CANADIAN THESES

THÈSES CANADIENNES

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30.

THIS DISSERTATION HAS BEEN MICROFILMED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL-339 (r. 86/06)

Canada

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

GERMAN LANGUAGE TRANSFER IN A LUTHERAN PROTESTANT CONGREGATION

by

SIEGRID DEUTSCHLÄNDER

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1987

ISBN 0-315-37690-2

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: SIEGRID DEUTSCHLANDER

TITLE OF THESIS: German Language Transfer in a Lutheran Protestant Congregation

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED: Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1987

Siegrid Deutschlander

PERMANENT ADDRESS: #3, 10739-86 Ave
Edmonton, Alberta
T6E 2M8

DATE: April 8, 1987

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled German Language Transfer in a Lutheran Protestant Congregation submitted by Siegrid Deutschlander in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

.....
Supervisor

.....Regna Darnell.....

.....Manfred Prokop.....

Date .....

Diese Magisterarbeit ist meinen Eltern in Deutschland gewidmet. Ohne ihre Unterstützung and ihr Verständnis wäre dieses Projekt niemals zustande gekommen.

ABSTRACT

German is one of the non-official languages in Canada which is still known by a considerable number of people in various parts of the country. During the last 20 years, the Canadian government mandated various research projects to investigate the extent of this knowledge for the purpose of redefining language policy. The major change entailed by these investigations was the proclamation of Canada as bilingual (French and English) country. This outcome did not benefit the various ethnic groups; on the contrary, their languages were officially reduced to a secondary status.

This thesis explores the relationship between language and religion in the context of ethnic language dynamics in Canada. It was argued by many social scientists that the religious context strongly affects the retention of an ethnic language among the descendants of an ethnic minority group. This hypothesis is investigated among the members of a Lutheran Protestant congregation, comprising both German immigrants and native-born German-Canadians. The ethnic characteristics of this congregation, including the use of a German-English bilingual church service, the bilingually organized internal

organizations, and the predominant German membership, suggested a high retention rate of German.

In conclusion, it is suggested that retention of German in the religious context is determined by its use as the language in the home. This variable in turn is linked to other influential factors, which in the context of sociological processes have led to the decline of its use in the home. Families that still speak German in the home are exceptions, and second generation German-Canadians are no longer fluent in the ethnic language. This development and the official government policy towards ethnic language retention in Canada does not support an optimistic perspective for linguistic diversity in the future.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to the people who were involved with this project. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Mary Young of the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta. Her patience and encouragement has helped me through difficult times. I am indebted to the other members of my committee, Dr. Regna Darnell of the Department of Anthropology, and to Dr. Manfred Prokop of the Dapartment of Germanic Languages, for their time, interest, and constructive criticism.

I am grateful to all informants from "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Edmonton" for their interest in my project. The three ministers, Pastor Wilhelm, Pastor Belzing, and Pastor Wert, provided me with information without which this project could not have been completed.

I also would like to express my thanks to Julie Cormack, non-academic staff in the Archaeology Laboratory, Department of Anthropology, who dedicated hours of her time to help me with the numerous editorial changes. Kathy Connor-Learn helped me to put the final editorial touch on this manuscript. David Randy Johnson provided me with the vital information about word

processing to successfully complete the printing of this thesis. I genuinely acknowledge their help.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all of my friends who never lost faith in me and listened, encouraged, or just "were with me". Thank you all for your friendship.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to analyze the nature of the relationship between language and religion in one particular community. The analysis focuses on the extent to which German is being retained as a mother tongue [1] and language in the home [2] among German immigrants and their descendants in a Lutheran Protestant congregation in Edmonton, Alberta. Subsequently, the findings of this community study are related to theoretical issues that have emerged in the context of Canadian linguistic diversity.

In this study, language use in the context of religion is important for two reasons. First, religious institutions have been known to function as effective boundary maintenance mechanisms for the retention of a mother tongue by providing a variety of services to their ethnic members in that respective language. Second, religious involvement of some ethnic groups has become strongly linked to the lives of their members. These two effects are especially visible among sectarian communities.

In Canada, governmental interest in language knowledge has stressed bilingualism in the official languages. Although

bilingualism, or even multilingualism (in languages other than English and French), has always existed as a regional phenomenon, these languages have never been "accounted for in the simplistic view of Canada as an officially bilingual country" (Darnell 1971:19). A step towards the acceptance of this reality was the proclamation of the multicultural policy in 1971, which officially recognized the value of both cultural and linguistic diversity in Canada.

German and Ukrainian, two immigrant languages that have been predominant in terms of numbers of speakers, have received special attention for their regional importance by the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism (hereafter: RCBB). A way of officially acknowledging their regional importance is to use them as languages of instruction in the public education system. In contrast to Ukrainian-Canadians, German-Canadians have not overwhelmingly demanded equal status for their language, although in some schools in Alberta, German has become the language of instruction for 50 percent of the curriculum.

The lack of support for German as a language in the public sphere is paralleled by its demise as both the mother tongue and language in the home. Nonetheless, German is still spoken by a larger number of people than any other immigrant language. A comparison between the two categories shows that German as a home language, which is the actual use of the language in everyday life, has persisted to a lesser extent than German as a

mother tongue. The examination of one particular German community is intended to elucidate some of the underlying factors behind the lack of enthusiasm in the maintenance of German as the mother tongue.

At present, people of German ancestry represent the third largest ethnic group in Canada, after Anglo- and Franco-Canadians, with 4.74 percent of the total population. This position is mainly due to the high rate of immigration to this country rather than to a high birth rate. When dealing with German-Canadians, two features become immediately obvious: their internal diversity and their high degree of assimilation. "The ease with which Schmidt became Smith, Braun became Brown and Biehn became Bean testifies to the assimilation of many German Canadians" (McLaughlin 1985). Schmidt (1983) considered them to be the best integrated, least vocal and least politically active ethnic group. German immigrants have always been desired settlers, except at the time periods around both wars. Until the 1960's, they have constituted the largest single group of Canadian immigrants. They were characterized as "sober", "capable", "industrious", "untroublesome" and "quiet" immigrants who looked for opportunities to prove themselves creditable citizens (Canadian Family Tree 1967, Palmer 1975, Weissenborn 1978).

Several reasons account for their diversity. First, differences in their regional backgrounds has made the study of

ethnicity very difficult. One major group of German immigrants that have predominated since the late 19th-century immigration were Volksdeutsche [3]. Volksdeutsche had lived prior to the Canadian immigration in German-speaking enclaves in countries east of the German Democratic Republic, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and the Soviet Union. During their extended presence in these countries, encompassing several centuries, they were subjected to various economic and political hardships which caused many of them to emigrate to North America (Duin 1976). The most recent immigration wave occurred after World War II when the eastern European countries were politically restructured, resulting in a considerable advance of the Soviet border towards the West. As a result of the political agreement in Potsdam in 1945, nearly thirty million Europeans, of whom 60 percent were ethnic Germans, were expelled from these areas (Stumpp 1975).

Former German territories, such as Pomerania, Silesia, West and East Prussia, and Galicia came under Polish sovereignty. Volhynia, as well as the three Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), were incorporated under Soviet rule. In Hungary, many Germans lost their property as result of agrarian reforms in 1945.

The Volksdeutsche were allowed entry into Canada shortly before 1950. They were not considered enemy aliens like German nationals, originating from Germany proper. Hence, with regard

to German immigrants, Canadian immigration authorities considered the country of origin, rather than the ethnic affiliation, decisive for immigration. Other German immigrants spent 20 years or more in the United States before emigrating to Canada (McLaughlin 1985). These different countries of origin made accurate accounts of the German-Canadian populace difficult.

A second influence further complicating the examination of diversity, is the intentional denial of one's own ethnic origin. Especially during both world wars, ethnicity was intentionally confused by many Germans with national origin. For instance, the German population in the Prairie provinces in 1911 was 148,000 residents, which dropped to 123,000 people in 1921. At the same time, the figures for the Russian segment of the Canadian population was overly high at 100,000 in 1921. The large number of Russian residents in Canada was likely due to attitudes of the German populace, who wanted to conceal their true ethnic descent and therefore pretended to be of Russian descent (RCBB 1969). During World War II, many people of German ancestry, in particular Mennonites, chose to emphasize any Dutch origin in their ancestry. Another example showed a sudden increase in the German population between the 1961 and 1971 censuses, which was paralleled by a decline in Austrian-Canadians (Richter, 1983). However, Richter adduced these latter figures to the very nature of the census-taking

process itself rather than to the intentional change of one's ethnicity.

Apart from this regional diversity, German immigrants have varied in their religious affiliations. Some groups, including Hutterites and Mennonites, have a sectarian character, and are therefore more conspicuous than the more mainstream religious groups, such as Protestants and Catholics. Today, 66.78 percent of all Germans in Canada are Protestants, compared to 24.82 percent Catholics (Canadian Census 1981). This lack of a common national church led to the development of German-speaking settlements in Canada along religious rather than national lines (McLaughlin 1985).

The diversity among German-Canadians has turned them into interesting subjects for study among various organizations [4]. Many studies have dealt with German-Canadians; however, only a small number were related to the larger context of ethnic group relations in Canada, with an emphasis on language retention (NOL-study 1976, Stadler 1983). In addition, out of all these diverse German groups, the Volksdeutschen as major subdivision have been discussed least frequently in the literature.

The most comprehensive study covering various immigration waves, representing more of a historical presentation than a sociological analysis, is a 22-page booklet, titled "The Germans in Canada" (McLaughlin 1985). However, this valuable overview

suffers from being too superficial. In a separate publication, "Peoples of Alberta" (Palmer and Palmer 1985), reference to the German ethnic community is made by discussing the well known Hutterites in great length. Several small groups, including people of Icelandic origin, who represent a statistically insignificant group totaling 2,620 individuals, or the Blacks in Alberta, each received detailed attention in separate chapters.

Attempts to define ethnic groups have always represented a problem because common criteria for identifying such groups do not exist. This circumstance is especially pronounced when dealing with Germans because of their diversity. Artiss (1983) identified at least four different criteria, historical, linguistic, cultural and geographical, factors which could characterize the German ethnic identity. Richter (1983) added a religious component to this list. It is noteworthy to mention that not all of these criteria appear in the expression of a single community.

Atlantic Germans, for instance, have preserved their rich German legacy in areas of architecture and interior design, shipbuilding, carpentry and craftsmanship (Artiss 1983). In Lunenburg, only subtle features separate this community from the surrounding Canadian culture. In other places, including Kitchener-Waterloo (Ontario), the German heritage is not clearly outstanding in architectural designs (McLaughlin 1985). Canadians tend to identify the German culture in terms of a few

visible features, such as "Lederhosen" and "Biergardens", which greatly oversimplifies the picture of Germans in Canada. Both regional and religious differences have led to the lack of an all-embracing ethnic social structure, which in turn has prevented a single organized cultural life and understanding (Entz 1975, Palmer 1975). Artiss (1983:53) proposed disregarding any cultural features that do not really belong to the "true vernacular in all aspects of settlement life" for such a definition.

With regard to the linguistic tradition, "language would offer one of the best criteria for testing whether a community were German-Canadian or not" (Artiss 1983:50). Richter (1983) characterized a person as a German-Canadian who either speaks a dialect or Standard German. Such a definition would include sectarian communities, including the Mennonites and Hutterites, who each speak an archaic dialect of Standard German. However, some Mennonites have disregarded this common linguistic bond and consider themselves of Dutch nationality, thereby emphasizing their ancestral tie with the Netherlands (Richter 1983).

On the other hand, Richter (1983) admitted that individuals who neither speak nor understand German but who have preserved certain customs of their ancestors should be considered German-Canadians, even though they might be fully integrated into Canadian society. For instance, Artiss (1983) noted that Lunenburg has a tradition of continuous influxes of German

settlers who have lost their language in the course of their 228-year old history on Canadian soil.

As shown above, a definition of Germans in terms of language also fails to render an accurate concept of the German ethnic identity since the retention of the German language represents the exception. This circumstance is one of the reasons why Germans blend so inconspicuously into Canadian society. Although on an individual level German is still spoken in various forms and dialects, German as a mother tongue and home language has been lost collectively among German communities in Canadian society. The few exceptions are a number of bilingual churches in both rural and urban areas. Less than half of the German-Canadians define themselves as German with regard to mother tongue. In fact, 94 percent of all Canadians with a German ethnic background are unilingual in English.

From this introduction, it follows that a definition of German-Canadians cannot be simply based on visible features; and that subjective criteria, generated by the people themselves, are necessary to identify an ethnic group. Richter (1983:47-48) proposed the following integrative definition for German-Canadians:

> A German-Canadian must have a certain awareness of his or her ethnic identity, must have interaction with other members of this ethnic group, and must possess and show in his [or her] actions and attitudes

> at least a few of those traits which are commonly regarded as part of the wide range of German-Canadian attributes.

Some of the following statements provide good characterizations of German attitudes. Schmidt (1983:73) pointed to their emotional loyalty with their homeland as being "tied to Germany's umbilical cord". This loyalty includes an almost blind confidence in German material goods. Furthermore, "German identity, as a result of Germany's position in two world wars, is a unifying or inward-looking solidarity; involvement in Canadian political life, qua ethnic, is much more limited" (Darnell 1977:409). The loyalty of many German immigrants resulted in the feeling of being "a part of a German nation which transcended state boundaries" (McLaughlin 1985:19).

For a more detailed analysis of German language maintenance patterns, one particular group of German-Canadians was selected for this study. The analysis focuses on one congregation of German Lutherans who immigrated primarily after World War II to Edmonton. The two most prominent features of the parish are the German-English bilingual structure and a predominantly German immigrant segment. The German language is incorporated into worship and is also offered in formal instruction. According to some theories, which will be discussed in Chapter III, these circumstances would appear to favor the retention of German as mother tongue. Although German Lutherans represent one of the mainstream denominations in Canada, prevailing linguistic

processes in congregations and parishes are virtually unknown. This particular case study will generate detailed data about socio-linguistic processes with a potential for research of socio-linguistic developments among other ethnic groups. After all, generalizations can only proceed after detailed case studies have provided a sound basis.

The following chapter discusses methodological procedures. Relevant theories of language maintenance and religious communities in the Canadian context are presented in Chapter 111. A discussion of the ecumenical organization of North American Lutheran churches in comparison with eastern European Protestantism follows in Chapter lV. The structural features of the congregation are presented in Chapter V. Language instruction in the Saturday school will be emphasized separately in Chapter Vl. An analysis of the significant socio-linguistic processes in the congregation follows in Chapter Vll. Finally, a discussion of the results obtained from this study, with regard to theoretical issues generated in the Canadian context, concludes this study.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mother tongue is defined as "the first language learned in childhood and still understood by an individual" (Canadian Census 1981).

2. Home language is defined as "the specific language spoken at home by the respondent at the time of the census" (Canadian Census 1981).

3. This classification refers to Germans who belong to the German people at large, but did not originate within the national boundaries of Germany prior to 1949.

4. One of them is the German-Canadian Historical Association which annually publishes the German-Canadian Yearbook. A second local organization is the Central and East European Studies Society of Alberta (CEESSA).

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

II.1 Methodological Issues in Anthropology

The goal of research in cultural anthropology is to identify and test theoretical concepts in the social context of an actual field situation. Two methods in particular are favored in the field: participant observation and key informant interviewing. They are considered superior to a third method, the survey, to produce scientifically sound knowledge. Such knowledge must have validity and reliability in order to give anthropology credibility among other scientific disciplines (Pelto 1970). Validity refers to "the degree to which scientific observations actually measure or record what they purport to measure" (Pelto 1970:41). The second aspect, reliability, is defined as "the repeatability, including intersubjective replicability, of scientific observations" (Pelto 1970:42).

Field research in community-oriented studies is conducted because "the question of validity of particular theoretical models is an empirical one, and the conclusion derived from mathematical computations or other manipulations of models must be examined by means of research in the real world" (Pelto

1970:14). Therefore, "the anthropologist would insist upon a series of detailed studies, at the community level, from which a general picture would ultimately emerge" by comparison to other case studies (Darnell and Vanek 1974:77).

On the other hand, survey data are also useful for the sake of broader-scale comparisons. Darnell and Vanek (1974:77) argued that anthropologists "are severely handicapped unless there is available to them a general survey kind of knowledge within which the community under investigation may be understood". Goldkind (1972:14) approached scientific research in more general terms: "following an old tradition in anthropology, it seems to me that one should accept data and ideas from any source that helps one reach the understanding one seeks of whatever phenomena one is studying."

The first method, participant observation, is crucial for anthropological field work. Goldkind (1972:12) succinctly characterized this technique in the following way.

> [. . . ,] participant-observation field work is necessary in order to obtain valid and complete descriptions of what is important in sociocultural life, including the views of the people being studied, to come to an understanding of their perceptions and values, to provide the experience required for the formulation of useful calssifications [classifications], empirical generalizations, and hypotheses, and to provide a setting for the testing of hypotheses.

Participant observation is considered to be preferable to conducting experiments under laboratory conditions because the

anthropologist observes people in their own natural environment which should render the observations realistic. Furthermore, the immersion into a different social context turns the anthropologist into a participant who obtains first-hand experience of the activities carried out by the people and therefore "loses his [her] natural ethnocentric bias" (Crane and Angrosino 1974:64). Rather than being one particular technique, participant observation is more "a state of mind, a framework for living in the field" (Crane and Angrosino 1974:63-64). In terms of the above reasons, "participant observation is central to effective field work" (Pelto 1970:91). Yet, the participant observer retains the position of analyst and outsider.

Data gathering through interviews, especially with key informants, is the second anthropologically accepted research technique: " . . . interviewing informants is a central part of the field experience" (Crane and Angrosino 1974:55). People who are selected as key informants should have "a knowledge of the ways of their people, and a sensitivity for what the anthropologist was trying to do that was broader and deeper than that of their fellows" (Crane and Angrosino 1974: 52). With this method, the anthropologist intends to uncover the "emic" perspective or the perspective of the people under observation.

