A Sharper View:

Evaluating the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities

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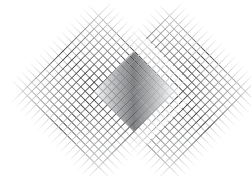
A central feature of the *Official Languages Act* requires federal institutions to contribute to the development and vitality of official language minority communities. Vitality, to which all the communities aspire, is a complex matter. It may also pose certain challenges when federal institutions design or implement public policies to strengthen it. Specifically, public officials are wondering which actions will produce the best results and how they can go about evaluating vitality.

There is a growing interest in this question of vitality, both in the communities themselves and among researchers, and it is certainly now a matter of great interest for the government. On November 24, 2005, Parliament adopted Bill S-3, which clarifies the obligations of federal institutions under Part VII of the *Official Languages Act*. Every federal institution must now take "positive measures" to fulfil the government's obligations with respect to the vitality of official language minority communities and with regard to promoting linguistic duality. The need to take action implies that federal institutions will be open to acquiring knowledge about vitality.

In September 2005, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages held a discussion forum on vitality, with participation from researchers, governments and the communities themselves. Support in this effort came from researchers Marc L. Johnson and Paule Doucet, who produced a discussion paper that presented the key issues and studies on the topic. Through dialogue and sharing of experiences, we were able to validate certain findings about vitality and identify a framework for measures that could have a lasting impact.

Johnson and Doucet continued their work and they have now completed a current state of research on vitality, which they are sharing with all involved in this collective effort. They have done an admirable job of synthesizing key studies, presenting the issues, and suggesting how we might cooperate even more closely in the task of evaluating vitality. This is a necessary step because there cannot be genuine vitality unless we can evaluate it and measure the impact of factors that have a positive effect on the official language communities in this regard.

The study by Johnson and Doucet goes over the various concepts used in work that has advanced our knowledge of official language communities and their vitality. It identifies the main contributions of researchers who have sought to describe community realities and to explain the conditions that affect vitality. Such researchers have a key role to play in developing new knowledge about vitality as well as measures that can be put into practice in the communities.

The study's conclusions are also relevant to the daily activities of community associations and federal institutions that work to make vitality a reality. Communities are increasingly organized and are developing plans or arguments that rely on research. They need to be able to take part in creating and interpreting the knowledge that they will use to strengthen community vitality. As for public institutions, they need reliable information about community needs and about the vitality-related outcomes toward which they are required to work.

The study points to the importance of proper diagnoses and proper planning of development activities, and the need to draw on knowledge in order to empower ourselves in achieving the objective of greater vitality. All involved need to equip themselves with tools for evaluating activities and initiatives that will strengthen community vitality. The study provides a very useful reference and starting point for those seeking such tools.

Vitality will not come into being by itself. Rather, all parties involved must take responsibility and work together more closely. The vitality of official language communities will be the cumulative result of ongoing cooperation between the communities, governments and researchers.

Dyane Adam
Commissioner of Official Languages

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$\mathcal{I}$NTRODUCTION

This study attempts to shed some light on how communities, researchers and governments conceive the "vitality" of Canada's official language minority communities (OLMCs). It does not claim to identify ways of increasing vitality; our goal is the more humble one of reporting on existing knowledge about vitality and how it can be evaluated.

The vitality of OLMCs is one of the main concerns associated with the implementation of the *Official Languages Act* passed in 1969 ("the Act"). For more than 35 years, the Act has upheld the strengthening of Canada's linguistic duality. The results of this experience illustrate the importance attached to linguistic minorities (Commissioner of Official Languages, 2005). The Parliament of Canada has recognized that linguistic duality and the equality of the two official languages, which are fundamental aspects of Canadian identity, are possible only with strong minority and majority communities of both official languages.

The Canadian legal framework has become progressively more specific in setting out the government's obligations towards OLMCs, particularly through the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* ("the Charter"), enacted in 1982, and Part VII of the Act as amended in 1988. In 2005, Canada's Parliament again amended the Act with Bill S-3, which gave effect to Part VII of the Act and reinforced the obligations of the federal government with regard to the development of OLMCs. The courts have intervened repeatedly to clarify the rights of linguistic minorities, which actions have, for example, paved the way for school governance in the language of the minority everywhere in Canada and for advances in health, justice and other areas. Federal institutions have supported the organizations created by these minority communities and, more recently, they have begun to be receptive to shared governance in concert with the communities.[1]

The OLMCs have gradually organized themselves and asserted their legitimacy within the framework of linguistic duality. For more than 30 years, the communities in every geographical region have been represented in every sphere of activity by associations that stand guard over their rights and attempt to find ways and means of enhancing their vitality. Community governance now is an established fact, and renewal is ongoing.

While considerable progress has been made since 1969, the fact remains that identifying and evaluating the vitality of OLMCs is difficult.[2] What exactly is meant by the concepts of vitality and development? How can one better grasp and understand the issues addressed

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1   Both government and the communities are taking a greater interest in horizontal governance (also known as shared governance), as demonstrated by the mid-term report on the implementation of the *Action Plan for Official Languages* (Privy Council Office, 2005c). See also the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages* for 2005-2006.

2   A glossary of the main concepts used in discussing OMLC vitality appears at the end of this study.

by OLMCs' development initiatives? To what extent do federal government support and the efforts of OLMCs produce the best results? How can one measure a reality as complex as the vitality of communities?

This study, written at the request of the Commissioner of Official Languages, attempts to answer these questions. It comes at a time when the government is taking a number of initiatives that bear on the issue of vitality. The Privy Council Office has developed both a management framework and a performance measurement framework for the Official Languages Program (Privy Council Office, 2005a, 2005b). The Department of Canadian Heritage is augmenting its research effort in the area of OLMC vitality (Canadian Heritage, 2005; Floch and Frenette, 2005). Statistics Canada is undertaking a post-censal survey on the vitality of the official language minorities (Marmen, 2005). The Ministerial Conference on Francophone Affairs has commissioned a study of the initiatives taken by provinces and territories to provide services in French (Bourgeois et al., forthcoming).

The OLMCs are taking an interest in measuring vitality and developing their research capabilities. Researchers too are looking at OLMC vitality, specifically with respect to the conceptual and methodological tools for measuring it (see issue number 20 of *Francophonie d'Amérique*).

This current study is based on a review of the literature on vitality and community development as these pertain to OLMCs and as they are viewed outside OLMCs in the rest of Canada and abroad. There were also consultations with a score of researchers in the community sector and in government through interviews conducted in the summer of 2005. The preliminary results can be found in a discussion paper (Johnson and Doucet, 2005), which provided input for the event titled "Strengthening the Foundations: Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities," which was held in September 2005 at the initiative of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

The discussion paper and the forum provide a basis for an analysis of the current capacity to recognize the factors that make up vitality, evaluate changes in vitality and find ways to strengthen this ability within OLMCs, with the support of community leaders, researchers and government institutions. The concept of evaluation is used here in a broad sense, which includes the concept of measuring, judging and formulating recommendations for change.

After the exhaustive review undertaken by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the 1960s, research devoted to OLMCs by and large has been limited (see Bibliography). This finding prompted the federal government in 2002 to support the creation of the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities. Although many researchers are working on the issue, few studies deal specifically with the vitality of OLMCs and, as yet, no recognized body of knowledge has been established.

Four general themes are dealt with here: community, vitality, evaluation and indicators, and empowerment. These themes constitute the structure of this report.

Community. One of the first questions arising today concerns the concept of community in the world of OLMCs. If we want to evaluate their vitality, we must properly delineate what we mean by "community." It is not possible to grasp the overall reality of Anglophone and Francophone minorities through the concept of territorial community; in other words, the towns, villages or neighbourhoods where they have a significant presence. Some regional, provincial/territorial and sectoral groupings are better described by the concept of community of interest. The first section of the study deals with this issue of the forms taken by OLMCs today.

Vitality. Although the Act now commits federal institutions to support the vitality and development of OLMCs, the concept of vitality remains ambiguous. Is it confined to linguistic and demographic aspects? Or does it encompass demographic capital, or even social, cultural or economic vitality? Is it collective or individual? Is it possible to identify desirable stages of development within these dimensions? The second section of the study explores these questions.

Evaluation and Indicators. With better-defined notions of community and vitality, is it possible to develop indicators that will allow us to measure them, without straying from the essential process of promoting their progress? How are indicators useful to the process of community development? The use of indicators involves the risk of reducing a very complex reality to a few significant measurements. What are the quality criteria that could be used to guide such an exercise? To be useful, indicators must adhere to the actual meaning of evaluation, namely, make a value judgment of something. This assumes that the overall values governing the judgment are known, as well as the goals chosen for the pursuit of vitality. This is the subject of the third section of the study.

Empowerment. The vitality of a community emerges from the assumption that it takes charge of its own development. Must not this empowerment on the part of OLMCs be based on better knowledge of themselves, in light of the realities of their situation (diagnosis) and the challenges they face (strategic planning)? How can knowledge be produced, disseminated and used in the practices of OLMCs? How can the communities assume a role in furthering knowledge and, in the context of the accountability that governs the use of public funds today, develop the means to achieve such empowerment? How can the parties involved participate jointly in the governance of this process? Knowledge, research and evaluation pertaining to vitality seem to be essential to enhancing it. This discussion, which leads to the identification of needs and strategies related to a community action and research program, is the focus of the final section of the study.

> "These days, we talk about health in terms of improving well-being, that is, no longer simply in terms of the absence of disease. I am happy to see that when we talk about community vitality, we are broadening this idea beyond the mere absence of assimilation."
> — Gratien Allaire, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality Of Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

When the problem of evaluating the vitality of OLMCs is raised, the first practical question that comes to mind, for both the observers and the players, is: What community are we talking about? The term community covers a range of meanings. The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages normally uses the word "community" for official language minority communities and the word "collectivity" for official language majority communities. For many people, a community is a neighbourhood, a village, a town or a region where the official language minority is concentrated, whereas others see it as a network of institutions, organizations or individuals that share a feeling of belonging to one of the official language minorities.

The social sciences are themselves struggling with the empirical delimitation of a community but, generally speaking, they recognize a community as a grouping of individuals who have ongoing interrelationships (objective component) and who share an interest and a sense of belonging (subjective component). Interrelationships constitute the key component of a community, whether we are talking about a territorial community that shares a geographical or administrative space, or whether a sectoral or collective community of interest with real or virtual relationships. Governments are also striving to formulate a working definition of what constitutes the communities for which they are required to provide support or services. The issues involved in this definition are not only theoretical, but also political.

At the time the 1988 *Official Languages Act* was promulgated, attentive observers and analysts were reporting the erosion of the communities (Caldwell and Waddell, 1982; Thériault, 1989), even though the community reference was maintained and promoted as the only path to salvation (Bernard, 1988), at the same time as the potential of other forms of spaces and networks—cultural and linguistic—was being envisaged (Thériault, 1989).

In the context of a reflection on the vitality of OLMCs, it is accordingly fruitful to distinguish between the various meanings given to the concept of community, both in the literature and in the experience of the players involved. We focus on the concepts of territory and interest for the purpose of this discussion of the form of communities, but these concepts must not be regarded as mutually exclusive. As seen below, both realities co-exist, each with its own challenges.

The Importance of Territory

The most common and most traditional meaning of community is undoubtedly the one that refers to villages, neighbourhoods, towns or regions, not only by their territorial boundaries, but also by their specific characteristics, whether language, culture or, more generally, destiny. OLMCs have historically constituted such territorial communities. They are thus often

historic communities that in the past colonized the land, established villages and towns, built churches, businesses and factories, and established the foundations of what are still occasionally referred to as rooted English or French communities, even though today they find themselves in a minority setting. Some urban neighbourhoods have succeeded in perpetuating this historical continuity, for example, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce in Montréal or Saint Boniface in Winnipeg. More infrequently, urban neighbourhoods are built around gathering points or symbols of the official language minority, for example, around the Faculté Saint-Jean in Edmonton.

The first finding with regard to the vitality of OLMCs associated with specific territories, both for Anglophones and Francophones, is that these communities are not all the same. Several variables are cited to explain the differences: urbanization, the deconcentration and regionalization of services, regional economic shifts and inequalities, territorial concentration or dispersal, the influx from internal migration and immigration from abroad.

The minority communities are often described and analysed in terms of their relationship to space (their concentration/dispersal, the presence and visibility of institutions and activities organized on a local or regional basis) or else in terms of demographic changes at the municipal, provincial or national level. Some of these interpretations have become archetypal images. French-language minority populations have been described as being concentrated in the "bilingual belt" from Moncton to Sault Ste. Marie (Joy, 2nd ed., 1972). Another image, that of the "archipelago" (Louder and Waddell, 1983; repeated by Thériault, 1989), reflects an extremely fragmented space. In Quebec, Anglophone populations were and still are viewed as divided between two universes (Caldwell and Waddell, 1982): one concentrated in the pluralistic environments of the Island of Montréal, the other dispersed among the towns, villages and rural areas mainly in the Ottawa Valley, the Eastern Townships, Gaspé and the Magdalen Islands, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River, and in the city of Québec and along the Saguenay River.

These images were illustrated and categorized by the first language maps produced by Statistics Canada in connection with demolinguistic community profiles, following the 1986 Census of Canada (Dallaire and Lachapelle, 1990). Canadian Heritage subsequently updated the profiles, using the Census databases produced by Statistics Canada. This work was then taken up by the Quebec Community Groups Network and Voice of English Quebec (1997) and the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne (2000, 2004). These sources depict the geographic spread and most striking characteristics of the populations in question.

Territory is undoubtedly an important dimension in economic and community development, as it combines the natural resources that lie within it, the human resources living there (Beaudin and Boudreau, 1994; Beaudin, 1999) and the cultural resources that give it life. In the decade 1980-1990, several studies documented how, for example, cultural and community centres (Groupe de recherche en gestion des arts, 1991; Piché and Robitaille, 1991; Farmer, 1996) and community media (Harvey, 1992; Delorme, Foy et al., 1994; Torje, 1994) contribute to the development of local and regional communities, a phenomenon that has since been verified (Haentjens, 2001).

Rural/Urban Divide

The rural/urban divide is a contributing factor in differentiating the communities. Minority rural Anglophone or Francophone communities have traditionally been culturally homogeneous and have enjoyed a relatively stable linguistic continuity. However, the rural exodus to urban areas that these communities have seen in recent years is profoundly affecting their lifestyles and, in some cases, it has created fears about their vitality (Joy, 2nd ed., 1972; De Vries and Vallee, 1980; Lachapelle and Henripin 1980; Caldwell and Waddell, 1982; Louder and Waddell, 1983; Bernard, 1988; Lachapelle, 1989; Dallaire and Lachapelle, 1990; Beaudin, Boudreau and DeBenedetti, 1997; Lapointe and Thériault, 1999; Gilbert, 1999b, 2005; Jedwab, 2002b; Magord, Landry and Allard, 2002; Castonguay, 2003a). True, there is also some movement from city to countryside, but this is most often to rural areas situated close to metropolitan areas (Polèse et al., 2002).

Monica Heller observes that "the discursive construction of French Canada has long been based on a town/country dichotomy, which contrasts French Canada, rural, authentic but marginalized, to the rich, capitalist Anglophone city" (Heller, 2005a: 338). She shows that, on the contrary, the city plays an important role in social structuring processes, including in the new globalized economy where communication is central both as a production process and as a product. However, community and government strategies focus primarily on strengthening the development capacity of the old rural and small-town regions (Beaudin, 1998). However, urban areas in Quebec—Montréal in particular—have always been as much a part of the traditional English-speaking community as rural areas (Rudin, 1984; Scowen, 1991; Stevenson, 1999). Still, a significant exodus from the countryside to Montréal is currently under way (Jedwab, 2004).

Some recent studies examine the strategies of the urban communities in New Brunswick (Alain, 2003 and 2004a). They see a space in which various visions can co-exist and engage in debate, a space that offers a pluralist variety of strategies for navigating under the new conditions faced by Francophones in Canada, such as the hybridization of the French population as a result of the urbanization of the countryside and English-French bilingualism (Heller, 2005a).

The Linguistic Landscape

At the heart of these spaces, which are to a greater or lesser extent defined by geographic concentration, it is of interest to identify not only the numbers and characteristics of the minority population, but also the impact of the predominant linguistic landscape. The linguistic landscape is made up of signs, street names and place names, trademarks, signage, commemorative plaques, etc. (Bourhis and Landry, 2002). In asserting itself in space in this way, the official language of the minority participates in the identity-building process of OLMCs, while at the same time establishing a relationship with the majority in terms of recognition. The linguistic landscape of a territory can thus fulfil two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function.

