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AUTHOR Lenden, Darlene
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ABSTRACT

A cultural profile of the French-Canadian business community of Quebec is presented, focusing on seven aspects of business communication: language; environment and technology; social organization; degree of contextual understanding; authority conception; nonverbal behavior; and temporal conception. The history of French and English language use in Quebec is chronicled, and the eventual adoption of English as the lingua franca of the business community is explained. Export patterns and the role of technology are briefly outlined. Social organization is sketched in terms of family and church roles, and of the culture and group identity within business organizations. The French-Canadian society is characterized as a high-context one, in which a high level of mutual understanding exists and communication is less verbal than in a low-context society. Conception of authority in Canadian organizations and resulting communication patterns are examined. Nonverbal behavior is found to be similar to that in the United States, but with greater use of hand gestures. The French-Canadian conception of time is seen as more flexible than that of the United States. These aspects of business communication are then illustrated in the communication patterns and leadership style within a Quebec pulp and paper company. Contains 28 references. (MSE)

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French-Canadian Business Philosophies in Corporate America: A Cross-Cultural Approach

Darlene Lenden

Undergraduate Studies

Ecole des Sciences de la Gestion
Université du Québec à Montréal
Montréal, Québec, Canada

Residence Phone: (514) 721-9748
Residence Fax: (514) 522-8058

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Abstract

This analysis attempts to provide a brief cultural background of the largest French speaking community in North America. It does not try to justify why things are the way they are. It merely aims at positioning the French-Canadian culture, notably Quebec, by focusing on Victor's (1992) LESCANT model which presents seven major aspects related to international business communication: Language, Environment and Technology, Social Organization, Contexting, Authority Conception, Nonverbal Behavior and Temporal Conception. The primary purpose of this research is to provide the outsider with a basic knowledge of the Quebec culture and its historical context by creating a greater awareness and sensitivity towards Quebecers.

Introduction

Given the eventual integration of Chile in the North American Free Trade Agreement, the trend towards global trading becomes increasingly important in cross-cultural interaction. For Canada, the United States of America and Mexico, extending the market beyond the present 360 million inhabitants provides an opportunity to make economic allies that would enrich all members involved. However cross-cultural communication often presents a barrier for the business manager willing to go abroad. It thus becomes of vital importance to the global manager to be properly trained in the areas of intercultural communication.

It is in this respect that this analysis attempts to provide a brief cultural background of the largest French speaking community in North America. This analysis does not try to justify why things are the way they are. It merely aims at positioning the French-Canadian culture, notably Quebec, by focusing on Victor's (1992) LESCANT model which presents seven major aspects related to international business communication: Language, Environment and Technology, Social Organization, Contexting, Authority Conception, Nonverbal Behavior and Temporal Conception.

Today's business culture in Quebec is notably the product of its struggle with its history. The influence that politics, language, culture and religion has had on the business world remains at the root of

economic development. In the wake of increased global trade, such factors represent a relatively small yet visible disparity between a French-speaking society and an English one.

French-Canadians share many of their values with English-Canadians and Americans. However, the numerous shared beliefs often overshadow the importance of the distinctions. Thus, it is a common misconception to portray both groups as identical. In fact, French-Canadians and particularly Quebecers are often compared to Latin cultures thus enabling Quebecers to combine Latin thinking with North American values. As a result, the Quebec business manager can easily interact in both business worlds defined by the management style of English-speaking countries and Latin ones. In fact, it is this combination of both schools of thinking that characterize the distinctive trait of most businesses in Quebec. This combination is one of the footstones that influences the entrepreneur's ability to successfully penetrate foreign markets.

In order to fully comprehend the underlying principles of this analysis, it is important to establish a precise definition of what is a French-Canadian. Originally, the term was associated with an individual of French origin whose mother-tongue is French. However, the definition has gradually become synonymous with Quebecois, or person living in the province of Quebec.

Language

Language is an aspect of culture that has a significant impact for the one majority French-speaking province of Canada known as Quebec. 83% of the 7 million Québécois speak French and a third of these individuals also speak English (Statistics Canada: 1994). For the English-speaking foreigner, language does not necessarily represent a barrier in business communication with the French-Canadians. However, language is a key issue in Quebec and the outsider should be aware of the possible emotional sensitivity attached to it. As a bilingual country Canada has always had two distinct cultures as defined by language.