Speaking the mother tongue of the informants is a useful tool for conducting successful interviews. It increases the

understanding as well as the rapport with the informant and decreases the likelihood of misinterpretation that can arise from translations. "Interviews about language attitude, and indeed about any subject which is likely to be either sensitive or misunderstood, can only take place effectively when the interviewer is both bilingual and bicultural" (Darnell and Vanek 1974:82). In an interview situation, subjective responses from the interviewer can also elicit unanticipated information that can be of value to the research. Therefore, interviews, in comparison to surveys, do not simply produce standard objective responses. Furthermore, different interviewers would obtain different results which are presumably all valid, yet not necessarily complete or objective.

Even though precautions can be taken to reduce potential problems in an interview situation, interviews are also susceptible to failure. All of the above-mentioned behaviors, including the presence and reactions of the interviewer, can affect the outcome of an interview in a negative way. For instance, the self-presentation of the interviewer can have an adverse influence on the outcome of the interview despite the attempts to show consideration and understanding. People do not always feel comfortable with each other for personal reasons. This circumstance may lead to an unwillingness by the informants to reveal their actual opinions.

Interviews also produce details of life histories.

Although life histories do not necessarily represent the average person in the community, "the richness and personalized nature of life histories afford a vividness and integration of cultural information that are of great value for understanding particular life ways" (Pelto 1970:99). Furthermore, "life-history materials are often collected and presented by anthropological researchers in an attempt to relate the abstractions of ethnographic description to the lives of individuals" (Pelto 1970:99). Life histories help uncover underlying motives that are not necessarily obvious to the researcher from his observations of behavior, and they show variation within a community.

In summary, community-oriented studies provide details and perspectives "through field research of a kind that cannot possibly be duplicated within the limitations of a survey" (Darnell and Vanek 1973:77). Participant observation and key-informant interviews in combination satisfy both validity and reliability requirements that render anthropological knowledge scientific.

II.2 Field Research among Lutherans of German Descent

"Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Edmonton", Alberta, was selected for field work. Prior to undertaking research in 1982 among the members of this congregation, the two ministers were contacted. They displayed great interest in this project, yet suggested that the researcher obtains the approval of the

church council president. After having obtained his approval, the investigations began.

At the outset of this project, a bilingual survey was administered to the members of the congregation. This was done in order to obtain data on age and sex distribution, the number of immigrants versus native-born, prevailing language knowledge and socio-economic status [1]. The ministers brought the survey to the attention of the entire congregation by introducing it at the beginning of both the English and German church services on two consecutive Sundays. One of the secretaries in the congregation who also was the editor of the monthly, internally published newsletter Team included an English copy of the questionnaire in approximately 600 issues to ensure that each family in the congregation received one. Further copies were made available by leaving them in the general office of the church and also by distributing them at various meetings.

The survey analysis was based on 35 questionnaires, clearly a very small sample. This small sample, returned after a few weeks, indicated a possible unwillingness of the members to fill out questionnaires. The survey was not pursued any further; instead, additional data would be collected with other research methods, including interviews. Each questionnaire contained 31 questions. Four of the older members of the congregation filled out the German language version whereas the remaining 31 informants responded to the English copy. The low participation

of the senior members was not surprising as they seemed to be less willing or maybe unable to fill out questionnaires.

The data analysis generated a number of frequency distributions which provided the percentage figures for all answers given to each question. Selected variables were entered into a variety of subprograms, including "Pearson Correlations", "Partial Correlations", "Cross-tabulations", "Scattergrams" and "Breakdowns". These multivariate analyses provided correlations between the selected variables, although the small sample size made it difficult to obtain statistically accurate and detailed results. The results are presented primarily in Chapter VII and are supplemented by the information from open-ended interviews.

The questionnaire provided direction for more detailed investigations, including participant observation. Between 1982 and 1986, participant observation in congregational activities took place on a number of occasions. For instance, the German church service was attended seven times and the English service five times. Two evenings were spent with the "Trinettes", a group of German-speaking female congregation members between 40 and 60 years of age. One Friday afternoon, the German-speaking "Southside Seniors" were visited, including both male and female senior members. One Sunday evening, the opportunity arose to watch the activities of the "Youth Group", the young members of the church. One morning was spent with two different classes of Saturday school students. At the beginning of 1986, the annual

meeting of the congregation was attended on a Sunday after church service. In 1982, the unique occasion arose to attend a banquet at which the 80th Anniversary of this congregation was celebrated. The researcher also lived nine months with a German-speaking immigrant family and obtained an insight of the language behavior of each family member over this relatively long period of time.

Participant observation was a means of becoming acquainted with the organization of this congregation. In the context of the group activities, informal discussions generally developed which led to interaction with individual members. On other occasions, such as at the church services and in Saturday school, further observations were conducted. During participant observation, conversations with participants were carried out either before or after the activity had taken place. It appeared inappropriate to take notes during a particular event, such as the church service; consequently, notes were taken from memory immediately after the event had taken place. With the exception of the banquet, all of these events are ongoing, which implies that the kind of activities which had taken place in the presence of the observer were more or less typical for each respective occasion.

In addition to participant observation, a number of interviews were conducted with members of the congregation. After the investigator made her presence known through the

survey and her attendance of the group meetings, it was no problem to contact individuals for the purpose of conducting interviews. The researcher's fluency in German represented a definite advantage because it created a common, more intimate, tie between the interviewer and those informants who preferred to speak German.

The size of the congregation made it impossible to interview everybody. The two ministers of this congregation became key informants for several reasons. First, they knew the individual families and displayed genuine concern for language issues. Second, it was discovered from initial conversations that they come from different social backgrounds that could possibly help to illustrate the underlying language dynamics in this congregation. Third, a great deal of general information about the congregation that was needed could be easily obtained from them. From the beginning of this field work, they were informants on a regular basis and have provided invaluable information. One of the ministers left the congregation in the fall of 1985 to accept a call in Toronto and was replaced at the beginning of 1986 by a minister from the United States who was as enthusiastic towards this project as his predecessor had been. Saturday school teachers also assumed the position of key informants.

In order to become familiar with the ministers, in-depth interviews with all three were conducted and yielded detailed

accounts of their life histories. They were contacted on numerous formal and informal occasions, in person or over the telephone, in order to obtain information about the congregation. They were invaluable sources of knowledge, not only about the activities within the congregation, but also about issues that affect the congregation indirectly, including recent ecumenical changes in church organization on a national level.

In addition to the ministers of the congregation, one of my first informants was the president of the church council who provided details about congregational affairs and his family life. The six Saturday school teachers of the congregation talked about the operation of the school and expressed their opinions about language change occurring in the congregation. The principal provided those records of the Saturday school that she had written and collected in the course of 25 years in that position. These individuals were interviewed both over the telephone and in person.

During the interviews, tape recorders or other technical aids to record the data were not used. The telephone interviews excluded the use of these techniques. At the in-person interviews, these devices were avoided to prevent being characterized as the "well-dressed, well-educated university student" [2]. Furthermore, in the presence of tape recorders and other technical recording devices some informants might feel

self-conscious and awkward. With the exception of two interviews, the interviews were predominantly conducted in German. Since the interviews were open-ended, they yielded slightly different information, depending on the issues and on the responses of the informant. Although a number of questions were prepared before the interviews, adjustments were made in response to the requirements of a situation. In order to guarantee complete collection of the information, extensive notes were taken during each interview.

The experiences with both groups and individuals were positive, and problems were not encountered. In general, informants were quite articulate and revealed much more information besides what was asked for, although they showed some reserve at the beginning of an interview [3]. By the time the interview stage was reached, the presence of the researcher was well known by most of the members. This circumstance facilitated making contact with them. The telephone interviews lasted between one to two hours, whereas the in-person interviews continued up to three hours.

The nature of the data collection since the first contact with the congregation five years ago changed over the course of time. In the initial stage of data collection when the survey was administered, information of a more general nature was collected. The increased understanding of the congregational activities led to the collection of more specific material,

particularly in the more recent interviews. Although the interviews were concluded, individual members were repeatedly contacted to check out possible mistakes.

In conclusion, this field research utilized standard anthropological field research methods. From participant observation and interviews most of the relevant and detailed information on this particular congregation was obtained. The results of the survey, although statistically limited, are used to illustrate issues that were addressed in the literature. The following resources yielded the main body of empirical evidence that provided the basis for this thesis. Statistics Canada and various publications produced substantive amounts of data. Archival material on this particular congregation and the records about Lutheran churches in Canada available in the Provincial Archives were also examined.

FOOTNOTES

1. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix A.

2. Full quote: "A well-dressed, well-educated university student who uses big words and appears to be a member of the majority culture will get formal and incomplete responses in whatever language the interview is conducted" (Darnell and Vanek 1974:82).

3. One of the informants provided a booklet containing his autobiography which described his experiences before and after his arrival in Canada.

CHAPTER III

ETHNIC LANGUAGE DYNAMICS IN CANADA

This chapter contains a discussion of those issues that have evolved in relation to Canadian linguistic diversity, and the contributions which the social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, have made to provide explanations and solutions. The underlying issue is that an ethnic language can easily be lost among the successive generations of the same ethnic origin [1] in a social context which is dominated by another language; it then no longer represents the mother tongue for the members of that group. Among the possible reasons for such a language loss and the concurrent acquisition of English or French are both the desire for economic integration and social mobility. The focus of investigation in this context is the issue of how linguistic processes in an interethnic contact situation can lead to various forms of language competency.

III.1 Canadian Linguistic Diversity

Canada is a society that is characterized by linguistic diversity on two different levels. On one level, it is officially bilingual, thereby granting both charter groups, the Anglo- and Franco-Canadians, special prerogatives in terms of

language over the other ethnic groups. On the other level, non-official bilingualism or even multilingualism is common in many ethnic communities. The Prairie provinces in particular are characterized by heterogeneity, both ethnically and linguistically, and language maintenance is extensive (Darnell 1971). However, hardly anything is known about this situation because "bilingualism in other than French and English is not even recorded", and studies in bilingualism in Canada are rare (Darnell 1971:15).

The complexity of the Canadian language situation which has evolved from a variety of native and immigrant languages is heightened by the uneven regional distribution of the various language groups throughout the country. Rudnyckyj (1967:158) proposed on the basis of "concentration and contiguousness, the expansive-fundamental role in community life and the richness and variety of their oral and literary tradition in Canada" to recognize extra privileges for several unofficial languages, with the German language as one of them.

In 1966, out of political interest when political loyalties were at stake, such as the Anglo-Franco-Canadian conflict, the federal government mandated the RCBB to investigate bilingualism in Canada. The initial focus was placed upon the relations between French and English languages and cultures. The mandate was extended to investigate the other immigrant languages, and the findings were published in Volume IV representing more a

summary than a detailed account of the situation. Hence, "in spite of the Royal Commission, however, we still do not have in Canada accurate information about the maintenance of ethnic languages and cultures" (Darnell and Vanek 1974:78). In 1976, the "Non-Official Language Study" (hereafter: NOL-study) focused more intensively on the other ethnic groups and provided information about the linguistic diversity among ten ethnic groups. This study constitutes "an important landmark in the self-evaluation of Canadian society" (Darnell and Vanek 1976:74).

Many of the questions which the RCBB set out to deal with remained unanswered. For one, the RCBB was unable to provide answers because, at the time, existing research on the community level was not extensive (NOL-study 1976). Further obstacles were the unique linguistic complexities pertaining to each of the ethnic groups that were incorporated under the "other" groups (Darnell and Vanek 1974). Although some groups were more vocal than others, it is generally the quiet majority of ethnic Canadians, including the German-Canadians, about whom the least is known. In the three Prairie provinces alone approximately 50 percent of the population is of non-English or non-French origin.

It is in this context that anthropology can make a valid contribution to a further understanding of Canadian language diversity. Most sociological studies, including the NOL-study,

relied heavily on survey information to illustrate linguistic processes without offering sufficient explanations of the particular circumstances under which they have evolved. Cultural anthropology, on the other hand, with its traditional emphasis on community-oriented research can provide the necessary basis for interpreting the statistics (Darnell 1977). From a series of detailed community studies a general picture would then emerge (Darnell and Vanek 1974).

III.2 Theoretical Issues in Ethnic Research

In association with the language issue, religion has frequently been mentioned as a reinforcing agent for mother tongue retention. After preliminary library research, the hypothesis was accepted that among members of a common ethnic background the ethnic language is maintained by the practice of religion. Evidence for this hypothesis is based on the observation that a number of congregations in Canada use a wide variety of ethnic languages in the contexts of worship and other congregational affairs, especially in the isolated rural areas. Furthermore, "religious communities can become quite powerful political entities, and the priest may play a diversified role, including economic, social, political, legal, cultural, linguistic, and so forth" (Darnell and Vanek 1974:82).

In the literature, language is considered as the most significant ethnic marker and paramount for the ethnic identity

of a group. For example, Lieberson (1970) considered language as an important shield against assimilation. Richter (1983:42) defined ethnic groups solely in terms of language and merged their attributes into "ethno-linguistic groups". Millett (1979) not only regarded language as a barrier to assimilation by itself, but as a factor that reinforces the impact of any of the other ethnic labels which may be used by an ethnic group. Conversely, "the surrender of the mother tongue is a step towards assimilation" (Kalbach and Richard 1981:2).

Knowing one's language may involve different degrees of language knowledge. "Fluency" [2] in the language is least likely to occur among the descendants of ethnic language speakers, whereas having "some knowledge" [3] occurs more frequently.

Isajiw (1976) argued that the appreciation of language as a symbol for ethnic identity not only implies knowing one's ethnic language and using it simply as an instrument of communication. It is the transmission of one's own identity to consecutive generations through language which is paramount. On the other hand, Devos (1975) pointed out that a separate language still serves as a symbol for identification with an ethnic group, even though its actual use may be limited to a few members. However, the strongest supporters for language retention are those who know their ethnic language; nonetheless, many respondents without ethnic language skills also support language retention

(NOL-study 1976).

In the literature, religion is usually treated as a mechanism for language retention and ethnic identity. According to this idea, Millett (1975) argued that the church is the strongest and most active institution in supporting the survival of distinctive cultures. The evidence about language use in congregations seemed to support this idea. In 1971, several major church bodies in Canada sponsored 700 congregations and parishes operating in more than 60 languages besides English and French (Millett 1983).

During the early settlement phases, rural bloc settlements along ethnic lines fostered the development of "ethnic parishes" or "minority churches". Hofman (1966:127) characterized ethnic parishes as "organized by those who, for varying reasons, felt it necessary or desirable to utilize and preserve their non-English language and other ethnic traditions in church-related activities". Millett (1983:262) defined a minority church as consisting of "one or several parishes or congregations affiliated with a major church, but which are subject to some kind of discrimination", such as race, national origin or even religion. Of these various features that differentiate ethnic congregations from the larger society, language is the most salient. Not only that, it "reinforces the impact of any of the other labels which may be used" (Millett 1983:263). Sectarian communities were not included in Millett's

analysis.

Besides various sociological and demographic influences in establishing ethnic parishes, such as recency of immigration, settlement patterns and homogeneity of the membership, the policies of church authorities play a decisive role. Millett (1975) argued that, since a minority church attracts adherents of the same national origin, it is in the self-interest of the church to maintain an ethnic membership and, therefore, the preservation of ethnic identity becomes a major priority. As a consequence, new adherents are attracted because they are primarily interested in ethnic survival. He further argued that the church also exerts an influence over those national associations, cultural groups and mutual aid societies which may not be strong enough to survive on their own. It also sponsors language courses, dancing classes, and political activities. "Hence, these institutions, in their linguistically-defined or origin-defined structure, encourage and perhaps permit the survival of a great many ethnic groups" (Millett 1975:106).

Hofman (1966) looked at the more or less conscious motives for language retention among congregational members of various different denominations. He distinguished between the two following basic motivational factors. The first, "conviction", is based on national or religious ideology. The second, "habit", is guided by non-ideological traditionalism. Of the two, habit appears to be more frequently involved, although this

also depends on the context in which the ethnic language is used. For instance, the rationales underlying language retention in church service are more traditional, in other words determined by habit, and somewhat more ethnic than religious. In other parish activities, including schools and organizations, habit and ethnicity predominate even more over conviction. "Thus, language maintenance practices and attitudes may vary from area of ethnic parish activity to another" (Hofman 1966:128).

If generation is also taken into account, rationales towards behavior become even more diversified. For instance, with regard to church-sponsored school attendance, adults rationalize bilingualism at a more purposive and utilitarian level- "functional utility for personal advantage" (Hofman 1966:131). As a consequence, for successive generations, ideological motives for bilingualism take on secondary importance. With this lack of ideological mainsprings for mother tongue maintenance, its loss is virtually inevitable. Beside these and other individual factors (attitude toward each language, specialization in use, manner of acquisition), non-individual factors (size of the bilingual group, attitude toward bilingualism in general, relative prestige of the two languages) also influence bilingualism (Darnell 1977).

On the other hand, the emergence and persistence of ethnic parishes is not necessarily tied to a conscious policy of

language maintenance. In the early days of immigration to Canada, isolation and lack of English language knowledge were probably the predominant reasons for establishing ethnic parishes. These reasons certainly do not predominate today, although ethnic language use might be influenced by the rationale of accommodating the elderly in the parish (Hofman 1966).

Beside the above-mentioned personal motives for language retention, structural reasons inherent in the constitution of congregations are highly conducive to mother tongue retention. The success of ethnic congregations in keeping their membership is based primarily on their high degree of "institutional completeness" (Breton 1964) [4]. Breton compared churches with two other kinds of institutions: welfare organizations, and newspapers and periodicals. In terms of this comparison, he concluded that "religious institutions have the greatest effect in keeping the immigrant's personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community" (Breton 1964:200). Institutional completeness would be at its extreme whenever the ethnic community could perform all the services required by its members.

The ethnic community can affect the social networks of its members in the following four different ways (Breton 1964). First, ethnic institutions substitute for attachments with other institutions. Second, more individuals of the same prevalent

nationality are drawn into the ethnic community. Third, the group might become united in some action against outside elements. Finally, the leaders of ethnic institutions might have personal vested interests in the survival of the ethnic organization. Hence, according to Breton, the ethnic language church represents the formal institution of Canadian society that is least dominated by official languages and, for this reason, it is the most important formal organization of ethnic communities in maintaining a community's ethnic identity.