The importance of the linguistic landscape as a factor in vitality is demonstrated not only in Canada (Bourhis and Landry, 1997, 2002), but also in the minority communities of Europe: in Wales, Ireland and Catalonia, for example (Grin and Vaillancourt, 1999). The linguistic landscape constitutes a vital element of cultural capital, given its visibility and its function of promoting minority realities in public space.

> "Consequently, language planners as well as language activists can ill afford to ignore the issue of the linguistic landscape, not only as a tool to promote language maintenance or reverse language shift but also as another front on which to wage the struggle for consolidating the vitality of their ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual settings" (Bourhis and Landry, 1997: 46).

Linguistic landscape has been neglected in Canada's Francophone communities outside Quebec, presumably because of the insufficient influence that they are able to exert on municipal and provincial authorities. Some associations of Francophone and bilingual minorities have nonetheless taken action in this regard (the Association des municipalités bilingues du Manitoba, the Association des municipalités francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, the Association francophone des municipalités de l'Ontario). At the same time, the provincial associations and tourist associations have undertaken initiatives to introduce bilingual signage, for instance, in Nova Scotia and northeastern Ontario. This is a strategic issue for municipalities in particular.

Geographers are endeavouring to better delineate the geographic spaces where Anglophone and Francophone minorities are concentrated. Gilbert and Langlois (n. d.) have produced eloquent images of the situation of the various Francophone communities in Ontario by mapping demographic and socio-economic data for these populations on a regional basis. These studies attempt to highlight minority Francophone population concentrations using concepts of space, place and networks.

This approach has led to a multidisciplinary research program on Francophone communities in Canada (Gilbert et al., 2005). It comprises studies of institutions, case studies in localities with variable concentrations of Francophones, and studies of the attitudes and motivations of individuals, in order to achieve a better understanding of the vitality of communities and to validate a model thereof. Those involved in the communities and, in particular, in government are awaiting the results of this research with great interest.

We thus find that the territorial communities remain an essential concern of OLMCs. Their demographic fate has wavered in recent decades, but it continues to reflect a resilience that development experts continue to feed. While in a more distant era this type of community seemed to incorporate the lion's share of the minority population, today it appears that other types of community, more dispersed from the spatial standpoint, have taken over with regard to social identity. These are often referred to as communities of interest, or networks.

Networks and Communities of Interest

In addition to the villages, neighbourhoods, towns or regions with which OLMCs identify, there are communities whose primary link is a shared interest in their language. For these communities of interest, the territorial footprint is less important than the network of interactions into which the individuals and the groups breathe life around the focus of their common interest in the minority language. The Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism stated that a common language is the expression of a community of interest within a collectivity (Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967: xi). This community of interest is related to what has in Canada been described in recent years as social cohesion: "[...] the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity [...], based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity [...]" (Canadian Council on Social Development, 2000: 3).

The need for a territorial basis for the development of a feeling of belonging to a community has thus been called into question in recent decades. A study of the various forms of linkage among the elements of Francophone communities in Canada showed that the

"French-Canadian fabric" is based, beyond blood relationships, on migratory exchanges and tourist visits, the flow of information, cultural exchanges and economic partnerships, a sharing of scientific and educational resources and a web of associations (Guindon and Poulin, 1996). Subsequently, research by geographer André Langlois explored new forms of structuring of social ties based on the existence of interactive networks. He sought to identify opportunities for community development

> "[…] in a discontinuous ethno-cultural space, albeit one in which the elements are strongly interlinked […] Thus, the future of Francophone communities can no longer be viewed solely in terms of the traditional territorial base, but also, and increasingly, as a function of the vitality of urban Francophone minorities" (Langlois, 2000: 212).

The interest that binds these communities together may be collective or sectoral in nature. There are many cases of communities that can be recognized in relation with their collective identities: for example, Quebec's English-language community, the Acadian community in Atlantic Canada or the Franco-Manitoban community and, in its entirety, the French-Canadian community. Furthermore, the fact of sharing the French language in Canada or the English language in Quebec prompts, for example, members of professions to join together into networks to exchange their experiences and to advocate their specific interests. The same can be said of associations and networks of stakeholders in such sectors as arts and culture, education, women, ethno-cultural groups, immigration, young people, justice, health, etc.

Communities of interest are sometimes derived from legal categories. Thus one speaks of eligible Anglophone or Francophone parents (rights holders) as if they were a community under section 23 of the Charter (Martel, 2001; Jedwab, 2002b; Landry, 2003, 2004). Rights holders from mixed marriages are regarded as a potential source to increase the number of students enrolled in minority community schools. However, their integration represents a substantial challenge (Landry, 2003). This problem exists both for English-language schools in Montréal and other cities in Quebec, and for Francophone minorities in urban communities across Canada, although it does not manifest itself in the same way (Jedwab, 2002b).

The subfields of linguistics also contribute their share of categories. Sociolinguists distinguish between speakers who know their mother tongue, those who actually speak it, and those who identify with it. Demolinguists for their part distinguish between mother-tongue speakers (language learned and still understood), language most often spoken at home and other languages spoken at home, language used at work, English or French as the first official language spoken, knowledge of languages other than English or French, etc. While these are not communities in the sociological sense, the fact remains that these populations are being studied as community-related realities that can be measured from the standpoint of vitality.

Statistics Canada does not define Anglophones or Francophones in a minority situation. According to Marmen (2004), "Each user, agency or department establishes its own definition of minority Francophones or Anglophones." The concept of the first official language spoken is nonetheless increasingly common, as Marmen and Corbeil (2004: 139-140) explain:

> "[...] The changes in the composition of the Canadian population will likely bring about a redefinition or an extension of the concept of Francophone population or community, inasmuch as French is used daily, in a dominant or extensive way, by a significant number of persons whose mother tongue is neither English nor French. In this regard, the concept of first official language spoken is, despite its limits, definitely a starting point."

There is continuing interest in the definition of what constitutes an official language minority population. Thus, Rodrigue Landry (2005b) recently proposed a new statistical definition of the Francophone minority to a group of senior government officials:

> "A definition that would optimize the number of Francophones would include the following people: (a) all those who have French as first language learned and still understood (whether or not other languages are also declared by the person in question); and (b) all those for whom French is not the mother tongue but for whom the first official language spoken is French or French and English."

This solution attempts to get beyond certain existing problems by combining the variables of mother tongue and first official language spoken to arrive at their potential strength and maximum number.

Ethnicity, Immigration and Diversity

Some researchers have approached the analysis of OLMCs from the standpoint of ethnicity, which typically involves talking about minority cultural groups (Bernard, 1988; Juteau, 1994). The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism did not characterize the linguistic minorities as ethnic groups, but identified both their linguistic and cultural characteristics, affirming the linguistic and cultural duality of Canada (Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967). This vision was, however, not enshrined in the *Official Languages Act* of 1969, which referred only to the linguistic dimension.

The Canadian legal context associates ethnic groups with groups stemming from immigration subsequent to that of the English and French groups, and they are covered by the *Multiculturalism Act*. Under the influence of legal terminology, OLMCs have since then been viewed not as ethnic groups but as language communities specifically recognized by the Charter and the Act.

In our consultations, some researchers nevertheless suggested that the linguistic behaviour of the Francophone minority is at times closer to that of the ethnic groups than to that of an official language community, in the sense that assimilation frequently occurs after the third generation.

Most OLMCs were initially comprised of those who had either English or French as their mother tongue. The traditional geographical communities have over the years experienced a degree of diversification by virtue of the migration of Anglophones and Francophones within Canada. Immigration from abroad since the beginning of the 20th century has resulted in great changes. It provided resources for the Anglophone minority in Quebec and in later years to Francophone minorities elsewhere in Canada. In Quebec, the Anglophone exodus between 1971 and 2001, which cost these communities almost 300 000 members (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004: 105), also had a considerable impact on the composition of this minority. The Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) focused on the phenomenon of immigration by commissioning a study on the issues of cultural diversity and integration of Francophone immigrants (Churchill and Kaprielan-Churchill, 1991). Subsequently, the FCFA undertook a process of consultation and reflection titled "Dialogue" (FCFA, 2001), which was guided by a spirit of openness to newcomers.

> "As soon as we begin talking about mixed marriage, we are talking about two individuals who contribute elements of their culture to the relationship, at least one hopes so."
> — Gratien Allaire, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

Today we speak of a link between linguistic duality and cultural diversity, not only in the official language majorities, but also in the minorities. This diversity has even been examined (FCFA, 2004b; Jedwab, 2002a; Bisson, 2005), desired and promoted (Dalley, 2003) in the context of immigration strategies developed jointly by communities and governments. The issue of acceptance and immigration in the communities is multidimensional: cultural integration, access to services, integration into the workforce, and social integration in the community space. With the finding that internal migration and international immigration are changing the linguistic and cultural configurations of Canadian communities, some observers suggest a change in paradigm:

> "[...] We need to learn how a community based on differences in origin and the common desire to live together can be built, [...] move from an existentialist concept of ethnicity to a constructivist universe. Move from ethno-definition to an affirmation as a result of will" (Cazabon, 1996: 15).

The broader issue, both for the host communities and for the immigrant groups, is one of receptivity to cultural diversity and learning of civic responsibility and citizenship, in other words, recognition, equal dignity, authenticity and autonomy (Taylor, 1993; Kymlicka, 1998 and 2003). The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages has continued its research into this issue and recently held a discussion forum on the subject of "Linguistic Duality, Cultural Diversity and Governance."[3]

> "With difference comes innovation."
>
> — Dyane Adam, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

These changes and this diversification of OLMCs are part of major changes occurring within Canadian society and they call into question the idea of conserving and maintaining the values of communities and their linguistic and cultural individualities, both in Quebec (Caldwell, 1994) and in French Canada (Bernard, 1992). The positions adopted occur along a spectrum running from withdrawal into the founding historical identity to openness to the creative force of history. This debate reminds us that a community, whether neatly circumscribed on a specific territory or floating in networks of relationships, is never alone; it forms part of a larger whole—a state, a society or a nation—within which it is a neighbour to other communities, both minority and majority. Every community today is necessarily part of a network with other communities or groups with which it shares interests, even if it has a territorial base which distinguishes it from more diffuse communities.

A community, whether neatly circumscribed on a specific territory or floating in networks of relationships, is never alone; it forms part of a larger whole—a state, a society or a nation—within which it is a neighbour to other communities, both minority and majority.

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3   See also the 2005-2006 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

$\mathcal{T}$HE VITALITY
OF THE COMMUNITIES

> "Perfect vitality is like an illusive dream. I say this because we believe vitality to be an optimum state of existence of an official language minority community. That is never reachable. It is an ongoing process. Research will lead to a greater understanding of vitality."
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> — Aline Visser, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

The Concept of Vitality

The concept of vitality, like that of community, covers a range of meanings in the minds of OLMC stakeholders. The very idea of the vitality of OLMCs stems from the rights enshrined in the *Official Languages Act* and in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* with regard to the equality of English and French in Canada. Part VII of the 1988 Act sets out the federal government's commitment to "enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development;" although the French version does not contain the word "vitalité," it uses the expression "favoriser l'épanouissement" (promote the advancement).

The concept of vitality was introduced in research in the late 1970s to encompass simultaneously the linguistic and psychological processes that underlie interethnic behaviours (Harwood et al., 1994: 171). Significant works of international research on vitality use the vocabulary of ethnicity, in other words, they combine the linguistic and cultural dimensions. These works are characterized by their emphasis on individual attitudes and perceptions, rather than on collective phenomena.

Individual or Collective?

It is not always clear whether the vitality being discussed has to do with the individuals who speak the minority language or with their collective existence. In **individual** terms, language is a reality that covers at least three dimensions: 1) it is a skill or knowledge, 2) which can be used, i.e. translated into practice, and 3) it is a representation of shared values, symbols and experiences with which individuals can identify (Liebkind, 1999). However, as Landry suggests, there is no individual vitality as such, but rather a subjective vitality, or a perception of the individual regarding the vitality of his or her group. In Canada, numerous studies have explored the subjective dimensions of language knowledge, practice, perceptions and identities among young people in school (Bernard, 1991, 1992; Locher, 1994; Heller, 1999; Landry and Allard, 1999) or, more rarely, in other locations where youth gather (David Bourgeois, 2004; Bourgeois and Leblanc, 2002). When viewed in

collective terms, vitality is a characteristic that encompasses the entire life of the community and can be envisaged as either a state or a process of development.

A State and a Process

Community vitality can be understood as a **state**; that is, a set of situations that can be analysed at a given moment in time. Analysis then examines the capital or resources acquired and accessible in demographic and demolinguistic, political, legal, economic, cultural and environmental terms.

Seen from another perspective, community vitality is also a **process** of development made up of actions occurring over time that contribute to its variable strength. The idea of development makes the concept of vitality irrevocably more complex. As a review of the research into community development suggests, this dimension is both horizontally complex, because of the wide span of areas it involves, and vertically complex, because of the depth of the changes it brings about in the individual, family, community, social systems and organizations (Auspos and Kubisch, 2004). However, even if it is a process, development cannot be envisaged as a sequence of stages to be passed through. Researchers long ago rejected Rostow's (1960) model of stages of growth, and stakeholders do not wish to be subjected to preconceived models of progress that ignore the particularities of their communities. Consideration needs to be given to the asymmetric nature of conditions and the quest for equality.

> Vitality can be understood as a **state**; that is, a set of situations that can be analysed at a given moment in time […] Vitality is also a **process** of development made up of actions occurring over time that contribute to its variable strength.

To evaluate vitality as a process, the focus is on such factors as governance, organizational capacity, leadership, strategic vision, the commitment of members of the community and the mobilization of the resources or capital needed for their development. It is this aspect of vitality that guides many of the movements devoted to community development, such as resilient communities, which are defined as follows: "A resilient community is one that takes intentional action to enhance the personal and collective capacity of its citizens and institutions to respond to and influence the course of social and economic change" (Centre for Community Enterprise, 2000: 11).

Ethnolinguistic, Linguistic or Community Vitality

The collective dimension of the vitality of OLMCs is defined by a variety of concepts used in research, the best known of which is **ethnolinguistic vitality** (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977). The pioneering contribution of Giles et al. (1977) introduces the social dimension into the field of linguistic research by creating a concept associated with that of the group or community (ethno-), the expression "ethnolinguistic vitality" linking the linguistic and cultural dimensions, as mentioned above. According to Giles et al. (1977: 308), the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations."

Landry and Allard (1999: 403) draw on this approach in defining ethnolinguistic vitality as "[...] the structural and sociological factors that influence the survival and development of a linguistic minority. Strong ethnolinguistic vitality ensures that the ethnolinguistic and cultural community will remain a distinct, active entity, whereas weak ethnolinguistic vitality is associated with linguistic and cultural assimilation." This view is continued in Landry's recent work: "Objective ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e. what can be observed using certain empirical indices, is defined as being made up of specific structural variables. The latter determine the degree to which an ethnolinguistic group remains a distinct, active entity in its contacts with other groups. These variables can be grouped into three categories: demographic, institutional support and status" (Landry and Rousselle, 2003: 38).

McConnell and Gendron (1988) develop the concept of **linguistic vitality** in their international research. It refers to the use of language in four dimensions: spatial, temporal, social and linguistic (written and oral modes). The social use of language is observed in the field in eight areas: religion, schools, media, government, the courts, the legislature, industry, and sales and services companies. However, the model has not been applied to Canadian OLMCs, probably because, as one commentator notes, its theoretical bases are not made explicit and the significance of the observations is not given a full interpretation. As a result, the impact of language use on the vitality of a language community is not clearly demonstrated (Bourhis, 1994).

Anne Gilbert et al. (2005) use the concept of **community vitality**, which, without being defined precisely, flows from the relationships among three dimensions: the individual, the community and the environment. This concept follows on from previous work by Gilbert and Langlois (n. d.), which uses the concept of overall vitality.

The literature of the past 25 years provides a multitude of vitality factors that can be combined in several dimensions: demographic, social, political and legal, cultural, economic and others. These dimensions are often regarded as capital; that is, resources available to OLMCs, whereas they are in reality more dynamic, as they are interrelated in many ways in the context of development processes.

Demographic Dimension

Demographic capital is a cornerstone of vitality, since the very existence of a linguistic community is related to the number of people present. However,   cannot limit ourselves to numbers alone, since density (which refers to numerical concentration in various parts of the territory in question) as well as proportionate numerical strength relative to the majority affect the relative weight of demographic capital. Other demographic factors are also at work, such as fertility, mortality, the age pyramid, migratory flows (out-migration and in-migration), endogamy and exogamy, linguistic continuity, intergenerational transmission of language and the level of individual bilingualism in one's surroundings.