A Historical Perspective

The history of white settlement in North America contends that New France was discovered by Jacques Cartier in 1534. Cartier was the first European to arrive in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. At the height of French control, the area soon extended beyond what is now Quebec. New France encompassed part of Newfoundland, Labrador, Louisiana, French Acadia, the Great Lakes region as well as the Mississippi and Missouri basins (Cardin, Bédard, Demers, Fortin, 1984). The greatest powers in Europe in the 18th century, France and Britain, engaged in numerous wars in order to achieve economic dominance both in Europe and North America. In 1763, the British, having conquered French Acadia, signed the Treaty of Paris which entailed France to give

up its colonial rights to North America with the exception of two islands in the St. Lawrence basin, St. Pierre and Miquelon. Thus, the new generation of Canadians of French descent became subjects of the Queen of England.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 stipulated that English law would preside in Canada and that individuals that wanted to participate in management of government had to take an oath renouncing their Catholic faith. This measure was aimed at excluding French-Canadians from government jobs. The purpose of this was to fully integrate the province of Quebec into British North America. The English wanted to dissolve the presence of the French in North America by eliminating their organizations and instigating British ones such as English law and the protestant ethic. Economic relationships between French-Canadians was still based on a mercantilist form of trade. The French-Canadians remained concentrated in the agricultural sector whereas the newly arrived English were largely dissipated in the industrial side of the economy.

In response to the injustices of the Royal Proclamation, the Quebec Act was created in 1774. The geographical area of Quebec now extended from Labrador to the Great Lakes region including the Ohio Valley. The Quebec Act also reinstated French civil law such as the seigneurial territorial regime, yet maintained English criminal law. The Test Act was now abolished and freedom of religion was permitted.

In order to avoid further problems between the French and English-Canadians, the Constitutional Act was created in 1791, dividing Canada into Upper and Lower Canada. This corresponds to present day Ontario and Quebec and the population was respectively 20 000 and 160 000 (Cardin et al.: 1984). The purpose of this Act was to minimize the problems that often occurred between two societies of different origins with different cultures and traditions by creating a new political system that enabled the population to vote for their representatives in the government. However, the British still hoped that the assimilation of the Francophones was still possible.

In 1838, England sent a new governor-general to Canada to investigate the causes of the rebellion by the French-Canadians. Lord Durham identified three major causes. The first was that the political system favoured the aristocracy of Upper Canada and as a result instigated reprimands from the French-Canadians of Lower Canada. In addition to this, Durham identified a strong nationalistic feeling in Lower Canada. He recognized the strong cultural forces that opposed the two nations: the Francophones and Anglophones. Durham identified the Constitutional Act of 1791 as the source of the nationalistic atmosphere that reigned in Lower Canada. According to his report, it was this same nationalistic feeling that opposed British interests and condemned the French-Canadians to mediocracy and inferiority. In his solutions, Durham proposed that Upper and Lower Canada be combined under one government in order to fully

assimilate the French-Canadians.

Despite Quebec's population being significantly higher than Ontario's, the Union Act of 1840 established equal representation in the House of Assembly. This was an attempt at assimilation by combining both provinces into one. Throughout the history of Quebec, the Catholic Church remained at the root of the French ideology. It promoted "La Survivance" or survival in order to protect the French Canadians from external influences and threats. "La survivance expressed itself in a religiously oriented, non-materialistic cultural isolationism that, to justify itself, took refuge in the ideal of 'autonomy'" (Lachapelle, Bernier, Salée, Bernier. 1992: p58). Thus, the Catholic Church through its influence, shaped the face of the French-Canadian society by promoting its institutions, language and faith.

However, the source of economic autonomy for the French-Canadians occurred long after the establishment of the federal system of 1867 that is still present today. What began as the rise of the French-Canadians as "Maîtres chez nous" (Masters in our own house) is referred to as the Quiet Revolution. It is the 1960s that marked the beginning of the cultural effervescence that created the foundations of a new identity. One that is not defined as French-Canadian but as Quebecois. The social changes occurred on numerous levels. As Lachapelle et al. (1992: p60) point out, the role that the Catholic Church played in the intellectual and social aspects of life diminished considerably during this period. Thus, the Christian perspective of

profit as a negative aspect in business soon disappeared. In response to this, the tendency to resist authority and protest against political and social issues prevailed as the new form of thinking. Soon the State began to assume the responsibilities that the Church previous held in matters concerning education, health and welfare.

