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Résumé de l'article

Le nom Acadie donné à une certaine portion du territoire atlantique du nord-est de l'Amérique du Nord désigne une grande variété de référents territoriaux. À partir d'une enquête réalisée auprès d'un échantillon d'étudiants, de niveau secondaire du Nouveau-Brunswick, nous constatons que la nature exacte et l'étendue de l'aire symbolisée par ce nom varient en fonction de la provenance des répondants et de leur appartenance ethnique. Cependant, l'unanimité se fait autour de la localisation d'un foyer commun de la culture acadienne : la région de Moncton et son arrière-pays immédiat.

ETHNIC PERCEPTIONS OF ACADIA

by

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The name Acadia, given to a portion of the Atlantic region of North America in the seventeenth century, has continued in use since the dispersion of the original French-speaking colonists in 1755 ; but chiefly in the adjectival form Acadian (Acadien) referring to the descendants of those original inhabitants who returned to the Maritime Territories of British North America after « Le Grand Dérangement ». The present paper reports on an attempt to determine to what extent the name Acadia may still connote some definite territorial area in the minds of a sample of New Brunswick High School students of both main ethnic groups.

CULTURE AREAS

One of the basic assumptions made by Cultural Geographers in their ethnographic studies is that each group under study will have a particular spatial domain within which context much of the behaviour which is termed « cultural » may be explained [1]. This approach attempts to develop models which would incorporate space, time and environment (both physical and social) in describing and analysing sociocultural organisations [2]. One of the first methological problems to be tackled by this and related disciplines such as Cultural Anthropology, was that of identifying and explaining the establishment and maintenance of culture areas [3]. Many of the earlier investigations in this field had concentrated on the diffusion process and the areal spread of culture forms, and were criticised for conveying the impression that the regions thus defined contained homogenous culture groupings [4]. It was argued that any understanding of the social processes derived from the areal-structural approach was limited, because it failed to take account of the salience of social communication processes operating within and between culture groups. Despite these criticisms a number of scholars have continued to search for appropriate surrogate measures to effectively delimit the extent of culture areas, specifically Meinig's culture region model [5], Carter and Thomas's use of referenda voting patterns [6], and Pryce's use of language and ecclesiastical data [7]. Whilst these studies do in fact demonstrate the utility of using socio-economic and political data for regional delimination of traditional culture complexes [8] an interesting alternative, and perhaps complimentary approach, has recently been

developed as a consequence of the wider Behavioural tendencies in Human Geography, which concentrates on individual space cognition and is thus termed the Spatial Perception approach.

The perceptual process is itself a complex mechanism involting four main stages in the continuum of the conscious use of the sensory facilities. These are sensory observation, cognition (which involves matching sensation with stored experience), integration and feedback in terms of changed sensory observation as a consequence of the cycle of perception [9]. Also the operation of the mental system involves both internal and external energy, but in order to be culturally relevant Bjorklund and Philbrick maintain that such ideas (mental energy) have to cross the perception plane from internal to external. We must therefore devise some means of inducing this transformation so that we can measure the external result of mental energy. Cultural Geography seen from this perspective may thus be defined as the « spatial impact of mental activity charecteristic of a group of people » [10].

MENTAL MAPS

One aspect of this mental activity which has received much attention of late has been the attempt to construct « mental maps », defined as a « model of the environment which is built up over time in the individual's brain » [11]. The research to date suggests that our perception of the « local environment » is often inaccurate and tinged with value judgements as compared with « real world » situations. This is because individuals tend to distort their own geographical circumstances thus creating their own idiosyncratic images of reality. Cox has divided previous studies into designative perception studies, i.e. those which have no evaluative content whatsoever, and appraisive perception studies, which contain an evaluation of the place or area concerned [12]. Designative perceptions are concerned with site and situational characteristics and tend to exhibit an exaggeration of shorter distance relative to longer distance [13]. Appraisive perceptions relate primarily to mental maps which reflect a sense of space preference as in residential desirability studies [14]. The former have been criticised for assuming that the images they were portraying had an existance independent of the material objects which act as perceptual stimili [15]. The latter have, in general, been welcomed as a useful addition to our stock of knowledge on how cultural differences influence our spatial perceptions. Gould and Leinbach have made significant contributions in the field of residential desirability studies [16]. Leinbach's study of Malay and Chinese students images of Malaysia demonstrate that whilst the Malay perception surface reached its peak of attraction at Alor Star and its nadir at Singapore, no such correspondance was registered by the Chinese.

Speaking of the difference in the desirability of Singapore for both groups Gould says, « a more vivid effect of cultural attitudes upon perception and mental maps can hardly be found » [17]. Thus mental maps offer the student of ethnicity one possible research tool whereby cultural differences in group perception may be measured.

The present paper is an attempt to describe the influence of ethnicity on the perception of geographic space in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. It is known that two or more ethnic groups occupying a shared territory, whether it be an urban neighbourhood, a region or a multi-ethnic state, often diverge in their interpretation of the precise portions of a shared territory each group dominates. Where there is ambiguity over territorial dominance conflict often arises. However, where each group is clearly demarcated, ethnically segregated areas perform a number of essential functions. Boal has summarised these functions in relation to urban territorial patterns [18]. Firstly, ethnically homogenous areas have a defensive function. This can be illustrated by a number of situations, for example in Ulster both communities 'fell apart into their respective ghettos . . .where at least they had a sensation of security » [19]. Similarity, there is a strong association between the perceived need for racial security and the suburban flight of many white Americans in the past decade. Secondly, ethnic concentrations have an avoidance function by providing sanctuaries, havens or refuge areas for minority group members. Thirdly, such areas may have a preservation function where ethnic value systems and associated patterns of behaviour may be maintained, thus reinforcing ethnic distinctivness in an otherwise assimilatory environment. Finally, such areas can provide a resource base for attack should minority members chose to alter their existing relationship with the dominant group by social or political means. Thus a spatial concentration facilitates the mobilization of ethnic support and the election of ethnic representatives to articulate group grievances. In many multi-ethnic states such regions provide the resource base for the development of territorial separatist movements as in Biafra, Bangladesh, Québec or Wales [20]. Thus regional distinctivness and territorial identity can become salient markers for minority group members.

In situations where there is no direct correspondance between the settlement pattern of a particular group and the formal incorporation of that group's territory in the administrative structure of the modern bureaucratic state, tension often arises. This is related to feelings of inadequate representation, fears of assimilation and a tendency to interpret the lack of formal recognition as a continuing reminder of conquest and subordination. For many French Canadians the Maritime Provinces of Canada represent just a situation. In particular the provincial government of New Brunswick and the federal government have received criticism from francophone associations within Maritime Canada for delays in the application of their respective Official Languages Act. This has led to demands for more Acadian autonomy to offset the fears of ethnic absorption. However, many of these demands have *assumed* the existence of Acadia as a clearly defined territory which could be granted a form of regional devolution. The object of this paper is to measure whether this assumption is valid, and indeed to ask the basic question « Where is Acadia ? »

Previous attempts at describing Acadia range from a limited, precise definition of Acadia as currently being that area occupied by New Brunswick's Francophone population, to a more diffuse conception which concludes that Acadia exists only as a poorly defined area somewhere in the Maritimes. Both Rayburn and Le Blanc agree that Acadia is currently coextensive with

the three Maritime Provinces [21]. Le Blanc opens his account of the Acadians with this passage :

> « L'étranger qui parcourt les trois provinces maritimes est impresionné par un mot qu'il a rencontré nulle part ailleurs dans l'est du Canada ; c'est le beau mot d'Acadie. De nos jours, c'est au Nouveau-Brunswick que les Acadiens se sont davantage établis et le nom d'Acadie correspond habituellement aux trois provinces maritimes : la Nouvelle-Écosse, le Nouveau-Brunswick et l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard » [22].

Other scholars are less sure of the actual territory involved. Brunelle for example states :

> « Quand on pense à l'Acadie on pense à un territoire mal défini du Nouveau-Brunswick et à la population francophone qui l'habite » [23].

It has also been suggested that the term, may in general, cannote a different time scale for the English in contrast to the French inhabitants of the Maritimes.

> « Le mot Acadie vivant partout. Dans les régions anglaises il évoque une page d'histoire. Dans les régions françaises il correspond à une réalité de tous les jours » [24].

It is not surprising that the literature fails to provide formal agreement on Acadia's territory, as the events surrounding the establishment of the colony itself bespoke much confusion. Initially the centre of the colony seemed to have focussed on the south shore of Fundy Bay though its exact boundaries were never defined [25]. But as the historian Brebner has pointed out there were in fact two Acadias, each important in its own right. The one was the Acadia of the international conflict, and the other the actual land settled and developed by the Acadians (figure 1).