> "The relationship to the majority remains a significant element in the development and vitality of communities."
> — Gratien Allaire, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of
> Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

Demographic studies based on Census data have fuelled debates, analyses and formulation of policies regarding official languages populations (Joy, 2nd ed., 1972; De Vries and Vallee, 1980; Castonguay, 1979, 1987, 1998, 2003a; Lachapelle and Henripin, 1980; Lachapelle, 1989; Vaillancourt, 1989; Dallaire and Lachapelle, 1990; Harrison, 1996; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999, 2004). The demographic and demolinguistic data are also analysed and interpreted by researchers from the perspectives of various disciplines: economics (Beaudin, 1998, 2005; Grenier, 1989, 1997), politics (Aunger, 2002, 2005; O'Keefe, 1998, 2001), geography (Gilbert, 1999a; Gilbert et al., 2005; Langlois, 2000), sociology (Bernard, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1996) and education (Jedwab, 2002b, Martel, 1999, 2001); a number of ethnolinguistic studies have also made demographic trends the determining factor in linguistic vitality (Landry and Allard, 1999).

Since 1971, Statistics Canada has produced and disseminated Census data on language. Some demographic and demolinguistic studies that are directly germane to OLMCs have been added to and disseminated in partnership with Canadian Heritage (Dallaire and Lachapelle, 1990; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999; Marmen and Corbeil, 2004). The linguistic

data, now available in CD-ROM format, are also worked up by community actors in various forms (FCFA, 2000, 2004b; Community Table of the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority, 2000; Warnke, 1997; Pocock, 2004).

The analysis of demolinguistic data has produced divergent findings, particularly with regard to the extent of such phenomena as assimilation, better known as language shift[4] (Castonguay 1979; Lachapelle, 1989), bilingualization (Bernard, 1990, 1991, 1992; Grenier, 1989), exogamy (Bernard, 1996; Landry, 2003), migration and urbanization (Castonguay, 2003a; Langlois, 2000). It should be noted that certain far-reaching demographic phenomena are not peculiar to OLMCs, such as declining fertility and aging, rural exodus and urbanization. The gloomiest diagnoses (Bernard, 1991; Castonguay, 2003b) are countered by more optimistic claims. "Destiny is not density," proclaims O'Keefe (2001), a statement repeated at a colloquium of the research network on the Francophone community in 2004. "Demolinguistic trends are neither irrevocable nor immutable; on the contrary" (Aunger, 2002: 7).

Over the years, the new questions added to the Census forms have made possible a better understanding of both the changes in and the complexity of linguistic situations, not only at the national and provincial levels, but also at the regional and local levels. For example, in addition to the question about the language most often spoken at home, there are questions dealing with other languages that are regularly spoken at home or the use of languages at work (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004: 127).

Some experts (Marmen and Corbeil, 2004) discuss the weakness of the concept of language used at home as a true measure of the vitality of a language, making the argument that a language's vitality also stems from the fact that it is used without necessarily being predominant, or from the fact that it is used as a second language. Discussion shifts from the purely family environment to other spheres of social interaction. Other crucial aspects must be considered, including the importance of linguistic cohabitation, the importance of the knowledge of a language and its prevalence as a language of communication (O'Keefe, 2001) as well as the frequenting of Francophone spaces (Stebbins, 2000) and access to Francophone networks (Beaudin, 1998). The degree of bilingualism in the majority community is also an important factor in the vitality of the minority community (O'Keefe, 2001; Churchill, 1998).

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4   Marmen and Corbeil (1999) note that "Language shift is an indicator of the dominance of a language and does not necessarily imply the abandonment of the mother tongue. It is therefore possible that the mother tongue is used in the home, but less often than the other language."

The post-censal survey on the vitality of official language minorities, planned by Statistics Canada and its partners for 2006, will shed a broad and powerful light on aspects of language use that are still relatively unexplored: the use of language throughout the life cycle, the use of languages during post-secondary education, etc. This will make possible an enhanced appreciation of the status of and changes in the demolinguistic capital of OLMCs.

Human resources, sometimes described as human capital, complete the demographic picture, although these resources are sometimes regarded as economic capital. Skills upgrading, through education and the various types of training and learning, is underscored by both the associations and government agencies. The recent socio-economic profiles produced by the Réseaux de développement économique et d'employabilité (RDÉE, 2005) present in concise fashion some of the conditions of human resources in the regions and update previous studies compiled for the National Committee for Canadian Francophonie Human Resources Development (Beaudin and Boudreau, 1994; Beaudin, 1999). In Quebec, the Community Table of the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority (2000) has also analysed the situation and the human capital development challenges for the Anglophone minority. A more recent study conducted for the Community Health and Social Services Network (Pocock, 2004) reveals the extent to which education is a determinant of the health of Anglophone communities in Quebec. The problems involved in the development of human resources in official language minority communities are thus, as in all peripheral communities in the age of the knowledge economy (Polèse et al., 2002), a key factor in vitality.

Social Dimension

Social capital is a concept used more recently to analyse the situation in OLMCs. Social capital is made up of informal networks, clubs, societies and, more broadly, spaces in which socio-cultural interaction occurs in the language of the minority and from which individuals and communities can draw resources for development purposes. It is increasingly recognized as a key factor in vitality. The concept of social capital, as disseminated in the works of Bourdieu (1982) and in particular Putnam (Putnam et al., 1994; Putnam, 2000), has gained considerable influence in view of the renewed interest on the part of the Canadian government in community networks and volunteerism.

Social capital is a notion used by the Privy Council Office to evaluate OLMC vitality. The PCO gives the following definition of social capital: "Networks and social ties based on a set of standards and values of reciprocity (e.g. trust, feeling of belonging and obligation, community pride) that play a role of integration and mobilization in community development" (Privy Council Office, 2005b, 2005c). The model developed by the Policy Research

Initiative (2005) uses the following definition: "Social capital refers to the networks of social relations that may provide individuals and groups with access to resources and supports." This concept is undeniably of interest for an understanding of the experience of OLMCs. However, within OLMCs, the concepts of organizational capacity and institutional completeness (R. Breton, 1964, 1985, 1994, 1998; Denis, 1993) have loomed larger than that of social capital, while covering virtually the same phenomenon: the contribution of social ties to the vitality of minority communities.

Forgues (2004), who applies the concept of social capital to the study of OLMCs, proposes a number of distinctions to clarify it and avoid turning it into a catch-all: a) it is important not to confuse the networks with the resources and benefits they procure; b) the standards, values and trust which are the basis for social networks are to be kept distinct from the number or diversity of the networks in a community or the networks in which a given individual is involved; c) collective social capital is not synonymous with individual social capital, the former referring to the social networks that are present within communities and determine the form that its activities and its development take, the latter referring to the individual's insertion in one or more social networks. Numerous studies of official language minority communities, whether by researchers (Acord, 1991; Alain 2004a, 2004b; Alain and Basque, 2003, 2005; Langlois, 2000; Stebbins, 2000; Guindon and Poulin, 1996) or by the provincial, regional and national associations (Cardinal et al., 1992; QCGN, 2005; FCFA, 2004a), have also introduced the factor of social relationships in a way that is close to the concept of social capital.

Informal social relationships, maintained either in face-to-face relationships or at a distance, constitute an asset to the vitality of communities. Studies show the extent to which communities benefit, for example, from the use of French outside the family and school environments, in places where people come together (Stebbins, 2000; Bisson, 2003; Alain and Basque, 2003, 2005) and in networks of virtual association and collaboration (Guindon and Poulin, 1996; Langlois, 2000). Langlois states that these networks shed new light on or even redefine the role of the metropolitan environment because of the impact of interactive networks and long-range networks through which bridgeheads can be established between local communities and linguistic communities.

Since social capital is a marker of community vitality, it also encompasses the attitudes and perceptions of individuals and groups, such as degree of trust in leaders and confidence in the future of the community, plans to participate in volunteer activities, etc. A number of ad hoc national surveys and opinion surveys have revealed these types of social capital, though not without the difficulties associated with the costs of over-sampling in the regions (CROP, 1982; COMPAS, 1989; Floch and Frenette, 2005).

Canadian Heritage has instituted and maintains an updated database including opinion surveys and significant national and regional surveys that could be used to achieve a clearer understanding of the components of and changes in the social capital of communities.

Political and Legal Dimension

Political capital, in the broad sense of resources of power and influence, is probably the dimension in which the OLMCs invest the most energy. It covers constitutional and legislative guarantees, elected officials and representatives, government services, community institutions and leadership, modes of governance, types of relationship between majorities and minorities, and so on.

The dominant feature of this dimension is obviously rights acquired through official language legislation and court decisions (Bastarache, 2004; Braën, 2005). These rights have been acquired gradually, thanks to the mobilization of the OLMCs and the (variable) openness of the various levels of government (Commissioner of Official Languages, 2005). The major pillars are:

- the *Constitution Act 1982* with its *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, forming the underpinning of these rights;

- the *Official Languages Act* of 1988 and in particular Part VII, amended in 2005 through Bill S-3, which places the vitality and development of the OLMCs at the heart of the government's obligations with regard to the official languages; and

- court decisions that clarify the meaning and scope of these rights, notably by attributing unwritten principles to the Constitution, including the protection of minorities (Bastarache, 2004: 33).

Today the status of OLMCs, which has been seen as one of the variables of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977), is firmly rooted in this legal and political framework. Note in addition that the provinces and territories as well as certain municipalities have adopted laws, policies or regulations that support the vitality of OLMCs.

Elected officials and political representatives from OLMCs may be assets for them at all levels of government. Much is made of the federal and provincial/territorial levels with respect to OLMCs' quest for power and influence, but not to be neglected are the municipal and regional governments, which are nearest the communities. Thus, Francophone municipalities in certain majority Anglophone provinces as well as municipalities in Quebec and other provinces, that offer services in both languages can be used by OLMCs to sustain their vitality (Bourgeois, 2005; Bourgeois and Bourgeois, 2005).

Government services provided to OLMCs under the terms of legislation or court decisions are a factor in vitality, and they are a central focus of OLMC demands. Aunger (2005), for example, uses access to services in the minority language and perceptions of these services as indicators of vitality. The services are provided by various levels of government, and these days they may all be available in the form of "one-stop" service, thereby increasing their accessibility to minority communities. Most recently, governments and the communities have agreed on ways of developing education, economic development and health services.

Community institutions such as schools, media, churches and advocacy organizations, which have legitimacy within OLMCs and enjoy recognition on the part of government agencies, contribute to what Breton calls institutional completeness (R. Breton, 1964).

The concept of institution is used frequently by individuals active in OLMCs, sometimes with a degree of ambivalence. Bourhis and Lepicq (2004: 6-7) define institutional control as a factor in vitality:

> "Official institutional control refers to the level achieved by members of a language group in management and decision making in the private and public institutions of a country: education, political institutions; government services, social services, justice, health; media; military and police institutions; linguistic landscape; economy and cultural industries; sports and recreation; religious institutions; associations and leadership. Unofficial institutional support refers to the level of organization of a linguistic community into associations that represent and defend its linguistic interests in a range of contexts: private education, business, sports, cultural and religious activities."

In the political arena, leadership is crucial. It constitutes:

> "[...] an additional factor that contributes to the institutional control of linguistic communities: the presence and importance of leaders at the head of official and unofficial institutions who represent the interests of their linguistic in-group. Progress linked to institutional control depends on the existence of activities and the presence of charismatic leaders who succeed in mobilizing the members of their linguistic in-group by urging them to fight for the survival of their language and their culture in a multilingual setting. The absence of such leadership, especially within the language minority, can undermine the achievements of previous generations in terms of official and unofficial institutional control and may compromise the progress that is necessary to the survival of future generations of the language group in question" (Bourhis and Lepicq 2004: 8).

> "My vision of a community that is truly healthy is not a community that does not get all excited, it is not a community that is not in search of itself, it is not a community that does not suffer, but it is a community that has an internal sense of direction because it has within itself the elements it needs to effectively determine its own destiny."
>
> — Dyane Adam, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

The attitudes, information and capabilities of leaders, their visions and strategies are part of the communities' political capital and development capabilities. Leadership (that is, a sense of direction) is a key to community empowerment and thus, to greater vitality. Devolution of powers and shared governance in a number of sectors that are crucial to OLMCs provide an opportunity to draw on political capital in order to invest in collective development (Cardinal and Juillet, 2005).[5]

Globalization is bringing about political, economic and cultural changes that affect OLMCs (Thériault, 1999; Heller, 1999). These changes are having an impact on modes of governance (Cardinal and Andrew, 2001), in particular on horizontal governance (Cardinal and Hudon, 2001), and they are giving rise to new language regulations and new practices in the areas of cooperation, management and decision making (Forgues, 2003; Cardinal and Juillet, 2005). They suggest redefining the allocation of and access to resources needed for delivering services to the communities (Commissioner of Official Languages, 2000).This is, for example, how the Quebec Community Groups Network was created in 1995, or more recently, how the Assemblée des communautés franco-ontariennes and the Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise have redefined themselves.

How can community leadership position itself in this situation? Labrie, Erfurt and Heller (2000) published an account of a wide-ranging investigation into speeches made by the leaders of Canada's Francophone communities. They identified three types of cultural model that characterize the relationship to the community. In addition to the "traditional" and "modernizing" types most commonly observed, they identified the "globalizing" type, which is characteristic of a number of urban and metropolitan communities.

> "When we study vitality for official language minority communities, we're also looking at enhancing the vitality of the majority."
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> — Aline Visser, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

Finally, to state the obvious, the relationship between majority and minority affects the vitality of the latter. The capacity for dialogue and communication, and specifically the level of individual bilingualism in official language communities, affects the degree to which majority and minority confront each other or accommodate each other (Churchill, 1998; O'Keefe, 2001). Bourhis and Lepicq (2004: 11) identify this problem in large measure in terms of

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5   See also the 2005-2006 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

the variables of status, which "[...] are related to the social prestige of a linguistic community, to its socio-historical status and to the prestige of its language and its culture in the regional, national and international dimensions." It is important, however, not to obscure, under the notion of acquired status, the power-based relationships that determine access to and control of development resources.

Cultural Dimension

The cultural capital of OLMCs often appears as the lowest common denominator associated with minority status. Some observers expect that the survival of minorities will occur through the preservation of their cultural traits (Bernard, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992), while others expect that minority communities will construct cultural meanings for themselves (Martel, 2003). In this latter perspective, which is predominant today, the emphasis is on creation and innovation in the cultural field. Economist Albert Breton (1999: 115) states that it is indispensable to the survival of a language to ensure that local cultures are solid and vibrant, hence the importance of investing resources in creativity—a form of human capital that yields both a personal and a social return. Promotion of cultural activities in communities, and especially in schools, is one way to achieve this (Haentjens and Chagnon-Lampron, 2004; Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires francophones, 2005).

Community and government players recognize the importance of cultural networks that provide access to the resources of creation, production, dissemination and appreciation of arts and culture, including both professional and amateur activities. In order to gain a better appreciation of culture-related challenges and practices, several studies, such as those by the Quebec Drama Federation (1991) and the Groupe de recherche en gestion des arts (1991), have explored the theatre networks of OLMCs, or the issue of Francophone cultural and community centres in Ontario and Alberta (Groupe de recherche en gestion des arts, 1991; Piché and Robitaille, 1991; Farmer, 2003). Recently, several organizations have decided to undertake a joint study on the links between language, culture and education in order to influence the formulation of government policies in this area (Haentjens and Chagnon-Lampron, 2004).

On the other hand, the development of the heritage resources of OLMCs appears to be neglected by the arts and culture sector as well as by the various levels of government. No report exists on the situation, and there is no pan-Canadian network for the Francophone heritage sector (Doucet, 2000). In Quebec, however, the heritage organizations have formed the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network. There are also regional initiatives involving Anglophone and Francophone OLMCs that link tourism to artistic, cultural and heritage

events, for example, the Corridor francophone in the West and the Circuit Champlain in Ontario. These initiatives have significant potential for mobilizing cultural and heritage resources for community development and hence vitality.

In Quebec, the Community Development Plan for the English-speaking Communities of Quebec identifies cultural identity as the first point of its strategy (Quebec Community Groups Network, 2005). The Anglophone community is caught between the cultural vitality of Francophone Quebec and the intensity of American cultural penetration. Its plan embarks on a redefinition of the Anglo-Quebec cultural identity in the context of the new demographic realities of multiculturalism, bilingualism and integration.

