259. Wherever he may live, man comes into almost daily contact with government. Generally he does so through employees or representatives of various governments; for example, he deals with the postman or the customs officer, the public school teacher, the policeman, the public health officer, and so on. Most of the time he does so without noticing that he is moving from one level of government to another.

Governments influence language

260. Because he has to communicate in speech or writing, the language question arises each time. In a unilingual area there is no problem. However, when there are two languages in the same area—and especially when one is a minority language—difficulties can arise in a hundred different ways. For example, there is the person who speaks only the language of the minority and who cannot talk to his neighbours of the other language. Then there is the person with only a rudimentary knowledge of the majority language, who necessarily finds communication in it difficult and incomplete. Others, who can speak both languages adequately, are unwilling to have to set aside their own, which is also official, in dealing with a government. Acute tensions often result. When it becomes usual for the language of the minority to receive little or no recognition in a given region, the minority reluctantly falls into line. It is especially in these situations that governments exert an influence on language: they bring all their weight to bear on the side of the majority language, thereby hastening the linguistic assimilation of the minority.

261. It is not easy to measure this influence; in fact, it can seem minimal if each contact is considered separately. For a Francophone to be forced to exchange a few words in English, if he can, with a postal clerk or a railway employee may seem of no great concrete importance. But if we add up the number of times a citizen must use language when dealing with the various agencies of government—if we consider the decisive

role language plays in the schools, if we think of the influence of the mass media controlled by the state—then we must conclude that the influence of public authorities on the use of language is deep and strong.

262. In seeking improved conditions for minority-language groups, we must therefore think first of action by government in all its forms. Language reforms at the federal, provincial, and local levels will all be necessary, since only co-ordinated and simultaneous action in all three fields can make measures in each fully effective. The provision of federal government services in both official languages would be useful, but such measures would be incomplete if the many vital responsibilities of provincial and local governments were disregarded. Our task is "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership." This principle cannot be applied to the federal government alone; the "existing state of bilingualism . . . in Canada" must mean much more than the existing state of bilingualism within the federal government's sphere of responsibility.

263. Thus the Commission is following its terms of reference in addressing itself to all three levels of government, even though in so doing it will be formulating recommendations for governments which did not request them.[1] We proceed in full knowledge of this fact. Nor do we forget that each provincial government, like the federal government, is sovereign in its own field, and that the local governments receive their authority from the provinces.

264. Naturally we shall not propose the creation of new services (in the way that postal service, hospitalization, or unemployment insurance are services offered to the public). We shall deal with the language in which these services are or will be provided—that is, with the language régimes which will prevail at the three levels of government.

The plan of this chapter

265. In this chapter we shall describe the linguistic régimes which we believe will be appropriate for each level of government.[2] Next, we shall deal with the necessity of establishing regional language areas which we shall call bilingual districts. These districts will be of major importance in our total plan. Finally, we shall touch briefly on the special language problems associated with the existence of the federal capital. The topics of the four sections of this chapter will thus be the language régimes for the federal level, the provincial level, the bilingual districts, and the federal capital.

[1] However, the provincial governments agreed to collaborate with our inquiry on the subject of education.

[2] We shall not deal with the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. These vast, thinly-populated territories, which are under federal jurisdiction, have their own political structures and are changing rapidly. Thus we believe it advisable to leave the federal government to decide the practical implications for these areas of the proposals we are going to make for the rest of the country.

A. At the Federal Level

266. Only federal institutions are common to all Canadians. Since they belong to all of us, French- and English-speaking alike, they must faithfully reflect Canada's linguistic duality throughout the country.

267. We do not conclude, however, that official bilingualism must operate to the same degree everywhere. Rather, the same right must exist everywhere; the protection offered by the right will come into effect whenever circumstances warrant, in accordance with criteria we shall propose.

268. No other part of the Commission's terms of reference appears to us to be more urgent. If we wish "to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership" between the two founding peoples, bilingualism becomes essential first in the institutions shared by all Canadians. This conclusion is inescapable. Any other way of imagining the future of our country would show a total lack of concern for equality. Equality is unthinkable if there is even one part of the country where the status of French as well as that of English remains open to dispute in the federal sphere.

269. The Constitution formally recognized both French and English in 1867 in the federal field (and in Quebec). However, it has become evident to us that this recognition was incomplete in many respects and often disputed where the French language was concerned. If the principle of equality is accepted today, this situation must be changed without delay, and the equal status of the two languages must be established without shadow of doubt. The implicit must become explicit. This is the foundation upon which the federal language régime of the future can be built.

270. Therefore, **we recommend that English and French be formally declared the official languages of the Parliament of Canada, of the federal courts, of the federal government, and of the federal administration.**

271. This equality of the French and English languages must be complete and must apply also to all bodies and agencies deriving from Parliament and the federal government. It must be indisputable; otherwise we shall simply revert to the arguments of the past. The consequences of applying this principle at the federal level are substantial.

272. No Canadian, French-speaking or English-speaking, will feel that the language of his group is considered equal to the other official language if he does not find it used in such basic institutions as Parliament and the Supreme Court, in the statutes and important regulations governing his activities, and in all the documents of general interest that the central government issues. Both languages are used in

these fields, but much more remains to be done. Neither Francophone nor Anglophone can feel that he lives in a bilingual country where the two official languages are treated as equal, if his own language does not occupy an honourable place, in law and in practice, in the federal government and the central administration of the country, in the army, and in the image which Canada projects abroad.

The sense of identification

273. These are the minimum requirements to be respected. Some at first glance appear quite distant from the citizen's daily concerns; for example, most Canadians will never attend the debates in Parliament or be involved in a case before the Supreme Court; many will have no contact with the army or with the embassies. However, it would be quite wrong to consider that these institutions do not personally concern every Canadian. For there are such things as the sense of belonging, and of needing to identify with the most prestigious or simply the most visible institutions of the society to which one belongs. Beyond simple allegiance to one's country, there is the dimension of identification. To ensure this sense of identification, each of the two official languages must have its due place in the principal institutions of the federal government. For we must remember that language is more than a means of communication; it is the means by which the individual expresses his personality, shares in the activities and feels a part of his environment.

At home

274. Undoubtedly an English-speaking Canadian will have difficulty in grasping the importance of this identification because for him it is so easy and spontaneous. An Anglophone, greeted in English when he visits Parliament, feels at home; if a Francophone—even one who understands English perfectly—heard only English in "his" Parliament, that Parliament would seem foreign to him.

Abroad

275. Similarly, in its contacts with other countries, the federal government must assert the bilingual character of Canada, and this involves much more than our embassies. All departments and federal agencies dealing with foreign countries—such as External Affairs, Trade and Commerce, Industry, Manpower and Immigration, Labour, Finance, and National Defence; Air Canada, the CBC, and the National Film Board—must be able to do so in French and English.

Agreements with the provinces

276. The federal government constantly makes agreements with the provinces. At present, in the provinces with an English-speaking majority, the documents are drawn up in English only; agreements with Quebec are drawn up sometimes in both official languages, sometimes only in French, sometimes only in English. We do not feel this is proper, at least when important agreements are concerned. Either all agreements should be drawn up in both official languages or the policy should be to use, in all negotiations and drafting, the language of the

provincial majority—that is, French for Quebec and English for the other provinces. Or, perhaps, in officially bilingual provinces, both should be used.

277. Other requirements are of a more immediate, practical nature. The administration in Ottawa must be able to communicate adequately with the public in both languages. All government publications, as well as forms and notices, must be simultaneously available in either language. Federal government offices and Crown corporations across the country must be able to deal with people in either French or English. For example, in the immigration and customs offices at all ports of entry, in important transportation terminals, on Canadian National's trains, and on Air Canada's airplanes[1]—everywhere, even in the completely unilingual sections of the country, where there is contact with the travelling public—services should be available in both languages as a matter of course.

278. The federal government has at its disposal other means of recognizing the two official languages. It is in a position to use agreements and contracts negotiated with provinces, municipalities, and private organizations to require compliance with its own laws—for example, with respect to minimum wages. We think it should do the same in the field of bilingualism.

279. These changes can be made without forcing a single citizen, Francophone or Anglophone, to learn the other official language. For the most part these changes will cost little. We shall deal in another Book with the more far-reaching changes needed in the Public Service.[2]

B. At the Provincial Level

280. We wish to repeat that our mandate leads us to formulate recommendations to provincial governments which did not request them. In this respect these recommendations are different from those

[1] Language use in privately owned public services will be dealt with in another Book.

[2] Canadians seem generally to be in agreement that federal services should be available in both languages. This is revealed in the results of a cross-country survey conducted for the Commission by the Social Research Group in the summer of 1965. Several thousand people in all provinces were chosen by scientific sampling methods so as to be representative of the Canadian population. They were personally interviewed in their homes by the field staff of an independent survey company about their attitudes on many questions. Concerning questions of language rights and use, 83 per cent of the respondents (77 per cent of the English-speaking Canadians and 96 per cent of the French-speaking Canadians) thought "All citizens of Canada should be able to deal with the federal government either in French or in English, whichever they choose." The proportion of French-speaking Canadians agreeing with this statement remained noticeably the same throughout the country, while the proportion of English-speaking Canadians varied from 90 per cent in Quebec, to 81 per cent in Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces, to 73 per cent in the four western provinces.

directed to the federal government. Nevertheless, our recommendations to the provinces remain recommendations in the fullest sense and represent our conviction that their implementation is necessary if the objectives stated in our terms of reference are to be realized.

281. The provinces are much more than simple geographic units; they are an essential element of the federal system, and the B.N.A. Act grants them exclusive jurisdiction in several important fields of government. Indeed, these powers are such that some people consider the term "state" to be justified when referring to provinces.

282. A preliminary question emerges concerning the provinces: do French and English become official in all the provinces as soon as they are declared the two official languages of the country?

283. It seems that a large body of opinion is already prepared to accept this. In fact, the Social Research Group[1] found that 60 per cent of its respondents endorsed the statement: "English and French should be the two official languages of all provincial governments in Canada." Even though the question applied to all the provincial governments rather than to one or only some, we find it remarkable that 91 per cent of the French-speaking respondents and 48 per cent of the English-speaking were in favour. Among English-speaking Canadians, the percentage of favourable replies varied from 72 per cent in the Atlantic Provinces to 46 per cent in Quebec, 51 per cent in Ontario, and 37 per cent in the four western provinces.

284. After pondering the matter, we have come to a double conclusion. On one hand, all the provinces are parts of a bilingual country; all those who live in them have certain language rights deriving from official bilingualism at the federal level. Further, since every province has an official-language minority, we believe each should recognize the linguistic rights of this minority.

285. On the other hand—and this particularly impressed us in our travels across the country—each province has a very lively sense of its own individuality; this is true of most residents and still more so of the provincial governments. Further, one of the main reasons for the existence of provinces is their capacity for dealing with the particular needs of the people who live in them. In contrast with federal institutions, the institutions of any one province are not common to all Canadians. It is obviously important to take into account different provincial needs and conditions.

286. In summary, we believe all the provinces should accept official bilingualism in their jurisdictions, though to degrees which in practice will vary according to the prevailing demographic conditions. Once more, linguistic demography will be our guide.

[1] Already mentioned in the footnote to §279.

287. We begin by rejecting a proposition that in our eyes is unacceptable—that is, the provision of services in the minority language only to the extent that the minority requests. A system of that kind would constitute no real guarantee; it would be at the mercy of more or less arbitrary interpretation by the authorities of the day. Moreover, we have noted earlier that in a province where services have never or rarely been offered in the official language of the minority, the minority may by force of habit have resigned themselves to the situation even when they considered it unjust. We need more objective criteria than this, criteria founded on something more tangible. We therefore turn to the demographic map of Canada and the information it provides regarding the distribution of the larger official-language minorities.

1. Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario

288. The dominant fact of our population maps (Maps 1 and 2 in Chapter II) is the concentration of the official-language minorities (both French and English) in three provinces: Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario. It is immediately obvious that Anglophones are a minority in Quebec only. As for the French-speaking minorities—that is, the Francophones living outside Quebec—three-quarters of them live in Ontario and New Brunswick. In each of these three provinces the official-language minority represents a large community. The 1961 census shows:

697,402 Canadians in Quebec whose mother tongue is English;
425,302 Canadians in Ontario whose mother tongue is French;
210,530 Canadians in New Brunswick whose mother tongue is French.

Numerically, the French-speaking minority in New Brunswick is the smallest. Proportionally, however, it is the largest—35 per cent of the total population of that province. The official-language minorities in Quebec and Ontario, on the other hand, constitute 13[1] and 7 per cent of the population respectively.

289. The 853,000 people of French mother tongue living in provinces other than Quebec, together with the 697,000 of English mother tongue within Quebec, make a total of 1,550,000 Canadians of both official languages living in minority situations. Of these, 1,330,000 live in the three provinces mentioned above. If each of these provinces declared itself officially bilingual, 89 per cent of all Canadians belonging to official-language minorities would live in a province where their language was officially recognized.

[1] The mother-tongue criterion minimizes the size of the English-speaking minority; the majority of Canadians whose mother tongue is neither French nor English adopt English as their usual language, even in Quebec. *See* §51, and the footnote to §251.

290. If we consider the two linguistic groups in the country as a whole, the implications of such a declaration are striking. As far as Anglophones are concerned, the present situation would remain: *all English-speaking Canadians* would live in a province which recognizes English as an official language. The situation of the French mother-tongue minorities would be less ideal, for they live in all provinces. Nevertheless, *95 per cent of all Canadians of French mother tongue* live in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick—83 per cent in Quebec, 8 per cent in Ontario, and 4 per cent in New Brunswick.[1] Moreover, as we emphasized in Chapter II, most of the French-speaking citizens of Ontario and New Brunswick live in areas adjacent to Quebec: the geographical contiguity of French-speaking residents is almost unbroken. In these adjoining areas their linguistic and cultural vitality shows the most strength and durability. Here the rate of retention of French is the highest. Although French social institutions in these areas are sometimes embryonic, their development is more advanced than anywhere else outside Quebec. Finally, it is in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick that the linguistic majority groups seem, on the official level at least, to show the most understanding towards their official-language minorities. We are thus justified in concluding that in these three provinces the factors favouring official bilingualism are both numerous and strong.

291. At the moment Quebec is the only province in which the official-language minority receives full recognition. No matter what the historical or economic justification for this situation may be, it appears more and more of an anomaly. What is less and less acceptable is not so much that Quebec, with its large English-speaking minority, is officially bilingual, but that, despite their sizable French communities, Ontario and New Brunswick are not. This flagrant inequality must be corrected as soon as possible if we are really to achieve equal partnership in Canada.

292. In summary, many circumstances combine to make special cases of Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, and we should treat them as such. Canada's official-language minorities are concentrated in these provinces; the Francophones live in a certain geographic contiguity. Quebec is already officially bilingual. Proportionally, New Brunswick has the largest minority (35 per cent) of any province. In absolute figures the French mother-tongue minority is the most numerous in Ontario (425,000), where it is almost as large as the rest of the French-speaking minority throughout the country (428,000).

[1] Most of the remaining 5 per cent will be covered by other measures. *See* §§296 ff.

293. Therefore **we recommend that the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario themselves declare that they recognize English and French as official languages and that they accept the language régimes that such recognition entails.**

294. There are no constitutional obstacles to such a declaration since the provinces, with one exception, enjoy complete freedom in language matters. The exception is Quebec, which alone is subject to the provisions of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act.[1] We shall later propose an amendment to this section, to make it applicable in the future to New Brunswick and Ontario. However, it would be highly desirable for these two provinces to take the initiative and declare themselves officially bilingual as soon as possible. Constitutional amendments take time, especially when they require the unanimous consent of Parliament and the provincial legislatures. Meanwhile the proposed declaration would put the French-speaking minorities in New Brunswick and Ontario on a level of equality with the English-speaking minority in Quebec. It would also be the first step towards a new version of section 133, since it would assure the consent of the two provinces most directly concerned.

295. Moreover, the declaration would demonstrate forcefully that the French language in Canada is not confined to Quebec; there would be no further justification for speaking of the Quebec "reserve" or "ghetto." By accepting linguistic equality, both Ontario and New Brunswick could help change the climate in which many of the current discussions are taking place. New Brunswick would show it is not ignoring the substantial French-speaking minority living in the province. Ontario, a key province because of its role in history, its population, and its wealth, would be doing the same for a proportionally smaller French-speaking minority. The moral effect of such actions would go far beyond the boundaries of these two provinces.

2. The other provinces

296. Each of the remaining seven provinces has a French-speaking minority; together they contained about 216,000 citizens of French mother tongue in 1961, distributed as follows: Manitoba, 61,000; Alberta, 42,000; Nova Scotia, 40,000; Saskatchewan, 36,000; British Columbia, 26,000; Prince Edward Island, 8,000; Newfoundland, 3,000. Recalling the figures quoted for Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick is sufficient to show how the order of size has changed. We can also see how the numerical importance—in absolute numbers as we have just seen, or in percentage of the total population of the

[1] *See* §136.

province—varies greatly among provinces: Prince Edward Island, 8 per cent; Manitoba, 7 per cent; Nova Scotia, 5 per cent; Saskatchewan, 4 per cent; Alberta, 3 per cent; British Columbia, 2 per cent; Newfoundland, 1 per cent.

297. In none of these cases did the official-language minority seem large enough for us to suggest that these provinces give full effect to all the recommendations we are making for Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick. Nevertheless we believe that these French-speaking minorities have indisputable language rights by virtue of the principle of equality, and that the provinces consequently have certain immediate obligations to them.

A measurement for the future

298. The demographic situation is changing, however. The Canadian population is more and more on the move. At the moment this does not apply so much to French-speaking Canadians for various reasons, of which the most important may have to do with language. If the reforms we shall later propose (notably in the field of education) aid in the disappearance of the language obstacle, it will then be possible for larger numbers of French Canadians to live anywhere in the country. We can well imagine the day when the French-speaking minorities in one or more of the seven other provinces will become more numerous. What criterion should we then use to decide whether a province is to become officially bilingual: number or proportion?

299. Absolute figures can be very important. In the General Introduction we pointed out that certain undertakings become possible and certain institutions become viable when a group reaches a certain number, even if it forms only a slight proportion of the provincial population. Thus the French-speaking minority forms only 7 per cent of the population of Ontario, but represents a community of 425,000 people, while in Prince Edward Island 8 per cent of the population represents only 8,000 French-speaking citizens. Accordingly, we find in Ontario a French daily newspaper, several French radio and television stations, and two bilingual universities, while in Prince Edward Island equivalent facilities are simply not feasible.

300. The populations of the seven provinces in question are so unequal[1] that the criterion of absolute numbers could hardly have the same meaning for each of them. We would have to propose a different figure in each case. What would be the value of a criterion which changed from province to province? For these provinces, then, we must reject the criterion of absolute numbers.

301. This leaves the criterion of proportion, which we feel is more appropriate. Certainly the population of a province is considered and

[1] In 1961, the population of the smallest province of the seven, Prince Edward Island, was 105,000 and of the largest, British Columbia, 1,629,000.

assessed in terms of itself. Again comparing Prince Edward Island and Ontario, a population of nearly 8,000 is insignificant in the most populous province but counts for a great deal in the smallest one. We might thus lay down the following rule: provinces in which the official-language minority reaches or exceeds a certain percentage of the total population will become officially bilingual. This percentage would be the same for all provinces.

A proportion of 10 per cent

302. What percentage? Criteria, like the meaning of words, are by definition arbitrary. The choice in the present instance will depend on one's basic philosophy. At the beginning of Chapter IV we stated why the concept of official-language minority is to be respected. In this spirit we examined the various proportions suggested to us. These ranged from 5 to 20 per cent. We considered the first too low: generally, in a province where the official-language minority formed only 5 per cent of the population, the number of areas where its presence has any significance would really be too limited. It would be difficult for it to supply the number of skilled personnel necessary to establish a bilingual provincial system (for example, in the judiciary and in education). We reached this conclusion after examining the situation in each province. On the other hand, to require as much as 20 per cent appeared too demanding. If we applied it to every province, only New Brunswick would qualify, and neither Quebec nor Ontario would be officially bilingual. Even though we have adopted the criterion of absolute numbers instead of percentages for both Ontario and Quebec, the fact remains that the proportion of the English mother-tongue minority in Quebec is 13 per cent and that of the French mother-tongue minority in Ontario is 7 per cent. Therefore, it seems sensible to adopt the proportion of 10 per cent as a general rule.

303. Consequently **we recommend that any province whose official-language minority reaches or exceeds 10 per cent declare that it recognizes French and English as official languages and that it accepts the language régime that such recognition entails.**

304. It is possible that a situation similar to Ontario's—in which the consideration of absolute numbers should take precedence over that of percentage—may develop in the future. Such a specific case should then be examined on its merits.

3. The language régime for the officially bilingual provinces

305. We have now to consider the practical consequences for a province which declares itself officially bilingual: what language régime will be appropriate and what obligations will such a province have to assume?

Quebec's experience

306. A rapid examination of the only experience in official bilingualism undertaken by a Canadian province, Quebec, will be useful here. Quebec is officially bilingual by virtue of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act and a host of other laws and customs which go beyond the Constitution.

307. First we must state what this example does not mean. A century and more of official bilingualism has not made the majority of the inhabitants of Quebec bilingual. Indeed, 75 per cent of those people in Quebec whose mother tongue is French and 70 per cent of those whose mother tongue is English have remained unilingual.[1] The French-speaking majority has the lower percentage of bilingual persons, despite the dominance of English in North America and the exceptionally favourable social and economic position of the English-language minority in Quebec. Even with these two powerful advantages which English enjoys, three-quarters of the French-speaking majority in Quebec know only their mother tongue. From this we can certainly conclude that official bilingualism in a province, while presupposing a number of bilingual people in key positions, does not force the majority of its inhabitants to become bilingual. To recommend that French and English become official languages in Ontario and New Brunswick, as they are in Quebec, is therefore not to suggest that all citizens of these two provinces should or will become bilingual.

308. Still, expecting Ontario and New Brunswick to aim at a Quebec "model" is asking much of their governments. Quebec has allowed two educational systems, one in French and the other in English, to exist side by side at all levels, from kindergarten to university.[2] Parents of both language groups enjoy the right to have their children taught in their own language and in this sphere we have an example of complete equality.

309. Any citizen of Quebec, Francophone or Anglophone, may deal with all provincial agencies or departments in either language. Most of the Quebec government's official publications and forms appear in both languages. Under the Municipal Code either French or English may be used in council meetings; all documents and records including by-laws may be in either language but their publication must be in both languages unless the minister of Municipal Affairs has granted an exemption. For larger municipalities governed by the Cities and Towns Act, each council may determine its own proceedings but public notices must be given in French and in English.

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[1] These figures are based on data furnished to the Commission by D.B.S.

[2] As everyone knows, the present systems are divided primarily along confessional lines. Roman Catholics can be educated in either language, but French-speaking Protestants occupy a much smaller place in the Protestant system.

310. This does not at all prevent the cities and towns of Quebec from opting out of the legal requirements for bilingual by-laws without actual prejudice to their taxpayers, whenever the composition of their population so justifies. Even if Quebec's official bilingualism answers the needs of the important English-speaking minority as a whole, it is flexible enough to avoid useless expenditure of funds and energy where the local English-speaking minority is either very small or non-existent.

311. We cannot, however, draw absolute rules from Quebec practices because they have been evolving since the Conquest in 1760 and have been long accepted by custom. Furthermore, the conditions under which the minorities live, their size, and their general situation, as well as the prestige of the two languages, are not the same in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. In each province the proportion of bilingual people in both the majority and minority groups differs greatly. We know in advance, therefore, that the practical consequences of official bilingualism will not be the same in the three provinces. To attempt to predict the nature of these consequences would be sheer guesswork. However, despite the foreseeable regional variations, we propose to outline the minimum degree of recognition and services which a province will have to provide if it is to call itself officially bilingual.

A common language régime : 1. Equal status

312. In principle the two languages must have completely equal status in all three provinces, even though we know that in practice English will occupy a larger place in New Brunswick and still larger in Ontario, while French will predominate in Quebec. This means that the equality of the two languages is beyond dispute, but at the same time this equality will be realized only as circumstances permit. For example, the use of both English and French is permitted in the legislative assembly of Quebec; this is an absolute right.[1] However, since the French-speaking members outnumber the English-speaking members, in practice French dominates in the debates. Nevertheless, the right to speak both languages has a practical importance and a symbolic value. The English-speaking member can express himself in his own language, since he feels more comfortable using it, and in doing so he is exercising an established right: nobody can accuse him of speaking a "foreign" language. By possessing and exercising this right he is able to feel at home in a province whose majority is French-speaking.

2. The legislative function

313. An officially bilingual province must first legalize the use of both English and French in the debates of its legislature. As well, the laws and principal regulations of that legislature must be published in both languages and the same must apply to its records, minutes, and journals.

[1] The same now applies in the New Brunswick legislature as well.

3. In the public service

314. Being an officially bilingual province entails establishing in the provincial administration certain services in the minority language as they are needed in the central provincial administrative offices and in branches located in bilingual regions. The dominant working language of the public service in New Brunswick and particularly in Ontario will still be the language of the majority, as it is in Quebec. But each bilingual province will have to grant its minority the right to deal with the government in the official-minority language and to receive an answer from the provincial offices in this language.

4. In the judiciary

315. A province which has declared itself officially bilingual must also provide certain judicial services in the minority language, and take the necessary measures to assure that these services cover appeals to higher courts. As these will involve important changes—in the procedure of these courts and in the composition of the magistrature—it would be best to apply them progressively as cases come up from the lower courts.

316. Most of the obligations we have just listed—except those dealing with the legislature—are designed to assure these services to the members of the official-language minority principally in the bilingual regions. The implications will become clearer when we later examine "the bilingual district."

5. In education

317. The notion of an officially bilingual province necessarily entails further obligations in another field—that of education. We shall discuss these more fully in Chapter VI. However we must emphasize at this point that each bilingual province must organize its educational system to serve its two language communities.

On the practical level

318. We have described in general terms the language régime which will prevail in the officially bilingual provinces. Except for our proposals for the legislatures, which could be implemented quickly, neither New Brunswick nor especially Ontario could establish such a system overnight. In practical terms, the conversion of a province to an officially bilingual status means setting in motion a process by which the province progressively approaches the procedures and norms current in Quebec. New Brunswick and Ontario are being asked to show a readiness to undertake immediate reform in the legislatures and to begin a process which will introduce the system as soon as possible into the public administration, the courts, and education. The degree of effective bilingualism that these provinces attain will depend on the number and importance of the bilingual regions within their borders.

Predominance of the majority language

319. We stress again that the term "officially bilingual province" does not imply that most of the inhabitants must become bilingual. It is inevitable that the language of the majority will predominate, and that the degree of predominance will depend on numerical proportions.

Clearly, English will be more dominant in Ontario than in New Brunswick. This predominance should, in our view, have this consequence: even if the linguistic minority of a province finds itself in the majority in some region of the province, no part of Ontario or New Brunswick should be considered solely French-speaking, just as no part of Quebec should be regarded as solely English-speaking. All services offered to the public of a province must be available locally in the language of the provincial majority and also in that of the local majority. For example, although Francophones form 94 per cent of its population, the county of Madawaska in New Brunswick would be considered bilingual. However, services expressly directed to one of the two language groups—for example, in education—can be offered in one language (the language of the provincial majority or minority).

Quebec's particular responsibility

320. Quebec has the only government on this continent elected by a French-speaking majority. Its responsibility is therefore exceptional. The subject will recur constantly in this Report, but here it concerns the responsibility for an official language, for the quality of the language used, and for the practical and symbolic affirmation of French. We believe it would be in Quebec's own interest to scrutinize its language practices, especially in its relations with the federal government and with the other provinces. In §191 we noted that in concluding agreements with the other governments Quebec has been inconsistent in its choice of language. For example, it seems surprising that Quebec used only English in drafting certain agreements. It should be the general rule to use both languages in all important interprovincial documents involving Quebec and for all federal-provincial agreements. However, if all provinces with an English-speaking majority continue to deal with Ottawa in English only, then Quebec should do so in French. The important thing is that Quebec should have a clear and definite policy in these matters.

321. In our thinking on this subject we have largely followed the Quebec "model." Of course, nowhere in New Brunswick or Ontario is there a French-speaking population comparable to Montreal's large and socio-economically influential community of Anglophones. However we preferred to base our conclusions as far as possible on an actual and long-established pattern. We have emphasized that the Quebec system, while generous and coherent, has remained flexible and imposes no needless burden on anyone. Moreover, it is very complex, and quite different situations exist side by side. The English-speaking community of Montreal, with its collective wealth and remarkable institutions of all kinds, forms 71 per cent of Quebec's official-language minority; however, more than a quarter of this minority live in very

different conditions in the Eastern Townships, in Pontiac County, and in the Gaspé. If Ontario and New Brunswick agree to declare themselves officially bilingual, both might usefully examine more closely than we could the ways a wide variety of practical problems have been resolved in Quebec.

Negotiations between the provinces

322. We believe that it would be in the interest of the three provinces to consult and negotiate among themselves, within the framework of our recommendations. Through discussions in common, beginning at the highest level and continuing between the departments involved, they could, each without sacrificing any autonomy, define concretely the régimes that they expect to provide for their official-language minorities. They could discuss the help they might give each other in various fields. We hope that in this way the common future of the official-language minorities in the three provinces—where 89 per cent of their members live—may be decided with the greatest realism and generosity.