The shortcomings of the theories regarding the relationship between language and religion rest on two interrelated points. On the one hand, patterns of causality between influencing variables were generally not established. On the other hand, arising partly out of this circumstance, certain individual variables have not been correlated with each other because they have never been clearly identified or defined. One way of choosing variables is by doing case studies in which the members themselves identify those variables.

Use of the ethnic language in the home is one particular variable that was neglected in most discussions about the linguistic-religious context. Reitz (1974) correlated home language with eleven different aspects of community participation, of which two are relevant in this context: language use in church and association with an ethnic church. With regard to the direct causal relationship between these

three variables Reitz (1974:115) estimated that

> a basic knowledge of an ethnic tongue usually is acquired, if at all, in the very early years of life (before age five at the latest). Language knowledge therefore precedes in time the ethnic community participation measured for the study. Any relation between language knowledge and participation at the individual level would reflect an effect of language knowledge on participation, rather than the reverse.

Community participations explicitly involving use of the ethnic language are the most strongly affected.

After having separated the effects of language learning itself from the effects of other early socializing experiences, Reitz (1974:120) concludes that "the use of the ethnic language in the parental home is strongly related to language retention (gamma=0.911)" (Reitz 1974:120). Language use in the home is the independent variable that influences, among others, language retention in the religious context. In comparison, early religious training, for instance, only has a small overall effect in this direction. Hence, use of the mother tongue as home language is considered to be the major influencing variable for this development.

The data generated in this case study support the causal relationship between language use in the home and language use in the parish. The correlation between type of church service and German as home language was high. The analyzed sample showed that 14 out of 16 individuals who worship in German also use German in the home. In contrast, only one quarter of the

English church service attenders speak German in the home. A small number of the sample population indicated church service attendance at both language services, but the majority speaks English in the home.

The home as domain of language use plays a crucial role among the speakers of any native language. The NOL-study (1976:63) showed that, among fluent speakers, language use in the family is nearly universal (98 percent) "but 70.9% of those with only some language knowledge use that language in conversation with family members". Among the German ethnic group, "language use seems to be mostly concentrated in the home" and relatively infrequently extends to domains outside the home (NOL-study 1976:63). In contrast, language use in church occurs only among one third of the respondents of all four ethnic groups. In other words, if the native language is used at all, it is mostly used in the home. However, native language use in the home is no longer exclusive and is replaced by one of the official languages among many ethnic groups, including the German-Canadians. "The . . . , Germans, . . . are much more inclined to make use of both the ethnic language and English or French in conversations with family members" (Reitz 1976:65).

In light of the preceding conclusion it is assumed that a decline in the use of the ethnic language in the parental home and therefore the loss of German as mother tongue among successive generations is associated with the overall decline in

mother tongue use among various ethnic congregations in Canada.

> Churches are also the repository of dying languages, spoken by increasingly elderly people, and directed by increasingly elderly clergy, as recruitment to seminaries and theological colleges drops drastically from year to year (Millett 1975:108).

Hence, language maintenance is primarily associated with appropriate activities for older members in congregations (Hofman 1966). Breton (1964) pointed out that after six years in the host country the ties with one's own ethnic community start to decrease.

The loss of German as a home language is not a recent development in Alberta. Gerwin (1938) reported that, with the exception of a few cases, English is the language that is predominantly used among German families in the home. Little, if any, effort was made to motivate the children to speak German. The 1981 Canadian census showed that on a national level, 29.6 percent (152,830) of the German population (515,510), defined by the Canadian census as the ethnic group whose mother tongue is German, also speak German at home. Or, in other words, 70 percent predominantly use English in the home. Only 4.1 percent (90,140) of Albertans reported German as their mother tongue. Only 28 percent (25,700) of these speak German at home, whereas English is used by 71 percent (64,385).

The Pannu/Young study (1976) used a "language loss index" to measure ethnic language loss among five of eight different

ethnic groups studied. This index was calculated in terms of the percentage of those who report the ethnic language as mother tongue compared to those who speak the ethnic language most often at home. On a national level, German-Canadians experience the highest ethnic language loss, with a score of 61.28 percent. After dividing this group into foreign-born and native-born categories, the following results emerge. Relative to the other four ethnic groups, foreign-born German-Canadians experience the highest losses in urban (54.6 percent) and rural farm (51.9 percent) areas, and the second highest loss (57.9 percent) in rural non-farm areas. Native-born Canadians of German descent in urban areas lead with 77.6 percent, while those in rural farm areas are in last position with 54.8 percent. People in the native-born experience the second highest losses (68 percent) in rural non-farm areas. As expected, the foreign-born category displays a lower language loss index compared to the native-born category, although, in absolute terms, this figure is still higher than those of the other four ethnic groups. Hence, this observation suggests that language loss occurs both within as well as between generations. The comparison of rural and urban figures indicates a slower rate of language loss for the rural group.

The following two studies illustrate ethnic language use in the religious context specifically among German-speaking congregations. In a survey of German language maintenance among

congregations in Alberta, Prokop (in press) finds that 84 percent of the responses showed a trend away from the use of German. This anglicization of worship began as early as the 1930's and therefore "the position of the German language in the churches of Alberta is in jeopardy."

Kalbach and Richard (1981) showed that a decline of mother tongue retention also entails a decrease in ethnic church affiliation. In 1971, the majority of first generation German-Canadians belonged to Lutheran Protestantism which, besides Roman Catholicism, is the traditional ethnic church for Germans. However, of the two, Lutherans have lost more than half of their proportionate share between the first and third generation while the German Catholics experienced only a slight loss. At the same time, non-traditional German churches, including the Anglican and United Churches, experienced increases from one generation to the next. Therefore, "the bulk of German Lutherans, . . . are either first or second generation" (Kalbach and Richard 1981). Hence, parallel to intergenerational language loss, intergenerational withdrawal from the ethnic community occurs at the same rate (Reitz 1974).

Kalbach and Richard (1981) correlated the decrease in mother tongue retention and the increase in non-ethnic church affiliation with higher economic achievement among successive generations of German descendants. The observation that high economic achievement in terms of income is associated with

cultural assimilation prevails as a popular notion among researchers in ethnic group studies and has been observed among various ethnic groups. One underlying assumption for this process is that "economic mobility frequently requires extensive education" (NOL-stduy 1976:13). Since public schools are reinforcers of majority Anglo-Canadian values and attitudes, second language learning, besides French, has held a secondary importance in the Canadian education system. The other assumption is that the acquisition of English is mandatory in the highly competitive labor market and, therefore, takes priority over ethnic considerations. Mother tongue loss occurs in both rural and urban environments if upward mobility is also present.

In summary, language retention in the religious context appears to be associated with generational discontinuity. Although a number of factors play a role in the development of mother tongue retention in the religious context, use of the mother tongue as a home language is considered to be the major influencing variable for this development, a hypothesis that will be explored in the context of one particular Lutheran congregation in Edmonton, Alberta.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ethnic origin refers to the ethnic or cultural group to which the respondent or the respondent's ancestors belonged on first coming to this continent (Census Canada 1981).

2. In the NOL-study, fluency is defined in two ways. First, fluency is the ability to understand, to speak, to read, and to write the language "very well". Second, if mother tongue coincides with ethnic language, an individual must meet at least two criteria out of four, to read and to write the "very well".

3. In the NOL-study, "some knowledge" is defined as not being fluent in all aspects, but still having a degree of knowledge.

4. Institutional completeness refers to the relative success of the ethnic community attracting an immigrant within its social boundaries, thereby excluding other institutional loyalties (Breton 1964).

CHAPTER IV

LUTHERAN PROTESTANTISM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND CANADA

This chapter focuses on the development of Lutheran Protestantism in eastern Europe and North America. Although it originally developed in western Europe, it spread fast to different parts of the world. With regard to eastern Europe and North America, its expansion was closely linked to the immigration of the German population.

IV.1 Lutheran Churches in Poland and Russia

In the Republic of Poland, Germans had occupied a minority status in terms of numbers (Paprocki 1935). Germans in Poland were not an autochthonic populace, but arrived there during several migration waves. They lived either in Western areas that bordered on the German Empire, or in German enclaves, scattered over the remaining territory, where they never exceeded 25 percent of the total population. Their numbers were assessed in terms of language: all those who did not claim Polish as their mother tongue were identified as Germans. According to this classification, the total number of Germans in 1931 amounted to 635,000 people, which was barely 2 percent of the total population of 32 million people. Three quarters of

them had lived in rural districts, except for those in Upper Silesia, where 61 percent lived in towns. Their occupational structure was fairly homogeneous in that those who lived in rural districts were farm holders, whereas those living in urban centres engaged in handicrafts and commercial endeavors.

In 1931, with regard to religious conviction, 64.8 percent (nearly 21 million) of the Polish population belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, which still represents the official denomination in Poland. In contrast, the total number of Protestants was less than one million (832,000), of whom 90 percent spoke German as mother tongue. Hence, the great majority (82.5 percent) of the German minority population of Poland belonged to the Protestant faith (Paprocki 1935). The Protestant denomination was organized into seven church bodies, of which the largest one was the Evangelical Augsburg Church in Warsaw. Its membership was largely German with 360,000 adherents, which was nearly 43 percent of the total German-speaking Protestant population, whereas the number of Polish people in this church was 20 percent. The remaining 37 percent of the membership was made up of diverse ethnic groups. Besides their own religious institutions, the Germans maintained a private school system as an alternative to the public Polish schools. In these schools, virtually every German child received instruction in all subjects, including religion, in the German language (Paprocki 1935).

At that time, the various Protestant churches in Poland experienced conflicts with the government because they occupied a secondary position in comparison with the Roman Catholic Church. Technically, minority groups had freedom of both religion and language as recognized in the Polish constitution. In reality, the Evangelical Augsburg Church was politically powerless and its constitution was imposed by the Polish government. It did not possess definite decision-making powers, even in administrative matters, including calling ministers to serve at their congregations. By limiting its actions, the Polish authorities tried to undermine the power of the German Protestant Church (Evangelische Maatschappij 1937).

Compared to the Polish situation, the German Lutherans in Czarist Russia experienced similar problems. In Russia, the Evangelical Lutheran Church was established on a national scale in 1832. By the end of the 19th century, it achieved a strong position among the religious denominations of the Empire, which was considerably out of proportion to its comparatively small membership (Duin 1976). At that time, the German segment of the total Protestant membership was predominant. For instance, in 1897, it comprised 84.4 percent of the total three million adherents. Major territorial and demographic changes in the 20th century, such as the separation of the Baltic provinces from Russia after World War I, renders comparisons with later census figures difficult. Despite these changes, however, 70

percent of German Lutherans remained on Russian territory at least until World War II, with the largest concentrations of German settlements on the Volga River, in the Ukraine, and on the Crimea (Black Sea). Until World War II, the numbers of German Lutherans in Russia was never less than two thirds of the total Lutheran population (Becker 1976).

The history of German Lutherans in Russia was characterized by continuous upheavals that started as early as 1871 with the proclamation of the German Empire. This political union between the northern and southern German states represented a potential threat to eastern Europe, which resulted in sanctions against the German populace in these countries. The Imperial Russian government issued a decree which repealed the liberal manifestos on religious freedom of Alexander I and Catherine II. From then on, all colonists in Russia, including the Germans, were considered full-fledged citizens of Russia. In practice, this measure resulted in the establishment of Russian as the official language in schools and in the pulpit (Becker 1976). Exemption from military service was no longer granted on religious grounds. Without the support of the government, the large concentrations of German Lutherans in various regions of the Soviet Empire had to depend on their own efforts to keep their religious beliefs alive through family worship and preaching by lay ministers (Duin 1976).

In the 20th century, further upheavals were caused by the

two world wars. In 1916, the Volga Germans were evicted from their settlements and sent into exile (Stumpp 1975). World War II resulted in the expulsion of almost 10 million German residents from Eastern European countries between 1941 and the end of 1951 (Lattimore 1974). In 1941, expulsion of Germans was justified in terms of alleged accusations of espionage whereas in 1945, the expulsion of Germans represented an act of international justice which was based on the officially signed agreement of Potsdam. This agreement, set up after World War II by the victorious powers, states in Article 12 that the transfer of German populations from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to West Germany should be undertaken in an orderly and humane manner. The resulting expulsions of Germans were without doubt one of the greatest migration movements after World War II (Lattimore 1974).

The consequences for the Lutheran church in Russia and Poland were catastrophic. "Events in the Soviet Union following the outbreak of the Second World War no longer involved the history of the Russian Evangelical-Lutheran Church as an organized body" (Duin 1976:843). Other denominations were also affected, since the expulsion of the Russian Germans was based on political rather than religious grounds. The few Germans who returned from exile and who were allowed to stay were dispersed throughout the country by a deliberate policy of assimilation and Russification of all ethnic minorities. "What once were

solid German settlements up to 1945, with German as the language of everyday life, are now but a scattered Germandom" (Stumpp 1975:91). In addition, former religious adherents succumbed to anti-religious propaganda spread by the Russian government, and, as a consequence, turned completely away from the church (Duin 1976).

In conclusion, Lutheranism in Poland and the Soviet Union went from a position of strength to total demise, which occurred with the expulsion of almost the total German populace after World War II. Until that time, the German language had been maintained in worship, in the separate schools and in everyday life. In these countries, the Germans were loyal to their religious as well as cultural heritage, rather than to the German nation as such (Palmer 1982).

IV.2 Lutheran Churches in Canada

In Canada, Lutherans represent the third largest Protestant denomination; of these, two thirds have a German background (Threinen 1979). Despite this preponderance of formerly German mother tongue speakers, the Lutheran church has traditionally included a variety of ethnic backgrounds. The American Lutheran Church has played an important role in the development of the Lutheran church in Canada, in that the divisions that emerged in the United States were transplanted into the Canadian context. These various divisions cut across ethnic lines and were

implemented through the adoption of English by these groups.

> However, the convergence of Lutherans from different cultural contexts, rather than along ethnic lines, meant that factors other than ethnicity proved to be paramount as the unification of Lutherans occurred (Threinen 1979:14).

Until 1986, 99 percent of all Lutherans were organized into three major church bodies, of which the Lutheran Church in America-Canada Section (LCA-Canada Section) was the largest one. In January 1986, this church body merged with the third largest, the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC), into the Evangelical-Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC). The Trinity congregation previously belonged to the LCA and therefore only this church body is dealt with in further detail in this chapter.

The former LCA in Canada was subdivided into regional districts, which were called synods. On the prairies, the first synod was established in 1897, 36 years later than the formation of the first synod in the East. It was called the "German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories", which indicated a preponderance of ethnic Germans in the congregations. Its name was changed several times. One of the most significant changes occurred in 1947, when it became the "Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Western Canada". Each change of name caused a corresponding change in the regional delineations.

In order to maintain the interests of the German segment of this church body, the German Interest Conference was formed after World War II. A predecessor of this organization existed during the 1920's as the Committee on German Interests. However, over the course of time, anglicization of this church body has occurred entailing the increased use of English in worship.

IV.2a The Trend towards Worship in English

The synod experienced great increases in membership with each influx of German immigrants into the country. Since they were accustomed to church services in their mother tongue, German became the language of worship among the majority of Lutheran congregations.

Since the initial establishment of Lutheran congregations, however, an overall decline in services that were conducted in German has become evident. The minutes of the synodical conventions from 1911 to 1961 show their distributions in the three Prairie provinces. In 1933, out of 130 congregations 100 congregations offered services in German in the three provinces belonging to the synod. By 1940, this number had decreased to 94 congregations, with Alberta having the highest number of bilingual German-English-speaking congregations (44), out of the highest number of Lutheran congregations in general (52). During World War II, the total number of church services in German in the Synod dropped by two thirds to 33 congregations, with the

concomitant increase of 56 German-English bilingual services, which resulted in an almost complete reversal in the ratio of German and German-English bilingual services by the end of World War II (33:72). In Alberta alone, the bilingual congregations (33) outnumbered the exclusively German-speaking congregations (14). Altogether, 33 unilingual German-speaking congregations were left in all three provinces by the end of the war.

The post-war years showed a further decrease in German congregations in this synod. By 1954, only 10 German-speaking congregations were left, which were concentrated in Alberta and Manitoba. In contrast, the German-English congregations had increased to 99. By 1961, only 2 German-speaking congregations were left in comparison to 68 German-English congregations. Exclusively English-speaking congregations were not numerous in Alberta until 1956, numbering only 7. In Saskatchewan, English-speaking congregations increased significantly during World War II, from 2 in 1940 to 13 in 1943. During the post-war years, until 1961, Saskatchewan had the highest number of English-speaking congregations (16), followed by Alberta with 14 and Manitoba with 3. The total number of English-speaking congregations in all three provinces in 1961 was 33 in contrast to only 3 in 1940. This decline does not necessarily represent a loss of German but the establishment of English as additional language of worship.

One of the underlying causes for the development towards

English in worship was undoubtedly the impact of World War II. During that time, anti-German hostilities were common, although these were less pronounced than during World War I.

> Despite some manifestations of anti-German feeling it was not nearly as intense as it had been during the First World War: there were no anti-German riots, and it was exceptional for people of German origin to be dismissed from their jobs (Palmer 1982:165).

Verbal abuse and physical attacks did occur for some immigrants who arrived after World War II, but persecution on a large scale was absent. Although the Canadian government maintained an overall benevolent attitude towards this large section of Canada's population, German ethnic organizations were closed and German nationals were required to register (Palmer 1975).

Apart from the initiatives of the German Lutherans themselves, the church has also pursued a policy towards the increasing incorporation of English into worship and church-related activities. The intention of this policy was to attract the large part of the English-speaking population of non-German ethnic origin that did not belong to a church at all. New members were recruited through missionary activity. The minutes of the synodical conventions provide detailed accounts about missionary endeavors in the synod.

IV.2b Mission Work

Missionary endeavors played a large role in the recruitment

of new members for the Lutheran churches in North America, contributing the largest increase in church membership. The descendants of existing members have not always represented the major source of growth for most congregations and especially after World War II, newly established mission congregations experienced an immense increase. Apart from recruiting newly arriving Lutheran immigrants, missionary work was also directed at converting non-Lutherans of various ethnic backgrounds to Protestantism. The minutes of the "Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces" from 1911 to 1962 provide detailed information of this process. The first minutes of this synod were written entirely in German, but during the early 1940's an increasing number of reports were submitted in English. In 1949, the minutes were published entirely in English.

