

BILINGUAL ADVERTISING IN THE
RETAIL ENTERPRISE

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

We are interested in this thesis in certain effects which a bilingual and bicultural setting has on department store advertising. The central problem is to compare the content of department store advertising in English and French newspapers and to examine certain factors which affect the selection of this content. This is a problem in Montreal because of the bilingual and bicultural setting of this city and the fact that the stores seek customers from both groups. The advertising could be handled in two general ways: (1) by conducting two separate advertising campaigns (one in each language) with separate departments for each; or (2) by setting up one advertising department which would employ translators to translate directly from one language to another. Both alternatives present difficulties for the advertiser--the former is expensive and for various reasons, as we shall observe, the direct translation of words and duplication of other content is not advisable. However, in view of the excessive expenditure involved in maintaining separate French and

English advertising departments, the cheaper method of translation from English to French, with modifications, is employed.

Basically in this thesis, keeping in mind that the companies are profit-making institutions, we are asking: (1) how does the company handle this translation procedure? (2) What modifications do they make in adapting from one language to another? (3) What factors determine the modifications that are made?

The problem is sociologically relevant because it attempts to relate communication patterns to ethnic divisions in the community.

A Review of the Relevant Literature

Little research has been done in the specific area of this thesis, however much literature exists in the three related areas of Interethnic Relations, Communications, and Bureaucratic Structure. The reviewer must therefore take an eclectic approach to the literature of these three areas, abstracting the most useful information and insights for the purposes of this thesis.

Interethnic Relations

Many sociologists have discussed the sources of strain in interethnic relationships. Milton L. Barron neatly summarizes certain important aspects of the

problem: "A pluralistic minority is one which seeks toleration for its differences on the part of the dominant group. Implicit in the quest for toleration of one's group differences is the conception that variant cultures can flourish peacefully side by side in the same society...while on the one hand the pluralistic minority craves the toleration of one or more of its idiosyncracies, on the other hand it resents and seeks protection against coerced absorption by the dominant group. Above all, it wishes to maintain its cultural identity....Coupled with this demand (for cultural autonomy) and often precedent to it there proceeds the struggle for economic and political equality, or at least equalization of opportunity."¹

Wade,² Bovey,³ Falardeau,⁴ Maheux,⁵ and Hughes⁶ point out the French Canadian struggle for equality, as noted by Barron. They concur in considering that the contributing factors to the perpetuation of French-

¹Milton L. Barron, American Minorities, (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), pp. 12, 13.

²Mason Wade, Canadian Dualism, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1960.

³W. Bovey, French Canada Today, (New York: Penguin Books Ltd.), 1942.

⁴J. C. Falardeau, ed., Essais sur le Québec contemporain, (Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval,) 1953.

⁵Abbé Arthur Maheux, What Keeps Us Apart, (Quebec: Editions des Bois-Francs), 1944.

⁶E. C. Hughes, French Canada In Transition, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1943.

English cultural differences in Canada are the divergent religious, linguistic and cultural heritages. Summing up and broadly generalizing, these factors have led to:

(1) A French Canadian orientation to the past which produces a traditionalistic outlook, a concern with the pre-1763 period of New France, and a reluctance to change. The English-speaking world is the world of commerce, industry, technological advancement and the Protestant ethic.¹

(2) Educational practices which stem from a preoccupation with Classicism in French Canada with emphasis on the professions of law, medicine and priesthood. English Canada has been the principal producer of technological and commercial personnel.

(3) A French Canadian who is less concerned with democracy and more willing than his English compatriots to accept strong political authority.

(4) A more closed French Canadian Society. Until recently there was less mobility in French Canada than in English Canada.

(5) A tendency among French Canadians to seek stability and security by real estate investments.

(6) A value orientation which may be associated with a rural patriarchal, non-rational culture. Conversely, the English Canadian value orientation may be stated as urban, success-striving, status-seeking, individualistic, and rational.

(7) Contrary to English Canadian Protestantism, Roman Catholicism has played a large part in integrating, dominating and controlling the society of French Canada.

Certain general accompaniments or effects of the above-listed cultural differences have been a feeling of resentment toward the English "conqueror," an elite

¹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin Ltd.), 1930.

relatively more oriented to France than to North America; a leading role played by the clergy in a move to keep French Canada "pure" by non-assimilation; and a pride in French Canadian "more spiritual" culture. Language, as the principal cultural transmitter, is an important symbol, an expression of loyalty and identification with the group.

In recent years this traditional picture of English-French Canadian differences has altered considerably, and changes are rapidly taking place in all of the above-mentioned areas. The degree of change has not been assessed, but more recent writers such as Wade¹ and Falardeau² do mention this modification of traditional cultural and social patterns especially since World War II.

This researcher asks what effect might the advertiser's image of the French cultural differences have on the store's advertising? Would there be evidences of interethnic strain in the form of institutional or societal pressures? Would the French show greater sensitivity to language aberrations in the French advertising than the English? Can we contribute to an understanding of the changes that are taking place in French Canada?

¹Wade, op. cit.

²Falardeau, op. cit.

Communication

Advertising, as a form of mass communication, is the principal medium by which the retail store acquaints the consuming public with the goods and services it has to offer.¹ The English retail advertisers in order to maximize profit must appeal to the market as effectively and efficiently as possible.² Questions which might be asked are: (1) is it possible to advertise bilingually as economically as in a unilingual society? (2) Do the advertisers feel that their French and English advertising is equally effective? (3) What factors might prevent advertising's equal effectiveness in both languages? (4) What factors determine the advertiser's bilingual advertising policies?

In recent years the literature on mass media has focussed on the effect of the media^{3,4,5,6,} and the relationship between the mass media and interpersonal

¹C. M. Rowland, Advertising in Modern Retailing, (New York: Harper and Brothers), 1954.

²C. I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, (Cambridge: Harvard University Presse), 1938.

³W. Shramm, Television in the Lives of our Children, (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 1960.

⁴Robert Merton, Mass Persuasion, (New York: Harper and Bros.), 1946.

⁵George A. Lundberg, "The Newspaper and Public Opinion," Social Forces, Vol, IV, pp. 709-15.

⁶Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Effects of Radio on Public Opinion," in Waples, Douglas, ed., Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1942.

relationships.^{1,2,3,4} However few studies deal directly with the problems raised by this research. Most relevant are those which show:

(1) that advertising in English and French newspapers is not different in basic themes or ideas although there are differences in language expressions and other minor items.⁵

(2) that advertisers, like others who control the content of the mass media are subject to, and aware of, institutional pressures.^{6,7}

(3) that mass media ordinarily support the status quo and do not attack the existing structure.⁸

(4) that the content of the mass media is significant because of what might symbolize--which is explicitly recognized by the advertising personnel.⁹

Advertising, as a significant form of mass

¹Nafziger and White, Introduction to Mass Communications Research, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University), 1938.

²De Fleur and Larsen, The Flow of Information, (New York: Harper Bros.), 1958.

³Gerth and Mills, Character and Social Structure, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co.), 1953.

⁴Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1954.

⁵Frederick Elkin, "A Study of Advertisements in Montreal Newspapers," Canadian Communications, Vol. 1, No. 4, Summer 1961, pp. 15-22, 30.

⁶Wilbur Shramm, Responsibility in Mass Communication, (New York: Harper and Bros.), 1957.

⁷Charles Winick, Taste and the Censor in Television, (New York: Fund for the Republic), 1959.

⁸Joseph T. Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication, (Glencoe: The Free Press), 1960.

⁹Gerth and Mills, loc. cit.

communication, is an integral part of the community--
a part of its culture. Rowland sums up by saying:

Advertising to be effective, must be keyed to the community in which the store is doing business, and it must reflect the store's place in that community. It must be tempered by the ages, tastes and manner of life of its customers, and it must be controlled by their needs and pocketbooks.¹

Bureaucracy

The advertising department which plans the advertising, and often a department store itself, is part of bureaucratic structure. It is necessary to know this structure in order to understand the advertising procedures and processes. It is pertinent to ask how management decisions affect the advertising content; what effect store policies and inter-and extra-departmental communications have on the advertising content; what factors in the processing of the ad influence its content.

Talcott Parsons notes that in the bureaucratic structure "the properties of economic power can be treated as a lineally quantitative variable in the total equilibrium of the social system, and that the structure is a hierarchical one, of greater power over the lesser."²

¹C. M. Rowland, Advertising in Modern Retailing, (New York: Harper and Bros.), 1954, p. 47.

²Talcott Parsons, The Social System, (Glencoe III: The Free Press), 1959, p. 126.

Thus the final decisions regarding advertising policies will rest with the officials having the highest position in the hierarchy. Orders will travel down, while information will proceed up the hierarchical line, and the bilingual promotion, in all its aspects, will ultimately be subject to the policies set by top management.

Weber,¹ Parsons,² Barnard,³ and Simon,⁴ in considering the functions and behavior of the executive, indicate that the decisions of management to some degree will determine the efficiency and effectiveness of any of the company's sub-operations, in this case bilingual advertising.

Barnard,⁵ Blau,⁶ Roethlisberger and Dickson,⁷ and Roy⁸ note that the formal fixed official structure described by Max Weber,⁹ presumably characteristic of

¹Gerth and Mills, From Max Weber, (New York: Oxford University Press), 1958.

²Parsons, op. cit.

³Barnard, op. cit.

⁴Herbert A. Simon, Administrative Behavior, (London: MacMillan Co.), 1945.

⁵Barnard, op. cit.

⁶Peter Blau, Dynamics of Bureaucracy, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1955.

⁷Roethlisberger and Dickson, Management and the Worker, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1959.

⁸Donald Roy, "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57, (1952), pp. 427-42.

⁹Gerth and Mills, op. cit.

the bureaucratic pattern of efficient operation, was modified by the informal structures operating within the situational context. Thus, for instance, in the retail store, department managers may still, through informal discussions about their own problems, retain a certain autonomy in their decisions and practices regarding bilingual advertising content.

In summary, studies of bureaucratic process suggest that the retail enterprise may be expected to develop an advertising department which is sensitive to both management policies of the store and the informal communication patterns which operate within the formal structure.

Leading Ideas

From one point of view, the retail department store is an institution interested in maximizing economic gain. The advertising departments in Montreal department stores view the bi-cultural setting as an important consideration in achieving this end. Sometimes the advertising directed to one ethnic group is considered inappropriate for the other, and sometimes the advertisers feel they are subjected to certain ethnic pressures and controls.

This researcher's first interest was in comparing the content of the French and English advertisements.

In general the ads are very similar in themes, items advertised, and style; however, there are differences--our goal was to determine exactly what these differences are.

Language too, of course, is a central problem in the analysis of content. We asked such specific questions as: (1) How much English remains in the French translation? (2) Are there any instances of English product names which are untranslatable in French? If so, how is this handled? To what degree do advertisers seek to use terms which they consider equally acceptable to both groups? Why?

To better understand the reasons behind the differences in French-English advertising content, we studied the factors which affect the selection of the content and the modifications made in adapting the English copy to the French. Preliminary interviews suggested that the central questions were: (1) Does the location of the stores affect management decisions on the bilingual advertising content? (2) Does the fact that the stores are English affect management decisions on the bilingual advertising content? (3) Does the cost of advertising in French and English newspapers affect management's decisions regarding the items advertised, the amount of space used, or the problems of layout. (4) Does the management in charge of advertising have images of the French which affect their decisions and

lead them to modify their ads accordingly? (5) Do external institutions exert any pressures on the advertising department personnel which affect content, style, artwork, etc.?

Sources of Data and Techniques

The sample stores chosen were two large English department stores in downtown Montreal, which we shall call 'sample store "A"' and 'sample store "B"'. Sample store "A" was chosen because it does the largest volume of department store advertising in Montreal, and would undoubtedly be aware of the problems of bilingual advertising. Also, it is a branch store, the only one not in a totally English setting; for this reason we felt that we would be able to make significant comparisons with its sister stores which advertise unilingually. Store "B" was chosen because, although English in background, it was founded in Montreal, and is the head office of five other branch stores in the Montreal area, as well as other branch stores in English-speaking communities in Montreal. It was felt that this store, which probably has the second largest department store advertising expenditure in Montreal newspapers, would also be especially sensitive to problems of bilingual advertising.

No work was done on the advertising of any French retail firms the bulk of whose advertising is done in

French. To have included such ads would have impracticably extended the scope of this thesis.

The data consisted of: (1) published advertisements of the sample stores in the two English newspapers-- The Montreal Star (evening paper) and The Gazette (morning paper)-and the two French newspapers, La Presse (evening paper) and Le Devoir (morning paper)- for five major sample periods; (2) reports of interviews with Advertising Department and Merchandise Department executives; and (3) charts of the office and store structure (authority and departmental operational arrangement).

In examining the advertisements of the sample stores, five sample periods during the year 1960 were chosen which were felt would best give the following information: (1) type of merchandise advertised to the English and French, including differences in item promotion. (2) amount of space allocated to each item, including any differences in French and English; (3) how certain cultural differences, (e.g. religion, national holidays) and similarities (e.g., shared holidays) might affect the items advertised and the spatial allotment per item in both French and English newspapers; and (4) whether the advertiser's image of the bicultural differences affected either the type of item advertised to each group or the amount of promotion

(spatial allotment) to each group.

The sample periods chosen were:

- (1) Regular advertising period:-
October 1 - 31, 1960
- (2) Special sale periods:-
December 26, 1960 - January 9, 1961
(Sample store "A") April 29 - May 4, 1960
(Sample store "B") May 2 - May 7, 1960
- (3) Major French-English (mutual) "Festival" periods
(religious):-
December 17 - 24, 1960
April 9 - 16, 1960
- (4) Major French holidays:-
Ascension day - May 24, 1960
St. Jean Baptiste day - June 24, 1960
All Saint's day - Nov. 1, 1960
Immaculate Conception - Dec. 8, 1960
- (5) Major French-English holidays:-
New Years - Jan. 1, 1960
Victoria day - May 23, 1960
Dominion day - July 1, 1960
Mother's day - May 9, 1960
Thanksgiving day - Oct. 10, 1960

Since the reason for choosing these specific sample periods and characteristics of the sample are given in detail in Chapter III, these will not be dealt with here except to say that these five periods were felt to cover adequately the data needs of this thesis and to provide ample material to determine the answers to our questions. The sample periods were, for some purposes, condensed into three main categories: "Regular," "Special Sale," and "Holiday."

The newspaper advertisements of the sample stores in the four above-mentioned papers were studied amounting to a total of 551 pages with the number of advertised

items per page averaging 15. The ads of La Presse and The Montreal Star were the only ones considered directly comparable, when directly comparing products advertised and amount of space used per item in bilingual advertising only these two papers were used. The total number of pages studied in direct comparisons was 376. In studying themes, translation items, advertiser's image of the French and English, style of advertising, etc. the bilingual advertising of all four newspapers was used.

Records were kept of: (1) differences in items advertised bilingually on the same day; (2) differences in amount of space allotted per item in bilingual ads on the same day; (3) any relevant translation data such as English words untranslated, "coined" English terms used in English and French, "technical" terms causing translation difficulties, etc.; (4) similarities and differences in style (French and English) between the two sample stores; (5) advertising themes; (6) relevant cultural factors appearing in the ads, e.g., references to religious values, aesthetic tastes and cultural norms, (reflecting the advertiser's image of cultural differences and similarities); and (7) factors possibly indicating the advertiser's image of the social or economic differences between the two groups, e.g., the quality, style and color of items advertised to both groups.

A total of twenty-six interviews were conducted at the sample stores, twenty at one and six at the other. Owing to difficulties beyond the control of the interviewer it was not possible to obtain more interviews at the second store. In the first store three interviews each were obtained from the Advertising Manager, Assistant Advertising Manager and Chief Translator. In addition, eleven Merchandise Department Managers were interviewed. The eleven chosen were those whose departments showed the largest amount of gross sales for the year 1959, and included the following: Furniture and Bedding, Curtains and Draperies, Floor Coverings, Women's Dresses, Housewares, Men's Clothing, Linens, Women's Shoes; Toiletries, and Housefurnishing and Ladies' Ready-to-Wear in the basement.

The interviews were partially structured. The Advertising Manager and Assistant Managers were each asked a total of thirty questions relating to advertising techniques and processes, decision-making policies and procedures, image of French and English culture and its effect on bilingual advertising practices and policies, degree of promotion of various items to French and English, the effect of national and religious festivals on items advertised and extent of promotion, reasons for equal or unequal advertising (in space and monetary expenditure), and the external public or institutional pressures affecting the advertising. The respondents were encouraged to enlarge on their answers.

The Chief Translator was also asked thirty questions dealing with the process and problems of translation and explanations regarding translation problems encountered.

Each Merchandise Department Manager was asked the same ten questions. For example, "Is there any difference in the response to your ads by (a) French and (b) English?". "Do you ever advertise equally but receive more response from one group?" "Do you ever advertise differently for any holidays?" "Could you give me instances in your advertising where there clearly would be differences in content, style, color etc., to either group?" In all cases the respondents were encouraged to reply with as much explanation as they desired. The Assistant Advertising Manager accompanied the interviewer on the first six departmental interviews and in these interviews there were informal exchanges between the Assistant Advertising Manager and the Merchandise Department Manager which the interviewer also recorded. All interviews were recorded in shorthand and later transcribed.

The Advertising Department Managers of both stores furnished the interviewer with charts of the Advertising Department and Store authority structure, which are included at the end of Chapter III, showing lines of

formal communication and decision-making channels.

Outline of Subsequent Chapters

Chapter II will deal with the background and setting of the two sample stores, their organization, and their communication and decision-making procedures as they relate to their bilingual advertising. Policies regarding bilingual advertising are examined as they relate to products advertised, advertising space, translation and research. Finally the bilingual advertising process and nature of the advertising media are described.

Chapter III examines the bilingual advertising content for each sample period, citing (with tables) the data regarding products promoted and the spatial allotment of advertised items. Translation problems, themes and styles of bilingual advertising of the two sample stores are discussed.

Chapter IV deals with factors which affect decisions on bilingual advertising content: the proportion of French and English customers; the cost of advertising space in each of the French and English newspapers; the image which higher management holds of the French Canadians; management's image of the French Canadian's image of their organizations; and lastly, the external pressures (public and institutional) which management feels affect their advertising in the bicultural setting.

Chapter V will conclude with a summary of the problem, a statement of its significance, and an

examination of the commercial and community accommodations which the English retail organization makes in this bicultural milieu.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND, ORGANIZATION AND DECISION-MAKING PROCEDURES OF THE STORE AND THE ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

In considering the operation of the advertising department it is necessary to examine it as an integral part of the operation of the retail organization and, at the same time, as the creator of the firm's most important link with its potential market, its advertising. The advertising department is concerned with informing the public about the firm's products-- kind of goods, prices, quality, style, etc., and also with creating a favorable image of the firm in the mind of the consuming public so that the potential market may be influenced to the store's economic advantage. A primary goal of the retail store, as for any economic enterprise in our society, is profit, and the store's advertising is oriented to furthering this goal.

In this chapter we shall consider the background and organization of both the stores and the advertising departments; relevant communication and decision-making procedures; the bilingual advertising policies; the processing of the bilingual advertisement; and certain personnel and operating problems which affect the advertising.

Background and Setting of the Bilingual
Advertising of the Two Sample Stores

Sample Store "A"

Sample store "A" is a large retail organization established in Ontario in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Since then it has established branch stores in nearly every major city in Canada, one of the largest being in Montreal--its only store in Quebec province. It advertises nationally and issues a catalogue which is distributed throughout Canada. Only in Quebec is the advertising bilingual.

Each store handles its own local advertising in the available media of the area. For a nationally conducted semi-annual sale by this firm, folders are issued by the head office, but the bilingual folders for this sale in the Montreal store are made up by the Montreal advertising department. The costs for these organization-wide sales and the catalogue promotion are shared by the participating stores. The cost of the art work is charged proportionately to each store, but the cost of the bilingual copy and preparation of the booklet is borne by the Montreal store. If any changes are made (e.g., illustration of goods which are felt to have a wider market in Montreal) the costs are borne by the Montreal store.

Some Institutional ad cuts--such as those for the Christmas and New Year ads--are also prepared in English

by the head office and sent to all branch stores. These are used in Montreal in the English morning and evening newspapers. Additional ads in French must be made up in the Montreal advertising department for publication in the French newspapers, and the cost of this bilingual copy and art work is borne by the Montreal store.

The Montreal store was established thirty-five years ago and although it immediately started advertising in both languages, according to one advertising manager, "we did more in English--we had to establish ourselves first."¹

There was some greater emphasis on the English advertising at the start. If it were a borderline item, or we were hard pressed for time, then we only did it in English. We did more advertising in the English papers then too....Now we would do it in both languages even if the conditions I mentioned existed now....The change is not too noticeable--it may only be noticeable to old timers. Now we don't want criticism that we are not equal in the advertising in the store.²

This advertising executive reported that the use of French had been increasing over the years, but that it "fluctuated a bit during the war years when, due to a paper shortage, our advertising was cut down in the French papers. Everybody was restricted then."³

Store "A's" radio advertising is limited to "spot" announcements over two English and one French radio station.

¹Interview 3

³Ibid.

²Interview 2

There is no television promotion. Some national and week-end magazine advertising, direct mailing and circular advertising is also done. All direct mailings to regular listed customers on special sales and events and the circular folders which are sent to all homes in Montreal area are bilingual. A semi-annual bilingual catalogue for French Canadian circulation is compiled by the Montreal store's advertising department.

The advertisers consider their advertising in the local newspapers (Lakeshore News, Mount Royal Post, Rosemont Journal, etc.,) "just spotty"--"we do not advertise much in them."¹

Sample Store "B"

Sample store "B" was established in 1845 in downtown Montreal. Since then five branch stores have been opened in Montreal suburbs and in several Ontario cities. The Montreal advertising department handles the advertising (bilingual) of all the Montreal stores and the nearest Ontario branch store. The other Ontario stores handle their own advertising (English) through their local media.