> « This dichotomy came from the European ignorance of North America geography in general, so that the negotiators of the treaties and the diplomats of the conference table had no clear idea of what exactly was granted to the possessor of « Acadie » or Nova Scotia. The land actually settled was always much smaller than the territory described in the documents » [26].

Rayburn has traced the historical application of the name Acadia to peninsular Nova Scotia in the maps of Creuxis (1669) Sanson (1656) Franquelin (1686) and Coronelli (1689). Others such as Boisseau (1643) and Franquelin (1707) restrict its use to the southern part of the peninsula. Still others extend it to the mainland, as did Duval (1677) and Delisle (1700, 1703) [27]. After the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) when it was doubtless in the French interest to restrict the area covered by the name, it was applied almost without exception to peninsular Nova Scotia. When, after the Acadian deportation in 1755 at the onset of the Seven Years War, the territory was taken over by New England settlers the name Acadia fell into dissuse. Even so the consciousness of an illtreated, dispersed people did not quit the region, as on their subsequent return the Acadians settled along the North Shore of New Brunswick, in the Memramcook River valley, on the southern Gaspe shore and in the St John River valley moving gradually northward into the Madawaska region. Thus it is clear that as no formal adoption of the name Acadia has been made in any of the administrative areas of the Maritimes, the area evoked by that name remains nebulous despite the fact that « Acadia » is refered to often amongst the Maritime Francophones.

Figure 1

EARLY ACADIAN SETTLEMENTS c. 1750
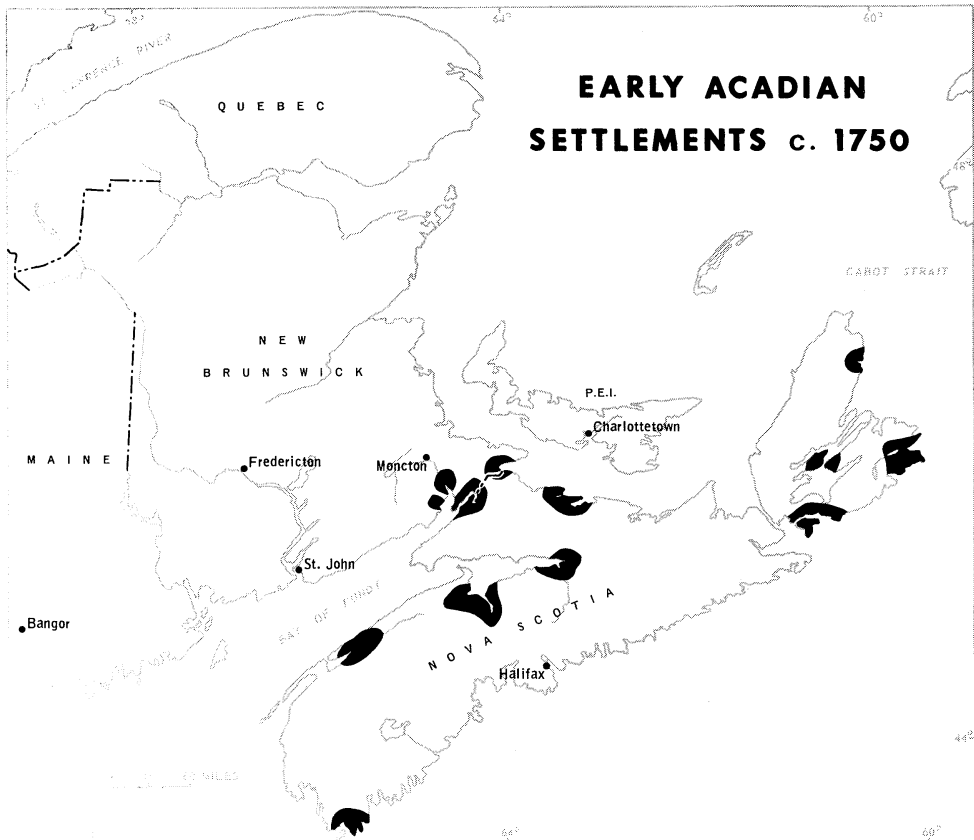
THE RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

From this brief review we are able to distinguish three possible hypotheses to be tested.

a) The first contends that for Francophones in the sample Acadia would be identified as that area currently being occupied by the descendants of the original French colonists who suffered dispersal i.e. the current distribution of « Acadiens » speech in the Maritimes, primarily northern and eastern New Brunswick.

b) The second hypothesis has two components to it. First, that Anglophones living in predominantly English-speaking areas would perceive Acadia on historical grounds as being coextensive with the area of original French colonisation i.e. Nova Scotia and the Bay of Fundy.

The second element of this hypothesis is that for Anglophones living in areas of mixed language contact, their conception of historical Acadia should be modified to include those areas where French is currently spoken in the Maritimes.

c) The third hypothesis suggests that there should be marked regional variations both between and within the Francophone and Anglophone sample populations reflecting the ethnic diversity in the socio-spatial structure of New Brunswick.

THE SAMPLE

The sample was structured in order to represent the major regions of New Brunswick, being equally distributed between Anglophone and Francophone respondents. In total some 1,287 grade 12 students were interviewed from twelve schools chosen from the following socio-cultural environments as shown by the 1971 census data : [28]

a) Predominantly Francophone areas. 60% F.M.T.

b) Predominantly Anglophone areas. 60% E.M.T.

c) Bilingual areas where neither group exceeded 60% on mother tongue spoken (figures 2 and 3).

Table 1 indicates the distribution of respondents by school and ethnic background, while figure 3 indicates the location of the school included in the sample [29].

Table 1

*Distribution by school location and language backround.*

	n.	n.	%
		(drawn map)	
1. Predominantly Francophone Areas.			
Tracadie	178	3	1.6
Edmunston	225	161	71,5
St Quentin	47	39	82,9
2. Predominantly Anglophone Areas.			
Sussex	109	85	77,9
Woodstock	160	152	95,0
3. Areas of Language Contact.			
Moncton (E)	206	178	86,4
Dieppe (F)	214	162	75,7
Campbellton (E)	74	63	85,1
Campbellton (F)	64	61	95,3
Grand Falls (E)	14	13	92,8
Grand Falls (F)	71	61	86,0
Bathurst (E)	75	75	100,0

Figure 2

DISTRIBUTION OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH MOTHER-TONGUE POPULATION MARITIME CANADA, 1971
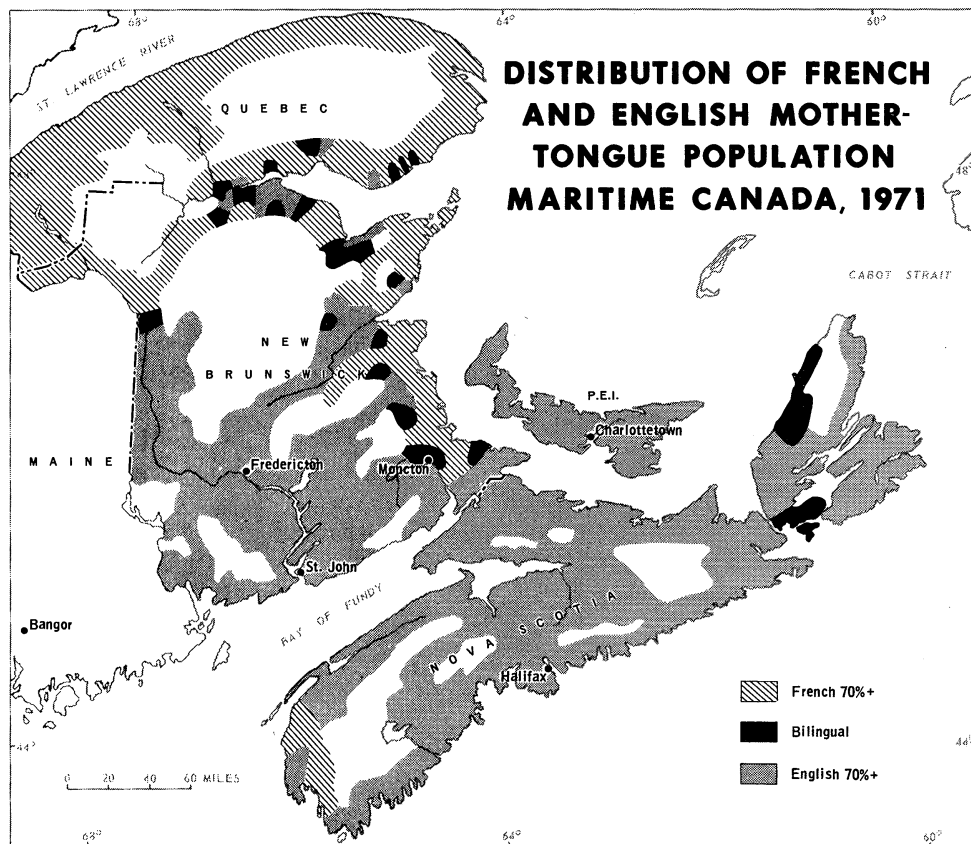
Amongst the bilingual area schools (type 3) an attempt was made where possible to include both French and English respondents from the same locale. Thus Moncton and Dieppe, Grand Falls and Campbellton have representative of both language communities. Unfortunately the French school corresponding to Bathurst English High School found it impossible to cooperate in the study, thus Bathurst has no direct comparison. By pairing sample schools an attempt was made to control for location, so that any divergence in the aggregate perception of both ethnic samples could be explained primarily (though not exclusively) in terms of the different socialisation processes experienced by both language groups. Of course, this does not preclude the possibility that respondents of either language group in a particular town will have a similar conception of Acadia, but it seems more probable a priori that the perceptions within language groups will be more similar than those between language groups if the hypotheses enunciated earlier are of general validity.