As early as 1911, mission committees were established in order to found new congregations and to provide support to already working missionaries. In 1926, they were organized on a national level into the Board of American Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA). From among the Canadian synods the "Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces" was considered to be the church body that required most attention for missionary work, since to settle the rural West with its members was the primary goal of the ULCA. In order to direct the immigrants to the western provinces, a missionary was placed in Winnipeg, which became the gate to the Canadian

West for many immigrants.

The synod maintained close ties with the Emigrant missions in Hamburg, West Germany. The missionaries assisted newly arriving immigrants in finding jobs and accommodation as well as providing financial support. The goal was to establish colonies as bases for new congregations. However, financial means were limited, hence, many immigrants were placed as farm laborers on established farms.

A large number of German immigrants arrived during the years between 1927 and 1930, with the Alberta conference experiencing the largest increase of all three provinces in this synod. As a result, a large number of new congregations were established in and around Edmonton. However, German immigrants did not arrive at a steady rate, particularly during the war years. During the years of the Depression, immigration into Canada stopped completely, and many of the missionaries discontinued their work. In 1937, when immigration started up again, missionaries travelled to Europe in order to establish contact with immigration boards in Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Danzig (East Prussia).

Since the growth of the church depended on recruitment from the outside, and German immigration underwent major fluctuations, it was considered imperative to conduct mission work in other languages as well. Of these, English was

naturally considered as one of the required languages, especially in Alberta. As early as 1924, the church began to proselytize the English-speaking population of Alberta which did not belong to a church. In addition, migration movements into Canada included people from multi-ethnic backgrounds; hence, congregations were established in Latvian, Czech, and Scandinavian languages in particular. By 1929, the mission work was conducted in 12 languages.

However, the use of a variety of languages was considered by the synod as more of an unfortunate barrier than as an advantage. The desire for more work to be done in English was particularly expressed after World War II. In the "Minutes of the 40th convention of the Western Canada Synod" the following statement appears:

> Although our Synod is very heavily of German background, a difference is becoming more noticeable between those of the second and third generation, and those who have entered Canada more recently. The former usually prefer one out of their own midst as pastor- one who speaks English well, and who is naturally gifted to meet the needs of the Canadian people. The latter apparently desire a pastor who is thoroughly conversant in the use of the German language and who can meet the peculiar needs of the people of that group (1955:83).

These minutes suggest that a definitive linguistic policy should be set up in order to increase the percentage of English used in each congregation as rapidly as context permits, and to develop and expand new all-English congregations for the continuation of the Lutheran responibility to the Canadian-born generations. No

minister should be at a disadvantage if he desires to serve the church in the English language only (Minutes of the 40th convention of the Western Canada Synod). And, in 1959, the president of the synod wrote:

> In times past it may have been necessary to have churches of different linguistic backgrounds serving the same or adjacent communities. Can this be justified today even when it has become possible to communicate to nearly all in a language common to all, and where linguistic barriers still exist, as in the case with new Canadians, should the effort not be made to overcome them quickly and painlessly for the benefit of all (Minutes of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Western Canada 1959:23).

Parallel to these policy changes, the training of the ministers has also changed. In 1921, the Lutheran college in Saskatoon stressed the importance of instruction in German for its students in order to preserve the tradition of the Reformation. Later, in 1927, the Synod emphasized the bilingual character of the college by maintaining that English and German should be used in equal proportions of the instruction time. In 1955, the language question in the seminary was readdressed. The Synod observed that the students in both the college and seminary were far removed from the German language, although 25 years before that time, many of the students had come directly from Germany. The situation in 1955 was that students had an inadequate knowledge of the German language and, in addition, also lacked the desire to learn or improve it. Therefore, it was argued that the native-born students should be encouraged to study German and German-born students to study English. At the

same time, the number of English parishes should be increased so that seminary graduates with little or no knowledge of the German language might find employment in the Synod. Since then, German has been completely neglected in the training of ministers (minutes of annual meetings).

Therefore, since the foundation of the synod in 1897, Lutherans of German descent have constituted the majority of members. Although most numerous, German immigration occurred sporadically until it subsided almost completely during the late 1950's. Increase in membership into the church was heavily based on mission activity, such as recruitment from the outside, rather than on recruitment from subsequent generations of already existing members. Immigrants also arrived from diverse ethnic backgrounds which resulted in the conduct of this work in different languages.

The use of various languages was merely considered a measure to integrate these linguistically diverse adherents until a common knowledge in English was established. For future generations of German descendants, the switch to English represented a withdrawal from the German ethnic identity on both the collective and the individual level. Lutheran Protestantism was no longer inextricably interwoven with the German ethnic identity as had been previously the case in eastern Europe. The "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Edmonton" illustrates the development of the incorporation of English into

church-related affairs among the descendants of German immigrants.

CHAPTER V

TRINITY CONGREGATION

This chapter examines the activities and structure of the congregation with regard to language use, including the church services, various social activities, and the administrative organization. This examination is carried out in view of Reitz' (1974) conclusion that ethnic language retention is central to the maintenance of strong ethnic group cohesion. In his analysis, he emphasized that the impact of ethnic language retention on ethnic community cohesion becomes even stronger among subsequent generations of immigrants. The forms of community participation included in his analysis were ethnic language use in the church and association with an ethnic church. The information in the present study was mainly obtained from discussions with ministers and internally published booklets, including anniversary editions (hereafter: Anniversary). In addition, each of the existing organizations in the congregation submitted short summaries of its activities in annual reports.

V.1 Historical Development

"Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Edmonton" began in

1902 as a German monolingual local community church in the town of Strathcona under the name "The Evangelical German Lutheran Church of Strathcona" (Anniversary 1952). The intention of its founders was to provide regular church service to newly arriving immigrants who had been accustomed to regular church participation in their country of origin. They settled in homesteads surrounding the rural district of Strathcona. In 1914, a split occurred among the members who were divided on the issue of constructing a new church building, which greatly reduced the membership. In 1917, some of the previous members returned to the congregation. [1]. During World War I, many of the congregation members lost their jobs and consequently moved out into the country, resulting in a further shrinkage of the congregation from 102 to 70 voting male members (Anniversary 1962).

Throughout its history, the ethnic background of the majority of congregation members has been of German ancestry. Besides these worshipers, Canadians from no particular ethnic heritage also joined the congregation, primarily through intermarriage (minister, interview). Since the beginning of the congregation, Volksdeutsche from various areas in eastern Europe have been predominant among the immigrants. The current membership is primarily composed of Volksdeutsche from Poland, Volhynia, and to a lesser extent, from Russia (Black Sea region), East Prussia and Bessarabia. Immigrants from the

Federal Republic of Germany have always represented the smallest number of members (approximately ten families) who arrived within the last ten years. The majority of the present immigrant membership arrived after World War II, during the 1950's (minister, interview).

In 1985, the congregation numbered 1,561 baptized members, of whom less than 1,000 members have been actively involved in the affairs of the congregation. Active involvement refers to a combination of activities, including regular church service attendance, participation in internal organizations and donations (minister, interview). In comparison with 1959 - by then most of the post-war immigrants had arrived in this congregation - it has become evident that within 26 years the congregation has not grown significantly in size. Nonetheless, recruitment from successive generations of members has always been higher than those from outside of the congregation. Once members have been accepted into the community, they have tended to remain. Only a few individuals transferred their membership to other congregations, mainly for socio-economic reasons, including job mobility. The congregation has maintained contact with some of these former members, who may live in Fort Saskatchewan, Spruce Grove, and even as far away as British Columbia. These individuals have continued to make donations in support of the congregation (minister, interview).

V.2 Church Services

At Trinity, unilingual services in the German language prevailed until 1933, although the proposal to hold additional English services was made as early as 1929 (Anniversary 1962). At that time, the minister held English services only twice per month. From 1933 to 1940, church service was exclusively held in English. In 1940, the German service was taken up again, and both German and English services have continued, although not equally frequently. In 1941, the congregation agreed on two English services and four German services per month. In 1945, the overwhelming majority of the members voted for an increase in the number of English services. Until 1955, slightly more English than German services were held. In recent years, both German and English services have occurred regularly every Sunday morning.

The average attendance figures at the church services, although incomplete, are available for three decades which are the 1950's, the 1960's and the 1980's (annual reports, 1957 to 1986). Of these years, the highest attendance rate was reached in 1958 with 325 English-speaking and 465 German-speaking attenders, and the lowest attendance rate was reached in 1969 with 155 English-speaking and German-speaking attenders. Although the number of German attenders are still higher than that of English worshipers (the ratio of 60 to 40 has been

maintained), their numbers have decreased by more than half since 1956. The total number of worshipers has constantly decreased since 1956. The most recent figures from 1985 showed that an average of 429 people attend church service on Sundays. Of these, 53 percent (227) go to the German service and 47 percent (202) go to the English service.

In 1979, the English subdivision of the parish underwent a significant change. The hymnals of the English church service were adapted to Anglo-American traditions of worship. The compilers of the newly introduced hymnal and liturgical collection acted on the premise that most North American Lutherans no longer regarded themselves as transplanted Europeans. Therefore, Anglo-American hymnal traditions were given preeminence in consideration and have obtained their "rightful priority" among Lutheran worshipers (The Lutheran Book of Worship).

The German worshipers use the latest edition of German hymns from the 17th century, which is published in the Federal Rebublic of Germany. In the home, the German worshipers use a prayer book (Starck's Gebetbuch) that comprises a collection of prayers from the 18th century. This book is published in Philadelphia, United States of America. Hence, based on the predominance of Volksdeutsche among the German worshipers, the German section of this congregation has strongly adhered to traditional customs that have survived both the years in eastern

Europe and the subsequent immigration to Canada. In contrast, the English worshipers have entirely adapted to a more modern form of worship, which is promoted by the various Lutheran churches in North America.

V.3 Organizations

A salient characteristic of this congregation are the numerous groups and committees that have attracted people of all ages to pursue a variety of interests. Traditionally, women's groups have been more numerous than men's. The minutes of the synodical conventions from 1944 reported 62 women's groups in comparison to five men's groups. At present, there are a total of 16 groups and committees.

In 1986, a total of four women's groups exist in the congregation. The largest of them, the "Ladies Aid", was founded in 1903, and its members are all over 60 years old. Two others, the "Evangelical Lutheran Women" and the "Trinettes", were established in 1944 and 1959, respectively; the former under the name "Lutheran Church Women". The "Trinettes" comprise a membership of 55 women, who are between their mid-forties and mid-sixties. The "Evangelical Lutheran Women" have tended to be slightly older than the latter and comprise 16 members. The most recent group with 10 members, the "New Light Circle", was established in 1979 by young women in their thirties. Among the "Trinettes" and "Ladies Aid", the German language has

predominated at their meetings, whereas English is used among the "Evangelical Lutheran Women" and the "New Light Circle". These groups meet once per month.

The only exclusively male group is called "Trinity Men", which has included 12 to 20 men, all of whom are immigrants and who range in age between their mid-forties to their late sixties. They meet once per month and speak predominantly German at their meetings. This group was formed in 1962, although a men's group had previously existed during the 1950's (annual reports).

The senior members of the congregation, both males and females, are organized into the German-speaking "Pioneers" and meet every third Friday in the Luther Centre of the church for Christian fellowship. Their membership is approximately 40 people. In addition to this internal organization, an interdenominational senior citizen's group, the "Southside Seniors", comprises a large number of senior citizens from the Southside area of Edmonton. Their meetings have been organized in both German and English. Approximately 120 seniors have attended the German gatherings whereas about 80 people have come to the English gatherings. The majority of the members of all three groups can speak both English and German. Among some of them, the knowledge of English is even better than that of German (minister, interview).

The activities in all of these groups focus to some extent on religiously-oriented issues. These issues are pursued in discussions, which often include guest speakers, film presentations and Bible studies. Members have also shared discussions about issues of more personal nature. Besides these leisure activities, the members are actively involved in many practical endeavors that revolve around the church. The female members participate in annual meetings and Christmas festivities by providing meals and refreshments. The activities of the "Ladies Aid" include, among many others, funeral receptions. The "New Light Circle" has manufactured banners for the church at special anniversary celebrations. Women also organize birthday celebrations for their members and make visits to hospitalized patients. They have are also involved in charitable activities, such as quilting blankets for various centres and shelters in Edmonton. Men participate in the maintenance of the congregational property as well as that belonging to the Mulhurst Bible Camp. For the senior members, the monthly meetings are one of a few social gatherings in their lives that give them an opportunity to keep contact with the congregation. However, some of them might attend as many as six different organizations per month (minister, interview). The ministers of the congregation have always offered their support and initiative in these social gatherings.

Two groups, whose members are interested in child-rearing

issues, are the "Young Parents' Group" and the "Cradle Roll". At present, a total of 62 babies up to the age of three years are in the congregation. Parents of these children receive information about relevant issues in the Family Resource Package. In addition, every three months, messages about these issues are distributed. The young parents meet once a month for recreational activities or conversation. Both groups carry out their activities in English.

Until the 1960's, a variety of groups for children of all ages were common. Of the two groups for girls, one was the "Canadian Girls in Training" for the 12 to 17 year olds. The second, the "Explorers", offered activities for 8 to 11 year olds. The boys were organized into "Boy Scouts" (12 to 16 years of age) and "Cubs" (8 to 12 year olds). During the 1950's, these groups together had approximately 100 members. Between 1980 and 1985, the "Kinderkreis" (Children's Circle) existed for pre-school children between 3 and 5 years of age. This group had about 10 members, some of whom did not belong to the church. The "Kinderkreis" was bilingually oriented to teach children German songs in a playful atmosphere.

The young adults in the congregation are organized under "College and Career" and their numbers have varied strongly throughout the years. Young people were organized into an English-speaking "Youth Group", including confirmation-age adolescents and young people in high school. At present, this

group does not exist due to lack of interest. This "Youth Group" was formed in 1926 under the name "Luther League", which was the official title of province-wide organized youth groups in the "Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces". In 1937, they joined the Luther League of America. Since the mid-1960's, however, they have simply called themselves the "Youth Group", which indicates their withdrawal from the Luther League of America.

Membership in this group has never been large, although during the 1950's, 75 members belonged to it. Since the late 1960's, membership in this group has averaged 25 people. In 1970, that figure included only 10 percent of the total number of young people in the congregation. The minutes of the "Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces" sporadically mentioned the tendency towards a decrease in membership of youth groups on a synodical level since the mid-1940's. In the congregation, the low membership gave rise to some concern among the congregation members, who pointed to the lack of variety in the programmes for young people (Team 1971).

Motivation of the members in this group depended, perhaps more than in any other group, on the support of the minister, under whose guidance they met once a week. In 1966, a young minister, who shortly before graduated from the Lutheran college in Saskatoon, accepted a call into this congregation.

He dedicated much time to the "Youth Group". Under his guidance, the group organized a coffeehouse in the church basement. However, this project was discontinued because of the opposition of some of the older members of the congregation, who disapproved of any profane activities carried out within the facilities of the church. In January 1986, a new minister joined the congregation, whose responsibilities also include work with the young people.

The gatherings of the young worshipers took place in an informal atmosphere in the church basement. At these meetings they pursued discussions about religious and social topics, and engaged in leisure activities, such as playing ping-pong. They have organized ski trips and annual dances, and spent time at the Mulhurst Bible Camp at Pigeon Lake on weekends and during their holidays. They were also involved in fund-raising activities.

Sunday school is one place for the younger children of the congregation to meet and to communicate with children of their own age. They are organized from nursery and Kindergarten level to Grade 6 for religious instruction under the guidance of some congregation members during both the German and the English church services. These members have included both adult women and young adolescents. At present, 70 children are registered in Sunday School. In comparison with previous years, Sunday school enrolment has greatly decreased. The highest enrolment

was in 1958, when 319 students and 22 teachers were involved. In other years, the number of students was frequently close to 200 and approximately 20 teachers were available. In 1970, concern about the shortage of Sunday school teachers was expressed (annual report 1971). The children of these groups have also participated in Christmas programs and the children's choir. Sunday school instruction in English was started in the early 1940's and, together with instruction in German, continued until 1969. Since then, Sunday school has been conducted exclusively in English.

Instruction of the confirmands is provided in English, although until the 1970's, candidates were instructed in both German and English. In this congregation, as early as 1935, English was used in instruction. Before that time, confirmand instruction had been part of the Saturday school, which was then carried out in German (annual reports). In a few cases, the affirmation has taken place during the German church service, mainly in compliance to the wishes of the parents. In recent years, however, this custom was abolished (minister, interview).

The members of the congregation also participate in musical endeavors, including the English and German choirs, and play instruments in either the band or the recorder group. Besides playing during the church services, they perform at festivities and special celebrations.

A number of special ad hoc committees were established on a temporary basis in order to deal with particular issues. The members of the "Building Committee" are involved with the theoretical and practical problems surrounding the construction of an atrium, which represents an extension to the present church facilities. The "Historic Sites Committee" gathers information about the provincially implemented "Historic Sites Programme" and the consequences for this church building in case of its declaration as an "Historic Site". The "Social Ministry Committee" is one of the standing committees that was established on a more permanent basis. It is involved in charity work, including sending donations of clothing to Brazil and supporting the "Youth Emergency Shelter" with food. Other committees are the "Property Committee", the "Christian Education Committee", the "Evangelism Committee", and the "Worship and Music Committee".

The results from the questionnaire showed that the most frequently stated motivation for members to join organizations and committees is for the sake of creating contacts with other people. Secondly, the desire for religious activities is also prevalent. The following three reasons, to create contacts with the congregation, to create contacts with German people and interest in one particular activity, such as working specifically with children, followed in third position.

V.4 Administration

Ministers who were considered for service at Trinity have always been of German descent, although only few of them have come directly from Germany. Some of these have received their training in the "Lutheran College and Seminary" in Saskatoon, established in 1913 by the "German Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces". Between 1979 and 1985, two German ministers, who immigrated from Europe, served at this congregation. In 1986, Trinity was joined by a new minister who received his training in the United States, where he also acquired his German knowledge. The tendency toward unilingual training in English has become universal in North America. It has become the exception rather than the rule to learn German in the course of the ministerial training. Each Sunday, the two ministers conduct the church services together, subdividing the service into liturgy and church sermon, and alternating every two weeks. The German service starts at 9:30 a.m. and is followed by the English service at 11 a.m..