323. There is no escaping the fact that we are proposing major reforms for New Brunswick and Ontario. We are asking them to treat their official-language minorities as Quebec has treated hers for more than a century.

4. The language régime for the other provinces

324. Under our conception of the future Canada, these seven provinces will not have to adopt the kind of language régime we have outlined for Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario. This does not mean that they must be considered unilingual. They too must take steps based on the recognition that official-language minorities live within their borders. **We recommend that the provinces other than Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario declare that both English and French may be used in the debates in their legislatures and that these provinces provide appropriate services in French for their French-speaking minorities.** As a result of some of our later recommendations they also will be required to take steps with respect to bilingual districts and educational facilities for minorities.

325. Manitoba and Nova Scotia appear to us to be particular cases. The French-speaking people in Manitoba, some 61,000 persons, have a long history in the province and at one time enjoyed extensive educational and linguistic rights. The French-speaking community in Nova Scotia is relatively concentrated, has long-established roots in some regions, and has close practical ties with the French-speaking community in New Brunswick. Taking these factors into account, it may well be that the governments of these two provinces especially will wish to respond by steadily expanding the concrete measures proposed

here; they may of their own volition even wish to become "officially bilingual provinces" with the full language régimes thereby entailed.

326. All seven provinces have to take into account those localities where the minority is more heavily concentrated. To meet local situations, the provincial governments must equip themselves with a minimum of facilities in the second language, if only to communicate with certain local administrations. In many sectors a translation bureau will suffice; for the educational system much more will be needed. Obviously this question hardly arises in such a province as Newfoundland, where there were about 3,000 Canadians of French mother tongue (less than 1 per cent of the population) in 1961. The situation is more serious in Manitoba where the last census counted about 61,000 Francophones (7 per cent of the total population).

327. The French language is not equally known in every province. Hence, it will be difficult to carry out some of the reforms we believe necessary. The officially bilingual provinces, especially Quebec, could offer their help. We believe that it would be in the interest of the provinces to reach mutual agreements on exchange arrangements for the training of French-speaking personnel, particularly teachers. Pooling resources could bring better results than separate initiatives.

328. Although not so burdensome as it may first have sounded, the effort proposed for each province—especially for the officially bilingual provinces—will still be considerable. It presupposes that each province subscribes to the principle of equality. We do not see how this principle, if accepted, can be implemented unless the provinces accept the kind of language régime we have recommended.

C. The Bilingual Districts

329. Up to this point we have focussed on language practices at the federal and provincial levels. These practices will apply to the whole country or to the provinces chiefly through the centralized services of these jurisdictions and through citizens' direct contact with federal and provincial legislative and administrative centres. However necessary and beneficial these reforms might be, wherever they could be instituted, they would not by themselves assure genuinely equal opportunities for both official languages. We must also provide for a set of language practices of federal and provincial jurisdictions within the communities they serve. We must set out language laws and practices for school boards and other municipal institutions.

330. *Our aim is to encourage an active co-operation among all governments in providing services to the regional minority in its own language*. The objective is not so much the recognition of a specific

right as the linguistic reorientation of a number of institutions in the three levels of government. Their combined action will noticeably alter the living conditions of the minority in a defined area.

331. Consequently, we are going to propose the creation of "bilingual districts"—special areas within which a defined language régime would be established for federal, provincial, and local jurisdictions. These districts would be areas where the official-language minority is numerous enough to warrant the kind of linguistic reorientation we feel desirable. We will propose that they be defined essentially by regional clusters of the official-language minority. This geographic framework will thus be closely related to real language needs.

332. Several practical reasons make these consolidations desirable. Human resources certainly are richer and more diversified in a larger, homogeneous region than in an isolated municipality. Moreover, there is good reason to include as many regional, federal, provincial, and municipal services as possible to serve a minority that is numerically significant. For example, there are greater possibilities—and needs—for a secondary school system in the minority language in a region (such as the Ottawa-Saint Lawrence region in Ontario, or northern and eastern New Brunswick) with a sizable French-speaking population than in a rural parish where the French-speaking minority is isolated within an English-speaking region.

333. There are also sound psychological reasons for consolidating regional minorities. In parts of the country where the minority is important not only locally but regionally, the majority will be more aware of its minority. It will usually be easier to persuade the majority to recognize the minority's language in such an area than in parts of the country where the minority is almost invisible. The regional recognition of its language is very important to the minority, who will thus feel more accepted, settled, and stronger. The granting of clear, indisputable language rights to a minority beyond the jurisdictional limits of a municipality or school board will increase the vitality of the minority's culture.

334. We support, in principle, the use of existing local governmental boundaries, both to reduce confusion and to provide a base for proposing responsibilities to existing local governments. However, many natural language areas extend beyond these local boundaries, and each will have to be treated as an entity.

335. The bilingual district is neither a new jurisdiction nor, technically speaking, a new administrative structure. Rather it is designed to bring about linguistic co-operation in the services of existing governments. Our goal is to be just toward members of an official-language minority, without imposing too heavy obligations on the majority.

1. Determining boundaries of bilingual districts

336. To achieve this in a given area it is necessary to decide on rules for setting the boundaries of bilingual districts. We shall use the census division as the statistical base for discovering linguistic clusters, at least in an approximate sense. It is not technically an administrative division, since it is used only for the census, but it is a more accurate and stable base than most administrative divisions. One of its purposes is to report upon Canada's linguistic make-up; using it, we can follow locally from census to census the development of each official-language group.

337. Which census divisions provide a potential for the creation of districts? Obviously, those with sufficient members of an official-language minority, as indicated by census "mother tongue" figures. We shall suggest 10 per cent of the population as a criterion for this first stage. This will cover most members of English- and French-speaking minorities.[1]

Which census divisions?

338. Fifty-four census divisions satisfy this criterion. Forty-three are in the three officially bilingual provinces—Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick—and the remainder are in Nova Scotia (4), Prince Edward Island (1), Manitoba (4), Saskatchewan (1) and Alberta (1). In most cases—especially in the three officially bilingual provinces—these census divisions are adjacent to each other; thus the population groups are immediately evident.

Province	Census Division	No.	Percentage of official-language minority[a]
Prince Edward Island	Prince	2	16.3
Nova Scotia	Digby	6	37.7
	Inverness	10	23.4
	Richmond	15	46.7
	Yarmouth	18	32.8
New Brunswick	Gloucester	4	85.2
	Kent	5	81.9
	Madawaska	7	94.2
	Northumberland	8	26.7
	Restigouche	10	61.0
	Sunbury	12	10.5
	Victoria	13	37.5
	Westmorland	14	40.5

[1] The rights of the minority groups who live in municipalities outside bilingual districts are discussed in §§358 ff.

[2] Percentage by census division of population of English mother tongue in Quebec, and of French mother tongue in other provinces.

Province	Census Division	No.	Percentage of official-language minority
Quebec	Argenteuil	2	30.4
	Bonaventure	9	14.2
	Brome	10	52.4
	Chambly	11	24.0
	Châteauguay	15	29.8
	Compton	17	20.1
	Deux-Montagnes	18	17.9
	Gaspé-Est	22	15.5
	Gatineau	25	30.3
	Huntingdon	27	40.0
	Laprairie	34	13.4
	Missisquoi	43	21.4
	Île-de-Montréal	48	24.0
	Île-Jésus	49	13.9
	Papineau	52	12.9
	Pontiac	53	55.0
	Richmond	57	12.6
	Rouville	59	13.5
	Saguenay	60	10.6
	Sherbrooke	62	14.1
	Stanstead	64	23.0
	Saint-Jean	66	10.3
	Témiscamingue	68	10.7
	Vaudreuil	72	23.7
Ontario	Algoma	1	11.9
	Carleton	4	22.9
	Cochrane	5	46.1
	Essex	10	10.8
	Glengarry	12	47.5
	Nipissing	30	36.0
	Prescott	39	82.6
	Russell	43	77.4
	Stormont	45	36.6
	Sudbury	46	33.1
	Timiskaming	48	26.7
Manitoba	Census Division	1	31.1
	Census Division	3	12.0
	Census Division	6	14.3
	Census Division	19	13.9
Saskatchewan	Assiniboia	3	18.3
Alberta	St. Paul-Bonnyville	12	18.1

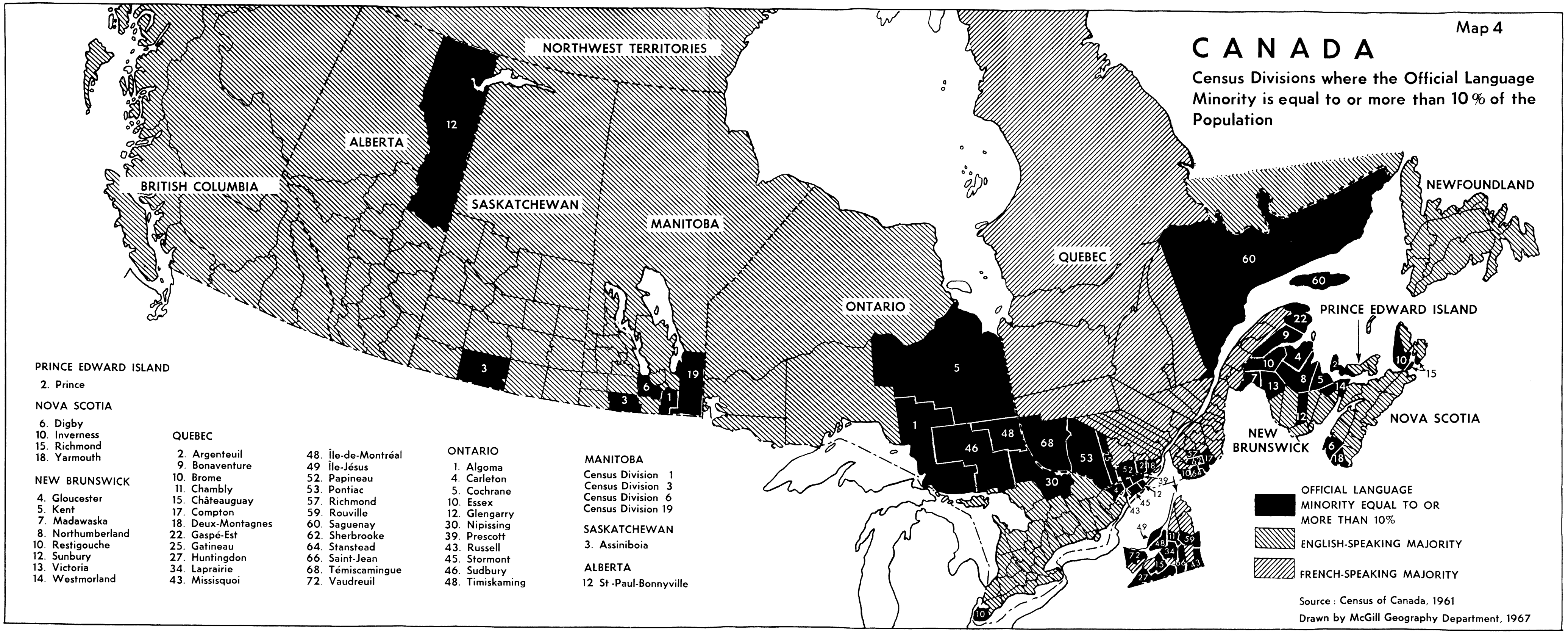
339. However, none of these census divisions[1] will *necessarily* form a bilingual district. Although the census division indicates the presence

[1] The term "census division" corresponds to "county" in eastern Canada. In western Canada, where there are no counties, "census divisions" are used.

Map 4

CANADA

Census Divisions where the Official Language Minority is equal to or more than 10 % of the Population



PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

2. Prince

NOVA SCOTIA

6. Digby
10. Inverness
15. Richmond
18. Yarmouth

NEW BRUNSWICK

4. Gloucester
5. Kent
7. Madawaska
8. Northumberland
10. Restigouche
12. Sunbury
13. Victoria
14. Westmorland

QUEBEC

2. Argenteuil
9. Bonaventure
10. Brome
11. Chambly
15. Châteauguay
17. Compton
18. Deux-Montagnes
22. Gaspé-Est
25. Gatineau
27. Huntingdon
34. Laprairie
43. Missisquoi
48. Île-de-Montréal
49 Île-Jésus
52. Papineau
53. Pontiac
57. Richmond
59. Rouville
60. Saguenay
62. Sherbrooke
64. Stanstead
66. Saint-Jean
68. Témiscamingue
72. Vaudreuil

ONTARIO

1. Algoma
4. Carleton
5. Cochrane
10. Essex
12. Glengarry
30. Nipissing
39. Prescott
43. Russell
45. Stormont
46. Sudbury
48. Timiskaming

MANITOBA

Census Division 1
Census Division 3
Census Division 6
Census Division 19

SASKATCHEWAN

3. Assiniboia

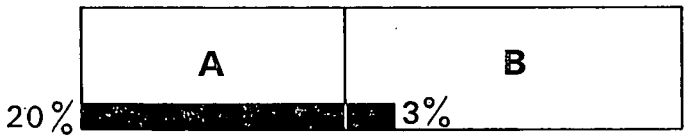
ALBERTA

12 St -Paul-Bonnyville

Source : Census of Canada, 1961

Drawn by McGill Geography Department, 1967

of French- and English-speaking minorities within a given area, it does not show their distribution. For example, two neighbouring divisions, A and B, might have official-language minorities forming 20 and 3 per cent of their populations respectively. On closer examination we may find that the minorities are not distributed at random; for example, most of them might be living in only one part of the area. We can express the situation graphically as follows:



If we chose the census division as the basis for creating a bilingual district, all of division A would likely become bilingual, and all of division B would remain unilingual. Our diagram shows that most of the members of the minority live in one section of division A and in the adjacent part of division B. Should official bilingualism be imposed on the unilingual parts of the former, and the bilingual fraction of the latter be ignored? We do not think so. In such a case, *all of the area marked in black, excluding the rest of divisions A and B, should become one bilingual district.* This theoretical example—simpler than the actual situation in most cases—shows how the census division will help determine the bilingual district, although in the end the boundaries of the two may be quite different.

340. To discover exactly where the official-language minority groups live in any particular census division, we must examine the population data for the census subdivisions (usually existing municipalities)[1] which comprise the census division. Thus, our second step would involve examining the composition of each subdivision in the 54 divisions. We propose that a subdivision with a minority of French or English mother tongue forming 10 per cent or more of its population be considered as a probable part of a bilingual district. This criterion of 10 per cent is arbitrary, as would be any criterion between 8 and 15 per cent. As we have said, we feel that an official-language minority must be recognized as soon as it is viable; of course, there is no magic figure over which a group is "viable." Cultural and linguistic survival depends upon many factors; doubtless the will to persist is the most important. However, we must establish a quantitative criterion, and we

[1] In all provinces, the subdivisions of census divisions or counties have consisted of various kinds of municipalities, depending on the form of municipal organization in a particular province. For our purposes the only relevant exception is Nova Scotia, where "census subdivisions" have been designated by D.B.S. With appropriate modification, however, the approach we have outlined can be applied everywhere.

believe that 10 per cent is reasonable. Once a detailed examination of the subdivisions has been made, it will be possible to draw the boundaries of the bilingual districts, which in effect would be a clustering of subdivisions with minority-language concentrations.

341. The actual creation of these districts and the precise definition of their boundaries would legally be the responsibility of provincial or federal authorities. The federal and interested provincial governments will have to agree on a common criterion for defining the boundaries of the bilingual districts. Therefore, **we recommend that bilingual districts be established throughout Canada and that negotiations between the federal government and the provincial government concerned define the exact limits of each bilingual district.**

342. We assume that this process will include consultations with local authorities. The importance of the role of local governments is continually increasing, especially in major urban centres. They are performing more and more functions and exercising more and more direct influence on the day-to-day life of their taxpayers; the success of many provincial measures will depend to a large degree on the extent of their collaboration. Therefore, those responsible at the federal and provincial levels must pay strict attention to these local aspects.

343. There will be two principal steps in the federal-provincial negotiations:

a) *Establishing the population base:*

1) Identification of the census divisions with an official-language minority of at least 10 per cent of the population.

2) Examination of the population data for the various subdivisions in each division to determine where the official-language minority is concentrated.

3) Examination of the population data of adjacent divisions. If in one or several adjacent divisions there are subdivisions where the minority-language population reaches or surpasses 10 per cent, such subdivisions should be considered eligible for inclusion in the bilingual district.

4) Delineation of the provisional boundaries of each bilingual district to include eligible subdivisions from steps 2) and 3) above.

b) *Comparison of provincial bilingual districts* with existing federal, provincial, and local administrative districts:

It may be objected that these administrative districts will rarely coincide either with each other or with the proposed bilingual district. Wherever the boundaries of a bilingual district can be adjusted to make it conform more closely with an appropriate

administrative district—federal, provincial or local—such adjustment should be made.[1] We can also foresee changes in the opposite direction. For example, it will frequently happen that an administrative region will be larger than the bilingual district, and the regional office will be located outside the limits of the bilingual district. In such a case the jurisdiction involved would have a choice of establishing a new administrative sub-region to coincide with the bilingual district, or arranging that services provided by the larger administrative region to the bilingual district would meet the necessary standards.

344. Once the final stage in the negotiations has been reached, the bilingual district can be formally established through a federal-provincial agreement.

345. We must anticipate two problems. First, it is proposed that those subdivisions with an official-language minority greater than 10 per cent be the main components of the bilingual district; but some municipalities in the immediate area may not meet this population criterion. Wherever possible, the districts should be formed so as to avoid including municipalities in which the minority is below 10 per cent. However, where the district boundaries cannot be so established, arrangements should also be made for such municipalities to carry on their distinctly municipal operations in only one language while still being included in the district for other local, provincial, and federal governmental services. The second problem concerns the size of the bilingual districts, which will obviously vary considerably. Flexibility in this matter will be required in the proposed negotiations. The Montreal region, for example, with one of the largest population concentrations in Canada, and with a complex and evolving local government structure, will require one approach; regions where the population is dispersed—such as those in Northern Ontario—will require a quite different treatment. In the negotiations, all factors will have to be carefully balanced.

[1] This is because of the very complex system found in any country with a federal system of government. In Canada it is also the result of the great number of administrative units and their criss-crossing. Generally each level of government independently establishes the regional borders it deems most suitable for its administrative purposes. Moreover, the governments permit most of their agencies in turn to establish independently, in their own spheres of authority, regional boundaries suited to their own administrative purposes. Crown corporations and semi-autonomous institutions also enjoy the same freedom. Facing this forest of non-coinciding administrative divisions, we do not now which regions we could choose for a language role at the expense of the others. This is why we have spoken about co-operation between the various levels of government in bilingual districts; it is also why such co-operation can only be realized in careful and gradual stages.

346. Federal-provincial accord on the question of district boundaries is clearly desirable and we feel that this can be attained. However, **should the negotiations between the federal government and a province break off before agreement, we recommend that each, acting in its own right, immediately declare officially bilingual, for its purposes, areas which it has itself delineated.** In that event we would not have a bilingual district in the full sense; however, at least part of the official-language minority would have some government services in its language.

347. Once established, the system need be re-examined only after each decennial census. For this purpose **we recommend the establishment of a federal-provincial review council whose main duties would be: a) to recognize as bilingual districts or as parts of bilingual districts new areas where the official-language minority attains or surpasses 10 per cent, and b) to remove from officially bilingual districts those areas where the numerical importance of the official-language minority has substantially decreased.**

348. To help stabilize the district and protect, within reason, its acquired rights, we suggest the establishment of a level below which a district would cease to be officially bilingual. This level could be 7 per cent. Thus, minor local fluctuations would not involve changing the system. On the other hand, a district would not continue to be artificially bilingual when its official-language minority had become insignificant in size. The Finnish experience has shown that such a system can function to the satisfaction of both the majority and the minority.

349. In every province the language of the provincial majority will of course be official in all services offered to the general public. The recommendations concerning bilingual districts simply establish the rights of the minority language, since the language of the provincial majority is not at issue.

2. The language régime for bilingual districts

350. Again we have Quebec as our model. There, several elements of the bilingual district already exist. We shall reconsider some of the domains—the judiciary and the administration—examined in our study of the bilingual provinces. But this time two jurisdictions—the federal and provincial—meet in one territory and are joined by a third, the local government, which depends on the province for its existence.

351. At the district level, only local governments have legislative functions. We believe that, in bilingual districts, municipal councils and other local government bodies should be required to permit either official language to be used in their deliberations. All by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in both official languages.

352. All courts within bilingual districts throughout Canada should permit pleadings in both English and French and should provide, whenever necessary, appropriate translation services. This applies to both federal and provincial courts; lower courts should be truly bilingual or equipped to function fully in both languages. All forms and court orders will have to be drawn up in both official languages. Bilingual stenographic and interpretation services will have to be available, and this may require travelling teams. As we have already seen in our study of the bilingual provinces, the courts of appeal will have to offer similar services.

Provincial and federal offices

353. On the administrative level, the creation of bilingual districts will have important consequences. All federal and provincial offices located in a bilingual district will be so staffed that residents can communicate in either English or French, orally or in writing. This does not mean that all members of the staff must be bilingual—a certain number of bilingual employees will suffice to guarantee these services. Letters and inquiries will be answered in either language. Forms, notices, information sheets, and so on will be bilingual or available in either language. Signs will be bilingual (or possibly, in the case of road signs, non-lingual).

Local government services

354. Local governments within a bilingual district should make all administrative services, written and oral, available in both official languages, in the way described in the preceding paragraphs. Priority should be given to personal services—those rendered by welfare officials, municipal hospital staffs, and police. But in due course French-speaking and English-speaking citizens can expect to be served in their own language and, whenever possible, by someone who understands their culture.

355. These are the new duties we propose for local government in a bilingual district. Can we now draw a more precise picture of how they will be carried out in practice? A detailed description is impossible; local government operations are too complex and varied—and they are changing too fast—for us to identify every problem and propose a solution. It is much wiser to rely on the experience and good sense of those directly concerned. But some common problems should be mentioned and arrangements to cope with them suggested.

356. First, we may consider the problem of very small local government units, where important services are often provided by a tiny staff with limited language skills and a small budget. How will they fulfil the new demands of a bilingual district? We believe that they should combine forces with other units facing the same difficulties. Common translation and interpretation services could be organized; a

stenographic pool could make the scarce language skill available to several offices. Language courses—especially for switchboard operators, building staff, and other personnel who require only a limited vocabulary and limited comprehension to meet public needs—could be established by joint action. Consolidating such facilities would also permit more effective assistance, both financial and technical, by federal and provincial governments. Many precedents exist for such inter-governmental collaboration.

357. But there will still be language responsibilities which cannot be shared. The emergency situations faced by police, fire, hospital, and other services require communication in both languages. Indeed, most units of local government will have to have their own bilingual staff for such functions.

358. Collaboration of several local government offices will be more difficult for those municipalities which have a minority greater than 10 per cent, but are not part of a bilingual district. Fortunately, these cases are few, but their problems still deserve attention. What steps will be practicable?

359. Such local government units may still be able to join forces with adjacent units, even when the latter serve a minority of less than 10 per cent. Once it is accepted as normal for a local government to serve its citizens in both official languages, rigid adherence to the 10 per cent rule may become rare. **We recommend that provincial governments amend their municipal legislation to remove all obstacles to the use of both the French and English languages in local government.** Then there will be no barriers to the extension of dual language service beyond those districts where it is obligatory. Whether or not co-operation with other local governments proves possible, the central administrative services of the federal and provincial governments must be prepared to provide generous assistance to local governments outside bilingual districts. Education is especially important and will require particular attention.

360. Large urban and metropolitan areas (100,000 or more in population) need special consideration. More and more, they are becoming the centres of Canadian life; their economic, social, and cultural influence spreads far beyond their boundaries. But they are also fast changing; nowhere else is so much thought and discussion being devoted to developing new forms of government. Fitting the concept of the bilingual district to these cities will require forethought and flexibility.

361. Montreal and its environs provide the most outstanding example. Local and municipal jurisdictions overlap and intermingle; they

rarely correspond to federal and provincial administrative districts in the region. Language groups on the Island itself are divided by fairly clear geographical lines, but the suburbs are often a patchwork of cultural communities. We feel, however, that with patience and good will, those who plan the districts can meet the objectives we have defined and anticipate changes in governmental structure.

362. In several major centres even *a large number* using the second language will constitute only *a relatively small proportion* of the population. Neither a bilingual district nor even formal recognition of French and English by local government may be warranted. The metropolitan areas of Toronto, Edmonton, and Quebec are cases in point. The French-speaking minorities of the first two are, respectively, 26,000 and 11,000. Quebec has an English-speaking minority of 13,000. These are sizable groups and at least some of their cultural needs must be met. In our view, educational facilities are the most important.

363. A further step can often be effective. Many briefs to the Commission urged the importance of French-language cultural centres in large cities. In areas where English is all-pervasive, French-language schools will have to be supported by other cultural resources such as theatre and films, radio and television, books and magazines. A cultural centre could provide a focal point for such services, and reinforce the efforts of existing social and cultural associations. Such centres would enable members of other cultural groups to enjoy and participate in the French language and culture; there would be visible evidence of the French fact across the land.

364. The existence of bilingual districts will affect the central administrations of the provinces and the federal government. As we have already said, these administrations must provide services for the bilingual districts within their jurisdictions. However, after they have equipped themselves to serve the minorities in their bilingual districts, governments can extend their help to the minorities outside the districts at very little extra expense. The results listed below will extend beyond the bilingual districts and are just a reminder of what we have stated in the two previous sections:

a) At the federal level: All services rendered by the Ottawa offices of a federal government department will be available to any citizen in both French and English. In fact, these services will mainly involve written communications—letters, forms, notices, information sheets, departmental reports, brochures, and so on—but they will also involve oral communication.

b) In the officially bilingual provinces (New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec): Services rendered in both languages by the central

administrative offices to all citizens desiring them will be equivalent to those provided by the central offices of the federal government.

c) In the other provinces with bilingual districts: These provinces must be able to communicate with residents of the bilingual districts in both languages. Their central administrative offices will be expected to answer letters from members of the official-language minority living in these areas, and these services could easily be extended to include all the members of the minority in the province.

d) In the provinces with no bilingual districts (British Columbia and Newfoundland): A bureau of translation and some educational services might suffice in these provinces.

365. What we said previously about the new bilingual provinces applies even more to the districts: the system just described cannot be established overnight. The recognition of a bilingual district does not mean that local governments will immediately be able to fulfil its terms and conditions. Rather it means accepting the objective and moving to reach it over a set period. The results will be seen sooner where the minority is particularly important—especially where there are several adjoining bilingual districts—than in areas where it is very close to the 10 per cent minimum.

366. We consider the bilingual district the cornerstone of our proposed system. Without forcing the majority to adopt a system which would quickly become unbearable, the institution of bilingual districts can provide a just, flexible, and realistic system which does not impose rigid rules and unjustified obligations on anyone.

367. The officially bilingual provinces will necessarily be those with a fairly large number of bilingual districts. In such cases the central administration will have to equip itself adequately to serve an important section of the population. In provinces with few bilingual districts, it will be sufficient for the provincial administration to establish only some essential bilingual services. A province with no bilingual districts will have a minimum of these services.

368. Of course we are more concerned with the idea of bilingual districts and their language régimes than with the necessarily arbitrary methods for their establishment. A closer examination of the situation might lead the governments concerned to choose a quantitative criterion of 8 to 12 per cent, rather than the one we proposed: this is not important. Numbers alone cannot determine the significance of a minority, and even a small minority may be important in its region. Rather, the essential decision is to recognize the official-language minorities wherever their relative importance justifies it. Also, a more detailed study of the administrative services may well lead those concerned to discard some of our methods and add others. The

important thing is to designate areas where the right of the official-language minorities to appropriate services will be recognized and an obligation for them assumed by the various public administrations.

369. The bilingual district is inconceivable without the co-operation of the authorities and the local population. It will be most important to ensure that the proposals are well understood. The governments creating these districts will have to explain carefully in advance, especially to the majority, the meaning and the scope of their action. We anticipate a constantly recurring objection: that a bilingual area is one in which everyone must speak both languages. If the meaning of a "bilingual institution" is not patiently and clearly explained, there is a risk that the inhabitants of an area declared bilingual might bitterly oppose the imagined obligation to speak both languages.

370. Certainly the establishment of bilingual districts will not eliminate all inconveniences for members of an official-language minority. But there will be three practical advantages. They will feel that they are accepted as such. They will have at their disposal a certain number of actual services in their own language—something necessary for unilingual members of the minority and often useful even for bilingual persons who do not know the other language perfectly. A balance will be achieved—the French-language minority will know that it can obtain, in a given area of Ontario or New Brunswick, the same services accorded to the English-language minority in Quebec.

D. The Federal Capital

371. Everything said in the preceding sections about the linguistic régime in the bilingual districts applies *a fortiori* to the federal capital. But in our view the fact that it is the federal capital means that more than the establishment of a linguistic régime is required. We shall devote a later Book to the other aspects of the problem and to the concerted action which we envisage on the part of provincial and federal governments. In the meantime, we shall also publish special research studies which we hope will help to clarify the present situation and assist the understanding of the measures necessary in order to give the country a truly bilingual capital. Nevertheless, we propose to discuss briefly in this Book the status of the two official languages in the federal capital area.

372. In the Ottawa-Hull metropolitan area, as defined by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 38 per cent of the population was of French mother tongue at the 1961 census. In the Ontario part of the zone, 24 per cent were Francophones, and in the city of Ottawa,

21 per cent. On the Quebec side, 85 per cent were of French mother tongue. However, the population was not evenly distributed between the two sections of the metropolitan area: more than three-quarters lived in Ontario. The important consequence is that while those of English mother tongue were heavily concentrated on the Ontario side (94 per cent), the residents of French mother tongue were divided very nearly equally between municipalities in Ontario and Quebec.