The Montreal main office promotes radio advertising in English in support of newspaper advertising. A prestige-type radio program, carried for several years on one English station, may be discontinued this year. Advertising is done in Hotel directories, Bridal and Baby magazines on a local

¹Interview 4

scale. The Advertising Department Manager commented:

There isn't much point in advertising in any magazines west of the Great Lakes since we have no stores in that area, so we advertise in national magazines if the great bulk of their sale is east of the Great Lakes.¹

Until about 1900 advertising had been only in English, but at that time advertising in both languages began "because of the importance of the French."² Since then, the amount of French advertising has steadily increased until the establishment of the present volume and policy.

The Montreal branch stores have all been established within the last eleven years, with one store in the heart of the French district, two in English districts and two in "mixed" French and English districts. The seven stores serviced by the central advertising department proportionately share the advertising costs.

Organization of the Sample Stores

In considering this phase of the structural context of the advertising department, we note that the organization of both sample stores is approximately the same, so that descriptions and charts given will apply to both.

The Store Organization

As may be seen on Chart "A,"³ a General Manager, directly responsible to the firm's Board of Governors, is in charge of the whole store. Under the General Manager and directly responsible to him are the Secretary and

¹Interview 2

³See Page 62-63

²Interview 5

General Auditor. Also under the General Manager and directly responsible to him are: the Manager of the Accounting and Statistical departments; the Store Superintendent in charge of the Maintenance and Service departments; the Divisional Merchandise Manager in charge of Merchandise, Advertising, Ticket and Merchandise Display departments; and the Personnel Manager in charge of Personnel and Staff Training.

There are fifty-two Merchandise Departments and Department Managers. The Advertising, Merchandise Display and Ticket Departments are included with the Merchandise Departments under the Divisional Merchandise Manager's supervision because of their close working relationship with the Merchandise Departments.

The fifty-two Merchandise Departments are divided into six groups composed of departments of a similar nature; over each group of departments is a Merchandise Manager--six Merchandise Managers in all. Each Department Manager is directly responsible to the Merchandise Manager above him; the Merchandise Managers are responsible to the Divisional Merchandise Manager.

The only difference in organization between stores "A" and "B" is that store "B" has an Assistant General Manager; store "A" does not. In the absence of the General Manager, the Divisional Merchandise Manager becomes Acting General Manager in store "A"; in store "B," the Assistant

General Manager acts in the stead of the General Manager during the General Manager's absence.

Montreal area branch stores of store "B" each have structures identical to that of the main store, with the main store's General Manager acting as Supervisor of all the branch stores.

Organization of the Advertising Department

The Advertising, Merchandise Display and Ticket departments are each separate departments with Department Managers, and are grouped together under a Section Manager.¹ The Advertising department handles all the newspaper, radio, T.V., folder, magazine and circular advertising. The Merchandise Display department is in charge of all special displays within the store, including printed materials, floral or other decorations, etc. The Ticket department handles all the price tags, counter and store signs, etc.

Under the Advertising Manager are two Assistant Managers, the Chief Translator and Art Director. One Assistant Manager is in charge of Statistics and Department Personnel; the other is in charge of the Copywriters and Proofreaders. The Art Director supervises production, set-up, the Creative Artist and Lay-out Artists. All French Translators are under the Chief Translator's supervision.

In sample store "A" of a staff of thirty-eight, fifteen are bilingual. The Section Manager and both

¹See chart "B," page 63

Advertising Department Assistant Managers are English and not bilingual. The Advertising Department Manager is fluently bilingual.

Sample store "B" had only one Advertising Department Assistant Manager. He had formerly been Advertising Manager, a post he had held for fifteen years. In this store the Section Manager, Advertising Manager and Assistant Manager were English and not bilingual.

Communication and Decision-Making Procedures--
Formal and Informal

Formal Organization and Communication

The formal communication structure is such that policy-making decisions and official orders may travel down to the departments concerned, while grievances, questions and information regarding bilingual advertising may travel up to the necessary level for solution or consideration. The formal structures of both samples, and hence the formal communication patterns, are clearly defined.

The Store

As stated previously, each Department Manager reports directly to one of six Merchandise Managers above him; the Merchandise Managers are responsible to the Divisional Merchandise Manager, who in turn reports to the General Manager. When problems regarding bilingual advertising arise, such as the allocation of space to specific items in English and French or questions on whether to advertise certain items to the French, each Department Manager has recourse to

the Merchandise Manager above him. If a dispute arises between a Department Manager and the Advertising Department Manager it may be settled at a meeting between the Advertising Department Manager and the Merchandise Manager. If, however, the matter cannot be settled between these two, the Merchandise Manager will take it to the Divisional Merchandise Manager for settlement. According to an Assistant Advertising Manager, a dispute involving the Advertising Department would never be taken to the General Manager, although this could conceivably happen if the dispute were sufficiently serious.

Regular monthly meetings are conducted by the store's General Manager to which are invited the Divisional Merchandise Manager, the six Merchandise Managers and the Sectional Manager in charge of Advertising, Display and Tickets. At these meetings, sales promotions, monthly merchandise plans, advertising budget allotments to the various departments, policies regarding the percentage ratio of bilingual advertising to be inserted in French and English newspapers etc., are discussed. Changes in store policy--whether to remain open certain evenings, open a new branch store in a certain area, discontinue bilingual advertising etc.--would be referred by the General Manager to the Board of Directors.

The Advertising Department

As noted above, a Section Manager is in charge of all three branches of the store's printing needs, and under him

are the three Department Managers one of whom is the Advertising Department Manager. Two Assistant Managers act as supervisors over certain area of the Advertising Department and two Supervisors, the Chief Translator and the Art Director report to the Advertising Department Manager.¹ Problems and questions regarding the bilingual advertising may be discussed with the supervisor concerned. Translation problems are handled by the Chief Translator, but when he is in doubt the Department Manager is consulted. Decisions regarding spatial allocations for each merchandise department in the French and English newspapers are made by an Assistant Manager. Regular meetings are held which include the Section Manager, Merchandise Display Manager, Ticket Manager, Advertising Manager and the Assistant Managers and supervisors of each of these departments. At these meetings, questions regarding Institutional advertising, staff or procedural problems, advertising problems involving the merchandise departments etc., are discussed and the decisions communicated to the staff concerned. Difficulties which cannot be straightened out at this meeting are taken to the Divisional Merchandise Manager by the Section Manager. Again, it is conceivable that the General Manager might be consulted, but this is rarely necessary.

Informal Communication

As previously stated² Barnard postulated an informal

¹See chart "B", p. 63

²Barnard, op. cit.

organization and communication system with certain important functions in the bureaucratic organization. One of these functions was the communication of such facts, opinions etc., that cannot go through formal channels without disrupting or overloading executive positions. He felt that it was important to avoid too many formal issues and orders on routine matters, except in emergencies. In the sample stores the operation of an informal communication system had a direct bearing on the store's bilingual advertising, and in this section, illustrations will be given which came up in my study.

The Store

The Advertising Manager of one of the stores stated that information relating to fashion differences and trends in the French and English market was given to him informally by store buyers.

Neither of us advises the other directly. However, the buyers might informally discuss certain things with us at coffee or at lunch or something like that. We tell them our feelings, but there is nothing official about it, and it is intermittent. However, we pick up quite a bit of information about the French and English market that is helpful in our advertising.¹

At two interviews the Merchandise Department Managers told the Assistant Advertising Department Manager² their views

¹Interview 4

²The Assistant Advertising Manager accompanied me while I interviewed six of the eleven department managers in one store.

on certain advertising problems..

I think we are missing the boat here by cutting down on our catalogue advertising....The catalogue costs are up and the circulation is down, and I think we should find out what's the matter and put the catalogue into every home, no matter how outlying the district is.¹

You see my idea of getting the circular out early was a good one. We're getting advance orders on rugs now, and if the circular wasn't out till the first day of the sale like they [the Merchandise Managers and the Divisional Manager] wanted, we wouldn't be getting these advance orders and we would be all jammed up with orders at sale time when we have enough to do.²

This Assistant Advertising Manager informed me that he was taking the opportunity to accompany me during the interviews because he felt he might learn quite a bit which would be helpful to him in his advertising work. Occasionally he and the Department Manager being interviewed would take the opportunity to converse for a few moments on the question asked.

The Advertising Department Manager stated that the Department Manager bases his ad on information gathered informally by his staff.

He [the Department Manager] will talk to his section heads, and they will have their eyes open--you know--talk to the sales girls etc., and they will tell him how the goods are going, whether they sold more to the French or the English, whether he needs to order more stock, etc. The department head makes up his ad from the information they give him.³

¹Interview 14

²Interview 13

³Interview 3

The Advertising Department .

On a number of occasions during my research informal exchanges took place between Advertising Department staff members. Several times the chief translator of one store conferred with the Advertising Manager about a translation problem, and while in the other store, the chief copywriter was consulted twice by translators regarding linguistic problems. On one occasion the word "Panama" was deleted from the French newspaper proof just a few minutes before the deadline. On another occasion the chief copywriter asked the translators to think of a suitable term for a shop being set up in one of the departments for which a bilingually-neutral name was desired. An Advertising executive commented:

We get a lot of things straightened out in the department by just talking them over with each other. You know we couldn't possibly do everything by memo or meetings or things like that--we have to consult each other on too many things. For instance, the copywriters, translators and set-ups have to confer with each other all the time so they just talk to each other whenever they need to, whether it's at coffee, or lunch, or during working hours. That's especially important when you are working in two languages because there are always language problems involved.¹

Policies Regarding Bilingual Advertising

Management has determined certain policies regarding the items advertised to each group, the amount of space devoted to items in the French and English newspapers, and French translations. These policies are observed by the

¹ Interview 24

Department Managers and the Advertising Department, although the policies may be altered in certain departments if there appears to be justification for doing so.

Products Advertised

During regular advertising (that is, when no special store-wide sale or pre-holiday products are being promoted) the items advertised to the French and English are left largely to the discretion of the Department Manager. The sales response by the English and French is expected to guide him in regard to which items to advertise to each group.

We give the department manager leeway on this. He decides which items sell to the English and French and which do not. The stationary and book departments for instance only advertise French cards and books in the French papers, and the same with the English cards and books. You don't advertise something to somebody who isn't going to buy it. If a Department Manager consistently gets a big response from one group in an item, and not from another, then he is going to advertise that item to that group and stop wasting his money on the other group.¹

When it is necessary to delete some items or cuts from an ad, the usual procedure is to leave in those items expected to appeal most to that group.

When items have to be cut from an ad for the sake of budget space...we might leave in the one which we thought would sell best to the French in the La Presse ad, and this is likely to be more patterned or brighter or more flowery than the one we took out.²

In pre-holiday advertising--that is, promotions on the day before a French national or religious festival--

¹Interview 7

²Interview 13

the store wide policy is to advertise products which will appeal more to the French than to the English. The French people shop up town more than usual on these festival days since many of their own industries and businesses are closed. One Department Manager commented:

We advertise goods which we expect will appeal more to the French on their religious holidays. The church lets them shop now--although they always did it anyway--and they flock uptown to the shows and stores on those days. For instance we did a big business yesterday, that was Ascension day. Of course we put the same ad in The Star, but we don't expect the English trade.¹

During the pre-holiday advertising of such shared or "mutual" holidays as Christmas, Easter, New Years, etc., the Department Manager uses his own judgement as to which items should or should not be promoted to either group.

For holidays which we celebrate together the Department Manager has a pretty good idea which goods go to which group. For instance the French go for birds and rocking chairs, but you wouldn't get too far advertising these items to the English. Then too there's religious merchandise like medallions, beads and crucifixes that go good at these times for gifts. We advertise these in the French papers. The higher-ups leave it up to the Department Manager to decide the items he's going to advertise to each group.²

The store-wide policy during special sales is to include items which are expected to have equal appeal to both groups. If some items are considered to appeal more to the French, a similar number of items will be included which have specific English appeal. In this way the special sale advertising will attract both groups, management feels. A Department

¹Interview 5

²Interview 8

Manager stated:

For special sales we do it a little differently. You see we want to appeal to everybody then, so we advertise items which we think will appeal to both the French and the English. Of course some items might not appeal so much to one group, and if we know this, why then we will try to offset that by including items which we know appeal to the other group. We send these sale folders to all the homes in Montreal as well as advertise in the papers, so we want this advertising to have as wide an appeal as possible.¹

Very often the Department Managers and higher management do not know which goods sell better to the English or the French. One Advertising Manager commented, "I wish we knew the answer to that one,"² in answer to my question, "Could you tell me which goods sell best to either group?" Because of this they are not always certain which goods to advertise to the French. In discussing deletion of items in La Presse because of lack of budget space³ (advertising space) a Department Manager stated:

Sometimes we just have to take things out at random because we really don't know which items sell better to either group.⁴

Thus, while bilingual advertising policies are fixed in a general way, latitude is allowed the individual Department Manager to advertise as he sees fit according to the French and English sales response. Items with more appeal to the French are featured in the French pre-holiday advertising, but the same ad is published in the French and English newspapers. The policy was the same in both sample

¹Interview 24

²See Interview 13

³Interview 13

⁴Interview 4

stores.

Policy Regarding Advertising Space

The policy regarding the amount of regular advertising space used in the English and French newspapers was the same in both stores--60 per cent of the store's yearly advertising budget was spent on English advertising and 40 per cent on French advertising. Each department (except those with permission to differ) adhered to this policy. Latitude regarding the amount spent on each item was allowed. Thus if the French response was greater to certain items, the Department Manager was at liberty to spend more on advertising those items to the French. Department Managers feel that the larger the ad the more appeal the item has for a particular group.

The Department Manager determines the size his ad is going to be, keeping in mind the budget he has of course. If he is going to push certain goods to the French then he will spend more money on that ad and then he is expecting more French response from that ad.¹

In some instances a Department Manager would advertise an item in French newspapers but not in English, and vice versa. A few departments, e.g., Ladies' Ready-to-Wear, Rugs and Furs,² had permission to depart from the 60-40

¹Interview 2

²These departments were allowed to operate on a 50-50 French-English advertising basis.

ratio on the basis of a higher French response to these items. In some instances a Department Manager would advertise an item in the French newspapers only.

The policy for special sale advertisements and French pre-holiday advertisements differs from the 60-40 ratio of the regular advertising period. During special sales space is kept equal¹ in French and English newspapers because of the desire to appeal as widely as possible.

Special sale advertising space in the newspapers and folders is kept equal because we want to reach as wide a market as possible. In our folders the item is shown, and below it the descriptions are in English and French, so you see we are absolutely equal there. There might be slight differences in the newspapers, but we keep as closely to the folders as possible in these.²

French pre-holiday advertisements are also kept equal in space in both the French and English newspapers. The desire here is to attract the French without being obvious.

We know that we won't get the same response from our English advertising for French holidays, and we plan it that way. We don't want it obvious that we are trying to attract the French so we keep the ads the same size in both papers. That way we don't get in dutch with the church and La Presse.³

The advertising policy for mutual holidays, such as Christmas, Easter, New Years, Mother's day, etc., is the same as the regular advertising policy--60-40 English-French ratio. Many articles with special appeal to the French are being advertised at this time--small gifts, children's

¹"Equal space" means equal money spent, thus, as space in The Montreal Star is more expensive than in La Presse, an "equal space" ad is slightly smaller in the English paper.

²Interview 24

³Interview 15

clothing, winter sports wear, etc.,--so more items are promoted on a 50-50 basis, or even on a 40-60 English-French ratio than during the regular advertising period.¹

In summary, Department Managers are expected to advertise on a 60-40 English-French basis for all normal advertising. However, certain departments are allowed to increase their French promotion if sales response justifies it. Special sale and French holiday promotions are kept equal in space, if possible, and mutual holiday advertising departs somewhat from the normal policy.

Advertising Policy in Case of Disagreement

Certain disagreements between Department Managers and higher management influence the bilingual advertising. Higher management in some cases brings pressure on Department Managers regarding the days they advertise and the amount of space they use. There was evidence in one department, for instance, that higher management had attempted to change the spatial allotment of promotion which was on a 50-50 English-French basis to the 60-40 basis on which the store as a whole operated. This department was in the basement, and the Department Manager stated, "We get more French in the basement because of the laboring class we are catering to, and this is the reason we have a higher French advertising budget."² He also stated:

¹Interview 24

²Interview 19

The store wants us to go back to 60-40 advertising because [a competitor] used to be 50-50. They just changed to a 60-40 and their customer accounts are showing an increase, but we are showing a change for the better our way, and I'd like to keep it this way. Of course in the end we'll have to do what the big boss says, I suppose--he's always right.¹

Other Department Managers expressed the desire to increase their advertising ratio because they felt that they would get more response from the French if they did so, but that they were prevented from doing so by higher management.

Disagreements existed also regarding the best days on which to advertise. Many departments consider Thursday and Friday the best selling days, especially for lower priced goods. On these days, as well as Saturday, which is considered not quite as good because of the number of people away for the week-end, many working people--especially the French--shop. Consequently, many departments prefer to advertise in the Wednesday, Thursday and Friday papers. Higher management would prefer to see the advertising spaced out more evenly throughout the whole week, and exert pressure to this effect. An executive stated:

We used to advertise mostly budget stuff on Thursday and Friday--to the French--and wife and husband would come in together nights and on the week-end. Career girls came in then too. Our buyers would like us to have all our advertising on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, and they are not too happy about it when we spread it throughout the week....Now the buyers take turns going in at the beginning of the week because the firm tells them they simply must have something in then even if they don't want to. The firm tells them that Monday is good for phoning. The firm likes to have the ads in when

¹Ibid.

people are free.¹

Thus, although some Merchandise Department executives feel that more French advertising should be done in the latter part of the week, higher management changes this pattern of advertising.

Translation

The policy regarding French language advertising was to translate from the English advertising copy rather than to work with duplicate staffs and duplicate procedures in two languages. Translation of the English ads into French was cheaper, involving only several translators in addition to the English staff. Several respondents felt that the French promotion would be more effective if duplicate procedures were used, but this was felt to be too expensive, with the degree of added effectiveness doubtful. An Advertising Department Manager stated:

Our French department rewrites the ad from the English copy. No doubt it would be better to start from scratch in the French ad but this would be altogether too expensive, and then we don't know whether it would add too much. Our translators are pretty good, they don't translate literally, but they take the copy and rephrase it in French in their own words, so it is the best we can do.²

Thus the cost involved prohibited the Advertisers from using the most effective means of French advertising. Translations are not literal, and are accepted by the advertisers as "best they can do" in the situation.

It appeared that there was considerable difference

¹Interview 5

²Ibid.

of opinion regarding the effectiveness of the French translations. One Department Manager stated:

Our staff criticises us most. They call it "bastardized" English...if the writer created a French ad from the start he would say something quite different in French.... The French copywriter would be factual. A French translation from the English where the French translator must stick to what is in the English ad as closely as he can and still try to be accurate only ends up with "anglicized French." This is highly objected by the French public. Of course it cuts costs this way because you can get by with only two or three extra translators, but is it worth it?¹

Another Department Manager criticized the "stiffness" of the translations:

I feel that the advertising in French is too pure and that we are too stiff. It is too educated, and we should be more popular in our appeal.²

The Assistant Advertising Manager explained to us:

This stiffness may be because we had a Chief Translator who was a racial purist, who was very fastidious about the language, and no matter how careful the copywriters were he would change a few words....But I think you're right. Others have said the same thing. We could be more free, or a little less stiff, let us say. I'm going to take this up with our staff soon, and they may have to change whether they like it or not."³

The Chief Translator on the other hand felt that the language had to be as pure as possible, and had plans to gradually eliminate all colloquialisms.

The language in these papers is more French and more pure than in France. We can't afford to take liberties with the language or the newspapers and the people will be down on us....Some words which are not correct French but which the people are used to here in Quebec, we will have to use for a little while yet, but we will gradually introduce the correct words. You have to educate the

¹Interview 19

²Interview 11

³Ibid.

people slowly or they won't know what you are talking about.¹

Translations are admittedly a doubtful compromise to an expensive and problematic linguistic situation, and differences of opinion exist not only between management personnel, but between the English and French executives in the Advertising department.

Policy Regarding Research

The kind and amount of research conducted by the sample stores has an important bearing on the bilingual advertising. If departmental research indicates that the sales response to their ads is 50-50 or 40-60 English-French ratio, they will increase their French advertising above the usual 40 per cent. The policy of higher management regarding research was to leave the method and amount done to the discretion of the Department Manager. He was expected to conduct whatever research was feasible for his department. Where large articles such as furniture and rugs were sold, research and record-keeping were more feasible.

We keep records, and every bill which is written up we keep a record of it. This department is not like ties or other departments where they sell small cash-and-carry-items. Our merchandise rugs always has to be delivered and often installed, so we know where it goes. Every six months we are interested in the trend and we look over our records.²

However, as noted by the above respondent, other departments found such record-keeping impossible and kept no

¹Interview 22

²Interview 21

records.

I don't have any way of telling whether there is any difference in response to our English and French ads. We don't do any research, although every department is supposed to. You often cannot tell if a person is English or French....Our business is a lot of cash-and-carry-and it is hard to tell then, or keep records. We don't try to keep records.¹

Another Department Manager said:

In our department hardware it is hard to keep accurate records because some of our stuff is cash-and-carry and some of it is delivered. Its easier to tell if the customer is French or English on the delivered stuff, but not on the small cash-and-carry items. We get a general idea though from our delivery sales slips. This is as close as we can get to any actual research. We might look over our sales slips before a sale, for example.²

Thus some managers kept extensive records and conducted periodic analyses to try to determine the effectiveness of their bilingual advertising in terms of English-French sales response, and others kept some records which they felt gave them "a general idea"³ of ethnic sales response.

The manager of the rug department, as seen above, was able to record his sales from his customer purchase bills. Others, unable to do this, tried to determine the effectiveness of their ethnic sales response by alternating the insertions of their ads in La Presse and The Montreal Star.