The "Church Council" is the executive body of the congregation, which carries out the decisions made at the Annual Meeting. Since 1969, its members have comprised 15 persons. In previous years, the chairperson of the "Church Council" has been bilingual, but during the last few years this office has been occupied by an English-monolingual speaker. The 15 council members are subdivided into seven German speakers and eight

English speakers, changing at the beginning of each new term. The term of office for each member is three years, but members may serve for two consecutive terms. In 1980, a restriction demanding a one to three ratio of women to men was abolished.

In the near future, the administrative structure of this congregation will be changed as a consequence of the amalgamation of the two Lutheran church bodies into the ELCIC. Until now, it has given the leadership role to one of the ministers who had also been the president of the congregation [2]. According to that structure, the minister had the power to reject decisions made by the "Church Council". In the future, after the new constitution is implemented, a member of the congregation other than the minister will represent both the president of the congregation and the chairperson of the council.

This change will restrict the influence of the minister even further who, in the North American context, never had decision-making power in a congregation. The minister remains an ex officio member of the council. It will also facilitate his role at the annual meetings where he, as the president of the congregation, technically had to make various decisions involving his own person, for instance, about his own salary. On occasion, this role forced him into an awkward position. Possible conflict arising out of this arrangement was avoided by the previous minister, who had given the chair to the council

chairperson at these annual meetings. The old administrative structure was regarded as a remnant of European ecumenical traditions, according to which the minister of a congregation had the greatest influence (minister, interview).

The annual meetings of the congregation are held at the beginning of the year. During the 1960's, two meetings were held, one in German and one in English. Since 1970, these annual meetings have been held in English. At the beginning of each meeting, the minister gives the invocation in both English and German, after which business proceedings are conducted in English (a translation is given upon request). The attendance rate has decreased from 181 in 1981 to 100 in 1986 (annual reports). Young people and senior members have been in the minority at these meetings.

The annual reports, which include the minutes of these meetings and individual presentations from the various organizations, are printed bilingually. The congregation also publishes a monthly newsletter, the Team, which is printed bilingually as well. German and English Sunday letters have been distributed before the respective church services. In previous years, the reports and the newsletter in German constituted higher numbers than the English issues, but in recent years both issues have been equally numerous (secretary, interview).

The congregation has also subscribed to various clerical periodicals. The only periodical published in German has been the Kirchliche Monatsblatt which has represented the "German Interest Conference" in the synod. Since the beginning of 1986, the Canada Lutheran has become the periodical of the newly formed ELCIC. In the past, German periodicals were very popular in the synod. For instance, in 1931, a series of periodicals in German were available, among which the Synodalbote had the highest number of subscribers. At that time, the German element in the synod predominated and the desire for German periodicals was strongly expressed by German congregations. That interest continued during World War II, and for some time later. As early as 1919, the synod discontinued Der Lutheraner in German. At that time, the English version The Lutheran became the official periodical of the synod until its amalgamation in 1986.

From this presentation of the organizational structure of Trinity Lutheran Church the following conclusions can be drawn. This congregation is composed of two sections. First, the present German-speaking membership, comprising most adult immigrants, immigrated to North America before World War II and during the 1950's. They brought with them their traditions and attitudes that were originally transplanted to the various Eastern European countries from Western Europe. These traditions have included strong adherence to German church service liturgy, acceptance of the minister as the omnipotent figure of

authority, and exclusion of women from public and administrative affairs of the congregation. The predominance of these features in the congregational structure until recent times has indicated the strong influence of the German component within the congregation.

Second, the English-speaking members of the congregation have primarily been represented by child immigrants and native-born Canadians of German ancestry. Among them, the ecumenical traditions of North America have been expressed in the different character of the English church service liturgy. In comparison with the German section, they have always been numerically less strong, although in recent years their numbers have increased.

Along with these generational differences, variations in age have also become visible between these two groups. Among the German worshipers, senior members of the congregation are predominantly represented. On the other hand, the majority of young couples and single members predominate among the English worshipers. The middle-aged members can be found in both groups. Consequently, the use of the English language is associated with younger age groups and native-born, whereas the use of the German language has prevailed among the older members and adult immigrants.

With regard to the organizational activities, older members

have shown much more congregational involvement than younger members. However, this statement requires further qualification. Group involvement has not only been age-related, but also gender-related. With regard to this aspect, women have been much more interested in congregational activities than men and have devoted much of their time in various groups and committees, in particular the older age groups. Among the men, a smaller number of organizations were established, which have been exclusively carried out in German. Hence, it seems that congregational involvement has been restricted to women and older members with clear-cut gender role differences. Men have dominated in both the administrative and public spheres, whereas the women have assisted the operation of the congregation in educational affairs and have provided support in less public ways.

The gradual replacement of German by English has occurred in all church affairs. For instance, the training of the clergy occurs in English, the business affairs are conducted in English, and the official periodical of the synod is published in English. The number of internal publications in German is concomitantly decreasing. This process is primarily based on both the loss of German-speaking members through natural decline and on the lack of recruitable German speakers. A lack of participation among subsequent generations in church activities has resulted in a slow growth of the congregation, leading to a

large number of inactive members.

The above discussion seems to support Reitz' (1974) conclusion that the loss of the ethnic language among subsequent generations also entails a withdrawal from the ethnic church. It is important to keep in mind, though, that the English group of worshipers has adopted the North American way of worship, and has given the English church service a completely different character. Therefore, this congregational subdivision is structurally no longer part of the original German "ethnic church".

FOOTNOTES

1. The internally published literature does not reveal any detailed information on this event.

2. In the case of two ministers, presidency was assigned to one of them, generally the one who has been in the congregation the longest, although all decisions are made by both of them.

CHAPTER VI

GERMAN SATURDAY SCHOOLS IN CANADA

VI.1 Introduction

German Saturday schools in Canada belong to the category of schools which are known as heritage, ethnic language, or supplementary language schools. They represent a tradition that had been in existence for over a century in various European countries outside of Germany. They developed originally as private church-sponsored schools, primarily within the various Lutheran church bodies, in order to provide instruction in religion and other subjects, in the native language of the ethnic congregations from kindergarten to the adult level. Hence, the majority of students came from families who also used German at home. This condition defined the Saturday schools as reinforcers of German as a mother tongue. In general, the Saturday schools, after being closed during both wars, did not resume regular instruction until 1958. In 1968, they had an enrolment of more than 10,000 pupils across the country (Weissenborn 1978).

In the past, church-affiliated schools, for instance St. Matthew's in Stony Plain, also operated as regular parochial

schools during the week covering a large number of subjects. Part of the regular curricular subject offerings were catechism study, Bible history, and singing, as well as German and English reading and writing. After World War I, many schools extended their programs to include mathematics, geography, music, and science courses. Hence, German as a subject occupied a minor position in the curriculum of parochial schools. At St. Matthew's, for instance, German was only taught for one tenth of the weekly instruction in 1923 (Klopp, in press). These parochial schools assumed the role of regular schools, whereas the present Saturday schools of various churches are designed to provide instruction in the various ethnic language traditions.

The German Saturday schools in this country have undergone a major change with regard to language instruction since their initial establishment, the greatest change having taken place in the 1970's. This process was closely linked to the fluctuations in the patterns of German immigration. During the decade of the 1950's, approximately 30,000 German-speaking immigrants arrived in Canada annually. After both the economic recovery of the Federal Republic of Germany and changes in Canada's immigration policy, this number dropped to 5,500 persons in 1962 and declined further to 2,000 people per year during the 1970's. In correlation with these periods of immigration, Saturday school enrolment reached its peak during the 1970's (Schmidt 1981).

After immigration subsided, the Saturday schools not only

experienced a decline in enrolment, but, what is more important, a new generation of students emerged. First, many children of non-German descent began to study German as a second language. Second, Canadian-born children of German origin no longer, as a rule, acquired German as their first language because its use in the home began to disappear. Even those who did acquire it rapidly lost their proficiency in German after entrance into English public schools. Hence, in many immigrant families, German was spoken by the parents and the oldest children, who were born in Europe, but not by their younger Canadian-born siblings. In light of this process, the Saturday schools were faced with the problem of reorganizing the instruction of German as a mother tongue to teaching German as a second language. This shift required major rearrangements of the established organizational and pedagogical approaches (Schmidt 1981).

On the one hand, the textbooks upon which the instruction was based became inadequate. They were imported from the Federal Republic of Germany where they were used for German language instruction in the public schools. On the other hand, two thirds of the teachers were uncertified. Their skills were not equal to the task of teaching German as a second language (Schmidt 1981).

Several administrative changes attempted to solve these issues. On the one hand, in Germany, responsibility for the German language schools abroad was transferred from the Ministry

of External Affairs to the Zentralstelle fuer das Auslandsschulwesen [1] in 1978. This department is directed by skilled pedagogues with long-term practical experience in German language instruction in foreign countries. However, their newly designed teaching materials failed to provide the desired effect, unless improvements in the pedagogical skills of the local teaching staff were also made.

It was hoped that this latter change would be achieved with the establishment of the "Association of German-Canadian Language Schools" in 1978. Since then, new interest has been sparked in workshops on pedagogical training and current teaching materials at annual conferences. Most of these activities take place in Ontario, where the largest language schools are located. In 1981, 80 percent of all German language schools belonged to this association (Schmidt 1981).

In addition, financial support has been offered by the provincial and federal governments. In June 1977, the Minister of State for Multiculturalism embarked on the Multicultural program which was followed in July 1977 by various Heritage Programs of the provincial governments. On a national level, the provincial governments have paid 22 percent and the federal government 11 percent of total expenses. The largest contribution has been made by the parents, who have carried 49 percent of the expenses (Schmidt 1981).

In 1984/85, 38 languages studied by 8,430 students were

taught in 96 heritage schools across Alberta. Of these, 29 languages in 56 schools were offered in Edmonton alone. With reference to German language instruction, 4 out of a total of 9 Albertan German language schools are located in Edmonton. In 1983/84, these schools had an enrolment of 190 students. German ethnic language schools are exceeded in number by Ukrainian (12) and Chinese (10) ethnic language schools [2]. The figures show that the Germans, as the numerically largest ethnic group in Alberta, do not support the largest number of schools.

V1.2 Trinity Saturday School

V1.2.a Instruction and Enrolment

The Saturday school of "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church" is one of four church-affiliated schools in Edmonton with an enrolment of 40 pupils in the 1985/86 school year (Alberta Culture, see above). Another German language school, the "German Language School", affiliated with the "Edmonton German Church of God", discontinued instruction for lack of pupils. In 1985/86, the German language school of the "Evangelical Fellowship Church" had an enrolment of 42 pupils and has continued instruction in German. The Saturday school of the "German Church of God" is the only church-affiliated language school that provides credits for its instruction. It also had the highest enrolment with 56 pupils in the 1984/85 school year.

The curriculum of the Saturday school organized by Trinity congregation appears to have changed throughout the long history of the church. Until 1959, instruction was given in English as well as in German in the religious training of confirmation candidates and other children of the congregation. Instruction in English was held at 9 a.m., and was followed by instruction in German at 10:30 a.m. on Saturday mornings (Yearbook 1957). No information is given on other topics that were taught except for catechism and Bible studies. At present, apart from the two hours of language instruction from 10 a.m. to 12 a.m., the students are involved in extra-curricular activities, such as performing plays at Christmas and organizing other social and fund-raising events.

The attendance figures at Trinity Saturday school have fluctuated greatly between 1910 and the present. The first time that enrolment figures appeared in the records was in 1911 when 60 pupils attended this school. Until World War II, the attendance figures fluctuated slightly between 60 and 80 students. These numbers remained almost constant even throughout World War I, whereas they dropped below 50 during World War II. After World War II, there were two significant increases in enrolment. The first increase occurred in 1957, when enrolment more than doubled from 81 to 190 students. This increase was probably due to the new influx of immigrants and remained at that level for the subsequent year. After dropping

to 60 students in 1959, there was a gradual increase to another peak of 122 students in 1973. Since that year the number of students has dropped slowly but steadily to the present 40 pupils (1985/86).

Despite this steady decrease in enrolments the number of teachers has increased. Until 1923, the minister himself provided the instruction. From 1923 to 1957, the number of instructors fluctuated between 1 and 5. During both peak years there were 10 and 8 teachers respectively. Compared to the high increase in student enrolment during these years, the increase in instructors was minimal. From 1960 on, between 6 and 9 instructors have taught the Saturday school. In 1980, when enrolment figures dropped below 80 students, Grades 6 and 7 were combined (report 1986). This development was accompanied by a general decline in the sizes of the other classes as well. At present, 7 teachers and 1 substitute teacher provide instruction to the students, although their numbers are even lower than during World War II. These figures show that enrolment in Trinity Saturday school is constantly decreasing. The major reason for this development is that the number of children in the congregation has declined (principal, interview). Furthermore, interest from outsiders in Saturday school instruction is also absent. Until 1984/85, all of the instructors, with the exception of the principal, were Volksdeutsche who immigrated after World War II. The 7

instructors lack qualifications in the teaching profession, although they do have a basic education and, in addition, training in an unrelated profession. Their commitment is primarily rooted in their interest in preserving German among their own children who previously attended the school. They all belong to the "Trinettes", a very active German-speaking congregational women's group.

Although this school belongs to the "Association of German-Canadian Language Schools", it has not been greatly affected in its activities for the following practical reasons. Since conferences and workshops take place primarily in Ontario, money as well as time must be found to attend. In 1977, the staff members participated once in a seminar which took place at the University of Alberta and was arranged by the Department of Germanic Languages (principal, report 1978). Apart from a shortage of time and money, the interest in advanced training and pedagogical skills is limited. This lack of interest is due to the secondary position which teaching occupies in the lives of the staff members, who lack basic training as pedagogues. Although they consider the language instruction as indispensible, they would like to retire after an average of 6 years of teaching. Nonetheless, the principal has occupied her position since her membership in this church 25 years ago (principal, interview). Their qualifications for teaching a second language are primarily based on both an ideological

commitment and a cultural knowledge of their own heritage. These two qualifications cannot be found in advanced training methods, although their contribution to the successful instruction in German may be in question.

In contrast to the instructors, the students of the Saturday school are not necessarily members of the Trinity congregation. In fact, in 1967, one third of the pupils did not belong to the church (Yearbook 1967). This number has increased to the point where only 7 children belong to the congregation in the current 1985/86 school year. In the past, these children used to come from homes where German is spoken. The church announces German language instruction in the Alberta Echo, a monthly periodical published in German, and the Strathconian, the local newsletter.

The courses in the Saturday school are primarily designed to teach German grammar as well as reading and writing skills. Although they are non-credit courses, numerous tests are administered by the teachers themselves, based on the material that was covered during the year. At the end of the year report cards are written. Technically, after completing Grade 6, the student should be in the position of writing exams at the high school level (principal, report 1970). However, in recent years, the students' knowledge has constantly decreased, and the expectations of the teachers have succumbed to this development. Hence, bilingualism is not the achieved outcome

any more, although it is still hoped for (principal, report 1980/81).

The teaching materials come from The Federal Republic of Germany as well as from Canada. The West German material is used in language courses that are taught in the public schools in Germany (principal, report 1981). The Canadian school books, which are published in Ontario, are not written exclusively in German; for instance, explanatory remarks and instructions are given in English. The intention is to facilitate the learning for students whose parents often want to provide help but do not speak German themselves (teacher, interview). In addition, the cultural contents of these books describes Canadian episodes rather than German events in order to provide a familiar point of reference for the Canadian-born students. Among the teaching aids for all classes is film material that is supplied by the German Consulate General (principal, report 1968). Instruction during class tends to be given in both English and German with proportionally more English instruction for the younger pupils. In 1970, one additional class was organized for pupils with hardly any knowledge of German.

Furthermore, many of the children do not attend the classes regularly. Other interests, such as playing hockey, interfere with school attendance. The parents of many children do not attach sufficient significance to German instruction themselves and therefore exhibit a very relaxed and indifferent attitude.

VI.2.b Financial Assistance

Funding for the Saturday school has been provided by various sources (principal, reports 1963 to 1985). During the 1960's and until the early 1970's, the main external source of funding was the German Consulate General, acting as the agent of the Ministry of External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany. The amount of support fluctuated between 100 and 650 dollars which, for example, amounted to 65 percent of total income in the 1965/66 school year. This amount could have been higher if Trinity Saturday school had been officially recognized by the Department of Education providing German instruction for credits. However, the Trinity Saturday school did not fulfill the basic requirements, including minimal enrolment figures and a minimum of instruction time of three hours per week.

In 1966, new guidelines regarding financial support were outlined by the German Consulate General. Until that year, parents who sent their children to Saturday school were not obliged to pay tuition fees, although a minimal contribution of 5 to 25 cents per student was expected. This amount was augmented by other donations from sporadic fund-raising events. The German Consulate General stipulated that, in order to receive financial support from Germany, the Saturday school had to charge tuition fees. Hence, for the 1966/67 school year, 2 dollars were paid for 1 child and 3 dollars if more than 1 child

attended. Until the early 1970's, this amount was slowly increased to 5 dollars for families with 2 children and to 6 dollars for those with 3 children and more. By the late 1960's, the income from the tuition fees and other internal fund-raising activities amounted to 93 percent of the total, thereby reducing the support from the German Consulate General to a minor role. The "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church" itself does not contribute any money to the operation of the Saturday school; it merely offers the facilities. Both ministers and the teachers strongly support the existence of the school as part of the congregation (minister, interview).

Then, in 1971, the German Consulate General set a minimum standard regarding some aspects of instruction. Among others, it was specified that a student at graduation should be between 12 and 18 years old, that there be at least 3 hours of instruction per participant and per week, and that the total number of students should not drop below 30. This standard, however, was not met by the Trinity school, and, as a consequence, the German Consulate General withdrew its subsidy 2 years later. Hence, this school does not benefit from the continuous progress made in pedagogical approaches and supported by the authorities in the Federal Republic of Germany who are in charge of the financial support of German language schools abroad.