373. At present in the Ontario section the French language is scarcely recognized officially in the provincial and municipal administrations. Nowhere else in Canada is there a comparable concentration of Francophones who have so few language rights.

374. But numbers are by no means the only important reasons for change. The federal capital should clearly reflect the nature of Canada. It should demonstrate vividly that Canada is a country of two official languages and two main cultures. French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians coming to the capital—and visitors from abroad—should sense that the capital reflects the linguistic duality of the country.

375. Canadians of the two languages should be able to feel at home in the capital. They should be able to live satisfying lives in the area while maintaining their respective cultures. In their capital both should have a full range of rights, and all the public services, available to them in their language. French-speaking Canadians living in the area should be able to have their children educated completely in French, and to know that the education is as good as that open to English-speaking children.

376. The symbolic significance of changes would be great, but the practical results could be just as important. There is an intense need to attract greater numbers of able French-speaking recruits to the federal Public Service, and one of the main obstacles is the present "English" cast of life in Ottawa. One wonders how many English-speaking Canadians would want to work in their country's capital if it meant moving to an area where English was not used by most of the public offices with which they had to deal, where there was no complete publicly-supported schooling in English for their children, and where the quality of "bilingual" education was inferior to that provided in French.

377. For the moment we have deliberately avoided trying to delimit precisely the "federal capital area." We know that it should include areas on both sides of the Ottawa River—that is, in the province of Quebec as well as in Ontario—and that it should include more than the city of Ottawa and the city of Hull. A useful concept to begin with is that of the metropolitan area, at present set out by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics as including, on the Ontario side of the Ottawa

River, Eastview, Nepean, Gloucester, and Rockcliffe Park; and on the Quebec side, Hull, Gatineau, Pointe-Gatineau, Aylmer, Lucerne, Deschênes, Templeton, and Templeton West. It should be noted that the National Capital Region, in which the National Capital Commission operates, is much broader and extends for approximately 1,050 square miles on the Ontario side and 750 square miles on the Quebec side.

378. In our present examination we shall concentrate on the metropolitan area and shall consider it as the federal capital area. Later we may be led to consider the other, broader National Capital Region.

379. The Quebec part of the area we are discussing has an English mother-tongue population of only 14 per cent, but their rights as a minority in this region contrast sharply with those of the French mother-tongue population on the Ontario side of the river, where their proportion is much greater. Our recommendations at this stage therefore apply chiefly to the Ontario portion.

380. As we said, our proposals for bilingual districts should apply **in the federal capital area. In summary this means that for the federal capital area we recommend: a) that the English and French languages should have full equality of status throughout the area; b) that all services should be available at all levels of public administration in the two languages; c) that the use of both English and French should be permitted in the deliberations of all local government bodies, that all by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in the two languages, and that all important public documents and all administrative services should be available in both languages; d) that all courts should permit pleadings in the two languages, and that lower courts should be equipped to function in both; e) that publicly supported education should be as available in French as in English and should be of the same quality; f) that the two provincial governments concerned and the federal government should discuss and negotiate the necessary measures.**

381. In our view the federal government should be actively concerned with changes in the language régime in the federal capital area, and in its accompanying educational developments. It should do all it can to help bring about the necessary changes. We believe it should provide special financial assistance. The federal government has important responsibilities in all bilingual districts, but especially in the federal capital area. It already spends a great deal on physical developments in the capital region; expenditures and joint arrangements that will help create a capital truly reflecting the dual nature of Canada would be fully justified, in our opinion.

382. We believe it is clear that the establishment of official status for both English and French at all levels will not be sufficient. Much more will be required to bring about the federal capital we envisage. Co-ordinated action and co-operative arrangements covering both sides of the river appear to us essential. The development of a federal capital area of which both French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians can be proud will require the concerted interest, leadership, and determination of the governments of Canada, Quebec, Ontario, and local public bodies. By joint action they can create a capital that will truly exemplify equal partnership.

383. In this first Book we are concerned with a comparison of the status and use of Canada's two official languages as evinced by their protection through laws, statutes, and customs. This is a first step towards examining the possibility of a more equal partnership between those who speak the two languages. A similar examination of the institutions of the two communities will be the subject of succeeding Books. However, the opportunities to use a language are of little significance unless there exist at the same time opportunities to learn it and retain it—opportunities for an adequate education in the language. We therefore believe it is imperative, when we are suggesting the language régimes appropriate at various levels in Canada, to indicate some of the changes required in the educational systems within each level. At this point our comments will be very general, but a full discussion of the implications of new language régimes for education will follow in the Book on education.

The B.N.A. Act

384. The failure of the B.N.A. Act to protect English and French as languages of instruction in Canada has resulted in a great disparity in the use of these languages in our school systems and grave inequalities in the opportunities for the French-speaking minorities to have an education in their mother tongue. In Quebec, both languages were placed on an equal footing, and the principle establishing the right of both English-speaking and French-speaking children to be taught in their mother tongue was enshrined in the educational system of the province, in spite of the fact that it was not required by law. Because this linguistic equality was not firmly guaranteed for the country as a whole, however, the French-speaking minorities have been largely deprived of the right to an education in their mother tongue.

385. This inequality and its consequences were the subject of many briefs presented to the Commission by Canadians of both language groups. The school is the basic agency for maintaining language and culture, and without this essential resource neither can remain strong. Of course the situation varies from province to province, but the fact remains that many Francophones outside Quebec have been steadily losing their language.

Official-language minorities outside Quebec

386. Where the French Canadian population is scattered, it is obviously not easy to provide a suitable programme of education in French. But the real stumbling block has been not so much this as the unwillingness of the English-speaking majority to recognize the right of French-speaking parents to educate their children in French. In Quebec, where the right to equal access to an education in either official language has been respected, even remote and numerically insignificant English-speaking communities have been provided with reasonable opportunities for schooling in English. In most of the other provinces, until very recently, such teaching in French as was permitted was intended simply as a means of transition to the English language. Parents who wanted their children educated in their language and their culture had to bear the costs of a private education while still having to contribute to the English-language public school system.

Comparison with Quebec minority

387. Even in the provinces where they constitute a sizable minority —for example, 425,000 in Ontario and 35 per cent of the population in New Brunswick—the situation of French-speaking Canadians has suffered seriously by comparison with that of the English mother-tongue minority of 13 per cent in Quebec. Almost without exception, it has been impossible for a French-speaking student outside Quebec to complete his education in French through the elementary and secondary public schools. But in Quebec, Anglophones have access to a complete education in English through the public schools of the province—elementary, secondary, and university. Even English-speaking Roman Catholics have enjoyed a large measure of autonomy within the Catholic system. As a result, their language has never been in danger and they have been able to concentrate on improving curriculum and administration.

Limited effect of recent legislation

388. In most of the English-speaking provinces there has recently been evidence of modifications in the restrictions against French as a language of instruction. In some cases these changes represent little more than slight improvements on the *status quo*; in other provinces a real attempt is being made to redesign the French-language programme to be more nearly comparable to the English-language programme. It is fair to say that, in general, French-language education outside Quebec has suffered principally from two weaknesses. First, it has been largely

achieved through the struggles of French-speaking Canadians despite the resistance of the English-speaking majority. The toll in efficiency and vitality is readily appreciated. Second, it has not constituted a "system." There have been serious gaps and dislocations in the sequence from one educational level to another; essentials such as teacher-training, guidance, and so on, have left a great deal to be desired; a technical or scientific education has been largely unavailable. As a consequence, even where conditions have been most favourable, French-speaking children have been seriously handicapped in their education, with the result that often they were deficient in both languages. Not only has there been injustice in human terms, but these Canadian citizens have not been able to make their potential contribution to society. Therefore, any serious reforms will need to deal realistically with these two situations.

Recommendation

389. We believe that equal partnership in a bilingual Canada implies the fullest development and expression of both official languages compatible with regional circumstances. We interpret this to mean that it must be accepted as normal that children of both linguistic groups will have access to schools in which their own language is the language of instruction. Therefore, **we recommend that the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice be recognized in the educational systems, the degree of implementation to depend on the concentration of the minority population.** This is our only recommendation in this volume in respect to education. More specific recommendations and more detailed information will be forthcoming in the Book on education. We believe this recommendation is basic to any future changes. In practical terms, it will mean extending French-speaking Canadians' opportunities for schooling in the French language, since the English-speaking residents of Quebec already have the opportunities we are recommending.

390. We shall now indicate, again in general terms, how we consider the schools will be affected by this principle in the bilingual provinces, the bilingual districts, and in large urban centres which have a substantial official-language minority.

A. In Bilingual Provinces

391. The principle of equal partnership implies comparable educational régimes for the minorities in the three officially bilingual provinces. This will make it possible for many Francophones to live more completely in their own language. In New Brunswick and Ontario, the desirability of classroom instruction in the child's maternal language is

already recognized and the right of parents to have their children educated in either French or English has been conceded in principle.[1] There is considerable disparity, however, in the ways this principle is applied in the three provinces. As we have seen, in Quebec instruction at all levels is available to the English-speaking minority in its own language. The situation of French-speaking Canadians in the other two provinces varies from that standard. We suggest that it would be advantageous for the three officially bilingual provinces to agree jointly upon the norms to be established for minority education. In Ontario and New Brunswick it is a matter of officially recognizing what is now unofficial practice, of extending this recognition to all levels, of adopting standard procedures for establishing these schools throughout the province. Equivalent educational facilities and academic standards must be ensured and maintained, whether the language of instruction is English or French; the appropriate administrative framework must be established and the necessary officials appointed. Compulsory education already obliges the provincial government to provide schools for all children. This will be extended to include the provision of French-language schools wherever there are enough French-speaking children to populate them. The provincial government of Quebec already fulfils the obligation to provide English-language schools wherever there are sufficient numbers of English-speaking children. In the officially bilingual provinces, then, there will be complete and parallel systems of education in French and English, from the elementary schools through the institutions of higher learning.

B. In Bilingual Districts

392. Educational facilities represent a vital part of the régime for the language minority in the bilingual districts. (We must note once again that we are considering now the French-speaking minorities, since Anglophones in Quebec already have these facilities.) It is in the bilingual districts that we can expect to find enough French-speaking children to populate schools in which the language of instruction is

[1] The Premier of Ontario, the Honourable John Robarts, in an address to the Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française on August 24, 1967, said, "It is a fundamental necessity of 1967 that the Franco-Ontarians be enabled to experience the full benefits of our educational system. Encompassed in this recognition of necessity is the proposal to extend what now is being done to provide, within the public school system of Ontario, secondary schools in which the language of instruction is French. . . . It is only practical that such French-language secondary schools and classes can be established wherever the numbers of French-speaking students are great enough to warrant instruction in French. As far as possible, they should provide for French-speaking Ontarians the counterpart of the existing English-language educational programme. . . . In doing so, we would be meeting the needs of our French-speaking Ontarians for equal education opportunities at all levels of education, elementary, secondary and university. . . ."

French. A local school, however, cannot exist in isolation; it must be seen as only a part of a complex educational system. Teachers must be trained, curricula must be planned, textbooks and teachers' guides must be developed, and inspection and guidance must be provided to maintain uniform academic standards. The minority schools will be no exception. They too must be part of an educational system which provides these essential services. What then will be the organization and administration of schools for the minority in bilingual districts?

C. Administration of Minority Schools—Role of Federal and Provincial Governments

393. Among the suggestions considered by the Commission was a proposal that the federal government should accept responsibility for minority schools. A federal system would have the advantage of ensuring a uniform curriculum and uniform standards for minority French-language schools. However—apart from the fact that, in the present Canadian Constitution, education is a provincial responsibility—there are considerations which count against this solution. Local schools must be adapted to the needs of the community they serve—technical and commercial programmes, for example, should complement the regional economy—and the advantage of a uniform curriculum from coast to coast would have to be sacrificed to some extent to the need for regional adaptation. Therefore we do not suggest a transfer of educational responsibility for minorities from provincial to federal jurisdiction, although we foresee a role for the federal government in helping to meet certain additional provincial costs. This is an example of what should become a new dimension in the role of the federal government as the only political institution shared by all Canadians.

394. Provincial administrations have a special knowledge of the educational needs of their provinces. It is obviously easier for an existing department of education to draw on its knowledge and experience and adapt its programme to the needs of the provincial minority than it would be to duplicate this administrative competence in a federal department. The argument is even more convincing because the language of instruction has no bearing on so many administrative decisions, and existing provincial regulations on school construction, school equipment, transportation, and health services will be equally applicable to minority-language schools.

395. Through provincial administration, uniform academic standards can be maintained for all the children in the province. Schools providing

instruction in the language of the minority without maintaining high academic standards would be a handicap rather than a privilege. In every province teacher-training programmes and elaborate certification procedures have been developed to ensure a competent teaching staff. Textbooks, equipment, examinations, and departmental supervision have all been integrated into an educational system designed to achieve the highest possible standards. Only by establishing an equivalent system adapted to their own needs can there be any assurance that students attending the minority-language schools will receive an education equivalent to that provided for other children in the province.

396. The adaptation of the existing provincial school systems to bilingual education will require careful planning. Teachers will have to be specially qualified. Not only must they have the qualifications required for teaching in the provincial schools but they must also be able to teach in the language of the minority. There are many French-speaking teachers now, especially in Ontario and New Brunswick, but more will be needed. Adequate supervisory services must be provided. It is obvious that these various measures will increase the costs of education. We accept as a principle the responsibility of the federal government to contribute to the additional costs involved. The way in which this principle can be applied without interfering with provincial autonomy in education, and other aspects of the administration of minority-language schools, will be discussed in a subsequent study.

In all bilingual districts

397. As we have seen in the preceding chapters, bilingual districts may be created in all provinces, whether officially bilingual or not. The basic assumption is that there is a public responsibility for education in French as in English. The extent of the services offered will be governed only by considerations of educational and economic practicality. In the provinces other than Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, however, to establish French-language schools where they have not hitherto been provided will create a new situation and certain attendant problems. In the three officially bilingual provinces, for instance, the minority population is large enough that we can expect necessary administrative measures and services to be provided within the province. In other provinces, where there will be few minority-language schools, it will not be feasible for each provincial department to undertake the necessary curriculum development and teacher training for these schools, and interprovincial co-operation will be necessary. However, such interprovincial planning in education is already beginning. For the designated bilingual districts outside Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, therefore, the same principle applies as for the designated regions within those three provinces. Parents will have the right to have their children educated in the official language of their choice.

D. Outside the Bilingual Districts

398. The plan of developing services in both official languages in areas where there are appropriate numbers of French-speaking or English-speaking Canadians is intended to guarantee certain basic rights to these minorities. But members of such linguistic groups living outside these areas should not be excluded from similar opportunities to be served in their maternal language. Programmes for such minorities must range from a minimum to a maximum service according to population concentration, but will still proceed from the acknowledged right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice.

399. For most English-speaking citizens of Quebec and for most French-speaking citizens in the other provinces, this right will be established through the bilingual districts. But whether these districts are located in an officially bilingual province or not, there are settlements of provincial minorities outside these designated regions, and their need for teaching in their mother tongue is at least as important. Indeed, in view of their linguistic isolation, their need is probably much greater. Here, however, the right to an education in the minority language needs to be qualified by other considerations. In practice a school can only provide the normal options or maintain the required academic standards if the student body is large enough to warrant the necessary specialist teachers and equipment. The minority-language group is large enough in some communities outside these designated areas for a minority-language school, but in other communities it will be too small. The problem is to establish the right to an education in the minority language when it is feasible, without imposing an obligation on the provincial governments when it is impracticable.

400. The fact that minority-language schools already exist shows that such schools are feasible. However, controversy has arisen in the past when a request by the minority for a French-language school was rejected by the local school board. A formal procedure is required, by which the minority can assert its right to such a school. Provincial departments of education can decide from their experience the minimum number of students for either an elementary or a secondary school. It is proposed, therefore, that the departments of education formally state the requirements and the procedures by which a minority group outside the designated areas can establish its right to a minority-language school at either the elementary or the secondary level. Further, the basis upon which minority-language schools are made available should be such as to provide the maximum opportunity, rather than merely improving on the present situation. Hence, minority-language

schools will not be restricted to bilingual districts but will be provided wherever the minority group in a community is large enough, in the judgement of the provincial authorities, to warrant a school.

Outside bilingual districts

401. Isolated families and scattered groups will not qualify for minority-language schools by the above terms. In some cases it will be possible to provide an elementary but not a secondary school; in other cases not even an elementary school would be feasible. For these children a variety of solutions is possible. Within the school, separate classes might be provided with the mother tongue used as the language of instruction in some subjects, although for other subjects the student would have to study in the language of the majority. For parents who want their children to follow a complete minority-language programme, other possibilities exist, such as boarding schools or television teaching. Departmental regulations or at least departmental guidelines would help clarify the rights of the minority in these special situations.

E. In Large Urban Centres

402. One of the objectives which led to the Commission's recommendations on bilingual regions was the creation or consolidation of a network of bilingual areas across Canada, to provide services to Francophones in those regions and to give the actual image of the dual nature of Canadian society. In this plan, as we noted above, the large urban centres have a major role to play, as poles of attraction for all Canadians. For reasons of mobility if for no other, it is essential that educational opportunities in the French language be provided in these centres for Francophones who, without assurance that they can preserve their children's language, may rightly be reluctant to leave Quebec. In major urban centres where the number of French-speaking residents will not automatically ensure the existence of French-language schools, we propose basically the same arrangements as for bilingual districts, with certain additional administrative arrangements, such as transportation facilities. Students will have the opportunity to be educated in French, although they will often have to accept the inconvenience of travelling farther to school than English-speaking children. in this way, there will be—depending on local circumstances—separate French-language education in separate classrooms or in a separate school.

Opportunities for learning French

403. Moreover, the school might be considered as part of a French-language cultural complex. For the urban area as a whole, the cost of special administrative arrangements will be compensated for by the provision of facilities which will help to attract and retain French-speaking citizens who might otherwise never come. Such facilities will

also be a stimulus and encouragement to the Anglophones of those areas who are interested in the French language and culture. The interest which many Anglophones have recently shown in learning French[1] and in having their children learn French, has been frequently frustrated by the lack of opportunity in many areas of the country to practise the language or to be adequately taught. Apart from the importance of fostering communication and understanding between the two language groups, the need for bilingual Canadians will increase as activities involving both groups become more common, and as the trend towards larger administrative structures in business, government, and social organization increases the contacts between Francophones and Anglophones. The Commission was expressly charged in its terms of reference with the responsibility of recommending procedures which will enable Canadians to become more bilingual. We intend to discuss fully the important question of second-language learning in our Book on education. Here we wish simply to point out that, because Canada will need more bilingual citizens in the future than it has in the past, a minimum objective must be for all students to receive a basic introduction to both official languages so that they may become bilingual if the need or the opportunity should arise. Indirectly, of course, the designation of the necessary services within bilingual districts will have the effect of stimulating greater individual bilingualism.[2]

[1] Canadians seem to favour individual bilingualism in principle. The Social Research Group asked the following general question in a survey made for the Commission: "Do you think that it would be a good thing if everyone in Canada spoke both French and English?" Of the people interviewed, 77 per cent said "Yes", while 15 per cent said "No." This opinion favouring individual bilingualism is not equally shared by persons of different ethnic origins. Of those of British origin, 71 per cent answered "Yes," compared with 96 per cent of those of French origin. Opinions also varied between regions; 80 per cent of those of British origin in Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces were favourable to individual bilingualism, 72 per cent in Ontario, and 58 per cent in the four western provinces.

[2] In reply to the question: "Do you think that in Canada, English-speaking children should learn French in primary school?", 79 per cent of all the people interviewed across Canada in the Social Research Group survey said "Yes," 15 per cent said "No," and 6 per cent either qualified their answer ("It depends") or had no opinion. Although the proportions varied between regions and between different ethnic groups, the great majority of people supported the proposition. For example, among English Canadians three-quarters were in favour, less than a fifth against, and 5 per cent were uncertain; among French Canadians there was hardly any division, with almost 95 per cent in favour; among Canadians of ethnic origins other than English or French, more than two-thirds also supported the idea. It is interesting to note that in the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia, two-thirds said "Yes" and slightly less than 30 per cent voted "No." On the related question: "Do you think that in Canada, French-speaking children should learn English in primary school?", the degree of support on the average was even higher. Ninety-two per cent of all Canadians said they were in favour of the idea and only 5 per cent were opposed. English Canadians and other ethnic groups across the country replied "Yes" 90 per cent, "No" 6 per cent; French Canadians themselves supported the idea that their children should learn English in primary school to almost exactly the same extent (95 per cent) as they supported the idea that English-speaking children should learn French in elementary school; only 4 per cent were opposed.

F. Characteristics of French-language Schools

404. French-speaking children may be educated in a variety of situations, including schools where the instruction is entirely in the minority language and others where its teaching is limited to a few hours. Without attempting to lay down a fixed pattern for such schools, there are certain general characteristics to bear in mind.

405. Since the principal objective is to enable French-speaking children to expand their knowledge and enjoyment of their native language and culture, the quality of the teaching is tremendously important. The precise, sensitive command of one's own language is the essential and inestimable foundation of thought and communication. Lacking an adequate command of his language the child suffers the handicap of confused thinking and limited means of expression. Top priority therefore must be given to the teaching of the mother tongue, and the need for specially trained teachers and high quality texts cannot be over-emphasized. This is true of any language in any situation, but where the mother tongue is under the constant influence of a second language, much greater care has to be exercised to make the native language secure.

Learning the language of the majority

406. At the same time, students in the minority-language schools need to acquire an adequate command of the language of the majority. In the English-speaking provinces a knowledge of English is seen as an economic and social necessity. We were often told that "this is an English-speaking province," or even that "this is an English-speaking continent," and that a citizen was seriously handicapped in his career or his life in the community unless he knew the language. The English-speaking minority in the province of Quebec has not in the past been as conscious of the importance of learning the language of the majority, and has consequently lived rather apart from the French-speaking community. French-speaking residents of Quebec, while recognizing that a knowledge of English was an asset, would frequently say that "this is a French-speaking province," and the implication was that a resident of Quebec who did not know French was not fulfilling his responsibilities toward his community. In both cases, it is obvious that the minority is expected to learn the language of the majority. Again, the school is usually seen as the institution where this language should be learned.

407. Fortunately, learning the language of the majority presents few problems in these circumstances. Students can learn to speak two languages and, for children who belong to a linguistic minority, the learning situation is ready-made. The key factors in language learning are the desire and the opportunity to practise. Given motivation and

opportunity, there is no reason to fear that the minority will not learn the language of the majority. Nonetheless, special curricula must be developed for language instruction in the minority-language schools. It is not enough to teach English to French-speaking students from textbooks and course outlines designed for English-speaking children, although this is the pattern today in most English-speaking provinces. Special programmes are required to meet the special needs of the minority.

Language and curriculum

408. But language, important as it is, is not the only distinguishing feature of minority schools. The courses of study for English and French will obviously be different and the language of instruction for other subjects will vary. We shall later consider to what extent the programme and content of studies should also be different because they must reflect the cultural character of the minority.

Confessionality and minority schools

409. For French-speaking minorities especially, cultural identity has in the past been intimately linked with the confessional character of the schools. However, there appears to be an increasing tendency within French Canadian communities across Canada to separate the question of language from religious objectives. Although we plan to come back to this complex question in a later Book, we wish to state here that what we consider essential under our terms of reference is to promote the establishment of French-language schools for the French-speaking minorities independently of religious consideration.

G. Conclusion

410. In the foregoing pages we have insisted on the right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice, but at the same time we have suggested considerable flexibility as to how this right is exercised. We are convinced that it is important for Canada to maintain strong and vigorous links in the chain of French language and culture across the whole country. We believe furthermore that "equal partnership" for Francophones necessitates a change of policy, from offering the minimum of education in their mother tongue to offering the maximum.

411. In Chapter V we discussed the creation of language régimes at various levels of government in Canada. We proposed that Ontario and New Brunswick declare themselves officially bilingual and that they and each of the other interested provinces—including Quebec—join with the federal government in creating a system of bilingual districts. In Chapter VI we briefly considered the educational sector, whose institutions should be among the first affected by this system. In this chapter we shall propose legislation intended to ensure equal status for the French language in Canada.

412. Our first recommendations concern amendments to the British North America Act. The essential thing, we believe, is to write specific principles into the formal law of the Constitution, both as a solemn recognition of their importance and as an added protection for their observance. We think this can best be done by amending sections 93 and 133 of the B.N.A. Act.

A. An Extension of Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act

413. The French-speaking minorities in Canada have not generally had the same educational opportunities as those available to the English-speaking minority in Quebec. This fact has led us to recommend that the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in either of Canada's official languages be recognized in the educational systems throughout Canada. We believe, moreover, that this new principle should not only be written into provincial laws but should be formally incorporated into the Constitution of Canada.

414. We of course realize that the actual wording of any amendment to the B.N.A. Act will have to be decided by the federal and provincial governments at a constitutional conference. But we think it helpful to set out in clear terms the amendment which seems to us appropriate and which would take the form of an addition to section 93. **We therefore recommend that the following paragraph, to be known as section 93A, be added to the B.N.A. Act:**

Every province shall establish and maintain elementary and secondary schools in which English is the sole or main language of instruction, and elementary and secondary schools in which French is the sole or main language of instruction, in bilingual districts and other appropriate areas under conditions to be determined by provincial law; but nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit schools in which English and French have equal importance as languages of instruction, or schools in which instruction may be given in some other language.

B. A New Section 133 of the B.N.A. Act

415. In addition to the principle of equal access to education in either official language, we further believe it is essential to write some other principles into the Constitution of Canada, again as a solemn recognition of their importance and as an added protection for their observance.

416. Section 133 is the only one in the Act specifically referring to the use of the English and French languages. But in this section the guaranteed usage of both languages is limited to debate in the Parliament of Canada and in the legislature of Quebec, official publication of statutes in Ottawa and in Quebec, and pleadings and processes of all federal and all Quebec courts. There is no explicit provision for the use of English or French in either the federal or the Quebec administrative services, or in delegated legislation.

The role of constitutional provisions

417. It is our belief that constitutional provisions regarding the use of official languages, as contrasted with official languages acts, should be general in character, and cannot and should not attempt to resolve all the problems involved in formally recognizing the two languages. Other means would be much more effective. Recent directives from the federal government respecting bilingualism in the federal Public Service, provisions in the municipal law of Quebec permitting municipalities to decide whether they will use one or two languages in their by-laws, and the decision to establish a translation bureau in New Brunswick and simultaneous translation of debates in the legislature of

that province, are examples of rules for the use of language not embedded in constitutional law. Nevertheless, we believe that what the B.N.A. Act says about language rights has great symbolic as well as practical value. It is our opinion that section 133 should be amended so as to state clearly that English and French are the two official languages of Canada, and to provide rules for the application of the principle of equality at the provincial level and in bilingual districts. We do not advocate including guarantees for language use in schools in this amended section, since we think this is more directly related to the provisions of section 93.

418. While fully recognizing the exclusive competence of the governments concerned with respect to the wording of any amendment of the B.N.A. Act, we wish to suggest the kind of amendment which seems to us essential in the case of section 133. Therefore, **we recommend the adoption of a new version of section 133, which might read as follows:**

1. **English and French are the two official languages of Canada.**
2. **Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and in the legislatures of all the provinces, and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of the Houses of the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, and either may be used by any person in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from any of the Superior Courts of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec shall be enacted and published in both English and French.**
3. **The provisions of subsection 2 shall apply to any additional province in which those persons whose mother tongue is either English or French shall reach or exceed 10 per cent of the population of the province; and to any province which declares that English and French are its official languages.**
4. **Whenever in any province the English- or French-speaking population of the appropriate administrative unit reaches a substantial proportion, this unit shall be constituted into a bilingual district, and there shall be enacted federal and provincial legislation making judicial and administrative services in such bilingual district available in both official languages.**
5. **Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada.**

Subsection 1

419. The main changes proposed in section 133 are evident. The suggested revision first states that English and French are the two official languages of Canada, which is implied but not explicitly stated in the present section 133. We feel it very important, if the idea of equality is to be admitted throughout the country, that there be no ambiguity on this essential point.

Subsection 2

420. Besides formally recognizing the use of English and French in all the provincial legislatures, the new subsection 2 extends to New Brunswick and Ontario the provisions of the present section 133, which applies only to the province of Quebec. The case for New Brunswick seems to us to be self-evident, since the French element in the population is 38 per cent by ethnic origin, or 35 per cent by mother tongue. In Ontario, it is true, the percentage of Francophones by mother tongue is much lower—only 7 per cent of the population, or 10 per cent by ethnic origin—but still it represents 425,000 Ontario residents of French mother tongue. (The equivalent figure for the English-speaking minority in Quebec is 697,000.) Where there are enough Francophones or Anglophones concentrated in a definable area, then we believe, if an equal partnership is to be developed, that these people have a right which should be recognized even though they are but a small percentage of the population. It is surely not too heavy a burden on the province of Ontario to ask that French-speaking representatives in its legislature be permitted to use their own language in debates, at their own choice, and that the statutes governing them be available in their own language, as are federal statutes. The right to have French or English used in the pleadings and proceedings of superior provincial courts will present a practical difficulty at first, but we believe that it can be overcome—providing there is a genuine desire to recognize this right. More bilingual justices can be appointed, and cases in which the language issue is important can either be assigned to them or they may be assigned to the districts where such cases arise. For judicial services in inferior courts, provision should be made in provincial legislation at least for the bilingual districts we have already defined and to which reference is made in subsection 4 of the new section 133.