We have tried running the English ad the first night and the French ad the second. We get the biggest response on the day after the English ad, and less the day after the French ad. The result is about 60 per cent response to the English ad and 40 per cent to the French ad. We have tried reversing it, publishing in La Presse the first night and the Star the second, and this reverse always shows the same pattern.⁴

¹Interview 13

³Interview 16

²Interview 14

⁴Interview 18

Still other departments claim that they have tried to check on the response to their bilingual advertising by numbering or marking their goods differently in La Presse and The Montreal Star and noting which markings the customers ask for.

We tried checking up on this by numbering our dresses (a) and (b) in the Star and (c) and (d) in La Presse, but it didn't work, there was too much overlap between the two papers....We've never actually done research on this, it is useless. Our business is mostly cash-and-carry, and we don't know what good research would do anyway.¹

An Advertising executive commented on the value of conducting research:

There's no doubt we need some really good research, but unless you're going to really go into it and do it on a store-wide basis it won't do much good; so much of it now is up to the Department Manager.²

The present research policy was defended by several executives on the basis that it was less costly and troublesome than a full-scale research program, the benefit of which might be dubious. One respondent summed up the situation:

The amount of research needed and the expense of keeping tabulations and analyzing the whole thing would be an enormous expense and bother, and might end up costing more than our advertising now costs even though to some extent we are not getting as much from our advertising in one paper than in another. However, if you felt that you were not getting the same response from the French or English group you might not give up, but would keep trying and hope that a stronger appeal might bring the business.³

The Process of Preparing the Bilingual Advertisement

Types of Bilingual Advertisements

¹Interview 15

²Interview 9

³Ibid.

Three types of advertising are published by the sample stores: Product ads, Prestige ads, and Institutional ads. These types usually have different purposes and are often inserted in different publications.

Product or Item Advertising

The Product or Item ad, sometimes called "the Bread and butter traffic" of the industry, is the presentation of an item in an advertising medium at a given price. These ads may be for large or small items, and constitute the promotion of the main merchandise of the firm.

The Product ads of both sample stores were inserted daily in the two largest daily Montreal papers, The Montreal Star and La Presse. Less extensive Product advertising of more expensive items was published daily in the morning paper. The Gazette; and one store inserted two or three ads a week in Le Devoir usually consisting of more expensive items. According to advertising executives, Product advertising constitutes about 75 per cent of the firm's promotion.

Prestige Advertising

This type of advertising is calculated to build the prestige of the firm and usually consists of the promotion of new fashions. This advertising is done when the firm is introducing new seasonal lines or promoting "fashion firsts," imported merchandise or new "high fashion" products to the market.

Most of the Prestige advertising of both stores was inserted in the morning papers. Executives considered Prestige advertising to constitute about 15 per cent of the firm's promotion.

Institutional Advertising

Institutional advertising constituted about 10 per cent of the firms' advertising. This type of advertising may attempt to contribute something of value to the community--perhaps tell a civic story, commemorate an event, etc. It attempts to promote the store's image as a public servant.

Both sample stores use Institutional advertisements on St. Jean Baptiste day, Christmas and New Years. The Christmas and New Years ads were inserted only in the French newspapers (La Presse and Le Devoir). One store also inserted an Institutional ad supporting a community welfare organization fund drive in the French and English evening papers during the sample period studied. These ads originate in the Advertising department, whereas the Product and Prestige ads originate in the Merchandise departments promoting the item.

Process of Preparing the Bilingual Advertisement for Publication

The Department Manager gives the Advertising department a list, description and price list (in English) of the items he wishes to advertise. He specifies the day he wishes to have the ad appear in the newspapers, which newspapers they are to appear in, the amount of money he

wishes to spend and the approximate size of the ad in each newspaper. As stated previously the amount of emphasis given to each item in the English and French newspapers is usually left to the discretion of the Merchandise Department Manager.

The Department Manager is in charge. It is up to him to see that he makes up his ad according to the budget he has and according to the sale demand....He divides the money up into various months, days, etc., and he places this money within those days. He has only so much money for so much space and has to apportion this out according to his items, (how many he has), his newspapers and the size of his ad.¹

It can be seen that the budget allotment of each department is an important factor in determining the size and amount of advertising promoted by each department. An Advertising Manager stated:

You see they have only so much money to spend. They are on a budget and they have to allot it out for each advertisement. They can't spend out \$500.00 for an item that is only going to net \$1000.00 profit, and they can't spend \$5000.00 on one sale if their total budget is only \$6000.00.²

When the list is received from the Merchandise department, a miniature is drawn up which shows the amount of space allotted per department in the firm's total advertising for that day. When this miniature is approved by the Assistant Manager in charge of space allotments, it is sent to the layout artists. The artists obtain from the departments the items that are to be offered for sale and draw them as they actually are. Heavy items, like furniture, are drawn as they stand on the floor of the

¹Interview 2

²Interview 3

Merchandise department. The Advertising Department

Manager explained:

They have to get the items from the department and draw them just like they are, of if its heavy stuff like furniture, they go down to the department and draw it. They decide how the ad should look on the page according to the amount of money, the size of the items drawn, and the amount of space that is to be left for writing.¹

The miniature is then sent to the copywriters who go to the departments concerned and obtain information about the article. From this information the copy, which forms the written description and general information about the article, is drawn up. The Chief Copywriter stated:

The copywriters go to the departments involved and dig for their information about the article. The information the department may have given us may not do at all. They may say it is "grey" or a "big saving". We want to know the exact shade of grey, e.g. "twilight grey", and the percentage or amount of saving. The public doesn't know how big "big" is. The copywriter must know exactly what will appeal to the public.²

The next step is the checking of the copy. The copy must be carefully examined before it is sent to the newspapers, so that errors may be corrected or changes in wording or style made. After the copy is checked, the ads for French publication are sent to the translators where the important facts of the English ad are selected and rewritten into correct French. The Chief Translator stated:

We don't translate literally. Our French department rewrites the ad from the English copy. The English writers obtain all the information from the various departments at the beginning and then the translators rewrite it in French.³

¹Interview 3

²Interview 9

³Interview 3

The English and French ads are then sent to the English and French set-up men who take the typewritten copy and the art work, put them together for each ad, and mark how the ad is to be set up or arranged in each newspaper. They decide on the size of type, arrangement of the lines and what they consider to be the best use of space available for the money being spent. When the art work is completed, the production man orders the engravings of the art work, from which in turn, the blueprints are made.

Finally the copy and blueprints are sent to the newspaper where the first copy of the advertisement is run through on pink sheets. These are returned to the Advertising Department for proof reading and any necessary corrections. Copies of these first proofs are cut up and sent to the Merchandise Departments involved for their final check. When satisfied as to their correctness, these proofs are initialed by the Merchandise Department Manager and sent back to the Advertising department to be filed for future reference. A second proof on white paper is sent by the newspaper for further examination and returned to the newspaper for publication the night before the scheduled sale. The Advertising Manager stated that "it is very important to keep on schedule and we generally do so."¹

The advertising production schedule was outlined by the Assistant Advertising Department Manager of store "A" as follows:

¹Ibid.

Advertising Production Schedule¹

Copy due from Merchandise Departments...	5.00	p.m.	Monday
Miniatures completed.....	5.00	p.m.	Tuesday
Artroom layouts completed.....	5.00	p.m.	Wednesday
Cut Headings.....	4.00	p.m.	Thursday
Copy Completed.....	1.00	p.m.	Friday
Checking copy.....	1.00	p.m.	Monday
Artwork completed.....	5.00	p.m.	Monday
Set-up completed.....	5.00	p.m.	Tuesday
1st proof completed.....	5.00	p.m.	Thursday
2nd proof completed.....	2.00	p.m.	Friday

Selling date is the paper of the following Monday.

Frequently smooth functioning of the advertising process is hindered by the fact that some Advertising staff members are not bilingual and thus are not in contact with some areas of the work. The department is in reality divided into two sections, English and French, although theoretically it is a single unit and is intended to function as such. The Sectional Manager and Assistant Managers are English, with little understanding of French. The Advertising Manager is French and fluently bilingual and, according to an Assistant Manager, "he functions as head of the French section, although of course the department is not divided up like that-- we function as a unit here."² In another interview my same informant said, "Mr. the other Assistant Manager is head of the English section."³ All French personnel are fluently bilingual but their work on the French ads of necessity isolates them to some extent from the English staff during working hours since their work of translation and set-up etc., is handled after the English staff has processed the ad.

¹Interview 25

²Interview 2

³Interview 7

According to a translator:

We don't have too much to do with the English section during working hours except to clarify things we might not understand in their work. You see they complete their work right up to publication before we get the ad, so most of our conferring is with our own French staff.¹

Frequently changes are made in the English ad after it is handed to the French translators and, occasionally, the French translators are not informed of the change. Errors therefore occur more frequently in bilingual advertising than would normally appear in unilingual advertising. One Advertising executive commented:

It beats all. No matter how many times the proofs are sent back you always find something wrong. It's so much tougher handling two languages--you have twice as many things to worry about--and it seems to be impossible to avoid making slip-ups between the French and English ads, although I think we do a pretty good job most of the time.²

The process of composing the Institutional advertisement is the same as that for the Product and Prestige ads described above. However as previously stated, the Institutional ad originates in the Advertising Department. The procedure and time schedule for the production of the bilingual advertising is the same in both sample stores studied.

Major Advertising Media of the Sample Stores

Both sample stores do the major portion of their advertising in three Montreal newspapers, The Montreal Star, La Presse, (evening papers) and The Gazette (morning paper).

¹
Interview 23

²
Interview 22

One store inserts some ads in the French morning paper, Le Devoir. The largest volume of the advertising is done in The Montreal Star, with La Presse second; these are the two papers with the largest circulations. Institutional and High Fashion ads are run in the morning papers by both stores. An Advertising executive stated:

We run the bulk of our advertising in the evening papers. They are more expensive than the morning papers, I'd say 50 per cent more, because they have a wider circulation. However the morning papers are building up their circulation fast.¹

An Advertising Manager commented:

The Gazette is good for the higher class merchandise and reaches more of the business and professional people. We advertise most of our Institutional and High Fashion ads in the Gazette. In Le Devoir we advertise only expensive merchandise and do not duplicate this advertising in The Gazette, Star or La Presse. This paper goes to a better class of people, it has a better tone--a sort of editorial newspaper.²

The executives of both stores considered that many of the French people who read La Presse and Le Devoir also read The Montreal Star and The Gazette. They also felt that many more French read the English papers than vice versa. Thus some "overlap" was felt to exist in French and English readers. The comment of one Advertising Manager was:

The cultured French do read the English paper. The French cultured business man--lawyer, doctor, scientist or teacher--will buy an English paper because of his contacts with the English people and the market, and he will bring that paper home. He is married to a French Canadian girl, and she is likely to be well-educated too, but she will like to read the ads in her own native tongue. This results in the English advertisements being paired with

¹Interview 3

²Interview 5

the French. We do spend more money on English advertising.¹

Although the circulation of La Presse (258,675 weekdays, 275,035 weekends) is larger than The Montreal Star (183,544 weekdays, 198,933 weekends), The Montreal Star, according to executives, brought more customers response and reached a larger potential clientele. The explanation was that La Presse didn't reach as many people in the Montreal area as the circulation figures appeared to indicate. This paper circulated to rural and urban centres throughout Quebec province, whereas The Montreal Star mainly serviced Montreal, with some circulation in nearby urban centres such as Sherbrooke, Granby and Three Rivers.

An Advertising Manager said:

Well, we are actually selling the city of Montreal, but we incidentally get fine coverage of all the French Canadians and others in all of Quebec and even New Brunswick from La Presse. However, our immediate aim is toward the market in Montreal. The Gazette has eight or ten thousand subscribers in Ottawa, it is the largest morning paper in Ottawa. We get this circulation out of it as a bonus. The area we expect to get from the Star is seventy-five to one hundred miles. The better people of Sherbrooke, Magog, Granby, and Three Rivers will come in to shop; it is quite close by car. People come here from Sherbrooke to the doctors here and shop while they're in here.²

As stated before, advertising costs are highest in The Montreal Star, but the advertising executives of both stores feel that it is the most effective newspaper.

We are really using less space in French. We are using less space in La Presse...we get more response from the Star. The Star is more expensive. We don't advertise nearly as much in the Gazette, and still less in Le

¹Interview 7

²Interview 7

Devoir. Our advertising in those two papers is usually more "high class" in price, quality and style.¹

General Summary

This chapter has been primarily descriptive in nature, endeavouring to outline for the two sample stores the historical setting, organization, communication, decision-making procedures, policies and process as they related to bilingual advertising. In addition, certain internal pressures bearing on bilingual advertising were discussed.

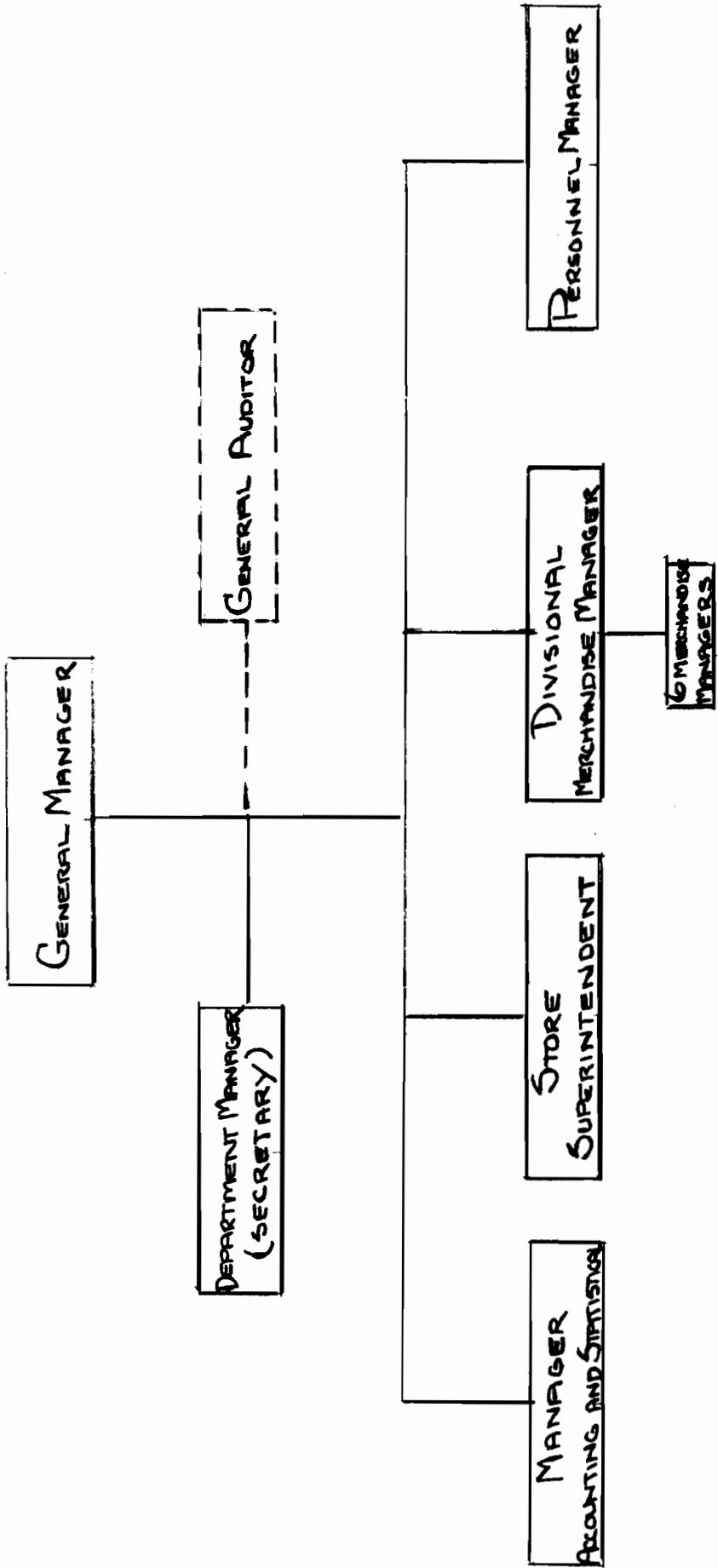
The policies and decisions of management relating to bilingual advertising were processed through the formal and informal communication channels; formal policies and decisions proceeded downward from higher to lower management while information travelled both upward and horizontally through formal and informal means.

Finally the processing of the bilingual advertisements was outlined. English ads are completed up to the end of the copywriting stage, when they are turned over to the French translators for translation, set-up and final production. Because of inadequate communication between the French and English staffs, errors sometimes occur in bilingual advertising which would not occur in unilingual advertising. Advertising occurs primarily in The Montreal Star and La Presse, with the larger share in The Montreal Star. The executives justify

¹Interview 22

this by stating that a significant number of Montreal area French subscribers read both newspapers, thus the Star is covering the English and part of the middle and upper-class French market.

CHART A



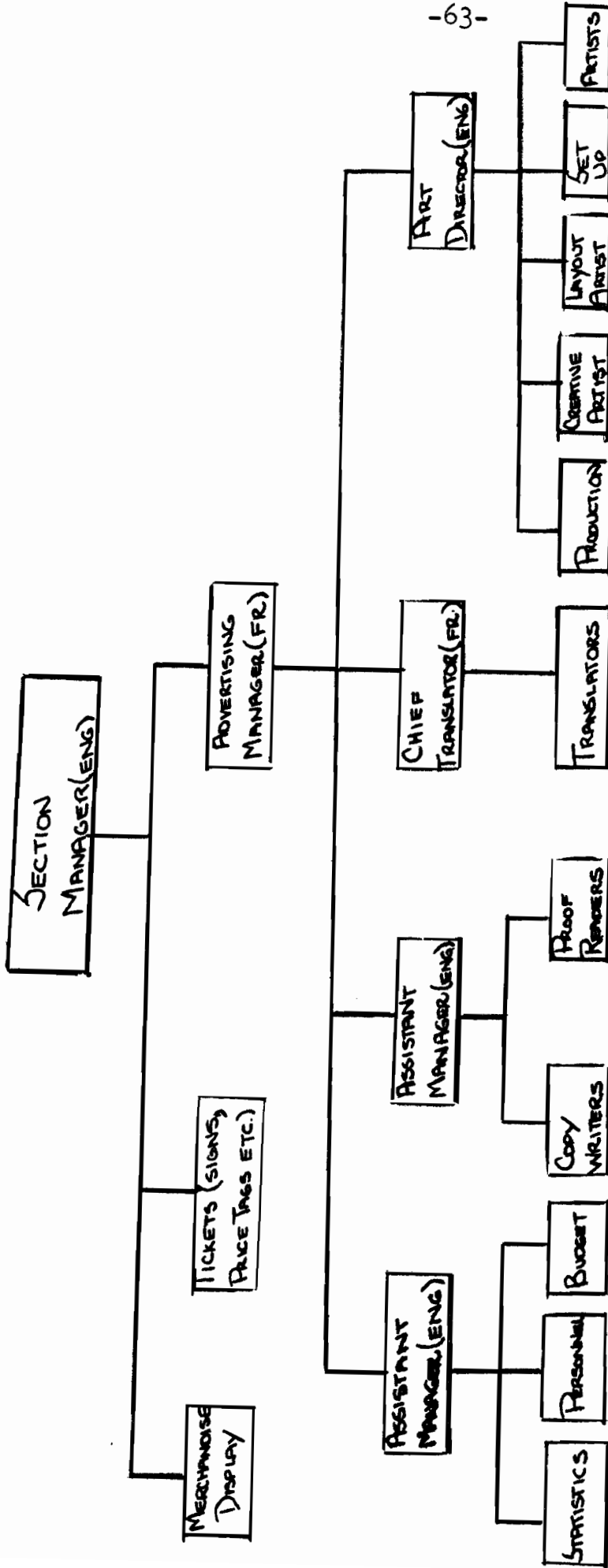
DEPARTMENTS
 GENERAL OFFICES
 WAGES OFFICE
 STOCK AUDIT
 ETC.

DEPARTMENTS
 SERVICE BUREAU
 CARETAKING GROUP
 SUPPLY OFFICE & PRINTING
 ETC.

DEPARTMENTS
 ADVERTISING, TICKET AND
 MERCHANDISING DISPLAY
 APPLIANCES
 ACCESSORIES
 GARMENTS
 HOME FURNISHINGS
 LOWER PRICE MERCHANDISE
 FASHION BUREAU

DEPARTMENTS
 PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION
 OFFICE
 EMPLOYMENT OFFICE
 STAFF TRAINING OFFICE

CHART B



CHAPTER III

BILINGUAL ADVERTISING CONTENT

In the previous chapter we considered the place of the advertising department in the store organization and the bicultural setting. We shall now consider the content of the advertising. Our primary source of data derives from a content analysis of the bilingual advertising of the sample stores. Since a content analysis is the only accurate way to know whether advertisers employ the same or different advertising in English and French and to discover just what these differences are, this is the most effective technique to use.¹ A secondary source of data was interviews which, as we shall see, generally supported and helped to explain the findings of the content analysis.

The Content Analysis

Sample Used

The newspaper advertisements in the Montreal Star, La Presse, The Gazette and Le Devoir for both sample stores were analyzed for the periods stated below. Some advertising

¹Bernard Berelson, Content Analysis in Communication Research, (Glencoe, III.: The Free Press, 1952).

is done by the sample stores on radio, television, and in certain weekly suburban newspapers, but the advertisers considered this advertising to be negligible and to overlap with newspaper promotion. One advertising executive stated that "this advertising reaches both groups, but so do the Gazette, Presse and Star, and they do it on a bigger scale and more successfully."¹ The amount of radio and television promotion was considered "very small--not worth bothering about",^{2,3} by advertising executives of both stores. Both stores also do some national advertising but this too is a minor part of their advertising, and, since it is conducted in English only,^{4,5} is of limited influence in the Montreal area. This research is confined to a content analysis of the four above-mentioned newspapers which both advertisers consider their major and most effective promotion. Since the La Presse (French) advertising to a great degree is a translation of the English advertising inserted in The Montreal Star, this was particularly relevant for my purposes. The volume of bilingual advertising handled by the morning newspapers (particularly The Gazette) is also considered to be large⁶ and to cover a wide clientele. Advertising in The

¹Interview 5

²Ibid.