Those active in OLMCs both inside and outside Quebec are aware of and are concerned about the major role assigned to schools and to the school system in the production and transmission of identity and culture. A number of studies analyse the mission and responsibility of the schools (Bernard, 1991; Martel, 2001; Landry and Rousselle, 2003). Some recent works formulate an action plan to fully develop the school systems for the Francophone minority across Canada, while emphasizing the different functions of the school, such as cultural leadership, arts education and, more broadly, the development of identity (Gilbert et al., 2004; Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires francophones, 2005; Canada, Senate Standing Committee on Official Languages, 2005).

Schools are viewed as a key player in the area of cultural resources: "School is replacing home and community as the primary site for the production and distribution of French as a language resource" (Heller, 1999). According to Landry and Allard (1999), the French-language educational system "is an essential component of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Francophone minorities in Canada."

There is no shortage of models of the school as a cultural resource centre, such as the pedagogy of actualization (Landry and Rousselle, 2003), the constructivist model (Martel, 2003), and schools open to experimentation and multicultural expression around a standard language (Heller, 1999). It is, however, by no means certain that schools really have the resources or the competence to respond to such expectations (Thériault, 2000). Clearly, the acquisition of a language and the associated culture results from an effort in education and learning that is shared between the family, the school and the community (Bernard, 1988; Landry and Rousselle, 2003; Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006). The school-community centres have displayed positive results in this regard (Alain and Basque, 2003, 2005; Bisson, 2003; Magord, Landry and Allard, 2002), though this is achieved through interaction with the local community's economic, social and cultural resources.

In Quebec, the importance of English-language schools is also clearly seen in the Chambers report (1992) 10 years on. Although the context of the Anglophone population in Quebec varies considerably between the cultural diversity of Montréal and a degree of homogeneity that persists in the regions, Jedwab observes, in addition to the growing proportion of allophones, an increasing and substantial proportion of Anglophone rights holders who speak French and who enable English-language schools to maintain their numbers, while posing challenges raised by the number of students from exogamous families where French predominates (Jedwab, 2002b).

The communities are also concerned about the media as a cultural space in which information circulates about local circumstances, contributing to the building of a community identity while maintaining and revitalizing language and culture in daily life. The resources of community radio and community press networks are clearly cultural capital resources, which have a tangible impact on the presence and use of the language in public and private space (Boudreau and Dubois, 2003), on information regarding community activities and services, and on the promotion of cultural goods and services for consumption within OLMCs. Access to CBC/SRC media services on a nation-wide basis, particularly regional programming including quality information content regarding the cultural production of OLMCs, is periodically the subject of studies and briefs (Canada, Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage, 2003).

Economic Dimension

Lastly, economic capital is an issue of prime importance for some communities, even though it plays a background role in others that are more amply endowed. Communities in the most economically disadvantaged regions (e.g. northern Ontario, North Shore and eastern Quebec, and the Acadian Peninsula in New Brunswick) regard it as central to their vitality. Those regions that are paying the price for the profound changes occurring within the economy and for the depletion of natural resources rely on a variety of mechanisms such as the promotion of entrepreneurial skills, the diversification of economic sectors, innovation, human resources development, the mobilization of financial resources and the linkages present in a social economy, in community economic development or in cooperatives. The dimension of sustainable development also provides an incentive to take into account natural capital, which is made up of natural heritage resources, the beauty of the landscape and the preservation of ecosystems, while not forgetting the historical heritage resources discussed earlier (Bellagio Principles, 1996; Hart 1999; UN Division for Sustainable Development, 2001).

Research revealed early on the economic disparities that exist among the linguistic communities in Canada (Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1969). The economic profiles produced for the National Committee for Canadian Francophonie Human Resources Development have continued to reveal the discrepancy in economic conditions between OLMCs and even within OLMCs, especially between the major regions and between the centre and the periphery within individual regions (Beaudin and Boudreau, 1994; Beaudin, 1999).

Although the regional economies have differing circumstances, they are all vulnerable to the consequences of economic change at the local, regional and global levels (Beaudin, Boudreau and DeBenedetti, 1997; Gilbert, 2002; Magord, Allard and Landry, 2002). The consequences are internal migrations to urban centres, the aging and non-renewal of the population due to the exodus of young people, a drop in the birth rate, and the return of retirees to the regions. Also sometimes seen are losses of human resources caused by plant closures or the amalgamation of service centres such as schools and hospitals in geographical areas that have hitherto constituted significant pools of minority population, as in the Gaspé Peninsula, Prince Edward Island, northern Ontario and the Acadian Peninsula.

What are the factors that can contribute to reinforcing the economic vitality of communities located in the regions? Qualitative case studies compiled in the Evangeline region of Prince Edward Island and the Bonaventure region in the Gaspé Peninsula have revealed the importance of a number of cultural, political and social factors: volunteer participation in associations and the involvement of individuals in community organizations, accessibility and the acquisition of appropriate training, control of local information, capabilities and skills in the areas of innovation and leadership, networking, consultation and local and regional cooperation, access to government jobs, and access to outside resources for financial and technical support (Beaudin, Boudreau and DeBenedetti, 1997).

The experience of community economic development and a cooperative economy in the Evangeline region of Prince Edward Island has also been examined in minute detail by a research team at the Centre for the Study of Co-operatives of the University of Saskatchewan. From their study, they derived a model of community economic development comprising three interdependent causal factors (Wilkinson and Quarter, 1996):

- Community awareness is based in favourable structural factors:
    - common culture, belonging to the community, feeling of trust
    - critical awareness of collective difference
    - the welfare of the community takes precedence over private interests

- Empowering reflects the intentions of residents in defining their future:
    - a strategy of involvement and mobilization
    - strategies of autonomy and self-management
    - acknowledgment of training and learning needs
- The structure of external support, both governmental and cooperative, is a control structure as much as it is a support structure:
    - authority over outside resources
    - allocation of the financial, human and technical resources required for take-off

OLMCs also have their success stories, such as in Moncton and southeastern New Brunswick. Francophone business people in this region have seized the opportunities offered by new markets and new technologies, a skilled bilingual workforce, a positive and cooperative atmosphere between the two linguistic communities, a network of economic associations that support and promote entrepreneurship, an economic development strategy for Greater Moncton and favourable provincial government policies, and a central geographic position in the Maritime Provinces (Beaudin, 1998; Desjardins, 2002; Polèse et al., 2002).

The most recent data seem to reveal a change in the interpretation of observations regarding economic vitality, at least when the data are examined on a regional scale. A comparative study of OLMCs at the regional level across Canada (the West, the Atlantic, Quebec) acknowledges that minority populations participate in the dominant economic trends in their region in terms of jobs and dependents, income levels, education levels and government transfers (Aunger, 2005). For example, "Franco-Ontarians have the highest incomes, with an average of $32,300; Western Francophones and Quebec Anglophones follow at $29,700 and $28,900, respectively; whereas Acadians are a somewhat distant fourth at $23,000" (Aunger, 2005: 13).

Aunger notes that at the time of the 1996 Census, Francophone minorities enjoyed socio-economic conditions that were at least equal to those of Quebec Francophones, albeit in some cases below the Canadian average. "Among the minorities," he writes, "there are proportionately fewer poor people, but also fewer rich people" (Aunger, 2002). Divergences from the notion of generalized poverty among Francophone minorities are also observed in recent profiles from the Réseaux de développement économique et d'employabilité (RDÉE, 2005).

As far as individuals of English mother tongue in Quebec are concerned, significant variations have been observed among the regions. "The median individual income of Quebec Anglophones is slightly ahead of that of mother-tongue Francophones, but in most parts of the province their income is less than the regional average" (Jedwab, 2004: 24). In fact, "Regional economies have a profound impact on both employment and income [...] In 2001, the unemployment rate for mother-tongue Anglophones was above the average in nearly every major region in the province with the exception of Montréal" (Ibid.: 25). The observations also reveal significant income differences based on the criteria of English-French bilingualism and education level.

Interregional geographic mobility and the growing urbanization of official language minority populations are of the greatest interest to OLMC stakeholders as well as to researchers because of the potential impact on the vitality of some regions. In particular, what will happen to the "traditional old-stock regions that are more concentrated and more stable in linguistic terms, but disadvantaged in economic terms" relative to "the heterogeneous, dispersed communities which are more in a minority situation in terms of language and culture, but are economically more comfortable" (Landry and Rousselle, 2003)?

In the Francophone OLMCs, the Réseaux de développement économique et d'employabilité are primary players in terms of economic vitality. Supported by federal funding and governed by a parity structure, they attempt to rally the vibrant forces in the communities, to strengthen their capabilities and to instill approaches based on community economic development and a social economy. To better understand the challenges, they develop regional socio-economic profiles (RDÉE, 2005). In Quebec, the Community Economic Development and Employability Committees (CEDECs) pursue similar objectives, namely strengthening community capabilities, job creation and economic diversification, disseminating information and staunching the exodus of young people (National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority, 2005).

The contribution of the community associations is also a part of the economy of OLMCs. Economic cost/benefit models able to take into account the existence and operations of community associations have recently been created (Corno, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Zanasi et al., 2004). This work could be useful in developing evaluation frameworks for community actions in order to bring their contribution to local and regional economies to the attention of minorities and majorities, funders and sponsors.

High-profile economists had earlier been invited by Canadian Heritage to explore and discuss the economic costs and benefits of knowledge of the official languages in Canada in the context of globalization (A. Breton, 1998; Chorney, 1998; Grenier, 1989; Grin, 1999; Harris, 1998; Helliwell, 1999; Vaillancourt, 1989). These academic observations and reflections do not, however, appear to be filtering down to the minority and majority populations, particularly to the parents who have to make decisions regarding the language in which their children will be educated, beginning in kindergarten. Education rights holders are in this regard the prime audience for demonstrating the value of learning both official languages in terms of human capital and access to economic opportunities (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006; Martel, 1999; Stebbins, 2000; Jedwab, 2002b).

The factors of vitality as used by different researchers and bearing on a variety of contexts may seem like an endless list. Taken together, however, they do provide a complex portrait of the resources that could contribute to vitality. Of course, the list does not cover all the sectors of activity (e.g. arts and culture, health, media, education, etc.) to be found in the OLMCs' overall plans or community development plans. The conjunctural and operational nature of these sectors could make the process of enumeration even lengthier. It goes without saying that they should undergo detailed observation in a more substantial process of research and evaluation.
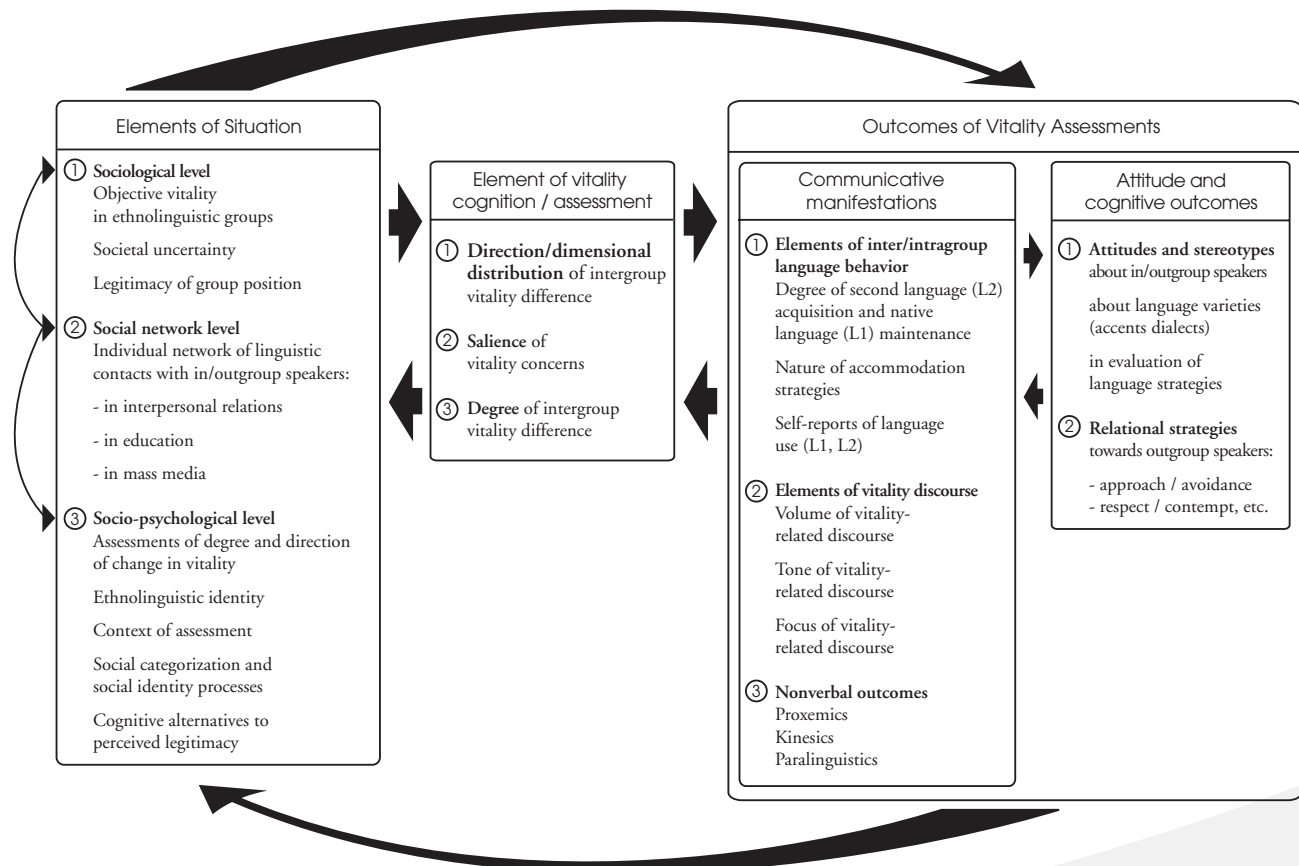
Models of Community Vitality

Few researchers have proposed valid models of causality that are applicable to all linguistic minorities. Nonetheless, some theoretical models have made their mark on research, and others are emerging. In this section, we present the main outlines and thrusts of some of the most prominent models:

- the ethnolinguistic model of Harwood, Giles and Bourhis (1994), inspired by the classic model of Giles et al. (1977)

- the ethnolinguistic model of Landry and Allard (1990, 1999), together with its revised version (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006)

- the environmental model of community vitality proposed by Gilbert et al. (2004a);

- the longitudinal model developed by Acord (1991)

Ethnolinguistic model of Harwood, Giles and Bourhis: Harwood, Giles and Bourhis' (1994) model of ethnolinguistic vitality is a development of the classic model of Giles et al. (1977). It proposes a dynamic process with three main components and feedback loops between them (see Figure 1):

- The **situation** includes social and political conditions, social networks (education, media, etc.) and the measurable socio-psychological characteristics (identity, perceptions, etc.) of the population.

- The elements of vitality **cognition and assessment** include the differences perceived by the population in intergroup vitality, salience of vitality concerns and the degree of intergroup vitality difference.

- The **outcomes** of vitality assessments include manifestations of communication such as inter/intragroup language behaviour, vitality-related discourse, non-verbal aspects, attitudes and stereotypes, and relational strategies.

Figure 1. Precursors, Dimensions and Communicative Manifestations of Vitality Assessment (Harwood, Giles and Bourhis, 1994)

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Source: Jake Harwood, Howard Giles and Richard Y. Bourhis, "The Genesis of Vitality Theory: Historical Patterns and Discoursal Dimensions," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108 (1994): 167-206.
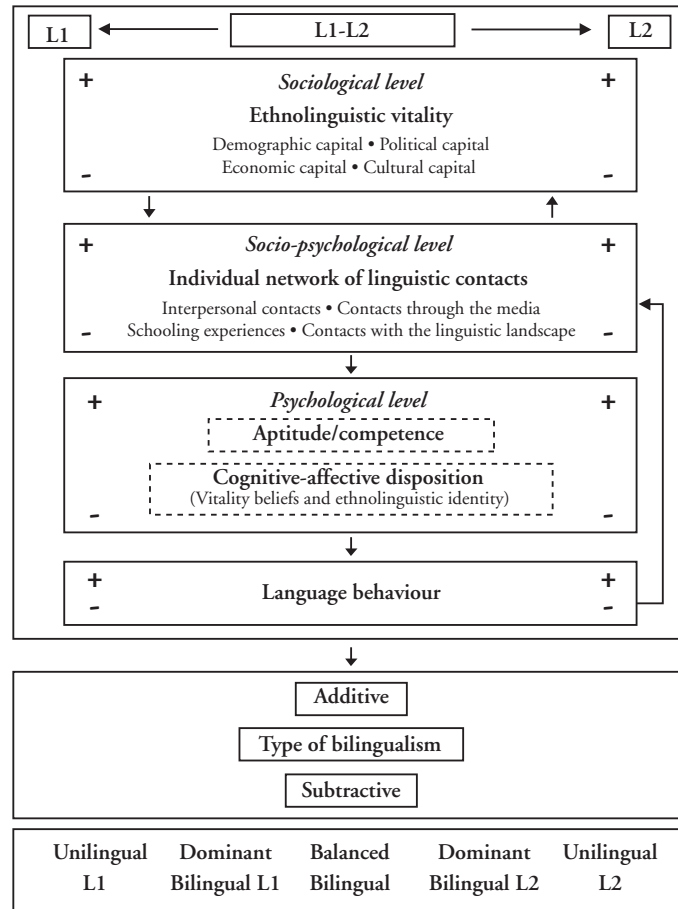
Ethnolinguistic model of Landry and Allard: The theoretical model of Landry and Allard (1990, 1999) is also based on the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality as set out by Giles et al. (1977), a concept that refers to the language and culture that are incarnate in the community and conditioned by factors related to demographics, institutions and status. This model comprises three levels (see Figure 2):

- **Sociological.** The most comprehensive level, this is where resources in the form of demographic, cultural, economic and political capital are available to nourish ethnolinguistic vitality.