421. In Quebec, at present, the English and French languages may be used in any court, whether superior or inferior. The new text would therefore reduce this privilege by limiting it to superior courts. However, the requirements for bilingual judicial services in bilingual districts will protect the present rights of English-speaking citizens, even in inferior courts, in those sections of the province where most of them

live. We wish it to be clearly understood that the provisions set out here are the minimum, and there is nothing to prevent provinces granting further rights.

Subsection 3

422. The new subsection 3 suggests the criterion for deciding when additional provinces in Canada should become officially bilingual. Again this must be read in the light of the rule that all provinces will be obliged to provide certain services in both French and English in bilingual districts, before the entire province becomes officially bilingual. Finally, any province, if it wishes, should be free to declare itself officially bilingual.

Subsection 4

423. The new subsection 4 reiterates our proposal about bilingual districts. It indicates that every province should establish bilingual districts within its territory, whenever the proportion of an official-language minority justifies it on a regional or local basis. The terms of the subsection say it would be up to each province to decide when a French-speaking or English-speaking minority reached a significant proportion in a specific region. However, we think the moment should be when such a minority reaches 10 per cent of the population.

Subsection 5

424. Subsection 5 is added to make it clear that, in giving these guarantees for the use of the English and French languages, no rights to use any other languages are being diminished, whether such rights already exist or might be established in the future. The presence of two official languages in Canada definitely does not mean that other languages have no right to exist. Obviously they will be used in personal relationships and group activities; they may be taught as academic subjects in the public education system or used for instruction in private institutions and in religious services. Certain languages, such as German, Ukrainian, and Italian, have already received some form of local or regional recognition. In future, whenever a sufficient number of Canadians ordinarily use a language other than English or French —Ukrainian, for example—and evidently wish to maintain it, this recognition might be broadened and even confirmed by law or regulation. We do not feel that this contradicts our principles in any way, for in all cases English and French will retain their official status. Rather, it would be a way of showing respect for minorities using languages other than English and French, and of recognizing their contribution "to the cultural enrichment of Canada." We shall consider this matter in the Book dealing with the other ethnic groups.

A possible anomaly

425. We think attention should be drawn to the anomaly which would persist should subsection 2 of the new section 133—requiring, like the other clauses, unanimous agreement of the provinces and the central government—not be adopted. Quebec would in fact be the only province subject to the terms of section 133, so long as the others were

(or were not) officially bilingual by their own, always reversible, decision. Should self-determination in language continue to exist only in the English-speaking provinces, the principle of equality, at least on the provincial level, would be gravely compromised. Should all other solutions fail, such a situation might lead Quebec to question its own constitutionally bilingual character. This is a political aspect of the problem which ought to be kept in mind.

C. Federal Official Languages Act

426. Our proposals for the establishment of bilingual districts do not, in themselves, necessitate any amendment to the B.N.A. Act. The federal and provincial legislatures actually have all the necessary powers to implement these recommendations without resorting to constitutional change. In fact the creation of bilingual districts will be the responsibility of both provincial and federal authorities.

Federal leadership

427. However, we feel that the federal government's duty is not only to initiate but also to show leadership in establishing bilingual districts, because the federal government is the only institution common to all Canadians.

428. Federal action should first be concerned with providing a wider legal basis for Canada's two official languages. Even though it is in fact necessary to revise section 133 of the B.N.A. Act along the lines we have suggested, we believe that the federal government must legislate at once on language matters in order to give French and English equal status within its own jurisdiction; and must help create the necessary institutions and mechanisms to ensure the establishment and effective operation of a number of officially bilingual districts.

Official Languages Act

429. The keystone of any general programme of bilingualism in Canada should be a federal "Official Languages Act," the main aims of which will be:

a) to ensure that Canadian citizens can deal with federal administrative and judicial bodies in the two official languages;

b) to provide for the appointment of a high state official, independent of the government, with responsibility for inquiring into and reporting upon the implementation of the federal Official Languages Act;

c) to give the Governor in Council the necessary authority for negotiating with the provincial and local authorities involved—in the latter case with the consent of the province concerned—to widen the opportunities for Canadian citizens to deal with the branches of government in both official languages.

430. Moreover, every officially bilingual province and, ideally, every province which sets up bilingual districts or helps to establish them within its borders, should pass a provincial Official Languages Act. Later we shall describe the nature and objectives of such legislation which, like its federal counterpart, will define the rights of the citizens of the province with respect to the official languages.

Basic principles and leading provisions

431. The Official Languages Act should state certain basic principles concerning the rights and privileges of Canadians with respect to the use of French and English at the federal level. It will establish the right of every Canadian citizen to deal with the central offices of the federal administration—and with their branches in any bilingual region or district—in the official language of his choice, and to receive an answer in that language. It should also define the right of any person prosecuted for a criminal offence to have not only the services of counsel—provided for in the Bill of Rights—but also, at his choice, with respect to the official languages, the services of an interpreter—a privilege now granted at the discretion of the court. It should also stipulate that all agreements or international treaties concluded by Canada must appear in an English and in a French version, both of which must be approved and signed by Canada and the other contracting party. In other respects, there should be more specific provisions governing the use of French and English in the federal Public Service.

432. As far as the legislative function of the Canadian Parliament is concerned, the federal Official Languages Act should provide, in particular:

a) that on promulgation of any order or regulation of public concern by the Governor in Council, a minister, a Crown corporation, or other agency, that order or regulation shall be published simultaneously in English and French in the *Canada Gazette;*

b) that all councils, commissions, or conferences which are entirely or partially federal in character, must make their publications available simultaneously in English and French;

c) that any resident of a bilingual district shall be able to obtain on request an official translation of any ordinance, notice, or regulation concerning that district from one of the regional or local offices of the government situated within that district;

d) that the *Revised Statutes of Canada* and the annual statutes shall be published with parallel French and English versions of the laws appearing on each page, or on facing pages.

433. To establish the right and duty of the Governor in Council to encourage provincial and municipal authorities to co-operate in

establishing and satisfactorily administering bilingual districts, the federal Official Languages Act should further provide:

a) that the Governor in Council may make an agreement with any province wishing to recognize French and English officially within its own administrative and judicial services, so as to share equitably with the province the additional costs involved;

b) that, with the consent of the province concerned, the Governor in Council may make an agreement with any local authority where an official-language group constitutes an important minority, for the purpose of sharing with that authority the cost of establishing and maintaining services which will provide recognition of the language of the minority group.

434. This law should also authorize the Governor in Council, while maintaining continuous liaison with the officer of state responsible for matters affecting the official languages, to establish, in co-operation with one or several provinces, a number of bilingual districts; and to ensure that their language régimes are properly administered at the federal level. The Official Languages Act should also empower the Governor in Council to appoint an officer of state for language matters, who might be styled the "Commissioner of Official Languages."

The Commissioner: his function

435. The Commissioner of Official Languages in Canada should play a dual role. In the first place, he will be the active conscience—actually the protector—of the Canadian public where the official languages are concerned. His duty will be to examine particular cases in which the federal authorities have failed to respect the rights and the privileges of individuals or groups of Canadians. The Commissioner will in a sense play the role of a federal "linguistic ombudsman" by receiving and bringing to light the grievance of any residents concerning the official languages. The extent to which he will be concerned with the application of subsection 5 of the proposed new section 133 will be discussed in another Book.

436. The Commissioner of Official Languages will also offer criticism of the manner in which the federal Official Languages Act is implemented. He will have to scrutinize the linguistic aspects of the acts of the federal government and its representatives in their relations with the public in all parts of the country, and especially in the federal capital and in the bilingual districts. Since he will have to report annually, the Commissioner will, in matters of language, function at the federal level as the Auditor General functions respecting government expenditures and property.

437. Besides being the protector of the Canadian public and the critic of the federal government in matters respecting the official languages, the Commissioner of Official Languages could also act provisionally as an adviser to the Governor in Council until the first group of bilingual districts has been established.

Powers and duties

438. We envisage the powers and duties of the Commissioner of Official Languages, as we have conceived his role, to be mainly of two kinds. He should have wide powers of inquiry, including the power to obtain copies of letters, reports, files, and other documents deemed necessary to his scrutiny of the application of the federal Official Languages Act by the federal government. He should also be able to question under oath any federal public servant whose testimony might be useful to him in his role of critic in matters pertaining to the official languages. In other respects, he should be able to receive and, if necessary, make public any complaint from citizens or groups of citizens concerning the use of Canada's two official languages. He should, for this purpose, enjoy wide discretionary powers within the federal jurisdiction. It goes without saying that the Commissioner should have a sizable staff at his disposal.

Appointment, mandate, and term of office

439. As we mentioned above, the Commissioner of Official Languages would be appointed by the Governor in Council in accordance with the provisions of the federal Official Languages Act. His appointment might be for seven years, renewable until retirement age. This would allow him the fullest freedom from federal government interference, and would thus give him the necessary authority to carry out his duties. During his term of office the Commissioner could be dismissed only on petition of both Houses of Parliament. He should, in fact, be accountable directly to Parliament and not to the Governor in Council. He should be able to inform Parliament, at least annually, of the result of his scrutiny and of his recommendations concerning the application of the federal Official Languages Act. He would have high moral authority through his influence on the Canadian public and the government and Parliament of Canada, and could well become one of Canada's most effective instruments making for equality of the two official languages. The practical effect of establishing the new officially bilingual regions or districts in Canada would depend on the Commissioner's initiative and the scope of the federal and provincial laws respecting the official languages. To sum up, **we recommend: a) that the federal Parliament adopt a federal Official Languages Act; b) that the Governor in Council appoint a Commissioner of Official Languages charged with ensuring respect for the status of French and English in Canada.**

D. Provincial Official Languages Acts

Complementary legislation

440. We have said that it is essential for the federal government to lead in the development of bilingual districts in Canada, and in the enactment of an Official Languages Act. We believe this leadership will be valuable even if provinces fail to follow suit, but federal action alone will obviously be incomplete and insufficient without provincial co-operation. The creation of all the conditions necessary for equal partnership cannot result from the action of a single level of government. It requires a common policy and joint planning for those areas where governments deal with minority groups.

441. Our aim is to provide the minorities in bilingual districts with similar treatment and recognition from all the government agencies with which they have to deal. Some services will be exclusively federal, others provincial or municipal, yet the citizen should feel in every circumstance that his language rights are respected. Provincial law and federal law should therefore complement each other. We do not believe absolute uniformity across Canada to be possible or desirable. We have already indicated some of the variations that may occur between the officially bilingual provinces and the others or between bilingual districts and metropolitan areas. But within officially bilingual provinces (Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick), we believe linguistic rights should be stated clearly in the law and rendered as uniform as possible.

The officially bilingual provinces

442. The extension of a revised section 133 of the Constitution to New Brunswick and Ontario, as we have seen, would of itself establish certain rights to the use of the two official languages. But we believe that in all three officially bilingual provinces there should be an Official Languages Act similar in purpose to that recommended in the federal field. These provincial statutes should set out in one text as many special and individual rights as can be conveniently codified.

443. We suggest that different sections in this statute relate to different functions of government. For instance, the whole field of municipal government, exclusively within provincial jurisdiction, could be provided with rules for the use of the two languages in council debates, in the drafting and publication of by-laws, in communication with various municipal departments, in proceedings before the municipal courts, and in other equivalent ways. Provision would be made also for the exemption of municipalities from these obligations where the population distribution justified it.

444. Similarly, a further section in such an Official Languages Act would deal with the activities of provincial boards and commissions. Many of these bodies deal with the entire population of a province, and certain of their regulations and publications should be made available

in both languages, as is now the practice in Quebec. At their central offices, provision should be made for handling correspondence in either language. Branch offices in bilingual districts would come under the general rules applicable in those regions. Furthermore, all important orders-in-council should be in both English and French in officially bilingual provinces.

445. If the proposed amendment to the B.N.A. Act is adopted, the administration of justice in officially bilingual provinces will be governed by the new section 133. In Quebec, through long experience and practice, the rights of the English minority to pleadings and procedures in their language are well established, even though some difficulties have sometimes been found to exist. The introduction of similar principles into New Brunswick and Ontario, where there has been no previous experience, will be more difficult and many factors will have to be considered. The Quebec Code of Civil Procedure sets out important linguistic rights; it would be unnecessary to repeat these in a general Official Languages Act. Similarly, the other two officially bilingual provinces will have equivalent rules of practice where these rights could be better provided. We do not believe that the enactment of an Official Languages Act, important as it is, would eliminate all other special rules applicable in particular situations and covered now or in the future in special statutes. Yet as far as possible the linguistic rights should be gathered together in a single document, both for its symbolic and its practical value.

446. We think the officially bilingual provinces should appoint a counterpart to the federal Commissioner of Official Languages so as to ensure compliance with the laws within their own jurisdiction. This officer should be given security of tenure for a reasonable term, and be answerable to the legislature or to a standing committee thereof. Like his federal counterpart, he can act as adviser to the Lieutenant-Governor in Council until the creation of the first bilingual districts in his province. He may have to prepare part of the documentation for agreements negotiated between the provincial and federal authorities for the location and establishment of these districts. He will subsequently receive all complaints relating to the enforcement of the Act and will have the right of inquiry into the activities of the government departments concerned as well as access to their files and documents. He will report annually to his legislature.

The other provinces

447. In provinces not officially bilingual, an Official Languages Act will be less necessary. However, in all of these provinces there are French-speaking minorities, entitled to certain linguistic rights vis-à-vis their provincial government. We have already described these for

residents of bilingual districts in such provinces. But some provision must be made for Francophones outside bilingual districts. The central provincial administration should at least provide translation services, so communications could be addressed to individuals in either of the official languages.

448. We have not suggested that the language rights in the schools should form part of the provincial Official Languages Act, because we will treat them fully in a later Book. In short, **we recommend: a) that the legislature of each officially bilingual province adopt an Official Languages Act; b) that each officially bilingual province establish, for its own purposes, a post equivalent to that of the federal Commissioner of Official Languages.**

449. In this first Book of our Report we have proposed a new charter for the official languages of Canada, a charter founded upon the concept of equal partnership. We have seen that, in a country such as ours, this principle cannot be applied in any mechanical way: some of our proposals are complex but we believe that they are in keeping with the equally complex realities of the situation.

450. The nature of our subject has led us to focus our attention on the official-language minorities. Majorities generally can and do effectively assert their interests and defend themselves, and governments have to listen to them. Minorities are always liable to be overlooked, even in a régime of equality. The minority needs legal protection—fair play demands it. But that is not all: the impossibility of living a full life in French outside Quebec (and even in certain parts of Quebec) is certainly one cause of the present crisis in Canada. Living in French must be made possible in every part of Canada where there are enough French-speaking people. Linguistic equality will exist in Canada only if Francophones are treated in other provinces as Anglophones now are in Quebec.

451. We have spoken at length about governments, because we felt it was important to define the legal framework for equal partnership. The language used by the individual in his dealings with the three levels of government has both a great potential importance and a definite symbolic value. And governments, by their attitudes, often set examples for everyone.

452. At the same time, we have tried throughout our analysis to devise our proposals with the individual in mind. In recommending measures of a general nature we have tried to take into account their

impact on the daily life of the individual Canadian. This is one of our main reasons for recommending the creation of bilingual districts, because it is on the district level that our proposals will most directly affect people's day-to-day lives.

453. In some of our forthcoming Books[1] we shall be concentrating on social and economic life, and we shall examine the principal institutions of the country in terms of the two official languages and dominant cultures. The Commission need not concern itself with the objectives of these institutions, public or private. We have not studied, for example, all the problems of the Public Service, of education, or of the mass media. Yet in each of these institutions, the issue of language and culture continually arises, and in each case it is intimately linked to the activities of the institution itself. It is in these institutions—at school, at work, in every situation where there is communication between people—that the future of English and French in Canada is to be decided. In fact, it would be more accurate to speak of the future of French language and culture, for English is in a position of strength in North America. French language and culture will flourish in Canada to the extent that conditions permit them to be truly present and creative.

[1] For a complete list of subsequent Books, *see* Preface, xvii-xviii.

We recommend that English and French be formally declared the official languages of the Parliament of Canada, of the federal courts, of the federal government, and of the federal administration. (§270)

We recommend that the provinces of New Brunswick and Ontario themselves declare that they recognize English and French as official languages and that they accept the language régimes that such recognition entails. (§293)

We recommend that any province whose official-language minority reaches or exceeds 10 per cent declare that it recognizes French and English as official languages and that it accepts the language régime that such recognition entails. (§303)

We recommend that the provinces other than Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario declare that both English and French may be used in the debates in their legislatures and that these provinces provide appropriate services in French for their French-speaking minorities. (§324)

We recommend that bilingual districts be established throughout Canada and that negotiations between the federal government and the provincial government concerned define the exact limits of each bilingual district. (§341)

Should the negotiations between the federal government and a province break off before agreement, we recommend that each, acting in its own right, immediately declare officially bilingual, for its purposes, areas which it has itself delineated. (§346)

We recommend the establishment of a federal-provincial review council whose main duties would be: a) to recognize as bilingual districts or as parts of bilingual districts new areas where the official-language minority attains or surpasses 10 per cent, and b) to remove from officially bilingual districts those areas where the numerical importance of the official-language minority has substantially decreased. (§347)

We recommend that provincial governments amend their municipal legislation to remove all obstacles to the use of both the French and English languages in local government. (§359)

For the federal capital area we recommend: a) that the English and French languages should have full equality of status throughout the area; b) that all services should be available at all levels of public administration in the two languages; c) that the use of both English and French should be permitted in the deliberations of all local government bodies, that all by-laws and regulations should be recorded and printed in the two languages, and that all important public documents and all administrative services should be available in both languages; d) that all courts should permit pleadings in the two languages, and that lower courts should be equipped to function in both; e) that publicly supported education should be as available in French as in English and should be of the same quality; f) that the two provincial governments concerned and the federal government should discuss and negotiate the necessary measures. (§380)

We recommend that the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice be recognized in the educational systems, the degree of implementation to depend on the concentration of the minority population. (§389)

We recommend that the following paragraph, to be known as section 93A, be added to the B.N.A. Act: Every province shall establish and maintain elementary and secondary schools in which English is the sole or main language of instruction, and elementary and secondary schools in which French is the sole or main language of instruction, in bilingual districts and other appropriate areas under conditions to be determined by provincial law; but nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit schools in which English and French have equal importance as languages of instruction, or schools in which instruction may be given in some other language. (§414)

We recommend the adoption of a new version of section 133, which might read as follows:

1. English and French are the two official languages of Canada.

2. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and in the legislatures of all the provinces, and both those languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of the Houses of the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, and either may be used by any person in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from any of the Superior Courts of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec shall be enacted and published in both English and French.

3. The provisions of subsection 2 shall apply to any additional province in which those persons whose mother tongue is either English or French shall reach or exceed 10 per cent of the population of the province; and to any province which declares that English and French are official languages.

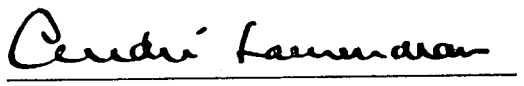
4. Whenever in any province the English- or French-speaking population of the appropriate administrative unit reaches a substantial proportion, this unit shall be constituted into a bilingual district, and there shall be enacted federal and provincial legislation making judicial and administrative services in such bilingual district available in both official languages.

5. Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada. (§418)

We recommend: a) that the federal Parliament adopt a federal Official Languages Act; b) that the Governor in Council appoint a Commissioner of Official Languages charged with ensuring respect for the status of French and English in Canada. (§439)

We recommend: a) that the legislature of each officially bilingual province adopt an Official Languages Act; b) that each officially bilingual province establish, for its own purposes, a post equivalent to that of the federal Commissioner of Official Languages. (§448)

ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION



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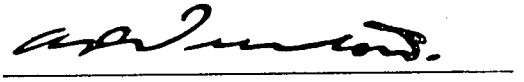

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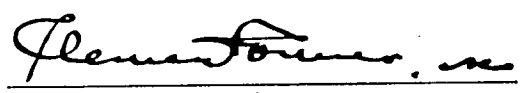
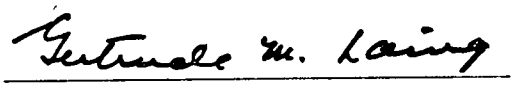
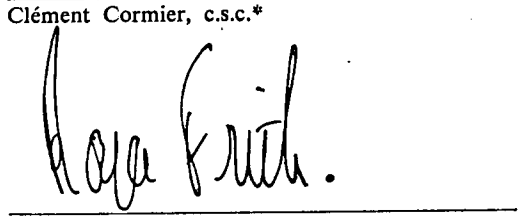


Clément Cormier, c.s.c.*



Mrs. Stanley Laing



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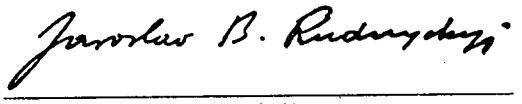

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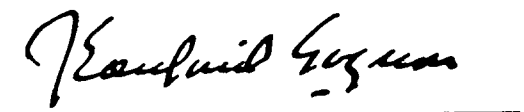

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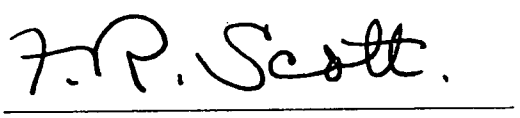

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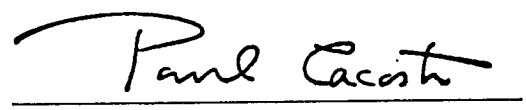

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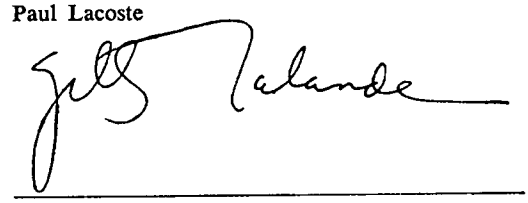
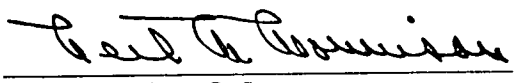
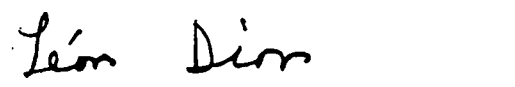


Gilles Lalande, Co-Secretary



Neil M. Morrison, Co-Secretary

Michael Oliver, Director of Research



Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

October 8, 1967.

*The Commission is unanimous in this Report, but Commissioners Cormier and Rudnyckyj have signed subject to the observations in their separate statements which follow immediately.

To begin with I would like to make plain that I endorse the Report as a whole. It therefore bears my signature, though on the understanding that I would indicate one point on which I do not share my colleagues' views.

The Commission devoted itself to defining the term "official bilingualism" and applying its definition to Canadian reality. This was a long and laborious task which, in my humble opinion, has not cleared away all traces of confusion.

I respect my colleagues' point of view. However, after a process of dialectic which I personally consider too severe, the Commission concludes by restricting the meaning of the words within narrower confines than those allowed by the dictionary. I find the definition at which the Commission arrived "for reasons of practicality" too rigid; besides, it corresponds neither to the views of the French-speaking minorities, as I came to know them during the inquiry, nor to the thought of many influential English Canadians—particularly that which is just now taking shape.

At one point the Report uses the expression "complete linguistic régime" in reference to the special case of the three "more bilingual" provinces; this type of phraseology seems more fitting to me. I am of the opinion that the other provinces, even if they do not reach the same degree of completeness, can and should be described as "officially bilingual" if they accept the régime we are proposing.

Is this just a question of words—or is it another example of the eternal conflict between the idealists and the realists?

Whatever the answer to that question may be, this statement is prompted not by the essentials of the Report but by the meaning—too arbitrarily radical, in my view—given the word "official," above all in the footnote to §214.

I would judge, therefore, that Canadian provinces accepting the recommendations in this first Book will become "officially bilingual" *ipso facto*. Census figures will help in determining the extent of services to be offered in the two languages. But the "official" quality of

the minority's language will derive essentially from an act of recognition by the political authority rather than from proportions or numbers abstracted from the census.

Once again, my reservations do not prevent me either from endorsing the whole Report or from respecting my colleagues' views, even on this point of disagreement.

CLÉMENT CORMIER, C.S.C.

October 24, 1967

Without prejudice to the generality and validity of the Report and Recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as presented in this Book, and without excluding the possibility of major changes in the fundamental law of the country (even an entirely new Constitution), I subscribe with the other Commissioners to the minimal changes in the B.N.A. Act as proposed in this Report. In my opinion, the amendments to sections 93 and 133 of the B.N.A. Act are sufficient to meet the needs for a constitutional aggiornamento *of Canadian public life for the time being.*

Yet, while accepting in principle the decision to recommend certain changes in the B.N.A. Act, I firmly believe that supplementary considerations and additional recommendations are necessary if our Report has to stand the test of time, and if I personally am to be satisfied and convinced that our work was well done.

Hence my separate statement.

Terms of Reference

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism imply in two instances the consideration of the languages of the "other ethnic groups." First the Commission is requested " . . . to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. . . . "

The proposed amendments assume that the words "bilingualism and biculturalism" mean French and English bilingualism and biculturalism. In my opinion, the passage implies an objective consideration not only of the official English-French or French-English bilingualism but also of all other forms of bilingualism in Canada. This is also the understanding of the "state of bilingualism" of well-known linguists and sociologists in this country: "Qui dit en effet 'bilinguisme' ne dit pas forcément 'bilinguisme

franco-anglais'. . . . Il y a d'autres bilinguismes, en général orientés dans le même sens, l'anglais exerçant presque partout sa force d'attraction. Ces bilinguismes posent plusieurs problèmes particuliers. . . . "[1] "L'emploi des langues est demeuré une question fort indécise. . . . On ne saurait définir exactement le bilinguisme canadien, le statut des langues officielles au pays et celui des autres langues usitées."[2]

Further, according to the terms of reference, the Commission is obliged to take "into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada. . . ." Since its language is one of the most important components of any culture, languages other than English and French must be considered in an examination of the cultural contribution and cultural enrichment of Canada by the other ethnic groups.

Two main aspects of the problem of official bilingualism and the languages of the other ethnic groups emerge for discussion: first, the place of the other languages in the context of official Canadian bilingualism and, second, the linguistic contribution of the other ethnic groups as part of their general contribution to the cultural enrichment of Canada.

The Commission's terms of reference ask for recommendations with regard to "steps to be taken to safeguard this contribution." This brings one to a subject which in my opinion is not adequately dealt with in the Commission's suggested constitutional amendments—the position of the regional languages in Canada.

Regional Languages in Canada

In its large territory Canada embraces many geographical regions—the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, British Columbia, and the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. A closer examination of the ethno-lingual patterns in those regions reveals that, besides English and French, various mother tongues are used in person-to-person and group-to-group social interrelations. Some of those languages form small islands or enclaves, but some are stretched over considerable areas of the existing political administrative units—provinces, territories, districts. Some of them are ancient and aboriginal, while others are of a more recent provenance.

According to generally accepted linguistic classification, languages in Canada might be grouped into three main categories—indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages.

The first group comprises a great variety of language families known as Eskimo and Indian (Amerindian). They had gone through a long development on this continent before the coming of the white man, with some of them isolated, some nomadic, and some extending their dominion over others.

[1] J.-P. Vinay, "Problèmes de bilinguisme au Canada," paper delivered at UNESCO International Seminar on Bilingualism, University of Moncton, June 1967, pp. 18-19. "When we speak of bilingualism, we are not necessarily speaking of French-English bilingualism. . . . There exist other forms of bilingualism, with English generally being one of the languages involved, because of its strength almost everywhere. These forms of bilingualism raise several special problems. . . ."

[2] J. Brazeau, "Une politique de la langue au Québec et au Canada," *Le Devoir*, June 30, 1967, p. 20. "The use of languages has always been up in the air. . . . We cannot give an exact definition of Canadian bilingualism, of the status of Canada's official languages and of the other languages spoken throughout the country."

The colonial languages were established by peoples who were able to take hold and maintain their domination in Canada, thus ensuring the continuation of their own languages in this country. Two colonial tongues—English and French—succeeded in establishing themselves as official languages of Canada.

The third category, immigrant languages, includes Icelandic, German, Ukrainian, Polish, Yiddish, Italian, and many others; they were brought by settlers to areas where official unilingual or bilingual régimes were previously established.

A special mention should be made of languages of that group which belonged originally to the colonial category, but in consequence of specific historical circumstances became immigrant languages. To such a category the Russian and Ukrainian languages belong. In the 18th century, the Eastern Slavs had firmly established themselves on the Pacific Coast of North America. The expansion of the Russian and Ukrainian languages in this area was connected with the development of the Russian American Company (1799). This expansion was curtailed twice, first in 1825 and later in 1867. Today both Russian and Ukrainian belong to the group of immigrant languages, rather than that of the colonial languages.

In considering the regional languages in Canada, it is obvious that they belong either to the first or third category. It is also obvious that among the indigenous and immigrant languages some are minor, numerically insignificant, and others are major, stretching through considerable areas of the country. Among the latter are the Eskimo-Indian languages in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, Slavic (Ukrainian), and German languages in the Prairie Provinces, and Italian in the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montreal.