Figure 3
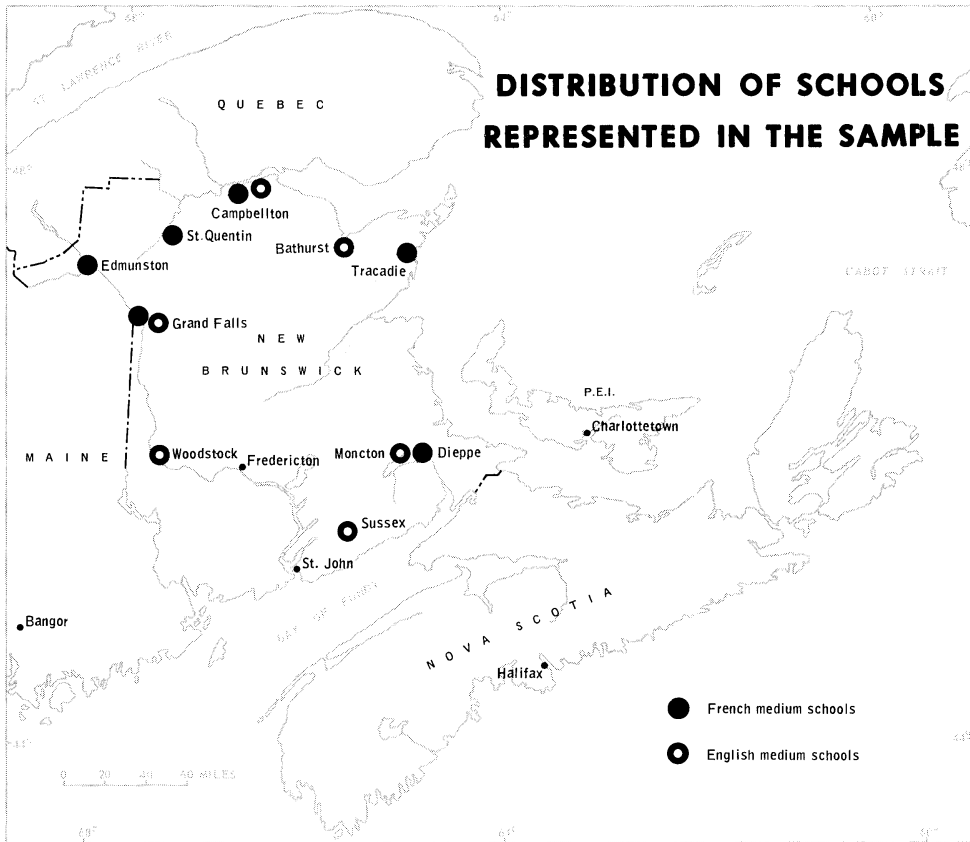
The students were each provided with a standard map of Eastern Maritime Canada, which included the provincial and international boundaries and the location of Fredericton, Moncton, Halifax and Charlottetown. They were then asked to delimit on this base map the area they thought corresponded with Acadia. Analysis was made of the resulting maps using a quantitative grid square method for individual schools and for aggregates of different sets of schools in conformity with the research hypotheses. This method involved the construction of an 53 x 48 grid square matrix which was overlain on each student's map. The cells enclosed within each delimination of Acadian were then summed and calculated as a percentage rate of agreement for the particular sample. This proceedure known as homomorphic transformation takes many unique viewpoints and transforms them into a single, overall mental map. As a secondary source of information for the ensuing analysis each student was asked to indicate which factors he considered to be relevant in determining the extent of the area he had drawn on the map. The relevant criteria are presented in tabular form below.

THE SURVEY RESULTS

Of the 1,287 respondents some 872 drew a mental map of Acadia and the images presented in this paper use percentile intervals of those 872 students [30]. Figures 4 and 5 display the aggregate perceptions of all Francophone and Anglophone respondents in the sample. Both perception surfaces reveal a common core area of agreement which is focussed on Moncton and its hinterland, but the French delimit two other nodes at Bathurst and Tracadie with over 75% level of agreement. Between 50-75% of the French also agreed on the inclusion of the North Shore and the eastern coast of New Brunswick. The remainder of the province together with Nova Scotia and the western portion of Prince Edward Island was delimited by an average of 45% of the sample.

The English aggregate perception reveals a more limited view of Acadia. The highest levels of agreement are centered on the eastern seaboard and the Bay of Fundy, whilst at a lower level around 35% of the sample include most of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It is apparent from figure 5 that Cape Breton Isle, Prince Edward Isle and the Gaspe peninsula do not constitute essential regions within Acadia as far as the English students are concerned. In general there is evidence of a certain similarily of viewpoint that Acadia corresponds with the current distribution of French speech in New Brunswick for both the Francophone and Anglophone sample. However, there is a tendency for the French minority to exaggerate their area of occupance and a converse tendency for the English majority to underestimate the area of French dominance. In detail the aggregate maps mask interesting regional differences which reveal a variety of spatial images as to where Acadia is located. The school samples have been divided into five types of responses and representative mental maps from each category are discussed below.

ACADIAN IMAGES WHICH CORRESPOND
TO PRESENT DAY FRANCOPHONE DISTRIBUTION.