- **Socio-psychological.** The second level is the one in which the language experiences of members of the community manifest themselves (family, interpersonal contacts, education and training, contacts with the media and cultural events, linguistic landscape). This level is determined by the various capitals of the sociological level and, in turn, conditions the third level, which is the psychological one.

- **Psychological.** The third level is the one that has been explored in a determined manner by Landry et al. It incorporates cognitive-affective predispositions, beliefs regarding the vitality of each language with which the individual is in daily contact (subjective ethnolinguistic vitality), beliefs related to the individual's desire to be part of each of the linguistic communities, and ethnolinguistic identity. The individual's language skills are also psychological variables. The psychological level in turn influences the individual's linguistic behaviour.

Figure 2. Macroscopic Model of Determinants of Additive Bilingualism and Subtractive Bilingualism (Landry and Allard, 1990)

| L1 | ← | L1-L2 | → | L2 |

Sociological level
+ +
Ethnolinguistic vitality
Demographic capital • Political capital
Economic capital • Cultural capital
- -

Socio-psychological level
+ +
Individual network of linguistic contacts
Interpersonal contacts • Contacts through the media
Schooling experiences • Contacts with the linguistic landscape
- -

Psychological level
+ +
Aptitude/competence
Cognitive-affective disposition
(Vitality beliefs and ethnolinguistic identity)
- -

+ +
Language behaviour
- -

Additive
Type of bilingualism
Subtractive

| Unilingual L1 | Dominant Bilingual L1 | Balanced Bilingual | Dominant Bilingual L2 | Unilingual L2 |

Source: Rodrigue Landry and Réal Allard, "Contact des langues et développement bilingue : un modèle macroscopique," *The Canadian Modern Language Review/Revue canadienne des langues vivantes* 46 (1990): 527-553.

Since 1989, Landry and various collaborators have claimed to show, through quantitative empirical research in numerous Canadian and American settings, that the linguistic behaviour of Francophones is very strongly related to the ethnolinguistic vitality of their communities. According to their results, "the weaker the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Francophone community, the more closely the linguistic behaviour of the Francophones resembles that of the Anglophones. The relationship observed is so strong that it was described as being the result of 'social determinism'" (Landry and Allard, 1999: 411).

The macroscopic model of ethnolinguistic revitalization reformulated by Landry, Allard and Deveau (2006) presents a new paradigm of the dynamics present (see Figure 3). The social determinism made up of societal influences is counterbalanced by the introduction of

individual self-determination, in the form of free, conscious choices by individuals, which in turn stem from social learning and the satisfaction of certain basic needs: autonomy, competency and belonging (Landry and Rousselle, 2003: 84). This new dimension recognizes the capacities and abilities of individuals to speak, learn, participate, make independent choices and become involved in their community through community and civic action.

This new approach incorporates contemporary knowledge about the capacities of individuals to act, change and become actors in their communities, rather than remain subject to the determinism of the environment, the media, etc. It also provides a better interpretation of the social dynamics of social subjects who are capable of self-determination and of individual and collective empowerment. However, the factors involved in collective empowerment or collective action are not yet developed in this model. Demographic, cultural, economic and political capital are mentioned in the model, but they do not receive in-depth research in terms of their impact on group vitality.

Figure 3. Intergroup Model of Ethnolinguistic Revitalization: a Macroscopic Perspective (Landry, Allard and Deveau, 2006)
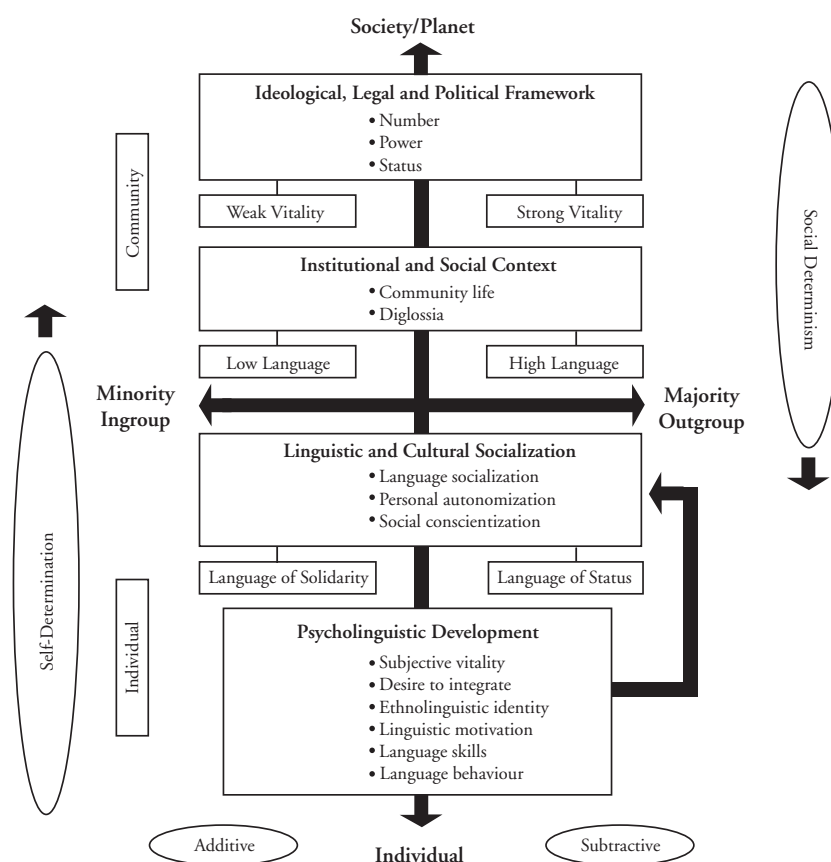

Source: Rodrigue Landry, Réal Allard and Kenneth Deveau, "Revitalisation ethnolinguistique : un modèle macroscopique," *Innovation et adaptation : expériences acadiennes contemporaines,* edited by André Magord (Brussels: Éditions Peter Lang, 2006), forthcoming.

Environmental model of Gilbert et al. The model of community vitality of Francophone minorities that is being developed by Gilbert et al. (2005) consists of assembling within a theoretical framework, using a geographic approach, the relationships among the environment, the individual and the community (see Figure 4). This approach continues the work of Langlois and Gilbert, who assign to the environment a determining role in social and community development (Gilbert and Langlois, n. d.; Gilbert, 1999; Langlois, 2000). The model is based on the contributions of Giles et al. (1977) and of Landry and Allard (1999). It has three main components, among which the close reciprocal interrelationships are seen as essential:

- The **individual** component refers to the practices of members of the minority community, to experiences in the public and private spheres, and to the aspirations that are manifested in the social and spatial behaviours linking them to the minority community.

- The **community** component refers to relationships that unite Francophones in a specific environment through defence of their common interests, with emphasis on the role of interactions that constitute the community and the social capital generated there grounded in places and spaces, and of the resources that the community appropriates from its environment.

- The **environmental** component refers to the environments giving rise to the individual behaviours as well as the social and spatial interactions on which the community is founded, comprising the population, the organizations, institutions and businesses located in the space, the services, and the collective undertakings of these entities within the basic structure of minority/majority relationships. This environmental component also has room for networks that provide opportunities for connections to other spaces and communications at different levels.

The operation of this model consists of developing indicators through which the primary components of community vitality identified in the model can be measured at the local level. Research is under way in a variety of Francophone communities selected on the basis of a pre-established typology of vitality (Gilbert et al., 2005).

Figure 4. Environmental Model of Community Vitality (Gilbert et al., 2005)
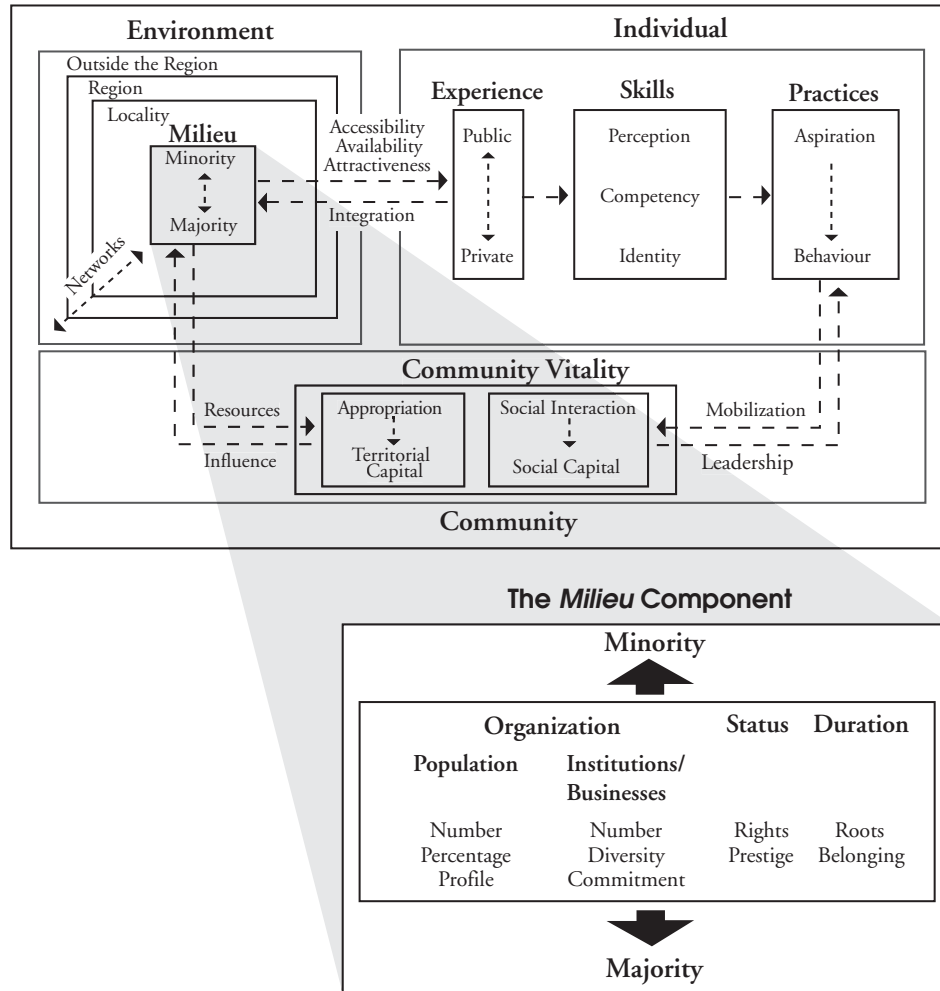
Acord's longitudinal model. This company developed the first model for analysing OLMCs, in conjunction with a systematic survey of qualitative and quantitative indicators of the situation of OLMCs, at the request of the Department of the Secretary of State (Acord, 1991). With results by province and territory as well as at the national level, the study produced a set of benchmarks that provide a basis for identifying the changes that have occurred since then.

Acord's pragmatic approach consists in describing the situation and outlining the development of official language minority communities over the previous decade. A normative approach then provides a framework for estimating the gap between the actual situation in a community and a situation that is deemed desirable. Their analytical grid includes two ideals and the corresponding dimensions of development.

1. Ideal of **individual equality** relative to the rights and services enjoyed by the majority:

    a. social status: access to rights and services, personal development; and

    b. linguistic recognition: ability to exercise preferences in respect of language use in everyday life.

2. Ideal of **collective autonomy,** possibility of becoming a coherent entity within the larger society:

    a. institutional completion: distinct entity, responding to the individual and collective needs of its members; organizational capability; ability to mobilize resources; activities provided; and

    b. collective vitality: ability of the linguistic community to keep its members and to perpetuate itself as a social group: participation by members in the activities of the group; commitment to assist and promote its development; produce a shared living environment; share a feeling of identity and of belonging to the group.

Acord formulates development indicators involving nine fields or sectors of activities that cover a significant breadth of daily life: the population relative to the fields of policy, the economy, education, government services, legal services, social and health services, media, arts and culture and community life.

Vitality thus appears to be a highly complex set of issues. The explanatory models just reviewed here use indicators in varying degrees to measure the strength of vitality. The next section looks in greater detail at methodological concerns related to the indicators of vitality and its evaluation.

It is commonplace nowadays to use indicators to measure the results of public or community initiatives, especially when there is a requirement of accountability. This certainly applies to OLMC vitality. However, since the concept of vitality is vague but quite broad, it needs to be understood in a manner that is as comprehensive as possible. That is why we favour evaluation, using indicators as measuring tools. Without neglecting the role of evaluation in accountability, it also needs to be seen as a method of empowerment for the communities.

Evaluation

Evaluation is an exercise through which a judgment can be made on the value of an action, a project or a situation; it thus calls into question the thing being examined. This means that a consensus must be reached between the parties involved in an evaluation, specifically with regard to 1) the values and criteria that will guide the judgment, 2) the things that will be judged and 3) the indicators that will serve as units of measurement.

Evaluation is of interest to the communities to the extent that they are involved in it from the outset, participate in defining the issues, contribute to the interpretation of the results, and are thus able to light their own way as they pursue their quest for development. Evaluation is an accountability tool, but it is also a tool of collective empowerment. It needs to be carried out using a variety of analytical perspectives (Johnson, 2003), and the parties involved must work together.

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There is growing agreement about the inherent interest of evaluating the vitality of OLMCs, but there are doubts and fears about the way in which this is done. The doubts are related to the choice of the most appropriate indicators to reflect so complex a set of issues, either those that will most accurately reveal the state of vitality (result) or those that will best express the factors that act on vitality (process).

The fears of the communities hinge on the fact that indicators are often imposed on them by the funding agencies, without the communities knowing either what they mean or, most importantly, how the results will be interpreted. For their part, government officials who deal with the OLMCs are worried about whether the results of such evaluations will be attributed exclusively to their programs, knowing that other forces are also in play. An investigation conducted by the volunteer sector in Canada identified other obstacles to evaluation: "Both voluntary organizations and funders agreed that lack of internal capacity

such as staff or time, lack of money, unclear funder expectations, and lack of skills and knowledge were the main barriers to evaluation for voluntary organizations" (Imagine Canada, 2005).

The American experience sheds some interesting light on these apprehensions. A study analysing the practices used in evaluating community development over a 15-year span in the United States suggests that common approaches fail in several respects (Auspos and Kubisch, 2004):

- The deadlines set for the evaluations are too short to take into account the results of community development. The start-up phase (planning, upgrading capabilities, etc.) typically takes three years or longer. Evaluations that focus on this period take into account neither the maturity of the initiative nor its long-term impact.

- The theories of change that guide community initiatives are weak: they often consist either of pious hopes, or are too complex to be understood by the people involved.

- The data gathered overwhelm the players, and collecting these data exhausts their resources. It is necessary to choose what is to be measured in light of clear theories of the changes desired.

- The specific character of community initiatives is often difficult to reconcile with the overall parameters used for evaluation, and this makes comparisons difficult. The communities must identify standards that enable them to compare their own circumstances to others.

- The evaluators are viewed as detached technicians who impose unreasonable demands for data on the communities, analyse them from afar and fail to report the results to the communities.

- The evaluations deal with the results anticipated by the programs of the funders and do not focus on the processes of empowerment that are of concern to the communities.

Although those involved are right to be critical of the evaluation of community vitality, it is nonetheless true that evaluation continues to arouse interest, and this is expressed specifically around the use of indicators.