Three main branches of the Indo-European language family spread throughout the world in medieval and modern times: a) *Teutonic* (Germanic)—English in Europe, Africa, North America, Australia and New Zealand; b) *Romance* (Latin)—French in Europe, Africa, and North America; Spanish and Portuguese in Central and South America; c) *Slavic*—Russian and Ukrainian in Eastern Europe, Northern Asia and North America.

No other language families of the Indo-European stock can claim the same global status in terms of their expansion.

In Canada the above groups are represented as follows: Teutonic, spoken by 11,608,000 people; Romance spoken by 5,473,000 people; and Slavic, spoken by 667,000 people.

English and French in Canada have official status. As far as the regional languages are concerned, the following lead quantitatively: German, Italian, and Ukrainian in the Teutonic, Romance, and Slavic language groups respectively.

There are no leading languages in the Eskimo-Indian group, which are spoken by 167,000 people, nor among the other languages, which have 407,000 claimants of various linguistic backgrounds.

Thus German, Italian, and Ukrainian should be regarded not only as major regional languages, but also as the representative languages of the main immigrant linguistic families in Canada.

To illustrate the geographical distribution of one major regional language in Canada, the map "Distribution of the Ukrainian Language in the Prairie Provinces in 1961" is presented on page 159.

According to the 1961 census there is a belt, stretching from southeastern Manitoba to the regions of Edmonton and Peace River in Alberta, where Ukrainian is spoken by 10 per cent or more of the population. This belt is buffered with marginal areas where less than 10 per cent speak Ukrainian. There is also a linking area between Saskatchewan and Alberta with 5 per cent or less speaking the language. The next map illustrates the geographic distribution of the Ukrainian ethnic group. Basically it covers the same territory, although in some instances it exceeds the area shown in the first map. Thus, with only few exceptions, the linguistic distribution of Ukrainians in the Prairie Provinces is identical with their ethnic distribution. As can be seen from the second map, "the Ukrainian ethnic belt" in the Prairies is also buffered by marginal areas stretching on both sides of this belt and showing less than 10 per cent of ethnic claimants.

Similar maps showing German ethno-lingual concentration in the Prairies can be presented.

The following common features of both languages can be revealed:

a) They stretch through larger contiguous census tracts in close geographic proximity, thus differing from the smaller rural and urban enclaves by their territorial extension, their relative geographical constancy, and their sporadic expansion over the other ethnic groups.

b) They have been in functional use by individuals and groups continuously for 50, 75, 100 or more years without significantly changing their regional concentration.

c) They have created a rich oral and written Canadian tradition expressed in folklore as well as in literary and artistic works, mostly unknown to English- or French-speaking Canadians.

d) They continue to be functional in various spheres of individual, family, and community life.

The above considerations led me to the conclusion that there is an objective need to recognize some extra privileges for the languages of ethnic groups in regions where there is a concentration of speakers of a particular mother tongue. I believe that the following languages are spoken by enough people to be considered: Eskimo-Indian in the Northwest Territories and Yukon, German and Ukrainian in the Prairie Provinces, Italian in the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Montreal.

No other unofficial languages can compare with these in their degree of concentration and contiguousness, their expansive-fundamental role in community life, and the richness and variety of their oral and literary tradition in Canada.

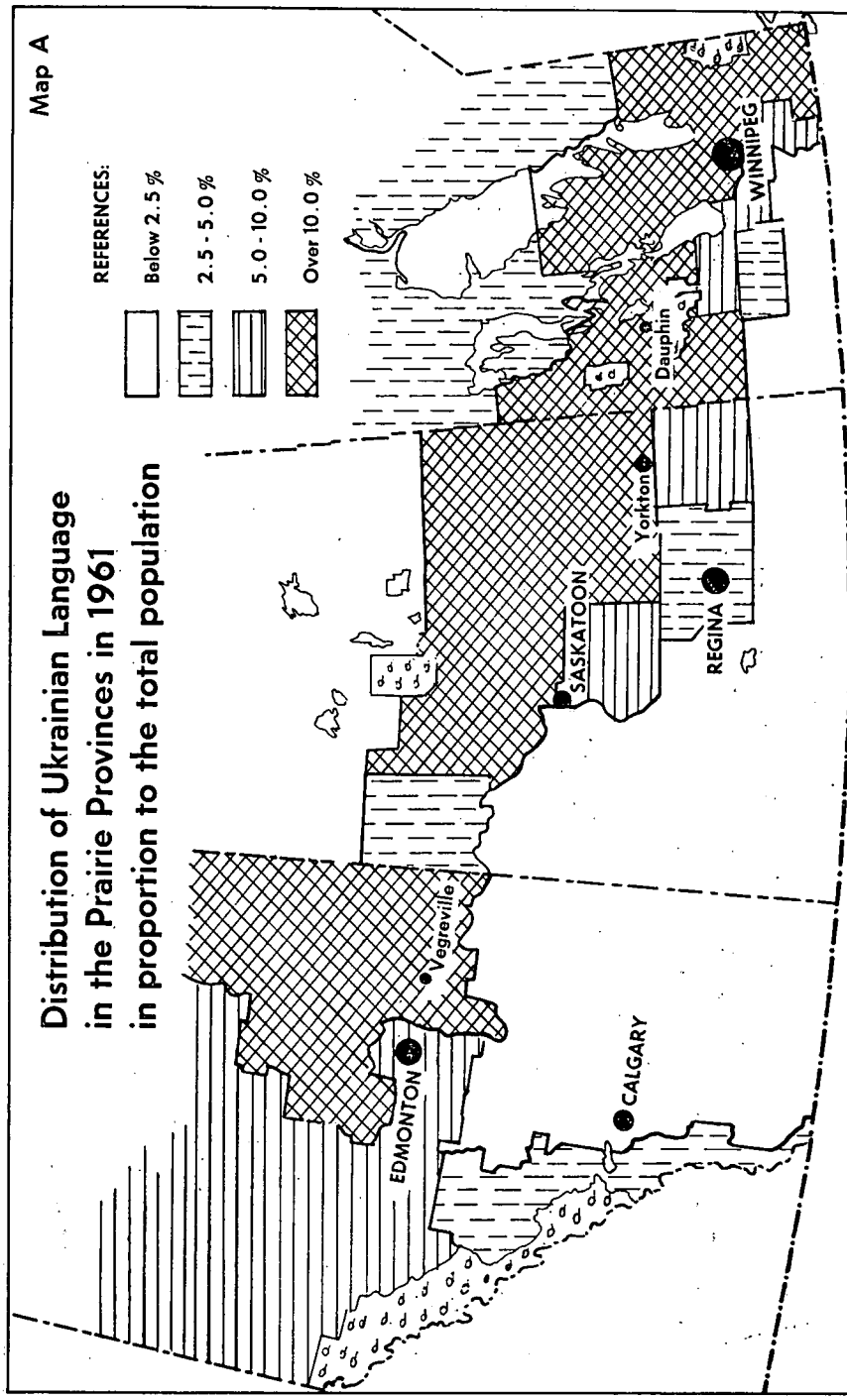
I believe the conclusions from the above considerations to be evident *per se*. Among the various unofficial languages, these should be recognized as regional languages of Canada with the following provisions:

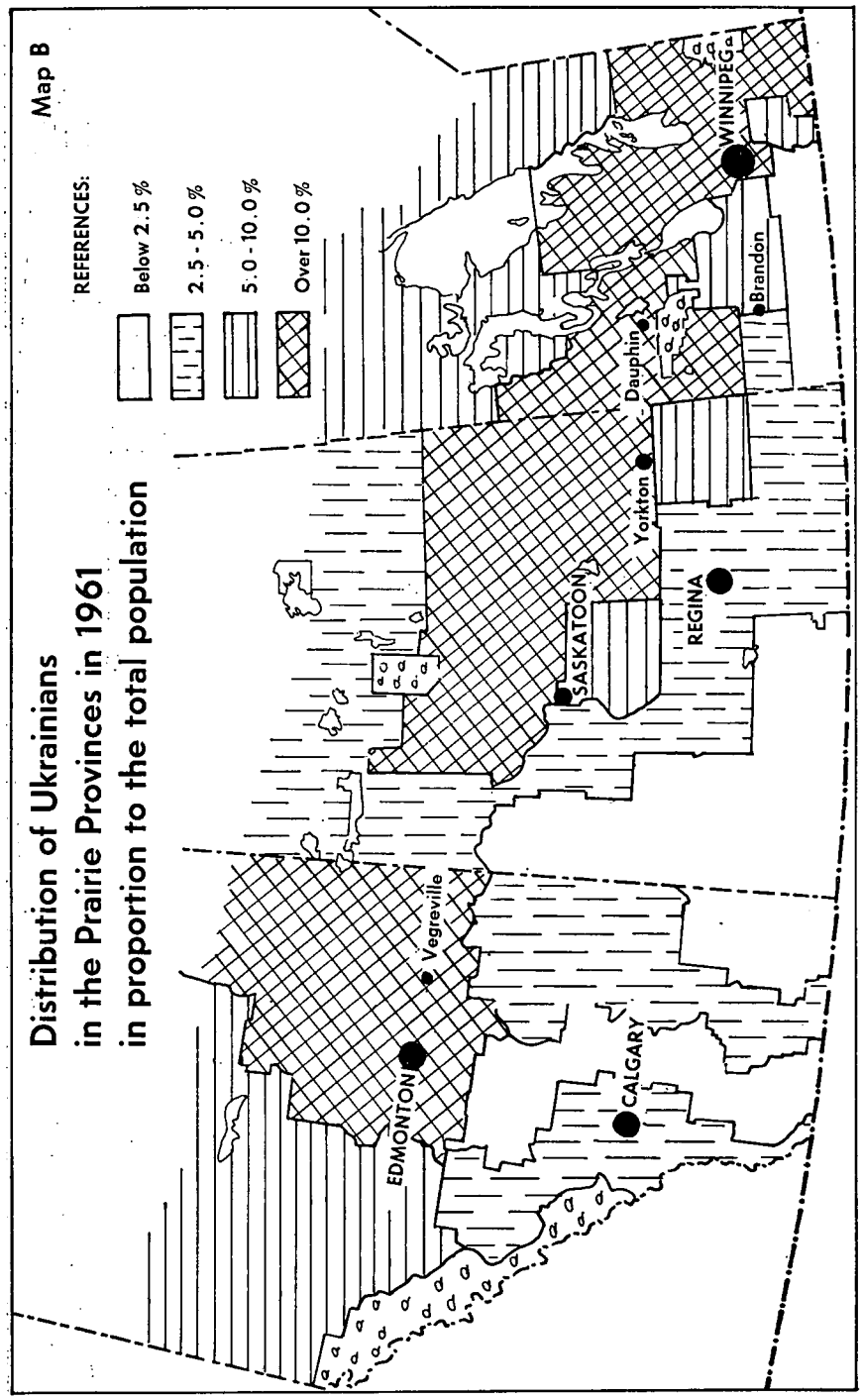
a) preference in education (as subjects or media of instruction at the elementary, high school, and university levels, the latter to include the establishment of federally supported non-denominational regional universities);

b) preferred use in the mass media (press, radio, television);

c) usage in the internal organizational and institutional life of the respective groups;

d) in other functions and for such purposes as the governments concerned may specify and approve as a response to public demand.


Map A
Distribution of Ukrainian Language
in the Prairie Provinces in 1961
in proportion to the total population
REFERENCES:
Below 2.5 %
2.5 - 5.0 %
5.0 - 10.0 %
Over 10.0 %
WINNIPEG
Dauphin
Yorkton
REGINA
SASKATOON
Vegreville
EDMONTON
CALGARY


Map B
Distribution of Ukrainians
in the Prairie Provinces in 1961
in proportion to the total population
REFERENCES:
Below 2.5 %
2.5 - 5.0 %
5.0 - 10.0 %
Over 10.0 %
WINNIPEG
Brandon
Dauphin
Yorkton
REGINA
SASKATOON
Vegreville
EDMONTON
CALGARY

Types of Bilingualism; Attitudes

Having in view the objective lingual data on the one hand, and the legal (constitutional) status of languages spoken in Canada on the other, two main types of bilingualism are distinguishable:

a) official bilingualism: English-French or (in Quebec in particular) French-English. According to the 1961 census, 2,231,172 (12 per cent) of the total population is officially bilingual in Canada;

b) regional bilingualism: knowledge and use of one of the official languages (English or French) along with another mother tongue. The main types of such bilingualism in Canada are English-German, English-Italian, English-Ukrainian, and French-Italian, French-Ukrainian, French-German.

Apart from the above types of bilingualism, there are also other marginal types. One of them is unofficial bilingualism—knowledge and use of languages other than English and French; for example, Russian-German, Ukrainian-Icelandic, Eskimo-Indian, and so on. According to the 1961 census there were 232,447 persons (1 per cent of the total population) knowing no English nor French; some of them, however, must have been unofficially bilingual.

There is a special category of extended bilingualism or multilingualism—knowledge of both official languages in addition to other regional ones, such as English-French-German-Ukrainian, English-French-Italian-German, and so on. This type of multilingualism is an individual phenomenon, occurring among persons with special linguistic interests and training.

There is a considerable variety of attitudes towards official and other kinds of bilingualism in Canada.

A special chapter of the Report deals with this problem, in particular with the attitudes of the English Canadians and French Canadians towards official bilingualism. Without going into details, I would like to summarize my findings and experiences in this respect. On one side I want to present an objective assessment of the attitudes of the other ethnic groups towards bilingualism in Canada, on the other the approaches and aspirations of English and French Canadians towards the minority languages in this country.

The most vocal group of non-English and non-French Canadians interprets Canadian bilingualism in terms of its universally (internationally) accepted definition and in terms of its oldest historically documented notion in Canada—that of the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897. In this connection Canadian bilingualism is claimed to be the knowledge and habitual use of the English language in addition to the other mother tongues, including French. Moreover, such bilingualism is claimed to be "official" because it was "officially" introduced and implemented between 1897 and 1916 in Manitoba under a federal-provincial agreement. In confronting this agreement with the terms of reference of the Commission it is emphasized that the latter look back into the history of Canada while the Laurier-Greenway agreement tried to look into the future of the country. The adherents of this view firmly reject the restriction of the term "official bilingualism" to English-French or French-English bilingualism only.

There are other people who base their attitudes on a "precedental" interpretation of section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, claiming that English-French bilingualism is a constitutionally instituted linguistic phenomenon in the province of Quebec only. However, they consider the constitutional guarantees of French by the B.N.A. Act as a legal precedent for the other ethnic languages which appeared later on the Canadian scene, in particular for German, Ukrainian, and Italian—the three major languages of the country following English and French. While claiming rights for all the languages spoken in Canada to be named "Canadian," the adherents of this view foresee for at least German, Ukrainian, and Italian a similar status in their respective areas as that of French in Quebec.

In this view, the ideal Canadian of the future stemming from the other ethnic groups should know his own mother tongue in addition to English—the common linguistic denominator not only of Canada but of the whole North American continent.

Another concept of Canadian bilingualism is advanced by a relatively small fraction of the other ethnic groups adhering to the idea of "two nations" in Canada. They follow some radical French elements in Quebec, seeking the dissolution of the Canadian Union and its disintegration into two equal states or nations: Quebec "libre" and (the rest of) Canada. The only official national language of the new state of Quebec should be French, and that of the new state of Canada should be English. French-English, French-Italian, French-Polish, and other kinds of bilingualism in Quebec should be a private matter of the citizens or groups concerned, including English. According to this view, the ideal Quebecker of non-French origin in the new state should know only French or French in addition to his mother tongue, and the ideal Canadian would need to know only English, or English in addition to his mother tongue.

The category of moderately minded Canadians of non-British and non-French origins, however, shows a remarkable degree of agreement and positive support for constitutional recognition, use, and teaching of the two official languages in Canada from coast to coast, and for a greater degree of official bilingualism in the federal and provincial governments as well as in public services. These people are firmly convinced of the utility and the future survival of the French language in this country. There is no objection on their side to the role of French as the language of instruction in public schools where it is warranted by general demand. While recognizing and supporting the idea of a broad application of official bilingualism in Canada, the adherents of this attitude foresee the preservation of other ethnic languages in addition to the two official languages in bilingual provinces and districts, and, in the context of regional bilingualism (English *or* French plus another language), in provinces and districts where unilingualism (English or French) now prevails. However, in either case, the adoption of other ethnic languages as subjects of instruction is strongly emphasized.

According to this view, the ideal Canadian of the future stemming from the other ethnic groups should be "extensively bilingual" (at least trilingual). He should know his mother tongue in addition to the two official languages of the country—English and French.

As far as the attitudes of English and French Canadians toward minority languages are concerned, here also a considerable variety of manners, feelings, and dispositions may be observed.

Most people are aware that the Canadian linguistic situation reflects in microcosm the global variety of tongues. They know that Canada, as few other countries in the world, has an obligation to do its best in language planning on a national level to comply not only with the internal needs in this domain, but also to face the linguistic reality in the modern world and to play its role on the international level. Consequently, their attitudes toward languages of other ethnic groups are favourable; they understand the needs of various minorities in the linguistic, educational, and cultural fields and they support the endeavours of every group to safeguard and to develop its linguistic and cultural treasures.

Yet, the history of the other ethnic groups in Canada knows also negative attitudes on the side of the dominant ethno-lingual groups towards minority languages and cultures. The wide range of manners and trends, of feelings and dispositions, has impeded to a great degree the development of other languages in Canada and caused their decline. One of the main reasons for this decline and even eventual extinction is the lack of formal recognition of these languages in the fundamental law of the country. Strange as it may seem, there is a conviction shared by quite a few Canadians of English and French origin that only the two official languages should be privileged to have constitutional recognition in Canada. Meanwhile, such recognition is, in my opinion, vital for the retention and further development of the other ethnic languages in this country. It is also essential for diminishing the discriminatory attitudes of some Canadians towards "non-Canadian" languages (as they are sometimes branded), and for raising their low-prestige status in comparison with languages formally recognized by the Constitution.

Effects of discriminatory attitudes of the dominant group towards minority languages are numerous. They vary from time to time, from place to place.

Statements emphasizing the need for formal recognition of minority languages as *conditio sine qua non* for their use and appreciation in Canada have been made time and time again.

According to findings presented by Dr. Jan L. Perkowski of the University of Texas at the second conference on Canadian Slavs, held in Ottawa June 11, 1967:

> In the cities, the Slavic languages are usually lost by the third generation with all members of the second generation being bilingual in English. Therefore, one can make the general statement that rural Slavs retain their ancestral languages at least one generation longer than urban Slavs. This is of course due to the greater mobility of population in cities and the stronger pressures for acculturation which are found there. However, modern means of communication such as television, jet planes, and automobiles tend to accelerate acculturation among the rural Slavs as well. The trend toward loss is obvious. Therefore, if any general study is ever to be made of Slavic speech in Canada, it *must* be made now. In a generation or two the opportunity will be completely lost.

This realistic opinion about the Slavic languages in Canada might well be applied to other minority languages, not protected by constitutional provisions. Otherwise, to quote Dr. Perkowski again, "the process of linguistic assimilation will soon bring about their extinction."

Incidents of discriminatory attitudes towards non-official languages were brought up by a number of people during the Commission's hearings across the country.

For example, speaking on behalf of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada during the Commission's Toronto hearings, Mrs. Ann Tokarek of Hamilton related a significant incident which took place in her own home during the census-taking in 1961:

> . . . the census-taker came to the house and when she knew that the mother tongue in my house was Ukrainian she was really rude. She said, 'You live in Canada; you were born in Canada, and yet you do not speak English in your house.' My children were bilingual from the first, but it is everybody's privilege to speak the language they want in their home. . . . I believe that the government, or even the Commission, should make a recommendation that there should be a different way of taking the census; that people who are apt to be prejudiced should not be allowed to go out and put down what they please. . . .

In some cases the public discriminatory attitudes toward languages other than English led to "linguicidal" measures which resulted in the constant decline of the minority languages in Canada.[1]

Thus the abolition of bilingual schools in Manitoba by an act of the legislature in 1916 might be termed a linguicidal act. This act was bitterly opposed by the French, German, Ukrainian, and Polish groups, but the reaction was dealt with firmly. The strongest opposition came from the Mennonites; a considerable number of them emigrated to Mexico in 1919, defending German as an instructional language in their schools. After 50 years of "linguistic Babylonian captivity" French was re-established as an instructional language in some districts in Manitoba, and Ukrainian became an elective subject in the high school curriculum.

Linguicide is not confined to restrictive measures only. There are other kinds of linguicidal acts which cause the partial or complete lingual destruction of a community speaking a given language. Some governments deliberately inflict on ethno-lingual groups conditions of cultural backwardness by refusing help in their organic linguistic and cultural development. As a result the low-prestige feeling develops within the groups concerned and lingual switches to dominant languages occur.

Protection of Regional and Other Minority Languages

In countries with more than one official language, there are provisions for the use and protection of the minority languages. In most cases those provisions are formulated in

[1] The term "linguicide" was defined by a Special Committee on Linguicide to be presented to the United Nations on the occasion of the International Year for Human Rights, 1968, as follows:

> Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part or to prevent the natural development of a language or dialect should be considered as a linguicidal act:
> a) killing members of a community speaking a respective language or dialect (genocide);
> b) imposing repressive measures intended to prevent the natural, organic, development of a language or dialect;
> c) forcibly inflicting on a bilingual community conditions of cultural development calculated to transform it into a unilingual group;
> d) against the will of an ethno-lingual group denying the right of a language to be taught in public schools, to be used in mass media (press, radio, television, etc.);
> e) against the demand of an ethno-lingual group refusing moral and material support for its language maintenance efforts and cultural endeavours.
>
> It is apparent that only measures c) to e) might apply to Canadian reality.

special articles of the constitutions concerned—for example, article 8 of the Constitution of Austria, article 216 of the Constitution of Burma, articles 90 and 86 of the Constitutions of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics respectively.

With few exceptions those provisions are presented in general terms, as for example, in article 347 of the Constitution of India. The term "regional languages" is introduced and the provisions are defined in very general terms: "On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognized by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognized throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify."

One of the most specific and particular formulations of language laws is in the Constitution of Roumania. In its article 82 the following provisions are made for non-Roumanian languages in that country:

The national minorities are guaranteed the free use of their own languages, tuition of all categories in their own languages, and books, newspapers, and theatres in their own languages. In districts inhabited also by populations of a nationality other than Roumanian, all organs and institutions shall use orally and in writing the language of the respective nationalities as well, and shall appoint officials from among the ranks of the respective nationality or of local inhabitants conversant with the language and the way of life of the local population.

In this connection it should be mentioned that the Commission considered also the possibility of constitutional provisions for unofficial languages in the context of a comparison with the Swiss pattern, distinguishing "official" and "national" languages.

It is not only our Commission which is concerned with some kind of recognition to be given to the languages of the other ethnic groups. Canadian thinkers and the objectively-minded public in general expressed, many times and in various occasions, opinions on the necessity of constitutional recognition of those languages.

A book by M. Faribault and R. M. Fowler, *Ten to One—The Confederation Wager,* published in 1965, proposed a new constitution for Canada. The authors discuss the languages of groups other than English and French and suggest a special article 25 concerning the languages of other minorities:

There are several substantial minorities in Canada whose language is neither French or English. In most cases, when they come to this country, they adopt for Canadian use one or other of the two main languages. However, the preservation by these other minorities of their own cultures through the private use of their languages is important to them, and it is valuable to Canada that these other cultures be preserved. We will have a richer national fabric if we can retain the colour and diversity of many cultures. There should be no restraint or restriction on the use in Canada of languages other than French and English for the education of children, the internal administration of minority communities, or their recourse to Canadian Courts.

And here is article 25 as proposed by Faribault-Fowler:

Minorities speaking a language other than either of the two official languages may not be restrained or restricted in their natural development, either by legislation, taxation, or administration, especially as regards the use of such language in the education of their children, the internal administration of their communities, and recourse to the Courts.

In very general terms this view has been expressed in many other published and unpublished works in Canada dealing with other ethnic groups and possible solutions of their language problems. In a paper entitled *Canada's Cultural Heritage: Ukrainian Contribution* (Winnipeg, 1964), O. Woycenko writes:

. . . it should be stressed at this point that some form of acceptance, or official recognition should be given the various languages spoken in Canada, if cultural diversity is to be continued. A pattern which actually exists, is generally acknowledged and is highly appraised by all deeper thinking individuals in this country and elsewhere. More organized efforts are needed to provide opportunities and facilities for all desiring to study the language of their choice. As retrospective statistical data show, Ukrainian (as well as other non-English and non-French languages) in Canada is in decline. Comparing, for instance, the percentage of Ukrainians speaking the mother tongue in 1951, viz. 89.2% of the total Ukrainian population, with that of 1961, it dropped down to 76.4%. In other words, in the last decade approximately 13% of Canadians of Ukrainian origin lost command of their language, in most cases switching to English. This decline in language cultivation is to a great extent due to lack of interest and encouragement which could be achieved, once the languages receive some form of legal recognition and formal status. After all they are an integral part of the Canadian reality and form an important cultural asset, the nurturing of which should be a joint responsibility of us all. . . . (pp. 13-14).

Strong feelings with regard to the constitutional recognition of other languages were expressed in the briefs of various groups submitted to our Commission.

The Canada Ethnic Press Federation, in a brief based on a study by Judge W. J. Lindal of Winnipeg, an ardent supporter of the idea of official bilingualism from coast to coast, had the following to say with regard to constitutional recognition of languages of the other ethnic groups:

The Unofficial Languages

44. a) These languages are spoken or "used" in so many areas in Canada that it would be unrealistic to refer to them as foreign languages. They are the 'mother tongue' of 14% of the population. On the basis of ethnic origin about 26% of the people of Canada are of non-British, non-French origin. They all are at various stages in the selection of English or French as their Canadian mother tongue. Hence it is reasonably fair to say that these people are factually bilingual, English or French being their Canadian tongue and the language of origin their other language.

45. b) These languages have a status in Canada and in some way recognition must be given to them.

The most elaborate recommendation in this respect was submitted in the brief of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences—UVAN of Canada in Winnipeg:

In order to safeguard "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada" including the contribution of Ukrainian Canadians, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) recommends as follows:

The present constitution of Canada (B.N.A. Act) should be amended by (or any new future constitution should include) a statement that

1. Canada is a commonwealth of individuals and groups of various cultural backgrounds united by the will to live together as a nation.

2. Canada has two official languages, English and French and several other ethnic tongues which constitute the Canadian linguistic pattern.

In the preamble to this recommendation the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences revealed *vox populi* in this respect:

To explore the attitude of Canadians of Ukrainian descent to the problems of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences undertook a kind of "Gallup Poll" in 1963, mailing a questionnaire direct to individuals and institutions, as well as utilizing the mass media by publishing same in the Ukrainian press in Canada, thereby reaching a cross-section of our society of approximately one hundred thousand individuals.
The following four questions were asked (answers in percentage are given immediately below);

1. Do you think that the Ukrainian language should have the same official status in Canada as English and French?

YES—46%

2. Do you think that the Ukrainian language in Canada should retain the same status as it has up to this time?

YES—3%

3. Do you think that the Ukrainian language should receive some form of constitutional recognition in Canada?

YES—50%

4. Have you any other suggestions to this problem?

1% answered to this question.

The above survey shows that a majority of Canadians of Ukrainian descent are of the opinion that the Ukrainian language in Canada should have its due status within the constitutional provisions of this country.

Out of 100%:

46% of the answers wanted the Ukrainian language to be elevated to the same status as English and French.

50% expressed the wish that the Ukrainian language in Canada be given a constitutional warrant in general.

In other words, 96% of those participating in the survey consider the language to be a basic factor in the preservation of their cultural heritage in Canada, the fostering of which should be encouraged in all possible ways including a constitutional recognition of the language itself.

Conclusion: Recommendation re Proposed New Version of the B.N.A. Act, Section 133

The above considerations have led me to support some form of constitutional recognition of major languages other than English and French in addition to the already approved amendment to section 133 of the B.N.A. Act, and in particular to subsection 5 dealing with the languages of other ethnic groups.

In this connection I recommend:

a) With regard to minor unofficial languages, the renumbering of proposed subsection 5 of the amendment to subsection 6;

b) With regard to major unofficial languages, the adoption of a new subsection 5 of this amendment:

Notwithstanding anything in this section, any language other than English or French used by 10 per cent or more of the population of an appropriate administrative district of a province or territory shall have the status of a regional language; the legislation of the provisions for regional languages shall be vested in the governments concerned.

Consequently, **the new version of the recommended amendment to section 133 of the B.N.A. Act is as follows:**

1. English and French are the two official languages of Canada.

2. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of Parliament of Canada and in the legislatures of all the provinces, and both languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of the Houses of the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec, and either may be used by any person in any pleading or process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and in or from any of the Superior Courts of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec. The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of the provinces of New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec shall be enacted and published in both English and French.

3. The provisions of subsection 2 shall apply to any additional province in which those persons whose mother tongue is either English or French shall reach or exceed 10 per cent of the population of the province; and to any province which declares that English and French are its official languages.

4. Whenever in any province the English- or French-speaking population of the appropriate administrative unit reaches a substantial proportion, this unit shall be constituted into a bilingual district, and there shall be enacted federal and provincial legislation making judicial and administrative services in such bilingual district available in both official languages.

5. Notwithstanding anything in this section, any language other than English and French used by 10 per cent or more of the population of an appropriate administrative district of a province or territory shall have the status of a regional language; the legislation of the provisions for regional languages shall be vested in the governments concerned.