Three schools identified Acadia as being coextensive with the French settlement pattern of New Brunswick as revealed by the 1971 Census data. These were Dieppe (French), Moncton (English) and Campbellton (French). Both Dieppe and Campbellton students conceived of the east coast as being definite constituent regions of Acadia, but the Dieppe students displayed a high level of agreement (93%) that their own home area was part of Acadia wheras the Campbellton students were less convinced of the inclusion of their home town, only 66% deliminating the North Shore of New Brunswick. Another departure between the French samples was that the Dieppe students included all French speaking areas of their province within Acadia. The Campbellton students, however, were less inclined to include the Madawaska region, only 29% delimiting the area around Edmundston. This suggests that the northern students were more aware of the regional distinctivness of « La République du Madawaska ». Consequently the majority did not include it in their maps, even though it is an area of predominantly French speech.
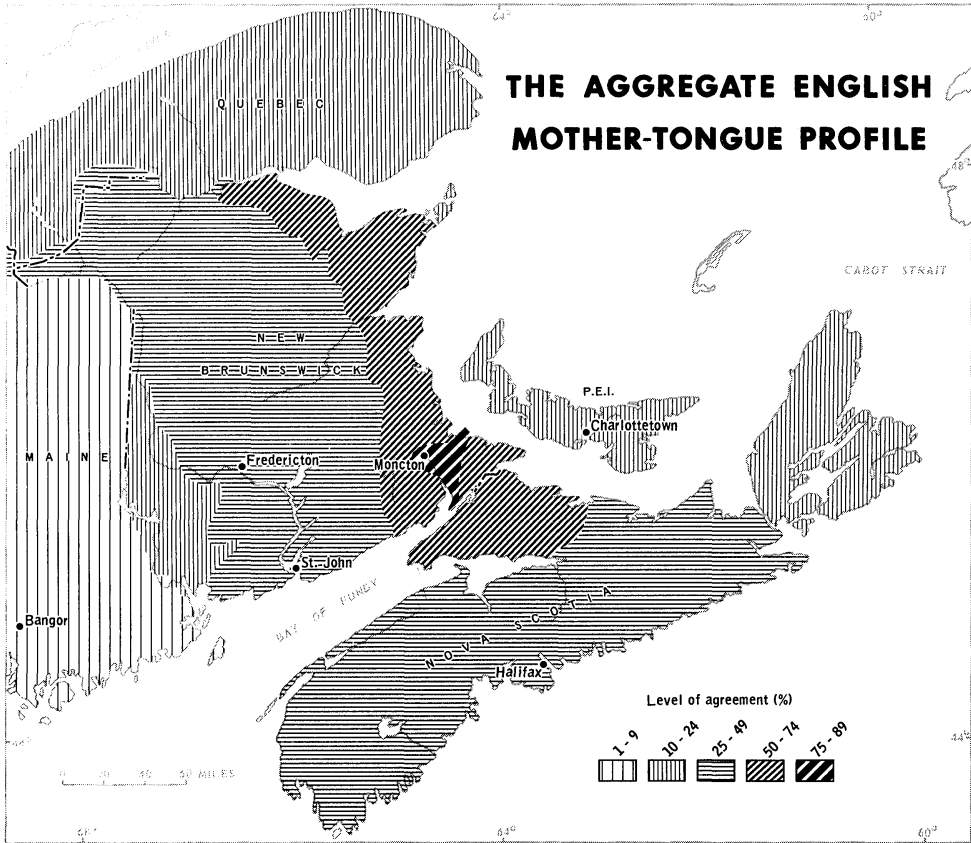
Figure 4
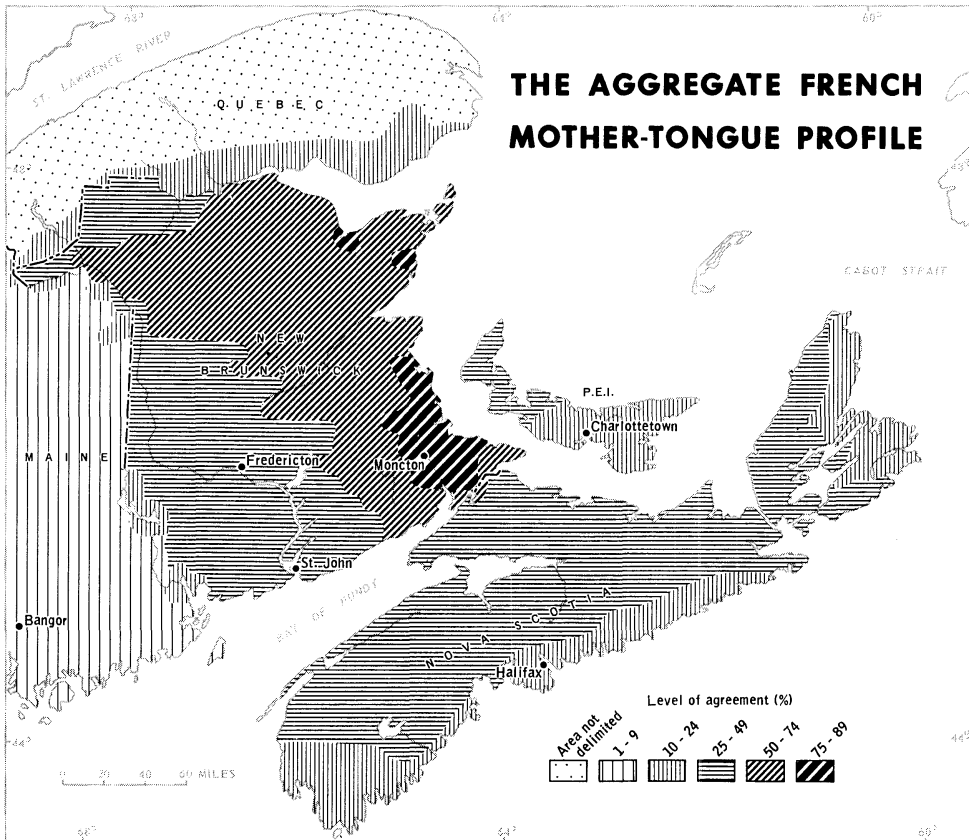
The English sample at Moncton were less confident in their general perception of Acadia (figure 7). In contrast to their Francophone colleagues in the same town they were not aware of Moncton as being especially significant. Indeed the only area delimited by 75% of the sample was the town of Bathurst on the North Shore. As a general tendency ten of the twelve schools sampled picked out the Moncton region as being the area of highest agreement of inclusion in Acadia. It is interesting to note that for Moncton students themselves no special significance was attached to their own town, a feature which is apparent in a comparison of figures 6 and 7.

Throughout the study the respondents were asked to indicate the reason why had chosen a particular region in the Maritimes as constituting Acadia. Many of the current samples were unsure as to why they included a precise location, but of those who gave a definite reason the majority indicated that they were drawing Acadia on the basis of where they thought the French-speaking areas of the Maritimes were. The percentage who justified their

Figure 5

THE AGGREGATE ENGLISH
MOTHER-TONGUE PROFILE

Level of agreement (%)

1 - 9   10 - 24   25 - 49   50 - 74   75 - 89

map in this manner ranged from 34.5% in Campbellton to 28.5% in Dieppe and 28.0% in Moncton. A smaller proportion in each sample of on average 13.0% suggested that their delimitation of Acadia was primarily based on historical grounds as being that area where the French landed and remain today. A summary of the different reasons offered for delimiting particular areas is presented in Table 2 below.

CONTRACTED ACADIAN IMAGES.

The second category presents the images of students from Bathurst and Campbellton, both English-medium samples in bilingual towns along the French North Shore. 77% of Campbellton's students agreed on the inclusion of the greater Moncton region within Acadia, whilst in contrast to the Moncton sample only 28% included Campbellton itself. Confidence in identifying Acadia drops markedly as one moves away from the Bay of
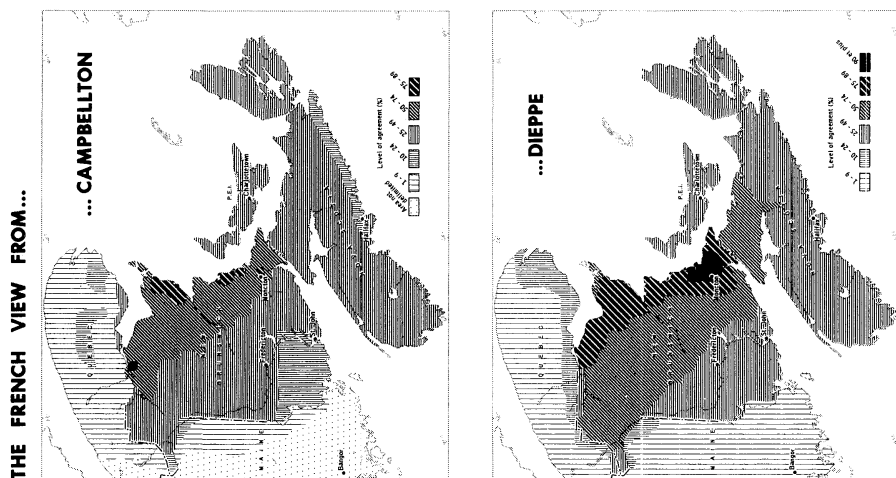
Figure 6

THE ENGLISH VIEW FROM...

...MONCTON

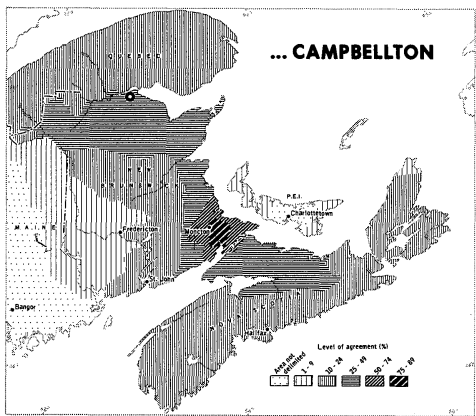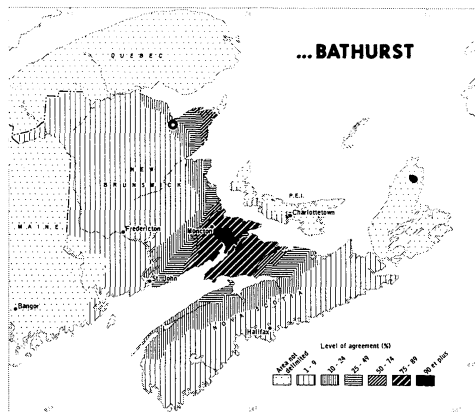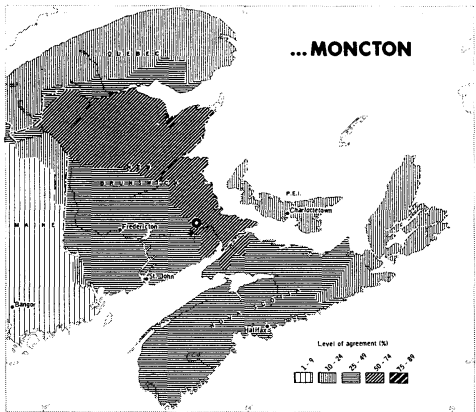...BATHURST

...CAMPBELLTON

Figure 7

Fundy, 68% included Kent and Westmorland counties whilst between 30% and 35% included various parts of New Brunswick's French-speaking areas. The ethnic divide in Campbellton appeared to produce less similar images of Acadia than was true of the Moncton sample.