Indicators

An indicator is a unit of information—quantitative or qualitative—that is used to give an approximate measure of changing circumstances. An indicator is not the reality itself, but rather a sign of the observed trend (e.g. a rate of assimilation, the majority/minority ratio, the degree of confidence in leaders, etc.). Monica Heller warns against the risk of mistaking the one for the other: "The measures of linguistic vitality used fall into the same trap of reducing to quantifiable and hence unified variables, social processes that are not objects. [...] One cannot simply take for granted what the role is of the home, of schooling, employment or any other area of activity without going to see it in the field. One cannot even assume that these areas really act separately from each other" (Heller, 2002: 181).

Indicators can nevertheless be used for a variety of ends, two of which are systematically used by community actors: indicators to think through and evaluate strategically the development of the community; and the very different indicators that measure formal actions and account for them, in other words, the performance indicators required by the funding agencies.

Communities that want to take charge of their own development are aware of the importance of using indicators to compile periodic diagnoses of their situation, identify the strategic choices to be implemented in order to develop and progressively evaluate the results obtained. There are a number of exemplary practices in this regard that can be listed: community economic development movements (Auspos and Kubisch, 2004; Lewis and Lockhart, 2002; Simpson and Cala, 2001), social economy movements (Bouchard, 2003; Franke, 2005), community groups (Gaudreau and Lacelle, 1999), Vibrant Communities (Torjman and Leviten-Reid, 2004), Resilient Communities (Centre for Community Entreprise, 2000), durable communities (Hart, 1999) and non-governmental international development organizations (Roche, 1999; Oakley and Clayton, 2000).

Some approaches use indicators in innovative ways. The methodology of outcome mapping used by the International Development Research Centre is a participatory and empowering way of evaluating, by means of concentric circles, the changes brought about by an action or a program (Earl et al., 2002). This methodology is applied over the long term and seeks to attribute the results observed to a conjunction of factors rather than to linear causality. It uses markers of progress as indicators, seeking to identify the processes of change and to track them. The indicators measure:

- what people expect to see, i.e. changes that are relatively easy to achieve;

- what people wish to see, i.e. an active attitude towards learning and participation; and

- what people would like to see in an ideal world, i.e. a genuine transformation over the longer term.

Cumulative experience and research have established a number of standards to ensure the effectiveness of indicators. These should be:

- relevant in relation to the desired objectives;

- valid, i.e. a genuine reflection of what is being measured;

- intelligible to the parties involved;

- reliable, i.e. measurable by means of objective data that can be interpreted without ambiguity;

- comparative in the long term and between units of the same type;

- complete, both objective (facts) and subjective (perceptions); and

- feasible, i.e. commensurate with the resources that can be devoted to the exercise over the long term.

Illustrated on next page are various sets of indicators that have been used either for OLMCs or for other types of community.

Sets of Indicators Related to Linguistic Minorities

Several sets of indicators have been used in attempts to measure community vitality in the OLMC context.

***Vision d'avenir* (Bernard, 1991)** develops an index of regional contact in the context of a national survey of the linguistic behaviour and awareness of young French Canadians. The index is a unit of measurement that combines several indicators to illustrate a trend. More than 4,000 young people were sampled in three "regional contact zones," characterized as having a high, medium or low degree of contact, depending on the proportion of Francophones per Census unit. Subsequently, this index was used in interpreting the linguistic behaviours and attitudes of the young people.

André Langlois (2000) proposes two indices to measure territorial concentration as a factor in vitality and to differentiate vitality in metropolitan and non-metropolitan environments:

• The index of linguistic continuity compares the number of mother-tongue Francophones with those for whom French is the language of use.

• The overall vitality index adds five indicators to the above index, reflecting the number of young people, the working age population, migrants and students, the level of employment, and average income.[6]

The **Community Health and Social Services Network Indicators (Pocock, 2004)** develops regional profiles of Anglophone communities in Quebec in an approach based on determinants of health. The list of indicators below shows the data collected, which feed into two indices: one compares the Anglophone minority situation and the Francophone majority situation; the other compares the Anglophone minority situation in the region with the average situation of Quebec's Anglophone minority.

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6   "It should be noted that the overall index of vitality gives preference to the linguistic indicator. Very low linguistic continuity will cancel out the effect of the other conditions (demographic or economic) even if they are favourable, whereas linguistic continuity that is not zero will be enough to ensure a degree of vitality, even if the other conditions are weak or zero" (Gilbert, 2005: 64).

Community Health and Social Services Network Indicators

Income and Social Status
Average income
Population over 15 with no income
Dependence on government transfers
Incidence of low income (under $20,000)
Incidence of high income (over $50,000)

Social Support Networks
Ages 0-14
Ages 15-24
Ages 25-44
Ages 45-64
Ages 65+
Caregiver-to-senior ratio

Education
Without high school-leaving certificate
With post-secondary qualifications
High school drop-out
College drop-out
University drop-out

Employment and Working Conditions
Unemployed
Not in workforce
Self-employed
15+ hours/week unpaid housework
15+ hours/week unpaid childcare
10+ hours/week unpaid care to seniors

Social Environment
Percentage of global population
Geographical mobility
Immigration rate and interprovincial
    migration rate
Proportion of visible minority
Citizenship
Bilingualism rate
Number of social and health institutions
    designated as English-speaking

Use of English in Health Situations
Province
Doctor
Hospital
Community organization
Emergency room
Private facility
CHSLD (long-term health care facility)
CLSC (local community service centre)
Info-santé (health information line)
Private nurse
Overall
Rank among regions

Access to Health Services
Primary care (CLSCs)
General and specialized medical services
Long-term care
Youth protection
Rehabilitation
Interregional agreements
Designated institutions
Sum of indicators of level of access

Gender
Women's participation to rate of employment
Unemployment rate of Anglophone women
    (compared with Anglophone men and
    Francophone women)
Women in age structure
Ratio of women's unpaid work, compared
    with all women
Ratio of male's unpaid care to seniors
Government transfers as share of income
    of women
Ratio of widowed women to men and
    to Francophone women
Women's employment in social and health
    care services

Culture
Religious affiliation
Ethnic origin
Civil status
Aboriginal origins

Aunger (2005) uses data provided by an opinion survey and other sources to compare OLMCs across the major regions of Canada. To do this, he uses the following indicators:

1. Demolinguistic situation

   a. level of local concentration (Census subdivisions)

   b. age structure (aging)

   c. migration (mobility)

2. Socio-economic situation

   a. level of education

   b. job market sectors

   c. income level

   d. religious diversity

   e. ethnocultural diversity (ethnic visibility)

   f. level of bilingualism among individuals

   g. mother tongue (in relation to first official language spoken)

   h. language spoken at home

   i. language spoken at work

3. Access to public services in the minority language

   a. proportion of bilingual offices providing federal services (per thousand minority members)

   b. proportion of bilingual positions in federal service (per thousand minority members)

   c. schools in the minority language (per thousand young minority members)

4. Satisfaction with government services offered in both official languages

   a. perception of access to legal services

   b. perception of access to government services

   c. perception of the performance of the various levels of government

   d. perception of accessibility of government jobs

   e. satisfaction with government services

Anne Gilbert (2005) reorganizes the vitality factors used by Langlois (above) to give the following three types of vitality:

- demographic vitality: numbers and geographic concentration, youth, autonomy, migration

- economic vitality: labour market (contribution to the local and regional economy, potential for self-development), university education, average income

- linguistic vitality: index of language continuity.

The **Réseaux de développement économique et d'employabilité (RDÉE, 2005)** identify a set of indicators profiling the regions where these networks are working with Francophone communities. There are two facets to the profiles. First, the statistical profile describes the minority community, in addition to comparing it with the majority (minority/majority index). Second, a set of more qualitative indicators underlines the development challenges that must be met in the communities. The indicators for these two facets follow.

Profile:

Composition of the population:
- Population
- Composition by age
- Mobility of the population
- Immigration

Socio-economic indicators:
- Unemployment rate
- Level of education
- Income
- Language of work
- Place of work
- Level of employment
- Industries and occupations

Challenges:

Regional labour force:
- Recruitment
- Qualification
- Mobility
- Integration of newcomers
- Use of French in the workplace

Workforce training:
- Strategic importance
- Training opportunities
- Service providers

Services to business:
- Access
- Providers

Action priorities:
- Economic development
- Human resources development
- Key players

Canadian Heritage (2005) derives regional profiles of the official language communities, the highlights of which are available on CD-ROM, from the 1986 and 2001 Census data. A set of indicators is used to show trends relative to the corresponding majority and all minorities taken together (minority/majority index), trends of other geographical scales (relative geographical index), trends over time (1996-2001 index) and trends by sex (gender index). The variables are:

- demographic: community size, proportion and trend

- demolinguistic: linguistic continuity, language used at home, language of work, bilingualism

- age/mobility: size of cohorts for youth and seniors, immigrants, interprovincial migrants

- socio-economic: education, work status, income

- identity: visible minorities, immigrants, multiple ethnic origins, Aboriginals

Statistics Canada will soon provide the most massive contribution of data on the vitality of OLMCs, based on a post-censal survey of the vitality of official language minorities (Marmen, 2005; Corbeil, 2005). This survey will provide demographic, linguistic and cultural data on the respondents, their households, their parents and children, on the language skills and education of respondents, on linguistic trajectories from childhood to adult life, on childhood experiences, on access to health care in the minority language, on participation in community life, the volunteer sector and social support, on language of use in the public sphere, on having a sense of identity and subjective vitality, on language practices in recreational settings, on geographic mobility, and on economic activity, linguistic practices in the workplace and income. These data will be used by federal institutions to measure their contribution under official languages programs and will be available to researchers and the communities.

Other Sets of Indicators

It is useful to look outside work on OLMCs to draw lessons from other institutions and movements that are also seeking to more clearly understand the vitality of communities and support their development. A number of studies that make significant use of indicators are presented below in point form.

The **Canadian Federation of Municipalities (2001)**, in a survey of quality of life, develops sets of indicators for the following topics:

- human capital: demographics, education, literacy, cultural diversity, immigration, age structure

- living standards: income/cost of living

- quality of employment: rate of employment and unemployment, types of employment, ratios of employment insurance to overall income, social assistance to overall income, employment income to total income

- quality of housing: costs of rental housing, occupancy rates, housing starts

- social tension: proportion of single parent families, proportion of low-income families, teenage pregnancy rate, suicide rate, bankruptcy rate, number of emergency calls

- community health: child mortality, underweight newborns, premature mortality, hospital discharges, hours of work lost because of sickness or disability

- municipal safety: crime rates, deaths due to injury and poisoning

- community participation: percentage of voter participation, gifts to charity, gifts to United Way, recycling, percentage of households receiving a newspaper, quality of the environment and social infrastructure

The **Canadian Council on Social Development (2000)** identifies from a study a set of indicators for measuring social cohesion:

- economic conditions: income distribution, income polarization, poverty, employment, geographic mobility

- life chances: health care, education, housing

- quality of life: perceived and actual health of the population, real and perceived personal and family security, real and perceived economic security, situation of families, part-time employment, the built environment (existing infrastructures, communications networks), quality of the natural environment

- desire to cooperate: trust in people and institutions, respect for diversity, understanding of reciprocity, feeling of belonging

- participation: social consumption and social support networks, participation in networks and groups (volunteerism, group activities, philanthropic activity), political participation, functional literacy

INTRAC (Oakley and Clayton, 2000) is a British non-governmental organization that supports international development non-governmental organizations and non-profit organizations in strengthening their capacities. The following typology of indicators is taken from its resource guide on "monitoring and evaluation of empowerment." It distinguishes between empowerment within the community and empowerment vis-à-vis the outside world.

Indicators of internal empowerment

Self management:
- membership growth and trends
- clear procedures and rules
- regular attendance at meetings
- maintaining proper financial accounts

Problem-solving:
- problem identification
- ability to analyse

Democratization:
- free and fair selection of leaders
- role for weaker members in decision making
- transparency in information flow

Sustainability and self-reliance:
- conflict resolution
- actions initiated by group
- legal status
- intragroup support system

Indicators of external empowerment

With project implementing agency:
- influence at different stages of project
- representation on project administration
- degree of financial autonomy

With state agencies:
- influence on state development funds
- influence on other state development initiatives in the area

With local, social and political bodies:
- representation on these bodies
- lobbying with mainstream parties
- influence in local schools, health centres

With other groups and social movements:
- formation of federations
- networking

With local elites and other non-group members:
- level of dependence on local elites
- degree of conflict
- ability to increase power

> The evaluation of vitality seems to be a necessity in an era where decision making must be based on facts.

The evaluation of vitality seems to be a necessity in an era where decision making must be based on facts. It nonetheless continues to arouse a degree of apprehension in view of the accountability relationships that link communities to the government. It also poses methodological difficulties by virtue of its "horizontal" and "vertical" complexity. Evaluation does, however, arouse a degree of enthusiasm in many community movements and non-governmental organizations which are innovative in their methods of evaluating development initiatives. The OLMCs, which are called upon to take their own destinies in hand, will find in research and evaluation work the resources to achieve a better understanding of their own situations and to identify their point of departure in order to more effectively target their desired destination.

$\mathcal{E}$MPOWERING
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

The brief review on the preceding pages about vitality shows that there are still many unanswered questions. The process of reflection about vitality and ways of measuring it initiated by the Commissioner of Official Languages comes at a good time, not only to identify the expectations and requirements in terms of knowledge and practices about vitality, but also to institute a process of empowerment that will embrace all the parties involved with OLMCs.

A variety of expectations were expressed by community people, researchers and government representatives during the consultations that fed into this study, and specifically, at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities. There is a desire for:

• data on which to base diagnoses of the current situation of OLMCs, their problems and assets, not only in terms of their vitality (the outcome), but also in terms of their development capabilities

• data to plan development strategies

• data to evaluate the progress made in achieving these strategies

• data to measure the performance of government programs in support of the vitality and development of OLMCs

• data to test explanatory models of vitality

In short, there is a diversity of interests when it comes to expanding knowledge of the factors involved in OLMC vitality. Common to them all is a desire for reliable information that can be used to strengthen vitality. However, special attention must be paid to the outlook of the community's own actors. Being both the knowers and the known, the communities must take ownership of knowledge. OLMC empowerment through vitality-related knowledge is the subject of the final section of this study.

> "The more a person uses an analytical framework to name, identify and validate things; to access vocabulary and knowledge to take stock of the complexity of the surrounding environment, and to help them express themselves and communicate this reality, the more power the person has."
> — Dyane Adam, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of
> Official Language Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

A Place to Stand

As already noted, the evaluation of vitality consists in judging the value of actions that support vitality and the outcomes achieved. That is why the selection of each indicator of community vitality must be guided by clearly identified values and objectives, through an open and transparent process. Part VII of the *Official Languages Act*, which now requires government to actively support the vitality and development of OLMCs, appears to be central in this respect. Also important are governance mechanisms for vitality-related research that allows community representatives to participate alongside researchers and government institutions.

The evaluation of the vitality of OLMCs could draw on the "participatory and negotiated" approach that is advocated in the social economy (Bouchard, 2003). It would thus fall in line with recent advances in shared governance between the OLMCs and federal institutions in the areas of economic development (the Réseaux de développement économique et d'employabilité and the Community Economic Development and Employability Committees), health (advisory committees of minority Anglophone and Francophone communities), justice (Advisory Sub-Committee on Access to Justice in Both Official Languages) and immigration (Citizenship and Immigration Canada Steering Committee on Minority Francophone Communities).

The idea of a partnership between the funding agencies and community organizations with regard to evaluation is gaining strength, especially in Canada's volunteer sector:

> "Funders and voluntary organizations should be encouraged to adopt a partnership approach to evaluation in which both parties work together to determine appropriate evaluation measures. In order to develop a climate of trust between voluntary organizations and their funders, should be encouraged to recognize the particular goals, objectives, and needs of individual voluntary organizations and to allow flexibility in their evaluation requirements" (Hall et al., 2003).

The Canada-Community Agreements under Canadian Heritage's Official Languages Program are based on the Voluntary Sector Initiative's *Code of Good Practice on Policy Dialogue* (2002).

Participation by OLMCs in researching and evaluating their vitality does not exclude a role for the government actors responsible for supporting vitality. Precisely because they are minorities, the OLMCs do not have the ability to do the job on their own. Support from researchers and government is essential.

Current Research Capabilities

In recent years, community actors have literally lost their research capability: the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada has exhausted its dedicated research resources, while the Missisquoi Institute in Quebec has for all practical purposes ceased operations. In view of the fact that the community sector is to a large extent driven by volunteers, building a professional-quality research capability is not easy. Research nonetheless seems to be making a comeback in some sectors, specifically the Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité, the Community Health and Social Services Network in Quebec, the Fédération culturelle canadienne-française and the education sector, even though the overall capability remains low.

On the other hand, the government side has expanded its research capability. Canadian Heritage sponsors, collects, organizes and maps a large amount of data (Canadian Heritage, 2005). Statistics Canada continues to expand its databases of language survey variables and contributes numerous publications in this field (Statistics Canada, 2003; Marmen and Corbeil, 1999 and 2004). As mentioned above, Statistics Canada is preparing a post-censal survey of the vitality of official language minorities (Marmen, 2005; Corbeil, 2005). This survey has aroused great expectations, since it is studying, on the basis of a broad sample, such unusual variables as linguistic and identity-related experience, language trajectory, etc.

The Privy Council Office chairs the Interdepartmental Working Group on Official Languages Research, which seeks to support exchanges of information and to achieve consensus among federal organizations for action. The Working Group also leads work to collect data for purposes of accountability in the area of official languages. The recent Mid-term Report on the Action Plan for Official Languages identifies a need for better interdepartmental coordination and for research partnerships with universities, research institutes and the private sector (Privy Council Office, 2005b). The focus is on collecting information to allow accountability, but it is also important to support research that can assist communities in their own development process and help them develop public policies that are informed by the realities of life in OLMCs.

The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages continues to support strategic studies, including this one. There are also places where research is supported on a more independent basis, albeit largely dependent on government funding. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) offers the Community-University Research Alliances program (CURA). To date, however, OLMCs have not taken advantage of this program. SSHRC and Canadian Heritage have created the Official Languages Research and Dissemination Program, which has financially supported a score of projects, although the future of this program is uncertain.

Health Canada and the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, which receive advice from the advisory committees of minority Anglophone and Francophone communities, provide support for reporting on OLMC-related health research and needs. On the Francophone side, this is looked after by the Société Santé en français and the Consortium national de formation en santé (2005). A multi-component research program is currently being established under the auspices of the Consortium. In Quebec, Health Canada's Consultative Committee for English-speaking Minority Communities has set up its own study of health needs (Saber-Freedman, 2001a). The Health and Social Services Networking and Partnership Initiative has been created by the Quebec Community Groups Network to meet these needs, with the support of Health Canada. The McGill Project for Training and Retention of Professionals helps meet training needs and carries out research to this end. The Community Health and Social Services Network plays a key role in research on the determinants of health in the Anglophone communities.

Lastly, the Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM), an independent institute though one supported by funding from the federal government, aims to promote research and compilation of data on questions that are crucial to Canada's OLMCs.

The universities have many researchers[7] and research organizations (see list in Appendix 2) who are directly or peripherally interested in OLMCs. On the Francophone side, the Réseau de la recherche sur la francophonie canadienne includes most researchers, and there are a number of research institutes, centres and groups making efforts to achieve a better understanding of the realities faced by Francophone minorities. On the Anglophone side, apart from a small number of researchers, the networks have yet to take shape. Quebec's Anglophone universities do not seem to give as much emphasis on research on the vitality of the province's Anglophone minority as the community would like to see. There are in fact no major research institutes with a mandate to achieve a better understanding of Anglophone communities and support their development.

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7   The Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM) maintains an online list of Canadian researchers working in its field of expertise: **http://www.umoncton.ca/icrml/eng/bienvenue.html**

Researchers decry their limited capacity to conduct in-depth studies, due to their limited numbers, their availability and the resources at their disposal. They are aware of a growing disparity between the data available (specifically thanks to Statistics Canada) and the capacity to analyse these data. They also note the discordance between the requirements of university research and the requirements of the requests received from communities and governments, specifically relative to the types of research and timetables for completion. They are nonetheless optimistic about the prospects for interested graduate students in conducting research on vitality, if financial support is forthcoming.

The communities, for their part, value cooperation with academic researchers for the scientific contribution they make. For example, the Quebec Community Groups Network has given higher priority to the need for more knowledge about out-migration, the attitudes of young people and adults, as well as those of the business community. Its 2005-2010 development plan aims to empower the community through research and knowledge (QCGN, 2005). However, the communities are critical of the fact that Canada's major research councils fail to recognize the legitimacy of their concerns.

How then will it be possible to reconcile the expectations and requirements of the various parties involved in researching and evaluating the vitality of OLMCs? Most importantly, how will the parties be able to provide better support for the strengthening of vitality on the basis of such research and evaluation work? The next section proposes some ways in which the OLMCs could become empowered with respect to the production of vitality-enhancing knowledge.

Approaches to Empowerment

The vitality of OLMCs today depends on the ability of the communities and their partners to understand the factors that determine vitality. More knowledge is needed of the conditions and processes affecting vitality, and the communities must take control of this knowledge. A concerted effort is needed to this end, and responsibility must be taken by communities, governments and researchers.

> "You need data and solid arguments, and not only that, communities themselves need to take a step back to take stock of their development and of how they have changed in order to better determine where they are going; this is what it means to take charge."
>
> — Dyane Adam, Address at the Discussion Forum on the Vitality of Official Language Communities, Ottawa, September 2005

The chart on the next page sets out our recommended approaches for each of the three parties, working with the support of their two partners. The **communities** should first develop their research and evaluation capabilities in order to be able to play a proper role in vitality studies and the related performance measurement. They will not play the lead role, but they must be able to take part in designing, negotiating and overseeing research and evaluation, and interpreting the results. More specifically, the communities should work with researchers in undertaking action research to investigate and act on community vitality. They should also participate actively as partners in initiatives where government or the research community play the lead role.

Governments, meanwhile, should establish mechanisms for coordination and shared governance with respect to research, and they should provide adequate funding to meet the research needs of the OLMCs, such funding to be done through the major research councils, Canada Research Chairs and the Action Plan for Official Languages. It is also up to government to produce statistics on OLMCs. The post-censal survey is exemplary in this regard and should be repeated. When measuring performances, as is required of all federal institutions, consultation with the communities should extend to the matter of which indicators are used, and the outcomes of performance measurement should be made accessible. Finally, federal institutions should enhance their own ability to analyse data on OLMCs, with a view to improving dissemination of information. More generally, government institutions should provide financial support for initiatives undertaken by the other parties relative to research and the development of capacities.

Turning to the **researchers**, their task is to carry out research projects in partnership with the communities, whether through action research, a Community-University Research Alliances project, or research of a more theoretical nature. It is up to the researchers to assess the situation and then create a strategic plan for research on OLMC vitality. To facilitate this, there should be Canada Research Chairs on OLMC vitality. Also, there should be a research institute specifically to research the Anglophone communities of Quebec and to foster networking among those doing research in this area. Finally, research findings need to be disseminated and made accessible to the public. More generally, researchers should support research and evaluation initiatives undertaken by the OLMCs and by governments.

Communities	Governments	Researchers
Research and evaluation capability: **enhance ability to plan and manage development work based on facts, including ability to design, negotiate and monitor research and evaluations and interpret the results**	Support enhancement of communities' research and evaluation capability	Provide expertise for the process of enhancing communities' research and evaluation capability; assist communities by "lending out" young researchers
Participate in establishing an overview and plan for strategic research on OLMC vitality	Take part in establishing an overview and plan for strategic research on OLMC vitality	*Strategic research overview and plan:* **establish an overview and then a plan for strategic research on OLMC vitality**
Take part in research partnerships concerning vitality	Support research partnerships concerning vitality	*Research partnerships:* **develop large-scale CURA-type research projects on vitality in partnership with the communities**
Action research: **carry out action research on vitality, in partnership with researchers**	Support action research projects on vitality	*Action research:* **carry out action research projects on vitality in partnership with the communities**
Take part in the governance of a research institute on English-speaking Quebec	Support and fund the establishment of a research institute on the English-speaking communities of Quebec	*Institute for research on English-speaking Quebec:* **deal with the lack of interest in research on Quebec's English-speaking communities by creating an institute for this purpose; foster networking of researchers**
Participate in government consultations on defining the statistics that will be collected	*Statistics:* **carry through, and then regularly repeat, the planned large-scale collection of data on the official language minorities (post-censal survey) and disseminate the results**	Provide expertise to assist with data collection; help with analysis to support OLMCs as they produce knowledge
Participate in government consultations on defining the indicators that will be used to measure performance with official languages initiatives; learn from data produced in the course of performance measurement	*Performance measurement:* **extend consultation with communities on defining the indicators that will be used to measure performance with official languages initiatives; make the data produced in the course of performance measurement accessible to the recipients of these initiatives**	Contribute to defining and testing the indicators and indices that will be used for performance measurement

Communities	Governments	Researchers
	Analytical capability: strength-en federal institutions' in-house ability to analyse data on OLMCs	Assist governments in analysing data on OLMCs
	Support the creation of Canada Research Chairs on OLMC vitality and development	*Research chairs:* fill Canada Research Chairs created to study OLMC vitality and development
		University-based research: increase theoretical, multidisciplinary, comparative, qualitative and quantitative research on OLMCs
Organize, in cooperation with researchers, activities to take ownership of knowledge about OLMCs	Support research institutions in their dissemination/public education work with respect to knowledge about OLMCs	*Dissemination of results:* make knowledge acquired about OLMCs accessible through publications and databases available online; promote public education
Participate in planning, coordinating and shared governance mechanisms	*Coordination and governance:* establish mechanisms for the planning, coordination and shared governance of research on OLMCs, bringing together community, government and research actors; ensure that policies of federal institutions take into account knowledge about vitality and are also tailored to OLMC needs	Participate in planning, coordinating and shared governance mechanisms
	Funding: provide fair and adequate funding for OLMCs' research needs, through major research councils, Canada Research Chairs, and the Action Plan for Official Languages	

$\mathcal{C}$ONCLUSION

The overview provided by this study demonstrates the great interest in the vitality of communities, albeit one that is not understood in the same way by all concerned. A consensus is nonetheless emerging that taking effective action with regard to vitality requires first getting to know it better, hence the importance of creating a diversity of knowledge about the communities and their development. Questions about the vitality of official language minority communities focus on the following four themes.

Community. The value of focusing on the concept of community lies in the realization that it normally cuts across a wide range of situations, which to some extent are tending in opposite directions. In its traditional sense, the community is a neighbourhood, a village, a town or a region; in other words, a territory in which the OLMC lives. While these original territorial communities remain important for OLMCs, their numerical size is making them increasingly vulnerable. On the other hand, OLMCs continue to develop on a broader scale, because of the rural exodus, interprovincial migration or immigration. OLMCs thus constitute communities that sometimes take the form of networks, sharing a common interest, a sense of belonging or a destiny linked to their official language as well as their minority situation. But in the case of both territorial communities and communities of interest, while respecting their specificities, additional resources are needed to evaluate and strengthen their vitality. Issues such as the linguistic landscape, the degree of demographic concentration, the availability of services, community networking and interaction with the majority communities are becoming crucial to the vitality of OLMCs.

Vitality. Vitality is also a many-faceted notion covering a highly complex reality. A distinction should be made between vitality as a state of development at a specific moment in time and as a process of development that results in a strengthened vitality. Vitality can be observed at the individual level (subjective vitality) or at the collective level (linguistic, ethnolinguistic or community vitality). It has many dimensions: demographic, social, political, legal, cultural, economic, etc. Its strength depends not only on the various types of capital that correspond to these dimensions, but also on the desire and the capacity of the community actors to expand this capital. Many factors can affect the development of communities and influence their vitality. The important thing in each case is to identify how these factors interact and how they can be channelled. This is what some explanatory models attempt to achieve.

Evaluation and indicators. Any strategy that aims to strengthen vitality requires a thorough understanding of the situation to be changed—the starting point—so as to be able to target the destination. At a time when decision-making is increasingly based on facts, an evaluation of the vitality of OLMCs becomes a necessity, both for the institutions that are responsible for supporting the communities and for the communities that want to take charge of their own affairs. Indicators are a useful tool for achieving this end. The use of

indicators, however, is not always without its complications. Having had indicators imposed on them by the funding agencies without knowing what they were to be used for, OLMCs have developed a degree of apprehension towards them. On the other hand, the most dynamic community development movements are enthusiastic and effective users of indicators to identify their needs and capabilities, to plan their future and to measure the progress made in getting there. The indicators are a tool for taking charge of information and knowledge. Nonetheless, certain quality criteria must be maintained when the time comes to identify useful indicators. There are several systems of indicators in current use that can serve as examples. Before a final decision is made on specific indicators however, we must determine the desired results and the changes that need to be measured, all the while being guided by our core values. The development of indicators must at all times be rigourous and take place in a spirit of cooperation.

Empowering communities through vitality-related knowledge. The very idea of the vitality of OLMCs stems from the rights recognized by the Act and the Charter with regard to the equality of English and French in Canada. While there is not yet a general consensus on how to measure and influence the vitality of OLMCs, there is nonetheless palpable interest in taking up this challenge. Helpful resources in this exercise are already available in university research facilities as well as in the communities and in government. Research support programs, Statistics Canada survey data, research institutes, community organizations and many individual researchers are already shedding light on these issues. However, there are still challenges ahead to ensure that OLMCs and their partners can work together to produce knowledge. For purposes of accountability and of research and evaluation, shared governance is needed. Increased efforts in terms of coordination and financial support are necessary to evaluate knowledge, make it accessible to a broad audience and increase the theoretical as well as the applied research effort. Universities, government and the communities themselves must cooperate more closely and, to achieve this, those involved in the communities must enhance their capabilities in research and performance measurement.

To conclude, the communities have good reason—and up to a point, the resources—to take charge of knowledge about their vitality. Such empowerment is a *sine qua non* for reinforcing vitality and achieving the equality stipulated by the Act. Resources already in place can be called upon, others are visible on the horizon and a host of new resources are being developed as part of a process of shared governance. At the end of the day, empowerment depends on the extent of the communities' commitment to take charge of their destiny, but it also depends on the support they receive from the government institutions, which are constitutionally responsible to a greater extent than ever since the amendments to the Act in November 2005. Adding in the expertise of interested researchers completes the makings of the concerted effort needed to move forward on community vitality.

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$\mathcal{G}$LOSSARY

Acculturation: A process of borrowing, exchanging, reinterpretation and renewal through the contact of cultures.

Community: A group of individuals having continuous interactions (objective aspect) and who share a common interest and sense of belonging (subjective aspect).

Community of interest: A group of individuals with shared characteristics (in this case, language) and an interest in them.

Community, history: See *historical community*.

Community, territory: See *territorial community*.

Cultural capital: Symbolic resources such as values, representations and ideologies, dialects, memory and heritage, especially as expressed in the practice of artistic and cultural creation.

Demographic capital: The resources of a given population as regards its composition in terms of strength (number, relative proportion) as affected, among other things, by fertility, aging, migration and immigration, as well as linguistic mobility.

Ethnic group: A group of individuals that identify, in a variable manner, with certain common characteristics (e.g. language, culture, race, religion, origins).

Ethnolinguistic vitality: Composed of structural factors that ensure that the linguistic group is maintained as a distinct and active entity in its contacts with other groups (according to Giles, Taylor and Bourhis, 1977, adapted by Landry, 2005a).

Evaluation: Assigning a value judgement to a given element (action, program, policy, etc.) on the basis of a systematic observation, which assumes that the overall values that direct the judgement and the goals of the subject of the evaluation are known.

First language: "The first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual at the time of the Census" (Statistics Canada).

First official language spoken: A category based on several language variables in the Census questionnaire: knowledge of official languages, mother tongue and language spoken at home. The first step in the derivation of this variable is to examine the respondent's answers provided on knowledge of English and French. A person who speaks only English has English assigned as first official language while a person who speaks only French has French assigned. If the person speaks both English and French, then the mother tongue is examined. If the mother tongue is English, then English is considered the first official language. Thus, a person who speaks English and French, and whose mother tongue is French, would have French assigned as the first official language (Public Service Human Resources Management Agency of Canada).

Governance: "Governance is the ability to ensure effective co-ordination when resources, power and information are widely distributed" (Paquet, 2003).

Governance, shared (or joint): See *shared (or joint) governance.*

Historical community: A community whose narrated history continues to mark its collective identity.

Human capital: "The knowledge, skills, competence and other attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social and economic well-being" (OECD, 2001).

Index: A unit of measure that provides a summary of several indicators in order to illustrate a trend.

Indicator: A quantitative or qualitative unit of information, which is used as a tool to measure by approximation the expression of a changing reality.

Institution: An organization having legitimacy in relation to OLMCs, a political or legal recognition of a given duration, and an influence on collective decisions.

Institutional completeness: Greater or lesser presence of formal organizations in a community that offer services to its members, ranging from an absence of institutions (the existence of informal relations only) to a set of formal organizations having the effect of supporting some or most social relationships of members within the community (according to Breton, 1964). This concept initially applied to ethnic communities, but was popularized by research on Francophone minorities.

Intergenerational linguistic transmission: "Transmission of a first language from one generation to another" (Statistics Canada).

Knowledge of official languages: "Indicates whether the respondent has the ability to conduct a conversation in English only, in French only, in both English and French or in neither of the official languages of Canada" (Statistics Canada).

Language spoken at home: "The language spoken most often at home by the individual at the time of the Census" (Statistics Canada).

Language spoken at home on a regular basis: "Other language that the respondent speaks regularly at home at the time of the Census without being the predominant language" (Statistics Canada).

Linguistic community: Term used by the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982 to designate the New Brunswick Anglophone and Francophone communities.

Linguistic continuity: The relationship between the number of persons who speak the language most often at home and the number of persons for whom the same language is also their first language. See *intergenerational linguistic transmission.*

Linguistic landscape: "The linguistic landscape is composed of the language on road signage, geographic names, signage on administrative buildings (schools, hospitals, Courts of Justice, ministries) and business signage" (Bourhis and Landry, 2002).

Linguistic transfer: "Indicates the use of a language other than the first language most often at home" (Statistics Canada).

Linguistic vitality: Duration of a language in time, determined by its distribution in space and the number and importance of its functions (definition inspired by Mackey, McConnell and Gendron, 1988).

Official language: Language, the use of which is recognized in the laws of a country. In Canada, the two official languages are English and French.

Official language collectivity: The Francophone majority in Quebec or the Anglophone majority elsewhere in Canada, pursuant to the *Constitution Act, 1982* and the *Official Languages Act* of 1988.

Official language majority or minority: See *Official language minority community* and *Official language collectivity.*

Official language minority community: Term in common use in the federal public administration to designate the Anglophone minority or the Francophone minorities in accordance with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* of 1982 and the *Official Languages Act* of 1988.

Overall vitality of communities: The development conditions for communities and their prospects for the future (Gilbert and Langlois, n. d.).

Political capital: The resources of power and influence, composed of legal rights, institutions, elected representatives and networks.

Rooted community: An ethnic notion of a group or community with common origins: English, French, Albanian, Irish, Ukrainian, etc.

Shared (or Joint) governance: the different ways in which governments and communities (or civil society) work together to prepare public policies and program management, in this case in the area of official languages.

Social capital: "The networks and social ties that are more or less active by means of which an individual or a community can gain access to resources (economic, political, cultural or human) that are required to achieve certain objectives" (Forgues, 2004).

Subjective vitality: the perceptions individuals have of the vitality of language in their community (Landry, 2005).

Territorial community: A community that shares a given geographic area.

Vitality, ethnolinguistic: See *ethnolinguistic vitality.*

Vitality, linguistic: See *linguistic vitality.*

Vitality, overall: See *overall vitality of communities.*

Vitality, subjective: See *subjective vitality.*

APPENDIX A

Chronological Table of Key Documents on Official Language Minority Communities

Period	Events / Official Languages	Authors	Key contribution	Vitality factors (see codes below) cultural	demographic	economic	institutional	linguistic	political	social	spatial	linguistic landscape	psychological
1960	1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism												
		B&B Commission (1967)	ACE	ACE	AE		ACE	ACE	ACE				
		Breton, R. (1964)	CE				CE			CE			
	1969 Official Languages Act	Joy (1967, 2nd ed. 1972)	CE		E			E			C		
1970	1971 Multiculturalism Act	De Vries (1971)	AE	AE	AE			AE					
	1973 Parliamentary resolution	De Vries, Vallee (1975).	AE	AE	AE			AE					
	1976 Founding of the Fédération des francophones hors Québec / election of Parti Québécois												
	1977 Charter of the French Language	Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977)	MC	MC	MC		MC	MC	MC	MC			
	1978 Support for the Court Challenges Program	Joy (1978)	AE	AE	AE								
	1979 Creation of the Official Languages in Education Program												
1980	1980 Joint Committee on Official Languages	De Vries, Vallee (1980)	AE	AE	AE								
		Lachapelle, Henripin (1980)	AE	AE	AE			AE					
	1981 National Program for the Integration of Both Official Languages in the Administration of Justice												

Contribution codes: A = analysis of existing data; **C** = conceptual input; **E** = production of new empirical data; **I** = development of indicators; **M** = development of complex theoretical model

Period	Events / Official Languages	Authors	Key contribution	cultural	demographic	economic	institutional	linguistic	political	social	spatial	linguistic landscape	psychological
	1982 Alliance Quebec founded	Caldwell, Waddell (1982)	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A			
	1982 *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*	CROP (1982)	E	E				E		E			E
	1983 Evaluation of the Official Languages Program	Louder, Waddell (1983).	A	A		A	A	A	A		A		
		Prujiner (1984)	AC					AC					
		Laponce (1984).	A		A		A		A				
	1985 Committee of Deputy Ministers on Official Languages	Breton, R. (1985)					A	A	A				
		Bastarache (1986)	A				A	A					
		De Vries (1986)	AE		AE								
		Allard and Landry (1987)	AE					AE		AE			AE
		Castonguay (1987)	AE		AE								
	1988 *Official Languages Act*	Locher (1988)	AE		AE		AE						AE
	1988 First Canada-community Agreement (Saskatchewan)	Bernard (1988)	A	A	A		A			A			
		McConnell, Gendron (1988)	ME				ME	ME		A			
		Lachapelle (1989)	AE		AE			AE					
		Thériault (1989)	A	A			A			A			
		Grenier (1989)	AE		AE			AE					
1990	1990 Mahé decision	Bernard – FJCF (1990)	A	A			A	A					
	1990 French-language school board of Prince Edward Island	Dallaire, Lachapelle (1990)	AE		AE			AE					
		Acord (1991)	MEI	MEI	MEI	MEI	MEI	MEI	MEI	MEI			
		Bernard – FJCF (1991)	AEI	AE	AEI		AE	AE			AEI		AE

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Period	Events / Official Languages	Authors	Key contribution	cultural	demographic	economic	institutional	linguistic	political	social	spatial	linguistic landscape	psychological
		Bernard – FJCF (1992)	A	A	A		A	A	A	A	A		
		Bourhis, Fishman (1994)	AE	AE		AE	AE			AE			
		Beaudin (1994)	E		E	E							
		Breton, R. (1994)	C	C						C			C
		Caldwell (1994)	A	A	A	A	A		A				
		Cardinal et al. (1994)	AE	AE			AE	AE	AE				
		Harwood, Giles, Bourhis (1994)	MC		MC		MC		MC	MC		MC	
1996 Shared governance in human resources		Beaudin et al. (1996)	E			E	E		E	E			
		Landry, Bourhis (1997)	ACE					AE				ACE	AE
		Grenier (1997)	E			E							
		Warnke-VEQ (1997)	E		E			E					
		Castonguay (1998)	AE		AE			AE					
		Beaudin (1998)	E			E	E		E	E			
		Breton, A. (1998)	AC			AC	AC	AC					
		Churchill (1998)	A				A	A	A	A			
		Kymlicka (1998)	A				A	A	A	A			
		Mackey (1998)	A			A	A	A	A	A			
		O'Keefe (1998)	A		A	A	A	A	A				
		Andrew (1999)	A			A	A		A				
1999 Beaulac decision		Landry, Allard (1999)	CE	CE	E	E	E	E					
		Aunger (1999)	AE	AE	AE	AE	AE	AE		AE			
		Beaudin (1999)	E		E	E	E	E					
		Breton A. (1999)	AC	AC		AC	AC	AC					

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Period	Events / Official Languages	Authors	Key contribution	cultural	demographic	economic	institutional	linguistic	political	social	spatial	linguistic landscape	psychological
		Gilbert (1999)	AE	AE	AE	AE		AE			AE		
		Heller (1999)	ACE	ACE			ACE	ACE		ACE			
		Thériault (1999)	AC	AC			AC		AC	AC			
2000	2000 Shared governance in health	FFHQ (2000)	E		E	E	E	E					
		Gilbert and Langlois (2000)	AEI		AEI	AEI		AEI			AEI		
		Langlois (2000)	ACE	ACE	ACE						ACE		
		Labrie, Erfurt, Heller (2000)	ACE	ACE			ACE	ACE	ACE	ACE			
		Stebbins (2000)	AE	AE			AE			AE			
	2001 Minister responsible for Official Languages	Martel (2001)	AE	AE	AE		AE	AE	AE	AE			
	2002 Montfort decision	Foucher (2002)	A				A	A	A				
	2002 Creation of House of Commons and Senate Standing Committees on Official Languages	Floch (2002)	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E	E		
		Heller (2002b)	AC	AC			AC	AC					
	2002 Shared governance in immigration	Jedwab (2002b)	E	E	E		E	E	E	E			
		Magord, Landry et al. (2002)	AE	AE		AE	AE	AE	AE	AE			AE
	2003 Action Plan for Official Languages	Castonguay (2003)	AE		AE			AE					
		Heller (2003)	CE	CE		CE	CE	CE		CE	CE		CE
		Landry (2003)	AE	AE	AE		AE	AE	AE	AE			AE
		Landry, Rousselle (2003)	MA	MA	MA		MA	MA	MA				MA
	2004 Treasury Board: Policies and Guidelines	Martel (2003)	A	A			A	A		A			
		Landry et al. (2004)	MC	MC	MC		MC	MC		MC			MC

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Period	Events / Official Languages	Authors	Key contribution	cultural	demographic	economic	institutional	linguistic	political	social	spatial	linguistic landscape	psychological
		Marmen, Corbeil (2004)	AE	AE	AE			AE					
		Bourhis, Lepicq (2004)	CE				E	E				CE	
		Allain (2004)	AE	AE			AE		AE	AE			
		FCFA (2004)	E	E	E	E	E	E		E			
		Gilbert et al. (2004)	M		M		M		M	M	M		M
		Haentjens (2004)	AE	AE			AE		AE				
		Pocock / CHSSN (2004)	EI		EI	EI	EI	EI		EI			EI
	2005 Update on the Implementation of the Action Plan for Official Languages: Mid-term Report	Aunger (2005)	AE		AE	AE	AE	AE					
		Beaudin (2005)	AE		AE	AE	AE	AE		AE	AE		
		Cardinal, Juillet (2005)	AE				AE		AE	AE			
		Gilbert (2005)	MEI		MEI	MEI		MEI			MEI		
		Heller (2005)	AE	AE		AE		AE	AE	AE	AE		
		RDÉE (2005)	EI		EI	EI		E					

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List of Canadian Research Centres and Institutes Studying Official Language Minority Communities

1. Centres and Institutes

Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities (CIRLM), Université de Moncton (**www.umoncton.ca/icrm**l)

Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development: now the Canadian Institute for Research on Public Policy and Public Administration, Université de Moncton (**www.umoncton.ca/ICRDR**)

Centre canadien de recherche sur les francophonies en milieu minoritaire, Institut français, University of Regina (Centre for Research on Minority Francophone Communities) (**www.uregina.ca/institutfrancais**)

Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française, University of Ottawa (Centre for Research on French Canadian Culture) (**www.uottawa.ca/academic/crccf**)

Centre de recherche en linguistique appliquée, Université de Moncton (Centre for Research in Applied Linguistics) (**www.umoncton.ca/crla**)

Centre de recherche et de développement en éducation, Université de Moncton (Centre for Research and Development in Education)

Centre de recherches en éducation franco-ontarienne (CREFO), University of Toronto (Centre for Research in Franco-Ontarian Education) (**www.oise.utoronto.ca/crefo**)

Centre interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les activités langagières (CIRAL), Université Laval (Interdisciplinary Research Centre on Language Activities) (**www.ciral.ulaval.ca**)

Centre international de common law en français (CICLEF), Université de Moncton (International Centre for Common Law in French) (**www.umoncton.ca/droit/ciclef.html**)

Centre on Governance, University of Ottawa (**www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/governance**)

Eastern Townships Research Centre, Bishop's University (**www.etrc.ca**)

Institut franco-ontarien, Laurentian University (**www.ifo.laurentienne.ca/IFO.html**)

Institut Joseph-Dubuc, Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface
(**www.ustboniface.mb.ca/cusb/institut**)

Institut pour le patrimoine de l'Ouest canadien, Faculté Saint-Jean, University of Alberta
(Western Canadian Heritage Institute) (**www.csj.ualberta.ca/ippf**)

Interdisciplinary Research Centre on Citizenship and Minorities (CIRCEM),
University of Ottawa (**www.circem.uottawa.ca**)

Missisquoi Institute (**www.chssn.org/en/missisquoi.html**)

2. Chairs

Chaire Concordia-UQAM en études ethniques (Chair of Ethnic Studies), Richard
Bourhis, Concordia University-UQAM (**http://www.unites.uqam.ca/chaire-ethnique**)

Chaire d'études acadiennes (Chair of Acadian Studies), Maurice Basque, Université de
Moncton (**www.umoncton.ca/etudeacadiennes/chaire/CHEA.html**)

Chaire de recherche du Canada en administration publique et gouvernance (Canada
Research Chair in Public Administration and Governance), Donald J. Savoie, Université
de Moncton (**www.chairs.gc.ca**)

Chaire de recherche du Canada en oralité des francophonies minoritaires d'Amérique
(Canada Research Chair in the Oral Traditions of Francophone Minorities in America),
Jean-Pierre Pichette, Université Sainte-Anne (**www.chairs.gc.ca**)

Chaire de recherche sur la francophonie et les politiques publiques (Research Chair on
La Francophonie and Public Policy), Linda Cardinal, University of Ottawa
(**http://www.socialsciences.uottawa.ca/crfpp/eng/index.asp**)

Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique
du Nord (CEFAN) (Chair for the Development of Research on Francophone Culture in
North America), Simon Langlois, Université Laval (**www.fl.ulaval.ca/cefan/index.htm**)

Research Chair in Canadian Francophonie, Nathalie Bélanger, University of Ottawa
(**http://www.research.uottawa.ca/perspectives/bravo_article-e.php?cid=56**)

Research Chair in Identity and Francophonie, Joseph Yvon Thériault, University of Ottawa (**www.sciencessociales.uottawa.ca/crif**)

3. Community Organizations

Alliance canadienne des responsables, des enseignantes et des enseignants en français (ACREF) (Canadian Alliance on the Teaching of French) (**www.franco.ca/acref**)

Alliance des femmes de la francophonie canadienne (Alliance of Canadian Francophone Women) (AFFC) (**www.fnfcf.ca**)

Assemblée des aînées et aînés francophones du Canada (AAAFC) (Canadian Assembly of Francophone Seniors)

Association de la presse francophone (APF) (Francophone Press Association) (**www.apf.ca**)

Association des radios communautaires (ARC) (Association of Community Radio Stations) (**www.radiorfa.com**)

Canadian Teachers Federation (**www.CTF-FCE.ca**)

Commission nationale des parents francophones (National Council of Francophone Parents) (**www.cnpf.ca**)

Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN) (**www.chssn.org**)

Community Table of the National Human Resources Development Committee for the English Linguistic Minority (**www.buildingcommunities.ca**)

Consortium national de formation en santé du Canada (CNFS) (National Consortium on Medical Training) (**www.cnfs.ca**)

Fédération canadienne d'alphabétisation en français (Canadian Federation for Literacy in French) (**www.fcaf.net**)

Fédération culturelle canadienne-française (FCCF) (French-Canadian Cultural Federation) (**www.fccf.ca**)

Fédération de la jeunesse canadienne-française (FJCF) (Federation of French-Canadian Youth) (**www.fjcf.ca**)

Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada (FCFA) (Federation of Francophone and Acadian Communities in Canada) (**www.fcfa.ca**)

Fédération nationale des conseils scolaires francophones (National Federation of French-Language School Boards (**www.fncsf.ca**)

Holland Centre, Quebec (**www.hollandcentre.ca**)

Quebec Community Groups Network, Montréal (QCGN) (**www.qcgn.ca**)

Quebec English School Boards Association (QESBA) (**http://www.qesba.qc.ca**)

Réseau d'enseignement francophone à distance (REFAD) (Francophone Distance Education Network) (**www.refad.ca**)

Réseau de développement économique et d'employabilité (RDÉE) (Francophone Economic Development and Employability Network) (**www.rdee.ca**)

Réseau de la recherche sur la francophonie canadienne (Canadian Francophonie Research Network) (**www.rrfranco.ca**)

4. Government Research

Canadian Heritage, Official Languages Support Programs Branch (**www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/pubs/index_e.cfm**)

Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC) (**www.cric.ca**)

Coordinating Committee on Official Languages Research (**www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/olo/default.asp?Language=E&page=researchrecherche**)

Intergovernmental Francophone Affairs (**www.afi-ifa.ca/English/index/index.cfm**)

Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (**www.ocol-clo.gc.ca**)

Statistics Canada (**www.statcan.ca**)