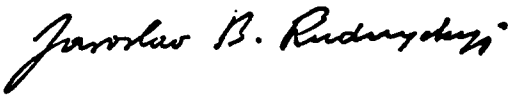
6. Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada.

As was shown above, the major regional immigrant languages in Canada—German, Italian, and Ukrainian—are at the same time the leading languages in their respective family groups: Teutonic, Romance, and Slavic. The new recommended subsection on regional languages provides the necessary checks against any "Balkanization" of the linguistic scene in Canada, since a language to be recognized as a regional language requires the existence of a group of adherents comprising 10 per cent or more of the population in the given region and their willingness to preserve and develop their language as a means of communication and a vehicle of the respective ethnic culture.

Finally, the concept of regional languages, as outlined in the proposed amendment, takes account of the existing Canadian ethno-lingual scene. It not only provides an important

and indisputable legal means to safeguard the cultural contribution of the major ethnic groups, but is also an open-end provision offering opportunities to retain and develop the language and culture of any viable ethno-lingual group in Canada, as requested by the terms of reference of the Commission.

It is evident that if my recommendation is accepted then the proposed federal Official Languages Act and the Commissioner of Official Languages should be changed to federal Languages Act and the Commissioner of Languages in Canada respectively. (*See* §§426-439).



J. B. RUDNYCKYJ

August 8, 1967

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau, Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,[1] Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnyckyj, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

[1] Jean Marchand's resignation from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966, Prof. Gilles Lalande of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration — including Crown corporations — and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

(a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;

(b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;

(c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;

(d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry;

(e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON
Clerk of the Privy Council

The Commission held its public hearings during 1965, following the regional meetings of 1964. During the regional meetings, which were dealt with in the *Preliminary Report* of February 1965, the Commissioners were able to grasp the attitudes of several thousand Canadians throughout the country as they discussed the questions raised by the Commission's terms of reference. In the public hearings, on the other hand, briefs written by individuals, groups of individuals, or organizations were presented and discussed. Some of the hearings were held simultaneously in different cities, the Commission having divided in two on these occasions.

Ottawa	March 1, 2, and 3
Montreal	March 15, 16, and 17
Toronto	March 29, 30, and 31
Vancouver	May 11 and 12
Winnipeg	May 17, 18, and 19
Quebec City	June 9 and 10
Halifax	June 14
Moncton	June 16
Montreal	November 29 and 30, December 1
Toronto	November 30, December 1, 2, and 3
Regina	December 6
Edmonton	December 6 and 7
Winnipeg	December 9 and 10
Ottawa	December 13, 14, 15, and 16

Appendix III Briefs Submitted to the Commission

The individuals, associations, and organizations listed below presented briefs to the Commission. The Commission also received four confidential briefs whose authors wished to remain anonymous.

L'Accord, Montréal

Agricultural Institute of Canada, Ottawa

Alberta Bilingual Teachers' Association, Edmonton

Allen, Meta C., Quebec

Alliance française de Toronto, Toronto

Amis de la langue française, Calgary

Andrews, R. G., Brampton, Ontario

Anglican Church of Canada: Department of Christian Social Service, Toronto

Anglican Church of Canada: Diocese of Rupert's Land, Fort Garry, Manitoba

Anglin, D. G.; Baril, J. P.; Beesack, P. R.; Cherniak, E. A.; Fleischauer, C. F.; Gifford, H.; Illman, W. I.; Jackson, R.; Kushner, E.; Lloyd, J. E. R.; McDougall, R. L.; McLay, A. D.; Middlebro', T.; Oppenheimer, E. M.; Paltiel, K. Z.; Rowat, D. C.; Swallow, E. M. and Tassie, J. S., Ottawa

Association acadienne d'éducation du Nouveau-Brunswick, Caraquet, New Brunswick

Association acadienne d'éducation de la Nouvelle-Écosse, Church Point, Nova Scotia

Association des anciens élèves du collège de Saint-Boniface, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Association of Canadian Clubs, Ottawa

Association canadienne des bibliothécaires de langue française, Quebec

Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française, Quebec

Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta, Edmonton

Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario, Ottawa

Association canadienne de la radio et de la télévision de langue française, Jonquière, Quebec

Association des commissaires d'école catholiques de langue française du Canada, Ottawa

Association culturelle canadienne-française de Timmins, Timmins, Ontario

Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan et Association des commissaires d'école franco-canadiens, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Association des diplômes d'université, Ottawa

Association des éditeurs canadiens, Montreal

Association des éducateurs canadiens d'origine italienne, Montreal

Association d'éducation des Canadiens-français du Manitoba, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Association des enseignants franco-ontariens, Ottawa

Association des étudiants de langue française du Nord de l'Ontario, Sudbury

Association des femmes de carrière de Granby, Granby, Quebec

Association des femmes diplômées des universités, Montreal

Association des fonctionnaires fédéraux d'expression française, Ottawa

Association des inspecteurs franco-ontariens et des professeurs d'écoles normales, Ottawa

Association des instituteurs acadiens, Campbellton, New Brunswick

Association des instituteurs de langue française du Manitoba, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Association des médecins de langue française du Canada, Montreal

Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, Montreal

Association des professeurs de français des universités canadiennes, Winnipeg

Association des professeurs universitaires, Moncton, New Brunswick

Association des professeurs de l'Université de Montréal, Montreal

Association professionnelle des industriels, Montreal

Association professionnelle des professeurs laïques de l'enseignement classique de la province de Québec incorporée, Montreal

Association of United Ukrainian Canadians: Manitoba Section, Winnipeg

Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto

Association des universitaires du collège de Saint-Boniface, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Babion, R. G., Fort William, Ontario

Barbeau, Raymond, Montreal

Bargetto, Fred, Toronto

Barker, Charles, Montreal

Barton, Mrs. Winnifred G., Ottawa

Bastedo, Frank and Gordon, P. H., Victoria

Bates, Gordon, Toronto

Beauchamp, René, Ottawa

Bélanger, André, Quebec

Bélanger, J. H., Ottawa

Bicultural Association of Montreal, Beaconsfield, Quebec

Biggar, J. H., Toronto

Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec

Board of Education for the City of Welland, Welland, Ontario

Boehm, Arnold H., Montreal

Boissonnault, Bertrand, Montreal

Booth, Joyce, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Bowen, J. A. C., Toronto

British Columbia Parent-Teacher Federation, Vancouver

Bronner, F. J. L., Victoria

Buller, Bernard H., Windsor, Ontario

Byelorussian Canadian Alliance, London

Calgary Public School Board, Calgary

Cameron, Alan; Grassick, Patrick; Litchinsky, David and Young, Raymond, Calgary

Canada Council, Ottawa

Canada Ethnic Press Federation, Winnipeg

Canada Junior Chamber of Commerce, Ottawa

Canada Press Club, Winnipeg

Canadian Alliance, Quebec

Canadian Association for Adult Education, Toronto

Canadian Association of Comparative Law, Edmonton

Canadian Association of Slavists, Edmonton

Canadian Authors' Association, Wolfville, Nova Scotia

Canadian Book Publishers' Council, Toronto

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Ottawa

Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Montreal

Canadian Conference of the Arts, Toronto

Canadian Council of National Groups, Toronto

Canadian Credit Institute, Toronto

Canadian Credit Men's Association Limited, Toronto

Canadian Federation of University Women, St. Catharines, Ontario

Canadian Hungarian Federation, Montreal

Canadian Industrial Editors' Association, Ottawa

Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants, Toronto

Canadian Institute of Cultural Research, Toronto

Canadian-Italian Business and Professional Men's Association, Montreal

Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa

Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation, Toronto

Canadian Library Association, Ottawa

Canadian Manufacturers' Association, Toronto

Canadian Mennonite Association, Altona, Manitoba

Canadian Museums Association, Toronto

Canadian National Institute for the Blind, Toronto

Canadian Nurses' Association, Ottawa

Canadian Polish Congress Incorporated, Toronto

Canadian Press, Toronto

Canadian Protestant League: Edmonton Branch, Edmonton

Canadian Protestant League: Ontario Region, London

Canadian Public Relations Society Incorporated, Downsview, Ontario

Canadian Slovak League, Hamilton

Canadian Society of Microbiologists, Montreal

Canadian Tourist Association, Toronto

Canadian Union of Students, Ottawa

Canadian University Press, Ottawa

Canadian Veterinary Medical Association, Ottawa

Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa

Canadian Wire Service Guild of the CBC News Service Newsrooms in Montreal and Ottawa, Montreal

Canadian Women's Press Club, Montreal

Canadian Yearly Meeting of Religious Society of Friends, Toronto

Carley, A. J.; Ellis, J. G.; Gibson, F. W.; Graham, John; Jones, R. E.; Knox, F. A.; Lederman, W. R.; Leigh-Wood, K. J.; Leith, J. A.; Lower, A. R. M.; O'Brien, R. A.; Ryan, H. R. S.; Sawyer, W. R.; Schurman, D. M.; Shortliffe, Glen; Stanley, G. F. G.; Watts, R. L. and Wise, S. F., Kingston, Ontario

Catholic Women's League of Canada, Ottawa

Caughnawaga Defence Committee, Caughnawaga, Quebec

Cercle Molière, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Chambre de commerce de Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi, Quebec

Chambre de commerce de Magog incorporée, Magog, Quebec

Chambre de commerce Richelieu-Saint-Mathias, Richelieu, Quebec

Chambre des notaires de la province de Québec, Montreal

Chataway, H. D., Lindsay, Ontario

Chevaliers de Champlain, Sorel, Quebec

Chouinard, Jean-Yves, Quebec

Citizens Committee on Children, Ottawa

Citizenship Council of Manitoba, Winnipeg

Civil Service Association of Canada, Ottawa

Civil Service Federation of Canada, Ottawa

Clan Routier Jean Nicolet, Nicolet, Quebec

Classen, H. George, Ottawa

Claveau, Jean-Charles, Chicoutimi, Quebec

Club des anciens du collège militaire royal de Saint-Jean, Saint-Léonard, Quebec

Club canadien-français d'Oshawa, Oshawa, Ontario

Club Richelieu de Montréal and the Rotary Club of Montreal, Montreal

Collège de Bathurst, Bathurst, New Brunswick

Collin, Marcel, Ottawa

Comité Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, Ville de Laval, Quebec

Commercial Travellers' Association of Canada, Toronto

Committee for Continuing Studies in Canada of H. R. H. The Duke of Edinburgh's Commonwealth Study Conferences 1956-1962, Toronto

Communist Party of Canada, Toronto

Community Arts Council, Vancouver

Conrod, G. R., Westmount, Quebec

Conseil de la vie française en Amérique, Quebec

Conseil de Ville de LeMoyne, Ville de LeMoyne, Quebec

Co-operative Union of Canada, Ottawa

Cope, B. L., Roberts Creek, British Columbia

Corporation des agronomes de la province de Québec, Montreal

Corporation des instituteurs et institutrices catholiques du Québec, Quebec

Corporation of Professional Social Workers of the Province of Quebec, Montreal

Creighton, Mrs. Robert, Nanaimo, British Columbia

Curatorium of Ukrainian Catholic Schools, Winnipeg

Czechoslovak National Association of Canada, Toronto

Dalhousie University: Faculty of Graduate Studies, Halifax

Demorest, Marielle, Richmond, British Columbia

Dickason, Olive, Toronto

Dockrell, W. B., Lupul, M. R. and Moore, E. R., Edmonton

Dominion Drama Festival, Ottawa

Dreyfus, M. A., Ottawa

Edam and District Board of Trade, Edam, Saskatchewan

Educational Reference Book Publishers' Association, Toronto

Engineering Institute of Canada, Montreal

English, Mrs. P. M., Morin Heights, Quebec

Esperanto Services, Ottawa

Esthonian Central Council in Canada: Esthonian Federation in Canada, Toronto

Étudiants universitaires du collège Saint-Jean, Edmonton

Fédération des amicales lasalliennes du Canada, Montreal

Federation of Canadian Advertising and Sales Clubs, Montreal

Fédération canadienne-française de la Colombie-Britannique, Maillardville, British Columbia

Fédération canadienne-française de l'Ouest, Edmonton

Fédération des collèges classiques, Montreal

Fédération des jeunes chambres du Canada français, Montreal

Federation of Quebec Protestant Colonization and Settlement Societies, Montreal

Fédération des sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Ontario, Ottawa

Findlay, Mr. and Mrs. Bruce, Don Mills, Ontario

Flaherty, John F., Ottawa

Fortin, Marcel, Montreal

French Canada Week, Canadian Union of Students, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Friends of the Children's Public Library in Sudbury, Sudbury.

Gavrel, Guy, Ottawa

Gibson, Alice G., Ottawa

Glengarry Historical Society, Martintown, Ontario

Griffith, E. W., Montreal

Groupe français et ukrainien de Bruno, Humboldt et Saint-Brieux, Bruno, Saskatchewan

Hambley, G. H., Fort Frances, Ontario

Hamilton Junior Chamber of Commerce, Hamilton

Hamilton, W. H., Winnipeg

Hayden, Herbert W., Montreal

Hellenic Canadian Society of University Graduates, Montreal

Henry, A. S. and Francis, C., Victoria

Hisey, J. D., Richmond Hill, Ontario

Hochelaga Youth Group, LaSalle, Quebec

Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation of Manitoba Incorporated, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Horn, Kahn-Tineta, Caughnawaga, Quebec

Howarth, Jean, Toronto

Hrycuk, A., Cobourg, Ontario

Humanities Research Council of Canada, Ottawa

Icelandic Canadian Club, Winnipeg

Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, Toronto

Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Toronto

Institut canadien-français d'Ottawa, Ottawa

Institute of Citizenship, Toronto

Inter-Community Visits, Toronto

International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto, Toronto

Jackson, G. D., Toronto
Jeune chambre Ottawa-Eastview, Ottawa
Jeune chambre de Sept-Îles, Sept-Îles, Quebec
Jewish Labour Committee of Canada, Montreal
Joy, R. J., Ottawa
Junior Bar Association of Montreal, Montreal
Junior League of Montreal Incorporated, Montreal

Kear, A. R., Ottawa
Kehler, William, Rosenort, Manitoba
Keirstead, B. S., Toronto
Kelly, M. G., Chicago, Illinois
Kinsey, H. I., Willowdale, Ontario
Knight, Mr. and Mrs. H., Calgary
Krueger, Leonard, Thornhill, Manitoba

Laurentian University, Sudbury
Lavoie, Roger, Sudbury
Leblanc, Hervé T., Moncton, New Brunswick
London Public Library and Art Museum, London
Lower, Arthur R. M., Collins Bay, Ontario

Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company Limited, Toronto
Mandryka, M. I., Winnipeg
Manitoba Mennonite Trustee Association and Manitoba Mennonite Educational Committee, Winkler, Manitoba
Martel, Maurice, Ancienne Lorette, Quebec
Martineau, L., Montreal
McCalla, Enid F., Edmonton
McDonald, John H., Ottawa
McGill University, Montreal
McGill University: Alumnae Society, Montreal
McKinnon, Harold N., Glenboro, Manitoba
McWhinney, Edward, Montreal
Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's
Mennonite German Language Society, Vancouver
Mennonite Society for the Promotion of the German Language in Canada, Winnipeg
Michalski, A. S., Montreal
Monahan, H. S., Arvida, Quebec
Mongenais, Mr. and Mrs. Jean, Tecumseh, Ontario
Montreal Board of Trade, Montreal
Montreal Catholic School Commission, Montreal
Montreal Council of Women, Montreal
Montreal Star, Montreal
Moreau, Urbain, Trois-Rivières, Quebec
Morton, Desmond, Toronto
Morton, William L., Winnipeg
Mutual Co-operation League, Toronto
Myres, M. T., Calgary

National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges, Ottawa
National Farmers' Union, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, Toronto
National Theatre School of Canada, Montreal
Nelles, J. Gordon, Como, Quebec
Netherlands Canada Cultural Council, Winnipeg
Neville, S. J., Ottawa
New Brunswick Federation of Home and School Associations Limited, Cocagne, New Brunswick
New Democratic Party of Ontario, Toronto
Newman Alumni of Manitoba, St. Charles, Manitoba

Office catholique national des techniques de diffusion: Comité de culture cinématographique, Montreal
Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, Toronto
Ontario School Trustees' and Ratepayers' Association Incorporated, Toronto
Ottawa Newman Alumni Club, Ottawa

Parent, Mr. and Mrs. Georges, Quebec
Park, Marvin A., Canfield, Ontario
Pilkey, N., London
"Plast" Ukrainian Youth Association, Winnipeg
Plunier, Yann, Baie-Comeau, Quebec

Polish Alliance Friendly Society of Canada, Toronto

Poznanski, Thaddée, Quebec

Presbyterian Church in Canada: British Columbia Synod, Vancouver

Presse étudiante nationale, Montreal

Presunka, Peter, Ottawa

Prince Rupert Chamber of Commerce, Prince Rupert, British Columbia

Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, Ottawa

Promethean Society, Montreal

Protestant Federation of Patriotic Women of Canada, Toronto

Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce, Montreal

Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec, Montreal

Provincial Grand Orange Lodge of Saskatchewan, Ladies Orange Benevolent Association of Saskatchewan and Orange Benevolent Society of Saskatchewan, Regina

Quebec Association of Protestant School Administrators, Cowansville, Quebec

Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, Montreal

Quebec Camping Association Incorporated, Montreal

Quebec Federation of Protestant Home and School Associations, Montreal

Quebec Library Association, Montreal

Queen's University: Graduate Class in Comparative Federalism, Kingston, Ontario

Quittner, J. K., Toronto

Radford, Ruth, Milnes Landing, British Columbia

Radio-Gravelbourg limitée et Radio-Prairies-Nord limitée, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Radio-Saint-Boniface limitée, Saint-Boniface, Manitoba

Regina Chamber of Commerce Incorporated, Regina

Renaud, André, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Roberts, H. K., Quebec

Robinson, Brian, Montreal

Rochon, Paul, Montreal

Roland, Percy E., Montreal

Ronaghan, Allen, Consort, Alberta

Royal Commonwealth Society, Winnipeg

Royal Society of Canada, Ottawa

Rozinkin, William M., Nelson, British Columbia

Russell, Deane H., Ottawa

Ryerson Institute of Technology: History and Geography Department, Toronto

St. Andrew's College: University of Manitoba, Winnipeg

St. Dunstan's University, Charlottetown

St. Francis Xavier University: The Faculty, Antigonish, Nova Scotia

St. Jean, Earl K., Lakefield, Ontario

St. John's Institute, Edmonton

Sales and Marketing Executives Club of Toronto, Toronto

Sarnia Junior Chamber of Commerce, Sarnia, Ontario

Saskatchewan Federation of Home and School Incorporated, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

Scandinavian Centre Co-operative Association Limited, Edmonton

Scouts catholiques du Canada, Montreal

Secondary Schools of London District: The Teachers of French, London

Semczuk, S., Winnipeg

Senior Protestant School Administrators of the Province of Quebec, Saint-Lambert, Quebec

Sherbrooke Chamber of Commerce, Sherbrooke, Quebec

Shevchenko Scientific Society, Toronto

Sir George Williams Association of University Teachers, Montreal

Sir George Williams University, Montreal

Smith, Leigh, Ottawa

Social Science Research Council of Canada, Ottawa

Social Study Club of Edmonton, Edmonton

Société l'Assomption, Moncton, New Brunswick

Société d'étude et de conférences, Montreal

Société nationale des Acadiens, Moncton, New Brunswick

Société nationale populaire du Québec, Montreal

Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal, Montreal

Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste: section Saint-Pierre-Apôtre de Longueuil, Longueuil, Quebec

Société Saint-Pierre du diocèse d'Antigonish, Antigonish, Nova Scotia

Société Saint-Thomas d'Aquin, Charlottetown

Sociétés canadiennes-françaises de la région métropolitaine de Windsor, Windsor

Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants of Canada, Hamilton

Southwood, Harold T., Edmonton

Student Christian Movement of Canada, Toronto

Student Christian Movement in the University of Manitoba and in United College, Winnipeg

Sudbury and District Ministerial Association, Sudbury

Swystun, Wasyl, Winnipeg

Taillefer, M. J. Réjean, Montreal

Taylor, George W., Toronto

Taylor, R. L., Winnipeg

Tieman, Janet K., Thessalon, Ontario

Toronto French School Incorporated, Toronto

Towle, G. V., Vancouver

Trail Chamber of Commerce, Trail, British Columbia

Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians Incorporated, Hamilton

Turi, Giuseppe, Montreal

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Edmonton Branch, Edmonton

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Headquarters, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Lakehead Branch, Fort William, Ontario

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Montreal Branch, Montreal

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Vancouver Branch, Vancouver

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Winnipeg Branch, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Canadian Committee: Women's Council, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Organization, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Toronto

Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association, Montreal

Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg, Yorkton, Saskatchewan

Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood of Canada, Edmonton

Ukrainian Catholic Teachers: Markian Shashkevich Society, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada, Winnipeg

Ukrainian National Federation of Canada Incorporated, Toronto

Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada, Toronto

Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, Regina

Ukrainian Professional and Business Men's Club, Winnipeg

Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association: Alberta Provincial Executive, Edmonton

Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, Toronto

Ukrainian Teachers' Association of Canada, Toronto

Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Hamilton

Union des pasteurs canadiens-français, Montreal

Union des sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Eastview, Eastview, Ontario

Unitarian Churches of Montreal and Pointe-Claire, Montreal

United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, Moncton, New Brunswick

United Church of Canada, Ottawa

United Church of Canada: Manitoba Conference and Wininpeg Presbytery, Winnipeg

United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, Toronto

United Fishermen and Allied Workers' Union, Vancouver

Université de Montréal, Montreal

University of Alberta: General Faculty Council, Edmonton

University of Manitoba: The Senate, Winnipeg

University of Manitoba Students' Union, Winnipeg

University of Ottawa, Ottawa

University of Toronto, Toronto

University of Toronto: Department of French, Toronto

University of Toronto Press, Toronto

University of Toronto: Students' Law Society, Faculty of Law, Toronto

University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario

University Women's Club of Calgary, Calgary

University Women's Club of Edmonton, Edmonton

Van't Hoff, Robert, Calgary

Voice of Canada League, Ottawa

Voice of Women, Toronto

Warren, Fred S., Edmonton

Wesley, George J., Montreal

Williams, T. J. T., Toronto

Wilson, F. W., Edmonton

Woman's World: The Journal of the Ukrainian Women's Organization of Canada, Winnipeg

Woodsworth, J. A., Vancouver

Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, Toronto

Yukon Federation of Home and School Associations, Whitehorse, Yukon Territory

A Royal Commission must decide for itself how much it will rely on a research programme as a basis for its report. The decision will be based, usually, on the nature of the Commission's terms of reference and the kind of information that it believes is required. Sometimes the subject of study is narrowly defined and evidence gathered from public or private testimony is all that is needed. Under these circumstances, research is unnecessary. Commission legal counsel and/or technical consultants take the place of a research staff. More and more frequently, however, Canadian governments have established Royal Commissions to explore a broadly defined social problem—Taxation, Health, Education, Transportation are recent examples—about which insufficient information is available to permit wise public policies to be defined. When a Commission is given this kind of task, some research activity is inescapable. But the extent of research may still be modest: information may be readily accessible in appropriate classifications; a stock of data, gathered by government, industry, or the universities, may simply have to be sifted and weighed.

The Preface of the Report makes it clear that this Commission did not find itself in such a fortunate position. From the outset, the Commissioners realized that an extensive research programme was required: their terms of reference were exceedingly broad; few prior studies had been made using language and culture as the main categories of analysis; there was a clear need for factual information in a readily accessible form to nourish future public discussions of the problems of language and culture.

Once the decision was made to embark on a considerable research programme, the Commission devoted itself to specifying the kinds of studies it wished to make. By January 1964, when the Director of Research and Professor Léon Dion of Laval University, the Special Consultant on Research, were appointed, a list of topics had been prepared that provided the basis for more detailed planning. By the spring of 1964, the Commission was approving a series of projects, most of which were

begun during the summer months. As the research staff expanded, close liaison was maintained between Commissioners and research workers. Projects were almost imperceptibly modified as field work progressed, and the Commissioners had to be certain that they remained consistent with their mandate. The insights obtained through regional meetings, public hearings, and private meetings had to be blended with the views on research methods and on fruitful lines of inquiry coming from the social scientists conducting the research. Much of the responsibility for day-to-day communications inevitably lay with the Co-Chairmen, the Co-Secretaries, and the Director of Research and the Special Consultant, but regular reports were made to the Commission as a whole and individual Commissioners closely followed research projects involving their special fields of interest. When research reports were finally submitted, much closer relations between Commissioners and the research staff were established through study groups that permitted a thorough discussion and assessment of research findings.

The research of the Commission was undertaken through contracts and through the work of Commission research staff. We realized from the outset that it would be impossible to recruit as staff a sufficient number of senior scholars to accomplish all that had been planned. Many projects, however, could be undertaken by university professors available full-time during the summer months and part-time during the academic year under a contractual agreement. Nearly two-thirds of the research reports were prepared under such arrangements made with professors or other senior staff from 24 Canadian, five American and six other universities. Other topics, however, were better handled by a central research staff and this applied especially to those that were focussed on the federal Public Service and the National Capital Region. The final research programme constituted more than 150 contracts and internal research projects. They were grouped into research divisions, each directed by a research supervisor who was wherever possible a member of the full-time Ottawa staff. At the busiest period, there were 12 such divisions.

The research supervisors, whose names appear on page 200, played a crucial role. Individually, they were responsible for setting and maintaining high standards for the projects in their divisions. Through seminars and supervisors' meetings they shared collectively in the tasks of co-ordinating the work of the research department and of assessing and criticizing both methods and findings.

Links between the academic community and the Commission's research programme were close. At the initial planning stages in the spring of 1964, a consultative committee of 13 Canadian scholars reviewed and criticized the preliminary list of projects, and many members of this committee later took on research responsibilities themselves or acted as individual consultants. As work progressed the Commission was able to draw upon a range of knowledge and experience far wider than that represented by the Commission staff itself. The Special Consultant on Research, Léon Dion, shared fully with the Director of Research the tasks of planning and directing the programme. Other contacts were less regular, but these consultations and exchanges strengthened many projects and gave the research department the

assurance that its methods and its formulations of problems corresponded to the latest and best thinking of the academic community.

The research studies prepared for the Commission are listed on pages 201 to 212, according to the part of the Report to which they related most closely. These groupings do not correspond exactly with the research divisions, which were the working units for the Commission's research staff, for the latter were operational rather than logical clusters. Included in the studies are a number of essays that were not strictly research projects.

A list of projects gives little idea of the kinds of problems faced in designing and executing the research programme, and of the methods used; they merit, perhaps, a brief commentary. It should be stressed that the order in which the Books of the Report are discussed will not necessarily be the order of publication.

A. The Official Languages

The first Book of the Commission's Report is divided into two parts. Part I constitutes a description and assessment of a wide range of facts regarding Canada's two principal languages and the people who speak them, and it is to this section of the Book that research made its chief contribution. Because the Book is concerned with the country as a whole, the demographic structure of the Canadian population and the recognition given to the French and English languages in our legal and constitutional system were the major problems. The demographic study prepared by members of the Demography Department of the Université de Montréal and the mapping project undertaken by the McGill Geography Department both relied almost exclusively on data from the Census of Canada. The biggest obstacle they encountered was the lack of a census question on the principal language used by the respondents; the Commission has recommended that a new question be added to the census.

Discovering the past and present structure of language legislation governing Canadians proved to be a massive undertaking, because the required references were very scattered and there were few previous studies in the field. The legal scholar who worked on these problems had been asked in addition to describe how practice amplified or narrowed the provisions of law that he discovered. Only a beginning could be made on this problem, through questionnaires sent to officials of selected courts and municipalities and through interviews. The need for more, and more readily available, information will be even greater in the future as a consequence of the Commission's recommendations regarding bilingual districts.

The experience of other countries with two or more major languages was bound to be instructive. The initial problems were which countries to select and how to gather the required information about them. Rather than attempting to compile a little information about almost every country where more than one language has official status, we decided to study quite intensively a small number of states. The danger of singling out legal and institutional provisions without understanding their social and political context could thus be reduced. Belgium, Switzerland, South Africa, and Finland were finally selected, but a supplementary report on

the experience of newer states was prepared under contract to a Canadian specialist. For three of the four countries chosen, residents of these states, with personal experience of the social background lying behind language law and practice, were asked to undertake studies. In the case of Finland, the data book prepared by a Commission staff member was read and criticized by several Finnish scholars.

Given information on the linguistic and cultural structure of Canada's population, on its system of language law and (less completely) custom, and on the comparable situation in other countries, the Commission had available much of the data for Book I. The Commissioners drew on several other studies for information on the attitudes and behaviour of Canadians with relation to language questions.

Two types of study were useful. First were those that attempted to measure how much Francophones outside Quebec were being drawn into an English-language ambit. Studies on regions of New Brunswick and Manitoba and on the city of Toronto considered such areas as television viewing, magazine and newspaper reading, association membership, and school attendance, to see to what extent a will to remain Francophone persisted. To round out this picture, similar information was culled from other studies on the mass media and on education.

A second kind of research project, the national survey, was also important. The Commission contracted for two surveys using a national probability sample—one for adults and one for youth. Information so obtained has been helpful for all Books of the Report. Among other things, the results measured the use of French, English, and other languages in various social settings, and the extent to which there was a desire to use them more. The surveys provided distributions on attitudes towards an extended public recognition of French in the federal Public Service and in education. Together they permitted some assessment of the similarities and differences between the feelings of youth and adults.