The image which the Bathurst sample produced was the most polarised and contracted map of the entire study. Figure 7 reveals that 93% of the sample focussed their attention on the Moncton — Sackville axis but there follows a steep decline in agreement to only 10% who include the Westmorland and Queen's county boundary, a mere twenty miles in actuality. It displays an extreemely circumscribed perception of Acadia as centered on the Bay of Fundy. Elswhere, the active Acadian centres of Tracadie, Shippegan and Caraquet are identified by 71% of Bathurst's respondents, but only 16% thought that Bathurst formed part of Acadia. Again a quite distinct contrast to the Moncton sample. The remainder of New Brunswick was included by less than 10%, whilst Québec and Cape Breton Isle did not figure in anyone's perception. Comparison of the Bathurst and Moncton images, figure 7, provides partial support for the hypothesised intra-language group difference as well as the inter-ethnic group differences already established.

Whilst many of the Bathurst sample identified Acadia in terms of the distribution of Francophones (46%) and of their original pattern of settlement (23%), over half of the Campbellton sample were recorded as not knowing where Acadia was (53% see table 2). Indeed both ethnic samples taken in Campbellton recorded the highest degree of unsurness for the whole sample population, at 53% for the English students and 50% for the French students. This is no less important a finding as the exercise in spatial perception was designed to elucidate both « real » and « imagined » views of Acadia. What is interesting is that both samples, taken independently of each other, produced such a high, similar percentage of respondents who drew « ignorance maps »[31]. It would be worthwhile pursuing further research to investigate whether the Campbellton region is as well integrated into the Francophone community of New Brunswick as ecological, contextual data from the Language Census would appear to suggest.

THE MADAWASKAN INFLUENCE

It is known that there are distinct Francophone districts within the Maritimes which have for some attempted to maintain their regional identity. One of the aims of the study was to measure whether this marked regional distinctiveness would have any bearing on a general conception of Acadia by testing for within group differences of the Francophone population. The French respondents at Campbellton had revealed their awareness of Madawaska's distinctiveness, because in contrast to their counterparts in the south they did not include Madawaska within Acadia, despite the fact that in the latest census (1971) 94.6% of Madawaska's inhabitants were recorded as having French as their mother tongue. A further four schools in the region were sampled in order to measure the extent to which they thought Madawaska was a constituent part of

Acadia. The four schools were Edmunston (French), St Quentin (French) and Grand Falls (French and English).

The St Quentin profile (figure 8) represents the view of students living in an isolated community midway between Campbellton and Victoria County in an area of exclusive French speech. The community was founded by migrating Québécois early in the twentieth century whose descendants have retained close familial links with Québec. The area of highest agreement was Moncton with 84% inclusion. A further 61-66% identified most of the coastal belt which was split into a northern and eastern portion by Miramichi Bay. This perception also described a zone of penetration part way up the Restigouche Valley, but stopped short of St Quentin itself, with only 17% including the Madawaska region. It appears to provide additional support to the hypothesised regional consciousness between Francophones of Acadian descent and those of Québécois descent. Another interesting feature of this perception was the very low rate of inclusion of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, Acadia being reserved almost exclusively for the east facing shoreline of New Brunswick. This image was replicated in the Edmunston profile, 67% of whom focussed on Moncton as the most identifiable part of Acadia. Less than 5% included their own region of Madawaska providing more evidence that young Madawaskans conceive Acadia (if it exists at all) to be to the south and east of themselves.

Grand Falls, the third sample in this category, is to the south of Edmunston, situated on the Madawaska/Victoria County border and the Canadian/U.S.A. border. It is a town of mixed language contact within a predominantly French rural area. The local French-medium High School contained an English grade 12 stream, providing an opportunity to compare the perception of both language groups from the same locale. As figures 8 and 9 show both groups located Acadia to the south and east of New Brunswick. The French profile reveals a more contracted conception with Moncton being identified by 77% of the respondents. Westmorland and Kent counties were included by between 60 — 68% of the sample as was a second node to the east of Bathurst in Gloucester County. Whilst much of New Brunswick was identified by between 30 — 39% of the sample, only 12% included the immeadiate hinterland to the north of Grand Falls indicating their awareness of the distinction between themselves and « Les Acadiens ». The English perception by contrast reveals a broader territory including most of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia at the 35% level of agreement, rising to a peak of 93% agreement around Moncton. The Bay of Fundy appears to be the focal point of attention with a corridor running from Moncton to Truro and a secondary outlyer extending into Annapolis Valley [32]. The other notable feature of this sample is the corridor identified by 66% running down the Restigouche Valley from St Leonard to Campbellton. This perception thus differs from the French in including the area of Francophone speech nearest the town and in delimiting Nova Scotia. However, care should be taken with interpreting too much from Grand Falls' English sample because of the small number of respondents. It is included for an illustrative, comparative reason. Nevertheless, these North Eastern schools do provide additional support for the hypotheses enunciated above, especially those which relate to internal differences within the Francophone
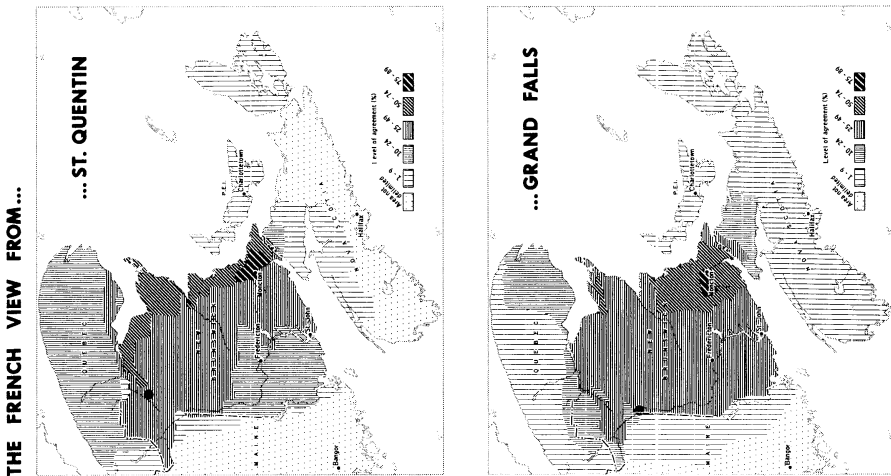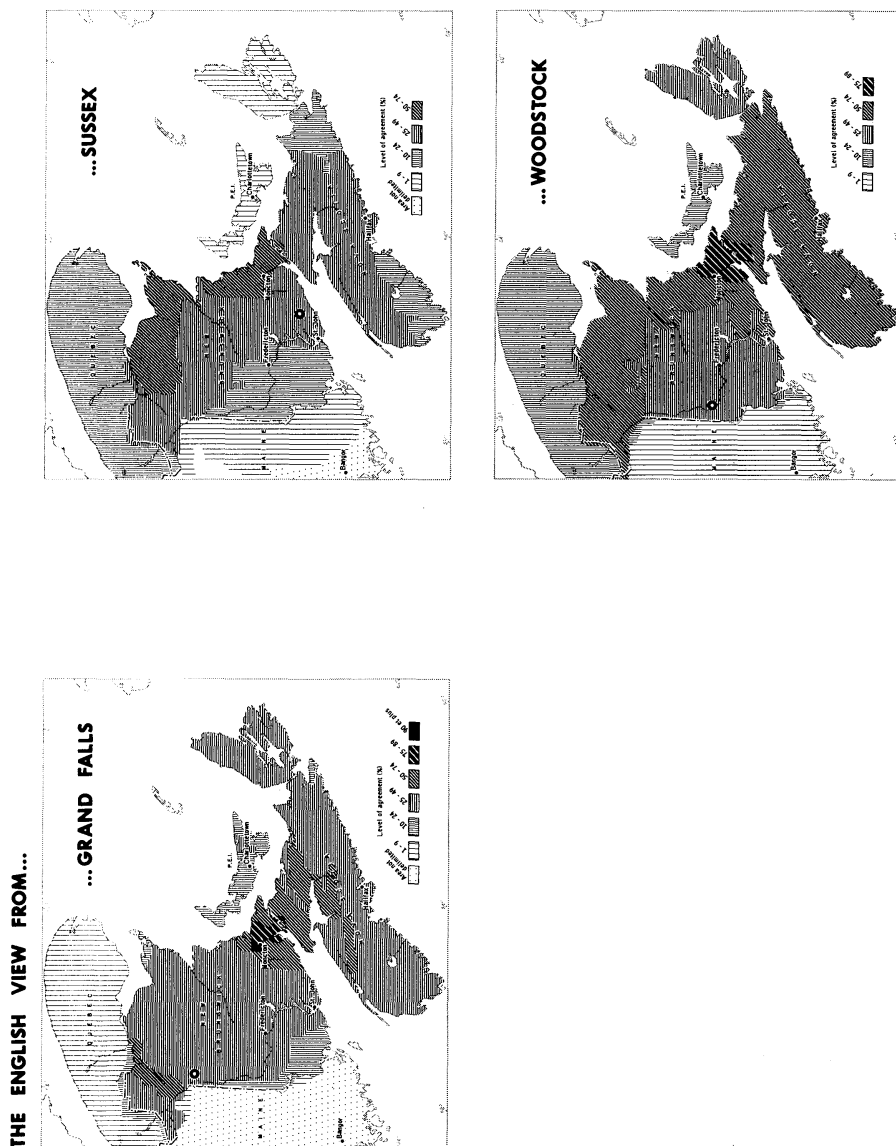
Figure 8