Since 1973, the Provincial Government of Alberta has

provided financial support through the "Language Support Program", sponsored by the Cultural Heritage Branch of Alberta Culture. The initial allowance was 15 dollars per student per school year. This amount has been increased to 25 dollars in recent years. This support required that the children attend at least 60 percent of the total classes and that a minimum of 50 instructional hours per school year are provided. In 1975, a one-time grant of 2,000 dollars was paid in addition to the regular support.

Since 1977, a financial subsidy has also been received from the Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, in the context of the "Cultural Enrichment Program". For the first 2 years, the grants were based on the number of language classes taught. This policy was changed in 1979, when the amount was calculated according to a funding formula on a per-student basis. Hence, in 1985/86, 55 dollars were granted for each of the first 20 students, 35 dollars for each of the next 40 students, and 20 dollars for each of the remaining students. Despite the increase in financial assistance with every successive year, the total assistance has decreased with the general decline in the number of students.

During the 1980's, the tuition fees have been greatly increased to 50 dollars for 1 child, 80 dollars for 2 children and 90 dollars for 3 or more children per family. In 1984/85, 40 percent of the total income of the Trinity Saturday school

came from tuition, another 40 percent came from federal grants and 20 percent came from provincial grants. These ratios do not remain completely stable, but fluctuate moderately from one year to the next. The expenses of the program are in a balance with the income, therefore no debts arise.

In sum, during the past decade, the Saturday schools underwent two major changes in regard to their role in language instruction: decreasing overall enrolment indicates that interest in supplementary language instruction is very low not only among the congregational members, but also among non-congregational families. The enrolment in the future is likely to decrease to the point where the closure of the school may become inevitable (principal, interview). Second, Saturday schools have lost their position as strongholds for German mother tongue reinforcement. Instead, they predominantly provide second language instruction. This shift, however, requires intensification in regard to time and quality of pedagogical instruction. Ineffective instruction is apparent with regard to the teaching materials, use of English during the instructional time, and the short amount of actual instructional time. However, small schools, such as such that of "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church", cannot raise their standard of instruction because they are limited by primarily personal restraints, including the lack of proper training of the instructors teachers. Unless their closure occurs in the

immediate future, these schools will probably continue to operate as previously in German language instruction.

The low enrolment and the second language status of German are indicative of a major change in the attitudes of German-Canadians. This process began with the near demise in German immigration by the end of the 1950's. The subsequent generations of German descent were born in Canada, or, in other words, foreign-born children no longer immigrated to Canada. Hence, from then on, the ratio between the foreign-born segment and the native-born segment of the German population began to decrease. In fact, the overwhelming majority of the Saturday school students are native-born Canadians, albeit of predominantly German descent. A small number of students also come from different ethnic backgrounds, but this percentage is not significant.

FOOTNOTES

1. Central Office for Foreign School Affairs.

2. These figures were obtained from the Community Program Peace River Consultant, Alberta Culture.

CHAPTER VII

INTERNAL LANGUAGE DYNAMICS

This chapter focuses on the issue of the transmission of German as a mother tongue to successive generations among the members of Trinity congregation. The issue is dealt with by looking at the extent of German-English bilingualism among the members of the Trinity congregation and the sociolinguistic processes that have led to the present status quo. Church service attendance has pointed to the presence of two major linguistic components, an English-speaking and a German-speaking group. However, participant observation and interviews with informants have indicated that language knowledge among the members is much more complex than monolingualism in either English or German. Although in each group, the actual number of truly bilingual members who can read, write, understand and speak each language equally well may be very small, the predominant number of people have a reasonable knowledge of both languages. The reasons determining choice of church service and the dynamics for language acquisition underlying these different degrees of proficiency will be investigated.

German language maintenance in this congregation is

associated with two processes. First, intergenerational loss of German has occurred between adult immigrants and successive generations and, second, intra-generational language loss is a development occurring among child immigrants. This issue is primarily examined on the basis of the hypothesis that ethnic language maintenance is highly correlated with its use in the home (Reitz 1974). German-English language use is examined in two contexts, in church-related activities, including the church service, and in the home. Other sociolinguistic variables, including age at arrival, length of residence in Canada, intermarriage, education, socio-economic status and attitudes towards language acquisition, are also included in the analysis explaining German language discontinuity in this congregation.

V11.1 The German-speaking worshipers

The group of German-speaking worshipers comprises primarily adult immigrants and secondarily some child immigrants as well as native-born individuals. Personal observations revealed that among this group of worshipers the actual number of exclusively monolingual speakers is smaller than among the English-speaking worshipers. In other words, the majority of worshipers, approximately three quarters, is also to some degree competent in English (minister, interview). This allows the large number of bilingual members among the German worshipers a certain degree of choice of church service attendance. In terms of size, the German-speaking worshipers constitute 60 percent of

the total congregation. With regard to this group of congregation members, the focus is on the acquisition of English as a second language and on the maintenance of German which was acquired as a mother tongue in their countries of origin.

One great difficulty to be overcome by an immigrant in a new country is the acquisition of a second language. In Canada, learning English or French is mandatory for an immigrant in order to successfully participate in the highly competitive labor market. Of the two, English is favored over French by those whose native tongue is neither official language (Lieberson 1970). Therefore, partly for this reason, the rural West as a predominantly English-speaking area was chosen by large numbers of German immigrants.

Almost invariably, German immigrants arrived in this country with the intention to stay and to adjust as best as possible to the new environment. Most of them are refugees from eastern Central Europe who were expelled during and after World War II from their countries of origin, which made a return impossible. Immediately after their expulsion, many of them attempted to settle in West Germany which was inundated with settlers from these areas. The conditions for survival in West Germany were considered hopeless with little opportunity for obtaining an education or job training (Frank 1977). Even after ten years of living in West Germany, many "had not achieved anything", such as establishing their own business or buying

their own farm, and therefore they emigrated with the hope to become successful in Canada (informant, interview). In addition, concern for the future under perceived unstable political conditions also led many to the decision to emigrate. Hence, the decision to leave their Eastern European homelands was not a voluntary move but was mainly caused by political restructuring.

For many, the acquisition of English has been a process occurring over a certain period of time. Stadler (1983) showed that German-speaking immigrants rated themselves progressively higher in both knowledge of English and use of English as length of residence increased. An apparent change towards increased use of English occurred after approximately ten years of residence. On the other hand, the loss of the mother tongue was not affected by length of residence. Among some members of this group, however, proficiency in English is very low despite their prolonged stay in this country since the early 1950's (minister, interview). This is especially true for senior members. In many cases, their English is restricted to a basic vocabulary, which is primarily utilized in everyday life. Although they might not be fluent in English, they are able to understand and communicate their basic needs in English [1].

This circumstance has developed for several reasons. First, among immigrants, their age upon arrival in the new country is definitely a factor affecting their linguistic

behavior and, therefore, the level of skills acquired in the new language (Lieberson 1970). According to this criterion, immigrants were subdivided into adult and child immigrants (NOI-study 1976). It was argued that among adult immigrants, the likelihood of acquiring English to an imperfect degree is high (Schaffer 1978). Age and the acquisition of a second language appear to be directly linked in that the likelihood of becoming 100-percent fluent in the second language is diminished with increasing age. Most German-speaking adult immigrants in the congregation have acquired English with a strong German accent and use speech patterns, including syntax, grammatical and lexical forms, that prevail in their mother tongue.

Second, the acquisition of English is retarded by the impact of rural surroundings. Many of the immigrants initially moved out to isolated farms in order to take up homesteads or to work as farm laborers. Their contact with other people was restricted and occurred in most cases via church activities that were held in German. Access to instruction in English was not available until a move into the city occurred (informant, interview). Hence, for a long time after immigration German continued to be used as the language in the home.

Isolation from the English-speaking community was enhanced in cases where both spouses were German speakers. Results from the questionnaire distributed in the community indicated that the predominant number of immigrants who got married in Canada

favored spouses of German origin. Most of these also advocated for their children marriages with German-Canadians. According to Stadler's findings (1983), the use of German between German-German parents in the home occurred among 70 percent of the families. In these cases, over 50 percent of the parents always spoke German to their children, at least during the pre-school years. Among families of mixed parentage the percentage of German use in the home was much smaller. An unexpected result was that German-speaking fathers did not differ from German-speaking mothers in their choice of home language (Stadler 1983). In other words, the likelihood of German being retained in the home is not greater if mothers rather than fathers speak it.

Socio-economic status is a third factor influencing the use of German among immigrants, both in the home and in church. Stadler (1983) confirmed that, among German-Canadians, language use in the home decreases with higher socio-economic status. Stadler assessed socio-economic status on the basis of two factors, education and occupation. According to these two factors, parents with a university education holding high status jobs use German least frequently in the home.

Kalbach and Richard (1981) showed that the attendance of traditional ethnic churches decreases considerably with higher socio-economic status, measured in terms of income, across generations as well as within generations. By 1971, the

Lutheran church as one of the traditional German churches had lost more than half of its proportionate share between the first and third generations of German descendants. Hence, the bulk of the German Lutherans among others are either first or second generation. In addition, German as a mother tongue is no longer retained among successive generations.

In terms of socio-economic status, the German-speaking members of this congregation can be classified as reasonably wealthy citizens. The majority of these immigrants do not have secondary education, and some of them also lack any basic education. The war years, with their subsequent political upheavals, led to massive migration. Under these unsettling circumstances education became a secondary matter. On the other hand, formal education after arrival in Canada was not necessarily obtained either, especially among women. Formal education in Canada, if acquired at all, was geared towards integration into the English-speaking community. After having worked for several years as farm laborers, many of them became successful businessmen and shopkeepers, placing them in a high level of income. Although not wealthy, the majority of immigrants acquired their own property relatively soon after immigration and now have a comfortable standard of living. Among many of these, English is the prevailing language in the home.

One of the few families who still use German in the home

went into homesteading on their own farm. After this attempt failed, the family moved to the city and established its own business. Besides being the spoken language in the home, reading and writing in German was also taught at home to the native-born children. Although the parents struggled to get their business established, both money to buy German books and time to teach their children were always available. Both daughters could speak, read and write German upon entrance into school. At kindergarten age, they were also sent to Saturday school. During this time, the parents took their children to the German service. One of the daughters has also studied German in university and has become involved as a Saturday school teacher. Both daughters are also active members of the "Youth Group" in Trinity (informant, interview).

Among the Saturday school teachers, German is still highly valued as a home language. All of them consider the use of German in the home imperative for a better acquisition of the language among the children. They believe that their own children should learn German because most of the relatives and family, especially the grandparents, still live in Germany. Furthermore, German is part of their cultural heritage and therefore it appears natural to know it. "It is always better to know more than one language" represents another plausible reasoning along more practical lines. One informant pointed out that she did not attempt to speak English as long as she was not

competent in it (Saturday school teacher, interview).

None of the Saturday school teachers worried that the use of German prevented their children from learning English. On the contrary, the most frequently stated complaint was that their children have begun to answer in English, especially since entrance into school or since having moved to the city where increased contact with other children occurred. Most of the children now have English-speaking friends and spouses, which require them to speak English. However, even if their children are not fluent speakers any longer, they all understand German perfectly well.

The family of the minister who immigrated eight years ago still uses German in the home. Considering the short length of time in Canada, this speech behavior appears as a logical consequence. Besides this time factor, speaking German in the home also represents a conscious decision. At the time of immigration, his children were between 8 and 15 years old. Although the youngest child had the least problems with learning English, she was also most likely to lose her German mother tongue. This minister is also very supportive of any attempts to maintain German in church-related affairs. Hence, out of lack of proficient skills in English, consideration for the children, and pride in the German heritage, German will remain the language in the home (minister, interview).

Among the families of Trinity congregation, educational background seems to have little effect on the use of German in the home. On the one hand, a low level of education has led to the use of German in the home only because of the frequent concomitant social isolation from English-speaking families. Among some of these families, German was used simply for practical considerations. On the other hand, among the Saturday school teachers, the increase in education improved their cultural awareness and pride in their heritage with the German language having become a valuable part of this heritage. Secondary education heightened the respect for knowledge per se, including the idea of learning a second language for its own sake.

In families where German is spoken in the home, not all of the children have become German speakers themselves. Despite the parents' interest, some of the children were rather reluctant to learn it. As a consequence, many parents discontinued speaking it with them. In other families, German was not necessarily spoken between parents and children. In these cases, parents only speak German to each other and use English with their children (minister, interview).

In one family, differences in individual interests among the children are obvious. Out of five children, the oldest son and the second youngest daughter have actively pursued learning German outside the family context. They are the ones who are

virtually fluent in speaking it. The parents occasionally mix German and English idioms together and tend to speak English with their children, especially if the latter approach them in English. With each other and without the children being around, both parents tend to speak German, even after 30 years of living in Canada. The oldest son has become an active member of the "German Business Association" and the "German-Canadian Association of Alberta". The other three sons understand German, but do not speak it very frequently and are not completely fluent in it either.

In another family, only the youngest son out of three children became a fluent German speaker and feels relatively comfortable in speaking it. In his adolescence, he began to show interest in both the German language and culture and has shown a great deal of personal initiative to pursue this interest. On several occasions he traveled to and lived in Europe, he became a member of the "Edmonton Men's Swiss Choir" and the "German-Canadian Congress", and some of his friends are of German background. He tries to speak German as often as possible, at home as well as with his friends (with the latter German once represented a sort of "secret language" which was used to be different from others). With regard to congregational activities, belonging to a church was not fashionable for him and his peers, and therefore he was never actively involved with the "Youth Group". Besides attending the

German church service with his parents, he also went to the English Sunday school. His mother was one of the Saturday school teachers and considered it paramount for her children to attend Saturday school. His two older brothers have not shown the same enthusiasm for learning German, although the oldest brother pursued German until he started with his secondary education. In this family, although German is still spoken around the home, the mother has become more lenient in her insistence that her children learn German, especially after the oldest sons initially encountered social and academic problems in school. Despite this change in parental attitudes, the youngest son has more strongly than ever shown interest in the German culture (informant, interview). Therefore, personal interest for learning German among the children is not necessarily sparked by their parents.

On the other hand, the persistent use of German with the children has led to the emergence of only a few bilingual speakers who do not have an accent influencing either language. They have acquired the German of their parents in terms of dialect and vocabulary. One disadvantage of this development is that they have only acquired verbal skills in German without any knowledge of grammar or orthography. In some cases, this lack of grammatically correct proficiency in German was improved with later formal education in German, such as in high school or at university. In another family, the native-born child of

native-born unilingual German-speaking parents has acquired the same German as his parents but speaks English with a heavy German accent. He grew up socially isolated from English speakers (minister, interview).

With regard to language use in the home among the congregation, the trend is towards the use of English. However, if German is spoken it is most likely spoken among the German worshipers. The questionnaire revealed that the type of church service is highly correlated with the use of German in the home. The majority of German church service attenders (14 out of 16) speak German in the home.

Among the German-speaking members of this congregation, church service attendance appears to be influenced by different factors besides the use of the language in the home. The majority of them have attended the German church service since their arrival in Canada as well as in their homelands. This circumstance was not changed by higher income levels. Rather, these members have been accustomed to the German church service all their life. This attachment to the German service was illustrated by two of the ministers.

One of the ministers who immigrated as an adult immigrant with his family eight years ago came from the Democratic Republic of Germany (East Germany). At the time of immigration, he was in his late thirties and had concluded seminary training

for some time before that. Naturally, he had become accustomed to hold church services in the German language. His knowledge of English upon immigration to Canada was negligible. A short while after arrival, he was asked to hold church services in both German and English. At present, after having lived for eight years in this country, with the constant exposure to an English-speaking environment, he can be considered virtually bilingual, although he speaks English with a strong German accent. With regard to church service, he likes conducting the English service, because of its lively character. In his sermons that are held in German he has adjusted to the vernacular of the congregation members in terms of vocabulary and mannerism. He never writes down any of his sermons word for word, not even the English ones (minister, interview).

The second minister who left Edmonton in 1985 to accept a call in another city immigrated with his mother at the age of 11. Even after immigration, he continued speaking German in the maternal home as well as worshiping in German. In later years, he received training as a minister according to the North American ecclesiastical tradition. Yet, for him, the German sermon has "more harmony and rhythm" which could indicate an emotional attachment stemming from early childhood experiences. Yet, despite these emotional ties he has become more comfortable worshiping in English. With regard to church sermons, he, like most North American ministers, feels the need to write down both

sermons (minister, interview). Therefore, the decision to favor one service over the other depends on a combination of factors that exert an influence on the basis of very personal experiences and memories. Besides the language, the services differ in their character from each other. The German service is characterized by more piety and a certain "heaviness" (minister, interview).

Among other reasons for attending the German service is lack of fluency in English. A small minority of German church attenders are individuals who arrived recently and are not fluent in English. Some individuals do not speak either language well, but attend the German service because they always have. Furthermore, a small number of German worshipers speak English better than German but they attend the earlier German service because they have made plans for later that day (minister, interview).

Apart from education, the kind of German spoken in the congregation is also a matter of origin. In Eastern Europe, a variety of local dialects were spoken among the scattered and isolated areas of German farming enclaves. One of these local variants is the Bessarabian dialect that was spoken by German immigrants who originated from Bessarabia (Soviet Union, Black Sea region). Eberhardt (1973) in her study examined, among other issues, the acquisition of this dialect in regard to socio-economic status. Her data have revealed that the

ministers and the teaching staff of the church-affiliated schools after 1844 spoke Standard German, mainly on the basis of having received a formal education. The mother tongue of the average Bessarabian German was this dialect with the home as domain of acquisition.

Although the use of a dialect does not necessarily indicate a low level of education, among many German worshipers the two factors, education and origin, determine their speech behavior. Some members not only speak an "archaic" German, but also use incorrect grammar. This condition was observed among the women of the "Ladies Aid" who are all over 60 years of age and who were born in either Europe or Canada. Both their English as well as their German is poor as a consequence of a low level of education and isolated life style (minister, interview). Rabel-Heymann (1978) observed that bilingualism among many German immigrants with a low level of education has frequently resulted in "morphologically and lexically garbled language". Interference, especially the intrusion of English vocabulary into German, can be observed among a large number of German worshipers, including the "Ladies Aid" members.

