tradition which limits independence.

An interesting methodological technique, an Index of Group Homogeneity, is outlined in Part 3 and used to determine the influence of political party on opinions. The two major parties, the Liberals and the Conservatives, are what the author terms, "Broad based parties of principle." Since the beginning of World War II their chief difficulty in attracting a wide base of support and in formulating an approach to national problems which can unify the people has been the increasing effect of regional, economic, and ethnic differences on opinion. The leftist CCF/NDP, for its part, while being internally united, has espoused causes which the majority of Canadians could not support.

In Part 4 the author deals with awareness of national problems and public responses to these problems as an indication of national identity. In the author's words, for the average Canadian, "the significant concerns are those which relate to his economic well-being. Neither the symbols nor the substance of national independence have troubled him greatly." One wonders, however, if more recent opinion data would not tap the salient issues related to national survival which underlie the definition of national identity. Surely, the increasing threat of separatism in the Province of Quebec to the survival of the nation would generate opinions fundamental to such a definition.

In the last chapter of the study the point is made that the data show that regional, ethnic, and economic differences weaken the national consensus, and that the dominant view, most obvious in the British-Protestant group, is now being challenged by French-speaking Canadians, and those of non-French and non-British origin.

Although this analysis is obviously limited by the nature of the data and the issues covered by the opinion polls, the careful and systematic handling of the available material provides a model for others to follow.

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Post-War Immigrants in Canada. By Anthony H. Richmond. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1967. 320 pp. \$7.50.

The scope of Richmond's study is very wide: it was undertaken with the aim of obtaining "an overall picture of the economic and social aspects of absorption." The study is also concerned with "the factors associated with the return movement of British subjects to the United Kingdom." The research is based on three samples: a national sample of 478 post-war immigrants; a sample of 427 migrants returned to the United Kingdom; and a sample of 167 immigrants in the Vancouver area.

The first five chapters contain data on the social and economic conditions of the immigrant respondents. The main differentiating variable used for the presentation of the results is whether or not the immigrant is from the United Kingdom.