Figure 9

community, and to the Anglophone tendency to concentrate on historic areas of French occupance (table 2). However, this tendency was modified to include the Restigouche Valley indicating the influence of distance and local knowledge in the shaping of perception surfaces [33]. What is interesting in this perception is why there should be such a marked absence of agreement over the French North Shore and the intervening territory between Restigouche and Moncton. A tentative answer related to social communication processes will be discussed in the conclusion.

THE VIEW FROM THE SOUTH AND WEST.

A number of scholars, including Thorburn and Fitzpatrick, have suggested a rule of thumb division for New Brunswick either side of which line one ethnic group appears to be in a dominant position [34]. Fitzpatrick suggests that « one can draw an imaginary line from Grand Falls in the north-west to Sackville in the south-east : north of the diagonal all districts are either French or mixed, and all but two of the Assembly seats held by Liberals. South of the diagonal the population is predominantly English and all but two M.L.A.'s are Conservative [35] ». Given the distinctivness of these areas it would be anticipated that students resident in both regions would have differing perceptions of Acadia. This is related to their differential exposure to information concerning Acadian affairs and in particular the localised nature of support for the formal extension of French in the province. Thus at the macro level both regions might be suggested to represent distinct socio-cultural environments which help shape attitudes and perceptions. Indeed previous studies investigating the socialisation of young people suggest that their system of values and perception of external events are closely related to socio-cultural milieux in which they have lived [36]. Of prime importance in this process of acculturation are the influences of the familly, the school, religious and social organisations and the opportunity to meet with members of other ethnic groups ; especially as they interact with information received from the mass media and the personal attributes and experiences of the individual [37].

Two schools were selected from this southern region. Both Sussex and Woodstock are representative of a distinct socio-cultural environment in New Brunswick. The region is overwhelmingly English in speech, 91% English mother tongue at the 1971 census [38] and has a high Protestant and Conservative affiliation [39]. This is largely due to its early settlement pattern established by United Empire Loyalists. In contrast to many previous samples the Sussex respondents revealed low level of agreement as to where Acadia was located. Figure 9 indicates that not one region was identified by as many as 76% of the respondents. A bifurcated image was presented by a majority of the sample, between 55% and 68% identifying various parts comprising the French North Shore and the eastern coastline. Within this area not one location was singled out as definitly being a nodal point in their perception surface. This runs counter to the more general pattern which has established the city of Moncton as the most identifiable part of Acadia, but is in keeping with the image of the Moncton sample itself. There is a clear ommission of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island indicating that

Acadia is not simply a regional name for the Maritimes, contrary to what Le Blanc had suggested for an Anglophone view. Neither does this sample seem to support his contention that in English areas the name « Acadia » would connote a « page of history » [40]. Rather the Sussex view incorporates a minority, whose delimitation was a reflection of an historical conception, with a more dominant appreciation that Acadia corresponds with current French speech in New Brunswick (table 2).

It may be argued that Sussex does not wholly represent a dominant English viewpoint as it is relatively close to Moncton and thus subject to its influence in both economic and cultural terms, a modifying factor. In order to offset the possible effect of exposure to Acadian influences at the local sub-regional level, a sample was taken at Woodstock to augment the English perception. It is a commercial centre in the middle reaches of the St John Valley. As figure 2 shows the respondents live in an exclusively English-speaking area with little formal contact with Francophones. Their conception delimited the most extensive areal tract of all schools sampled. The level of agreement peaked at the Bay of Fundy with 83% inclusion, dropping to a range of 56% — 64% for most other parts of both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, including Madawaska. The majority of those indicating a reason for their maps did so on historical grounds, suggesting that this was where the French first landed (27.5%) or where they first landed and remain today (9.4%, see table 2). Support for their conviction may be seen in relation to other sample's attitude to Nova Scotia. Compared with other viewpoints this is the strongest and most uniform delimitation of that province. A further 17.5% suggested that Acadia could be thought of as a loose regional name for New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, with only 5% stating that it was synonymous with the three Maritime Provinces. Thus the Woodstock sample appears to lend support to Le Blanc's thesis that in English regions Acadia would be conceived of in predominantly historical terms. However, the evidence is not conclusive as 25.6% acknowledged that northern and eastern New Brunswick represented their current conception of Acadia based on the distribution of Francophones in the province. The English attitude is therefore more inclined to think of Acadia on prima facie historical grounds, but within the general perception there are elements who recognise its curent utility as a regional name for the French.

TRACADIE : THE LOST ACADIE.

The final set of responses ran counter to the hypothesised pattern. Initially the literature on Acadians suggested that as Tracadie was located in the cultural heartland of the Acadian people its sample would provide the most uniform and homogenous view of Acadia base on the distribution of Francophones of Acadian descent. It has long been recognised that the people of the area have been amongst the most active in promoting the cultural distinctiveness of New Brunswick's Francophone minority, and thus it was assumed that this activism would be demonstrated in a forceful manner by claiming a clear piece of the Maritimes as Acadian territory in accordance with the ethnic areas theory developed at the beginning of the paper.

Table 2

Aggregate Criteria for Delimiting Acadia

Criteria mentioned.	FRENCH						ENGLISH						
	Dieppe	Campbellton	St. Quentein	Edmunston	Grand Falls	Tracadie	Edmunston	Moncton	Bathurst	Grand Falls	Campbellton	Sussex	Woodstock
The present location of Francophones	28,5	34,5	40,5	14,0	16,9	1,6	44,0	28,0	46,0	36,0	20,0	32,0	25,6
Not sure	43,0	50,8	32,0	21,0	38,0	5,05	41,2	38,0	27,0	14,3	53,0	38,0	12,5
Where the French first landed	8,5	6,5	2,5	—	7,0	—	—	11,7	9,5	—	7,0	15,0	27,5
Where the French first landed and remain today	4,5	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,4	13,5	—	4,0	—	9,4
New Brunswick and Nova Scotia	3,0	—	4,5	4,5	4,2	—	3,0	2,5	2,0	7,1	4,0	7,0	12,5
Three Maritime Provinces	5,5	—	—	—	4,2	—	—	4,0	—	—	—	—	5,0
The area around Moncton	2,0	—	6,5	16,0	12,6	—	3,0	—	2,0	21,4	7,0	—	—
There is no such place as Acadia	—	2,0	—	—	—	93,2	5,8	2,5	—	14,3	—	—	—
The North Shore of New Brunswick	—	—	4,5	35,0	10,2	—	3,0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Québec	2,0	—	4,5	—	7,0	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,0	1,8
Others	3,0	1,2	3,0	6,0	—	—	—	5,7	—	—	4,0	2,0	1,4

In actual fact the sample did provide the most uniform response in the form of a « null » image of Acadia. Of the 178 students interviewed only three drew a map, a further nine indicated that they were unsure as to where Acadia was, whilst 166 replied that as far as they were concerned there was no such place as Acadia in existence today. Their numerous comments are best summarized by this statement which with minor variations was given frequently. « L'Acadie n'existe pas géographiquement depuis 1755 mais 50% du peuple du Nouveau-Brunswick sont des Acadiens ». Other statements relating to the forced expulsion of Acadians at the time of the Déportation were recorded and there seemed to be a far higher awareness of group suffering and language related grievances at this school than any other in the study. It is apparent that the memory of the past relationship between English and French in the Maritimes is still strong and that the loss of Acadian territory still serves as a cultural grievance factor in this area. It is not known how representative of the general Tracadie population this response is. The questionnaire was administered by local school personnel, therefore one cannot rule out the possibility of teachers having acted an external stimuli for the answers recorded. Nevertheless it is quite possible that no formal pressure was placed on the students and that the answers recorded represent a genuine set of attitudes. It that is so then it is interesting that this should be the only school in the study to provide a comprehensive rejection of any notion that « Acadia » may still refer to a definite area within the Maritimes.