It was observed among the German worshipers that the interest in maintaining the German language is associated with other German-related activities. For instance, they also participate most actively in the various organizations of the congregation. They have chosen their circle of friends from the

congregation, primarily German speakers, and they hope that their children will marry German-speaking spouses. The questionnaire revealed that specifically German church attenders purchase German goods, in particular baked goods. Some families buy nothing else but "made in Germany". "Good quality" was the main reason given. The few young people among this group of German worshipers have actively participated in the "Youth Group" or other activities organized by the church. They have also indicated a great interest in their German heritage.

V11.2 The English-speaking worshipers

The English church service attenders comprise up to 85 percent native-born second generation individuals and, secondarily, immigrants who arrived as young children in this country. Less than ten families are recent immigrants and only a "handful" of people are families of a non-German ethnic origin (minister, interview). With reference to age, on average this group is younger than the German worshipers, although a number of older people are also represented. Most importantly, this group comprises the overwhelming majority of young people in the congregation. This preference for English among young people was associated with the acquisition of English in the home during most of their upbringing, even though they might have learned German as their first language. In terms of size, the English-speaking worshipers constitute 40 percent of the total congregation.

The female senior members in this group belong to the "Lutheran Church Women" which is the first group of English-speaking women founded during World War II in 1944. They are married to English-speaking husbands. Some of them also speak German whereas others are from a different ethnic background.

The child immigrants, who arrived with their parents during the early 1950's, have since established their own families. Although they acquired German as their first language, they have used English almost exclusively since their immigration. This linguistic development is exemplified by the minister who immigrated with his mother at the age of 11. Although he married a woman of German background, his children are raised in an English-speaking home. His German lacks the influence of a formal instruction, because most of his education was in English.

The total immersion into the English-speaking environment has occurred even more strongly among the native-born congregation members. They comprise adults as well as the young members of the congregation. One of the ministers, although of German parentage, was born and grew up as a speaker of English in the United States. The use of German in the parental home was prohibited by his father who wanted to assimilate to American society and therefore completely rejected his German ancestry.

The minister's interest in learning German was pursued in school and was intensively supported for a short period of time in a German immersion course in West Germany. His formal education in German has enabled him to acquire a correct form of High German without, however, turning him into a completely fluent speaker. He has not been able to present the German service without preparing it in a written form in advance and he generally prefers to worship in English (minister, interview).

Hence, although children in comparison with adults have a greater potential of becoming bilingual the danger is great to lose one's mother tongue in the process of growing up in an English-speaking environment. Lieberson stated:

> The sharpest losses for the older mother tongue cohorts appear in the younger age groups, . . . , suggesting that small children migrating to Canada are particularly high to lose their mother tongue after they acquire English or French (1970:176).

In these cases, the home has become the most crucial domain for mother tongue retention (Lieberson 1970). Domestic influence together with a supportive community has resulted in producing an observable ethnic identity, at least among Ukrainians. In other words, it is the responsibility of the child's family to be the first and prime cultural transmitter (Polowy 1978). For example, Darnell's (1976) observations indicated that Ukrainians stress filial obedience, and are most insistent on their children's participation in the ethnic community. The NOL-study (1976) indicated that, if the mother tongue was not learned

before five years of age, the incentives to learn it later are low, and therefore much more effort is required.

However, among most families in the congregation, English has become the language in the home, particularly among the English worshipers (minister, interview). The questionnaire revealed that only 4 out of 14 English worshipers still use German in the home. The minister estimated that knowledge of German is quite extensive among the second generation, although passive knowledge in terms of understanding German is greater than actually being able to speak it fluently. Most likely more than half of the members of the "Youth Group" would be able to conduct a conversation in German. Hence, in theory these different degrees of bilingualism represent the potential and the mechanism for intergenerational mother tongue shift. On the other hand, having a choice of which language to use does not guarantee language retention. Lieberson (1970:176) pointed out that "the mother tongue acquired by the children of bilingual parents is not predetermined".

Many families discontinued the use of the mother tongue in the home as soon as they had acquired English. Proficiency in English has symbolized to many the successful integration into Canadian society, and their own success as well as that of their children is of tantamount importance. This process was accelerated after their children entered school. As long as the parents themselves did not speak English, German was used in the

home environment for a relatively short period of time, generally immediately after immigration. The loss of the mother tongue is considered more or less unavoidable (informant, interview). Among many minority groups in Canada, knowledge of the native tongue is traditionally considered more of a problem than an asset because it retards the assimilation into the dominant culture (Edwards 1983).

Stadler (1983) showed in her study that with increasing length of residence, German language preference and favorable attitudes toward language maintenance in the family, bilingualism and language "purity" decrease. At the same time, as cultural and linguistic identification with Canada increases, so does the desire to be recognized as being of German-speaking origin. This change of attitudes which also occurred among some members of the congregation may be partly due to the present emphasis on multiculturalism and partly to the realization that once economic stability has been achieved one's heritage can be an asset rather than a problem. By that time, however, the children are grown up and do not obtain the benefits from this reversal in opinion.

A further reason for the rejection of the German heritage is the initial verbal and physical harassment experienced by some Germans in Canada after immigration. One member of the congregation experienced severe hostilities after he and his family moved to the city which discouraged his use of German for

the rest of his life. His attitude had a strong impact on his children who did not want to learn it either (minister, interview).

Gerwin (1938) argued that German can remain the home language if a recent German immigrant marries a Canadian of German-speaking parentage, and when social contact with a large number of German-speaking families prevails. In the congregation, this factor only has little influence which is indicated by the large number of families with an English-speaking home. However, intermarriage between a German speaker and a non-German speaker is a circumstance that has almost invariably favoured the discontinuation of German in the home. Intermarriage has become common, particularly among the second generation English worshipers. The children of these families, in most cases third-generation German-Canadians, generally do not have any knowledge in German (minister, interview).

One exception to this rule is an adult who was born in Canada and has married a German-speaking spouse. His parents were also born in Canada but have only spoken German in the home. The son speaks English with a heavy German accent (minister, interview).

Furthermore, among these members the attitude seems to exist that the teaching of German is the responsibility of the

school rather than the home. Although the majority of the congregation members do not send their children to Saturday school either, the enrollment of children in the Saturday school renders it even less likely that German is also spoken in the home. Many parents wished that their children would learn German but have not actively supported it themselves (minister, interview).

Cummins (1981) analyzed the behavior and attitudes of parents and the effects on children by distinguishing four patterns among the parents, three of which are most likely to occur among German-Canadians. First, in order for their children to succeed in school and to avoid conflict, parents often reject their own language. Second, parents might be unable for a number of reasons to identify with either the home or the English language, and therefore are likely to reject both of them. The third pattern arises with the acceptance of both languages by the parents. In the first two cases rejection leads to the loss of the native language at home, whereas in the latter case German is maintained in the home.

These attitudes have various effects on the children in terms of their own behavior. In the first two examples, the child experiences insecurity and the inability to learn English properly, along with the simultaneous loss of the mother tongue. In the third case, which probably represents the preferred pattern, the child is likely to be highly motivated to

achieve proficiency in both languages, with the emergence of true bilingualism as the result. Hence, negative or positive parental attitudes, even though directed towards only one language, reflect negatively or positively on the other language in the eyes of the children. Furthermore, besides being acquired for its own sake, bilingualism is apparently closely correlated with enhanced academic achievement.

Parental support not only has an impact on language retention per se and academic achievement in general, but also indirectly influences other behavior patterns as well. Reitz (1976) suggests that mother tongue retention increases ethnic school attendance. Furthermore, parental encouragement for ethnic solidarity is strongly linked to the actual maintenance of ethnic ties, including association with an ethnic church (Reitz 1974).

In one family, the attitude of the children might have been due to that of the parents. The native-born son has learned to speak German fluently and grammatically correctly. He married a woman of German ancestry who grew up in an English-speaking home, but raises his children in an English-speaking home environment. Although his parents, who are active in the German-speaking part of the congregation (his mother is the principal of the Saturday school), their attitudes towards their German heritage may be ambivalent. The son, in turn, completely avoids speaking German. In this case, his identification of

being Canadian rather than German is expressed in his linguistic preference for English, and might stem from his own ambivalence or even rejection of his German heritage (minister, interview).

This attitude seems to be common among second generation German-Canadians. Schmidt (1983) differentiated between the attitudes of child-immigrants and native-born descendants.

> German-Canadians who came to Canada as small children do not have have such a strong emotional attachment to Germany as their parents. Those children who were born in Canada of German parents have never suffered from the umbilical cord effect. In most cases they are and feel Canadian first (Schmidt 1983:74, 75).

One further reason for children not wanting to learn German might be the lack of prestige of the various German dialects spoken in the congregation. The contact with other children resulted in peer pressure to speak English rather than German. Then the children began to learn Standard German in school whereas the immigrants continued to speak their respective dialects. Eberhardt (1973) concluded that the influences of English and High German resulted in the loss of prestige of the Bessarabian dialect among successive generations. This conclusion is certainly applicable to other dialects as well. One member of the "Youth Group", for instance, only speaks German while making fun of it, but usually refuses to speak it at all (minister, interview).

Depending on the length of time of ethnic language use in

the home, the children have picked up either the dialect, an incorrect form of German or both from their parent's. These individuals have acquired an incomplete knowledge of German. Their knowledge of German has enabled them to converse in German to a restricted extent, without being able to speak it fluently. Some of them have also taken formal instruction in the language at a later point in time. In these cases, they have also received some exposure to Standard German which could influence their previously acquired knowledge in German. Formal instruction, however, has not turned them into fluent speakers.

The second generation of German descendants often do not know enough German to speak it without any interference at all. If they grew up in one particular isolated speech community they have also acquired their parents' dialect, simply out of lack of other influences. All of these influences, either alone or in combination, not only promote the inter-generational shift from the native language to English as mother tongue, but have also led to an intra-generational switch within the foreign-born immigrant generation.

With the English-speaking worshipers, both higher incomes and higher levels of education are associated. Some professionals, including lawyers and doctors, are among them but the majority has an above average income. Among the young people, the average amount of education is higher when compared with the others. The majority of them has attended high school

and an increasing number has started to attend university. It has also become noticeable among these members that their overall participation in the congregation is less active than that of the German worshipers. For instance, an English-speaking adult male group does not exist. The males who have participated in repairs and maintenance works have been primarily German church members. On the one hand, they have been much more involved with activities related to their jobs. On the other hand, they have also lacked enough "leisure" to take the time for more contemplative endeavors, including worship. The younger women in this group generally have small children at home and are more bound to the house than the German-speaking female members (minister, interview).

For these members of the congregation other variables, including immigration at a young age, have coincided with higher socio-economic status which makes it difficult to differentiate between the various influences. Social ties were formed to a larger extent with other English speakers. The NOL-study (1976) concluded that respondents with a high level of educational attainment less frequently report non-official language knowledge than respondents having little education but "it is their generational status [second and third generation], rather than their level of education which accounts for their language knowledge" (1976:50). With regard to income, "language loss in the second and third generation is not substantially related to

socioeconomic status" (1976:49).

One major reason for learning German among the English-speaking young people is the idea of being able to converse in German while being in that country. Another motivation, although less frequently stated, is to be able to speak German with one's grandparents. The extent to which German is known and used among the English mother tongue congregation members indicates its minor significance and its pursuit as a short-term objective. The failure to speak it fluently does not pose any limitations on career aspirations or economic survival. However, these objectives are detrimental to language continuity in the long run because the actual use of the language is restricted which results in the loss of overall fluency in the language by the group as a whole. Therefore, the results from this congregation supported Bausenhart's (1981) conclusion that emotional and ideological motives promoting competency in a long-term perspective dominate only among those children, whose home language is German. Among these, however, the maintenance of customs and traditions among their children is considered as important only among 12.8 percent of the respondents (NDL-study 1976). In contrast, 48.9 percent of German speakers considered the usefulness of German as a second language as paramount, which is also, among the majority of ethnic group members, the most frequently stated reason.

For the young people, the reasons for attending the English

service are the lack of sufficient German knowledge and the immersion into English-speaking activities in the congregation. The activities for children of all ages are organized in English. The few German-speaking activities, including the "Kinderkreis" (Children's Circle), have been sporadic and were not continued over a longer period of time. The few times when confirmation was given in German, it happened according to the wish of the parents who wanted to adhere to this tradition (minister, interview). Hence, most of the English worshipers have grown accustomed to participate in English-speaking activities and to attend the English service.

Some adult members switched to the attendance of the English service for a temporary period of time. Those are the adult immigrants who wished to introduce their children to regular worship. Since the children feel more comfortable in the English-speaking environment their parents have given up the German service for a while in order to accompany their children to church. After confirmation the parents usually return to the German service (minister, interview).

Among other considerations is the wish to attend church at a later hour than 9:30 a.m. on Sunday mornings. Some members have made plans to go out for lunch at noon when the English service ends. There are some families among the English worshipers who immigrated recently. They attend the English service because they want to practice their English (minister,

interview).

The following conclusions can be drawn. German-English language knowledge among the members of this congregation is quite complex. Three informal groups have evolved with the following language knowledge. A small number of German monolingual speakers has sprung up among the German worshipers. A larger number of English monolingual speakers comprises many of the younger members of the congregation but also some senior members. The largest group are bilingual speakers who can be found among both the German and the English worshipers.

Although most of the members have a knowledge in both languages, fluency in speaking German has significantly decreased across generations. The evidence points to language use in the home as the variable that has the strongest causal effect on whether or not the mother tongue is retained among successive generations. Other factors, including age at immigration, length of residence, or rural surroundings either have accelerated or decelerated the process, but are not necessarily causally related to this trend. English as the home language also accounts for the loss of German within the immigrant generation among those members who arrived as children in this country. These individuals show the same linguistic behavior as the native-born persons and, therefore, both are classified as second generation German-Canadians. Language loss in German has preceded the participation in church-related

activities and consequently language use in church cannot reverse this process.

The parents who speak German in the home are predominantly immigrants, being fluent either in High German or a dialect. In other words, members who have only a limited knowledge of German no longer speak it in the home. Therefore, the actual use of German decreases even more strongly than the knowledge in it. A number of these immigrants still have an emotional attachment to Germany that is missing among successive generations. However, only those children who are exposed to a German-speaking home environment are likely to learn German and participate in the congregation. The continuation of German in the home is primarily based on parental attitudes rather than mechanical processes, including length of residence, socio-economic status and others.

For the immigrants, the church service has remained the most important domain for the use of German. They have transplanted its character of worship in an almost unaltered form from Europe which is completely different from the current North American church service in Evangelical churches. This feature of the German church service and the disappearance of German among successive generations has created a dichotomy in the congregation with two separate groups of members. Therefore, participation in English-speaking congregational activities does not necessarily indicate support for one's

German heritage but is part of getting involved in social activities with a familiar circle of friends and acquaintances.

FOOTNOTES

1. A frequently used statement among senior members was "Verkaufen lassen wir uns nicht", which translates into "You can't pull the hood over our eyes" (minister, interview).

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Ethnic parishes, a category to which "Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church in Edmonton" belongs, should be particularly suited to the maintenance of the ethnic language as mother tongue. This argument is largely based on the assumption that a uniform ethnic membership and the use of the ethnic language in church-related affairs can prevent the erosion of it as the mother tongue among successive generations. However, the decline in the knowledge of German has begun among the second generation German-Canadians. A discussion of the theoretical issues in relation to the findings of this particular study concludes this thesis.

The brief historical introduction of the German-Canadian populace in Canada shows that this ethnic group is very diverse. On the one hand, this circumstance is due to the fact that members of this group live in various regions in Canada, including urban and rural areas. On the other hand, they either originated from various parts of eastern Central Europe, the United States, or they came from the territories of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. This

situation characterizes them as a culturally heterogeneous group. These different demographic backgrounds have, among others, led to a misrepresentation of their actual numbers in the Canadian Census.

The immigrants from eastern Europe, including Poland and Russia, form the majority of congregation members at Trinity. Two centuries ago, they colonized eastern Europe in large numbers leading to the formation of ethnic enclaves. Their rural lifestyle and vast amounts of unsettled land kept them from intermingling with the autochthonous Slavic populations. More importantly, apart from these natural barriers, their differences in terms of language, Standard German or dialects thereof, and religion, predominantly Lutheran Protestantism, created additional social distance. Growth of these congregations occurred from internal recruitment of already participating members. In terms of numbers, German Lutherans represented a religious minority that at various times was exposed to persecution and social pressure from the national authorities to assimilate. Hence, under these circumstances, they strongly and collectively maintained their religious belief and their language, both of which became inextricably linked to the German identity through several generations.

The German immigrants arrived in Canada with the desire to stay and to adapt to the new cultural conditions because the political changes, created by civil and international wars, made

a return to Europe impossible. Their endeavors were supported by the efforts of the Protestant church to win new members and assist them in assimilating. In the North American context, Protestantism has not been exclusively associated with German ethnicity and, therefore, religion as one of the two barriers distinguishing them from the remaining society has disappeared. However, as long as immigration provided new members for the various Protestant church bodies, the German element contipued to predominate. In the intervals between immigration waves, the churches also had to recruit new members in order to secure the growth of their congregations. Increase in membership from successive generations of already participating members did not by itself lead to sufficient increment. Therefore, the recruitment of Canadians of various ethnic backgrounds also became important, and, as early as 1924, the Protestant churches began to proselyte among the English-speaking population of Alberta.

In congregations that were initially formed by the German immigrants, German was naturally the language of worship. The further influx of English-speaking Canadians resulted in the incorporation of English into worship and other church-related activities, a process that started in the early 1930's. In addition, during both world wars, these ethnic congregations were under social pressures to adopt English as the language of worship, and many German-Canadians also considered it a

politically advantageous move to renounce their German ancestry. However, with each influx of immigrants a revival of the ethnic language occurred, which in turn created a new number of linguistically unilingual congregations or ethnic parishes. At Trinity, German as language in worship was taken up again after World War II in order to accommodate the newly arriving immigrants.