The concept of "La Survivance" soon lost its social implications when the Quebecois realized that their economy was behind the rest of Canada and the United States. As a result, a process of "rattrapage" or catching up soon dominated both the political and economic sectors. In fact, this was the first acknowledgement that the low economic status in Quebec was the result of the non-materialistic ethic that prevailed in the older generations of society. Over the course of the next 20 years, a more capitalist approach to society dominated the popular ideology. Given that Quebecers had realized the limited potential of government and cultural affirmations to satisfy their material needs, the next logical step to modernization was privatization, deregulation and diminished power of the bureaucracy.

Thus, the historical context of Quebec defines the business environment of today and its rapport towards the particular vulnerability and attachment that is often associated with the use of French. It was the dominance of Anglophones in important business sectors of the economy that provoked the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. The feeling of inferiority that the Quebecers felt was often demonstrated by the fact that the Francophone was restricted to lower

level jobs. After the Quiet Revolution, the need for French-Canadians to assume positions of power in business created a new demand for students studying in the fields of business (Chanlat et al. 1991:10-37).

The business community, having been dominated and defined by the English-speaking majority in Canada, left the French-speaking population of Quebec no alternative but to learn English in its attempt to increase job opportunities and business prospects. Given that Quebec exports 80% of its total exports to the U.S., it becomes increasingly vital for Quebecers trading with Americans and English Canadians, to be proficient in the use of English. This has created a social class of bilingual individuals who can easily adjust to many environments.

Environment and Technology

Canada is the world's second largest country in terms of geographic size. However, its population is only that of 27 million people. Canada has two official languages, English and French. It counts among its diverse population individuals of different origins such as Ukrainians, Italians and Germans. Most individuals live in cities that are located near the U.S. border.

The country's main exports are transport material, mineral and mineral by-products, wood, pulp and paper, automotive parts, electrical material and telecommunications. Both Canada and Quebec's primary export destination is the United States, followed by the European

Union and Japan.

Statistics Canada recently announced a 21% increase in exports for the year ending in 1994 totalling 219.4 billion dollars CDN. Among the industries with the most potential for growth are automotive products, electrical equipment and industrial products such as nickel, aluminum, and chemical products. In 1994, 82% of Canada's exports were aimed at the U.S. market. Quebec, on the other hand, exports approximately 80% to its total exports to the U.S., thus becoming the U.S.'s 7th largest trading partner (Stats. Can: 1993). Thus, business opportunities in French-Canada become increasingly important for U.S. corporations. As a result, knowledge of the French-Canadian business culture becomes a valuable asset for the foreign firm.

Canada is a highly skilled society in which individuals view technology in a positive way. The attitude that is generally held is that the standard of living can be improved with increased technology. The views that many Canadians hold are similar to that of many Americans. The same can be said for Quebecers.

Social Organizations

Perhaps one of the most significant variables that has influenced Canada and Quebec from colonization to the present day, has been its social organizations. The family unit and the Church have played a vital role in the history of French-Canadians.

As was mentioned earlier, the Catholic Church was the most influential organization that assumed the role that the provincial government now plays in matters related to education, health, and welfare (Dumont: 1993). In this period, from 1870-1960, the Church played a key role in developing the social atmosphere in Quebec.

Thus, the Church was able to dictate and control a certain ideological perspective on the French-Canadians which favoured the expansion of agriculture and frowned on industrialization. The Church also opposed urbanization, perhaps a threat to its influential ties in rural Quebec. In this society, the Catholic Church's role served as a means to maintain its cultural ties and instill its values on the family.

As Lachapelle et al. (1993: p17) stated "The decline in the Church's influence is due to the fact that it failed to acknowledge that Quebec had irreversibly changed into an industrial, urban society." The Quiet Revolution marked the end of the Church's empire whereby Quebec "caught up" to the rest of the world.