DISCUSSION.

The evidence provided by the mental maps and the criteria cited for their construction suggests that the term Acadia connotes a wide variety of territorial referents. Support for the hypotheses developed at the beginning of the paper was provided, but the results are offered as exploratory and heuristic rather than definitive. A number of facts serve to limit the representative nature of the profiles, but their examination allows us to understand more of the ethnic perception process. Firstly, the evidence from conversation with Geography teachers and from an examination of the New Brunswick High School syllabus suggests that the geography of Acadia is taught with respect to a few key places rather than areas. Thus many of the maps drawn may be geographically « naïve » with a tendency to exagerate the areas involved [41]. This is especially true when dealing with this type of mapping exercise which asks for a subjective delimitation of a concept, as opposed to drawing the boundaries of an established administrative unit or a national state. This reflection of a relatively low appreciation of spatial perception may be more apparent than real, because of the nature of the exercice. Specifically, because, as Cartwright has demonstrated, the Francophone distribution in the Maritimes is so diffuse and non-contiguous as to cause special problems in terms of language planning for the establishment of Bilingual Districts [42]. How much more difficulty would be encountered by a novice asked to outline the perceived extent of an area which has no formal jurisdictional basis?

Secondly the areal extent of Acadia may have been exaggerated as a result of the respondents inclusion of north-central New Brunswick in their perception surface. This is an area largely devoid of any permanent settle-

ment (see figure 2). Thirdly there is the question of the teachers influence, whether idiosyncratic or derived from the official syllabus, on the ideas of the students. This is particularly relevant in the Tracadie context where the questionnaires were administered by the teaching staff. It is not known whether or not resulting attitudes revealed by the decision not to portray Acadia, as it no longer exists since 1755, are representative of the general population in the area. A more detailed representative adult sample is required for comparative purposes [43].

Quite apart from the limitiations imposed by the nature of the exercise is the unanticipated divergence between the perceived core and the expected core area of Acadia. The ecological contextual evidence suggests the North Shore to be the Acadian heartland [44]. Yet in the majority of map profiles Moncton and its hinterland was identified as the area of highest agreement. How it this to be explained ? Part of the answer may lie in Moncton's increased importance as a centre of trade and commerce and a pivotal node in the Maritime communication system. This communication centrality, if not regional centrality, seems to have an important effect on shaping Acadian images. Social communication theorists such as Deutsch have argued forcibly that the cohesion and self-identification of a group and its territory is determined by the social-communication of its members. He writes « Processes of communication are the basis of coherence of societies, cultures, and even of the personalities of individuals » [45]. Moncton has developed rapidly in post war years as the cultural as well as commercial centre of the Acadians, possessing the only French-language university outside Québec. Most of its students are drawn from the province, in 1972 the Université de Moncton had a student enrolement of 2,282, 83.9% from New Brunswick, with a further 272 or 11.9% from Quebec [46]. It also is the home of « L'Évangeline », the leading Acadian newspaper and the head-quarters of « La Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick ». Thus it serves as a centre of learning and communication, a focal point for the expression and dissemination of Acadian opinion. Moncton also transmits local French radio and television programmes from CBAFT Moncton and relays Radio Canada and CBC national programmes to outlying parts of the province. Mass media penetration is limited due to the topographic and logistic difficulties and Moncton's influence is challenged in the North Shore where CHAU-TV operating from New Carlisle transmits Québec based programmes which do not necessarily reflect Acadian sympathies or interests [47]. Thus the fragmented nature of New Brunswick's mass communication system tends not to reinforce a uniform spatial image of Acadia. Further research could usefully be directed towards analysing the effect of mass communication in setting and/or changing social and spatial group perceptions. In particular we need to know much more about the effect of topographic and socio-cultural barriers on information space both within and between ethnic groups. In terms of New Brunswick's Francophone community it is known that both the Madawaskan and Tracadie regions receive broadcasts emanating from Québec at CJBR, CKRT and CHAU-TV respectively rather than those programmes emanating from Moncton. It would be interesting to measure whether this reinforces a general view of « la Francophonie » or causes a reaction in the direction of reinforcing the Acadian self-image.

CONCLUSION

The paper has identified the existence of a perceptual culture area known as Acadia, which has survived the attempt in the eighteenth century of the British colonial administration to dispense with this regional name and to disperse its inhabitants. The exact nature and extent of the area subsumed under the name varied, dependent on the sample location and ethnic affiliation, but a core area common to all samples was discovered as centered on Moncton and its immediate hinterland. The salience of communication flows in influencing spatial perceptions is acknowledged, but more attention needs to be focussed on the filtering process involved in the socialisation patterns of divergent ethnic groups, who share a common territory, but who are separated by cultural distance. In the case of Acadia we need to know what effect a poorly defined territorial homeland has on the transmission of an « Acadien » cultural heritage, and more particularly whether or not the lack of an easily identifiable culture area has led to a weakening of the internal cohesion of this remarkable people.

NOTES

1 For a review of the Geographer's involvement in the study of spatial domains see HAGGETT, P. (1975) *Geography : A Modern Synthesis.* New York, Harper and Row. See also ABLER, R., ADAMS, J.S. and GOULD, P. (1971) *Spatial Organisation.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall.

2 See the interesting chapter by OLSEN, S.M. (1976) Regional Social Systems : Linking Quantitative Analysis and Field Work. In SMITH, C.A. (ed), *Regional Analysis,* vol 2, Social Systems. New York, Academic Press : 21-61.

3 See the review by SMITH, R.G. (1929) Concept of the Culture Area. In *Social Forces,* vol 7, see also WISSLER, C. (1927) The Culture Area Concept in Social Anthropology, *American Journal of Sociology,* vol 32.

4 For a recent critique of the culture area concept see HUDSON, J.C. (1972) Geographical Diffusion Theory. *Northwestern Studies in Geography,* no 19. Note in particular his trenchant criticism of the « regional geography » approach as shown in this quotation, *ibid :* 15, « The Culture Area is a classic example of the pitfalls of inferring temporal processes from maps. It is also a good example of the kind of generalisations that result when essentially discontinous phenomena are grouped areally and characteristics are ascribed to the resulting regions instead of to the phenomena used to define the regions ».

5. MEINIG, D.W. (1967) Cultural Geography, in Introductory Geography : viewpoints and themes. Association of American Geographers, 97, *Commission on College Geography,* no 5, Washington.

6 CARTER, H. and THOMAS, J.G. (1969) The Referendum on the Sunday Opening of licensed premises in Wales as a criterion of a culture region. *Regional Studies,* vol 3 : 61-71. or a more recent treatment of the same theme see CARTER H. (1976) Y Fro Gymraeg and the 1975 referendum on the Sunday Closing of public houses in Wales, *Cambria,* 13 (2) : 89-101.

7 See the excellent work of PRYCE, W.T.R. (1975) Migration and the evolution of culture areas : cultural and linguistic frontiers in north-east Wales, 1750 and 1851, in *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers,* vol 65 : 79-107. Also PRYCE, W.T.R. (1972) Approaches to the Linguistic Geography of North East Wales, 1750-1846, *The National Library of Wales Journal,* 17 (4) : 343-363.

8 For a view which questions the utility of such regional delimitation see REDFIELD, R. (1930) The Regional Aspect of Culture. *Publications of the American Sociological Society,* vol 24 : 34. Redfield asserts that « the regional homogeneity of culture . . . is

to be expected among primitive peoples, not necessarily because that feature is a universal aspect of culture, but because communication among such pople is simple and direct ». Hudson deduces from this that in advanced industrial societies the communication network is more important than the homogenous culture area in understanding broadscale social processes. See HUDSON *op. cit.* : footnote 4, p. 19.

9 BJORKLUND, E.M. and PHILBRICK, A.K. *Spatial Configurations and Mental Process.* Dept of Geography, University of Western Ontario, mimeo p. 9. I am grateful to the authors for their discussions with me on the relevance of this approach.

10 *Ibid* : 12.

11 SARRE, P., ed. (1973) Channels of Synthesis-perception and diffusion. *Open University Source Book*, p. 16.

12 COX, K. (1972) *Man, Location and Behaviour.* New York, Wiley.

13 LYNCH, K. (1960) *The Image of the City*, Cambridge, Mass, M.I.T.

14 For an interesting treatment of residential desirability as a measure of space preference see the work of GOULD, P. and WHITE, R. (1974) *Mental Maps*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, Penguin.