Among the Protestant churches, linguistic differences became a major issue in church policy because they prevented the integration of various ethnic groups under one denomination. Hence, the establishment of ethnic congregations represented a barrier to further growth and the Protestant churches in Canada have pursued linguistic assimilation of the immigrants as a priority. Consequently, Millett's conclusion, that minority churches tend to preserve their ethnic diversity out of self-interest is not confirmed by Lutheran churches in the North American context. In fact, they have actively opposed recruitment from one particular ethnic group. The policy of the LCA to establish ethnic congregations in German was regarded as a temporary measure in order to accommodate non-English speaking worshipers. The German immigrants, on the other hand, have joined these parishes in large numbers because they were a refuge in otherwise alien surroundings. This action may have been accompanied by the conscious desire to maintain one's ethnic heritage, but this attitude was not necessarily

prevalent.

Parallel to the attempts of the churches to introduce English in worship, English became more prevalent among the German-Canadian population, even in homogeneous German congregations. By the time the second generation was born and grew up, social conditions began to change. Rural isolation was exchanged for urban proximity and increasing contact with English-speaking Canadians. Intermarriage occurred with non-German partners, and the immigrants themselves started to learn English.

Apart from these sociological changes, psychological processes played an additional role in the loss of German as mother tongue. Many of the immigrants were in a way linked to their homelands, the so-called "umbilical cord", which is lacking among their native-born descendants. Their attempts to assimilate to Canada did not take place without emotionally affecting or even transforming this nostalgic notion, with the result of strong personal conflicts. Although the children are unable to emulate their parents' feelings, these parental conflicts did have an impact on their children who developed their own reactions in response, depending on their own interests and psychological dispositions. Some of the young people have become either completely opposed or indifferent to learning German, although they frequently understand it. Others regard it as desirable to learn German and spend a great deal of

time and effort to maintain it. These are the ones who are also involved in German cultural events, although not necessarily within the church. Hence, Isajiw's theory that the immigrants identity can be transferred to successive generations, even if the language is maintained in the home, is not confirmed in this context. For other immigrants, immediately after arrival, the German language became a matter secondary to the acquisition of English. Hence, fluency in English, not bilingualism, was their goal.

Under these circumstances, in which the complexity of various factors is revealed in the case histories, the erosion of German as language of the home among immigrant families as well as among the second generation German-Canadians took place rapidly. With this development, the foundation for the retention of German as mother tongue among subsequent generations was destroyed. Among the families which have preserved German as the language in the home are the families of the Saturday school teachers and the family of the minister who recently immigrated. They want to preserve it both for the sake of bilingualism and as part of their own cultural heritage.

With regard to religious practice, by the time the young people started to attend church, their knowledge of German was greatly reduced. Worship and other congregational activities among successive generations is linked to the use of English, which created two congregations in Trinity. The German

worshipers have adhered to their traditional way of worship whereas the English worshipers have accepted the North American tradition of conducting worship.

Including differences in worship, both groups have developed their own characteristics. The German-speaking worshipers tend to show more involvement with church-related affairs whereas the socio-economic status among the second generation appears to be higher. Generally, among the latter group, the trend was away from the German congregation and numerous outside ties were formed with members of other communities. Although Trinity church is a congregation with a high degree of institutional completeness, having an unusually high number of organizations, young people and middle-aged male members do not regard the congregation as their central social focus. They have formed social ties with outside groups as a consequence of educational or professional involvement. On the one hand, this situation confirms Reitz' theory that adherence to the ethnic language leads to a strong involvement with the ethnic community. On the other hand, it raises doubts as to whether non-sectarian churches in principle are capable of providing all of the services required by their members.

Although many parishes sponsor language schools, including the Saturday schools, they cannot reverse the trend of learning German as a second language rather than as a mother tongue. When the home as domain for German mother tongue acquisition

lost its function, the church failed to replace this domain. In the past, Saturday schools were complementary to the home environment in the process of German language acquisition. They provided children with the education that parents often could not offer them. Formal instruction in the mother tongue was seen as a desirable addition to its use in the home.

At present, with changes in pedagogical approaches towards language instruction and the role of the ethnic language as a second language, the Saturday school has lost its traditional reinforcing function. All of the Saturday school teachers are German immigrants and consider it their moral obligation to preserve the German language. However, they lack the qualifications to deal with the changed demands in language instruction. In addition, after an average of ten years or more of teaching they have lost some of their initial enthusiasm and perseverance. They feel that younger members of the congregation should take over this task. Hence, in future school years other members of the congregation will continue with Saturday school instruction. Two of the new teachers are trained as instructors, and consequently, this improved educational status should have a positive impact on the instruction from a pedagogical perspective. In principle, the effect of the Saturday school on language retention among the present second and third generations is negligible, because two hours per week of teaching German are simply not efficient to

replace the home setting as a transmitter of German as the mother tongue. The children, despite attendance throughout the whole program, do not emerge as fluent speakers in German after completing it.

The data generated from a study of this congregation support Reitz' hypothesis that it is the home environment which leads to mother tongue retention. The maintenance of ethnic parishes can only occur with this strong foundation. The loss of German as the mother tongue has also led to its discontinuation in the religious context. Therefore, in present congregations, the ethnic language is no longer maintained by the practice of religion. The nature of the relationship of these two factors is one of causality. Ethnic parishes will survive as long as the immigrant membership is present, although their numbers are constantly reduced through natural loss. The present apparent variety of ethnic parishes is a consequence of more recent immigrations that provided a large influx of new members, who still represent a large percentage of the membership, but which provides a static view of an otherwise dynamic development.

With regard to ethnic language in general, the role of the language as an ethnic marker appears to have been overemphasized. The ethnic language is acquired for a variety of reasons, ranging from practical considerations to idealistic interests in identification with the ethnic group through

language can be easily changed by other factors, including religious or geographical differences. For example, the German population in Canada is religiously diversified, which represents a much greater barrier to communication than the German language does, although it represents a common link. Furthermore, at different points in time and in different social contexts groups emphasize different aspects of their ethnicity. A drastic change of the social environment, such as immigration to a different country, entails a change in the function of one particular ethnic feature for the members of a group. The German language occupied a central position for the Germans in Eastern Europe, which it has lost in the Canadian context.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Artiss, David
1983 Who are the German-Canadians- One Ethnic Group or Several?. In Peter Liddell, ed., German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches, CAUTG-Publication, no. 8, pp. 49-55.

Bausenhart, Werner
1981 Lehrfach Deutsch an Ontarios Oberschulen. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol. VI, Toronto, pp. 178-182.

Becker, Anthony
1976 The Germans from Russia in Saskatchewan and Alberta. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol.III , Toronto, pp. 106-119.

Breton, Raymond
1968 Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants. IN W. E. Mann, ed., Canada: A Sociological Profile, pp. 190-202.

Coons, W. H., Taylor, Donald M., and Tremblay, Marc-Adelard
1977 The Individual, Language and Society in Canada. Ottawa: The Canada Council.

Crane, Julia G. and Angrosino, Michael V.
1974 Field Projects in Anthropology: A Student Handbook. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Corporation.

Crane, L. Ben, Yeager, E. and Whitman, Randal L.
1981 An Introduction to Linguistics. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

Cummins, James P.
1981 Bilingualism and Minority-Language Children. Language and Literary Series, OISE Press.

Darnell, Regna
1971 Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Linguistic Diversity (Introduction). In Regna Darnell, ed., Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Society, Edmonton: Linguistic Research Inc., pp. 15-29.

1977 Discussion. In W. H. Coons et al., eds., The Individual, Language and Society, Ottawa: The Canada Council, pp. 403-411.

Darnell, Regna and Vanek, Anthony L.
1974 Some Notes on Methodology in Language Attitude Research. In Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. IV, no. 2, pp. 77-85.

1976 Some Reflections on the Non-Official Languages Study. In Canadian Ethnic Studies: Roundtable, Vol. VIII, no. 2, pp. 74-82.

Duin, Edgar C.
1976 Lutheranism Under the Tsars and the Soviets. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Xerox University Microfilms.

Eberhardt, Elvire
1973 The Bessarabian German Dialect in Medicine Hat, Alberta. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Elliott, Jean Leonard (ed.)
1979 Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada. Ontario: Prentice-Hall.

Entz, Werner
1975 Der Einfluss der Deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas auf die Organizationsbestrebungen des dortigen Deutschtums 1889-1939. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol. II, Toronto, pp. 92-138.

1976 The Suppression of the German Language Press in September 1918 (With Special Reference to the Secular Language Papers in Western Canada). In Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. VIII, no. 2, pp. 56-70.

Evangelische Maatschappij
1937 Kirche, Volk und Staat in Polen. Amsterdam 1937.

Fishman, Joshua (ed.)
1966 Language Loyalty in the United States. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Froeschle, Hartmut
1978 German-Canadian Studies as an Interdisciplinary Endeavour. In Metro Gulutsan, ed., Second Banff Conference on Central and East European Studies, pp. 35-59.

Goldkind, Victor
1972 The Scientific Importance of Participant-Observation: Field Work in Anthropology and Sociology. In The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 9-18.

Green, Alan G.
1976 Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy. Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd..

Hawkins, Freda
1972 Canada and Immigration. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Hofman, John E.
1966 Mother Tongue Retentiveness in Ethnic Parishes. In Joshua Fishman, ed., Language Loyalty in the United States, The Hague: Mouton, pp. 127-155.

Isajiw, Wsevolod W.
1976 Ethnic Language Retention and the Problem of Generations. In Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. VIII, no. 2, pp. 83-87.

Jaenen, Cornelius J.
1983 A Multicultural Canada: Origins and Implications. In Peter Liddell, ed., German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches, CAUTG-Publications, pp. 11 -26.

Jones, L. W.
1971 The Amount and Structure of Immigration into Canada and the United States. In International Population Conference London 1969, VOL. IV, Liege: The International Union for the Scientific Study of the Population, pp. 2583-2594.

Kalbach, Warren E.
1971 The Evolution of an Immigration Policy. In Craig L. Boydell, et. al., eds., Critical Issues In Canadian Society, Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 312-313.

Kalbach, Warren E. and Richard, Madeline A.
1981 The Ethno-Religious Dimension of Language Retention and Economic Achievement: A Comparative Analysis. A paper presented for the Ninth Biennial Conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Edmonton, Alberta.

Keyserlingk, Robert H.
1984 The Canadian Government's Attitude toward Germans and German Canadians in World War II. In Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol XVI, no. 1, pp. 16-28.

Lambert, Wallace E. and Tucker, G.Richard
1972 Bilingual Education of Children. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Lattimore, Bertram Gresh Jr.
1974 The Assimilation of German Expellees into the West German Polity and Society since 1945. Studies in Social Life XVIII, The Hague.

Lieberson, Stanley
1970 Languages and Ethnic Relations in Canada. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

McLaughlin, K. M.
1985 The Germans in Canada. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, Multiculturalism Program.

Millett, David
1975 Religions as a Source of Perpetuation of Ethnic Identity. In Paul Migus, ed., Sounds Canadian: Language and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society, Toronto: Peter Martin, pp. 105-109.

1979 Ethnic Survival in Canada. In Leonard J. Elliott, ed., Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, pp. 260-288.

O'Bryan, K.G., Reitz, Jeffrey G., and Kuplowska, O.M.
1976 Non-Official Languages: A Stduy in Canadian Multiculturalism. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, Queen's Printer.

Palmer, Howard
1982 Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

1975 Nativism and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta: 1880-1920. M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

1972 Land of the Second Chance: A History of Ethnic Groups in Southern Alberta. Lethbridge: Lethbridge Herald.

Pannu, R.S. and Young, J.B.
1976 Education for Ethnic Survival. Ottawa: Department of Secretary of State.

Paprocki, S. J.
1935 Minority Affairs of Poland. Warsaw: Krolewska 7.

Pelto, Pertti J.
1970 Anthropological Research: The Structure of Inquiry. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Polowy, Hannah
1978 Children and Heritage. In Metro Gulutsan, ed., Second Banff Conference on Central and East European Studies, pp. 121-127.

Prokop, Manfred
——— The Maintenance and Teaching of German in Alberta. In press.

Reitz, Jeffrey G.
1974 Language and Ethnic Community Survival. In Raymond Breton, ed., Aspects of Canadian Society, Canadian Sociological and Anthropological Association, pp. 104-122.

Richter, Manfred
1983 Who are the German-Canadians? Looking to the Canadian Census and the Social Sciences for Answers. In Peter Liddell, ed., German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches, CAUTG-Publication, No. 8, Vancouver, pp. 42-48.

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
1967 The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, Book IV, Ottawa.

Rudnyckyj, J.B.
1967 Separate Statement. In Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, The Official Languages, Book I, Ottawa, pp. 155-169.

Stadler, Beatrice
1983 Language Maintenance and Assimilation: The Case of Selected German-speaking Immigrants. CAUTG-Publication, Vancouver.

———

Stumpp, Karl
1975 The Germans in Soviet Russia. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol.II , pp. 88-91.

Schaffer, Douglas
1978 The Place of Code-Switching in Linguistic Contacts. In Aspects of Bilingualism, pp. 265-274.

Schmidt, Herminio
1981 Die deutschen Sonnabendschulen in Kanada. Entwicklung und Prognose. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol.VIII, Toronto, pp. 183-198.

1983 The German-Canadians and Their Umbilical Cord. An Analysis of Immigrant Behavior and Its Implication for Canada and Germany. In Peter Liddell, ed., German-Canadian Studies: Critical Approaches, CAUTG-Publication, no. 8, pp. 71-77.

Threinen, Norman J. Rev.
1979 Lutherans in Canada. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol. VI, Toronto, pp. 13-19.

Vanek, Anthoney L. and Darnell, Regna
1978 Doukhobor Russian Language Maintenance. In Joshua Fishman, ed., Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism, The Hague, pp. 401-422.

Weissenborn, Georg
1978 The Germans in Canada: A Chronological Survey of Canada's Third Oldest European Ethnic Group from 1664 to 1977. In Hartmut Froeschle, ed., German-Canadian Yearbook, Vol. III, Toronto, pp. 22-56.

APPENDIX A

1. Sex: 1. female 2. male

2. Age: years old

3. Marital status: 1. married (incl. common law)
2. single

4. If you married in Canada, which of the following is your spouse:

1. German-speaking immigrant
2. immigrant without a German background
3. Canadian-born with German background
4. Canadian-born without a German background

5. What is your present occupation:

1. professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher)
2. business (shop owner, importeur, etc.)
3. trades person (carpenter, electrician, bricklayer)
4. government employee (post office, police, etc.)
5. white-collar (office worker)
6. blue-collar (factory, production)
7. crafts person (jeweller, cabinetmaker, etc.)
8. housewife
9. farmer
10. student
11. retired (please specify prior occupation)
12. other (please specify)

6. In which of the following countries were you born:

1. pre-War II 'Deutsches Reich' (incl. Pommern, Schlesien).
2. Poland (incl. Posen, Westpreussen)
3. Sudetenland
4. Ostpreussen
5. Russia (incl. Ukraine)
6. Austria
7. Canada (Alberta)
8. Canada (other provinces)
9. Canada (other)
10. other (please specify)

7. If you immigrated to Canada, in which year did you immigrate:

   19. . .

8. If you immigrated, where did you live before you came to Canada:

   1. West Germany 2. East Germany
   3. other (please specify)

9. What made you decide to emigrate (please check more than one if relevant):

   1. political situation in homeland
   2. economic situation in homeland
   3. personal problems
   4. adventure
   6. other (please list)

10. With whom did you emigrate:

   1. spouse 2. children 3. parents
   4. other relatives (please specify)

11. Which church service do you attend:

   1. English language service
   2. German language service

12. How often do you attend church services:

   1. every Sunday 2. three times a month
   3. twice a month 4. once a month
   5. less than once a month

13. Do you participate in activities or groups organized by the congregation, other than church services:

   1. yes 2. no

14. If yes, in which of the following do you participate

   1. Bibelstunde 2. Choir (English, German)
   3. Recordergroup 4. LCW 5. Posaunenchor
   6. Ladies Aid 7. South Side Seniors
   8. Kl. Maennergruppe 9. New Light Circle
   10. Pioneers 11. Church Council 12. Trinetten
   13. Youth Group 14. Children's choir
   15. Saturday School 16. Sunday School
   20. other (please specify)

15. Why do you join these groups:

1. to maintain contact with German culture
2. to maintain contact with German people
3. interest in that kind of occupation
4. contact with people in general
5. convenient
8. other (please specify)

16. How frequently are you involved in these activities:

1. less than once a week 2. once a week
3. twice a week 4. more often than above

17. If you answered 'no' to Question 12, why don't you participate (please check only the most relevant):

1. no interest 2. too busy
3. inconvenient 4. other (please specify)

18. Are you a member of other social groups, such as sport clubs, interest groups, or other organizations outside of those organized through the church:

1. yes 2. no

19. If yes, would you say that these activities take more of your time than the congregational activities:

1. yes 2. no

20. Do you usually speak German at home: 1. yes 2. no

21. If you do speak German at home, with whom (please check the relevant people):

1. spouse 2. children
3. parents 4. other relatives

22. Which of the following shops do you deal with:

1. German butchers 2. German grocery stores
3. German bakeries 4. German clothing stores
5. dealers in German cars 6. other (please specify)
7. none

23. If you do, why do you deal with them:

1. inexpensive 2. good quality 3. convenient
4. access to german products 5. exceptional good service 6. other (please specify)

24. If you answered 'no' to Question 22, why don't you deal with them (please check the most relevant):

    1. too expensive 2. no better quality than elsewhere
    3. inconvenient 4. don't care about German products
    6. other (please specify)

25. Do you presently celebrate events according to the German tradition, such as wddings, certain days, special meals:

    1. yes 2. no

26. If it were more convenient, would you celebrate traditional German events:

    1. yes 2. no 3. don't know

27. Did you give any of your Canadian-born children typical German names:

    1. yes 2. no

28. How favorably dod you think the Germans are perceived by Canadians:

    1. very favorably 2. quite favorably
    3. neutral 4. unfavorably
    5. very unfavorably 6. don't know

29. How favorably do you perceive Germans:

    1. very favorably 2. quite favorably
    3. neutral 4. unfavorably
    5. very unfavorably 6. don't know

30. Which group do you most identify yourself with:

    1. Germans 2. German-Canadians
    3. Lutheran-Protestants 4. other (please specify)

31. Do you want your children to learn German:

    1. yes 2. no 3. don't know