Social Organization in Business

The role an employee perceives he/she plays in the workplace results from both the corporate culture and national culture of the business. As Victor (1992:p120) stated "National culture encourages a specific type of perception", Francophones view themselves differently as compared to Anglophones. The gap originates from differences in

reasoning and thinking. In a collectivist society, the individual is a member of a group and each member is accountable to that group. Quebecers are more collectivist per se because of the fact that they represent a French-speaking Non-Protestant minority in North America. Reassured by the distinction of their language in North America, they have come to understand that they are the Francophones of America, that is to say, individuals with a European past in an American context. With regards to English-Canadians, their identity is defined not by who they are but who they aren't. English-Canadians identify themselves as not being an American (U.S.). A practical example will be provided of the Cascades pulp and paper company which will illustrate the question of identity in further detail.

The Organization: Culture, Structure and Individuals

As an organization in both a French and English-speaking environment, the managers of the Quebec enterprises have a unique perspective as to what their corporate design should look like. The interaction between the individuals, both managers and employees, is influenced by the corporate culture and structure of the organization (Aktouf, Bédard, Chanlat, 1992). The Quebec corporate culture is profoundly different in that it does not create formal barriers that deny the employee the accessibility to communicate to officials on a higher rank. In fact, this "laissez faire" approach has created a business atmosphere that simultaneously stimulates the employee while

maintaining the company's structure fairly simple.

The Organization versus the Firm

In a business society defined by North American values, we attribute greatness to creators of firms. Rarely do we attribute the same merit to builders of organizations (Allaire and Firsirotu: 1993 p8). The difference is that an organization is centered on a social structure based on the motivational needs of the individual in the collective nature of the organization. In contrast, the firm is simply defined as an entity who's only goal is to make a profit.

In light of this conception of the organization, the French-Canadian enterprise is viewed as being unique because of the role that society has played throughout its existence. The importance of such a phenomenon has helped the business environment of Quebec evolve to where it is today. The relative position that such an organization holds in the global market of North America has enabled the French-Canadians to invade the business class with their innovative style.

Contexting

Hofstede coined the term *contexting* as pertaining to the level of information that is understood between individuals. High context societies explicitly use non-verbal interpretations to communicate. On the other hand, low context societies use verbal communication more.

Canadians, and especially French-Canadians, are viewed as belonging to a higher context society than the Americans of the United States. The differences are not drastic, however, it is important to realize that there are indeed differences. Canadians and especially French-Canadians use an interpretive approach in communicating.

As a foreign student in the United States, I had the opportunity to invite an American friend over for dinner. As is common courtesy, this friend asked me if he should bring something over. Naturally, I refused and said it was not necessary. Upon his arrival, I was surprised that he came empty-handed. It was at this moment that I realized that Americans are in a lower context society than are perhaps French Canadians. The words that I explicitly stated were to not bring a gift. However, my answer "no" was aimed at an individual in a higher context society. The American interpreted my "no" as a simple "no" when in fact it actually meant the opposite.

Authority Conception

Culture is a variable that influences how one perceives power in the organizational mindframe. Power and authority are interrelated concepts that vary according to the leadership style of the businessperson and the organizational context.

Since small and medium sized businesses employ more than 80% of the workforce in Quebec, a more liberal work environment is

thereby created. The French-Canadian culture has in some ways simplified the communicative process by creating direct forms of interaction that are less formal. This is often demonstrated in the French language that Quebecers use. As compared to the French from France, Quebecers don't always pronounce every syllable of a word.

Numerous Quebec businesses rank high in terms of managerial skills and relatively invisible hierarchy thus enabling a more efficient communication. Hofstede's interpretation of this power distance takes into account the hierarchial barriers that surface in the communicative process between an employee and his/her employer/manager. The subordinate, influenced both by the company's philosophy and his/her own cultural identity, perceives the relative distance between his/her boss in a certain way. Thus, it is both the individual and the organization that permit flexibility in communication.

Yet it is indeed the leadership style of the entrepreneur, influenced by culture and context, that defines the employee's accessibility to the higher level managers of the organization.