³Interview 7

⁴Interview 4

⁵Interview 5

⁶Intervyew 2

Gazette, however, is not directly comparable with that of the French paper Le Devoir, since translation is not ordinarily involved.

Sample Periods

The sample periods covered by the content analysis were as follows:

Regular advertising period.....	October 1-31,1960.
Special sale periods.....	December 26,1960 January 9,1961.
(Sample store "A").....	April 29-May 4,1960.
(Sample store "B").....	May 2-May 7, 1960.
Major French-English "Festival" periods.....	Dec. 17-24, 1960. Apr. 9-16, 1960.
Major French holidays.	Ascension day.....May 24,1960. St. Jean Baptiste day.....June 24,1960. Assumption day.....Aug. 15,1960. All Saint's day.....Nov. 1,1960. Immaculate Conception day.....Dec. 8,1960.
Major French-English holidays....	New Years.....Jan. 1,1960. Victoria day.....May 23,1960. Dominion day.....July 1,1960. Mother's day.....May 9,1960. Thanksgiving day.....Oct. 10,1960.

The month of October was chosen as the sample period for studying the normal advertising of each store. This month was selected because the Advertising Managers of both stores indicated that, in October, the advertising was least likely to contain large special store-wide sales, and mostly regular advertising was done. However, the advertising managers stated that no month was entirely free of special sales promotion; thus during the week of October 17 to October 22, one store conducted a "French Festival" featuring French

imported products, and from October 27 to October 31 the other store promoted special electrical appliance, houseware and winter fashion sales.¹

The periods of April 9 to April 16, 1960, and December 17 to December 24, 1960 were chosen for study of the advertising promotion of the two major festival periods which are observed by both the French and English speaking groups, Easter and Christmas. It was thought that a comparison of the French-English advertising content of these two shared festivals together with other pre-holiday advertising might reveal distinctive differences in content. The interviews had indicated that, although there was much similarity in goods advertised to both groups at these times, there were some significant differences.

The advertising in the English and French newspapers on the day before all French and English holidays (other than Christmas and Easter) was also analyzed in order to discover how these might affect the bilingual advertising. Interviews with advertising and merchandise department managers indicated that their pre-holiday advertising content varied from their usual promotions, especially before Roman Catholic (French) holidays. We hoped to get information here on the extent to which ethnic holidays influenced bilingual advertising content.

The period of December 26, 1960 to January 9, 1961

¹All the advertising during this month is treated as "regular", that is, normal advertising, and none is included in the "special sale" category.

was chosen for two reasons: (1) because it contained the New Year's sales promotions (of interest to both groups, but according to interviews, especially to the French), and the Roman Catholic festival of "Epiphany" or "Little Christmas," on January 6, 1961, also mentioned as an important French festival; and (2) because this was the only period in the year 1960 in which the special sales promotion of both sample corresponded in content--their annual linen and fur sales.

Special sale advertising was included in the content analysis to determine whether the bilingual ads at this time revealed more or fewer differences than regular advertising, and if so, what they were. The periods of April 29 to May 4, 1960 in one store, and May 2 to May 7, 1960 in the other store, were selected for the special sale advertising because these periods provided data on store-wide sales (involving all departments) in both stores. Although the dates do not precisely correspond, it was felt that the correspondence was close enough to warrant choosing these particular sales. These were the only store-wide sales during the year for which the dates in both stores corresponded so closely. During this sale, folders and letters to customers were sent out by both stores in addition to the newspaper promotion. The folders for these sales were not included in the content analysis since the newspaper advertising covered the same items.

The above selected periods provide a basis for comparing the English-French advertising for (1) a period of normal

advertising; (2) special sale periods; (3) holiday periods which are celebrated by both French and English groups; and (4) pre-holiday advertising of short, usually one day, duration. The selected advertising periods corresponded in both sample stores as closely as possible in date and purpose of the sale. All the newspaper advertising for these periods was conducted bilingually, the ads in La Presse and The Montreal Star being directly comparable, as noted above.

Characteristics of the Sample

The total number of pages examined was 551, with the number of pages and percentage of advertising per newspaper as follows:¹

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF PAGES AND PERCENTAGE OF BILINGUAL
ADVERTISING ANALYZED^a

Newspapers	Pages	Percentage
<u>English</u>		
The Montreal Star.....	210	38.11
The Gazette.....	102	18.51
	312	56.62
<u>French</u>		
La Presse.....	166	30.13
Le Devoir.....	73	13.25
	239	43.38
Totals	551	100.00

^aThese figures include all sample periods of both stores studied.

¹It was not feasible to ascertain the exact number of advertisements studied, since occasionally there was only one ad per page; and on other occasions--basement store, dollar day and similar ads--as many as 175. The ads were counted for two weeks, one during regular advertising (October 10-15) period, and one during the French-English Festival period (December

It can be seen from table 1 that the bilingual advertising in these four newspapers is very close to the 60-40 ratio which was noted in Chapter II as the declared advertising policy of the two sample stores. As noted below¹ it is the holiday and special sale advertising which reduce the English figure below 60 per cent.

The sample periods were also analyzed to determine the amount of advertising covered by each of the three sub-periods: (1) special sale, (2) holiday, and (3) regular.

TABLE 2

AMOUNT OF BILINGUAL ADVERTISING PER SAMPLE PERIODS STUDIED^a

Period	No. of days	Pages	Percentage
Regular.....	28	257	47.0
Holiday.....	23	162	29.5
Special Sale.....	15	132	23.5
Totals	66	551	100.0

^aThese figures include all sample periods of both stores studied.

The sample periods were further analyzed to determine the amount of advertising covered in the French and English newspapers for each of the three sub-periods. Table 3 shows that the 60-40 French-English advertising policy is closely

17-24). These averaged at 15 per page. Thus the total ads for all sample periods is estimated at 551 x 15 or 8265 ads.

These weeks were chosen because the advertising managers of both stores assured me that they were "perfect examples" of (a) a week of normal advertising and (b) a week of special store-wide holiday advertising. (Interview 2a)

¹See table 3, page 71.

adhered to in the regular advertising, less closely followed in holiday and least of all in special sale advertising.

TABLE 3
AMOUNT OF ADVERTISING PER SAMPLE PERIOD
ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE GROUP

Period	English		French		Total	
	Pages	Percentage	Pages	Percentage	Pages	Percentage
Regular.....	153	59.14	104	40.86	257	100
Holiday.....	91	56.17	71	43.83	162	100
Special Sale.	68	51.52	64	48.48	132	100
Totals	312	56.62	239	43.38	551	100

Categories of Analysis

In analyzing the content, five areas were investigated:

- (1) the product promotion to the English and French;
- (2) spatial allotment of items in bilingual advertising;
- (3) French translations;
- (4) themes of the advertising; and
- (5) style of the advertising.

The products promoted are analyzed according to the percentage of items advertised to each language group for the three sub periods: regular period, pre-holiday and mutual festival period, and special sale period.

The advertisers considered that the amount of space allotted to particular products in their bilingual advertising denoted the degree of emphasis placed on their promotion to each group. Thus in considering the amount of space allotted to items in their bilingual advertising we shall examine (1) the products given equal space in the English and French newspapers; (2) the products given (a) more space in the English

papers, and (b) more space in the French papers. In considering category two, we shall note the differences which exist in each of three sub periods: regular, pre-holiday and mutual festival, and special sale.

The "translations" section involved a comparison of the La Presse ads of the sample stores with the original English ads in The Montreal Star. Six categories were studied: (a) "Coined" terms and phrases in translations; (b) technical terms causing translation difficulty; (c) French Canadian words used in translations; (d) "mutual" terms; (e) errors in translation; and (f) translation variations between sample store "A" and sample store "B".

Themes in product and institutional advertising of the two sample stores for the total period were studied to determine what similarities and differences in basic ideas, if any, existed between French and English advertising.

Lastly, the English and French advertising style of both sample stores was studied. The style of the language and art work was included since a number of advertising officials affirmed that the difference between French and English advertising styles was significant. It is recognized that it is difficult to analyze style precisely; that of necessity, there is a certain amount of arbitrariness.¹ Nor was it feasible in this thesis to obtain tests of reliability. I have, therefore, generalized to some degree, but feel that

¹Ithiel DeSola Pool, Trends in Content Analysis, (Chicago III.: University of Illinois, 1959.)

my comments and illustrations will show what I mean.

Product Promotion to the English and French

The items advertised in English and French differed somewhat depending on whether the advertising was (a) regular (that is, promoting no special store-wide sale); (b) pre-holiday (promotion of goods the day before a religious or national holiday); or (c) special sale. The content analysis revealed the following:

TABLE 4

ITEMS ADVERTISED IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH ADVERTISEMENTS
FOR TOTAL SAMPLE PERIOD^a

Items Advertised	Percentage		
	Regular	Pre-holiday	Special Sale
To both English and French..	72.8	90.30	97.7
To English Only.....	10.4	5.01	1.1
To French Only.....	16.8	4.69	1.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0

^aIn determining these figures the French and English sample store ads for each day were compared and a note made of the products advertised to each group. Analysis was made on the basis of 551 pages (or 8265 ads) thus studied. When a product was advertised to one group and not to the other, this was noted as a difference. Thus, the figure of 10.4 per cent under "regular" indicates that in 10.4 per cent (or 404 ads studied) the products were promoted only in the English advertising. Under the same column, 72.8 per cent, or 6017 products advertised were promoted to both groups.

As can be seen, the least difference in items advertised bilingually occurred during the special sale advertising, with somewhat more differentiation occurring in the pre-holiday ads, and the most difference in the regular promotion. The high degree of identity of products promoted to both groups

is seen in that the lowest figure is 72.8 per cent.

Regular Advertising Period

Table 4 shows that during the regular advertising period 27.2 per cent of the ads differed, with the higher proportion (16.8 per cent) in the French advertising. Almost exclusively the difference was in the omission of a particular product from the ad of either the English or French newspaper. The omissions applied to three classes of product: (i) items specifically French or English in nature, such as books; (ii) items felt to sell or appeal primarily to one group; and (iii) limitation on French advertising by the manufacturer.

TABLE 5

PROMOTION OF PRODUCTS TO ONE GROUP ONLY DURING
REGULAR ADVERTISING PERIOD^a

Product	<u>Percentage</u>	
	English	French
Specifically French or English in nature...	3.6	4.8
Sell primarily to one group.....	6.2	12.0
Limitation to one group by manufacturer....	.6	----
Totals	10.4	16.8

^aBased on products advertised in 153 pages of English and 104 pages of French promotion.

Products Specifically French or English in Nature

Some merchandise by its very language, such as books, greeting cards and personal stationery was directed to just one ethnic group. As shown in Table 5, this occurred in 3.6 per cent of the regular English advertising and in 4.8 per cent of the French. English books were advertised every Saturday in The Gazette and on two alternate Tuesdays in

Le Devoir. La Presse carried more greeting card and personal stationary ads than The Montreal Star during this period.

Products Considered to Sell Primarily to One Group

The second class of omissions from the regular product advertisements was in merchandise which the advertisers felt would appeal more readily to one or the other group. Table 5 shows that 6.2 per cent of the products promoted to the English and 12 per cent of the products promoted to the French were in this category. Typewriters, briefcases, more expensive furniture, furs, clothing, slip covers and draperies and less well-known French perfumes were included in the products promoted primarily to the English. Underwear, jewelry, children's clothing, small wares, hair dressing, cheaper dresses and draperies were not always included in the English ads. One Department Manager said:

Slip covers go to the English, and we advertise them to the English mostly. This is a very expensive item....The French, or at least many of them, don't go for the higher priced articles. The heavy merchandise sells better to the English.¹

Another Department Manager commented:

Occasionally we will push some goods to the French like communion clothes and accessories as well as rocking chairs and lower priced goods.²

The following tables show the percentage of ads which omitted the items named in either the English or French advertising. The percentages of times these items were advertised in both languages on other occasions is listed

¹Interview 7

²Interview 5

for comparison.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE OF PROMOTION OF ITEMS IN ENGLISH ONLY AND IN BOTH LANGUAGES

Product	Percentage		
	English	Both	Total
Typewriters.....	.90	.05	
Briefcases.....	1.10	---	
Higher Priced Furniture.....	1.90	1.20	
Higher Priced Furs.....	.70	1.80	
Higher Priced Clothing.....	.03	.60	
Higher Priced Slip Covers.....	.80	.03	
Higher Priced Draperies.....	.75	.02	
Less well known Perfume.....	.02	---	
Totals	6.20	3.70	9.90

In two instances (higher priced Furs and Clothing) the percentage of advertising in both languages is more than the number of "English only" ads, indicating that it was the rule, rather than the exception, to advertise these items bilingually. In the case of briefcases and perfume, no French ads appeared, and in the case of typewriters, higher priced¹ furniture, slip covers and draperies, promotion was considerably higher to the English.

Similarly the following table shows a comparison between the percentages of items promoted only in French and bilingual promotion of these same items on other occasions.

¹The term "higher priced" refers to items which are found in departments other than the basement. "Lower priced" refers to merchandise located in the basement. Thus departments for lower priced dresses, house-furnishings are located in the basement, while these same goods of better quality and at higher prices are located from the first to the fifth floors of the store.

TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE OF PROMOTION OF ITEMS IN
FRENCH ONLY AND IN BOTH LANGUAGES

Product	French	Both	Total
Underwear (Children's and Adults).....	2.0		.8
Jewelry.....	.8		.6
Children's clothing.....	3.1	1.2	
Small Wares.....	3.2		.9
Hair Dressing.....	.4		.2
Cheap Dresses.....	1.4		.8
Cheap Draperies and Slip Covers.....	1.1		.8
Totals	12.0	4.5	16.5

The total percentage of promotion of these items to the French is nearly double that of the "English only" promotion (6.20 per cent) and the overall ratio of "French only" vs. "both languages" promotion is larger, approximately 3.1. We note that every item listed in Table 7 shows the "French" figure larger than the "Both" figure, and that the difference between the two columns in Table 7 is larger than that of Table 6. Thus there is stronger promotion in these "French only" advertisements than of the "English only" advertisements.

Limitation on the Advertisement of Product by Manufacturer

This type of omission occurred only in Cosmetics where, according to the Department Manager, the wholesaler pays all (or a large percentage) of the advertising and promotion costs.¹ Eight ads of this nature were involved during the sample period, all for the same product. One

¹Interview 20

manufacturer will contract to allow a discount only on English advertising. The retail advertisers refuse to assume the increased cost of French advertisements.

Pre-holiday Advertising Period

The pre-holiday bilingual ads were examined for the following holidays:¹ Epiphany, Ascension day, St. Jean Baptiste day, Assumption day, All Saint's day and Immaculate Conception day. These six holidays are considered "French" holidays, as they are essentially Roman Catholic religious holidays not shared by English Protestants. The following holidays are considered "mutual" holidays as they are either religious or secular holidays shared by both groups: Christmas, New Years, Easter, Victoria day, Dominion day, Mother's day and Thanksgiving day. We have noted² that in the pre-holiday advertising, 90.3 per cent of the products promoted are the same in the French and English newspapers. In 5.01 per cent of the ads examined the items advertised were in the English newspapers only, and in 4.69 per cent of the ads the item was advertised only in the French newspapers. The total number of pages examined was 162, 91 English and 71 French.³

A breakdown of the 5.01 per cent English and 4.69 per cent French difference per holiday shows the following:

¹See Chapter III, p. 64.

²See Table 4

³See Table 3

TABLE 8

DIFFERENCE IN BILINGUAL PRE-HOLIDAY ADVERTISING PER HOLIDAY^a

Holiday	Percentage	
	English	French
<u>French only</u>		
Epiphany.....	.020	.025
Ascension day.....	.030	.020
St. Jean Baptiste day.....	.050	.030
Assumption day.....	.020	.020
All Saint's day.....	.025	.020
Immaculate Conception day.....	.030	.025
Totals	.175	.140
<u>Mutual Holidays</u>		
Christmas.....	2.41	1.20
New Years.....	.60	.70
Easter.....	.905	2.21
Victoria day.....	.04	.06
Dominion day.....	.03	.02
Thanksgiving day.....	.05	.105
Mother's day.....	.80	.255
Totals	4.835	4.55
French only.....	.175	.140
Mutual Holidays.....	4.835	4.55
Totals	5.01	4.69

^aChristmas and Easter holiday advertising covered six days each, all other holidays one day.

We see that there is less difference in the French pre-holiday advertising (.035) than in the mutual holiday advertising (.285). This finding is consistent with statements made by advertising executives. Several advertising executives claimed that their bilingual advertising before French religious holidays was nearly identical. Since many French establishments close on those days the managers felt that many French people

came "up town" to shop, so that merchandise which the advertisers feel would be more attractive to the French is advertised in both the French and English papers.^{1,2} A Department Manager stated:

We advertise to appeal to the French, and advertise Semi Moderns on the day before the holidays. We would be sure to include this in our ad and have it in the store at this time. This is general for all the store advertising before French holidays--we try to keep this not obvious, but do advertise goods which we feel will appeal to the French just before their holiday, although the same ad will appear also in the Star. We don't expect to get the same amount of English response though.³

The smallest amount of item difference was .02 per cent (Epiphany and Assumption day) in English advertising and Ascension day, Assumption day, All Saint's day, and Dominion day in the French advertising. The largest differences occurred in the English Christmas advertising (2.41 per cent), and the French Easter advertising (2.21 per cent). The .02 per cent figure represented a difference of only three items between the French and English ads of both sample stores; 2.41 per cent represented 76 items.

Mutual Holiday Advertising

The holidays showing the largest differences between French and English product promotion have been selected in order to show the kind and degree of difference in items advertised. The holidays are: Christmas, Table 9; Easter, Table 10; Mother's day, Table 11; and Thanksgiving day, Table 12.

¹Interview 12

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

TABLE 9

DIFFERENCE IN BILINGUAL PRE-CHRISTMAS PRODUCT PROMOTION

Product	<u>Percentage</u>	
	English	French
House Furnishings (coffee tables, lamps, occasional chairs, etc.).	.40	.03
Higher Priced Cameras.....	.35	.05
Lower Priced Cameras.....	.06	.16
Higher Priced Clothing (Adults).....	.45	.10
Jewellery.....	.08	.16
Pets.....	--	.10
Food.....	.24	.10
Lower Priced Clothing (Adults).....	.08	.14
Lower Priced Clothing (Children).....	.02	.10
Higher Priced Drapes and Slip Covers.....	.50	.05
Lower Priced Drapes and Slip Covers.....	.04	.13
Housewares.....	.01	.04
Appliances.....	.18	.04
Totals	2.41	1.20

Most noticeable in the above table is the difference in promotion of higher and lower priced merchandise to the English and French Canadians respectively. The largest differences were in promotion of House Furnishings, higher priced gifts, clothing and appliances to the English speaking group, and in gifts, lower priced clothing, draperies and pets to the French speaking group. This is consistent with statements in several interviews, among them comments by two Managers:

We do very well in December....We do a big business for example in cheaper, ready-made slip covers, drapes and new curtains. Our most pronounced item is slip covers at Christmas. The French want to fix up for the company coming at the holidays.¹

¹Interview 17

We have a pet shop, and at Christmas, Mother's day and Easter we promote it. The French people are very fond of birds, especially Canaries....The French buy more housewares at Christmas time than the English, they are very fond of gadgets.¹

Several Department Managers stated that they promoted more expensive items to the English at Christmas since the English "had more money"² and "liked the prestige of higher priced merchandise."³ The French were considered as "having larger families than the English and fond of dressing their children."⁴ The French were also said to be especially interested in clothing and fashions at this time because of the parties they would be attending.

At Christmas and New Years there is a midnight supper, and this is a dress-up affair like Easter. There would be an inclination to buy a hat, coat, dress etc. The departments would push these items more at that time to the French.⁵

French Christmas and Easter ad differences consisted also in the promotion of gift items for adults and children:

We will advertise small items like coffee tables and smaller items like occasional chairs at Christmas time, mostly to the English. The French give smaller, more personal items at Christmas, New Years and Easter.⁶

¹Interview 18

²Interview 4

³Interview 20

⁴Interview 9

⁵Interview 10

⁶Ibid.

TABLE 10

DIFFERENCE IN BILINGUAL PRE-EASTER PRODUCT PROMOTION

Product	Percentage	
	English	French
Higher Priced Clothing (Adults).....	.25	.18
Lower Priced Clothing (Adults).....	.05	.50
Children's Clothing.....	.10	.17
Pets.....	.02	.40
Religious goods.....	---	.20
Jewellery.....	.10	.35
French Perfume (less well-known).....	.06	---
Food.....	.115	.14
Gifts (Cameras, Electric Shavers, Watches)	.16	.07
Candy, Party Favors.....	.05	.20
Totals	.905	2.21

Table 10 shows that before Easter, lower priced clothing, children's clothing, pets, religious goods, food, candy and party favors are promoted to the French more than to the English, but the higher priced clothing, gifts and perfume are advertised more to the English. This finding is supported by the statements of several Merchandise and Advertising Department executives.

In Department X stationery and party favors went good. We have tried this for special events like Easter, St. Jean Baptiste Day and New Years. These special ads were advertised in La Presse but not in the Star.¹

Another item that we advertise to the French and not to the English is first communion goods, clothes--dresses, shoes, veils, etc.--and rosaries, missals, crucifixes, etc.²

The French dress up more at Christmas and Easter than the English do, and the French girl will buy three \$9.98

¹Interview 10

²Ibid.

dresses so she will have lots of fashionable clothes, and the English woman will buy one \$30.00 one which she will expect to wear several seasons....Hats too are a big item with the French because they have to go to church, and they will buy a hat they don't need or don't really want then. We run hat ads at festival seasons and this results in really good business....Church is a real parade, especially at Easter, so this is the incentive to dress up. Then the French people buy more clothing-- dresses, coats, handbags, shoes, gloves, etc., also children's clothing.¹

We observe that, whereas there was double the amount of over-all promotion of specific items to the English in the Christmas promotion, there was double the amount of over-all promotion of specific items to the French-speaking group at Easter.