15 An informed criticism is that of GRAHAM, E. (1976) What is a Mental Map ? *Area*, 8 (4). She concludes « Thus « conceptual space » cannot be measured *as if* it were « real space », neither can it be assumed that an individual behaves *as if* he were following a mental map because to know that we must first know what it would be for someone *to be* following a mental map and this is precisely what we could not make sense of in the first place ». This line of criticism relates primarily to studies of personal distortion of space and not to structured aggregate perception surfaces which characterises Gould's work. For an example see POCOCK, D.C.D. (1976) Some Characteristics of mental maps, an empirical study. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 1 (4) : 493-512.

16 LEINBACH, T.J. (1972) *Residential Preferences in West Malaysia : General and Ethnic Surfaces.* Burlington, Vermont.

17 GOULD, P. *op cit.* : 169-170.

18 BOAL, F.W. (1976) Ethnic Residential Segregation. In HERBERT, D.T. and JOHNSTON, R.J. (eds), *Social Areas in Cities*, London, Wiley, vol. 1 : 41-79.

19 TRIBUNAL OF INQUIRY (1972) *Violence and Civil Disturbances in Northern Ireland 1969.* H.M.S.O. Belfast.

20 See for example YOUNG, C. (1976) *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism.* Especially chapter 12, Biafra, Bangladesh and Southern Sudan : The Politics of Secession. University of Wisconsin Press ; see also WILLIAMS, C.H. (1976) Cultural Nationalism in Wales. *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 4 (1) : 15-37 and SMITH, A.D. (1976) *Nationalist Movements.* London, Macmillan. This is a question which the author is currently analysing in relation to Acadian political movements and the potential suport base for a nationalist movement along the lines of the Parti Québécois in the Maritimes.

21 RAYBURN, A. (1973) Acadia : the origin of the name and its Geographical and Historical Utilization. *Canadian Cartographer*, 10 (1) : 40.

22 LE BLANC, E. (1963) *Les Acadiens.* Montréal, Les Éditions de l'Homme, p. 13.

23 BRUNELLE, D. (1969) Notes sur l'Acadie. In *Liberté*, 11 (5) : 49.

24 LE BLANC. *op cit.* : 11.

25 For an interesting and informed account of the early period of Acadian settlment see GRIFFITHS, N.E.S. (1969). *The Acadian Deportation : Deliberate Perfidy or Cruel Necessity.* Toronto. See also CLARK, A.H. (1969) *Acadia.* Madison, University of Wisconsin Press and HARRIS, R.C. and WARKENTIN, J. (1974) *Canada before Confederation.* New York, Oxford University Press.

26 BREBNER, J.B. (1927) *New England's Outpost.* New York, p. 45.

27 RAYBURN, A. *op cit.* : 36-37.

28 The schools in the sample were selected from the *Province of New Brunswick Secondary Schools Directory, 1973-1974.* I am indebted to Dr Don Cartwright, of the then Bilingual Districts Advisory Board, for his encouragement and practical assistance in this aspect of the study.

29 The data reported on here is part of a larger survey on Attitudes to Second Language Learning and Political Identification in New Brunswick administered by the

author in January 1974. The author administratered the questionnaire survey in most of the thirteen schools used, but a few schools were sampled entirely by postal questionnaire with teachers in the schools supervising the completion of the forms. In one of these schools in the Tracadie area particularly interesting results were obtained, which will be discussed later. The questionnaire was introduced by a short talk on the purpose of the study, the whole session taking some forty minutes for each class of grade 12 students. I wish to thank the teachers and Education Authority officials involved for their willing cooperation in the larger study on which this paper is based.

30 175 of the 415 who chose not to draw a map were from the Tracadie area.

31 DAVIES, W.K.D. (1970) Reflections on Spatial Perception : Mental or Ignorance Maps ? *Swansea Geographer*, vol. 8 : 5-10.

32 For an elucidation of the concept of language islands see CARTWRIGHT, D.G. (1977) The Designation of Bilingual Districts in Canada through Linguistic and Spatial Analysis. *Tijdschrift voor Econ, en Soc. Geografie*, 68 (1) : 16-29.

33 Note once again the importance of Moncton for this small sample. Also note their criteria for drawing the map has a substantial percentage indicating the present location of Francophones, (see table 2). The terms Francophones and Anglophones adopted by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism mean « . . . those whose main language is French of English ». *Book 1, General Introduction : The Official Language Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (1967), Ottawa : Information Canada, pp xxiv, see CARTWRIGHT. *op cit.* : 29.

34 THORBURN, H.G. (1961) *Politics in New Brunswick.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, p. 41.

35 FITZPATRICK, P.J. (1972) The Politics of Pragmatism. In Robin, M. *Canadian Provincial Politics*, Scarborough, Ont., Prentice-Hall, 117-118.

36 For a Canadian study see RICHERT, J.P. (1973) Political Socialization in Québec : young people's attitudes toward government. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 62 : 303-313. For confirmation of this relationship in other contexts see THOMAS, C.J. and WILLIAMS, C.H. (1976-1977) A Behavioural Approach to the study of linguistic decline and nationalist resurgence : a case study of the attitudes of sixth-formers in Wales. Part 1 in *Cambria*, 3, (2) : 102-124, Part 2 in 4 (2) : 152-173.

37 ROSE, R. (1965) *Politics in England.* London, Faber and Faber.

38 CARTWRIGHT, *op. cit.* : 19. See also figure 2 in this paper.

39 THORBURN. *op cit.* : 51.

40 LE BLANC, E. *op cit.*

41 Not a vitiating fact but one worth bearing in mind when assessing the representative nature of the maps in terms of a more general Maritime population.

42 CARTWRIGHT. *op. cit.* : 18-29.

43 Such logitudinal sampling exercises amongst the adult population would place the age-cohort sampled in a better social context. It would also determine whether or not there was a generation gap in these views of Acadia, so that one area, for example, Tracadie, may be found to be avant garde (seen as a spatial centre of innovation and Acadian revival) while other more conservative areas may represent in the 17-18 year olds the viewpoints still held by their parents and grand-parents age group.

44 A conviction supported by many observers, for example LEBLANC, R. (1971) Acadia, *The Mysterious East*, March/April, p. 14. ROY, M.K. L'Assimilation des francophones au Nouveau-Brunswick, *La Revue de l'université de Moncton*, 6 (2) : 181-187.

45 DEUTSCH, K.W. (1966) *Nationalism and Social Communication.* Cambridge, Mass, M.I.T. Press, 2nd ed, p. 87.

46 The figures are from a « Brief submitted by the université de Moncton to the Moncton City Council ad hoc Committee on Bilingualism ». Moncton, N.B. September 1972.

47 See « La Radio Diffusion Française aux Maritimes », report presented by La Société Nationale des Acadiens to the Federal Members of Parliament and the Members of the Legislative Assemblies of the Maritime Provinces, May 1975.

48 Whilst the limited evidence suggests that the fragmented mass communication system leads to a weakening of Acadian identity amongst the general population, evidence

from the New Brunswick Education System suggests a reduction in the internal regional identity of New Brunswick's adolescents. Teachers in the Madawaska region suggested that under the reformed, standardized education system, more and more Madawaskans were identifying with their fellow Francophones in the province and less with « La République » or Québec. Despite this the map profiles of Madawaskan respondents did not confirm this hypothesised reduction in regional self-awareness, the only sample to include Madawaska as an integral part of Acadia was the French sample at Dieppe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

RÉSUMÉ

WILLIAMS, Colin H. : Percepions ethniques de l'Acadie.

Le nom Acadie donné à une certaine portion du territoire atlantique du nord-est de l'Amérique du Nord désigne une grande variété de référents territoriaux. À partir d'une enquête réalisée auprès d'un échantillon d'étudiants, de niveau secondaire du Nouveau-Brunswick, nous constatons que la nature exacte et l'étendue de l'aire symbolisée par ce nom varient en fonction de la provenance des répondants et de leur appartenance ethnique. Cependant, l'unanimité se fait autour de la localisation d'un foyer commun de la culture acadienne : la région de Moncton et son arrière-pays immédiat.

MOTS-CLÉS : Image, Carte mentale, Perception, Ethnie, Acadie.

ABSTRACT

WILLIAMS, Colin H. : Ethnic Perceptions of Acadia.

The name Acadia, given to a portion of the Atlantic region of North America, connotes a wide variety of territorial referents. From the results of a survey of a sample of New Brunswick high school students, it was determined that the exact nature and extent of the area known under the name of Acadia varied, depending on the sample location and ethnic affiliation of the respondents. But a core area common to all samples is centered on Moncton and its immediate hinterland.

KEY WORDS : Image, Mental Map, Perception, Ethnic Group, Acadia.