B. The Work World: Government and Private Enterprise

This Book will be the longest of the Report, and it is based on the greatest volume of research. The research was organized in three main areas: the comparative social and economic status of Canadians of various ethnic origin; the federal Public Service including the Armed Forces; and the private sector of the work world, especially in Quebec.

It was common knowledge that Francophones appeared infrequently in lists of the leading figures of the business world, and that in many cities the French-speaking residential areas were characterized by low incomes. But almost nothing was known in detail about the relationships between cultural factors like ethnic origin, mother tongue, and religion on the one hand, and economic and social factors like income, education, and occupation on the other. Data on all these variables were gathered as part of the Census of Canada, but the Dominion Bureau of Statistics rarely published tables that related the cultural data to the economic. We therefore asked the Bureau to produce the computer tapes we needed. This in itself was a considerable task, for which we thank the Bureau.

With the new information at hand, a project analyzing the income and occupa-

tions of various ethnic groups could begin; but guidelines for interpretation were few and remote from Canadian experience. Economists concerned with the plight of the Negro in the United States had begun to look at ethnicity as a factor explaining income and occupation levels, and something could be drawn from this experience. But the concepts developed to study a minority seeking total integration and an end to discrimination had only a limited value when applied to the relations between two linguistic communities, each concerned with maintaining its particularity but on a basis of equality.

Even the small number of parallel American studies were exceptions, however, for the main stream of economic analysis ignored factors of language and culture in dealing with the determination of incomes and occupations. It was assumed that persons with the same levels of skill, education, experience, and so on, were interchangeable. The Commission study focussing on these problems is, therefore, a pioneer venture. New data have been presented and described; new explanatory theories are suggested.

A companion piece to the study on incomes is the investigation of the control of Quebec business firms. Together these research reports help to measure the differences in economic participation among the ethnic groups of Canada. Another study deals with the degree of concentration of Francophones in low-income regions and examines the relative geographic mobility of Canadians of various origins. The resulting picture is a complex one, and the Commission studies only begin to analyze its implications.

Studies of the overall structure of Canadian incomes and occupations, seen in ethnic and linguistic terms, served as a backdrop for the Commission's more intensive examination of a single, but large, segment of the work world—the federal Public Service. To some extent, the census data used for the whole Canadian scene could help determine the pattern of incomes and occupations for public servants, and these figures were, in fact, analyzed. But they left important gaps —particularly the distribution of public servants by departments or Crown corporations—which could not be filled by any data from the personnel records of the Public Service itself. To complete the picture, we launched a sample survey of the whole Public Service, designed to gather information on actual language use and on attitudes to bilingualism and biculturalism.

Other studies focussed on important functions performed by the Public Service—the recruitment of personnel (Were comparable efforts made to recruit Anglophones and Francophones? Were differences in language and culture taken into account in the way the candidates were assessed?); translation; the language training programme; and, perhaps most important, the way careers developed for members of each language group.

The study on careers presented particular problems of design, of information-gathering, and of interpretation. Once again, the research team faced an almost untouched field. Many inquiries into the way members of an organization related one to another (formal and informal structures) and to the world outside (clients and community) had been made by specialists in administration and industrial sociology. There were also studies of the career chances of minorities in institutions, mostly concentrating on the phenomenon of

discrimination. But there were no studies on the relationships between two language groups, examining their relative opportunities and their modes of participation in an institutional framework. Belgium, for example, had regulated minutely the use of language and distribution of posts between persons of different mother tongues, but no studies of the actual process of work interaction had preceded or followed the legislation. The construction of an interview schedule and the analysis of results therefore had to be worked out in terms of a project design which owed little to previous work.

A research technique little used in Canada was applied to the problems of assessing first, the degree of openness to change within the Public Service, and second, the kinds of adaptation already being considered by those concerned with giving fuller recognition to the French language and culture. Essentially, the technique—labelled (or mislabelled) "action research"—consisted of initiating, and acting as participant-observers in, a series of work sessions in selected government agencies. Programmes for fostering more effective participation of Francophones were developed during these sessions. Cooperation in this project, as in others, was excellent and a mine of information on the practicability of various policy alternatives could thus be exploited. As a method, action research proved challenging; those who use it must continually tread the narrow line dividing the observer from the fully committed, responsible participant.

It would have been useful to discover how the relative participation of English-speaking and French-speaking public servants, and the use of the two languages, had evolved over time. Historical studies were rare and never focussed on the Commission's interests, but the research effort required for a thorough check into the past was too great to be undertaken. We had to content ourselves with a brief glance at changes in legislation and regulations and at some of the special efforts made by political figures to augment the French presence in the Public Service. A somewhat more ambitious attempt could be made to examine the historical evolution of the two linguistic groups in the Armed Forces, for records and secondary sources were more readily available. But much remains to be described and explained.

The Armed Forces are different enough from the rest of the Public Service to require rather special treatment, but this was one of the rare instances where prior work had been done. The doctoral thesis of Professor Jacques Brazeau provided a platform from which further studies could be launched into questions of language use and the deployment of persons from French- and English-language backgrounds.

The research on the Public Service mentioned thus far took the federal Public Service as a whole—or a massive part of it, like the Canadian Armed Forces—as its field. Studies were primarily concerned with its overall structure and such relevant processes as recruiting and career development. But each department of government and each Crown corporation has its special functions and creates an institutional framework, indeed an administrative style, of its own. Projects on individual departments and corporations were therefore undertaken to supplement the more general studies, especially when a very distinctive departmental character could be identified—for example, the Departments of External Affairs and

Finance, or the CBC, or the Treasury Board. Usually this research involved extensive interviewing as well as a study of basic documents defining the agency and its duties.

It is perhaps an indication of the shifting viewpoint of political science, however, as well as of the concerns of the Commission, that most of the studies on departments were as concerned with the attitudes of public servants, and their behaviour as members of a social sub-system, as with the formal arrangement of positions and their incumbents. Much the same can be said of the research projects which, to provide comparative material that was Canadian, examined the administrative arrangements of four cities (Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa, and Winnipeg) and three provinces (New Brunswick, Ontario, and Quebec). Whenever possible, information on the behaviour of public servants in their work situations and their attitudes to questions of language and culture accompanied the descriptions of posts which were held and the official use which was made of English and French. In only one case, however, were data on personal attitudes and behaviour patterns, inside and outside the service, the exclusive subject of a study: a survey of the Armed Forces attempted to assess the degree to which it was really possible to live as a Francophone in the various environments of military life. It was a venture into a hitherto unexplored aspect of military studies.

Two large studies and four smaller ones laid the foundations for that part of a subsequent Book which deals with the private sector of the work world. Inevitably, our interest was drawn to the large corporations which provide such a high percentage of industrial employment and exercise such a great influence on contemporary society. A team from the École des hautes études commerciales and McGill's Graduate School of Business undertook a multifaceted project. An elaborate questionnaire explored the roles performed by Francophones and Anglophones in a sample of large firms. Supplemented by interviews and the results of a simplified questionnaire for smaller firms, the data thus obtained provided the Commission not only with rich materials for analyzing participation and language use in private business, but also a basis for comparison with the public sector. Although firms located outside Quebec were included in the sample, Quebec—and within that province, Montreal—received special attention. Here the industrial relationship between Francophones and Anglophones reveals itself in all its complexity,[1] and two other studies, on the engineering profession of Quebec and the construction industry in Montreal, helped to deepen understanding of the patterns of interaction.

The second extensive project brought the Commission into the realm of industrial psychology. Do Francophones and Anglophones have the same outlook on business life? Particularly, do they believe that the same personal qualities and style are appropriate for industrial leadership? A battery of questionnaires, distributed to supervising personnel in seven large firms and, in part, to 794 small firms, sought answers to these and related questions. When the results were analyzed, the pattern which emerged left little doubt that,

[1] Indeed, so many Commission projects touched on one aspect or another of life in Montreal that the possibility of combining them in an integrated study of cultural relations in this metropolis is a most promising one. This synthesis must await other auspices than those of the Commission, however.

in spite of the difficulty of controlling factors other than language and culture, the differences in viewpoint between the two language groups were significant. The possibilities for more detailed probing along these lines are therefore intriguing.

Quebec is in rapid change. Were the attitudinal data obtained from questioning those already at work in business and the Public Service likely to hold true for the future? The question was a difficult one, but some hints might come from studies focussed on youth. This age group had already been studied in one of the Commission's national surveys, but because *career* aspirations and expectations seemed so important, two additional projects were undertaken.

C. Education

Because education falls under provincial jurisdiction, there are ten school systems in Canada. But even that statement greatly underestimates the complexities faced by research in education. Quebec, until the passage of Bill 60 in 1964 at least, had two public systems—Protestant and Roman Catholic—and a network of private institutions; some schools are a federal responsibility; Ontario has separate schools, some English only, some "bilingual," *almost* constituting a system; and so the complications grow. Our first task, therefore, was simply to sort out and describe the structure of schooling in Canada; that led to six small-scale studies and two essays, most of which were part-historical and part-contemporary in scope. Secondary sources —books, provincial Royal Commission reports, articles—were available for much of this work, and the texts of acts and regulations were readily at hand. But practice frequently had evolved in ways the law gave one no reason to predict, and change was almost continuous during the life of the Commission.

When it was necessary to go beyond the description of the formal and informal organization of schooling, secondary sources began to dwindle. Research was concerned with two broad problems: the availability and adequacy of French-language instruction, and the state of second-language teaching in English and French. And once a measure of the *performance* of our schools was sought, the difficulties multiplied. Statistics permitting a comparison of second-language teaching standards from province to province, or a comparison of the performance of students educated in the English language with those educated in the French language, had rarely been compiled. Once again, the Commission was compelled to move into new territory.

The first concern of research was, here as elsewhere, a structural one. When did students begin learning the second official language in Canada? How intensively were they taught? What provisions were made for the training of second language teachers? What system of instruction was in use? Replies to these questions were sought in four studies undertaken by linguists and language teachers. Usually they involved visits to the provinces, and especially to teacher-training institutions, although one project required only a report on a computer analysis of materials from texts and teachers' manuals. Knowledge of the approach and methods used outside Canada was provided by the comparative studies of Belgium, Switzerland, South Africa, and Finland, by a general review of the litera-

ture, and by a special look at second-language teaching developments initiated in the United States under the National Defense Education Act.

But how well did students do under the various language-teaching régimes provided by Canadian schools? The Commission was able to take only a first, small step toward answering this question. The sample of students the research department used—those who were receiving French or English instruction at certain universities —left much to be desired, and great caution was needed in interpreting the results. It was possible, however, to be certain about one thing: there are few fields where the need for further research is more obvious and pressing, if maximum returns are to be obtained from the Canadian investment in second-language teaching.

All provinces except British Columbia provide for the use of French as a language of instruction in public schools, although it is largely restricted, outside Quebec, New Brunswick, and Ontario, to the early primary grades. The Commission was interested to know how Francophones and Anglophones fare in the differing educational environments, but it was rarely possible to go much beyond a comparison of the services available for the two official-language groups. Ontario was an exception, for there the Commission enjoyed the benefits of a research study far larger than any the Commission itself had undertaken. The Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College collected data on every Grade IX student in the province in 1959, and traced their secondary school careers in the years that followed. From this information it was possible to isolate students from French-language homes and compare their school careers with those of other students in the province. Many factors which might explain success or failure in secondary school could be studied and we could assess the factors that might account for the poor record of Franco-Ontarians in secondary schools.

Further insights into the differences in standards and performance in English- and French-language schools came from a community study on Kapuskasing and its environs. The results bore out and complemented the findings of the larger survey, and added a special richness of detail.

The content of school texts, particularly in terms of the image of Canada they convey, has long preoccupied Canadians. To determine the extent and kind of existing divergences of view, we contracted for a comparative examination of French- and English-language Canadian history texts, and studied in lesser depth a selection of books used in teaching English and French as second languages. These projects, and attitudinal data from the national surveys and a study on the western provinces and New Brunswick, provided the basic research elements for the Book on education.

D. Other Cultural Groups

The Census of Canada lists so many different ethnic origins and mother tongues within the Canadian population that it was quite impossible for the Commission to study the contribution of each group separately. Instead, a few Commission studies were centred uniquely on Canadians of non-French, non-British origin; and a high percentage of all research projects gathered data on them which could later

be brought together in the Report. Two studies concentrated on a numerically important immigrant element, those of Italian background who, after World War II, had joined a group with longer residence here. Information tracing their adaptation in Montreal, with its French-language majority, and in Edmonton, where the majority speaks English, provided a useful contrast. Other studies concentrated on specific institutions: the ethnic press, the voluntary associations devoted to fostering cultural group interests, and the part-time schools designed to preserve cultural identity and pass on a national language. Research on voluntary associations and schools was dogged by the difficulty of identifying and tracing the whereabouts of these institutions and then by a low response rate to questionnaires, explained in part by the staffing problems most of these bodies encounter.

To supplement research, 11 essays were commissioned and prepared by knowledgeable representatives of some of the larger cultural groups. They were particularly useful in providing information on literary and artistic contributions.

The major effort, however, consisted in extracting data from a wide range of general studies and combining them with information from essays, from the special studies, and from secondary sources.

E. Arts and Letters

Because the Commission's terms of reference speak of the "role of public and private *organizations* . . . in promoting bilingualism, [and] better cultural relations. . . ."[1] much of the research on the arts and letters concentrated on institutions, and especially on public ones within the sphere of the federal government: the National Gallery, the National Library, the National Museum, the Canada Council. As was the case for the Public Service as a whole, data was gathered on personnel and on language use, but in addition the policies of these bodies were reviewed in terms of their impact on French- and English-language groups in Canada. Comparative data on the Department of Cultural Affairs in Quebec, on the Ontario Arts Council, and on certain municipal cultural bodies were obtained as well.

The private sphere was too vast to be covered in its entirety. Instead, those aspects of arts and letters most closely related to language—theatre, cinema, publishing, and libraries—were singled out. Even in these areas, the subject of research could be little more than the identification and description of services provided for English- and French language publics, and the difficulties faced in their development.

F. The Mass Media

Most research for this Book was devoted to analyzing the behaviour of producers and consumers of the media. Content analysis of newspapers and television news broadcasts was undertaken to determine the image of Canada—and particularly of the dual character of Canada—projected by these media. The Commission also tried to discover whether there were differences in news priorities based on the language of the medium or the region of its origination. Problems of

[1] Italics ours.

method—sampling, classification, coding —were innumerable because the field is in its infancy in Canadian universities. It was an easier task to study the media consumption habits of readers, listeners, and viewers, because data were available from the CBC research organization.

Using an institutional focus, studies were made of the CBC and the Canadian Press. For the former, questions of participation, language use, and policy regarding Canada's two major cultures predominated. The study on the Canadian Press concentrated more on the attitudes of users than on the service they were receiving. Private broadcasting and newspaper publishing were also studied in an attempt to determine whether control rested in the hands of the same language group as that of consumers.

Another line of inquiry concerned those who write and edit the news in Canadian daily papers. Journalists from both language groups, accredited to the parliamentary Press Gallery and to the Ontario and Quebec galleries, were interviewed; written questionnaires were sent to editors. In this survey as in many others, those conducting the research often encountered puzzlement among their respondents. "What possible relevance can this question have to bilingualism and biculturalism?" was a common query; it highlights the problem of obtaining research findings on a multiform subject such as cultural differences. A question like "Which one post in journalism, ignoring salary, would you most like to fill?" may seem unrelated to questions of language and culture, but if most Anglophones prefer one post and most Francophones prefer another, a fact about cultural difference emerges.

G. The Federal Capital

Because of the divided jurisdiction in the capital area of Ottawa-Hull, much of the research in this field was devoted to ascertaining the linguistic policies and practices, and the powers of the governments involved. Thus federal, provincial, and municipal agencies, and their interplay one with another, were subjects of investigation. As well, many of the lines of research developed for a wider field were applied more specifically in the study of the capital: demographic data were prepared and mapped, the complex education systems described, the public services and court systems analyzed, the availability of media in both official languages determined, facilities for the arts and letters assessed, and a brief survey made to discover how far services could be obtained from commercial establishments in French and English. Finally, some consideration was given to the position of capital cities in other countries.

We encountered a serious obstacle in our study of the city of Ottawa, whose Board of Control was the only public body in Canada refusing to co-operate with the Commission's inquiry.

H. Governmental Institutions

At the summit of the federal government are Parliament, the cabinet, and the Supreme Court. Government policies are implemented and interpreted by the departments of the Public Service, complemented by a network of boards and commissions. Research on any of these bodies, but especially on the first three,

was bound to be difficult and delicate. For the House of Commons, where a study on the attitudes, role perceptions, and patterns of informal interaction between French-speaking and English-speaking MPs had been designed, the risks were particularly great. In fact, questions and objections in the House somewhat reduced the response rate to interviews and, through the delay they caused, required a slight curtailment in the scope of the study. The research was nevertheless completed and marks a new development in the study of Canadian government.

New research methods—at least for Canada—marked the study of the Supreme Court of Canada as well. A computer analysis of voting patterns in the court helped answer questions on the relevance of the linguistic and cultural background of judges.

Historical factors determining the composition and allocation of posts within selected Canadian cabinets since Confederation constituted the focus of a third study, prepared by several Canadian historians and political scientists. This was complemented by a statistical analysis of the representation of Anglophones and Francophones in the cabinet since 1867.

I. Voluntary Associations

In all modern countries, people band themselves together in a vast number of voluntary associations designed to promote the common purposes of their members. Political scientists and sociologists have studied, classified, and analyzed them in various ways. Political scientists have been particularly interested in voluntary associations as "interest groups," and in one type of association above all—the political party. The relations between the two major language groups in Canada have been powerfully influenced by the kinds of associations formed and the degree of success they enjoy. Some of these associations have been composed exclusively of members of one language group, and they have been a factor in strengthening or directing the cultural life of this group. Others, including most political parties, have had members of both official-language groups; these associations have often been the scene of cultural tension in recent years, sometimes resulting in a scission. Four political parties—the Liberals, Progressive Conservatives, New Democrats, and Créditistes—were subjects of Commission studies which examined French-English relations within them. A fifth project looked at all active parties in three selected constituencies, in terms of their effectiveness in coping with problems of inter-cultural relations.

The most extensive inquiry in this field selected voluntary associations with no direct political interests. Exclusively English-language and exclusively French-language groups, as well as those which brought together both languages in their operations and memberships, were examined. Remarkably little is known about the factors influencing individuals to pursue common ends in association with members of another language group or in separate, parallel organizations. Little more is known about the tension or harmony-producing factors within an association common to two language groups. Our research makes a beginning in this field of study.

J. Other Studies

Because Quebec is the homeland of so many Francophones, relations between the two major language groups overlap inevitably with the more general problem of federal-provincial relations. To help us assess this aspect of our responsibilities, we undertook two historical studies, two projects involving the description and analysis of contemporary Canadian federalism, and a comparative study on the particularly delicate problem of economic planning in a federal state. In addition, three essays were asked of persons known to have given intensive thought to problems of constitutional change. Other essays were broader in their approach. From three scholars an assessment of "biculturalism" was requested, and the resulting contributions provided fascinating contrasts in outlook. Another essay analyzed the problems a French-speaking immigrant faced in integrating himself in Canada.

Immigration policy and practice, as they affect language and culture in Canada, have received little scholarly attention. Two Commission studies broached the almost unknown field of provincial immigration policies.

K. A General View of the Commission's Research

Even this very summary description of the studies undertaken by the Commission may permit the reader to identify some of the general characteristics of the research programme. First, it was a multi-disciplinary and to a large extent inter-disciplinary programme. Political science (including public administration) and sociology predominated, but history, economics, linguistics, anthropology, social psychology, geography, law, mathematics, statistics, and literature all played a role. Several individual projects demanded combinations of historians and sociologists, legal scholars and political scientists, linguists and demographers, and every aspect of research was planned and discussed in a setting involving the insights of several disciplines.

Secondly, the research department brought together scholars from both official-language groups, as well as several whose mother tongue and educational background were neither English nor French. This cultural variety gave both enrichment and balance to the research programme. The questions asked, the methods used, and the interpretation of data could not possibly have been the same if a single cultural tradition had predominated. For those who took part in the research, the exchanges between scholars of differing language and culture were one of the most rewarding aspects of their work.

Thirdly, the programme made extensive use of the computer. Provision had been made very early for machine services, but original estimates of their use were much too low. In the end, over one-third of all studies, including all the large-scale projects, required computer work; many of these projects simply could not have been contemplated in the pre-electronic era. Even the humanists on the research staff fell under the spell of the "machine," and historians and literature specialists carrying armfuls of computer tables became a familiar sight.

Fourthly, the programme permitted a remarkable variety of research design and approach within the overall framework of the Commission's terms of reference. It was desirable to have the findings of one study directly comparable with those of another, but when this goal conflicted with some special purpose of a researcher, it was frequently sacrificed. There were two reasons for this: a belief that the best research was done when the scholar conducting it had the greatest possible freedom to pursue him own insights, and a reticence about committing all resources to a single set of definitions or categories when the particular field of research had been so little explored. The Commission could not be, and was not, a research council distributing grants. Rather, it contracted for those studies it required. But within this context its policy was to allow maximum free scope to the research scholar. Had any other stance been adopted, it is difficult to believe that the Commission research programme could have reached the standards of excellence it required.

The Preliminary Report stated: "The Commission's research findings will not be just an aid to writing a report and making recommendations. Rather, they constitute an integral part of the Commission's fulfillment of its mandate."[1] This emphasis on the need to make research findings readily available had been embodied in the contracts made by the Commission with research scholars, which permitted the author of a study to find his own publisher if the Commission itself did not publish his report. It is still not possible to specify the exact number of research reports to be published by the Queen's Printer, but the final output will include a sizable proportion of studies. Unpublished reports will be available in the Public Archives.

Reports are sometimes not enough if further work, based on a Commission study, is to be undertaken. Frequently tables or computer cards or tapes will also be needed, and arrangements are being made to have these stored so they will be accessible to any user. Only a small number of confidential files and data records will be unavailable. Through these arrangements, the Commission hopes that further analysis, or follow-up studies, can be made.

The goal of the Commission's research programme was the provision of data for the Report of the Commission. But it is hoped that it may also have accomplished other ends.

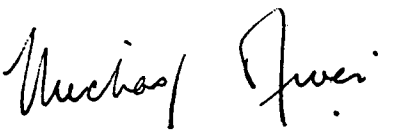
First, the Commission's research programme brought together a group of scholars—as staff, contractors, and consultants —such as no single Canadian university could hope to assemble for the protracted study of interrelated research problems. It constituted for three years a continuous research seminar that may well have long-term effects in stimulating the development of the social sciences in this country. Moreover, the Commission provided training in research methods for 137 graduate students, for periods varying from a few months to several years, and for the less easily determined number of students who worked on contracts.

Secondly, our research programme may induce the coming generation of Canadian scholars to include among the useful models for analyzing Canada one which takes account of two linguistically-based communities. Further, it may generate an

[1] *Preliminary Report*, 144.

interest in the study of inter-cultural relations far beyond Canada, based not on a majority-minority concept nor on the play of assimilation and resistance forces but on the hypothesis of the permanent interaction of groups that retain their cultural particularity.

Finally, the research programme may, through the publication and dissemination of its reports, supplement the Report of the Commission itself as a source of information and understanding for students of Canadian affairs, and indeed for the Canadian public.



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A. The Official Languages

De La Garde, R., UTILISATION DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE AU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK. A study of the use of the French language in selected areas of New Brunswick, with an account of the factors favouring or hampering its development.

Department of Geography, McGill University, MONTREAL POPULATION—1961. Detailed maps of the distribution of Montreal population by census tracts indicating, among other things, language, ethnic origin, and income.

Henripin, J., ÉTUDE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE DES GROUPES ETHNIQUES ET LINGUISTIQUES AU CANADA. The demographic evolution of Canada's ethnic and language groups since Confederation; the present features of these groups.

Jolicœur, G., L'ACCULTURATION CHEZ LES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS DU MANITOBA. A sample study of the situations in which the French language is used by Franco-Manitobans.

Lieberson, S., LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION IN MONTREAL. An analysis, using data from the 1961 and earlier census reports, of the degree of residential segregation of French Canadians and English Canadians, based on ethnic origin, mother tongue, and knowledge of official languages.

Sheppard, C.-A., THE LAW OF LANGUAGES IN CANADA. An historical and contemporary examination of the legal status of the French and English languages in legislation, in the courts (other than the Supreme Court of Canada), in boards and commissions and in selected municipalities, in international and federal-provincial agreements. The study covers both federal and provincial law and practice.

B. The Work World: Government and Private Enterprise

***Beattie, C., Désy, J., Longstaff, S.,** SENIOR FEDERAL CIVIL SERVANTS AT MID-CAREER: A STUDY OF ENGLISH-FRENCH RELATIONS. An examination of the career patterns, social backgrounds, and reactions to bilingualism and biculturalism among English- and French-speaking persons at mid-career in the senior levels of the federal administration. A representative cross-section of departments — Finance, Agriculture, Public Works, National Revenue (Taxation Division), Secretary of State—is studied, and the work experiences of the two major language groups within them are described.

* Studies marked with an asterisk were not in their final form at the time of publication.

Bourassa, G., LES RELATIONS ETHNIQUES DANS LA VIE POLITIQUE MONTRÉALAISE. An analysis of Anglophone and Francophone participation in both the municipal council and administration of Montreal; ethnic voting patterns, attitudes to basic issues, language capacity, and language use.

Briant, P.C., ETHNIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY ON THE ISLAND OF MONTREAL. The part played by various ethnic groups in the construction industry in Montreal: ethnic composition of firms, their concentration in certain sectors of the industry; areas of ethnic co-operation, competition, and segregation. Some 250 firms and 45 construction projects were included in the sample.

Bryan, N., ETHNIC PARTICIPATION AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF ONTARIO. A description of Francophone and Anglophone participation in the public service of Ontario; socio-economic characteristics; language policy, language capacity, and language use.

Chevalier, M., THE DYNAMICS OF ADAPTATION IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE. A study of adaptations to bilingualism and biculturalism in the Public Service, based on observations made at departmental discussions.

Clark, S.D., THE POSITION OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING POPULATION IN THE NORTHERN INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY. An account, in essay form, of the economically disadvantaged position of the French Canadian population in certain northern industrial communities of Quebec and Ontario.

***Coulombe, P., Courcelles, L.,** PARTICIPATION À LA VIE MILITAIRE DANS UNE PERSPECTIVE BICULTURELLE. A study of Canada's military organization and an attitude survey of members of the Armed Forces; comparisons between Francophone and Anglophone participation in military life.

Dofny, J., LES INGÉNIEURS CANADIENS-ANGLAIS ET CANADIENS-FRANÇAIS À MONTRÉAL. A study based on interviews with 277 French Canadian and 339 English Canadian engineers in Montreal: their careers and their attitudes towards social class, economic development, industrial organization, and ethnic relations.

Donelly, M. S., ETHNIC PARTICIPATION IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—WINNIPEG, ST. BONIFACE, AND THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION OF GREATER WINNIPEG. A study of the history of municipal government in St. Boniface; ethnic participation in the St. Boniface and Winnipeg councils and administration; language use and voting patterns.

École des hautes études commerciales and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, CORPORATE POLICIES AND PRACTICES WITH RESPECT TO BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. Background material on the participation of Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec industry. Surveys of large and small manufacturing firms, aimed at describing their salaried personnel in terms of income levels, language capacity and language use, and location within the firms. Data on language use in relations with buyers, suppliers, and government. The samples included firms controlled by English Canadians, French Canadians, and both French- and English-language foreign interests.

Franks, C. E. S., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE FEDERAL TREASURY BOARD. The participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the Treasury Board; language use and language capacity.

Gallant, B., ENGLISH AND FRENCH CANADIANS IN THE ARMED FORCES: AN HISTORICAL STUDY. A history of French- and English-speaking participation in the Armed Forces; language policies and practices.

Group Resources Consultant Service, MAILLARDVILLE FRENCH CANADIANS. A study of the French Canadian community in Maillardville, B.C.: a history of the community and a description of its educational and municipal institutions.

Higgins, B., A REGIONAL PLANNING APPROACH TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF BICULTURALISM. The impact of regional economic development policies on French Canadians as a result of their concentration in certain areas.

Hughes, E. C., CAREER PATTERNS OF YOUNG MONTREALERS IN CERTAIN WHITE-COLLAR OCCUPATIONS. Exploratory interviews on the work histories of young people in certain occupations which are undergoing rapid change.

Institut de psychologie de l'Université de Montréal and The Graduate School of Business of McGill University, A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL LEADERSHIP. A questionnaire study of the attitudes of French-speaking and English-speaking managers concerning the goals of industry, role conflict, management technique, and job satisfaction. Comparisons between approximately 1,500 French Canadian and 1,600 English Canadian managers in large corporations. A supplementary study of small businesses and school of commerce students was conducted along similar lines.

***Johnstone, J., Klein, W., Ledoux, D.,** PUBLIC SERVICE SURVEY. A study of the Public Service and Crown agencies: ethnic participation by location, department, status, and function; socio-economic characteristics of each group; language capacity and use.

Kelly, L., LANGUAGE TRAINING IN THE ARMED FORCES. A description of the teaching of English to recruits and of French to officers and non-commissioned officers: the situation as it existed in early 1966 when English was taught at five bases.

Lalande, G., LE MINISTÈRE DES AFFAIRES EXTÉRIEURES ET LA DUALITÉ DE CULTURE AU CANADA. French- and English-speaking Canadians in the Department of External Affairs: historical background, organization, recruiting, careers, and language use. Special emphasis is placed on Foreign Service Officers.