TABLE 11

DIFFERENCE IN BILINGUAL PRE-MOTHER'S DAY PRODUCT PROMOTION

Product	<u>Percentage</u>	
	English	French
Clothing.....	.10	.045
Jewellery.....	.10	.049
Cosmetics.....	.08	.025
Pets.....	---	.037
Candy.....	.15	.035
Appliances.....	.13	.009
Small gifts.....	.24	.055
Totals	.80	.255

For Pre-Mother's Day advertising, the promotion of all items in the above list is larger to the English Canadians than to the French Canadians with the exception of the "Pets" item which was not advertised in English. The Advertising Manager of one of the sample stores stated:

¹Interview 4

Mother's day is beginning to catch on among the French, but our promotion is still stronger to the English. The pet shop promotes pets--especially birds--to them [French] at this time and they do a good business.¹

TABLE 12

DIFFERENCE IN BILINGUAL PRE-THANKSGIVING DAY PRODUCT PROMOTION

Product	<u>Percentage</u>	
	English	French
Food.....	.03	---
Party Favors.....	.02	---
Basement Store.....	---	.105
Totals	.05	.105

The above table shows that items promoted to the English-speaking population were for celebration of the holiday²-turkeys, cranberry sauce, pumpkin pie, etc. The ad (of one store) featuring basement store items which appeared in Friday night's La Presse, was the usual Friday night basement store ad. Regarding the items promoted to the English Canadians, one executive said:

Another big difference is Thanksgiving day. Here it is the English who celebrate more, and this is an English institution rather than French, although the French do get the holiday too and to that extent may be said to celebrate it. We advertise Turkeys, hams, chickens, cranberry sauce--and you know--all the general Thanksgiving foods at this time.³

Although there does not appear to be any appreciable

¹Interview 23

²Thanksgiving Day fell on a Saturday.

³Thanksgiving was included in the "mutual Holidays" category because the French get the day off work as well as the English, and some are said to celebrate it. (Interview 23)

difference in product promotion to either group at New Years¹ a number of interviews suggested there was a difference in the English and French customs and buying habits at this time.

An Advertising executive explained this:

Another instance of having equal advertising but different response, and a response that we expect to be different, is at New Years. There is a difference here in selling. We would not sell gifts at New Years to the English, but we would to the French because many of them still feel that it is the Christmas season and they celebrate the whole twelve days from Christmas to Epiphany rather than just Christmas day as the English do....It used to be that Christmas was more a religious day and New Years was the big gift giving day. Epiphany was very important for the family get-togethers too, but this is changing now. However, the New Years gift giving is still important to many of the French. For this reason we keep all our Xmas decorations and sales on till after New Years and still keep advertising our Christmas goods till after New Years.²

Special Sale Advertising Period

The most similar products ads occurred in the special sale promotions, with 97.7 per cent of the ads identical to both groups.³ The sale periods examined for the content analysis were December 26, 1960 to January 9, 1961 (both stores); and April 29 to May 4, 1960 (one sample store) and May 2 to May 7, 1960 (the other sample store). Slight differences in item content were found in the mid-winter linen and fur sale (.9 per cent English, and .7 per cent French). Higher priced drapes were advertised to the English only, and lower priced throws only to the French; while some higher priced furs, stoles and coats were omitted in French

¹Table 8

²Interview 10

³See Table 4

ads. Differences in the May sale advertising were also slight--.2 per cent in the English ads and .5 per cent in the French.¹ Some exclusive perfumes as well as cookware and food items were omitted from the May sale French ads; and some cheaper paintings, plants and unpainted furniture were omitted from the English ads.

The reasons given for the high degree of similarity of product promotion were: (1) the issuance of sale folders at these times was simplified; and (2) the general store-wide promotion prevented selectivity of items to a single group.

An Advertising Manager explained:

We promoted the same goods to both groups in both our newspaper and folder advertising in our special sales, especially our big store-wide sales. You see, our newspaper ad is essentially the same as our folders, and one is intended to support the other. When you are passing out folders to all the householders in Montreal you advertise the same item, and underneath it you put the same information to both groups, only one caption is in English and the other is in French....In a big sale, like the annual linen and fur sale or our store-wide sales, every department is expected to contribute [in the store-wide sale]. You want to have as wide an appeal as possible so you don't select goods that will sell better to one group than another--of course that doesn't mean that some won't, but I mean you don't plan your advertising that way.²

Summary

Sample periods were selected for study of bilingual advertising of two sample stores in Montreal. The four principal Montreal daily French and English newspapers were chosen and a total of 551 pages studied representing three

¹Table 2, 132 pages analyzed

²Interview 24

sample periods--regular, pre-holiday and special sale promotions. The greatest difference (27 per cent), appeared in the regular advertising period with more goods promoted only to the French than only to the English. Pre-holiday advertising showed a higher degree of congruence in items advertised to both groups, with a difference of 9.7 per cent, and special sale advertising showed the highest similarity with a difference of only 3.2 per cent.

Analysis of regular advertising revealed that the omissions in the French or English papers consisted of three classes of items: items specifically French or English in language; items felt to sell or appeal primarily to one group; and limitation on French advertising by the manufacturer.

Holiday advertising was divided into two groups--French religious holidays and Mutual holidays such as Christmas, Easter, Mother's day and Thanksgiving day. Much of the difference was in the promotion of more expensive items to the English and cheaper items to the French.

The analysis of the special sale advertising showed some very slight differences in the promotion of housefurnishings, clothing, housewares and food.

In general, there is a high degree of similarity in goods advertised to both groups in all sample periods with the major difference being in quality and cost rather than the type of goods promoted.

Spatial Allotment of Items in Bilingual Advertising

The advertisers consider that the amount of space allotted to an ad indicates the emphasis placed on the item advertised. One advertising executive said:

The ad is made up according to the budget of the Department Manager for the year. He determines the goods he wants to push, and how much he wants to spend in each paper. So if he wants to push certain goods to the French more than the English he would spend more money on that ad and it would be bigger.¹

Another executive stated:

If we are really out after more business on an item for the French or the English we would advertise in the French papers or the English by using larger space.²

We have observed that the advertising policy of both sample stores is a sixty per cent space allotment to items for English promotion and forty per cent space allotment to items for French promotion.³ An Advertising Manager stated that this figure was arrived at by management because it was the estimated ratio of business received by the stores from each group.⁴ Thus if an item was given the same lineage in both the English and French newspapers, the advertisers would ordinarily feel that this item was of greater potential appeal to the French than to the English.

Analysis of the amount of space allotted to each item

¹Interview 8

²Interview 9

³Interview 14

⁴Interview 20

in the English and French advertisements in all four newspapers for both sample stores and including all sample periods studied (total of 551 pages)¹ showed the following:

TABLE 13

AMOUNT OF SPACE ALLOTTED TO ITEMS IN BILINGUAL ADVERTISING FOR ALL PERIODS

	<u>Percentage</u>
Space Allotment	Bilingual Advertisements
Equal space ^a	17.3
Different amount of space.....	82.7
Total	100.0

^aEqual space means equal expenditure.

The above table shows that equal space for the same item in the same day's advertisements in the French and English newspapers occurs in 17.3 per cent of the items advertised, and that the amount of space used differs in 82.7 per cent.

Further analysis was made to determine whether the difference resulted from items receiving larger space in the English or French newspapers. The results were as follows:

TABLE 14

DIFFERENCE IN ALLOTTMENT OF SPACE OF ITEMS IN BILINGUAL ADVERTISING FOR TOTAL SAMPLE PERIOD

	<u>Percentage</u>
Space Allotment	Bilingual Advertisements
More Space in English Advertising....	77.5
More Space in French Advertising.....	5.2
Total	82.7

¹All tables refer to items advertised on the same day.

So in general, more space was allotted per item in the English newspapers than in the French.

Equal Space Allotment to Items in Bilingual Advertising

The 17.3 per cent "Equal Space" figure was analyzed into four categories: (1) Regular; (2) French religious festivals; (3) Mutual holidays; and (4) Special sale. The following are the results:

TABLE 15

EQUAL SPACE ALLOTTMENT OF ITEMS IN BILINGUAL ADVERTISING
PER SAMPLE PERIOD

Sample Period	<u>Percentage</u>
	Bilingual Advertising
Regular Period.....	2.0
French Religious Festivals.....	5.3
Mutual Holidays.....	3.8
Special Sales.....	6.2
Total	17.3

The largest amount of equal advertising occurs during the Special Sales period, the next largest during the French Religious Festivals period, still less during the regular period. This is in line with the findings in the previous section of this chapter and the stated policy of the advertisers of keeping their bilingual advertising similar during special sale and French Holiday periods even though the response expected from both groups might not be the same.

The regular bilingual advertisements showed the least equality of space. One Advertising Manager felt that this is the period when the store policy of 60-40 English-French

advertising ratio is most likely to be followed.¹ A Department Manager explained:

Our French ad is the same, a repetition in slightly less space than the English. We get sixty per cent response from the English and a forty per cent response from the French, so we advertise this way. We decided on this policy from past experience. This is during our regular advertising of course. We have more of a tendency to up it to 50-50 for French holidays and sales.²

Some merchandise departments however have a policy of equal advertising in the French and English newspapers during the Regular Advertising period.

We advertise equally in linoleum and occasionally larger in French. Our ad is larger here because for so long the French have used linoleum rather than rugs--they are getting away from this now and their tastes are becoming more Anglicized. Now they are buying soft surfaces to put into rooms which always had only linoleum before, so we don't always advertise so heavily in French.³

In Ready to Wear we go down the middle. There is not any thought given to the difference in investment in style, content, or space, this means the same sized ad all the time, 50-50.⁴

We get more French in the basement because of the laboring class we are catering to. The English have better jobs, the French are poorer. Our business is close to 50-50. Our Advertising therefore is 50-50 and often larger.⁵

The "Equal space" advertisements occurred in Infant and Children's Wear, Toilet Sundries, Notions, Sportswear, Vacuum Cleaners and Floor Polishers, Rocking Chairs, Traditional Style Furniture (Colonial and Provincial), Mirrors, Plumbing Accessories, Furs, and Cosmetics in addition to those mentioned above. The advertisers feel that these equal ads are justified because the French response to these items has warranted the

¹Interview 4 ²Interview 18 ³Interview 4 ⁴Interview 18

⁵Interview 19

extra expenditure.

Differential Space Allotment of Items in Bilingual Advertising

The 77.5 per cent figure in Table 14 indicated that when the amount of space per item differed--as it did in 82.7 per cent of the ads--the English ad was almost always larger. This percentage was further broken down to determine the distribution of differential spacial allotment among the four periods, namely Regular, Mutual Holidays, French Religious Holidays and Special Sale periods.

TABLE 16

DIFFERENCE IN ALLOTTMENT OF SPACE OF ITEMS IN BILINGUAL ADVERTISING FOR EACH SAMPLE PERIOD^a

Sample Period	<u>Percentage</u>
Regular.....	45.9
Mutual Holidays.....	20.9
French Religious Holidays.....	7.5
Special Sales.....	3.2
Total	77.5

^aWhere the amount of space per item is larger in the English ad.

Thus the largest difference in allotment of space per item appears in the "Regular" advertising period, followed by the "Mutual Holiday" category, the "French Religious Holiday" category and finally the "Special Sales" category. This is in accord with the findings of the previous sections on product promotions and spatial allotment. Two Department Managers commented:

We advertise about forty per cent in La Presse and about sixty per cent in the Star in our ordinary advertising.... In our store-wide sales we advertise equally. We have a bigger response from the French than the English at sale times--perhaps this is because there are more people and we reach them more personally with the ad circular, whereas people may not always bother to get a newspaper.¹

Our policy now is 60-40; however, we might make a difference in some items or at certain times. For instance in the January Linen and White sales, and the Fur sale we will up the French ad to 50-50.²

One of the Advertising executives stated that the goods advertised in the pre-holiday ads were expected to appeal primarily to the French, but the same ad was inserted in the English papers in order to disguise the fact that the French were being specifically appealed to. He felt that this was the usual practice of the English advertisers.³

The 5.2 per cent figure in Table 14 indicated that when the amount of space per item differed in the French and English ads, in 5.2 per cent of cases the French ad was larger. This percentage was further analyzed to determine the distribution among three categories, Regular period, Holiday period (this includes all holidays--French and Mutual), and Special Sale period.

¹Interview 13

²Interview 10

³Interview 12

TABLE 17

DIFFERENCE IN ALLOTTMENT OF SPACE OF ITEMS IN BILINGUAL ADVERTISING FOR EACH SAMPLE PERIOD^a

Sample Period	<u>Percentage</u>
	Bilingual Advertising
Regular.....	3.4
Holidays.....	1.0
Special sales.....	.8
Total	5.2

^aWhere the amount of space per item is larger in the French ad.

The highest percentage of larger French ads appeared during the French Festival sale included in the regular advertising period, where ads for flowers, beauty clinics, yard goods, lower priced paintings and toiletries received more space in the French newspapers. The holiday ads showed larger sized ads for lower priced coats, dresses, hats, gloves, party favors, stationery and small gift items, as well as holiday foods. Statements by Department Managers were:

At Christmas we put in a full page ad for the after midnight meal. We call this "reveillon" and would only run a very small ad in the English papers for this.¹

The French would be more inclined to buy coats, hats, dresses etc. at Christmas, New Years and Easter since there are so many dress-up affairs at these times. That is when they would push these items more to the French. The French people buy more hats too, particularly at Easter, since the Roman Catholics have to go to church then.²

During the regular advertising, apart from the French

¹Interview 10

²Interview 9

festival, analysis showed that larger French ads appeared for linoleum, sewing machines, furniture throws, small wares, household appliances, ready-to-wear and rocking chairs. This finding was supported by a Department Manager:

You'll find the French buy more basement goods--small wares and kitchen appliances. They like to have an up-to-date kitchen. Rocking chairs are a popular item, nearly every family owns one. They like to make things like dresses and do-it-yourself items. That's why we usually push these items more to the French and run smaller ads in the Star, although occasionally our ad would be equal.¹

Summary

The amount of space allotted to items in the French and English newspapers was examined to determine: (1) the percentage of items accorded equal space in the English and French newspapers; (2) the percentage of items accorded different space in the English and French newspapers. The second category was further broken down into two categories to determine: (a) the percentage of items allotted more space in English newspapers and (b) the percentage of items allotted more space in French newspapers.

The findings in all four categories were consistent with each other and with those of the previous section. The least spatial difference existed in the Special Sale period for which the response from the English and French is considered equal by the advertisers. French Religious Holiday advertising differed slightly more, Mutual Holiday advertising considerably more, with the largest spatial difference

¹Interview 7

occurring in the Regular ads. The difference in the Regular category is due principally to the policy of a 60-40 English-French ratio for all normal advertising except for those items which have a known larger French sale.

Translation

The content analysis revealed that the French translation of the English advertising copy presented difficulties not only for the English advertiser but for the French translator. There were problems of how to arrive at the nearest French term for "coined"¹ English words. New technical terms (e.g. of modern fabrics) gave trouble, and sometimes there were problems in describing the merchandise. Problems also arose in efforts to find words and phrases which would be equally acceptable to both groups. Lastly, errors in translation or inadequate translations occasionally occurred as a result of inefficiency or misunderstanding as to the nature of the product. The policy of reduced space in the French newspapers created difficulty for the translators who attempted to produce a French translation as similar as possible to the larger English ad. This necessitated a judicious selectivity of descriptive material which would

¹The word "coined" is used in the sense given in The Concise Oxford Dictionary (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), which is "invent, fabricate, (esp. new word)". Thus in the advertising I have considered those words to be "coined" which are not used in the ordinary dictionary sense. Thus the use of "Baby Dolls" for "Ladies' Short Pajamas" is a "coined" term.

retain the essential features of the English ad.

The content analysis of this section is based on 376 pages of bilingual advertising--covering the three advertising periods studied, Regular, Pre-Holiday and Special Sale in The Montreal Star and La Presse. This was 68.44 per cent of the total advertising studied. Since La Presse ads are essentially translations of the ads in The Montreal Star, the analysis was limited to these two newspapers. The advertisements of The Gazette and Le Devoir are independent of each other and different from the other two papers, and therefore not comparable.

"Coined" Terms and Phrases in Translation

The great majority of these words were of English origin. They were usually handled in the French ad in one of three ways: (1) by leaving the word untranslated in the French ad; (2) by avoiding the coined term and identifying the item in acceptable French terminology; or (3) by giving a description of the item in French, and thus circumventing the necessity of finding a suitable French equivalent. (No examples were found of the coining of a French term). The content analysis revealed the following frequency of coined terms:

TABLE 18

ENGLISH ADS CONTAINING COINED TERMS OR PHRASES

	Percentage
English Ads	
Ads containing no coined terms.....	68.0
Ads containing coined terms.....	32.0
Total	100.0

Thus 32 per cent of the bilingual ads examined contained this type of descriptive term. The following table shows the frequency with which it was placed in one of the three categories mentioned above.

TABLE 19
DISPOSITION OF COINED TERMS AND PHRASES IN TRANSLATION

	Percentage
French Ads	
Untranslated in the French ad.....	2.0
Identification of Item in Acceptable French..	
Terminology.....	17.0
Item Described in Translation.....	13.0
Total	32.0

Coined English Terms not Translated into French

There were relatively few instances--two per cent in the above table--of this in the French translations. An example can be seen in the October Star and La Presse ads where the word "Polojamas" is shown in both ads (for the same item on the same day).¹ Another ad lists "Drip-dry cotton" in the Star and "cotton Drip-dry" in La Presse. The advertisers only considered this solution when it did not seem possible to handle the translation in either of the two following ways.²

Identification of the Item in Acceptable French Terminology

As noted on Table 19 the problem was most often handled

¹Whenever in this thesis, comparisons of items or ads are made between the English and French, they are for the same items on the same day.

²Interview 10

in this way. Examples of this type of solution are seen in the following: a Star ad reads "Cha-Cha" boots, La Presse ad says "Bottines"; a Star ad lists "Snapperall," La Presse states "Salopettes"; the Star says "Mens Casuals" while La Presse lists "Pantalons Hommes"; the Star "File-a-desk," La Presse "Pupitres pratiques"; the Star "Bulkies," La Presse "Chandails."

The Chief Translator in one sample store stated:

A lot of the coined terms in English just sound silly in French. Take "Cha-Cha" boots for instance. This name wouldn't mean anything to the French. Americans use these terms and they use terms generally freer than we do, but we can't use them in French.¹

Another comment was:

The French are not used to wise-cracking or gimcracking or the slogan world so they cannot translate this. This causes a lot of difficulty too. You get so many of these in English and American ads, like in tonight's paper here you see "Baby Dolls", and "Rainettes" and "Flats". None of these mean anything to the French.²

Translation by Description of the Item in French

This was also a popular way of solving the problem of translating coined English terms into French, as seen by the thirteen per cent in Table 19. For instance The Montreal Star lists "Baby Dolls" whereas La Presse lists "Pyjamas Courts"; the English ad says "Our Butter-soft continental casuals," the French ad--"souliers tout-aller souple style continental"; a Star ad reads "Rainettes for Misses and Teens",

¹Ibid.

²Interview 6

but La Presse says "Couvre chassures plastique pour demoiselles and adolescentes"; the Star--"one-of-a-kind", La Presse "à exemplaire unique."

The advertising personnel were alert to the difficulty as can be seen by the following comments from an Advertising Manager and Assistant Department Manager of one of the stores:

Perhaps the French loses something in the process, it is bound to. If the process were different the results might be different. For instance, take our ad in last Saturday's Gazette for our "Gold Rush" sale of 1961. This means something in English--Gold rush to the Klondike, California, etc. The French do not have the same idea or even conception as we do, and they don't accept the term "Gold Rush" as an everyday term as the English do. They just don't get the same meaning out of it, so our promotion in French is less effective in things like this. If the idea of "Gold Rush" had a French tradition, the idea would be more effective.¹

Also:

Just look at this ad. It is labelled "Ivy League." In the first place the French don't know what "Ivy League" means, and they are not the slightest bit interested in turning out like a well-dressed upper-class American Princeton graduate. This is prestige appealing supposedly, but the French don't know about it and are not the slightest bit interested in this type of prestige.²

Thus, because of the difficulty of translating these coined English terms into French, executives feel that their French advertising may be less effective than their English advertising.

"Technical" terms causing translation difficulty

I am using the term "technical" to mean, "a device, skill or characteristic belonging or pertaining to a particular

¹Interview 2

²Interview 6

art, science, profession, trade, etc. (as technical details; a technical term; to use a word in a technical sense)."¹

Nine per cent of the La Presse ads studied had at least one such term which caused translation problems. These problems were classified as follows: (1) difficulty in determining the correct French term (5.8 per cent), and (2) inability to find a succinct French expression for the English name (3.2 per cent).

Difficulty in determining the correct French term

French translation difficulties arose here in relation to names of tools, fabrics and stylings in clothing. Since the majority of the manufactured products in the sample stores are of North American origin and of recent date, there is often difficulty in determining the French term which should be used--especially when new styles, materials or products are first introduced. This has resulted in confusion both for the retailer and translator. Until the advertising personnel reach a consensus on the correct (or most appropriate) French terminology, new terms may be translated differently from time to time as different translators encounter the same English word. One such word was "turtle-neck." This was variously translated as "encolure ronde," "Chandails T" (the English here read "Turtle-neck T shorts), and in one instance store "B" left the term untranslated in the French ad, feeling

¹H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler, The Concise Oxford Dictionary, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

that the illustration was self explanatory. The chief translator of one store stated:

"Turtle-neck" caused some problem. However, three weeks ago we decided to use "encolure roulée", since "encolure ronde" is not accepted [by the French] as "roulée."¹

Another example is the word "Zipper" for which several terms are used. In one ad it is translated "fermeture éclair" and in another "glissière"; "Zip-line" loden cloth is translated "Doublure amovible en tissu loden"; a children's jacket ad reads "gros zipper." The comment on this was:

Actually "fermeture éclair" is my preference but the English word "Zipper" certainly should never have been in there.²

A dress department has a problem in translating women's sizes correctly. The English use the term "Misses", but there is no French equivalent. The term most often used by one store is "Jeune Femme," the other store uses "Demoiselles." A Department Manager stated:

We have a great deal of trouble with Misses' size. The French translators put in "Jeune Femme" usually, and this takes the customers down to the third floor where the adolescent girls' sizes are. This is always causing us trouble. The customers get the wrong idea you see. We try changing it, but we haven't solved the problem yet, and we are still trying to get the right word.³

A problem regarding the word "Panama" in a French ad proof which was to be inserted in the next day's advertising brought a translator to the chief copywriter complaining that the word would have to be changed, since "Panama" to the

¹Interview 25

²Interview 10

³Interview 15

French indicated a thicker, coarser material than the merchandise indicated. It was decided to use "chapeaux frais de paille d'ete" instead. This change was made at 4.10 p.m.

Inability to Find a Succinct French Word

In 3.2 per cent of the ads this type of difficulty was noted. The English term usually consisted of one or two words, but the French translation used four or five words to describe the product without attempting a specific French equivalent. For example: "Eyeshadow" reads in translation, "Le bâtonnet de fard à paupières," and "protect your cooling system now" is translated "n'attendez pas à la dernière minute pour prendre les précautions contre le gel de l'eau du moteur de votre voiture."

A respondent commented on the difficulty of keeping abreast of technical terms in French translation:

Language is a difficult problem. It is often difficult for the translator to be able to visualize exactly what we are trying to say in English because of certain shadings in the language. It is especially difficult on technical items and terms. This is because of the fact that the French Canadians are sort of isolated on a continent with millions of English, sort of an island unto themselves you might say, and all the advertising and instructions are in English when they come from the manufacturer, so we often have to use English words. We don't have any contact with France, and people do get used to foreign terms and adopt them. When we run up against trouble we find out what they call it in France by looking up French books, catalogues, etc. Sometimes we ask the Department Managers what the people call the item when they come in to buy it.¹

We see that advertising personnel are aware of the

¹Interview 4

language problems, and feel that the difficulty of translating technical terms causes problems not only for the translators but also for the sales personnel and customers.

Terms Used Differently in French Canada and France

In a few instances, a question arose as to the advisability of words which, though still used in French Canada are now considered obsolete in France; and the use of words in French Canada which have a different meaning from those now used in France. These instances, which occurred in two per cent of the ads, were pointed out by my informants. An example of the former was the translation of the word "bowling." The translation read "Souliers de Quilliers."

The comment was:

In France the word used is the English word "bowling", but here we must use the French word, since it is unacceptable to use the English one. The word "quilleurs" is not used now in Paris. This is an example of a French word which has come down here but has been discarded in Paris.¹

An example of the second problem may be seen in the two words "cuisinière" and "chaudière." My respondent stated:

We actually misuse the word "cuisinière". This word had originally two meanings: (1) a woman who cooks; and (2) the stove on which she cooks. In Quebec until about two or three years ago it had only one meaning, that of "a woman who cooks". In France however the word still has both meanings. In the past two years we have used the word to mean "a cooking stove" only. "Chaudière" is used in Canada as "bucket," which is a true meaning. However, it also has another meaning, namely, "main unit of a central heating system". We use "fournaise" for the main

¹Interview 22

unit, but we really should use the other form. We don't yet, because we want to sell merchandise, and this is what the people understand. We must get at it slowly, we don't want to re-educate the people too quickly, if we did that they wouldn't understand it exactly as it should be.¹

This problem is closely associated with the desire to avoid French colloquialisms and poor style. One advertiser stated:

We try to avoid using English terms at all times if possible, and also don't use a French derivative which has been created by the local French Canadians if at all possible. We are trying to be more dignified in our advertising.²

Mutual Terms

To advertise the same item, many English and French ads contained "mutual terms," that is terms, ordinarily of French origin, conveying the same meaning and more or less familiar to both groups. For example, the French festival was announced in the English and French newspapers as "Festival de France"; the Montreal Star and the Gazette ads said:

...to a connoisseur of art France is "le centre," to the gourmet it's "bon appétit....There's an abundance of French imports in over fifty departments of the store, a magnificent assemblage, the "raison d'être" of... Festival de France...is "en fête"!

The phrase "haute couture" frequently was used to describe higher priced men's and women's clothing in both French and English newspapers. During the sample period 12.8 per cent of the ads contained mutual terms; this figure, however, is unduly high because of the French festival sale

¹Interview 23

²Interview 22

during the regular period. Omitting the French festival period, only three per cent of the ads contained such mutual terms. An Advertising executive commented:

In our [French festival] sale in the store we used the word "Boutique" meaning little shop. This use is well known in both languages, so we could use it in our advertising. In our high priced toys and better quality gifts we use "place elegante," this is recognized by both groups. We try to look for French names that have a French continental flavor that both groups recognize well. When you get a word that both groups know it is very convenient, also more economical because it saves a lot of extra engravings, etc.^{1,2}

According to this respondent it would be advantageous to the advertisers to increase the number of mutual words or phrases which might be used in advertising to both groups.

Another comment in this regard was:

The French festival sale is good for getting the English to know some of the French words. A lot of the English don't know French, and things like this get them acquainted with French words the easy way. Then we can use them again and eventually they may become words that both know equally well, and we can use them as mutual words. That really would save a lot of headaches, as well as work

¹Interview 22

²A problem in this regard came up during this researcher's work at one store. The advertising personnel sought a mutual term for a section which the store wished to open within one of its departments. "Chez fashion" was considered to carry too much of an English flavor. "Le Centre" was considered too French. "À la mode" was thought to be too likely to convey the idea of ice-cream to non-French-speaking English. It was also suggested that the problem might be resolved by combining one well-known English word with one well-known French word, such as "Mademoiselle shop" or "budget rendezvous." The translator went on to say:

But I can't find a name for you that's exactly suitable, it is very hard. We're aiming at finding a word which is on neutral ground. The more we work on neutral terms the better. You see it must not convey any English or French flavor to either group.

and money.¹

Errors in Translation

Sometimes there were errors of one kind or another in the translation process. These appeared infrequently, and as closely as this researcher could determine from content analysis and interviews, in 2.5 per cent of the ads analyzed. The errors appeared to stem from two principal causes: (1) inexperienced or inexpert translators; and (2) inadequate communication between the English advertising staff and the French translators. Analysis showed that 1.6 per cent of the translation errors were of the first type, and .9 per cent of the second.

Errors Due to Inexperienced or Inexpert Translators

One example is seen in the advertising of a Montreal Star ad which read "Elbie Dustless Duster," and a La Presse ad which read "Plumeaux." Shown in the cuts of both papers was a cloth square. The translator claimed that the French should have read "Chiffon" or "Lange." Also during the Christmas season, a Star ad read "Bath Crystals" while the La Presse ad read "Cristaux"; and a Star ad said "Jumbo slide fastener" with the French reading "gros Zipper." A Department Manager stated:

As far as wording is concerned, there is some difficulty. In our big annual sale the wrong word was used. For instance Mothballs, flakes and crystals are now in great

¹Interview 23

demand. It may be translated "Boule a Mite", "poudre a Mite" and "Cristaux a Mite." If it goes through the newspaper as "Cristaux" this is the wrong term, and is quite annoying to the French. This has happened in the past, like last winter in our "Bath Salts" ad. The ad said "Cristaux" and it should have been "Poudre." Incidentally it made it very hard for us because the people kept calling up for the wrong thing.¹

Another comment was:

That zipper ad was in the basement store. We had a new translator then and he might have used the English word "Zipper" thinking it was a trade name.² This is quite incorrect in French and is completely banned in our language in this store. The common people use it, but we have no reason for using it here.³

Errors Due to Inadequate Communication Between French and English Advertising Staff

Errors of this kind ordinarily consisted in the omission in the French ad of an important phrase which appeared in the corresponding English ad. In one Star ad English customers were told "Phone orders accepted, dial...", but the notation was omitted from La Presse ad of the same item on the same day. On another occasion the English ad read "Special Saturday" but the French ad omitted this. Commenting on these problems a translator stated:

The ad goes all through right to the end in the English section then it goes to the French section for translation. Sometimes at the last minute a change is made and it

¹Interview 20

²Trade marks, trade names and the names of manufacturers, such as "Velva-Fur," "Terrylene" and "Haddon Hall" are not translated.

³Interview 22

doesn't get to the French section. Also sometimes an additional correction is given to the proof reader and not to the translator and the proof reader does it wrong. The Montreal Star will accept a certain amount of corrections in the morning if early enough, but La Presse won't accept any changes after the night before the ad is to be published.¹

The translation errors reviewed in this section do not seem to occur too frequently. This may be because of the policy of the advertising department executives which was to "hire the very best translators. We cannot afford to do otherwise, there is too much at stake."²

Comparison of the Translations of the Two Sample Stores³

Examination of the translations was based, as previously stated,⁴ on a total of 376 pages of bilingual advertising, 210 English and 166 French. The advertising of store "A" comprised a total of 117 pages of English advertising and 86 pages of French, and store "B's" promotion comprised a total of 101 pages of English advertising and 72 French. Thus the translation comparisons for the two stores was based on 86 pages for store "A" and 72 for store "B". In general, the

¹Ibid.

²See page 64, Chapter III

³Comparison of the French wording and phrasing used was possible because no item was advertised by store "B" which was not at some time during the sample period also advertised by store "A". Both stores covered the same range of products--from the lower middle range (in price) up. One store however, did advertise goods which were not comparable since it also extended to the bottom price range in its basement store merchandise.

⁴Chapter II, pp. 26, 27.

two stores in their French advertisements showed a very high degree of agreement in terms, phrases and item descriptions.

A difference in French wording or terminology for comparable items was noted in only eighteen examples. For instance, one store always translated "composition soles" as "à semelles matière synthétique"; the other always used "semelles composition." One store translated "no-sag" springs as "pas de ressort," while the other used "ressorts no-sag." One store used the French "tricots" or "chandails" and the other sometimes used the English words "Cardigans" and "Pullovers." One store used "gros glissière" while the other said "glissière géante." Several phrases were used by one such as "à exemplaire unique," "de grand chic" and "dans la note" which were never used by the other.

One advertising executive stated:

Of course we keep the ads of all the other big department stores in our file and we may consult them at any time. We sometimes look to see what they call something if we are having trouble and use it if we think it is all right. Then of course we all try to do a good job of translation, we're all in the same boat you know.¹

In view of the similarity of products advertised, the pressures to use high quality French translations, the similarity in translation aims, and the fact that each consults the other's translations, a high degree of language agreement in wording and style is understandable.

Summary

¹Interview 24

Comparison of the English and French advertising showed the difficulties that arise in seeking precise translations from English to French. Errors occasionally resulted from inexpert translation or inadequate communication between English and French advertising staffs. Advertising executives felt that this reduced the effectiveness of the French ads, created confusion and annoyance for the customers and inconvenience for the store staff. In their efforts to attain clarity or improve the quality of the translations, French words may be used which are obsolete in France, or different in meaning from those now used in France. Mutual terms are felt by advertising executives to be convenient and economical, and are used in both French and English ads whenever possible.

Comparison of the French translations of the two sample stores showed a high degree of similarity in the wording, phrasing and description of the items.

Themes

The term "theme" as used in this thesis is defined as "the essential ideas or sales' appeals" in the ads. The themes for all the product and high fashion ads of both stores were essentially the same in both the English and French papers.¹ The institutional ads, as noted in Chapter II² promoted no

¹Interview 3

²Chapter II, pp. 26, 27.

product and contained no direct inducement to buy. These ads solicited aid for certain public charity campaigns as well as conveyed the stores' greetings at Christmas, New Years and St. Jean Baptiste day.

The Institutional ad for St. Jean Baptiste day was inserted only in the French newspapers by both stores, whereas the other institutional ads were inserted in both the French and English newspapers. One Advertising Manager stated:

For St. Jean Baptiste day in June we put in an Institutional ad in La Presse as a gesture or courtesy move; this ad is a whole page. It is a courtesy gesture hailing them [French] and saluting them.¹

Another executive stated:

We put in institutional ads for Christmas, New Years and St. Jean Baptiste day, but on St. Jean Baptiste day the ad is only in La Presse. We hail them [French] and they like that.²

The theme of the St. Jean Baptiste day ads is nationalistic, dealing pictorially and descriptively with the history and accomplishments of French Canada.³

The Christmas ad themes were religious and mythological. One store showed a religious theme in the morning English

¹Interview 5

²Interview 8

³One store showed a large figure of Jacques Cartier, and a large heading "Homage to French Canada". Small box-type scenes depicted religious, industrial and educational aspects of French Canada. The other store depicted the small fleur-de-lis down the centre with various scenes of artistic, athletic and scientific achievements through the years, with the words that it "est heureuse de s'associer à cet hommage ardent qui viens de toutes parts à l'occasion de la St. Jean Baptiste jour."

paper. The Gazette, with the other three papers showing the mythological theme. Santa Claus and his reindeer were shown driving away from a house where two sleeping children could be seen through a large window. Two lines of the poem "Visit From St. Nicholas" were quoted.

The reason for the difference in themes between the Gazette and the other papers was explained as follows:

Usually the gayer ad is inserted in the evening papers and the serious ad in the morning papers. However, the cuts for these ads originated from the head office in Ontario, and it was considered advisable to cut down the advertising expense in the Montreal store by inserting the gayer evening ad in the morning French paper [Le Devoir], since the cut had already been made up by the Montreal store for insertion in La Presse. Originally the advertisement appearing in The Gazette had been intended by the head office to apply to all morning papers of its branch stores.¹

The institutional ad of the other store was also non-religious, showing a Christmas tree over the store doorway, with other decorations and the greeting "A Merry Christmas to All". This ad was the same in all four papers.

The New Year's themes of both sample stores were also essentially mythological in theme,² and also, like the Christmas ads, expressed good will and solidarity. The New Year's themes of both sample stores was the same in the four newspapers.

Thus, although the themes of the Institutional advertising differ from the usual product and prestige

¹Interview 23

²Showing "Father Time", a flying stork holding a baby in its beak, etc.

advertising, they differ bilingually only in the St. Jean Baptiste day advertisements.

Style

The advertisers considered the style of the advertisements, particularly the French translations, very important, so for this reason we examined the style of the ads of the two sample stores. However, since the style is not the primary focus in this thesis, and since it is so difficult to develop a precise code¹ for style, my analysis is superficial and somewhat arbitrary; however, I believe my illustrations and quotations will convey the advertisers' general aims and practices.

The style of the two sample stores differed considerably in their English advertising, but not in their French.

English Advertising Style of the Sample Stores

The English style of store "A" was more "colloquial," less correct grammatically, less restrained and more dramatic and forceful than that of store "B". As classified,² 76.8 per cent of the ads of store "A" contained: (1) a colloquialism (17.2 per cent); (2) incorrect or questionable grammar (12.8 per cent); and / or (3) forceful phrasing (46.8 per cent).

The following examples taken from the advertisements

¹Ithiel DeSola Pool, Trends in Content Analysis, (Chicago III.: University of Illinois, 1959.)

²One hundred and seventeen pages of English advertising were analyzed. See table 1, p. 69.

of store "A" illustrate the use of colloquial words: "Get hep with the college set this fall, use..."; "...puts you in the groove"; "put pep in your step with...shoes"; "be tops with..." Incorrect or questionable grammar was seen in such words as "way" (way below usual price); "most" (be just right 'most every time); and "softy" (a softy heavy washable wool).

A large percentage (46.8) of the ads of Store "A" contained what could be called dramatic or forceful phrases, e.g., "Exciting savings for the "picture-takers"; "stock up your fall wardrobe now with..."; "be young, be gay, be the belle of the ball in..."; "don't miss this exciting new fashion, just arrived from England..."; "buy now, you can't afford to miss this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity."

A French Canadian translator commented on the style of the store's English ads:

The English here is Americanized and more breezy, ungrammatical, colloquial and demanding. For instance in French we try to avoid "Do it now," "Buy it today," etc., because the French find this offensive.¹

The English advertising style of store "B" is more restrained, less dramatic and forceful than store "A", and seldom uses incorrect grammar, as can be seen from the fact that these occurred in only 28.9 per cent of store "B's" ads.-- colloquialisms (7.3 per cent); incorrect grammar (4.8 per cent);

¹Interview 23

and dramatic or forceful phrases (16.8 per cent).

An Advertising Manager commented on the store's English advertising style:

Our advertising still maintains a little aloofness in that we try to be a little more dignified in both our English and French ads. We hope the French and the English have the idea of a high quality store. We try to maintain this, and try to maintain the quality name but at the same time appeal to the average person.¹

French Advertising Style of the Sample Stores

The style of French advertising in both stores was precise, restrained, grammatically correct and avoided colloquialisms. I was not able to find any examples of the three categories mentioned above in the translations of either of the sample stores, although I was assured by the chief translator in one store that these occasionally occurred.

We do occasionally have to use--not colloquialisms exactly--but the language of the common people, which isn't always good French. We have to use some of these words because if we used the correct Parisian French the people wouldn't understand it sometimes, but we avoid it when we can, and this doesn't happen very often, only in a few words. Our language in these papers is more French and more pure than in France, on the whole. We can't afford to take liberties with the language or the newspapers and the people would be down on us, whereas in France they don't care so much.²

We try to soft pedal anything in French which might sound demanding. The French people are offended by it, so you will find that the French appears negative and the English positive.³

The French precision and formality of style may be noticed in the following ads of store "A": (Star) "Plains and prints in dressy and basic styles," (La Presse) "Tissus

¹Interview 4

²Interview 22

³Ibid.

mixtes and mélanges de rayonne, unis or imprimés"; (Star)
"the affluence of Alligator," (La Presse) "En bel Alligator";
(Star) "There's more value for your fashion dollar," (La
Presse) "Vous obtenez davantage pour l'argent que you
déboursez."

These findings are borne out by several comments by
translators:

We could use colloquialisms in French if we wanted to,
like they use in the English papers, but we don't want
to because there is always the problem with the French
newspapers and the French people--they want good French,
the best possible, and want us to use English terms as
little as possible.¹

A Merchandise Department Manager stated:

The French are realistic...that is why the style of La
Presse and the Star is different. You just present the
goods to the French simply and directly, no sales pitch,
and no frills...fancy stuff doesn't go with them, you
get much better results from a very straight photo, from
telling a realistic and straight story and don't go
beating around the bush. We try to do that with our
merchandise ads.²

The restrained, less forceful style of the French
ads can be seen from the following ads of store "A": (Star)
"Don't miss...this special 'once-in-a-season' offer! A
new mirror can work wonders, because it brilliantly creates
the effect of more space and extra light. Almost a 'new
dimension' for your room"; (La Presse) "Avez-vous déjà pensé
à l'effet de profondeur, de la richesse et clarté qu'un
grand miroir peut produire dans une pièce? Non seulement
décore-t-il mais il anime." (Star) "For TOPS in VALUE, TOPS
in STYLE shop with confidence at..."; (La Presse) "Vous

¹Interview 5

²Interview 2

magasinez avec confiance chez...où vous obtenez la meilleure qualité et les plus beaux modèles." A translator commented:

We are trying not to tell people what to do in French, just suggesting. The French people are very independent, they don't want to be forced, we should suggest, not push....The Star is forceful, pushing, with American style, and we get enough of that on the T.V. and other places. For instance the English heading in tomorrow's paper reads "closed Monday, shop in...Tuesday". We changed the French to read "...closed Monday and will be at your service Tuesday morning."¹

Store "B"'s ads also occasionally showed more restraint in the French, as well as the English: (Star) "Drop leaf extension tables, space saving easily stored and yet as lovely as any dining room table. Wonderful for small apartments, buffets, etc."; (La Presse) "Très jolies extensibles à abattants, élégantes tables de peu d'encombrement, tables indispensables pour les petites pièces, buffets, réceptions, etc."

An advertising Manager stated:

We advertise what we think they want and the way we think they want it to be done. We can use the wrong type of French. We get criticism if we use too correct French, you can go over their heads. If you use too common a type of French you can get into trouble too. You must keep a middle course and use what they want you to use.²

Thus the similarity in the style of French advertising of the two stores is largely because of their desire to conform to what they conceive to be the desires of the French public.

Art Work Style

The style of the art work in English and French

¹Interview 22

²Interview 2

differed very slightly. Of the ads studied in The Montreal Star (210 pages) and La Presse (166 pages) respectively, 96.8 per cent showed identically the same art work. An explanation for the almost identical art work was:

The reason why we try to keep the art work the same if we can is a matter of budget. The art work is expensive, the cost of engravings is high. We do all our own art work right from the floor samples. We don't use mats which show similar goods, but not the identical thing we are advertising like a lot of smaller stores do, and so our production costs are high.¹

The few occasions (3.2 per cent) when the art work differed can be traced to: (a) a difference in the size of the ad (.9 per cent); (b) printing on the cuts different (1.2 per cent); and (c) different samples shown in promotion of the same item (1.1 per cent).

When the size of the cut varied, it was explained that the French ad was smaller and unless the cut was also smaller, there would not be enough space for descriptive copy.² The general policy was to keep the cuts identical in size. This created problems for the French translators who had to try to convey the content of the English copy in reduced space.

In the instances when the printing differed on the French and English cuts, French words were inserted for English ones. This happened in "Blue Ribbon" special ads, where the French ad showed "Ruban Blue"; and in French ads when "Sans repassage" on the cut replaced the English "no-iron."

¹Interview 22

²Ibid.

When different samples were shown in the French and English ads, it was because the advertisers felt that the particular sample shown in La Presse would appeal more to the French.¹ This appeared occasionally for draperies, bedspreads, springs and mattresses and dresses.

Summary

In summary, we find some differences in language style brought about by a combination of such factors as French opinion regarding the style of language, the type of clientele the retailer is trying to attract and the general advertising policies. But art work is ordinarily too expensive to adapt.

General Summary

Sample periods were selected for study of bilingual advertising of two sample stores in Montreal. The four principal Montreal daily French and English newspapers were chosen and a total of 551 pages studied representing three sample periods--regular, pre-holiday and special sale promotions. Information was sought on the kind and amount of product promotion to the English and French, spatial allotment of items in the bilingual advertising, the problems and difficulties in translation from the English, bilingual advertising style, and the themes of the bilingual advertising.

Most similarity was found in both products advertised and amount of space allotted to items in the French and

¹Interview 22

English newspapers during the special sale period; less similarity in these two categories in the pre-holiday period; and least similarity during the regular period.

Translation problems centered about the search for adequate or equivalent French terminology for names of items and technical terms in the English advertisements; errors which occur in French translations; and the efforts to find "mutual" terms. In general, comparison of the translations of the two sample stores showed that they were highly similar in terminology. For some terminological problems the English advertisers consulted each others ads.

The themes of the Product and Prestige ads constituting the major portion of the total advertising of both sample stores was essentially the same in the English and French promotion. The institutional ad themes of both stores were essentially the same for festivals shared by the French and the English, but nationalistic in the St. Jean Baptiste day ads inserted only in the French papers.

A comparison of the style of the language and art work of the ads the two stores showed that the style of their English ads differed while that of their French ads did not. For neither store were the English clients critical, so the stores felt free to do as they wished in English. However, apparently many French Canadians critically evaluated the French language promotion, and the advertising personnel of both stores felt they had to adapt to these critics.

In general, the interviews with translators, Advertising

Department executives and Merchandise Department management explained and supported the finds of the content analysis.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS WHICH AFFECT DECISIONS ON BILINGUAL ADVERTISING CONTENT

Chapter III dealt with the content and style of the bilingual advertising of the sample stores for selected periods. We now examine the factors which affect the decisions on this content and style. Why do the advertising personnel at one time choose to give equal space or translate as directly as possible and at other times vary the space for given items and modify the content and style in certain ways? My interviews suggest that essentially four factors underlie the decisions by advertising personnel: (1) proportion of French-English customers; (2) cost of processing bilingual advertising and of advertising space in the newspapers; (3) the image of French Canadians held by Management officials; and (4) external pressures by institutions and the French public.

Proportion of French-English Customers

One factor that affected the content and especially the size of the ad was the assumed proportion of English and French customers. This in turn was affected by the location of the stores and their English reputation. In answer to my question "Why don't you advertise equally" one Advertising

Manager answered:

Well, location for one thing, we are in the English section of Montreal, or at least we are not in the French section--let's put it that way--and you can't get the bulk of the French trade up here. Then too, we always have been an English store.¹

An executive of the other store commented:

Our location is against us to some extent for the French trade, because it costs you more in dollars to get it from where they normally buy. Now if we had branches it would be different because our advertising would serve for all our stores. As it is now we have to draw the people to one store.²

Thus managers in both stores considered their location in the non-French business section to be disadvantageous for attracting the French market.

As noted above, one respondent stated "then too, we always have been an English store." Many executives were keenly aware of the English background and ownership of the stores, and felt that because of this they could be more certain of securing the English market. One Advertising Manager said:

The Manager of ...Department uses a whole page in the Star and half a page to the French in La Presse. Here it is a case of feeling safe. He feels that he is more secure of getting a response in the Star, so I think that is why he does it this way.³

A Department Manager commented:

We don't quite treat them equally in the newspapers. The English get more. We are an English store basically. We have the English market, they are reading our ads. The French market is larger of course but we can get the English market easier.⁴

¹Interview 5 ²Interview 10 ³Ibid ⁴Interview 9

While examining the advertisements of La Presse and The Montreal Star, this researcher noticed that on several occasions the instruction to telephone orders--"Dial Telephone Order Service"--was omitted in French. The explanation given was:

There may be several reasons for this, one of them might be that there was only a limited quantity, so the Department Manager decided not to advertise telephone orders to the French because there would not be enough for both. Since he is sure of his English market and can depend on it he will gamble with the English market. He can afford to do this. He can't afford to do this with the French market. The store clientele is largely English because we are an English store, in an English location.¹

Only one of the eleven Department Managers interviewed was French Canadian and bilingual. Thus the English manager may feel more confident of securing the English trade because he identifies more easily with the English-speaking group. One respondent felt this was so.

If the Department Manager is English, he feels more attached to the English group. He feels he knows what they want and how they want it. He's not so sure of the French [needs], so naturally he would put his budget money where he was most sure of his response.²

Newspaper Costs

Another factor which affects the decisions on bilingual advertising space and content is the cost of newspaper space and processing, and the budget allotments of the department managers.

The cost of space in bilingual advertising is almost double that in unilingual advertising. The advertiser must

¹Interview 23

²Interview 10

pay the costs of inserting advertising in newspapers of two languages which cover essentially the same market area.

Several respondents commented on this:

We have the additional burden here of having nearly double advertising costs, so we have to be very careful what we advertise since we don't want to lose any more money than we have to.¹

It might be some help if we knew exactly what the French would go for, and to what extent, but that would take such extensive research that it might be less costly to advertise as we are and take a chance on it. Anyway, we feel it's too big a risk, it would cost so much to try to capture the big volume, of French trade. We would have to increase our ads a lot in the French papers and keep it up for a long time, and then it wouldn't net us the profit that the expense cost, even though the advertising cost is nearly double what it would be in an all-English or all-French area.²

The additional cost of bilingual advertising affects the advertising in two ways: (1) the products or items advertised; and (2) the amount of space used.

In Chapter III we noticed that where goods were felt to appeal more to one ethnic group, the advertising to that group was relatively greater in space for those items. Thus rugs, rocking chairs, children's clothing, small wares, etc. were advertised more often, and given larger space, in the French newspapers. When a Department Manager felt the sales response warranted the expenditure, he would promote items on a 50-50 or 40 (English) - 60 (French) basis.

We all have to watch the cost because it's pretty high for bilingual advertising you know, but where we are pretty sure of our response we can up the ad in the French papers. However we're not going to waste money promoting an item we're not sure about to the French-- we'd stick to the usual 60-40 in that case.³

¹Interview 4 ²Interview 10 ³Interview 24

The cost of the advertising does influence our bilingual promotion because we have to remember that it's costing us considerably more to advertise here in Montreal than say in Toronto, or Winnipeg. We can't afford to do too much guessing so we figure we're better off to stick to our 60-40 policy and only push on a 50-50 basis on specific items to one group if we know the extra expense is going to pay off.¹

The cost of processing (engravings, art work, etc.) is also instrumental in determining the content of bilingual ads. Where there are many items to be illustrated, such as in \$1.00 day ads, it is essential to keep the production cost as low as possible; hence, although the items may be considered to appeal more to the French than the English, advertising will be kept equal. An Advertising Department Manager stated:

You see one reason why we try to keep ads the same if we can is a matter of cost. For instance on the \$1.00 day ads there are rows and rows of cuts; there is a small amount of copy and each item gets its own space....This is expensive art work and the production costs are high.... If you take more space in one [paper] than another engraving costs are higher, because you would have to duplicate items in two different sizes. You could lose so much by making a duplicate but smaller sized ad... so you decide between spending more to one group which doesn't respond so much to your ad, or lose money by the difference in the size of the ad.²

Since the space used in the French newspapers is usually 20 per cent less (in regular advertising) than that of the English newspapers, the question arises whether to make smaller cuts for the French papers in order to insert more copy, or to cut down the French copy and keep the cut the same size.

We're really using disproportionately size plates in the

¹Interview 25

²Interview 9

French ads, seeing that they are cut down 20 per cent as it is, but it's a sort of a choice between two evils really--we think this one is the least costly.¹

Processing cost also affects Institutional advertising. It was noted in Chapter II that English Institutional ad cuts were sent to one store from the head office in Toronto. For example, for the Christmas edition one cut was sent for insertion in the Evening papers and another for the morning papers. The Montreal store translated the "gay" English "evening" ad, used the same cut, and inserted it in La Presse and Le Devoir, while the Gazette carried the religiously-toned morning ad. The Montreal store bore the cost of translating and processing the ads in French but this avoided the cost of new cuts.

Executives felt that they could not experiment with their advertising because of the danger of excessive costs:

The cost of bilingual advertising is one you don't have outside of Quebec province. Our other stores don't have to hire any extra employees outside of their English staff, and it makes a lot of difference to the costs. We can't afford too much experimentation with our advertising in case we run into financial trouble, or lose business.²

The limitations of department advertising budgets also affect decisions on bilingual advertising content. Several Department Managers expressed the desire to increase the French advertising space but felt that their budgets did not permit them to do so.

The reason I don't advertise more in La Presse is a matter of budget and store policy. I would like to have equal

¹Interview 22

²Interview 23

advertising because I feel that I would get more French business if I did. However my ad is usually cut by a few items as it is.¹

We just don't attract as many French customers. We might do it if we put on a real concentrated effort. Of course it would be a gamble...and our budget couldn't stand that.²

The Department Manager tries to get the largest return for his advertising dollar. This involves apportioning his budget allotment for advertising space for the year and judging the degree of promotion for each item in the French and English papers. Experimentation (that is, increasing space for advertising on items which managers are not certain will appeal to the French or English) is generally avoided since it may result in an insufficient sales response from the target group to warrant the advertising expense and thus budget money, which could have been spent where sales response was assured, is lost.

It is very high, involving very great expenditure to advertise double like we have to. The difference must be accounted for in the net result of any advertising or you can't continue to do business.³

An Advertising Manager stated:

The departments have a total budget allotment for the year and they may use up to that amount of money. They can only spend so much money for so much space....However he must be careful how he allots his space or he may find himself without advertising funds before the year is out.⁴

The high cost of bilingual advertising thus operates to preserve traditional advertising practices, inhibit exploratory promotion, and promote similarity of processing, art work, etc. Many of the executives, however, recognize that

¹Interview 13 ²Interview 14 ³Interview 19 ⁴Interview 2

the advertising, to some degree, may thereby be less effective.

Image of French Canadians (Held by Management Officials)

The English advertiser's image of the French differs in many respects from his image of the English. Printer's Ink succinctly sums up one common image:

The French Canadian market is different in tastes and habits as well as language. While it is true that many of the French-speaking Canadians can also speak English (an estimated one in four), French remains the only reasonable language for the merchandiser. The French market is different in other ways as well; larger families, a larger proportion renting homes, differences in holidays, variations in food. And it is much less influenced by the United States than its English-speaking counterpart in the rest of Canada.¹

This, to a great degree, is also the image of the advertising executives interviewed in the two sample stores. We shall discuss their image of the French insofar as it differs from the image of the English under the following headings: (1) Image of French personalities and sensitivities; (2) French image of the two sample stores; (3) Image of French behavior patterns; and (4) Image of French class structure. We shall also show how this image affects the advertising.

Image of French Personalities and Sensitivities

In reply to a general question about personality differences between the English and French the executives mentioned many traits. They said that the French were more thrifty, artistic, realistic, vivacious, fashion conscious,

¹Printer's Ink, Advertisers' Guide to Marketing, 1960, No. 15, Section 2, (New York: Vision Incorporated, 1959 Edition), p. 237.

individualistic, religious, nationalistic, family-loving and animal-loving than the English. These different images are reflected in the advertising in four ways; (1) the items advertised to each group; (2) the amount of space used for product promotion; (3) the colors, styles and patterns advertised; (4) style of advertising.

Six executives felt that the French women being thriftier, individualistic and with a flair for "domestic" showmanship, preferred to make their own clothes, cook their own food and do their own housework. This image was reflected in more and larger advertisements in French papers for sewing machines, kitchen wares and appliances, food and dress fabrics.

One Advertising Department Manager stated:

They [French] have a tendency toward showmanship. It is this same reason that the women like to dress up. The English are more conservative and wouldn't want to have something overdone....They like appliances because of pride in their own cooking. The kitchen is a very important place and more French people do more things at home than the English do....I think this is something handed down from the French peasant, a sort of individuality and a do-it-yourself attitude. The French woman would go to a party and take pride in telling her friends that she made her dress herself, she likes to work with her hands.¹

This is reflected in the advertisements.

We advertise things like sewing machines and dress fabrics more to the French. We push kitchen goods and appliances to them too--they are fond of gadgets. Mattresses for instance we would advertise more to the English--in our last sale we sold more mattresses to the English than to the French for the same amount of money spent. This points up the fact that the French are more interested in handicrafts

¹Interview 7

and in sewing their own clothes than the English.¹

A few executives said they thought the French were more artistic, vivacious and fashion-conscious than the English, and that they, the managers, made a point of including brighter-colored, ornate and fashionable merchandise in their ads. The merchandise was advertised to both groups, but the ads for the French were larger and the French were expected to show a larger sales response. One executive stated:

French people generally like brighter, more vivid, more decorator colors. A French girl would buy a brighter yellow scarf or multi-colored one and its effect wouldn't be considered too gaudy....We would advertise these to both groups but the brighter colors like red, yellow etc. would not be included in our ad if we were selling only to English people. Thus our ads to both groups are affected by the French preference for bright colors. Only occasionally we advertise different colors to both groups.²

Another Advertising Executive said:

The French woman likes to be fashionable. The French are more dressy. A French Canadian woman would rather have three \$9.95 dresses than one \$30.00 one because she likes to change more often than the English. This one reason is why we advertise cheaper dresses more to the French than the English.³

A Department Manager stated:

We don't advertise sports wear so much to the French women now. We noticed in the past that there is not too much results. The French women prefer to dress up rather than wear sports clothes, or perhaps they buy more fashionable sports wear from the smaller stores in the east end.⁴

Two Department Managers said that since the French were thrifty, they took advantage of the sales, and thus they (Department Managers) felt justified in increasing their

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. ³Interview 4 ⁴Interview 10

promotion of goods which would appeal to the French during sale times. During the regular advertising, when space necessitated dropping an item from the French ad, the item expected to appeal least to the French was omitted.

The French are more thrifty I think and maybe they take advantage of the chance to save, anyway we include the items which we think will appeal to the French in our big sale ads....Whenever we are dropping an item we leave in the one which we think would sell best to the French and this would likely be more patterned, or brighter, or have more flowers in than the one we took out.¹

The French were thought to be fond of pets. One Department Manager discussed how this affected the store's promotion.

The French people are very fond of birds, especially Canaries, so, we have a pet shop, and at Christmas, Mother's day and Easter we promote it....Sometimes we advertise this only in the French papers and we always up the pet shop ad in size to 50-50. This is prestige business--business where you do it just to give service to the customer.²

French "realism" was seen by two respondents as having an important influence in the style of the French ad.

The French are realistic and like to see what they are getting....You just present the goods to the French, simply and directly, no sales pitch and no frills. Fancy stuff doesn't go with them, you get much better results from a very straight photo, telling a realistic and straight story. You don't go beating around the bush. We try to do that with our merchandise ads.³

Five respondents stated that the French were nationalistic, and sensitive to their past, their culture and traditions. This affected certain Institutional ads.

¹Interview 13

²Interview 19

³Ibid.

The French Canadian is very national-minded and we have to respect their national aspirations because they are politically powerful in land and proprietorship. They like you to be fair and they are very sensitive that you don't talk down or play down to them. You go after their business, show them that you want it, but you can't be superior or you're out of luck. We try to show them, not in so many words of course, that we treat them the same as the English in our ads.¹

For St. Jean Baptiste day in June we put in an Institutional ad in La Presse as a gesture or courtesy move....This ad is a whole page in La Presse. Its a courtesy gesture hailing them and saluting them.²

One respondent summed up his opinions on the French Canadian personality and its effect on advertising as follows:

The French Canadian has felt deprived for five hundred years and his energies have been more or less channeled into things of the mind and spirit, and so they come from a cultural basis which is more aesthetic because of the religion and education. He likes his advertising to be artistic and show taste and a certain creativeness, he's less practical and doesn't like brassiness....They are a Bric o' brac people and you will find this in the goods they buy and in the ads.³

French Image of the Two Sample Stores

Also relevant for the advertising was the image the French and English were thought to have of the store. In answer to the question "What do you think is the French and English image of your store" an executive of one store answered regarding the French image:

I think I am safe in saying that the French think of it as a great big power. Not too many French people think of it as family organization. They think of it as a good place to get a bargain. Also a lot of them are scared to come into a store like this because of its size. They

¹Interview 5 ²Ibid. ³Interview 6

are used to small stores. This is slowly disappearing though, and would apply mostly to the older group I think.¹

An executive of the other store answered:

Well of course we used to be known as a "carriage-trade" store. People still see us as too expensive. Our advertising still maintains a little aloofness in that we try to be a little more dignified. We think the French have the idea of a high quality store. We try to maintain this and try to maintain quality names but at the same time appeal to the average person. We are selling popular price lines now...we start about lower middle class and go to the top.²

These images directly affect the store's bilingual advertising. The former store is trying to change the "great big power" image in its advertising by stressing the "family store" idea in its French advertising, while appealing to both groups on the grounds of "fashion firsts" and integrity of advertising. The latter store is attempting to sustain the "high quality" and "elegance" image in the content and style of its advertising while at the same time extending its merchandise range to capture more of the French market. Both stores also are trying to foster good-will by conforming to what they think are their French clients' wishes in regard to advertising style and content.

I feel they [French] think we are sympathetic to them in our advertisements. Our advertising always stresses that we consider the French equal to the English....We advertise what we think they want and the way we think they want it to be done.³

One executive felt that there was still some prejudice in the minds of French Canadians in regard to shopping in an

¹Interview 4 ²Interview 8 ³Ibid.

English store.

You'll find that when the farmers do come into Montreal they go to a French store because they are more prejudice and prefer to be surrounded by a French atmosphere and French people.¹

Three respondents felt that many French often preferred the personal attention of the small store:

Often the better class French women prefers the small French dress shop, she can sit down there and talk over her needs and get the personal attention they give. She likes that. She doesn't feel she can get that in the big English department store.²

Advertising executives are attempting to overcome reluctance of this kind by adhering to what they believe are French desires in advertising style and content, and by respecting and acknowledging national, religious and family traditions in their French promotion.

Image of French Behavior Patterns

The advertiser's image of French behavior patterns, such as religious traditions and holiday and family customs, influences the kind of items advertised, when they are promoted and the extent of the promotion. As pointed out in Chapter III, items considered especially appealing to the French are advertised just before religious festivals much more than that during the regular advertising period.

Family and religious patterns at Christmas, New Years and Easter are considered particularly significant for their effect on French advertising--and according to

¹Interview 14

²Interview 7

advertising executives account for the larger product promotion to the French at these times in clothing, small gift items, food and party favors. An advertising executive stated:

We would not sell gifts at New Years to the English, but we would to the French because many of them still feel that it is the Christmas season and they celebrate the whole twelve days from Christmas to Epiphany [January 6] rather than just Christmas day as the English do....For this reason we still keep advertising our Christmas goods till after New Years. We would not advertise Christmas merchandise after Christmas if it were not for the French custom.¹

Another respondent commented on the clothing ads at this time:

We push clothes more to the French at holiday times, especially Christmas, New Years and Easter. There would be an inclination to buy a hat, coat, dress, etc.... People will buy hats they don't need or really want because they have to have one to go to church. We run hat ads at festival seasons and this results in especially good business.²

A Department Manager said:

At Christmas we put in a full page ad for the after midnight meal. We call this "Reveillon", and we do not advertise this in the English papers. We advertise a full page three or four days or a week before to emphasize this. We advertise mostly food, turkey, trimmings, dresses, coats, children's dresses, etc....These special ads were advertised in La Presse, but not in the Star.³

Religious differences result in French promotion of religious articles, clothes, books etc. A Department Manager stated:

Another item that we advertise to the French and not to the English is first communion goods, clothes--dresses, shoes, veils, etc.--rosaries, missals etc. We do not

¹Interview 10

²Interview 5

³Interview 10

advertise this at all in the English papers, and our business in this is growing every year...and we are stocking and advertising more and more of them.¹

French religious holidays which are not shared with the English such as Epiphany, Ascension day, St. Jean Baptiste day, Assumption day, Immaculate Conception and All Saints influence the advertising, as was noted in Chapter III, in that the advertising for these holidays is increased from the usual 60-40 English-French advertising ratio, to a 50-50 ratio. Not only is the spatial allotment of items influenced but the products advertised to both groups is most nearly alike at this time, as was shown by the content analysis.

We advertise to appeal to French and advertise Semi Moderns on the day before the holidays. We would be sure to include this in our ad and have it in the store at this time. This is general for all the store advertising before holidays--we try to keep this not obvious, but we do advertise goods which we feel will appeal to the French just before the holidays, although the same ad will appear also in the Star. We don't expect to get the same amount of English response.²

Three respondents felt that the French had larger families than the English and that this influenced their advertising of food, clothing, linens, housewares and cheaper priced basement merchandise.

The French have much larger families. The English have two and they [French] have four or five, so they have to spend much more on food and less on other commodities. They have to spend more on children's clothing too. We advertise higher to the French in these articles because of this.³

¹Interview 11 ²Interview 12 ³Interview 18

Because there are more French children, there are more beds so they buy more linens, and larger families mean more children's goods. The French tend to buy a lot of basement store items because they have lower incomes.¹

An Advertising Manager felt that rocking chairs sold better to the French because of a French family tradition.

There is one item--rocking chairs--85% of the sales are to the French people. It is a family tradition that French families like to be together on nights and weekends, and you have a rocking chair line up. Naturally we advertise this more to the French.²

Two Department Managers said that many French moved on May 1 and this affected the French advertising.

Our big sale is all during May because it is house furnishing time in Montreal. May first is a big moving day and Montreal is a big moving city, much more than Toronto and Hamilton. The lower income groups move more than the high. There are many tenements in downtown Montreal, and they are much more likely to move. These would be the basement store customers....Our person is operating on a budget. We do a big business for example in slip covers, drapes and new curtains. We advertise this merchandise equally 50-50 at this time, not the usual 60-40.³

Image of French Class Structure

The advertiser's image of the French class structure also influences his advertising decisions. The French lower class is said to like brighter colors than the middle and upper classes, to buy cheaper goods, shop more in the basement and spend relatively more on such staples as food and clothing. The middle and upper class French are considered to be comparable to the English-speaking group in personality, tastes, behavior

¹Interview 13 ²Interview 17 ³Interview 7

patterns and education as well as economic standing. Since the French-speaking group is in the majority in Montreal (70% French-speaking, 30% English-speaking) there is a large proportion of lower class French. This, say the executives, is the reason French sales response to lower-priced and sale merchandise is larger.

The French have lower incomes, larger families and more unemployment. The French in that part of the city (the east end) don't have as high educations either. This is the lower class of course, but then there are so many more lower class French because there are so many more French here in Montreal. These people are thrifty and these are the basement store shoppers. They buy big at sales too.¹

A preference for bright colors among the lower class French is considered less apparent now than formerly. These brighter colors are included in the ads (as mentioned previously) to both groups, but would not be included in solely English promotion.

We can sell a lot of flashy red and flashy pink to lower class French at Christmas, especially in cheaper dresses. Also at Easter you notice this, and I think it is generally true that the French will buy more flashy but lower priced dresses--especially in the lower element. They go in for more flamboyance in style too. We show ads which we think will do for both groups to cut down expense, but we wouldn't include these if we were advertising to the English alone.²

Certain higher priced merchandise, we observed in Chapter III was advertised more extensively to the English; the French in some cases were presumably not in the market for these goods:

Expensive items like slip covers go more to the English and we advertise them to the English mostly....Ours would sell for \$69.00, [a competitor's] for \$35.00 The French,

¹Interview 5

²Interview 15

or at least many of them, don't go for the higher priced articles. The heavy merchandise sells better to the English. I think it's because there are a lot more in the lower brackets in the French.¹

Most of the advertising executives of both stores thought that many cultural differences between the middle and upper class French and English groups were decreasing; some to the extent that there was now little difference between the two.

Although the French like brighter colors, the French people who are in contact with the upper middle class do not show much difference. This class of French people in Montreal is very similar to the English; they have the same cars, eat the same foods, etc. You will find that the older people and the younger French people up to the time of maturity use more vivid colors than the English do....But you find this difference between the French and English more pronounced in the lower income brackets. The more similarly they are educated to the English--that is the higher culture brackets, their color and style tastes are more similar.²

The change in tastes was felt to be helpful to the stores, in that it was now less difficult to advertise bilingually, as well as more economical and effective.

The French group is becoming more modern and less traditional now. The young moderns are becoming educated now...and they get books and study up what's smart in home designing etc. The trend is changing. They want to keep up their status with their other friends. They used to want more gaudy things. The change has been gradual though and not so evident. We can be sure that our advertising to both English and French groups is reaching more French more effectively and the styles, colors etc. are becoming more similar so it is a bit easier and more economical to advertise the same things to both groups now.³

Many Advertising executives felt that the French, in

¹Interview 12

²Interview 7

³Interview 12

becoming more educated, also were becoming more Anglicized. The French middle class was growing, and more French business and professional people were reading the English newspapers, especially the morning Gazette. They cited this as one reason for holding to a 60-40 English-French advertising ratio.

The French people are becoming more like the English in their tastes now, that is the middle class especially. Books, magazines, television, store displays, etc. are all educating the French. More French are learning English now too and more of them are getting jobs up town in English businesses. They learn what's fashionable and smart and what isn't.¹

There is considerable overlap between French and English readers of the English papers. This is one reason we keep to a 60-40 ratio. We don't need to advertise so much in the French papers.²

An Advertising Manager explained why he thought this "overlap" occurred:

The overlap is because more French people read the English papers than vice versa. The French business man, lawyer, doctor, scientist or teacher will buy the English paper because of his contacts with the English people and the market, and he will bring the paper home. He is married to a French Canadian girl and she is likely to be well-educated too and will read the English paper although they may also subscribe to the French paper.³

One Department Manager remarked that although he was of French Canadian background he read the French newspapers only on rare occasions. He felt that there were many French people who preferred the English newspapers.

Thus the advertisers' image of the class structures influenced advertising decisions on the content and amount of bilingual advertising. However they thought the differences

¹Interview 24 ²Interview 4 ³Interview 7

were becoming less pronounced, not only among the French in general, but also between the English and French. Thus advertisers could do more similar promotion in the French and English newspapers. A large, but unestimated number of French people are thought to be reading the English newspapers, accounting to some extent for the lower amount of space used (40%) in the French newspapers.

External Pressures

Certain external pressures by Institutions and the French-speaking public affected executive decisions on French advertising of the two sample stores.

Institutional Pressure

Institutions cited as having exerted or continuing to exert pressure were La Presse, the Roman Catholic church and the Municipal government. These pressures especially affected the items advertised and the amount of promotion just before Roman Catholic holidays. One issue in the past had been the closing of English stores on the French religious holidays.

One official commented on the pressure exerted by the municipal government several years ago:

The city took to fining us for staying open for a while, but all the big English department stores stayed open anyway. Now we can stay open legally, but we have stopped advertising in a big way the day before a holiday and now we just put in our normal ad, but we still get business from the French on these days because they all come up town to go to the shows and look around.¹

¹Interview 5

Two executives commented on the influence of La Presse and the Roman Catholic church on their bilingual advertising:

We used to advertise especially for these days [religious holidays] and put in big ads to attract the French, but the French people and the Catholic church wanted all stores shut down, and La Presse fought it out too with all the big stores in the city--that is the big English department stores--and they [the French Institutions] gave up. We just don't take advantage now by running big ads, but we don't close down like the French stores do. We do get crowds on that day.¹

On the French Catholic religious holidays they have to work--often in English jobs--but the Roman Catholic church decided to still keep them as holy days. The people can go out and shop, work, etc., but they have to go to churchOne religious holidays we used to cut down on our advertising because the people were not supposed to be shopping. However, they shopped anyway, and came in flocks. We cut down our ad so as not to offend the church.²

One respondent specifically commented on the role of La Presse in exerting pressure:

We used to take advantage of the religious holidays when all the French stores would be closed down, you know, like Assumption day, etc., then we'd run a big three or four page spread when we know they would be uptown.... Then La Presse asked us not to, it hurt French business, especially [a French] competitor asked us not to.³

These interviews support the findings of the content analysis in Chapter III. We noted that the items advertised in the French and English papers were most nearly similar, and the space used per ad most nearly equal, in the pre-holiday advertisements. Advertising executives stated that this was done to camouflage the fact that the French-speaking people were being specifically appealed to at these times.

¹Interview 9 ²Interview 7 ³Interview 5

We are alert to all the Roman Catholic holidays because, although we run the same ads in the English and French papers at those times, we push goods we think the French want, because they all come uptown to shop and look around then. By putting in the same ad in both papers the fact that we are appealing to the French is not obvious.¹

Pressure by La Presse was cited by an Advertising Manager as influencing their translations. Errors or poor style of French were not tolerated in La Presse advertisements. One advertising executive thought that La Presse was over-scrupulous in this matter.

La Presse will call you up for every little error or oversight. They are out to educate the French people you know and to preserve the purity of the language. They won't allow colloquialisms or anything like that. I think they just overdo it. It doesn't make it any easier for us I can tell you.²

Pressure by the General Public

The general public may influence the advertising decisions directly through letters of criticism, telephone protests and personal complaints to store executives; or indirectly through economic boycott--the refusal to purchase goods from the offending store. These pressures affect the translation, style and volume of French advertising.

Several respondents mentioned that direct public pressure influenced the French translation and advertising style.

The French people are very critical of the language you use and complain every chance they get and they would have three or four letters to you immediately if you make a mistake. They are extremely critical and zealous about

¹Interview 12

²Interview 25

this....If you have ten French people you will have fifteen suggestions as to how it should be translated.... It ought to be good, but not over people's heads--it should be good, correct, but not overly academic. That's the way they want it, so that's the way we give it to them.¹

Another respondent mentioned that he was more conscious of making errors in French than in English.

We are very conscious of not making errors in French. We are less conscious about making errors in English--the English don't mind much about it. We are told if we do make a mistake in French by the customers and La Presse.... We get criticism if we use too correct a French--you can go over their heads. If you use too common a type of French you get into trouble too. You must keep a middle course and use what they want you to use.²

One Advertising Executive felt that the objections were from the French higher classes rather than the lower class.

Our objections are from the more educated group like the University of Montreal. They would object to a word you used rather than your whole style. We sort of bend over backwards to please these people I think.³

An Advertising Manager felt that the French public would be more likely to boycott their store than complain directly if the advertising were displeasing.

People are more likely just to stop shopping at your store than go to all the fuss and bother of a letter or personal complaint. So we have to be very careful about French translation and style because if they don't like it they can cut off your nose--that is they will just stop shopping at your store.⁴

A Department Manager summed up his opinion of the effects of adverse French reaction to his advertising:

If they don't like my advertising it influences my promotion a lot, because the more French sales we have the more we

¹Interview 5 ²Interview 7 ³Interview 11 ⁴Interview 5

are going to advertise in French, so if their trade falls off we would be forced to curtail our French advertising. Of course if the store lost too much trade we'd be out of business, so we can't afford to offend them.¹

It would seem that institutional and public pressures do influence the translation, style, content and volume of French advertising, but the principal incentive to acceptable French advertising is fear of economic reprisal by French consumers.

General Summary

My interviews suggested that many factors affect executive decisions on bilingual advertising, the most important of which are the proportion of French and English customers; the cost of space in the French and English newspapers; the image of the French Canadians held by management officials, (inasmuch as it differs from their image of English-speaking Canadians); and the external pressures which certain institutions and the French public in general bring to bear.

These independent variables influence the advertising in many ways, e.g., content, style, volume, date of insertion of ads, and the ratio of French-English advertising. Some executives feel that the English location and ownership of the sample stores limits their ability to attract the French market in proportion to its population in Montreal. Others feel that bilingual advertising is much more expensive than unilingual advertising and that economizing measures reduce the efficiency

¹Interview 25

and effectiveness¹ of their French advertising. Advertising officials thought that differences in personality, behavior patterns and social and economic background existed between the French and English, but were not sure of the extent of these differences. Nevertheless, they acted in terms of their general opinions and impressions. Many felt that there was less difference now than there formerly was; that "the more educated the French became the more like the English they were"²; and that the trend they envisioned toward similarity between the two groups simplified the advertising and saved money for the firm.

Lastly, the variable of external pressures was influential because of their threat to the economic aims of the store. Institutional and public disapproval was effective in modifying bilingual advertising policy, style and content.

¹Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938).

²Interview 8.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In order to study certain aspects of bilingual advertising in Montreal, two Montreal department stores were selected and the advertising content, and factors affecting the selection of this content, were examined for selected periods--a regular period, French and English festival periods, and special sale periods. Ads in La Presse and The Montreal Star were compared re products advertised, amount of space used per item, translation, and themes and style of promotion to the French and English. Le Devoir and The Gazette were analyzed for translation, themes and style of bilingual advertising.

In general, there were only minor differences between the ads in The Montreal Star and La Presse regarding the kind of product promoted to each group. The greatest difference occurred in the regular advertising, less in the pre-festival advertising, and least of all in the special sale ads. Often the difference was in the promotion of less expensive and small gift items to the French.

Management policy of a 40-60 French-English spatial allotment of items (based on a similar estimate of ethnic sales response) was generally maintained. A few departments deviated

from this, being allowed a 50-50 allotment per item--this was especially true of basement departments. The largest amount of equal advertising occurred during the special sales period, next during the French religious festivals period, and the smallest during the regular advertising.

French advertising consisted of translations from the English copy. Errors and problems in translation frequently occurred, and the advertisers sought well-known "mutual" terms which would be acceptable to both groups.

The themes for all the product and high fashion ads of both stores were essentially the same in both the English and French papers. Some differences occurred in mutual festival and institutional ads.

Art work style also was generally the same in both French and English ads, although language styles was not. One store in French and the other in English and French sought a non-colloquial "proper" style.

A number of factors affected the decisions of management on the advertising content--the proportion of English-French customers, cost of space in the newspapers and background, management's image of the French Canadians, and external pressures.

Discussion

The problem of the retail advertiser in the bilingual milieu is that of effectively and efficiently reaching its bilingual market for a maximum of profit. The bicultural setting in presenting certain inter-ethnic strains, linguistic

and technical problems and communication barriers reduces the effectiveness and efficiency of the communication and prevents full realization of the economic goal.

Problem of Effectiveness of Bilingual Advertisements

By "effectiveness" we mean the degree to which ads are satisfactory and acceptable to the store's clientele and management. The French advertising was considered less effective to management than it might be. Nearly all executives interviewed considered translations less satisfactory than duplicate staffs, but the high expense of maintaining English and French staffs, prevents the companies from carrying out this more effective solution.

For various reasons the ads even now are not as effective as they might be. First, the need to economize causes advertisers to use the same cuts in the smaller French ads which are used in the English ads, necessitating less descriptive copy and often a sacrifice of eye appeal. Also the procedure of translation presents production and linguistic difficulties in processing the French ad as well as a greater chance of error which is confusing and irritating to the customer and embarrassing to management.

Tension between higher and lower management resulted from the desire on the part of some lower management to deviate from the stipulated (by higher management) policy of 40-60 French-English advertising ratio. Some department managers felt that the effectiveness of their bilingual advertising was

lowered because of a lower ratio of French advertising than was justified by their estimated sales volume.

Problem of Efficiency of Bilingual Advertisements

"Efficiency" refers to expenditures. Thus if there is a decrease in the amount of money spent on bilingual advertising with no adverse affect on sales we would conclude that efficiency had increased.

Management's efforts to increase efficiency are hindered by the lack of thorough store-wide research into the existing ratio of French-English sales response to its bilingual advertising; thus management is unable to determine "how much it is getting in return for its advertising dollar".¹

The occasional duplication of cuts for French translations or the processing of completely different French promotion adds to advertising costs, while errors in processing or translation may result in a loss to the store. The latter, for example, occurred when a translator inserted the word "longue" instead of the word "chaise", thereby forcing the company to sell several hundred chaise longues at the price of patio chairs.²

Institutional and public pressures decrease efficiency. Pressures which resulted in almost identical French-English bilingual advertising before French religious festivals increase English advertising costs, since goods primarily appealing to the French are advertised. Pressure centering primarily on

¹Interview 23

²Ibid.

language criticism add to the care and meticulousness necessary in translation, often resulting in added time and production costs to alter slight French linguistic impurities or colloquialisms.

Ethnic Significance

The English retail organization must cope with the problem of representing the dominant group in this bicultural setting while trying to win customers from the subordinate. It must cope with competition for the French market from the French retailers who themselves form part of the French cultural environment, and hence know from personal participation, the national, religious, social and linguistic customs and preferences of their French market. Their businesses are in the "French section" of Montreal, readily available to their French clients, and they may expect some sympathy from their French customers in their efforts to compete with the powerful English stores.

The research showed that English advertisers felt that many French people were wary of their store, did not enter it, and considered it a "big power". Management's estimate that 40 per cent of their clientele is French indicates that they consider their French sales response to be below the 65 or so per cent of the French population in Montreal.

The advertisers' sensitivity to criticism of the French ads showed that they felt strongly that they had to respect French reaction to their promotion. They feared that neglect to do so would result in economic loss through boycott of their

store by the French. In answer to a question "why do you try to please the French people in your ads?" a respondent said, "because they will cut off your nose if you don't...refuse to shop in your store". Thus it appears that, though the English retailer is dominant economically, he must treat the French consumer as his equal, acknowledge his religious and national heritage, and recognize his social patterns and needs in his French advertising. The advertisers feel that the English retailer in Montreal could not continue in business if he had to depend entirely on the English market.

The English retailer's dependence on French response to his advertising makes the advertising a crucial factor in his economic survival, and the need for effective and efficient communication through his bilingual advertising imperative.

The bilingual advertising serves social as well as economic functions. It is instrumental first in promoting a common culture. Research showing that the majority of the products are promoted bilingually suggests that the two groups share the same material culture, and as new products appear on the market the advertising promotes these to both groups increasing the shared material culture. Since most of the products have brand or trade names in English (many manufactured in United States) these are printed in English in the bilingual advertising, and also, as new products appear, more new English words are shared by each group. Mutual festival advertising e.g., for Mother's day, Thanksgiving day, etc. also perpetuates and contributes to the shared material culture as well as to the

common values, attitudes and behaviour patterns attached to these festivals.

An economic institution in a superior position may be expected to try to maintain this position. In this case, such maintenance involves a reinforcement of the traditional positions that have grown up, with the English dominant and the French Canadians subordinate. Advertising is one technique among many which is contributing to the continued dominance of English business and economy in Montreal. By his greater expenditure in English papers, his promotion primarily of (English) Canadian and American manufactured products, his convert adjustment (to his own economic gain) to institutional pressures, he supports the continued dominance of his own and certain other English enterprises in Montreal.

To ensure his continued prosperity in the bicultural setting, he is flexible and sensitive to what he considers are French desires in advertising, making such adjustments in advertising language, style and content as are indicated by French complaints and suggestions. Thus with minor concessions to the minority group he tries to win them over and maintain his own success and dominant position.

The bilingual advertising, however, also serves to perpetuate certain ethnic differences. Many of the French national religious, social and economic values, behavior patterns, and aspirations differ from the English, and as the advertisers to a certain degree are sensitive to these in their French advertising, they continue these differences in their bilingual

advertising. Thus while reinforcing certain unique aspects of each culture, the advertising also perpetuates a "cognitive dissonance"¹ between the two groups, and encourages a continuation of a certain communication barrier between the two groups.

Advertisers' Accommodations to the Bicultural Setting

The advertisers, subjected by public and institutional pressures to recognise certain French wishes and interests in their advertising, attempt to accommodate by: (1) certain overt gestures in advertising style and content; and by (2) certain covert procedures; (3) certain technical operations.

Overt Accommodations

(1) The overt accommodations are aimed at the French public and are readily observable to the reader. They consist of efforts to please the French by acceptable linguistic vocabulary, grammar and style; descriptive copy which attempts to build up what the advertisers feel is the French Canadian's image of himself and his culture; promotion of products the advertisers think will appeal to the French; extra emphasis on items considered more attractive to the French than the English; institutional ads calculated to "praise them" (French) and "build them up"--ego appealing ads which emphasize their national, religious and social history and aspirations; and a strong emphasis on the store's aim of service, good will and benefaction to the

¹Parsons, op. cit., pp. 352-3.

community.¹ The advertisers seem to be considerate of their French competitors. They appear to have ceased taking advantage of the French religious festivals, during which the French retailers are closed, by keeping the French pre-holiday advertising the same as the English.

Covert Accommodations

The English advertiser's covert accommodation to the bicultural setting is not readily observable to the French or English public.

(1) Advertisers have accommodated covertly to French religious and journalistic pressures to stop attracting the French by special pre-holiday advertisements, by inserting French ads which are identical to the English, but specifically expected to appeal to the French.

(2) French newspaper pressures on the English advertisers to advertise equally (expenditure) in the French and English press is resisted by all four large English department stores, who, I am told, take a united stand on the issue; when asked about the ratio of French-English advertising however, inquiries are told as I was at the beginning of my research that it is equal in both papers. An advertising executive stated that he was justified in saying this because La Presse has nine columns per page while The Star has only eight, thus an eight page ad in La Presse and The Montreal Star are essentially equal in

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space. However, he neglected to point out that in The Montreal Star, columns are wider and space is more expensive than in La Presse, and that the cost difference is approximately 20 per cent.

Technical Accommodations

These include the manner in which the advertisers attempt to lessen the linguistic difficulties of bilingual advertising. Principal among these is the advertiser's efforts to obtain "mutual" terms which are well-known and acceptable to both groups, thereby overcoming the translation and communication problems of bilingual copy.

English is retained in French advertising for trade names and for technical terms and product names where no adequate French term can be found. English is not used if it can be avoided in the descriptive copy of French ads.

Translation of the English ads and identical art work is an accommodation to the excessive costs involved in bilingual promotion.

Technical accommodations enable the advertiser to reduce his costs and still feel that he is coping as adequately as possible with a difficult situation.

Conclusion

The research is limited to advertising in the four major Montreal newspapers, and therefore does not include advertising in weekly newspapers and magazines, radio, television or other media. Also, since the research was limited to inter-

views with executives and English retailers, it tells nothing of the consumer or French retailers' point of view. The research does indicate something however, of the English retailer's advertising problem as he sees it in the bicultural milieu, and of his efforts to cope with the situation.

Certain generalizations may be made. The English retailer seeks to maximize profit and to minimize cost and inconvenience, while at the same time, through various accommodations, he seeks to maintain his dominant economic position. He seeks the good-will and patronage of the minority group, recognizing his dependence on its continued support, and in doing so accommodates to minority demands regarding advertising content. His image of French and English consumer needs and tastes to some degree determines the extent of promotion of items to each group.

The bilingual advertising promotes a common culture, while at the same time perpetuates certain cultural differences. The English advertiser tries to be alert to the cultural strains and tensions of the bicultural environment--taking care to offend neither group by acting as an impartial community servant.

While the English are exposed to some new French words, it is the French who meet the most foreign words in the bilingual advertising, suggesting that in the world of commercial products it is English which is the principal national language and that the French cannot avoid a certain amount of "Anglicization."

The advertisers recognize that advertising, as a mass medium, transmits the existing culture, and many feel that grow-

ing numbers of French consumers--involved in the present rise in economic and educational standards--will become increasingly bilingual, subjected as they are to television, radio, newspaper, magazine and other media from English and American sources. One English advertiser expressed the opinion that "French Canada could not hold out, isolated, an island unto herself," and that "gradual Anglicization was inevitable."¹

We may conclude that the English retailer who advertises to maximize his profit, recognizes the limitations of the bicultural situation, adjusts himself to it as well as he can, attempts to increase effectiveness and efficiency where possible, and believes--or at least hopes that in time the problem will be less acute.

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