Non-Verbal Behavior

Non-verbal behavior includes all forms of communication that do not use linguistic terminology, such as facial expressions or body language. Hall (1959) reminds us that non-verbal behavior takes on many forms and can be controlled or uncontrolled. Different cultures

have varying degrees for the usage of space, eye behavior, appearance, movement and touching behavior.

French-Canadians as well as English-Canadians typically resemble Americans in terms of non-verbal communication. The two societies are very similar in this aspect which perhaps is an advantage to both Canadians and Americans in their business dealings with one another. Both cultures place equal value on punctuality, a firm handshake, strong eye contact, proper business attire and a respectable physical distance. However, like many Latin cultures, the Quebecer tends to use hands more in expressing ideas. This often surfaces in a business environment as the individual communicates with a culture that does not use hand gestures as frequently.

Temporal Conception

French-Canadians function on a less monochronic time system than the rest of Canada. In essence, French-Canadians can be compared to Latin-American cultures for they do not necessarily confine their activities to one thing at a time. The use of agendas and appointment books demonstrates the monochronic influences that are indeed present in most French-Canadians. However, like polychronic societies French-Canadians view time somewhat as being flexible and this is often reflected in one on one business meetings.

This does not mean to say that French-Canadians do not place

value on punctuality. This is crucial but it is the use of time that makes Quebec less monochronic than the other English provinces in Canada. In this sense, French-Canadians are monochronic. However the need to maintain and develop social relationships in the workplace are characteristics of a polychronic society. Furthermore, business dealings are not necessarily as formal as in English Canada or the U.S. The conversation does not directly get to the point right away. At times cultural backgrounds are discussed in order to strengthen the relationship.

The Case of Cascades

Cascades is the classic example of the values of Quebec society instilled in corporate culture. This pulp and paper company founded in 1964 by a father and his three sons illustrates the progression of both society and business in French Canada. The contrast between the two features a unique leadership style characterized by a patriarchal approach, employee involvement, and a strong sense of social responsibility.

This company grew from merely a paper mill to an international organization 30 years later. The Lemaire family bought this paper mill and managed it through its formative years by a family style approach which still seems present today. What is different about Cascades is the rapport between the employer and employee. Laurent Lemaire, having replaced his brother, Bernard as CEO, maintains the same philosophy

that has always existed at Cascades; flexible form of communication and a relatively invisibly hierarchical structure. Evidently, Cascades' unique management style is derived from its corporate leader and its organizational structure in which employees play a key role.

The organization encourages employee participation through many forms. Before even acquiring the La Rochette paper mill in France, in 1985, Bernard, at the time CEO, consulted employees for their opinion as to how the plant should be run. The French workers were stunned by the direct approach of their new Quebecois boss. The case of Cascades is not merely just another form of participative management. The dynamics of this company rest within the participation of the employee as well as the employer but also in the collectivist perception of the individuals who make up this organization.

Evidently not all organizations are like Cascades where the employee can be relatively autonomous and interact freely with his superiors (Aktouf, Bédard, Charlat: 1992). The point here was not to demonstrate that all French-Canadian rooted companies are so liberal in their management approaches. The primary purpose was to illustrate that due to social, economic and political pressures in the past, the Francophone typically felt the need to take control of the levers of the economy where Anglophones were dominant.

As such this has given entrepreneurs such as the Lemaires the opportunity to transmit both their managerial skills and values to the

employees of the business. In fact, Cascades is still mainly like a family business where open communication is permitted and the door of the manager is always open. Cascades has tried to minimize the levels of hierarchy that can often times inconvenience the employee in his/her willingness to communicate with his/her superior.

Conclusion

In the wake of increased relations with other societies, the Quebecers have sought economic partnerships with other countries. The best example of this is Quebec's overwhelming support for the North American Free Trade Agreement and the eventual integration of Chile in this accord. This demonstrates the metamorphic nature of a society that can adapt to change and instigate strong trade relations with its partners. This development has procured the Quebec society with a stronger sense of business and commerce since the age of "la survivance". Beyond the bickering of a country trying desperately to identify itself, is a unique culture with its own traits that has realized the limited potential of the State as a means of satisfying their own material needs. Thus, a sense of autonomy and self-sufficiency has been created with the rise of Québécois entrepreneur's that has given a new style, definition and approach to management.

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