***Lapointe, G.,** LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE QUÉBÉCOISE. A study of bilingualism and biculturalism in the Quebec provincial administration: Anglophone and Francophone participation, language use, internal and external translation, staffing, and administrative style.

LaRivière, J., LA TRADUCTION DANS LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE. The process of translation, the Bureau of Translation as an administrative body; comparisons with other countries.

Ledoux, D., PROFIL ETHNOLINGUISTIQUE DES FORCES ARMÉES CANADIENNES. A comparison based on the 1961 census of French- and English-speaking Canadians serving in the three branches of the Armed Forces with respect to their sex, marital status, religion, place of birth, education, rank, length of service, duty, and location of posting.

Ledoux, D., Klein, W., CENSUS ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF CANADA. A study of 220,000 people who stated in the 1961 census that they were employed by the federal government (members of the Armed Forces and Crown corporation employees excluded). Ethnic and language features are studied in relation to sex, occupation, income, and place of residence.

Melançon, A., MIGRATIONS NETTES INTÉRIEURES ET INTERNATIONALES. Estimates of net migrations between 1951 and 1961, in terms of three ethnic origins and three levels of schooling, for the whole of Canada, for five regions, and for 24 age-sex groupings.

Pitsiladis, P., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL REVENUE (TAXATION DIVISION). Ethnic differentiation in career development; language practices, attitudes, and aspirations.

Porter, J., Pineo, P.C., FRENCH-ENGLISH DIFFERENCES IN THE EVALUATION OF OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES, ETHNICITIES, AND RELIGIONS IN THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN AREA. A survey of a random sample of Canadians designed mainly to discover how they rate present-day occupations.

Raynauld, A., LA PROPRIÉTE DES ENTREPRISES DU QUÉBEC. An attempt to classify all industries and business concerns in Quebec with regard to their ownership—French Canadian, English Canadian, or foreign. A comparison of these three types of business enterprise with regard to their importance, productivity, export trade, and various other features of the industrial sector.

Raynauld, A., Marion, G., Béland, R., LA RÉPARTITION DES REVENUS SELON LES GROUPES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA. The distribution of income in Canada among ethnic groups and an examination of the main factors which may explain this distribution: age, sex, industry, occupation, level of education, unemployment, and capital.

Rioux, M., ATTITUDES DES JEUNES DU QUÉBEC ÂGÉS DE 18 À 21 ANS. A study, by interview and survey, of a sample of young French Canadians, to explore the gap between generations.

Stanford, L., et al., RECRUITING IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE. A study of all aspects of recruiting in the federal Public Service; a statistical analysis of French-English inflow; perceptions of the recruiting programme by university staff and students; federal induction programmes; the distribution of bilingual posts.

Thibault, A., L'ÉLITE UNIVERSITAIRE CANADIENNE-FRANÇAISE ET LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE FÉDÉRALE. A supplement to the main study on recruiting in the Public Service based on interviews with groups of students (Francophones and Anglophones), their families, and university faculty members.

Thorburn, H. G., ETHNIC PARTICIPATION AND LANGUAGE USE IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF NEW BRUNSWICK. A study of bilingualism and biculturalism in the government of New Brunswick including the structure of the service, participation, language use, translation, language training, and cultural relations.

Thorburn, H. G., THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING POPULATION OF NEW BRUNSWICK. Participation of Acadians in federal and provincial politics, including an analysis of voting patterns and political attitudes.

C. Education

Baird, N. B., FINANCES OF BILINGUAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ONTARIO. An analysis of revenues and expenditures of bilingual elementary schools in Ontario based on statistics for 1963 provided by the Department of Education.

Balthazar, L., Despland, M., RELATIONS ENTRE CULTURE ET RELIGION AU NIVEAU DE L'ÉDUCATION DANS TROIS RÉGIONS DU CANADA. A study based on interviews with church functionaries.

Group Resources Consultant Service, STUDY OF ATTITUDES OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS IN WESTERN CANADA AND NEW BRUNSWICK TOWARDS EDUCATION. A study of attitudes towards the role of the school in career preparation and preserving cultural values. Twelve schools in western Canada and four schools in New Brunswick were selected in which the students were predominantly French Canadian, Ukrainian, German, or English Canadian by ethnic origin. Questionnaires were administered to 1,620 pupils in Grades VIII or IX and to their parents.

Harris, R. S., THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF ONTARIO. An essay describing the development of education in Ontario since 1867. It includes a description of administrative structures of relevant provincial departments.

Hurtubise, R., LE SYSTÈME SCOLAIRE DE LA PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC. A study of Quebec educational laws relating to language and confessional rights of parents and to the structure of the system as it affects language and religion.

Isabelle, L., LA CONNAISSANCE DU FRANÇAIS DANS UN MILIEU ÉTUDIANT. Analysis of tests of French comprehension given to French-speaking students in French-language high schools from Alberta to New Brunswick.

Kelly, L. G., TEACHING THE OTHER LANGUAGE BY TELEVISION AND RADIO. A description of the state of language teaching by radio and television during 1964-65; the strengths and weaknesses of French and English school broadcasts.

LaPierre, L., FEDERAL INTERVENTION UNDER SECTION 93 OF THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT. An historical study of the occasions when federal intervention was considered to restore educational rights or privileges of a religious minority. There are separate chapters on educational controversies in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, and Ontario. The research is based on secondary and original sources.

Mackey, W. F., MECHANOLINGUISTIC METHOD ANALYSIS. A computer analysis of two modern French courses to see how valid the linguistic context is, how it is arranged for teaching, and what methods are used.

Monroe, D., Rocher, G., ÉVOLUTION DE L'ÉDUCATION AU QUÉBEC. An essay on the development of

the educational system in Quebec and the reforms proposed by the Royal Commission on Education (Parent Commission).

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, LANGUAGE AND SECONDARY SCHOOL SUCCESS. On the basis of data provided by a Carnegie Study of Grade IX students in Ontario in 1959, students from French-speaking homes are compared with those from English-speaking homes and from homes where neither French nor English is the chief language. Academic and socio-economic factors and attitudes are all relevant to the low retention rates of French-speaking students at the secondary level.

Orlikow, L., REPORT ON SECOND-LANGUAGE TEACHING IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES AND IN ONTARIO.
Orlikow, L., REPORT ON THE TEACHING OF THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE ATLANTIC PROVINCES. Studies of French-language programmes, teacher supply, special projects, and future plans, based on interviews with departmental officials, inspectors, and teachers in each province.

Painchaud, L., DESCRIPTION DU BILINGUISME ET DU BICULTURALISME DE TROIS UNIVERSITÉS. A study on the use of French and English in courses and in administration at the University of Ottawa, Laurentian University, and the Royal Military College at St. Jean; based on university publications and on interviews.

Rawlyk, G. A., ACADIAN EDUCATION IN NOVA SCOTIA. An historical study of public and private educational institutions and policies for the Acadian minority in Nova Scotia; based on secondary and original sources and interviews.

Sirkis, R., HOW WELL DO FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS KNOW ENGLISH? An analysis of tests of oral and written English given to French Canadian students in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick.

Sirkis, R., THE STATUS OF FRENCH AS A HIGH SCHOOL SUBJECT IN SEVEN CANADIAN PROVINCES. An analysis of statistical data on French teachers in all provinces except Ontario, Quebec, and Saskatchewan, giving qualifications, training, experience, and subjects they teach; comparisons with teachers of other subjects.

Soucie, R. E., ÉVOLUTION SCOLAIRE DANS TROIS COMMUNAUTÉS ACADIENNES DE LA PROVINCE DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK. The development of educational facilities for Acadian students; existing facilities, administrative structures, and language use in elementary, secondary, and private schools.

Torrens, R. W., AIMS AND METHODS OF INSTRUCTION IN LANGUAGE DEPARTMENTS OF CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES.
Torrens, R. W., TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN CANADA. Two studies based on questionnaires to all universities and to teacher-training institutions in English-language provinces, and on interviews at selected institutions. The reports analyze the place of the official second language and culture in admission, programmes, and graduation requirements.

Trudel, M., Jain, G., ÉTUDE DE LA CONCEPTION DE L'HISTOIRE CANADIENNE. A study based on 14 widely used Canadian history textbooks, covering primary and secondary levels; a comparison of historical interpretations of individual careers and of selected themes and events.

Valiquet, L.-P., FRENCH-LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AT UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE. Analysis of results of oral and written French tests administered to freshmen at most English Canadian universities.

Whalen, R., THE NATIONAL DEFENSE EDUCATION ACT AND SECOND-LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION: AN AMERICAN MODEL FOR CANADA. A report on ten years of experience in promoting second-language instruction in the United States under the National Defense Education Act.

Wilson, T., A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF QUEBEC. An historical essay on the development of a distinctive curriculum for English Roman Catholic schools in the province of Quebec.

Wilson, T., Hurley, J., LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH IN THE FIVE WESTERN PROVINCES. An essay on the history of French-language minority schools and the history of French-language teaching in the public schools in the provinces of Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; the status of other languages.

D. Other Cultural Groups

a) Studies

Boissevain, J., THE ITALIANS OF MONTREAL: IMMIGRANT ADJUSTMENT IN A PLURAL SOCIETY. An anthropological account of the social and economic life of the Italians in Montreal and of their relations to other populations.

Hobart, C. W., ITALIAN IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON: ADJUSTMENT AND INTEGRATION. An anthropological study, using questionnaires, of the Italian population of Edmonton, with selected comparisons with the city's Ukrainian population.

Krukowski, T., *et al.*, STUDIES ON THE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS. Brief studies carried out by members of the research staff. Among the topics treated were the ethnic schools, broadcasting in languages other than French and English, and demographic and statistical analysis of the other ethnic groups.

Romalis, C., THE ATTITUDES OF THE MONTREAL JEWISH COMMUNITY TOWARD FRENCH CANADIAN NATIONALISM AND SEPARATISM. An attempt to account for variations in attitude in terms of socio-economic status, community identification, previous exposure to anti-semitism, etc. A sample of 126 persons living in high- and low-income residential areas was interviewed.

***Sherwood, D., Wakefield, A.,** VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS. The membership, organization, and activities of Canada's German, Ukrainian, and Dutch ethnic associations; their relationships to their own ethnic community and to the community at large.

b) Essays

Choulguine, R., LA CONTRIBUTION CULTURELLE DES UKRAINIENS AU CANADA.
Debor, H. W., THE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP TO CANADA.
Diening, J. A., CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DUTCH TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA.
Foon Sien, THE CHINESE IN CANADA.
Kellner, P., HUNGARIAN PARTICIPATION IN CANADIAN CULTURE.
Kos - Rabcewicz - Zubkowski, L., CONTRIBUTION MADE BY THE POLISH ETHNIC GROUP TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA.
Lindal, W. J., THE CONTRIBUTION MADE BY THE SCANDINAVIAN ETHNIC GROUPS TO THE CULTURAL ENRICHMENT OF CANADA.
Potter, H. H., Hill, D. G., NEGRO SETTLEMENT IN CANADA, 1628-1965: A SURVEY.
Romer, T., PLACE ET RÔLE DE LA CIVILISATION POLONAISE DANS LA VIE CANADIENNE.
Wisse, R. R., JEWISH PARTICIPATION IN CANADIAN CULTURE.
Woycenko, O., UKRAINIAN CONTRIBUTION TO CANADA'S CULTURAL LIFE.
Assessments of the contributions of certain ethnic groups to Canadian life. Most treat the history of the immigration of a particular group to Canada, its organizations and institutions here, its cultural contributions, and its social and cultural aspirations.

E. Arts and Letters

Gnarowski, M., A STUDY ON THE EXTENT AND CONDITION OF CANADIAN LITERARY TRANSLATION. The extent of translation of Canadian work of a literary/academic nature from French into English and vice versa. The study also comprises a bibliography of titles of translated work and an index of authors and translators.

Houle, R., LE THÉÂTRE AU CANADA. A study of French- and English-language theatre in Canada. Particular attention is paid to professional and amateur theatre, the training of actors and actresses, and the creation of theatrical works.

Lelay, R., BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE. A brief study of internal organization, participation, and language use in the National Library.

Yedid, J., CONSEIL DES ARTS. A study of the structure, administration, aims, and policies of the Canada Council.

Yedid, J., GALERIE NATIONALE.
Yedid, J., MUSÉE NATIONAL. Two studies of policies, internal organization, distribution of personnel, and language use.

F. The Mass Media

a) Studies

Black, H., FRENCH AND ENGLISH CANADIAN POLITICAL JOURNALISTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY. Procedures used in gathering news at the national press gallery; journalists' perceptions of their role and of their responsibility towards the public, especially in the field of inter-cultural relations.

Bruce, J., A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THIRTY CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS. An examination of the variety, the quantity, and the source of news in each province, with particular attention to what is printed about each province in English and French newspapers; based on the period January 1 to March 31, 1965, and a comparative study of newspapers published in 1960 and 1955.

Chartrand-McKenzie, F., LES JOURNALISTES ANGLO ET FRANCO-CANADIENS: LEURS OPINIONS ET LEURS COMPORTEMENTS VIS-À-VIS DE LA COEXISTENCE DES DEUX CULTURES AU PAYS. A companion study to that of H. Black. Participation by journalists of each language group in the culture of the other; opinions on current language questions and constitutional problems.

De Guise, J., CONTRÔLE DES MOYENS DE COMMUNICATION ET ÉQUIPEMENT DISPONIBLE DANS LES MASS MEDIA AU CANADA. An analysis of the control of information media and the means available to both language groups to control them.

Gagné, S. D., SONDAGE SUR LA PRESSE CANADIENNE. An examination of the opinions of the management of French- and English-language newspapers, radio and television stations on the services they receive from the Canadian Press.

Gordon, D. R., NATIONAL NEWS IN CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS. An analysis of the content of Canadian news taken from a sample of French- and English-language newspapers from January to May, 1965; categories analyzed include federal government and politics, provincial politics, biculturalism, economic and business matters, religion, and education.

Mousseau, M., ÉCOUTE DE LA TÉLÉVISION CANADIENNE ET LANGUES PARLÉES. A study, based on a sample of households and individuals, of the amount of time spent watching CBFT and CBMT by adults and young people. The data were gathered through the use of a listening-time record in the metropolitan area of Montreal in 1960.

Mousseau, M., TAUX DE LECTURE DES JOURNAUX. A study of the amount of time young people and adults spent reading daily and weekly newspapers. The data were gathered by personal interviews held in the metropolitan area of Montreal in 1960.

Mousseau, M., Dumont, C., STATIONS DE TÉLÉVISION PRÉFÉRÉES ET LANGUES PARLÉES. A study of the Canadian or American television stations young people and adults preferred watching. Sample groups were formed according to the language of households and individuals. The data were gathered by interviews in the metropolitan area of Montreal in 1962.

Mousseau, M., Ross, L., ANALYSE DU CONTENU DES NOUVELLES NATIONALES À LA TÉLÉVISION. A study of the images of French and English Canadians projected by the national news bulletins of the French network of the CBC, of CFTM, of the English-language networks of the CBC and CTV. This image is made up of the activities, the personalities, and the location of the events described on the news, during the period between April 1964 and March 1965.

Qualter, T. H., A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TREATMENT, IN SELECTED CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS, OF MATERIAL RELEVANT TO THE BROAD ISSUES OF BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. A study attempting to show the importance certain French- and English-language newspapers gave to various news items dealing with bilingualism and biculturalism between June 1963 and December 1964.

b) Essay

Compton, N., BICULTURALISM AND THE ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MEDIA. Essay on the role and responsibility of the English-language media in the relations between Canada's two main cultural groups.

G. The Federal Capital

McRae, K. D., *et al.*, THE FEDERAL CAPITAL. A group of studies on the position of the two official languages and language groups in the federal capital. Special attention was paid to the role of the federal, provincial, and municipal governments in the area and also to the judicial and educational systems. Chapters are also devoted to the mass media, cultural resources, and some aspects of the economic sector.

H. Governmental Institutions

Bonenfant, J.-C., LE SÉNAT DANS LE FÉDÉRALISME CANADIEN. An analysis of French-speaking Canadians' attitudes to the Canadian Senate with respect to its role in the protection of bilingualism and minority and provincial rights from 1867 to the present; a review of various proposals for Senate reform.

Gibson, F. W., *et al.*, CABINET FORMATION AND BICULTURAL RELATIONS: SEVEN CASE STUDIES. An examination, within a common framework, of the formation of the Canadian cabinets of 1867, 1878, 1896, 1911, 1921, 1935, and 1948; the importance of cultural factors in the selection of ministers and the distribution of portfolios.

Hoffman, D., Ward, N., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. A study of the history and the present state of bilingualism in the House of Commons, and of the respective perceptions of English- and French-speaking MPs of Parliament and of their parliamentary roles. Among the topics covered are communications among MPs, their attitudes toward one another, their life in Ottawa, and the specific roles of each language group.

Russell, P., BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM IN THE SUPREME COURT OF CANADA. Following an historical review of bicultural and federal issues affecting the Supreme Court from its founding to the present, the study reviews the composition and procedures of the Court from the point of view of language and culture. It concludes with a quantitative analysis of voting patterns in the Supreme Court, which attempts to determine whether bloc voting, following language divisions, has characterized the decisions of the Supreme Court.

Van Loon, R., THE STRUCTURE AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN CABINET. An analysis by party, period, and mother tongue of the educational, occupational, political, and regional background of cabinet ministers. The study also examines how the various portfolios were distributed between English- and French-speaking ministers.

I. Voluntary Associations

Bergeron, G., LES PARTIS LIBÉRAUX DU CANADA ET DU QUÉBEC, 1955-1965. A detailed, chronologically organized account of the fortunes of the Liberal party in Quebec, based largely on official documents, newspaper reports, and interviews. A concluding chapter attempts to explain, in relation to some theories about parties, why the relations between the Quebec and Canadian Liberal parties have undergone several radical changes in the period under review.

La Terreur, M., LE PARTI CONSERVATEUR ET LE QUÉBEC, 1930-1965. An historical essay on the Conservative party with special emphasis on the relations between its Quebec wing and the rest of the party.

Leslie, P. M., THE ROLE OF CONSTITUENCY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF ETHNIC MINORITIES AND OTHER GROUPS: POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANADIAN UNITY. An analysis of the relative effectiveness of political parties in contributing to Canadian unity. Three constituencies, two in Quebec and one in New Brunswick, are examined. A special chapter is devoted to the role of parties in promoting the interests of ethnic minorities.

***Meisel, J., Lemieux, V.,** ETHNIC RELATIONS IN CANADIAN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS. This study identifies and analyzes relations between Anglophone and Francophone members of selected voluntary associations with a mixed membership, and between predominantly Francophone and predominantly Anglophone associations.

Sherwood, D., THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND FRENCH CANADA, 1961-1965. An examination of attempts within the New Democratic Party to create and maintain a pan-Canadian party structure. The study identifies and assesses the forces making for a split within the party.

Stein, M., THE SPLIT BETWEEN THE RALLIEMENT DES CRÉDITISTES AND THE NATIONAL SOCIAL CREDIT PARTY: AN ATTITUDINAL EXPLANATION. An exploration of the differences in attitudes between the two Social Credit "parties" which led to the split between them. The study was based on interviews with the leaders most directly involved and on the relevant literature.

J. Other Studies

1. Constitutional Problems

a) Studies

Bonenfant, J.-C., LES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS ET LA NAISSANCE DE LA CONFÉDÉRATION. Beginning with a review of pre-Confederation discussions of a federal union, this study uses newspaper and other documentary sources to describe French Canadian attitudes to Confederation. It concludes with post-Confederation reactions to the new régime and an evaluation of factors which most influenced French Canadians to take a stand for or against Confederation.

Cook, R., PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY, MINORITY RIGHTS, AND THE COMPACT THEORY. This study traces the origins and development of the concepts of provincial autonomy and the different versions of the compact theory of Confederation. It concludes that the notion of a compact between cultures is comparatively recent, and that its advent coincides with the rise to prominence of school and language questions.

Dehem, R., PLANIFICATION ÉCONOMIQUE ET FÉDÉRALISME. This study reviews planning concepts and planning experiences in France, the U.K., the Low Countries, Sweden, Norway, Western Germany, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia; compares planning problems in unitary and federal states; and looks at Canadian planning problems in the light of the foregoing material.

Smiley, D. V., PUBLIC POLICY AND CANADIAN FEDERALISM. A review of developments in Canadian federalism since World War II, with special emphasis on Quebec-Ottawa relations. After analyzing the "devices of adjustment" which have evolved in the Canadian federal system, the study focusses on relations between executive officials of federal and provincial governments. It concludes with a description and evaluation of co-operative federalism.

b) Essays

Brière, M., ÉTUDE SUR LA CONSTITUTION CANADIENNE. An attempt to define a new federalism through a new distribution of legislative, executive, and judicial powers; the institutions needed for this bi-national state.

Le Dain, G., ESSAY ON THE CANADIAN CONSTITUTION. An essay focussing attention on the problems of dividing jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments, and especially the province of Quebec. It examines in particular language and education rights, the desirability of an entrenched Bill of Rights, the Criminal Law Power, the control of natural resources, the regulation of the corporation and financial powers.

Morin, J.-Y., LE FÉDÉRALISME CANADIEN ET LE PRINCIPE DE L'ÉGALITÉ DES DEUX NATIONS. After demonstrating that the concept of equal partnership between Canada's two peoples has gradually changed to a concept of equal partnership between two nations, the essay concludes that this new definition of our political existence must be accompanied by institutional reform.

2. Linguistic questions

Darbelnet, J., LE BILINGUISME ET LES ANGLICISMES. A study classifying the Anglicisms common in Canadian French. It shows why English has penetrated so deeply into French, and suggests remedies.

Nilski, T., CONFERENCE INTERPRETATION IN CANADA. A bird's-eye view of the present and possible uses of interpretation in Canada. This essay describes certain features of conference interpretation in Canada — the high cost, the present shortage of qualified interpreters, and the

difficulties of providing an adequate supply of qualified people. Comparisons are also made with solutions worked out elsewhere in response to similar problems.

3. Attitude Surveys

Frankel, S. F., POLITICAL ORIENTATION AND ETHNICITY IN A BICULTURAL SOCIETY. A re-analysis of various opinion polls (CBC, Gallup), showing differences in the attitudes of French- and English-speaking Canadians on domestic political institutions and symbols, on foreign policy questions, and on English-French relations.

Johnstone, J., YOUNG PEOPLE'S IMAGES OF CANADIAN SOCIETY. An opinion survey of young people between the ages of 12 and 20, using the same sample as the Social Research Group survey (see below). The study examines the way Canadian society is defined, perceptions of relations between cultural groups, attitudes towards bilingualism, and expectations for the future.

Regenstreif, P., ELITE OPINION ON BICULTURALISM AND BICULTURALISM. An opinion survey of 100 persons deemed to be members of the political, bureaucratic, corporate, and communications élites of Canada.

Social Research Group, A STUDY OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN CANADA. A questionnaire study of the opinions and attitudes of a national sample of Canadians. The survey explores ethnic relations; attitudes towards language use in the Public Service, business, and education; views on the roles of federal and provincial governments, and perceptions of Canada.

4. Foreign Comparisons

Brazeau, J., ESSAI SUR LA QUESTION LINGUISTIQUE EN BELGIQUE. An outline history of Belgium, followed by a more detailed survey of the country's language legislation. Further chapters are devoted to language use in the public service, the trade union movement, pressure groups interested in the language question, and regional studies and planning.

Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, LE BILINGUISME ET LE BICULTURALISME EN BELGIQUE. Beginning with a chapter on the history of language legislation in Belgium, the report proceeds to examine in detail the language provisions relative to the civil service, education, the judicial system, and the armed forces. The supervisory agents set up to implement the laws are also considered.

Cloete, J. J. N., BILINGUALISM IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA. After a brief history of the European languages in South Africa, the study pays particular attention to the development of language regulations relating to the public service, both civil and military, and at the national and local levels. Also included are the results of the author's inquiry into linguistic practices within government departments, along with a description of language testing arrangements.

Heard, K., BILINGUALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. An examination of South African language practices in the following fields: the armed forces, constitution, government institutions, cultural affairs, mass media, voluntary associations, and political behaviour. Preceding the main body of the report is a long historical and statistical section.

McConkey, W. G., THE BILINGUAL AND BICULTURAL STRUCTURE OF THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM. A history of English and Afrikaans in South African schools: the present-day situation in relation to language of instruction, second-language teaching, teacher training and teacher organizations. The impact of the white bicultural society on the non-white schools is also considered.

Meynaud, J., LE PROBLÈME DES LANGUES DANS L'ADMINISTRATION FÉDÉRALE HELVÉTIQUE. A report on the linguistic ability of Swiss federal civil servants and the representation accorded each language group in the ranks of the administration; language practices, including the use made of translation; problem areas, such as educational facilities in French in Bern.

Meynaud, J., LE PROBLÈME DES LANGUES DANS L'ÉCONOMIE HELVÉTIQUE. An examination of language use in banks, co-operatives, and professional organizations in the multilingual society of Switzerland.

Miljan, T., BILINGUALISM IN FINLAND. Language practices in the following fields: the public service, education, the constitution, government institutions, Helsinki, cultural affairs, mass media, voluntary associations, and political behaviour. A long historical and statistical section precedes the main body of the report.

Sadie, J. L., THE AFRIKANER IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY. A report on the role of the English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in the development of the economy; measures taken by the Afrikaners to gain entry into the economic field and their success to date.

Watts, R. L., MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETIES AND FEDERALISM. A study of the political structure and operations of the federations of India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Switzerland, Rhodesia and Nyasaland (formerly), and the West Indies (formerly), with special reference to problems of language and culture and their solution.

Welsh, P., PLURILINGUALISM IN SWITZERLAND. Language practices in the following fields: the armed forces, education, federal, and cantonal constitutions and institutions, Bern, cultural affairs, mass media, voluntary associations, and political behaviour. A chapter on regional economic development is also included. Preceding the main body of the report is a long historical and statistical section.

5. Immigration

Lajoie-Robichaud, A., POLITIQUES ET ATTITUDES À L'ÉGARD DE L'IMMIGRATION DEPUIS LA CONFÉDÉRATION AU QUÉBEC. Early attempts to secure and to aid agricultural immigrants in the province of Quebec: later inactivity regarding immigration; the establishment in 1965 of a provincial immigration agency; obstacles confronting immigrants and attitudes towards them.

Walmsley, N. E., SOME ASPECTS OF CANADA'S IMMIGRATION POLICY. The historical background of Canadian immigration, federal and provincial legislation and policies, and external and internal factors influencing immigration. The study tries to discover why most immigrants have either been English-speaking or have associated themselves with the English-speaking groups; it finds no evidence that this has been due to discrimination. There has, however, been discrimination against Asians and Negroes.

6. Other

a) Studies

Baudry, R., LES ACADIENS D'AUJOURD'HUI. A brief historical résumé of the Acadians' situation before Confederation. The development of Acadian society over the last hundred years is examined in such fields as economic, social, religious, cultural, and political life.

Carisse, C., ORIENTATION CULTURELLE DES CONJOINTS DANS LES MARIAGES BIETHNIQUES. A sample survey of spouses in mixed marriages; the cultural patterns of spouses and of their children.

Sabourin, L., L'IMPORTANCE ET LE RÔLE DU BICULTURALISME DANS LES ACTIVITÉS INTERNATIONALES DU CANADA. A review of the role played by biculturalism in Canadian foreign policy; suggested ways of recognizing Canadian dualism more adequately.

Vachon, G.-A., Barker, C., Lévesque, A., LES IDÉES POLITIQUES DES CANADIENS FRANÇAIS. A summary and analysis of attitudes towards Canada's constitution of some leading Quebec movements, literary and political reviews and organizations. The ideas examined range from the *status quo* to separatism. Special emphasis is given to four nationalist movements, notably the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (R.I.N.).

Vallée, F. F., INDIANS AND ESKIMOS OF CANADA: AN OVERVIEW OF STUDIES OF RELEVANCE TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM. A review of studies dealing with population trends, economic and educational patterns, maintenance of languages, and other distinctive cultural traits, among Indians and Eskimos. There is an annotated bibliography.

b) Essays

Brunet, M., SOCIÉTÉ, POUVOIR POLITIQUE, NATION ET ÉTAT: LE CAS DE LA COLLECTIVITÉ CANADIENNE-FRANÇAISE OU QUÉBÉCOISE. An essay proposing a new balance of forces both in Quebec and in Canada.

Kattan, N., INTÉGRATION DES IMMIGRANTS FRANCOPHONES À LA VIE CANADIENNE. An essay on the integration of the immigrant who wants to live in the French-language milieu of Montreal. It discusses residential patterns in the city, educational choices, the work world, social life, and official policy towards the immigrant.

McNaught, K., THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES UPON THE CULTURE OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADIANS. English Canadian culture: definition; the diversity of this culture as a result of the division of the country into five regions, of different history and of different goals; the nationalism of this culture, strongly tinged with pragmatism and not totally lacking a conciliatory spirit.

Morton, W., THE EQUAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO FOUNDING RACES. An essay illustrating the presence of a French Canadian and an English Canadian culture in Canada. It concludes that a French Canadian culture is quite evident while an English Canadian culture is much less noticeable. "Biculturalism" can only mean cultural duality in the current Canadian context.

Peter, J. D., BICULTURALISM. A comparison of the situation of the British and Afrikaners in South Africa with that of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians.