Chapter I

Voluntary Associations in the Context of Canadian Dualism

A. Types of Associations and the Roles of the Two Groups

14. In the area of voluntary associations, equal partnership can develop only when each of the two linguistic groups has an equal opportunity to develop freely the associational structures suitable to its own society, and to participate with equal benefit in whatever joint activities are undertaken. We are therefore interested in exploring how they do and can contribute to the development and flourishing of each of Canada's two communities and their role in establishing adequate relations between them.

Interrelation of the two objectives

15. These two objectives, while linked, are by no means automatically attained by policies which may further either one. For instance, if all Francophone members of a given association learn English, this may promote better communications, and thus in one sense better relations among its members but, by imposing a special burden on only one of the cultural groups, it would certainly not bring about an equal partnership. The minimal condition under which this could be achieved would require that members of *both* language groups invest some of their resources in learning the other's language or that each bear an equal share of the burden of not being able to operate in it.

16. On the other hand, practices designed to bring about a more equal participation (for example, the preparation of an organization's documents in both languages) may be distasteful to one group because it could lead to a general increase in membership fees. This might create hostility and so result in the deterioration of cultural relations.

Harmony or equality

17. In voluntary associations, as elsewhere, the two objectives of harmony and equality are inseparable, although not always realizable through the same methods. During much of this country's history,

many English-speaking Canadians believed that so long as an amicable rapport existed between Francophones and Anglophones, wherever and whenever they had contact with each other, the relationship between them was satisfactory. Harmony, rather than equality, was held to be the desirable keystone of the relationship. And for a long time such harmony was thought to be broadly attainable without equality. The central feature of the crisis to which we referred in our *Preliminary Report* is precisely that large and influential numbers of Francophones, as well as Anglophones familiar with the problems of our cultural relations, no longer can accept harmony as the main characteristic of the partnership: equality has become more important and is one of the conditions which must be met if harmony is to prevail.

18. The far-reaching changes necessary for the attainment of equality can probably not be brought about without the respective understanding by Francophones and Anglophones of each other's position and needs. This awareness of the other group's requirements and the willingness to act on it cannot materialize without both maintaining a sympathetic interest in each other's affairs. Clearly, understanding will be more likely to grow and develop to the degree that Francophones and Anglophones seize the opportunities offered by their co-existence in Canada to work together on mutually acceptable projects or for mutually acceptable ends. For that reason, the ultimate rewards of membership in voluntary associations for both Francophones and Anglophones will probably be greater when they can unite in joint association. In order for such association to yield its full benefit, however, both groups must be uninhibited and be equally free to express their cultural particularities. In the long run, cultural relations will be satisfactory only if the two official-language groups have equal access to the opportunities and responsibilities offered by Canada, and if the relations between them are sufficiently harmonious to make both wish to make the effort towards successful co-operation. In this Book we explore the ways in which this principle of equal partnership may be applied in and through voluntary associations; we examine the factors which have in the past hindered the satisfactory collaboration of Anglophones and Francophones in voluntary associations and we point to possibilities for more fruitful association in the future.

What we mean by voluntary associations

19. In earlier Books of our *Report* we have dealt with public and some private organizations, particularly economic ones, but we have so far not discussed the voluntary associations. There are many thousands of such organizations in Canada, ranging from small and private groupings of people who have established an organization to pursue a common interest—for example, the tasting of different and exotic cheeses—to such large and powerful organizations as political

parties, labour unions, and Chambers of Commerce, which are essentially public bodies exercising considerable influence on the life of the whole country. The word "voluntary" is used rather loosely here, since it is not always easy to define the degree of choice left to an individual belonging to a given association. This is so particularly with such important organizations as professional associations or labour unions, where withdrawal or failure to join may be accompanied by serious social and economic penalties.

20. We do not attempt to distinguish sharply between the various types of voluntary associations. There are many kinds of organizations, and society provides varying degrees of inducements and pressures for belonging to them. The characteristics identifying the organizations examined in this Book are that members can withdraw from them if they really wish to do so, that they are not linked *directly* to the making of a living by their members, in the sense that a business firm is linked to the way its employees make a living, and that they are to a large degree independent of the state. These characteristics are not always attained fully, but the associations discussed in this Book very largely do display them; it is precisely these characteristics which distinguish them from businesses, industries, or governmental enterprises. From these points of view one can generalize about experiences of Francophones and Anglophones with and in voluntary associations, without considering any specific association in detail.

B. The Role of Voluntary Associations in Society

Membership in voluntary associations

21. It is difficult to estimate accurately the proportion of the population belonging to voluntary associations. Studies conducted in the United States, where the research done on voluntary associations has reached the highest level in the western world, suggest that anywhere from one- to two-thirds of the adult population belong. A precise estimate is difficult to achieve, primarily because each study tends to use a different definition of what is to be included in the term "voluntary associations." Probably at least half of the adult population of the United States belongs to voluntary associations, if labour unions are included and churches, but not associations linked to them, are excluded.

22. One important fact about membership in the United States also applies to Canada: it is not spread evenly among the population. Urban areas support a more vigorous associational life than do rural ones, with small- and medium-sized towns and cities having a higher proportion of members than the largest metropolitan centres. Those

with a higher level of formal education are more likely to be association members than people who have fewer years of schooling. People with middle and higher incomes are more likely to become members of associations than people with lower incomes.[1]

Extent of participation and influence

23. Studies of American voluntary associations show that only a relatively small proportion of association members participate very actively in the affairs of the association; these activists also tend to be among the better-educated, more well-to-do members of society. Therefore, one must conclude that, while voluntary associations play an important part in contemporary life and while they are a means through which individuals can cope with some of the problems posed by mass society, they are not, strictly speaking, a mass phenomenon. Their membership and their control is to some extent limited to the generally more favoured groups within the population.

24. However, it is precisely these groups which are particularly influential in the making of many of the important decisions affecting all aspects of contemporary society. The most active and vigorous members of voluntary associations are often leading members of other institutions in society, so their influence far exceeds their number. The fact that about half of the adult population does not belong to voluntary associations—and that only a minority of those who do are very active in them—does not diminish their considerable importance in the post-industrial society.

The situation in Canada

25. Survey data on membership in voluntary associations in Canada are rather inconclusive. The proportion of Canadians belonging to one or more voluntary associations seems to be similar to that of the United States. There is some indication that proportionately fewer Francophone than Anglophone Canadians belong to voluntary associations, but if indeed there is a difference, it is small. Comparisons are difficult to make because of the impossibility of comparing certain kinds of organizations. The place of a parish-based association in rural Quebec, for example, introduces an element for which there are few equivalents elsewhere in the country. Data obtained from country-wide surveys which asked questions about membership in voluntary associations[2] show that there are some differences in the degree to which members of the two linguistic groups belong to various *types* of organization, but these differences are not great. On the whole, Francophone Canadians hold proportionately fewer offices than Anglophones in common or

1 This summary is based on a large number of American studies. They are listed in the bibliography attached to J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

2 The Social Research Group, "A Study of Interethnic Relations in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

"mixed" associations.[1] A question in our survey sought to discover whether Canadians preferred to belong to ethnically "mixed" or "pure" associations. Answers here indicated a noticeable difference between Anglophones and Francophones: a significantly larger proportion of the latter preferred to belong to associations made up solely of members of their own group.

26. There are, of course, a number of ways in which this important difference can be explained, but it is perhaps most plausible to interpret it as reflecting the experiences of large numbers of Francophones; they have apparently found joint or common voluntary associations only conditionally attractive, or distinctly less appealing than those composed only of members of their own group.

Voluntary associations in contemporary society

27. The number and general importance of voluntary associations in liberal democratic states has increased with the industrialization of society and the increasing specialization of its functions. One scholar who has made a special study of voluntary action in the United States has suggested that the club and association have tended to become in the non-economic life of society what the corporation is to its economic life.[2] The influence of voluntary associations is evident at two levels which, although related, are clearly separate. The associations perform useful services for their members; these are the *internal* functions. At the same time they also have considerable effect on the larger society around them; these effects are the result of the *external* functions of voluntary associations.

What associations do for their members

28. Students of contemporary society generally agree that voluntary associations enable individuals to express and satisfy their interests—functions formerly performed almost exclusively by the family, churches, and the immediate community. As the interests of individuals and groups have become more diversified and complex, they have been assumed by specialized organizations, including voluntary associations. Therefore, in a sense, the voluntary association has been an agency facilitating the individual's adjustment to an almost bewilderingly varied and fast-changing physical and social environment. It has become an intermediary between himself and other individuals and also the state. The voluntary association is therefore an important agency enabling the individual to lead a satisfactory personal life and, by combining with others with the same interest, to maximize his effec-

[1] Associations uniting Francophone and Anglophone members in one joint association will be referred to as "common" associations throughout this Book. When two distinct associations, usually unilingual, operate in basically the same field of interest, they will be referred to as "parallel" associations. The latter may or may not have formal links with one another.

[2] Herbert Goldhammer, "Voluntary Associations in the United States," in P. K. Hatt and A. J. Reiss Jr. (Eds.), *Cities and Society: The Revised Reader in Urban Sociology* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957).

tiveness in influencing decisions affecting his community, in both the public and the private spheres. There are now few educational, recreational, economic, or ideological interests of individuals which are not furthered and catered to by at least one appropriate voluntary association.

29. Voluntary associations offer members several kinds of opportunities. Some of these are related to the main purposes for which the association exists and others can be quite incidental, although equally important. In the first place, associations enable their members to pursue the interest for which the association exists: the opportunity to take part in sports and, presumably, to become as expert as possible; the opportunity to be a better doctor and to make the most out of one's career in medicine; the opportunity to have better working conditions and to be treated fairly by employers; or the opportunity to enjoy the companionship of the other members at weekly dinners. Most associations, however, serve their members at more than one level. An association for the improvement of the members' occupational or recreational skills may also afford them opportunities for social pleasures, and at the same time give some members increased confidence in their own capacities to cope with everyday human problems.

Voluntary associations and the community

30. These are only some of the internal functions performed by associations, but they are the ones particularly relevant to the relations between Canada's two main linguistic groups. In discussing the external functions, we apply the same process of selection: the influence of voluntary associations on public opinion, divisive conflict, and political decisions is examined, not because these are the only areas in which voluntary associations affect society but because they are related more closely than others to our terms of reference.

Public opinion

31. One external function of voluntary associations is that they help people to make up their minds about a large variety of public issues. Most citizens do not have the interest, time, or skill to analyze the nature of problems confronting their society and to weigh the pros and cons of a number of conflicting solutions. Nevertheless, many people have opinions which affect the way in which these problems are resolved. The process through which they arrive at these opinions is a very complex one in which an individual's upbringing and background, the mass media, friends and workmates, and other factors play a role. Among these other factors, voluntary associations are particularly important; they make it easier for many individuals to relate public issues to their own interests and activities. Within voluntary associations, individuals with shared interests examine and discuss developments in the world around them, often with the assistance of specialists. Associations therefore help organize opinion by enabling some of the

groups making up the public to adopt a reasonably firm and coherent view on some of the issues of the day.

Resolving conflicts

32. Voluntary associations are sometimes also responsible for settling conflicts before they grow so intense as to require the intervention of a public body. Differences of opinion are to be expected; they are not uncommon under the present conditions of readjustment and reappraisal in Canada,[1] and many of these can be and *are being* resolved within voluntary associations before they reach more unmanageable proportions and become political issues. For example, potential conflict between the Quebec government and Ottawa over certain aspects of Eskimo life may be averted by the joint programme of the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération with respect to Eskimo co-operative societies. Controversies over the granting of rights to individuals to practise their professions are another example: provincially based professional associations with licensing powers may make arrangements for Canadians with different educational and cultural backgrounds, but belonging to sister associations, to enjoy reciprocal rights to practise. These arrangements may be given official sanction by provincial governments, which then do not have to assess and certify educational institutions in provinces other than their own.

Political influence

33. A third area in which voluntary associations exert influence on the communtiy is linked to the two we have already mentioned: it concerns their general power in democratic societies. Social and political systems like those of Canada are sometimes called pluralist because there are many groups within them, each exerting a certain amount of power on the decisions made by the various levels of governments. Voluntary associations are the main organized manifestation of these groups and by virtue of being organized can exert considerable influence on the public, politicians, and officials. They mediate between the individual and the state, on the one hand helping to organize a variety of individual views into stable patterns, and on the other hand presenting these views as effectively as possible to those who make the major public decisions.[2] Many associations supplement the functions of governments in conducting the business of the modern state.

1 See *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, § 133.

2 Speaking of Bill 63—a Bill to promote the French language in Quebec—Prof. Léon Dion wrote in *Le Devoir*, Nov. 1, 1969:

"To the problem of the widening gulf between the elected and the electors, must be added the growing use of unofficial means of pressure on the government which have arisen since the beginning of the liberal era. In fact, liberal societies, apart from the political parties, have developed a special mechanism to enable citizens to demonstrate their displeasure with the government. This mechanism is the voluntary association, or interest group. Unfortunately the association has too often become an instrument for its directors to promote their own interests, rather than those of the members. Present efforts to put a stop to this oligarchical situation often result in the disbanding of the association itself. Thus, the great mass of students in Quebec no longer has associations to represent it, and the result is often a resort to the use of direct action as a pressure technique." *See* Appendix IV for original French.

34. Thus, the close relation between what happens in voluntary associations and the political realm manifests itself in two ways. First, the experiences of voluntary associations have considerable influence in the political realm. What they do frequently receives extensive publicity and their leaders are often active in politics. Second, governments often have a great interest in voluntary associations and may in fact play a part in their affairs, although they usually do so discreetly. Governments seek the advice of many associations, they support some of their activities financially, and they observe the way in which the associations cope with internal problems—such as the interrelations between linguistic groups—which also manifest themselves in the political realm.

C. Voluntary Associations and Relations between Linguistic Groups

35. In view of the important role which voluntary associations play in modern societies, it is not surprising that they also have a strong effect on the relations between linguistic groups. Here too it is useful to distinguish between internal and external functions of the informal associations and the consequences of these for their own members and those for society as a whole.

36. Viewed internally, joint voluntary associations provide a meeting ground for the two official-language groups, particularly for Canadians who do not live in areas where they come in contact with the other language and culture. For them, most opportunities for becoming personally acquainted with Canadians speaking the other language are either through the work world, if they belong to large, country-wide economic enterprises or—and this is our present concern—through participating in the activities of joint voluntary associations. Attitudes of members of one group towards the other group, the understanding of its interests and reactions, the realization of what it experiences when it engages in activities with Canadians speaking the other language—these are developed in the course of participating in voluntary associations. The way in which Francophones and Anglophones interact (or fail to interact) in voluntary associations is an element of considerable importance in the development of Canadian duality.

External aspects

37. A study of voluntary associations reveals how their ideas and activities affect relations between cultural groups in a general way and influence the world around them. By undertaking certain activities and ignoring others, by focussing attention on some problems in preference to others, by directing the attention of their members and of the community at large towards certain concerns, voluntary associations are

able to influence conditions affecting the positions of each of Canada's linguistic communities—even if it is done unconsciously. A country-wide scholarship scheme advocated by a students' association may, for example, have profound consequences on the cultural development of both Francophones and Anglophones; the foreign policy recommendations of a group interested in the economic growth of under-developed areas may, by urging certain kinds of schemes, direct Canada's interest towards the English- rather than the French-speaking parts of the world. This may have unequal effects on the social, political, and even economic conditions of each of the country's two main linguistic groups.

Internal aspects

38. In examining the information compiled for this Book, we have borne in mind both the internal and external aspects of voluntary associations and the relations between Francophones and Anglophones. However, we realize that to do justice to the external aspects would have compelled us to trace a virtually infinite network of subtle relations and hence to conduct studies of formidable scope and length. Thus we have emphasized the internal aspects. But members and leaders of voluntary associations who are concerned about relations between the two main cultural groups will need to ask themselves how their activities affect these relations in the broader sense.

D. The Response to the Existence of Two Linguistic Communities

39. Although practically all Canadian voluntary associations in some way determine the degree to which equal partnership between Francophones and Anglophones can be attained, most of them have not been primarily or even superficially concerned with the quality of these relations. However, the major interests they pursue, and the degree to which each of the two linguistic groups value these interests, may have a profound effect on the relations between the two groups. In order to maintain a sense of realism we must keep in mind the fact that the present preoccupation with the quality and scope of relations between the two official-language groups may focus on features of voluntary associations which have heretofore been of only incidental interest to the associations themselves. It is even possible that some members may feel that the conditions required for equal participation of both groups may impede the realization of the primary goals of the association. There is then a problem of reconciling two objectives: equal partnership and associational survival.

Equal partnership and institutional survival

40. Associations can respond to the situation presented by a linguistically and culturally mixed society in various ways. Some have made strenuous efforts to define their objectives and to arrive at such

ways of pursuing them that equal opportunities are open to both cultural groups. Other associations have ignored the existence in Canada of the two societies and have decided to pursue their objectives as if their members belonged to only one linguistic group. This decision does not, of course, avoid or solve the problem: on the contrary, it provides a clear-cut response to it, an attitude which considers the linguistic and cultural factors less important to the members than the other objectives of the association. It demands that the members of the official-language minority be prepared to accept the language and style of the majority. This may, for a time, provide an acceptable mode of functioning but it certainly does not afford equal access to the benefits of the association. Members of the minority group will be able to participate less, or less easily, and the benefits they derive from membership will obviously be fewer and less significant than those available to the majority.

Effects of inequality

41. We shall enlarge on this situation later. Here we need merely note that such conditions of inequality are likely to lead to one of three general outcomes: the acceptance by the official-language minority of an inferior position in the association, with a consequent loss of contribution to the association; a reform of the association designed to achieve equality of opportunity for the members of each cultural group; or the decision of the minority to escape its inferior status by separating from the majority and forming its own unilingual association. This last is an entirely justifiable option and may, under certain circumstances, provide the best solution for both groups. However, it obviously reduces the opportunity for contact between the two societies unless special measures are taken to provide them.

Results of an inferior position

42. In countries like Canada, where two major cultural groups have a vigorous desire and will to preserve their identity, the official-language minority group is unlikely to accept a permanent position of inferiority.[1] This has profound consequences for voluntary associations. Some of the Francophone members may tolerate their disadvantaged position within an association if this has no other consequences than some occasional discomfort and an awareness that they are not getting quite as much use out of belonging as members of the majority. Some minority members may even be so accustomed to their status that they hardly notice it. But once they perceive that the degree to which they benefit from belonging affects their personal development, the way in which they perform their occupation, or the maner in which they function as citizens, their philosophical acceptance of the unequal distribution of benefits will quickly disappear. They will realize that, rela-

[1] See *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, § 103.

tively speaking, their membership in such an association may be a crippling experience—one which they must escape if they are to participate on an equal footing with the official-language majority in the life of Canada.

Different needs of individuals and groups

43. The stakes different individuals have in the various organizations to which they belong vary considerably. One person may attach more importance to belonging to associations helping him to enjoy his leisure hours. Someone else may lean more heavily on the services he derives from educational associations. What holds true for individuals may also apply to groups, including linguistic groups. It follows that the degree to which an association contributes to the equal participation in Canadian life by Anglophones and Francophones can be determined only in relation to the goals each pursue through them. The consequences of voluntary associations failing to serve the two official-language groups equally well may be more serious in some organizations than in others, depending on the degree to which the organizations are capable of responding to the expectations of the two official-language groups and also on the expectations of the two groups in the various kinds of voluntary associations.

Summary

44. Voluntary associations are highly important phenomena in contemporary society. They are agencies through which members of each official-language group participate in virtually all phases of Canadian life; through them, intercultural contacts occur and members of different cultural groups develop their respective perceptions of one another, or work out compromises, when these are possible or desirable.

45. If equal partnership is to develop in Canada, then virtually all the social institutions will have to play their part, including, of course, voluntary associations. To do so, they will have to be highly sensitive to the demands of the two official-language groups, while at the same time remaining effective enough to continue attracting and holding supporters deriving benefits from their membership.

E. Obstacles and Opportunities

General focus

46. The focus of our examination of voluntary associations will be particularly on the factors which have provided opportunities for, or which have prevented, the equal development of the two linguistic societies, and on the tensions which have arisen between them, and the way in which the associations have responded to this situation. These internal features of cultural relations within voluntary associations are influenced by certain external conditions over which the voluntary associations have little or no control.

The numerical proportion

47. It is inevitable that the relations between Francophone and Anglophone members of a common voluntary association will be substantially influenced by the respective numerical strength of each group. Generally, it can be assumed that a satisfactory partnership can be most easily attained if the numbers are roughly equal and is achieved with most difficulty when the numerical disparity is very wide.

The North American setting

48. Canada's physical proximity to the United States and that country's influence and position of leadership in many spheres of human endeavour exert an inescapable effect on the practices and activities of large numbers of associations. Many organizations which submitted briefs to the Commission referred to this situation and to the consequences it has had on the degree to which French and English have been used in some of their enterprises. The brief from the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, for example, expressed a view which was echoed by several other associations:

> The Province of Quebec submits as the other provinces to the influence of the United States. This influence was particularly felt in the hospitals during and after the last war. A large number of doctors of the French language undertook post-graduate education in the United States. The great programmes of research in that country influenced medicine around the world and have a repercussion on the care given to patients in the field of prevention, medical care and rehabilitation. If the post-graduate education received by nurses in the United States is added to this, one might say that our hospitals, our nursing schools and our health services are organized according to the American model.[1]

The origins and history of the association

49. The place of origin—either in Canada or abroad, the dominant personalities among the founders and early leaders, and the major episodes in the evolution of an association are likely to have a powerful effect on the way in which the present members can arrange their affairs. A large proportion of Canadian associations have been derived from British or American models or have simply been "imported" from these countries. This has contributed to the difficulties experienced by some of them in presenting an equally attractive and hospitable image to both Francophone and Anglophone Canadians.

50. Although there is sometimes a tendency to exaggerate the continentalism or Americanism of some Canadian Anglophones, there is no doubt that, compared with their Francophone associates, they are generally more predisposed to think in North American terms. For a number of reasons their contacts with the United States tend to be more frequent. This sometimes prompts them to model their Canadian association after a similar organization in the United States, or at least to try to have their Canadian colleagues adopt some policy or practice

[1] Brief of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec to the R.C.B.&B.

which they have admired in the United States. Similarly, some Anglophone Canadians with close links to the United Kingdom have found it natural to preserve, or desirable to introduce, British patterns into Canadian associations. Many Canadian associations consequently appear to be replicas of similar organizations in the United States or Britain.

Political conditions in the country

51. Finally, general conditions prevailing at any given time—quite independently of what is happening to any association—will affect what goes on inside it. This is so particularly with respect to political developments. Relations between Francophone and Anglophone members of voluntary associations have reflected the growth of French Canadian nationalism and the effects it has had on the political climate in Canada. General autonomist and independentist tendencies have in recent years had particularly sharp consequences for a number of voluntary associations and have revealed that earlier arrangements, which had seemed adequate, had in effect prevented the development of equal partnership. On the other hand, arrangements which could have been expected to meet the requirements of each cultural group proved unsatisfactory because of the intensity of general feelings between Francophone and Anglophone members of voluntary associations. Where there is no will to achieve effective collaboration, no arrangement can bring it about.

52. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the prevailing political climate for voluntary associations. They are often microcosms of society and they therefore reflect the same tensions, anxieties, and aspirations as "the world outside." Since in many respects associations stand between individuals and the state, they are often influenced by government action directly and indirectly; consequently, they are highly sensitive to the political issues of the societies in which they exist. Because members of voluntary associations, and particularly those who participate most vigorously in them, are also politically active, voluntary associations are likely to be very responsive to the political forces surrounding them. Crises in the relations between the two official-language groups in voluntary associations have frequently coincided with, and could be linked to, prevailing political controversies between Ottawa and the government of Quebec. The influence of the past and of general conditions can be offset to a great extent by what is done by the voluntary associations themselves at the present time.

Benefits and costs of membership

53. Voluntary associations cannot exist without providing incentives which will attract members and which will offset and exceed the costs of belonging. It is, of course, seldom if ever possible to recognize all the costs and benefits associated with membership: some benefits, for example, may simply consist of avoiding censure for *not* belonging,

or they may reflect unsuspected psychological satisfactions quite unrelated to the purposes of the associations. The balancing of the costs and benefits which determine an individual's degree of commitment to an organization can never be made in the full knowledge of all relevant factors, but it is still of critical importance. Very few members of associations are aware that they do compare the relative advantages and disadvantages of belonging, but their being part of an organization and the degree to which they participate in it depend on some conscious or unconscious assessment of the kind sketched here. In the long run, the organization is likely to disappear if the outcome of this calculation of costs and benefits is negative for too many members.

54. Where there are two distinct groups—linguistic groups, for example—within a voluntary association, it is of course particularly important that members of both groups experience a broadly similar cost-benefit balance. In the absence of such a parity, the members of one group are less likely to wish to belong, and those who do are certainly going to participate less. Disparities in the cost-benefit balance sheet will therefore prevent the development of satisfactory relations between the two groups.

55. The cost-benefit concept implies that a subjective evaluation is possible, and that individuals are capable of assessing what they get out of belonging to an association. But this is only partly true; a person may be deprived of equal access to the benefits of belonging to an association without realizing his deprivation. For this reason, an uninvolved outsider may be better able than the participant himself to judge the benefits an individual is, or should be, deriving from an experience. In this Book we shall adopt the perspectives of both the participant and the observer.

The objectives of an association

56. While all the needs met or incentives provided by membership in any voluntary association are varied and often too subtle to be perceived even by many members, it is usually possible to identify the *major* incentives by looking at the association's aims or objectives. But the objectives tell us only part of what attracts and holds the membership. The way in which the objectives are pursued, the manner in which the association is organized, and the experiences members have as they participate in the activities or enjoy the services of their association are also important in this evaluation.

The aspects of our research

57. The major research study we commissioned in preparation for the drafting of this Book[1] distinguished between the following aspects of voluntary associations: objectives, activities, structures, co-ordination, representation, and communications. We have followed a similar

1 Meisel and Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations."

framework to that adopted by our researchers and the ensuing chapters are devoted to these aspects of voluntary associations. However, we found it desirable to consider these aspects of associations somewhat more simply by combining some of the categories in our discussion. The next four chapters will therefore deal with objectives, activities, structure (including representation), and communication; where we shall be concerned with language use. Problems of co-ordination are discussed in the chapters on activities and communications.

58. While this approach has the advantage of enabling us to focus sharply on one particular aspect at a time and so to see it with greater clarity, it also entails a danger: we risk giving the impression that the parts we have isolated so that we can have a clear, uncluttered view of them have some sort of independent existence in the real world. Of course, the situation is actually far more complex. Seldom, if ever, does any one of these aspects alone have a determining effect on the nature of relations between cultural groups within any voluntary association. It is invariably the arrangements with respect to a number of them and the way in which they are related to one another which determine how Francophone and Anglophone Canadians interact in voluntary associations and how they can hope to achieve equality. These complex relations will be fully discussed in the concluding chapter of this Book.

A. A Classification of Associations

59. Voluntary associations are sometimes classified according to the major aim or aims they pursue. Since the activities and often the structure of an association are influenced by the purposes for which it was established, this is a revealing and effective way of distinguishing between different kinds of organizations. A large number of schemes have been produced for the classification of voluntary associations, ranging from very simple groupings to analytical headings of the greatest complexity.

Focus of association efforts

60. For example, associations can be classified according to the general direction of their efforts; some are concerned primarily with catering to the needs of their members, whereas others are largely interested in bringing about changes (or resisting change) in the society around them. The latter group, of which conservation associations, humane societies, and groups like the Voice of Women are examples, try to *project* certain general values or policies beyond their membership and among the community at large. They are, therefore, sometimes classified as "projective" associations.

Member-oriented associations

61. The former, more inward-looking associations may be divided into sub-categories according to the particular interests to which they cater: one large group of associations exists to support some major occupational or economic interest of the members. These, like the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the Union catholique des cultivateurs, are "utilitarian" associations in that they serve a clearly defined utilitarian function for their members. The chief hallmark of all the utilitarian associations is that they perform a *secondary* service

to some more important (usually occupational) concern of the members. Other kinds of associations cater more directly to the needs of the membership; these are usually classified according to the nature of the interest for which they exist. They may be educational, for example, like the Canadian Association for Adult Education or L'Association canadienne des éducateurs de langue française, or recreational, like the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association or the Confédération des loisirs du Québec, for instance. Classifications may sometimes be even more specialized: recreational associations, for example, may be broken down into organizations catering respectively to such interests as sports, drama, or various hobbies.

A multiplicity of aims

62. Few organizations pursue only a single aim or even a group of aims which fall neatly into one of the categories we have used. The Chamber of Commerce, for example, may be an utilitarian association in so far as it engages in activities designed to promote the interests of its businessmen members, but it may fall under the projective heading when it sponsors a general programme in support of the acceptance of the private economic system. However, it is usually quite easy to tell which objectives are dominant.

B. Chances for Equal Opportunities in Different Kinds of Associations

63. The extent of the participation and interaction of Canada's two linguistic groups in voluntary associations depends on numerous factors and conditions. Nevertheless the evidence suggests that equal opportunities for participation and satisfaction have been more difficult to achieve in associations largely concerned with educational and projective goals than in those pursuing recreational and utilitarian ones.

Recreational associations

64. Associations whose main interest is in recreation tend to engage most of their members at the local level and their interests are usually relatively simple and immediate: they like to play a game, pursue a hobby, or otherwise engage in leisure-time activities. These are not likely to touch upon the great issues which divide men on ideological grounds, or in response to prevailing public controversies. To the extent that recreational associations are relatively aloof from public issues, they are usually less influenced by the Canadian crisis which has affected many Canadian associations.

65. This does not mean that members of the two official-language groups invariably have equal access to what recreational associations offer, or that relations between them are always satisfactory. Many of the problems identified in this Book are present in all types of associations, but there are often fewer of them and they appear in less acute form in recreational associations.

Utilitarian associations

66. To a lesser extent, the same appears to be the case in utilitarian associations. Here, as in all types of associations, members of the official-language minority often cannot participate to the same extent or with equal profit as those belonging to the majority. But, because they usually pursue relatively narrowly defined, practical advantages for their members, the utilitarian associations at least escape some of the difficulties often encountered by educational and projective associations.

67. A good example of this point is provided by an exchange during one of our hearings between one of the Commissioners and the president of a utilitarian association, the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants:

A Commissioner: "... apparently you give us an example of an organization that operates right across Canada in a fairly unified way and yet which has strong roots in the Province of Quebec with French-speaking members, and you have been able to maintain the sense of a single association on a kind of federal principle.... To what would you attribute the hitherto success of your association?"
The President: "I would say partly because in dealing with professional problems you meet on common ground. You may have differences of background, of regions, of occupation, but when you come to a professional problem, I would not for a moment say there is only one solution, but nevertheless the scope of the solution is narrowed to the professional field and so you have a great deal of easy conversation one way and another."[1]

Projective associations

68. Projective associations are not only interested in propagating certain ideologies and values; they also normally address their message to distinct segments of the community. A large part of their effort is directed towards shaping public policy, and this often involves a decision as to which government is expected to deal with the issues they raise. This has sometimes led to considerable disagreement between Francophone and Anglophone members. Canadian organizations in such diverse fields as municipal government, agriculture, and higher education have each experienced disagreements over which level of government was to be approached.

Education-oriented associations

69. Education often is highly utilitarian in the sense that its fruits enhance an individual's capacity to function more effectively in his occupation. Associations catering to the professional interests of their members often engage in educational programmes. As a rule, these pose fewer problems for intercultural relations than more general and less professionally focussed educational projects of associations which are not primarily utilitarian. However, education is linked to the values of the society in which it occurs. Even when seemingly

[1] Mr. D. Lukin Johnston at the hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Toronto, March 30, 1965.

value-free skills—those linked to computer technology, for example—are involved, the content of what is taught, and how it affects social issues, is related to what a society considers important, and in what order. Canada's two main linguistic groups have, as all our inquiries indicate, enshrined two distinct cultures whose goals are not identical. Therefore, Francophones and Anglophones do not always attach the same importance to the purposes of education and to the direction given educational efforts in their common voluntary associations.

C. Divergent Aims

Anglophone and Francophone views of association aims

70. As we have seen, most associations have more than one aim. A natural consequence is that members differ in the importance they attach to the various ends sought. These differences are not randomly distributed among the members; they reflect differences in the interests, backgrounds, and values of various groups within the associations, including, of course, the two linguistic groups. In Canadian vountary associations of the common type, the Francophone members often attach major importance to one set of aims while their Anglophone colleagues attach greater weight to others.

Examples

71. Thus an examination of the relations between Francophones and Anglophones in labour unions found that "officers and staff in Ontario are practically unanimous that political action should be the main function of a union after collective bargaining, and that education (including political education) should come next. In Canadian Labour Congress-affiliated unions in Quebec, education, (including political education) ranks first."[1] Similarly, the existence of the Association des médecins de langue française du Canada, alongside the Canadian Medical Association, reflects—in addition to the need for coping with the language problem—the desire on the part of at least a significant number of Francophone doctors to belong to a medical association which views the practice of medicine as closely related to the cultural background of those involved in it—a view which is probably not shared by Anglophone doctors.[2]

72. The student organizations offer a particularly striking example of this. Until the 1960's, the Canadian Union of Students (L'Union canadienne des étudiants) attempted to serve the interests of university students from both linguistic groups. But the students from the Univer-

1 Working paper of the R.C.B.&B., by Harry S. Crowe and Louis-Marie Tremblay, based on interviews with unionists, Part II, 144.

2 J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

sities of Montreal and Laval (and later Sherbrooke) had a somewhat different conception of the place of students and of universities in society from that of the Anglophone majority. Their leaders were more interested in "student syndicalism," which viewed students as intellectual workers sharing many basic interests with other kinds of workers. The representatives from the English-language universities generally held a much more conventional view of the place of students in the scheme of things and consequently entertained different expectations from their country-wide associations than their Francophone associates. Under these conditions a substantial difference of opinion developed over the objectives to be pursued by student associations and the means to be used in attaining them. As well as the cleavage over the place of student associations in society, there was another divergence of opinion: the great concern of Quebec students for the protection of provincial rights in the field of education was not shared by most of the student leaders from the other provinces.

73. These differences led to the emergence of two student associations, one Francophone and the other Anglophone, demonstrating how differences in the objectives sought—even in an area where there are obviously many common interests—make it difficult or even impossible for members to benefit equally from a common association. In this case, the Quebec students attached greater weight to the projective aspects of student associations than to the utilitarian aspects, whereas the students from the other provinces were inclined to reverse the emphasis.[1]

Disparities in aims may go unnoticed

74. Differences in objectives can sometimes develop quite unperceived within an association, so that the disparity in aims is only noticed a long time after it has developed. One of the Canadian associations where this happened and in which the two linguistic groups failed to achieve equal partnership was the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce. There are many reasons for the respective dissatisfactions of the Francophone and Anglophone members, several of which are discussed later. The difference in objectives relevant here is related to the organization's belief in private enterprise. In French Canada, the Junior Chambers cater to a somewhat different membership than elsewhere in the country: the occupational background of the members is broader and the proportion of young business and professional people is lower. This fact is reflected not only in the Quebec Junior Chamber dropping the word "Commerce" from its name, but also in the greater willingness of the Quebec members to tolerate, or even welcome, the role of the state in economic affairs.

[1]Both the Canadian Union of Students and the Union générale des étudiants du Québec ultimately disbanded.

75. The third article of the creed of the International Junior Chamber (La Jeune chambre internationale) asserts that economic justice can best be assured by private enterprise; this view has never been questioned by the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce (La Jeune chambre du commerce du Canada). However, in 1965, la Fédération des jeunes chambres du Canada français proposed that this article be replaced by a statement declaring that the economic, social, political, and cultural emancipation of citizens should be the first duty of the state. The Francophone and Anglophone sections within the Canadian Junior Chamber organization were clearly pursuing conflicting aims. But this fact was not always perceived by the leaders of the Canadian Junior Chamber; their choice of the topic for the 1963 country-wide oratorical contest was precisely this controversial third article.

76. In a case like that of the Junior Chamber, it is likely that the members of one or both linguistic groups failed to notice that their organization had been undergoing a substantial change which was affecting different parts in quite disparate ways. The history of the relations between the two linguistic groups in the Junior Chamber shows that they were drifting apart, not necessarily because of clashes between the two cultures, but because the organization appealed to a different kind of clientele and played a different role in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. The difference in objectives, and the fact that it was not fully perceived, made it all the more difficult to deal with the conflicts arising from the cultural diversity of the members.

D. Differences in the Ranking of Objectives

77. The differences in the objectives sought by the Francophone and Anglophone members of the Junior Chamber were in some respects quite radical; therefore it was not surprising that they led to serious conflict. Sometimes, however, even when the two cultural groups share the same objectives in an association, they may wish to employ different means of attaining them. Quite often members of each of the two groups rank the various objectives of a joint association in a different order.

78. This is the case particularly at the present time in Canada, when many Francophone members of associations wish to participate in and further the new developments in Quebec. These often affect the plans and activities of Francophone members of organizations in ways which are not felt by those outside Quebec and the two official-language groups therefore tend to assign different priorities to the tasks confronted by their associations. For example, the Anglophone members of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, especially

those from the smaller provinces, are more likely to pursue policies leading to the involvement of the federal government in municipal programmes than Quebec members, who are more sensitive to the constitutional responsibility in their field of the provincial government and who are quick to resent federal encroachments on it. The consequence of this difference is that the Quebec members tend to expect the Canada-wide association to be little more than a clearing house for provincial bodies like the Union des municipalités de la province de Québec, whereas Anglophone members are likely to expect a more positive role from the central organization. Under these circumstances the Anglophones from municipalities outside Quebec may wish to use the Canadian association primarily as a pressure group for the purpose of securing more extensive federal aid to municipalities, whereas the Francophone members from Quebec are more likely to seek merely information services from it.

E. The Danger of Stereotypes

Idealizations and caricatures

79. In a substantial proportion of the associations we examined, the Francophone members tended to think that they stressed the educational aspects of their associations more than the Anglophones. While this difference in emphasis was evident in some instances—for example, in labour unions—it was not nearly as widespread, nor as marked, as was commonly believed. Canada's two linguistic groups apparently entertain myths about the aims they allegedly pursue in associations and about what can be termed their respective associational styles. This leads many members of the two groups to have an idealized conception of themselves and to caricature the other group. Anglophone Canadians, for example, tend to see themselves as exceedingly generous and open-minded members of organizations, always pursuing policies aimed at the common good of both societies; they often seem to see their Francophone colleagues as cliquish, somewhat inefficient, and unreasonably parochial, given to allowing doctrinaire preoccupations with insignificant forms to interfere with the achievement of real and substantial advantage. Many members of the Francophone group, on the other hand, consider themselves to be less materialistic and mercenary and more concerned with matters of the spirit and the mind than their Anglophone colleagues. These are held to be somewhat crass, insensitive, and opportunistic, all too willing to abandon good Canadian principles for the sake of accepting some North American material advantage. Like most caricatures, these sketches contain a modicum of realism, but they are hardly an accurate portrait of either group: and yet there are an impressive number of cases where the

relations between the two groups are beclouded by each ascribing to the other characteristics, intentions, or aims conforming to some such myths rather than to actual behaviour or genuine expectations. When this happens it becomes difficult for associations to accept goals and adopt practices really suited to the interests of both cultural groups, and to assure that the relations between the two groups are mutually satisfactory. The study undertaken for the Commission[1] encountered these misconceptions most frequently among the leaders of organizations composed of young people, like the students, amateur hockey associations, and Junior Chambers.

F. Objectives in Associations with External Links

80. We have already remarked that many Canadian associations have historical or organizational links with American or British associations catering to the same interests. These links may contain some dangers for associations operating in a country with two official-language groups. The goals, structures, and modes of conducting business of British and American associations have developed without taking into account any linguistic and cultural differences in their clientele; they may therefore ignore the special conditions required if the two linguistic groups are to derive equal benefit from a single organization. For example, many organizations whose main interests are narrowly utilitarian nevertheless include in their aims expressions of patriotism and of their attachment to various patriotic symbols. These goals were often simply inherited from the British or American parent organization and they may at one time have served a unifying purpose, even though they were in no way connected to the main purposes of the association. Changing conditions in Canada, and particularly lack of uniformity in the conception of the nature of the country, have sometimes robbed these general aims of their unifying effect and have made them into obstacles to the satisfactory pursuit of the main purposes of the organization. But even in the absence of such "historic" impediments, organizations whose purposes, structural forms, and methods of proceeding have been imported from other countries, or are greatly influenced by them, may be quite inappropriate for a country with two principal cultures.

Objectives linked to conceptions of society and the country

81. One of the main reasons for this is that the aims members seek through their associations are often linked closely to the conception they have of their society and country. Most British and American associational models are of a kind which assumes that the members

[1] Meisel and Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations."

largely share these conceptions; they do not allow for the substantial divergences of opinion among the members even on such fundamental questions. Canadian associations wishing to serve both linguistic groups are finding increasingly that they must provide for a wide diversity of opinion between the two on a number of issues, including even that of the nature of Canada.

82. The brief presented to the Commission by the Canadian Union of Students (L'Union canadienne des étudiants) points to one instance of how the conception of Canada held by Anglophone students proved unacceptable to their Francophone colleagues, and therefore became a divisive factor in a student association: "There is no question but that some of the policies adopted by NFCUS (National Federation of Canadian University Students), while taken in the interest of benefitting students everywhere by increasing aid to higher education, were often aggravating to French-speaking students because of their distinct federal orientation."[1]

G. Canadian Unity as a Goal

83. Many Canadian organizations have in the past adopted the achievement of "national unity" as one of their aims, even though the main objective may have been a more utilitarian one of furthering the members' occupational interests. The goal of "national unity" was useful in unifying a membership which may have been divided on sectional, occupational, or some other lines. Canada's duality now is being given greater recognition and more people are realizing that Canadians belonging to the two main cultural groups do not always agree on the meaning of words like "national" or "unity." However, the use of this kind of vague general terminology is being abandoned where it has no bearing on the principal aims of the associations. It is being recognized as an impediment to the fruitful sharing of other, more precise interests which the members of the two linguistic groups have in common and which they can profitably pursue through their voluntary associations.

84. Of course, some associations composed of members of both linguistic groups exist for the explicit purpose of working towards the development of the Canadian state according to certain well-defined and agreed-upon lines. These associations perform a useful function and nothing that was said in the preceding paragraph should be construed as implying a criticism of them.

[1] Brief of the CUS to the R.C.B.&B.

Danger of irrelevant objectives

85. We do wish to point out the danger inherent in the practice of a utilitarian association composed of both official-language groups adopting general aims or policies which have very little to do with the real purposes of the association and which may interfere with the effective collaboration of the Francophone and Anglophone members. Only a few years ago, for example, Canadian associations interested in the welfare of certain professional or occupational groups often advocated closer ties with the Empire or Commonwealth, or increased immigration from the United Kingdom. This kind of objective sometimes had no relevance to the immediate purposes of the association and it is difficult to see how it served the interests of the Francophone members.

86. The fact that these kinds of general objectives or policy resolutions were adopted by many country-wide organizations indicates that the participation within them of Francophone and Anglophone members was not well balanced, and that the interests and wishes of the Anglophones tended to be dominant. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (L'Ordre impérial des filles de l'empire), for example, told the Commission that there are no barriers to participation by Francophones in its local chapters; however, it seems likely that the very name of the organization might deter some potential members from joining. It is no doubt one of the reasons why only one quarter of the organization's Quebec membership is French-speaking.[1]

87. Virtually all Canadian associations serving the two official-language groups have in recent years recognized that both in their aims and methods they had in the past failed to respond adequately to Canada's duality. As a result, most have been going through the difficult process of redefining their purposes and of finding more acceptable ways of conducting their business.

Current adjustments reflect prevailing views of Canadian society

88. The manner in which a voluntary association adjusts to the new conditions depends to a very great extent on the general climate in which it copes with the requirements of its dual membership. Associations have reflected the *political* state of the country with respect to the relations between the two linguistic groups. The way in which they have approached their often newly perceived "language" and "cultural" problems has depended in large part on the degree to which their leaders have been emotionally or otherwise involved in the current dialogue.

[1] Brief of the IODE to the R.C.B.&B., and hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Toronto, March 30, 1965.

A. The Commission's Perspective

1. Two foci of attention: the individual and the association

89. Voluntary associations engage in an immensely wide range of activities covering virtually every aspect of human experience. Therefore, we have had to be highly selective and to focus on those aspects which met two criteria: the activities we considered affect both the personal satisfaction of the members of Canada's two official-language groups in their voluntary associations and the performance and effectiveness of the associations in meeting the needs of both Francophones and Anglophones as groups. The two aspects are, of course, closely related. The first concentrates on what happens to individuals in a linguistically dual society and the second on the effects of this duality for the associations.

2. General activities

90. Most of the large Canadian voluntary associations engage at one time or another in one or more of the following activities: dissemination of information, training of members, holding of meetings and conventions, passing and presenting of resolutions and briefs, organizing exchanges, conducting social events, day-to-day administration, and other activities fulfilling the association's aims. The meaning of each is obvious and requires only a short elucidation.

Explanation of activities

91. Associations often provide their members with information originating outside their own ranks about subjects relevant to the

organization's purposes; they also furnish news about internal developments. The training of members normally covers skills germane to the purposes and also to the performance of various necessary administrative and leadership tasks. For some associations, meetings constitute the main or even the only activity. They may be held locally or in provincial, regional, or pan-Canadian centres. When they are attended by a large number of members or delegates and they perform special tasks assigned by the constitution, they become conventions; delegates usually elect the executive bodies, debate and normally approve reports about past and future activities, discuss and adopt resolutions about the association's own programme and possibly also about its views on current issues. One means through which information and experiences are shared in and between associations is through exchange visits among geographically scattered members or colleagues in other associations pursuing related interests. Most associations conduct social events from time to time for members and sometimes also their families, even when social intercourse is not one of the reasons for the organization's existence. The degree to which the administration of an association is an important activity depends in part on the purpose and size of the organization, but none can survive without some sort of administrative routine. The final activity listed is in many respects the most important and also the most difficult to describe. It is the activity for which the association exists and to which those mentioned already are largely subservient. It may be the playing of a sport or of a musical instrument, the servicing of a profession or trade, the contesting of elections, the negotiation of labour contracts, the bringing of pressure on governments in support of the members' interests, the propagation of an ideology, or one or more of the literally thousands of other purposes for which individuals band together in informal organizations.

3. Obstacles to equal participation

The language obstacle

92. There are serious disparities in the degree to which Francophone and Anglophone Canadians benefit from belonging to common associations and to which they participate in their activities: on the whole, Francophones are involved less—and often less effectively. Language provides an obvious and powerful explanation. Its importance in this respect is so great that the problems it poses are discussed in a separate chapter below, devoted to communications between the two groups in voluntary associations. Most of the difficulties arise essentially from the fact that in many common associations, unilingual Anglophones predominate. A Francophone therefore often finds himself in the position of having to function in the English language if he wishes to benefit

from his membership in a country-wide Canadian organization. This imposes obvious penalties and handicaps on members of the official-language minority.

The feeling of strangeness and being a minority

93. The barriers obstructing the full participation of Francophones in these associations are by no means only linguistic. The cultural problems are very real, even though they cannot be described with quite the same precision as linguistic problems. The fact of being a member of any kind of minority affects the individual concerned and his place in the association. The rules of procedure, the manner of approaching problems, the unspoken premises, and shared educational—and often occupational—background of the majority make him feel like a stranger and force him to operate in a rather unfamiliar terrain.[1]

94. The point was made to the Commission very effectively at one of our hearings when James de B. Domville, a spokesman for the National Theatre School of Canada, said:

> Not only the dominance, but the appearance of domination, of one group by another must be avoided. It seems to me to be very important from the psychological point of view that, when there is a minority and a majority, the minority must not feel itself dominated by the majority, whether or not this is actually the case. When our classes have more or less equal numbers of the two groups, we find that things go much more smoothly than when the teacher feels it necessary to favour the majority group simply because it is the majority, or to favour the minority because it is the minority.[2]

95. The feeling of being an outsider, often associated with being a member of a minority group, does not necessarily prevent Francophones from participating in the activities of the Anglophone majority, but they have to make a greater effort than the others if they do join and they are confronted with a psychic cost. A closer examination of the major classes of activity outlined above will reveal more specific reasons for differences in the degree to which members of the two linguistic groups participate in voluntary associations.

B. Participation and the Major Categories of Activity

1. Participation and the dissemination of information

96. The extent to which a member of either linguistic group in an association benefits from the information disseminated again depends in part on the language used and on his capacity to use it. If all the

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 730.

[2] Hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Montreal, September 7, 1965. *See* Appendix IV for original French.

material is circulated in both languages, the members of the two linguistic groups have equal access to the same information and equal opportunity to benefit from it. But most country-wide organizations have found it difficult to disseminate all the information in French as well as in English, so the Francophones have not had as good an opportunity to be well informed as the Anglophones. Obviously, if all Canadians were bilingual, this question would not raise the same problems. But this is not the case—nor is it likely to be the case in the future, and one group is usually favoured because its language is favoured.

Production of information

97. So far we have considered only the consumption aspects of the news and information distributed to the members. These items, whether they be bulletins, journals, memoranda, or lectures, have to be produced; decisions about what information should be disseminated and how are as important as the choice of language. If these decisions are made consistently by members of one linguistic group, without consultation of those familiar with the views of the other group, the needs or interests of the other group will likely not be met, or will be met imperfectly. Because of the language factor, their relative numerical weakness, and the dominant position of the Anglophones in many sectors of Canadian life, Francophones often play only a minor role in the running of common associations; therefore, they often have only a minor part—or no part at all—in deciding what sort of information is to be circulated.

Language as a vehicle for culture

98. Some people feel that the language one speaks has no bearing on most of the activities carried out in voluntary associations—how one plays a game of hockey, for example, or how one decides the most effective way of opposing the taxation of co-operatives. But we are concerned not only with two linguistic groups but also with two cultures. And culture, as "a way of being, thinking, and feeling"[1] influences what an individual considers important, and how he can best achieve these goals. Cultural differences can quite easily lead to differences in the priorities that members of each group assign to various aspects of the programme and also to the manner in which they feel the activities should be pursued.

99. A representative of the Dominion Drama Festival was explicit on this point when discussing with the Commission his organization's problems in securing competent adjudicators:

Mr. Melanson: We have had a great many difficulties . . . in finding people who are competent in both traditions and techniques of the theatre to adjudicate our Festivals. . . .

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 38.

Two months ago I asked one person in French theatre if he would be interested in judging one of our competitions and he said, "I would very much like to . . . I feel I speak English very well, but I am not bicultural enough."[1]

100. The awareness of this aspect of cultural difference underlay a statement made by a leading member of the Association des médecins de langue française du Canada when he once described the purpose of his association as "to encourage the development of medicine according to the genius of our [i.e. French Canadian] civilization and culture, and according to our own intellectual aptitudes and characteristics."[2]

101. Because of the importance of cultural—as distinct from linguistic—differences, assocations seeking to serve both of Canada's main cultural groups are likely to be effective in promoting equal partnership only if decisions about virtually all activities, including the dissemination of information, are made with the full and free participation of both Francophones and Anglophones.

2. Participation and training

102. The same applies to the training of members, whether it be with reference to the skills related directly to the purposes of the association or to those needed for its efficient administration. Here, as elsewhere, the relatively small proportion of Francophone members has led many common associations to conduct the training programmes entirely or predominantly in English, with obvious consequences for the Francophone members.

103. The Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants was eloquently forthright when dealing with this problem in its brief to the Commission:

Because accounting journals, technical literature and promotional literature emanating from Canadian sources are usually in the English language, the value of these services to French speaking members is minimal. Thus, they do not reap the full benefits of the research and advanced knowledge that is contained in these publications.

104. The same problem was described in greater detail to the Commission in another brief:

There are in Canada a number of professional educational organizations, of which The Canadian Credit Institute is one. All are attempting to ensure national standards of vocational competency by offering appropriate designations to such of their members who undertake prescribed courses of

Mr. L. Melanson, discussing the submission of the Dominion Drama Festival, at the hearings of R.C.B.&B., Ottawa, March 1, 1965.

[2] Dr. Arthur Rousseau in 1920, cited in *L'Union Médicale du Canada*, March 1955, 258. *See* Appendix IV for original French. Similar sentiments are invoked by the association's spokesmen to this day.

training and successfully write a series of examinations in various subjects which are precisely the same in all provinces. Instruction, as in the Canadian Credit Institute's course, is usually offered by correspondence, with the Extension Division of various Universities across Canada conducting this activity on behalf of the professional educational organizations concerned. In certain cases, the Universities through their Extension Departments offer appropriate supporting activities. The local chapters of The Canadian Credit Institute hold lectures in their individual locations, and students within these areas are, therefore, able to avail themselves of this additional benefit.

French-speaking students, however, who wish to use this system of instruction and examination, suffer from at least two handicaps:

(1) The prescribed text books and auxiliary printed material are usually provided only in English;
(2) Examinations are conducted in English, which compels the student whose principal language of daily usage is French, to think out his replies in that language and then translate them. This process is wasteful of examination time and conducive to the introduction of outright error, or unintentional and misleading emphasis in translation.

The Canadian Credit Institute is aware of the difficulties involved in providing text books in French to prepare the student for examinations, which must be standard across Canada. The University of Toronto, Extension Division, shares this concern with the Institute. The matter of finding a French language university having facilities to administer a correspondence course, to conduct examinations at a number of centres, should present less difficulty. The Canadian Credit Institute, therefore, has been seeking some practical methods whereby this academic embarrassment may be removed. The Canadian Credit Institute also suggested that other interested organizations, professional educational institutions, and Universities be urged to share the experience they have gained in this endeavour.[1]

Prohibitive costs

105. The brief of the Canadian Credit Institute and the experience of a very large number of other organizations show that Canadian associations sometimes face serious problems in trying to provide equal services to Anglophones and Francophones. The literature most suited for the necessary educational purposes may not be available in both languages and may not even be Canadian. There is also likely to be a lack of training personnel who speak French. The cost of providing the required translation services may appear to be prohibitive, but it is important to note that what is considered prohibitive usually depends on a priority of values—that is, on how much value the association places on providing Francophones and Anglophones with equal access to the benefits of their association. A spokesman for the Canadian Welfare Council touched on this point when discussing his organization's brief:

For example, when you call our office the operator answers, "Canadian Welfare Council," and she goes on, "Le Conseil Canadien du Bien-Être."

[1] Brief of Canadian Credit Institute to the R.C.B.&B.

A demon efficiency expert would tell you that this is nonsense.

Our bilingual letterheads are bulky.

We have our national conventions where over a thousand or fifteen hundred people come and we provide simultaneous translation. In Hamilton we watched and checked that there were four people out of a thousand using the simultaneous translation. . . .

So it goes on and on and on; and, as I say, unless you are basically convinced that one culture has something to offer the other and that it is a two-way street, and that by practising this both cultures in the long run will come out richer and better for it—unless you are convinced of this then administrating a bilingual and bicultural organization doesn't make sense.[1]

106. The kind of conviction evidently held by the Canadian Welfare Council is necessary if an organization is to cater effectively to both linguistic groups. In any event, the fact that Francophones participate less in pan-Canadian associations than Anglophones is in part explained by the linguistic and cultural obstacles in the training process. Canadian associations will have to accept the cost of providing educational programmes in both languages.

Consequences of geography and economic inequality

107. One of the problems they encounter in these efforts is caused by Canada's geography. The training of members sometimes requires that a programme be established in one place to which the trainees have to travel and where they must stay for an extended period of time. Travel is expensive and therefore imposes greater hardships on those who have smaller financial resources.

108. As a group, Francophones are economically less well off in Canada than Anglophones[2] and this is reflected in many voluntary associations. Members of Les scouts catholiques du Canada could not afford as costly a set of programmes as the Boy Scouts of Canada, for example, and this kind of disparity was present in a number of associations examined by our researchers. The need to leave home to attend a training session and to stay for a few days may therefore demand relatively greater sacrifices from Francophones than Anglophones. If to this is added the greater inconvenience Francophones experience in travelling to cities where French is not generally spoken (most associations arrange these sessions in various regions of the country), it becomes apparent that the incentives and opportunities available to them for participating in educational ventures are not as great as those of their Anglophone colleagues.

[1] Reuben C. Baetz, Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, at the hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Ottawa, December 14, 1965.

[2] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III.

3. Meetings and conventions

109. What has already been said about the dissemination of information and training opportunities applies with equal force to meetings and conventions. The participation of Francophones in Canada-wide conventions has been particularly low in most of the common associations about which information was available.

110. The fact that this was true even when the gatherings took place in Quebec means that there are other factors apart from language and economics. Probably the most compelling of these is related to the business transacted at these conventions. This normally consists of hearing reports about past activities, the election of the executive, and the passing of various resolutions. In a great many Canadian associations the Francophone members are simply not very interested in these proceedings because they feel that they concern them only marginally. This suggests that many Canadian associations have not developed their programmes in a manner which would engage the interest and commitment of their Francophone members.

Consequences of "the game of numbers"

111. Most Francophones in mixed associations have, over the years, come to terms in some way with the Anglophone majority's view on how decisions should fairly be made in common associations. This viewpoint, sometimes called the "game of numbers," asserts that in a democratic form of government the majority must rule. Those who support this view consider that no distinction should be made between Francophones and Anglophones in the sense that within an association the numerical majority opinion must prevail, even if all Francophone members are ranged on the opposite side.

112. Those Francophones who have been prepared to accept this principle within common associations have been content to derive such benefits from belonging to a pan-Canadian association as they could, fully realizing that these benefits were of necessity often less numerous and less satisfactory, and more costly in terms of effort expended to attain them, than the benefits available to the Anglophone majority. One consequence of this acceptance of minority status has been a failure to identify with the association and to maintain a lively interest in it. The programme, they came to believe, was largely designed to cater to the needs of the Anglophone majority and was, therefore, of no great concern to the Francophones; the leaders were almost always Anglophones and unknown to the Francophone members, the matters they would be called upon to deal with concerned mostly the Anglophones, and the resolutions frequently were of no interest to the minority group or were even mildly irritating to them. Under these circumstances many Francophone members found the

conventions considerably less inviting than the Anglophones and consequently they did not participate to nearly the same extent. Not only was this a loss to the organization but, when the conventions were held outside Quebec, the Quebec members lost the opportunity to become better acquainted with the rest of Canada.

113. This tendency to non-participation has been increasing in recent years, largely because a growing number of Francophone Quebeckers are becoming fully absorbed in the developments and life of their province, at the expense of being interested in Canada as a whole, and also because of the more widespread refusal of Francophones to be denied equal opportunities as the result of the operation of the "game of numbers."

4. Resolutions

114. We have already observed that the objectives pursued by an association are sometimes defined by the majority without sufficient consideration being given the wishes and interests of the Francophone minority. Resolutions passed by conventions often embody the objectives, or the apparent objectives of the organization, or they may simply express what are deemed to be current views or demands of the members. If they make a plea for increased immigration from the United Kingdom, for example, demand conscription at a time when it is strongly opposed in French Canada, or, under present conditions, urge the federal government to act in fields like education or municipal affairs, in which the Quebec government feels its jurisdiction threatened, then they are almost certainly playing the "game of numbers" and they are contributing to the lack of interest on the part of the Francophone members in participating in common associations. If, on the other hand, they demand that the federal government employ a larger number of Francophone civil servants, they may bore or antagonize the Anglophone members.

Resolutions peripheral to the association's purpose

115. Some associations are disposed to adopt a large number of resolutions dealing with a great many diverse subjects—some of them of only minor relevance to the organization's purposes. The danger in this practice is that it increases the possibility that resolutions will be proposed which offend members of one of the two linguistic groups. We do not suggest that associations should avoid discussions on which there are differences of opinion between the two groups; if differences exist, they must be squarely faced. But we do suggest that the adoption of resolutions dealing with matters of only marginal interest to the association can, without furthering the association's main purposes, create unnecessary conflict or make the association less attractive to either

the Francophone or the Anglophone members and to reduce the degree to which they participate in its activities.

5. Exchanges

116. Most of what has been said about the other activities of associations applies also to exchanges such as visits of Francophone groups to the English-speaking parts of Canada and vice versa, or the reciprocal visits of speakers, experts in one of the association's activities, or of employees and officers of the association. There is some evidence that when these are between Francophone and Anglophone *groups*, the benefits and costs are shared more or less evenly. This is no doubt because all participants are aware of the need to make the activities useful to both groups and the Francophone individuals are not isolated—a fact which, when they are in an unaccustomed environment, reduces the strangeness of the experience by placing each individual in a familiar and "protective" group. Exchanges of groups are, therefore, generally desirable as they are likely to increase the interest and participation of Francophones in the activities of common pan-Canadian associations.[1]

6. Social events

117. A number of factors already mentioned in another context have also stood in the way of the equal participation of Francophones and Anglophones in the social activities of common associations. They concern language use, economic and cultural differences between the two groups, and the fact that many of the major annual social events of Canadian associations take place far from the geographic centres of the French-speaking population and in cities in which French is not spoken even in hotels and other places frequented by tourists. These barriers notwithstanding, members of both linguistic groups clearly enjoy meeting one another in a social context, and this has been an effective way of supplementing the more routine contacts maintained in connection with the main activities of the associations. The presence at some social occasions of the members' families and the relaxed, holiday spirit that often prevails facilitate the establishment of contacts and ties which often lead to a more realistic mutual awareness of each other's interests and needs. Associations able to do so should, therefore, maximize the opportunities for social contacts among their members and

[1] An appendix to the brief presented to the R.C.B.&B. by the Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce contains an admirable illustration of the present argument: *see* Appendix II.

their families and should organize these so that they are equally attractive to both linguistic groups.

7. Participation and the administration of associations

118. Country-wide associations are usually administered at several levels, depending on their structure. Most have divisions operating in the local or provincial spheres as well as a Canadian office concerned with the country as a whole. The participation of members generally tends to be greater at the local level, but this tendency is much more pronounced among the Quebec members than among the other members. The executive business of most pan-Canadian associations is conducted by Anglophones whose language and style are everywhere in evidence. Thus, there are the usual obstacles to the full and relaxed participation by Francophone leaders or paid officials. The physical setting of the headquarters of many associations in Ottawa or Toronto—cities which have not been noted for making Francophones feel at home—has further reduced Francophone interest in participating in the administration of country-wide common associations.

8. Particular activities

119. Not many general observations can be made about the appeal of the activities for which associations exist: a great deal depends on their nature and scope. At the pan-Canadian level there are the usual linguistic and cultural impediments to equality in participation, but the consequences for each of the two linguistic groups depend to a large measure on the particular activities concerned. Again, members of each group are much more likely to participate in the life of their association if they are also fully involved in the process of deciding what is to be done and how. On the whole, Francophones have had fewer opportunities in this respect and they have accordingly participated less.

C. The Importance of Co-ordination

120. The task of co-ordination requires considerable skill, patience, and goodwill. For example, if a central governing body in a pan-Canadian association attempts to co-ordinate the activities of all the component parts too vigorously and closely, it may impose so much uniformity as to make parts of the activities unattractive to certain groups of members, who may then find the association itself uninteresting or unattractive. On the other hand, if an association makes

inadequate efforts at co-ordinating the programmes of its component parts, it may squander energies and other resources through wasteful duplication and may deprive itself of the benefits which can accrue when the members of different backgrounds co-ordinate their plans for the realization of a common enterprise. It is obvious that associations wishing to serve both linguistic groups adequately will need to co-ordinate the activities of the Francophones and Anglophones so that the resources spent are equitably distributed and so that both groups can have an effective voice in formulating and executing plans of action which appeal to them.

The cost-benefit approach is useful

121. There are no absolute standards from which members of an organization can deduce the extent of this co-ordination. Conditions vary enormously from association to association with respect to the objectives sought and activities pursued, the nature and interests of the Anglophone and Francophone groups, and the general conditions in which activities are planned. Within a given association, a highly co-ordinated effort may be appropriate for one type of activity and a totally unco-ordinated one for another. It is nevertheless helpful in assessing the desirable level of co-ordination to weigh both the perceived and the unperceived costs incurred and benefits derived by the members. The activities of the two linguistic groups should ideally be co-ordinated so that the members of each group can maximize their own development without interfering with that of the others, while at the same time benefitting from their presence. This ideal balance is never quite achieved; it can only be approximated by a trial and error procedure carried out over an extended period of time.

The need for joint planning

122. The activities of Francophones and Anglophones in common voluntary associations have been co-ordinated most effectively when their plans and projects were devised jointly by members of the two linguistic groups. Conversely, co-ordination has proved difficult when a programme was largely drawn up by only one group, which then expected the other to accept a *fait accompli.*

Who initiates programmes?

123. An important factor in this context concerns the question of who initiates action which is expected to be undertaken jointly. Usually the problem hinges on whether the ideas for activities should originate at the centre or in the field. Much depends on the size and nature of the organization concerned. Some Canadian associations have experienced internal problems because the Quebec or French-speaking units thought that the general programme was conceived in too centralized a form and that, consequently, their special interests were partially or totally ignored. Effective co-ordination of effort is most easily achieved when the proposed activities are attractive to the participants; this is more

likely to be the case when they have had a hand in planning them. In a country like Canada, the full participation of both linguistic groups in this process is often better achieved when central executives or planning bodies decentralize some of their activities in order to encourage provincial, regional, and local initiatives in proposing and executing policies and programmes.

124. It is usually more costly, both in time and money, to decentralize decision-making and then to co-ordinate the ideas and activities proposed by the various units and individuals concerned. However, this cost is inevitable if an association wishes to serve its members—and particularly the two linguistic groups—in an equitable manner; not to co-ordinate in this way may be even costlier.

Co-ordination related to communication

125. The process of co-ordinating the activities of Anglophones and Francophones is closely linked to the way in which they communicate with each other. Adequate co-ordination is impossible without the accurate communication of the ideas and interests of the participants in any programme. The problems of maintaining satisfactory communications between the two linguistic groups in Canadian associations are discussed in Chapter V, and much of what is said there is also relevant to the problems of co-ordination raised here.

Summary

126. If the two official-language groups do not participate equally in the activities of voluntary associations, they cannot benefit equally from their membership. They not only derive unequal rewards from the efforts put into belonging but they also have unequal access to the indirect benefits of associational experience. As a consequence, inequalities may develop or be perpetuated between the two linguistic groups in their respective occupational and recreational capabilities, in their mental health, and in their capacities as citizens.

127. There is a further serious consequence to this situation: because of the operation of a somewhat circular process, the lower the participation of one linguistic group, the less likelihood there is that members of that group will wish to participate in the future. If members of a group do not play an active role in an association, they will have little influence over the programme, personnel, and activities. The failure of the members of one group at a given point in time to play a full role in their association is almost certain to affect the usefulness of the association for members of the same group at some future date. Since it is much more difficult for a group to gain influence than to abdicate it, the process of opting out may have long-term consequences which can be corrected only with the greatest difficulty.

128. The formal and informal ways through which Francophones and Anglophones can effectively express their opinions and interests within voluntary associations influence the relations between the two linguistic groups and their active participation in the life of the country.

A. Organizational Forms

1. General

Formal and informal arrangements

129. The formal way an organization's constituent parts are related to one another largely determines how and by whom its decisions are made. This structure is invariably laid down in the constitution, which identifies the levels in the organization at which certain specified types of policies and practices are decided and indicates the channels of responsibility and command. The formal organization of an association provides a reasonably rigid frame supporting a vast and ever changing network of informal arrangements which usually give a more realistic picture of the nature of the organization. However, these informal arrangements are without question strongly influenced by the underlying organizational base. We shall first identify the formal arrangements and then explore how they, and the informal arrangements, affect Canada's two official-language groups.

Association constitutions

130. Constitutions, and the organization charts based on them, are often a concrete expression of the views of their framers about the relations that should exist between the association's constituents.

Therefore, they determine certain kinds of behaviour and also articulate assumptions the leaders have, or had, about the nature of the groups in the associations and how they can most effectively interact. In a country with two linguistic communities, constitutions are therefore useful indicators of how influential members of the two linguistic groups think, or thought, that they should interact.

131. Constitutions are sometimes considered by some of the groups they affect—and particularly by minority groups—as "declarations of intent," indicating the aims and desires of the members of the organization whose structure and modes of procedure they define. When a desired goal cannot immediately be attained, the fact that it is at least expressed as a formal objective in the constitution may sometimes assuage anxieties and reassure members of the minority group about the goods intentions of the other, more favoured members of the organization.

Parallels between associations and Canada's constitution

132. In deciding what particular structure would best serve its interest, a voluntary association confronts dilemmas similar to those which challenge Canadian federalism: what is the appropriate degree of centralization and decentralization and, more particularly, what should be the formal relations between Francophones and Anglophones? A graphic description of the very practical way in which these problems present themselves to many Canadian associations was put before the Commission by the brief of the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants:

> Like other Canadian organizations operating on a national scale, we are faced with a division of function and responsibility between the Canadian and provincial Institutes. In theory this is not an easy distinction to make in a precise and clear-cut manner, but in practice we have found that a reasonably workable division of fields can be made. For example: The education of our students must by its very nature be a provincial matter in order that it may fit in with the pattern of the educational system extant in Canada. Nevertheless we have been successful in so co-ordinating the examinations on a national scale that each of the provincial Institutes has for many years now accepted and adopted the one set of examinations as its standard of qualification. You can appreciate the importance of this to a profession in contributing to a uniform standard of competence throughout the country.
>
> Research in its every phase is easy to classify as a nationwide project, because of the very heavy cost of research and the advantages that can come from pooling of talent and resources.
>
> On the other hand, the supervision of professional conduct of members is a matter that can be handled most effectively at the provincial level.
>
> Practice has resulted in the work of the national body being of two sorts. In certain areas it takes direct responsibility—for example, in research—

while in other areas it provides a meeting ground for the provincial Institutes to consider matters which are essentially provincial in nature, but where there are advantages to pooling the experience of the different provincial Institutes.[1]

133. Members of the two official-language groups in voluntary associations have frequently tried to establish structures and adopt procedures equally satisfactory to both, and their discussions have often paralleled debates in Canada about revisions of the British North America Act. In both cases the discussion revolves around the same themes: "special status," Quebec being a province like no other, the need to protect the Francophone minorities in the other provinces, the advantages of the central government having extensive powers so that common standards of well-being can be created, or the exigencies of majority government. Many Francophones, restive under arrangements which they saw as restrictive and inadequate, have urged that what they take to be the spirit underlying the B.N.A. Act—the desire to create a partnership between Francophones and Anglophones—has to be infused into their voluntary association.

134. It is not inappropriate that the arguments taken from the constitutional field should have been applied to voluntary associations. The latter in a sense mirror Canada's political community; however, since their scope of activity is smaller, the problems they face are less complex, and since they are private, the options open to them are greater. At the same time, the success with which they cope with Canada's duality is one of the conditions determining whether a satisfactory solution to current political and constitutional problems can be found.

2. *Two basic types: common and parallel*

135. Among Canada's voluntary associations there are many organizational forms. Associations may be formed by direct individual membership or organized into branches; they encompass the component parts directly or through intermediary tiers at the provincial or regional level. They may be highly centralized or loosely strung together. Associations may be grouped according to the degree to and the form in which they unite or segregate Francophone and Anglophone members. One extreme type consists of a mixed, unitary Canada-wide body, composed of individual members from both linguistic groups and giving no recognition in its formal structure to their cultural duality. At the other extreme there is the type of association in which members of the two

[1] Brief of the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants to the R.C.B.&B.

cultural groups belong to two unilingual sections linked to one another in only a most tenuous way. This particular arrangement may in fact take the form of two quite distinct organizations, each serving its own linguistically defined constituency. The Canadian Economics Association, composed of individual members from both linguistic groups interested in the academic study of economics, is an example of the first type. The Boy Scouts of Canada and l'Association des scouts catholiques du Canada, which are two independent bodies linked by slender organizational ties, exemplify the other. As we have previously noted, associations will be referred to as "common" when they cater to both linguistic groups, largely within a unitary framework, and "parallel" when the linguistic groups have a separate identification.

136. These two types of associations represent extremes in that they display certain characteristics in an undiluted form. In the unitary common type of organization there is no structural provision for the separation of Francophone and Anglophone members, whereas in the parallel type of organization there is express provision for serving the two linguistic groups separately. However, in between these two types there is a very complex range of associational structures which combine some characteristics of each model. The parallel unilingual type may take at least two forms: completely separate bodies (the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération are an example) and two associations maintaining very modest ties (the scouts). At the other pole there are many more possibilities, ranging from a monolithic, unitary organization to a federation of provincial or regional structures displaying varying degrees of decentralization. These are, of course, not strictly unitary but their membership is mixed. Under some of the more decentralized forms there are occasionally sections which are totally or almost totally Francophone, although the association as a whole may be predominantly Anglophone. A parallel may be drawn between these French-language sections and the unilingual units we recommend for the federal Public Service.[1]

A criterion for assessing each organizational form

137. Our discussion of organizational forms will concentrate on the two extreme types, mentioning modifications in each when this seems appropriate. We will examine some of the main advantages and disadvantages of each, and the way in which the latter have been met. The criterion used in the assessment is simple: practices and experiences contributing to equal access and opportunity for participation are considered advantageous, and those standing in the way of this sort of equality are classified as disadvantageous.

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, §§ 766–94.

B. Common Associations

1. Advantages

138. In associations where the members are few and geographically widely scattered, or where their interests are very narrow and related to cultural questions only in the remotest way, the unitary common organization may be particularly appropriate. For instance, a club catering to owners of 1909 model T Fords is not likely to gain much from establishing local, provincial, and regional divisions. Its technical literature and correspondence would almost certainly be only in English. Similarly, Anglophone members of a club for owners of early Renault models might expect that all the association's business would be in French. These two examples may appear frivolous, but they clearly show that for some purposes a unitary common association may serve Canadians adequately. In some branches of the natural and social sciences, for example, or in certain areas of the business world, a reading knowledge of English is essential for those wishing to keep abreast of current developments, and an association whose major activity is to disseminate highly technical and specialized information may meet the needs of its members by mailing its material in only one language and from one central office to its geographically scattered members.

139. One attractive feature of the unitary common association is that it encourages closer relations between members of the two linguistic groups. Interaction between the two cultures is mutually enriching and contributes to the creativity and vitality of Canadian life, as long as neither is inhibited in its free and full development. An associational form encouraging this interaction is therefore potentially promising, provided that steps necessary for the achievement of equality are taken within it.

140. The decision-making process is usually less complex and cumbersome in unitary systems than in those which contain several levels of more or less autonomous sections. It is therefore often easier for unitary organizations to reach decisions quickly, effectively, and without blurring the line to be taken as the result of compromise. As a consequence, the policies adopted tend to be clear-cut and can be pursued with great vigour. This is not to say that unitary bodies are always more incisive and decisive than other kinds but merely that, other things being equal, it is easier for them to be so. In certain kinds of associations—for example, utilitarian ones engaged in providing their members with specific, material benefits—the unitary structure

may facilitate the efficient operation of the association and the attainment of maximum benefits for all its members.

Common associations and utilitarian objectives

141. Unitary common associations usually serve their members of both linguistic groups most effectively when they pursue limited, utilitarian, material, and rather mundane objectives. For instance, Francophone members of the Canadian Medical Association as a group probably derive roughly the same measure of benefit as the Anglophone members from the Canadian Medical Retirement Savings Plan and the Canadian Medical Equity Fund, both of which are operated by the CMA. They probably profit less than the Anglophone doctors from the *Canadian Medical Association Journal,* which is overwhelmingly English, and from the rest of the Association's publication programme, which appears partly in both languages, but cannot be considered truly bilingual.

2. Drawbacks

142. Obviously, if both linguistic groups do not participate equally in the decision-making process, an association's programme is likely to reflect the values of the more active group and to neglect those of the other. This point is relevant to the present discussion because unitary, common associations normally find it difficult to give adequate representation on their decision-making bodies to both cultural groups. The more numerous Anglophones tend to dominate.

143. Often, of course, Francophone members of such associations are content with this state of affairs; they may be satisfied with the material benefits their association provides and not notice or care that the decision on what these benefits are, and how they are to be attained, is made by leaders who are not aware of the particular perspectives of French culture. Even Francophone members greatly concerned about the health and vitality of their cultural tradition may take this view, in the belief that their personal life can best be strengthened through the material and professional benefits bestowed by their association; they perhaps feel that their interests as Francophones can be taken care of by participating in other organizations. This position overlooks two phenomena discussed elsewhere: first, even though a Francophone may derive considerable benefits from belonging to such an association, he may still gain less than a similarly placed Anglophone, and, second, his membership in this sort of association may hasten the process of acculturation.[1] The efficacy of most associations must be

[1] See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,* General Introduction, § 41.

measured in terms of the balance between benefits derived and costs incurred by the members of the two official-language groups.

Under-representation of Francophone interests

144. In the governing bodies of most unitary common associations, the voice of the official-language minority group is at best equal to its numerical representation in the membership. But, since Francophones participate less in the activities of common associations than Anglophones, their representation on the decision-making bodies is usually substantially below their proportion in the membership. So, unless exceptional care is taken to assure that their viewpoint is heard and taken into account, the interests of the Francophones are likely to be overlooked entirely or at least given relatively little weight.

145. This tendency is further enhanced by the fact that unitary organizations usually have a high degree of centralized decision-making. Most decisions are made at the pan-Canadian level and there is, therefore, no institutional check on the leaders when they forget the country's heterogeneity and its linguistic duality. Under these conditions, it is easy to overlook the Francophones' interests and needs. In particular, the pan-Canadian leaders are likely to be oblivious to the fact that a minority situation affects the extent to which one can participate in, or profit from, the activities of an association, even when the executive includes one or two Francophones.

Expenditure of funds

146. One area in which this neglect of the Francophone position sometimes manifests itself is in the expenditure of funds. The fee structure in unitary, common organizations is invariably uniform and there is certainly no difference in the fees levied on members of the two linguistic groups. In a very large number of associations, services provided are not of equal attractiveness or usefulness to the two linguistic groups. Some of the reasons for this have already been examined. Because of the language factor, many Francophones are unable to enjoy fully one of the most costly associational services: its publications. The allocation of funds and the fee structure normally do not take this into account; consequently, Francophones to some extent subsidize the services provided their Anglophone colleagues. By the same token, in associations where services are provided in French, the Anglophones, who usually outnumber their Francophone colleagues by a wide margin, may feel that it is they who are subsidizing the minority membership. Thus, the unitary, common organizational form may encourage mutual suspicions and recriminations. This tends to be a fruitless argument since solid, objective evidence is virtually impossible to establish. Questions of this sort are exceedingly subtle and complex and can never be resolved by considering dollars and cents only.

3. Some means of coping with the drawbacks

147. It is clear that the unitary type of association makes exceptional demands on the sensitivity, perceptiveness, and ingenuity of its members and leaders if they wish their association to be equally useful to both linguistic groups. Despite its many advantages, it is not an organizational form which is easily adapted to the requirements of a country composed of two societies, although there are associations, like the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, which have been most effective in this respect.

148. The challenge presented by this kind of structure in Canada has been met in various ways: by trying to provide all services in both languages, by establishing special committees responsible for ensuring that the interests of the two linguistic groups are taken care of and that the relations between them are satisfactory, or by devising special methods of voting on issues of particular importance to members of the official-language minority. More will be said about these devices below, since they are common to several organizational forms.

A modification of the unitary form

149. One response has been structural: by adopting a more decentralized organizational base, some associations have been able to deal quite effectively with the requirements of both linguistic groups. A formula adopted by many of the most important Canadian associations has divided the membership into smaller sections, usually corresponding to certain well-defined geographic areas. "The Canadian Chamber of Commerce," for example, "is the national voluntary federation of more than 850 community Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce (the terms are synonymous) throughout Canada. Some 165 community Chambers in the province of Quebec and some 35 Chambers in other parts of Canada carry on their work mainly in the French language, the remainder in English."[1] Many Canadian associations are groupings of provincial or regional organizations, linked together by bonds varying considerably in strength and flexibility. The structure of these associations is a modified version of the unitary type we have been discussing so far.

150. Its chief characteristic is that it assumes the existence—as part of the country-wide structure—of provincial or regional divisions with various degrees of autonomy. In some associations, the provincial bodies are merely branches of a pan-Canadian organization, enjoying relatively little opportunity for independent decision-making and being, to all intents and purposes, inferior administrative divisions within a

[1] Submission of the Executive Council of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce to the R.C.B.&B.

rigidly hierarchical system. In other associations, they are quasi-independent organizations joined together into a Canadian body by loose federal ties. Given the wide variation possible in the degree to which decisions are centralized or decentralized, it is difficult to generalize about the way in which the type of structure affects relations between the two cultural groups.

Associations composed of provincial organizations

151. For this discussion we will assume that the average type of association is composed of provincial organizations enjoying a fairly high level of local decision-making. In this type of structure, programmes and activities can be planned and carried out in part by each of the two linguistic groups in a manner which suits them best, as in the Chamber of Commerce. They may choose to undertake some enterprises jointly and others separately, as their respective interests and conditions warrant. This organizational form therefore allows for the play of both uniformity and diversity.

The two official-language minorities

152. Decentralizing the decision-making process to some extent often enables Francophone members to participate in the formulation of policies and to apply them in their own language and within their own cultural milieu. The extent to which this is possible depends largely on how the sub-groups are organized and on the proportion of Anglophones and Francophones in them. The same organizational arrangement also protects the Anglophone minority. The Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, for example, is divided into eleven districts, which may be subdivided into chapters

> ... for reasons of language or geography.... In Montreal, Sherbrooke and Quebec, there are two chapters, one English and the other French. The participation of the English minority in Quebec and Sherbrooke is assured by agreements between the nurses of the districts. One of the chapter presidents represents the district on the Committee of Management and the other sits on the Committee without having the right to vote. Funds which are allocated to each district or chapter are in proportion to the number of members.[1]

153. In country-wide associations in which the provincial organizations make important decisions, the Quebec body normally provides the milieu in which Francophones can feel most at ease and champions their interests at the pan-Canadian level. To some extent, the effectiveness of the Quebec wing in performing these functions depends on the proportion of Francophones and Anglophones in it. There are organizations where, even in the Quebec section, English is the dominant language. This is so particularly in instances where two associations pursuing the same objectives operate in Quebec—one as part of a pan-

[1] Brief of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec to the R.C.B.&B.

Canadian network and the other locally or with reference exclusively to Francophones in Canada. The Quebec Amateur Hockey Association and the Confédération des loisirs du Québec, section hockey, are an example.

154. Some pan-Canadian associations with a variety of regional or provincial organizations have been highly successful in formulating and propagating policies and ideas at both the local (provincial) and the country-wide levels. A very good example is the Canadian Federation of Agriculture which contains, as one of its important members, the Union catholique des cultivateurs. The Federation has been an effective spokesman for a variety of agricultural interests common to Anglophones and Francophones throughout the country, whereas the UCC has been the champion of Quebec farmers in a context influenced by the cultural values of its Francophone members. In the 1940's the UCC undertook to help Francophone farmers outside Quebec to form their own organizations. During a campaign to collect funds for this purpose, the UCC reminded its members of the needs of Francophone farmers in the provinces other than Quebec in these terms:

> Like us, they need a strong professional association and stable economic organization if they are to survive and grow. If they are completely isolated from each other, the Francophone farmers are powerless and crushed in a milieu which is foreign to them; united in an association, they have structures of their own and thus can make themselves heard.[1]

The parish or diocese as a base

155. A less centralized structure than the unitary form thus obviously offers some advantages in a country with two main linguistic and cultural groups. The practice of decentralizing on the basis of ten provincial organizations has much to recommend it, particularly for associations whose activities are related to provincial government concerns, such as education. However, a different basis for establishing organizational divisions has sometimes proved preferable. Many organizations serving Francophones have grown out of activities undertaken at the level of the parish, and sometimes parish or diocesan lines of demarcation have met the needs of the members best. The latter case, for example, has been an important factor in the organization of the Scouts catholiques, particularly in the Ottawa area.

Another "game of numbers"

156. When the province is the basic unit of division in a Canadian association, however, there is some danger that it may lead to a variant of the "game of numbers." If decisions at the Canada-wide level are taken by assigning each province an equal number of votes, the Quebec organization—which often expresses the views of the organization's

[1] Quoted in J. Meisel and V. Lemieux, "Ethnic Relations in Canadian Voluntary Associations." *See* Appendix IV for original French.

Francophone members—has only one-tenth of the voting power, although its members may comprise a considerably larger proportion of the total membership. Thus, this simple majoritarian principle may be quite inappropriate in the context of Canadian dualism, and the great differences in size of the provincial populations have aggravated this problem.

Do Quebec leaders speak for all Francophones?

157. The generalization that in a country-wide organization Francophone Quebeckers speak for all the Francophone members requires some examination. Quebeckers are almost always the most numerous Francophones in such an association and they are also frequently the most self-confident and active: it is they who have most often taken the initiative in country-wide associations in presenting and pressing the case for the Francophone members. They have tended to assume the role of spokesmen for all of Canada's Francophones, and this role has often been accepted by minorities in the other provinces.

158. One argument against the common association with ten provincial organizations is that the form suits the Quebec members, who are particularly concerned about provincial rights, but that the other members of the organization consider this to be an unnecessarily complicated organizational framework. This impatience with the position often taken by Quebec members results from the failure to understand that Quebec has a special role in regard to the Francophone community in Canada and that its associational leaders often speak for more than just Quebeckers. In taking what may seem to many an unnecessarily narrow or rigid position, or in insisting on the scrupulous observance of provincial rights both within the organization and outside, these Quebec leaders may be the champions not of one of ten provinces but of one of Canada's two linguistic communities. What may appear as unwarranted intransigence may in fact be a profound concern for the survival and flourishing of a cultural group, not merely the momentary advantage of a province. In this sense Quebec does speak for French Canada.

159. There are, on the other hand, instances when the interests of the Quebec members are not identical with those of the Francophones in other provinces; the two Francophone groups may in fact hold contrary views on some issues. This is evident even in such nationalist organizations as the Estates General; some of their meetings revealed fundamental differences of view between the Quebec-based and the other members.[1] In associations where the Quebec members may have no interest in Canada outside Quebec, it is unlikely that they would be considered as the spokesmen for Francophones outside Quebec.

[1] *L'Action nationale*, Vol. LVII, Nos. 3–4 (Montreal, 1967), 271–5.

A parallel with the political world

160. Within any association adopting a non-unitary strucure, there must be a clear definition of how the various component parts are related to one another. In trying to find an acceptable definition, many associations have considered the same kinds of arguments as those which have been applied to the question of appropriate relations between the federal government and the provinces. The points at issue are the primacy of each level and, once this has been established, the division of responsibilities and authority between them. Each federal-type association has to decide whether the central body is to be superior to its provincial or regional branches, or whether it is to be more of a clearing house, serving the component parts and co-ordinating their activities. The way membership fees are collected and allocated and the decision as to who has the final authority for the association's programme depend on the basic structure and on the way in which it is understood by the leaders at the different levels. Some associations have experienced bitter controversies about the allocation of fees, for example, because of an ambiguity in the definition of which level of the organization was supreme.

Internal differences in the response to change

161. Members' views about their association are not static, of course: they change as times change. A structure which has served admirably for many years may gradually become less appropriate and be either too highly centralized or insufficiently so for the tasks the members expect from it. As the expectations of association members do not change uniformly, it is quite possible for one group to remain satisfied while another becomes acutely disappointed. Therefore, a potential problem for common associations is that the prevailing views on the desirable degree of centralization may undergo revision unevenly. The general climate of opinion in Canada has led some associations to experience a crisis because of the desire of members in some regions and provinces to exercise greater autonomy than before. While this phenomenon has not been confined to the Quebec sections of associations, it has been manifest here at least as much as elsewhere, and it is often associated with the feeling of many Francophones that, under the old arrangements, their associations were not serving their needs effectively. Organizations like some of the political parties, or those of the students, decided to split into two completely separate entities; others, like the scouts, have preferred to maintain a common link but to redefine their former relationship.

The need to recognize internal change

162. If the variation is great, and if it leads to the redefinition of an organization's objectives and purposes, the change may be so great that a totally new organization emerges, possibly still operating under

an old name. This is precisely what happened to the Junior Chamber. The Quebec organization recruited a membership somewhat different from that of Junior Chambers elsewhere in Canada, it pursued different objectives, deleted the word "Commerce" from its name, and found itself in long, drawn-out disagreements with the Canadian Junior Chamber of Commerce about the collection and allocation of fees: it had become a different organization from the other Junior Chambers in Canada, but neither side fully realized it. This failure led to bitter controversies between the Francophones and Anglophones and eventually to a split. There is, of course, nothing inherently wrong in this kind of development. The Fédération des jeunes chambres du Canada français is no doubt performing a useful service in French Canada and satisfying the needs of many of its members.

The region as a base

163. One way of escaping some of the disadvantages of a unitary framework and of a structure based on ten provincial organizations is a grouping of regional bodies. These have ignored political areas and have cut across both provincial boundaries and the Canadian-United States frontier. This kind of organization has usually originated south of the border and has then expanded into Canada. The Rotary Club and labour unions are among the most important examples of this type of organization.

164. One of its drawbacks is that it encourages the emergence of decision-making machinery which may ignore Canadian conditions. Although many policies in organizations of this type are developed entirely by Canadians operating within a Canadian section of the larger organization, the influence of the powerful "international" is usually inescapable. Since the preponderance of Anglophones is usually considerably more massive even than in normal pan-Canadian associations, it is all the more difficult for Francophone views and interests to assert themselves.

165. On the other hand, regional meetings of larger Canadian and international organizations can have a salutory effect on the relations and mutual understanding of Canada's two official-language groups. For example, on the eve of its annual convention, the Canadian Federation of Agriculture holds separate meetings for its eastern and western delegates. Encounters of easterners in various organizations not only redress the numerical balance between Francophones and Anglophones, but they also often show the participants that they have common problems which differ from those of Canadians living in other parts of the country.

166. Many Canadian associations rely on a unitary structural framework and arrange their day-to-day administration on the basis of

Canada's five geographic regions. A good illustration was presented to the Commission in the brief of the Canadian Credit Men's Association Limited:

> The powers of CCMA are centralized at the national level. However, as has been noted, the policy of our national organization is formulated by Regional Directors, who are thoroughly conversant with regional and provincial matters. The policies of our organization, in aspiring to give adequate service to members, take into account provincial as well as Federal legislation. Because of this consideration is given to regional and provincial matters, just as if this responsibility was vested in these localities with freedom to carry out their own policies.
>
> The dual language and culture of Canada is constantly in mind in the public services of the Association. As a non-profit organization, care must be taken in matters of secretariat, publicity, membership recruitment, correspondence and propaganda. Through careful study, we believe that the maximum recognition of the responsibilities of an organization such as ours, dealing daily with both French-speaking and English-speaking members, is to make a comprehensive study of all of our activities, and decide whether or not they are to be carried on nationally or regionally. In this way, we believe, they can be satisfactorily carried out with the minimum of waste. Since our principal function is to perform an informative service crisply and promptly, and still reach all of our members, the selective rather than the national approach, is consistently chosen.

C. Parallel Associations

1. Advantages

167. Earlier in this chapter we noted that the parallel type of organization has two separate unilingual bodies which may or may not maintain ties linking them into one organization. Although there are many differences between the structural form which completely separates the two linguistic groups and that which maintains an organizational link, there are also many similar features and their advantages can be discussed together.

168. One obvious advantage is that, since members of the two linguistic groups meet and act separately, they can reach decisions and carry them out according to the traditions and values of their culture. Not only are the problems associated with the use of two languages eliminated here, but also the need for one group to adjust to the other's conventions and habits of conducting business. For example, French-speaking scouts or physicians can pursue their interests as scouts or doctors in a manner that is both easier and more compatible with their general values, traditions, and needs. By making many or all of their decisions separately, the Francophones and Anglophones in unilingual associations simply avoid certain kinds of problems which

might otherwise arise between them. For example, a greater interest in farm syndicalism on the part of Quebec farmers does not drive a wedge between them and agriculturalists elsewhere in the country, since the policies emanating from this position can be pursued by the Union catholique des cultivateurs without having to be made compatible with views of other members of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, who may have different ideas about the place of farmers in society. At the same time the UCC can press the Quebec government for favourable agricultural policies while the CFA approaches the federal government about the common needs of farmers throughout Canada. However, the existence of unilingual sections in Canadian associations often causes objections, as a member of the Voice of Women explained to the Commission:

> . . . a national organization with members from both language groups should allow for the formation of English- and French-language groups or bilingual groups: this would probably increase the recruitment of French Canadian members. I think this is perhaps one of the reasons why we have fewer French-speaking members than the other provinces.
>
> Obviously, this is a purely personal opinion, and I must tell you—since you are interested in attitudes—that it seems to me that there are as many French Canadians as English Canadians who would disagree with this idea. It is not a question of saying that we are going to create a "melting pot" within the Voice of Women, but it is the French Canadians themselves . . . who do not wish to appear to segregate themselves. They really do not want to separate themselves from their English-speaking compatriots, because we are all working for a common good, for a single purpose. But, from a purely practical point of view, I believe that this situation has hindered us in the long run, and has perhaps hindered our movement.
>
> If only people could . . . see that the fact of having a local French-language section is not a gesture of separatism or protest, but a working arrangement which would allow us to be more effective, to offer greater service, and to have more members.[1]

2. *Drawbacks*

169. In its completely separated form, however, the parallel model raises a number of problems, including the question of who speaks for or represents French Canada. This ambiguity arises in part out of the fact that some Francophone organizations which operate only in Quebec mistakenly assume that in all their utterances and policies they reflect the views of all Francophones in Canada. Another reason is that the establishment of a purely French-speaking organization, operating either at the all-Canadian or Quebec level, does not always lead to the disappearance of the other, usually older, pan-Canadian organiza-

[1] Mrs. A. L. Saumure at the hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Toronto, March 31, 1965. *See* Appendix IV for original French.

tion, which may continue to have significant numbers of Francophone members. When this is the case, a decision sometimes has to be made about which of the two "over-lapping" associations can speak for the Francophones. The problem is analogous to that which arises when a difference of opinion develops between the Quebec legislature and the Quebec members of the House of Commons in Ottawa. The existence of a unilingual parallel association side by side with a common one may also pose some difficulties in deciding who is to speak for Canada, and particularly French Canada, at international gatherings of associations.

170. The parallel organizational form, by isolating certain kinds of decisions, avoids some potential conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones, but there is also the possibility that it contributes to other types of conflict. For example, if the emergence of two unilingual parallel organizations or branches takes place after some members of a common association conclude that their sharing of one organization is unsatisfactory, the chances are great that the split in the organization's structure will be accompanied by acrimonious debate and subsequent ill will. The break-up of the Junior Chambers into two parallel organizations is a case in point. In the field of co-operative societies, on the other hand, a different situation obtains. The Co-operative Union of Canada (a unilingual English-speaking association of co-operatives) and the Conseil canadien de la coopération (its French-speaking counterpart) have, since their respective inceptions, been separate organizations which have enjoyed excellent relations and which have successfully collaborated on a number of joint enterprises. The cause of some of the tensions mentioned below may therefore be less the existence of parallel organizations than the manner in which the two came into being.

Resentment against trying to create common associations

171. Francophone members of a parallel association resent the not infrequent efforts of the sister association to combine the two unilingual structures into one common pan-Canadian body. Because many Anglophone associational leaders are seeking means of strengthening Canadian unity, they have often tried to increase the degree of centralization in their associations and to bring about closer cultural ties between their organization and the Francophone association in the same field. The ideal of one Canadian association serving both linguistic groups has been pursued by many Anglophone leaders because of their belief that unity requires a high level of uniformity, a condition which many believe can best be attained in a common organization. But unity and uniformity are very different things, and the separate existence of two unilingual parallel organizations may effectively contribute to unity in cases where a more centralized structure would fail.

172. Francophone association leaders often cherish the autonomy that the parallel organization has provided and they have strongly resented efforts to transform this structure into a common one. For example, for many years even the leaders of the Co-operative Union of Canada pressed hard for the unification of all Canadian co-operatives in one association; only recently have these efforts been abandoned. In 1946, *The Canadian Co-operator* stated editorially, "In our judgment, it is only a question of time when it will be unanimously agreed it is to the interests of both English-speaking and French-speaking co-operators of Canada there should be also organic union to serve their mutual interest."[1] In the late 1950's, on the other hand, an editorial in the *Canadian Co-operative Digest* took a different line in discussing recent relations between the Co-operative Union of Canada and the Conseil canadien de la coopération:

> Two national organizations which can join hands as these did in Quebec, which can appear together before Parliament, which can find a common home in the International Co-operative Alliance, have little more to gain from structural unity. Indeed such an attempt at tidiness might create procedural problems that would undo much that has been achieved.[2]

Some problems for Francophones in parallel associations

173. The tension between Francophone and Anglophone association members, caused by attempts to centralize parallel organizations, may be less the result of a weakness of the structural model than of the inability of some of the leaders to accept it and to exploit its potentialities. This also explains the dissatisfaction expressed by some non-Quebec Francophone members within organizations which unify all Francophone members and exclude Anglophones. It is almost inevitable that the voice of Quebec in such associations should be overwhelmingly strong. Francophones in New Brunswick, Ontario, and in some of the other provinces have regional or other interests which tend to be overlooked or downgraded in these organizations because of a different unilingual application of the "game of numbers" and sometimes also because of Quebec's political situation in the Canadian federation. The parallel form may reveal fairly profound differences between Francophones in Quebec and in other provinces, particularly when these are closely related to political developments in Canada.

Backlash

174. Another human rather than structural flaw associated with parallel organizations is likely to be apparent in cases where the new structure was adopted after bitter controversy; some members of both linguistic groups may harbour deep resentments and try to adopt restrictive measures towards their former colleagues. This may result

[1] *The Canadian Co-operator*, April 1946, 4.
[2] *Canadian Co-operative Digest*, Vol. 2 (Saskatoon, 1958), 2.

in what is often called "backlash"; the Anglophone association may try to impede the successful growth and development of the new unilingual French body by disagreeing on such matters as the division of formerly common resources or the Canadian presence on the association's international body; Francophones, on the other hand, may try to impose on the Anglophone members of their new association the penalties and hardships they themselves had to endure in the earlier, common associations. Thus UGEQ, the Quebec students' association, became unilingual and compelled students from English-language universities like McGill to accept this as one of the conditions of membership.

Both groups strive for survival

175. Many of the efforts of Francophones to find a suitable framework for the associations to which they belong—and particularly, perhaps, their interest in the unilingual model—are prompted by their concern for cultural survival. The intensity of the feelings they bring to the questions posed by the need to establish an equal partnership and otherwise satisfactory relations between Anglophones and Francophones must be understood in terms of the intense preoccupations of many Francophone leaders with the survival of the French culture in North America and of what, in our *Preliminary Report,* we termed "a very clear determination to achieve liberation."[1] Therefore, it is not surprising that the feelings underlying the arguments presented in dealing with French-English relations in associations, and the policies adopted by Francophone decision-makers, are highly charged and sometimes explosive. An argument over virtually any matter of business in an association may appear to an Anglophone as a controversy over a routine procedural question but may strike a Francophone as a struggle over something vital to the survival of his language and his culture.

176. At the same time, the reaction of some Anglophones to the behaviour of their Francophone colleagues can under certain circumstances be understood only if it is viewed in similar terms. To an Anglophone, the restructuring of a common Canadian-wide association into two parallel unilingual ones may represent the beginning of the dismantling of his country, and the break-up of his association may seem to him to foreshadow the break-up of Canada. This view is not, of course, necessarily valid but it does explain the deeply emotional reaction of some Anglophones to the parallel type of organizational structure, especially when this is being proposed by associational leaders who have independentist political leanings, and particularly at a time when the constitution and political future of

[1] *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,* § 107.

Canada are being debated. Some Francophones assume that, since there is no equivalent in English-speaking Canada to the well-defined and linguistically distinct culture of Quebec, most Anglophones view their country with less affection and attachment than Francophone Quebeckers display towards their society and Francophones towards French Canada. This is, of course, a gross misrepresentation of the facts. While the object and nature of the feelings are different, a very large proportion of Anglophone Canadians have a strong emotional commitment to their country which is outraged by what they think of as an attempt to destroy it. The intensity of feeling underlying their arguments against changing a common organizational form to a parallel unilingual one may be similar to that experienced by a Francophone defending the interests of his culture. The extent and vigour of the backlash accompanying some of the structural changes in Canadian voluntary associations must, therefore, be seen as stemming from the deeply emotional mainsprings of nationalism and patriotism experienced by many members of *both* linguistic groups.

Structure is related to objectives

177. The type of structure developed or chosen by an association is frequently linked to the objectives of the members. When these objectives strongly affect the linguistic or cultural interests of a group, or its cultural survival, they will certainly not be equally acceptable or compelling to both Anglophones and Francophones. Under these circumstances it is futile for the two groups to pursue their clearly different interests in a common association. Separate unilingual organizations will avoid senseless conflict, and may still permit them to undertake certain activities together when their respective needs are better met by doing so.

The costs of segregation

178. However, the gains realized in the parallel type of structure are not secured without cost: apart from the specific drawbacks, there is a real possibility that the segregation of the two associations may have more profound consequences for the groups themselves and for the quality of Canadian life. The fact that the two structures are completely separate or only tenuously linked may well reduce the extent to which the two collaborate in fields where this would be of mutual benefit and the opportunities of the two groups to learn from and stimulate one another.

3. Methods of coping with the drawbacks

Two types of parallel associations: linked and separated

179. So far in this discussion of parallel organizations we have made little distinction between the two quite different types: the completely separated one, as adopted by Canadian co-operatives, for example, and the partially separated one, such as the farm organizations or the scouts.

In the former case, there are two entirely independent and structurally separated organizations; in the latter, the two bodies maintain some sort of link which varies in strength from association to association. In considering how Canadian voluntary associations have responded to the problems of structural form, this distinction must clearly be borne in mind: to avoid confusion, two structurally distinct bodies, serving the same interests, will be referred to as separated; if some organizational bond exists between two organizations, we will refer to them as linked associations. As we have already suggested, it is difficult to identify in any precise sense the various elements contributing to success or failure in intercultural relations. This is especially true of linked parallel associations because of the variety and subtlety of the "links." If we have over-simplified this form in the following pages, it is so that we may more clearly identify certain basic structural techniques.

a) The linked model

Joint committees

180. One useful practice of linked associations is to provide for an executive or co-ordinating body on which both groups have equal or very strong representation. Leaders of each unilingual section are thus informed of the preoccupations and activities of the other, co-ordinated or joint enterprises can be planned and executed, and, when desirable, pressure can be directed by the appropriate body to the government or governments concerned.

181. When the links between the two constituent bodies are very loose, associations sometimes make arrangements for exchanges on their executive bodies: the president or some other person designated by one association thus participates in the meetings of the other. While the guest executive usually is accorded the right to participate in all discussions, he is normally not entitled to vote.

182. In some linked parallel associations, liaison committees are established for the specific purpose of assuring that the two bodies keep in touch with one another. When it serves the interests of each, they can thus undertake certain enterprises together and they can examine their respective activities to decide which had best be undertaken separately and which should be pursued in concert. The work of one major joint body is sometimes supplemented by creating special ad hoc committees responsible for certain aspects of the association's work or for special events.

183. The scouts offer a good example. The agreement signed in 1967 between the Boy Scouts of Canada and Les Scouts catholiques du Canada (secteur français), as they were then called, after many years of unsuccessfully trying to define the relations between them satis-

factorily, provided, ". . . in recognition . . . of the value of unity of effort in promoting and improving the program of scouting," that each party should select three representatives to serve as non-voting members of the executive of the other, and also that members of each organization should serve on both standing and special committees of the other. It was further provided that

> The members of the National Executive Committee of Boy Scouts and of Les Scouts selected as provided in paragraph 11 (a) and (b) shall constitute a Committee for Co-operation as between Boy Scouts and Les Scouts in all aspects of Scouting. It is intended that the said Committee for Co-operation shall, inter alia, receive and consider matters of complaint or controversy affecting either party and shall report thereon to their respective Executive Committees.
>
> The parties may cause informal joint committees to be established as may seem desirable, consisting of representatives of Boy Scouts and Les Scouts in the various levels of their respective provincial, diocesan, regional or district councils. These committees shall meet periodically to consider and report on matters of common interest and to encourage co-operation and collaboration at the different levels concerned.[1]

Contacts among permanent officials

184. In many associations, particularly the large and wealthy ones, permanent, appointed officials play an important role in the planning and execution of many activities. They are also an important means of contact between linked associations; this contact sometimes includes regular and automatic exchanges of publications, memoranda, reports, and even copies of certain kinds of correspondence, as well as personal consultations between the association staffs about developments and future plans. Special meetings of officials and elected executive members from both the linked sections can also contribute to the mutual enrichment of each and to the avoidance or containment of conflicts between them.

185. These and similar means of maintaining contact between two parallel associations enable each to serve its members effectively and in a similar way, if that is desired. Francophones and Anglophones can thus develop their own ideas, procedures, and activities without the complication of having to reconcile them to the requirements of the other group; at the same time they can maintain a lively contact and interaction with it when they so desire. If the potentialities of this organizational form are fully realized by an association, it can contribute to, and benefit from, the opportunities afforded Canadians of both cultures. However, there is a danger in linked associations that the preoccupation of each group with its own affairs becomes so

[1] Agreement between Boy Scouts of Canada and Les Scouts catholiques du Canada (secteur français), February 22, 1967, cited in Lemieux and Meisel, in Appendix to Chap. III, §§ 12–3.

absorbing and time-consuming that the devices for maintaining contact with the other atrophy because they are largely unused. If this happens, the effectiveness of both associations may be reduced and members of both linguistic groups may be deprived of the opportunity of benefitting from one another's values, experiences, and skills.

b) The separated model

186. The probability of lack of contact is of course even greater in parallel associations that are completely separated. Some of the means of maintaining contact which we observed in linked associations have also been employed in separated organizations, particularly the use of special liaison and ad hoc committees, the mutual exchange of observers at the executive meetings, and the exchange of the association's publications. As we have seen, the Francophone and Anglophone co-operative societies have maintained excellent and fruitful relations with one another and have collaborated successfully on a number of joint projects. This interaction has been so beneficial that the Conseil canadien de la coopération has found it expedient to move its headquarters from Quebec to Ottawa and into the same building as the Co-operative Union of Canada; this happened in the mid-1960's, at a time when many other associations were experiencing violent conflicts between their Anglophone and Francophone members and sections. Similarly, the Montreal Board of Trade and the Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal agreed to establish a common headquarters. A spokesman of the former, in summarizing the history of these two separate organizations, told the Commission that

> . . . plans are already afoot for the two organizations to come closer together. We have just entered into a partnership from the point of view of a new home which will house both organizations in the same building. We are also talking from the point of view of combining several of our services and I think in the future there will be a growing together and my hope is that—this is just a purely personal hope and dream—the day will come when there will not be two organizations but one.[1]

The "peaceful" evolution of the separated model is possible

187. The close collaboration achieved between the two pan-Canadian co-operative associations or the Montreal Board of Trade and La Chambre de Commerce is, admittedly, rare among associations of the completely separated type. These sometimes emerge from a common association as a result of a bitter conflict between Anglophone and Francophone members. The legacy of hostility of these conflicts has usually been too great to permit the two new associations to develop

[1] H. Gould, General Manager of the Montreal Board of Trade, at hearings of the R.C.B.&B., Montreal, March 15, 1965.

the same fruitful co-ordination of effort as that of the associations just mentioned. But some completely separated associations have developed in a way which makes it easier for them to maintain close relations and to engage in joint enterprises. In these cases, two bodies have appeared because some Francophone members found an existing, allegedly bilingual, common association unsatisfactory; but the need of the Francophones was met by the creation of a new, unilingual French association supplementing, in a sense, the older and larger body, and there has been no violent conflict. The emergence of the unilingual association usually stems from the failure of the common organization to meet the language and other needs of the Francophone members; as a result, only those who were at home in the English language and who were interested in the association's pan-Canadian preoccupations could derive much benefit from belonging to it. These bilingual members usually join the new, unilingual association without giving up membership in the old pan-Canadian body, whereas Francophones who are less interested in contacts outside the Francophone society will only join the new unilingual body. In a sense the two associations complement one another and it is not difficult for them to combine forces for certain purposes.

Unity and uniformity are not the same thing

188. Two parallel but completely separated voluntary associations can collaborate without endangering the integrity of either; in so doing they may at the same time contribute to the flourishing of both of the country's two linguistic communities and to the maintenance or growth of adequate relations between them. They can, in other words, be quite different in many of their values and activities while also contributing to the development of Canadian human resources and even to the realization that Canadians of the two linguistic groups can be enriched by pursuing certain goals and activities together. In this sense, lack of uniformity may contribute to unity, whereas attempts to impose uniformity may have the opposite effect. The completely separated organization may contribute in the long run to better understanding and greater interdependence.

The split as a useful device

189. If this is to be the case, however, association leaders must make strenuous efforts to overcome obstacles and grasp the opportunities open to them. The major hurdle is likely to be the apathy or even the opposition of many members who cannot be expected to press enthusiastically for programmes bringing together members of two associations who have hitherto had stormy relations while belonging to one. More positively, the split can become a useful device if it is followed by the establishment of vigorous and imaginative liaison committees assuring that the two unilingual associations maintain contact whenever this is mutually profitable.

D. Representation

190. The basic structural form of a common association invariably affects the representation of the two linguistic groups within it. The two aspects most relevant to our inquiry have already been briefly mentioned: representation of the official-language minority group on the decision-making bodies and representation of Francophone and Anglophone members on bodies outside Canada.

1. Representation of the official-language minority group

Two areas of disagreement

191. Some of the controversies about questions of representation in Canadian associations have arisen as the result of ambiguities or disagreements between Anglophones and Francophones about two issues: first, who or what is to be represented and, second, what is the nature of Canada and to what extent should the government of Canadian associations reflect this nature?

Who or what is to be represented?

192. The question raised by the first issue is similar to that faced by many democratic countries which cannot quite decide whether each member of the legislature represents simply a certain specified number of people or a cluster of individuals sharing a community of interest. In the first case, each constituency should be exactly the same size as all the others; in the second, a variation in size is justified. In voluntary associations the problem is even more complex. For instance, it has been argued that the executive bodies should reflect such "components" as individual members on the basis of their numerical strength (one representative for so many members divided into geographic or other groupings), branches, and even the monetary contribution to the treasury. In some professional associations the *métier* of the members may be taken into account when they elect their executive: the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, for example, provides in its rules for the election to the executive bodies of a specified proportion of physicians and surgeons.

193. Even when the relatively simple approach of representing individuals is adopted, these must still be lumped into various groups for representational purposes: an organization will provide that its executive bodies contain so many members elected by chapters of various size, by regional or provincial bodies, or by some other grouping of members meaningful within the context of the organization in question. The formula common in Canada of giving each province equal representation is often resented by Francophone members who believe that it unfairly reduces the voice they should have in the decision-making bodies of their associations.

How should representatives be chosen?

194. There is also the related question of how the representatives should be chosen. In most instances the answer is simple: they are elected by the groups for whom they speak. But some cases are more complicated; when an organization's constitution calls for an executive body containing a vice-president for each component regional or provincial organization, these vice-presidents may be elected by all the members of the association (attending the annual conference, for example) or by only those members for whom they become spokesmen. In some associations, the provincial vice-president on the pan-Canadian body holds his office *ex-officio* because he is the president elected independently by the provincial organization.

Representation in associations and the nature of Canada

195. This last possibility shows that the question of representation is sometimes linked in the minds of the association members to the larger issue of the nature of the country. The argument for making the head of a provincial section of an association automatically the provincial vice-president on the Canadian executive is based on the premise that the country-wide association is a federation in which the provincial bodies are autonomous. Those supporting this theory of representation usually feel that this is also what Canada should be: only if the provincial bodies are empowered to make decisions in matters of importance to them, without having to take into account the requirements of the other provinces, can they flourish and develop their resources adequately for the needs of their populations. In this view, the pan-Canadian body becomes largely a co-ordinating one, responsible for certain matters delegated to it by the constituent organizations whom, in a sense, it serves.

Representation on the basis of five regions

196. We have already seen that the emphasis in an organization's structure and system of representation based on the province still tends to leave Francophone members seriously underrepresented. For this reason some of them have argued that the West Coast area, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec, and the Atlantic region should become the basic organizational divisions in pan-Canadian associations. The Canadian Credit Men's Association uses this approach in some of its day-to-day administrative arrangements, without actually adopting a regional structure and representational system. The numerous associations who have adopted it have often argued that the regional approach assures Francophones of representational strength on decision-making bodies—of one out of five, instead of one out of ten. However, this is only true to the degree that the Quebec delegates are the spokesmen for French Canada.

Representation on the basis of two communities

197. Some association leaders have asserted that Canada is a partnership between the two linguistic communities and that this should be reflected in the formal structure not only of the Canadian constitution

but also in the constitutions of the country's associations. This theory advocates that, in areas of decision-making which are of critical importance to either one of the communities, each should be accorded equal representation, by adopting a unitary organizational form in which each linguistically homogeneous association elects an equal number of representatives to a joint executive body.

The double majority

198. A voting procedure which would have protected the vital interest of both linguistic groups was discussed by the student association before the split between the Canadian Union of Students and the Union générale des étudiants du Québec, but it was never adopted. It is an adaptation of the double-majority principle which some countries, like Switzerland and Australia for example, have devised in amending their constitutions and to which lip service was paid in the legislature of the colony of Canada prior to 1867. In the present context, the double majority simply means that a constitutional amendment must receive a majority of supporting votes in both a country-wide referendum and in a majority of constituent states or cantons. In the student association the idea was proposed that on issues considered to be of fundamental importance, a motion would be accepted only if it received majority support from both the Francophone and the Anglophone members, who would, of course, have had to vote separately. One of the problems this theory poses is that of defining what questions are considered to be of fundamental importance.

The "Quebec spokesman"

199. Traditionally, the prevailing method of ensuring that the viewpoint of Francophone members was heard and taken into account in Canada-wide associations was to place great reliance on the views of certain highly respected Francophone members. These leaders usually emerged informally as the spokesmen who were consulted on who was to be nominated for various offices from French Canada, how the Quebec members would react to certain policy questions, how the association should handle the language problem, and on any other matter thought to have a bearing on French-English relations in the associations. The Quebec spokesmen usually had a very long-standing contact with their associations and had established strong personal links of friendship with their Anglophone counterparts.

200. Canadian associations owe these men and women a great deal, for without them they probably could not have met even the most minimal needs of their Francophone members. These spokesmen laboured hard to make the Anglophone majority realize the consequences of belonging to a culturally mixed association and to enable their Francophone compatriots to belong and enjoy at least some of the benefits offered by the pan-Canadian body.

201. Great though their contribution was, however, they were apparently not a sufficient force for the achievement of the sort of changes required for the Francophone and Anglophone members to derive equal benefits from their association. In the first place, the society which they represented has been changing rapidly and becoming increasingly more complex. Two or three decades ago, one or two individuals could perhaps speak for the Francophone members of an association. More recently, however, Quebec and the rest of French Canada have diversified and expanded in all their activities and interests. Although at one time a spokesman might argue that he knew the needs of Quebec, this is no longer the case. Today, the requirements of Quebec and French Canada cannot be reduced to a single statement and they cannot be understood and encompassed by a single individual. In fact, this has probably never been the case, but the *dominant* interests of French Canada could, at an earlier age, be detected and championed by a single individual. Today, no one individual can fully fathom the change affecting his milieu and the chances for an effective representation are therefore better under an arrangement which leads to the periodic and regular election of representatives who can reflect a variety of interests and who are likely to be more alert to new developments.

Consequences of the "acculturation" of the "Quebec spokesman"

202. This more institutionalized and formal way of representing Francophone interests promises to be more effective than the earlier reliance on "Quebec spokesmen" for yet another reason: the Quebec spokesman was not only bilingual but was usually so accustomed to living in a predominantly Anglophone milieu that he was not quite aware of how it affected his less acculturated compatriots. He may even have come to accept as inevitable the hardships and penalties which Francophones had to endure in an age and under conditions which antedate the current awareness of the requirements of equal partnership. These conditions obtain only seldom today and they are rapidly disappearing altogether. The informally selected permanent representative has in many respects lost touch with his "constituents" and in associations where he still survives he is increasingly discovering that the positions he takes on their behalf are not acceptable to them. However, new spokesmen are still emerging, keenly attuned to the times and to what is required if the two linguistic groups are to have equal opportunities. These men and women have adopted a new style and, with somewhat different skills, are seeking a modus vivendi satisfactory to the two linguistic societies in accordance with today's values and conditions.

Successful accommodation may be costly and painful

203. For some members of common associations, the changing nature of the way interests are represented is distinctly disappointing. There was about the old way a degree of civilized gentility which seems sometimes to be lacking under the more abrasive contemporary procedures. An important lesson is contained in this change: the accommodation of the interests of the two main cultural groups in a common association is often difficult and costly. The older method was more pleasant, partly because the interests of one group were not fully stated and vigorously pressed. It was, therefore, easy to make such modest adjustments as were requested, and the number of serious and bitter clashes was limited. The cost to the Anglophone majority was not excessive but the cost to Francophones remained relatively high. Under these conditions, relations btween the two linguistic groups may have been improved when minor grievances were removed, but the steps towards securing equal opportunities for both groups were likely minimal. When serious adjustments are made in a world where one group once enjoyed substantial advantages, the costs are usually high—particularly for the once dominant group—and the process of readjustment is usually bitter. This is less pleasant for both groups, but it is more effective and, since it is likely to lead eventually to a more fruitful interaction between the two groups, its drawbacks may be only temporary.

Short-cuts may be harmful

204. Just as co-ordinating the activities of the two linguistic groups in voluntary associations increases the monetary costs, so does the provision for adequate representation. Attempts to economize and to take short-cuts usually contribute to misrepresentation. Thus, to save themselves the normal costs of co-ordinating their activities, the Canadian Union of Students at one time resorted to an allocation of various tasks to specified campuses, with the result that the programmes and suggestions which emerged often did not really reflect the views of all the important groups within their association. Even as wealthy an organization as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce had recourse to a comparable economy in its system of representation, with somewhat similar results. For a number of years the Chamber's executive council was composed entirely of members from the Montreal area. This made it easy for them to get together and to be consulted, but it did not make the council representative of the member Chambers scattered throughout the country.

Regional representation

205. The degree to which the various provinces or regions are represented on decision-making bodies has obvious implications for an association's practices with respect to representation. It is inevitable that the practices adopted with respect to the geographic aspects of

the representational system will influence the effectiveness with which Francophones and Anglophones are represented in association.

206. There is also the question of finding a suitable way to represent the Anglophone minority in Quebec and the Francophone minorities outside Quebec. An organization wishing to develop policy-making machinery which will enable it to serve its members fairly and equitably will need to keep all these aspects of the representational system in mind.

Representation of the two official-language minorities

2. Representation outside Canada

207. Many of the larger voluntary associations belong to international bodies linking organizations from several countries pursuing the same objectives. Not all of them have experienced problems in defining and arranging their relations with the international body; however, some have encountered problems in this area.

Two manifestations of the problem

208. The nature of the problems depends in large part on the type of organizational structure concerned. In common associations, where Francophones and Anglophones are not structurally segregated, and in some of the parallel linked associations, where a common structural link exists, the problems encountered usually relate to the question of who is to appoint the Canadian representatives.

209. In the completely separated parallel type, controversies have arisen about who is to represent Canada when the international body accepts only one delegation from any country. If two pan-Canadian organizations exist in the area covered by the international association, a decision has to be made about how Canada is to be represented and what method is to be used to cast its vote. This situation has in some cases created considerable tension between members of the two linguistic groups. The problem appears in the most acute form (as it did, for example, in relation to the Junior Chambers) when a split occurs in a Canadian association which belongs to an international organization. In such cases it is not uncommon for the original association to view the one which has split from it as an illegitimate body which should not be recognized by the international body. The latter is then embarrassed by having to decide which of two rival Canadian associations it should recognize.

Problems of representing associations are linked to views of the nature of Canada

210. To some extent the difference of opinion about who should appoint the international representative or representatives of a Canadian association is related to the arguments about the nature of Canada and of its associations. Francophone association leaders who make strong claims for the autonomy of the provinces or who view Canada essentially as a political partnership of the two societies usually deny

the right of any central body to nominate all Canadian delegates since they feel that only a Quebec or Francophone organization can appropriately select spokesmen for French Canada. The main argument of those who deny this assertion is that, internationally, Canada can speak only with one voice and, therefore, one Canadian body must have the sole responsibility for appointments.

211. Another question concerns the proportion of Francophones and Anglophones on a Canadian team of representatives. Some have argued that it is sufficient to have a Francophone spokesman, but others have advocated representation on the basis of numerical equality.

Similarities and differences between the political and the associational world

212. Like so many aspects of voluntary associations, these questions are closely related to general political questions posed for Canada by its cultural duality. The parallel is striking with some of the issues which have arisen in relation to the participation of Canada and Quebec in international educational conferences and, also, with the arguments about the principles which should underline the Canadian constitution. However, despite the apparent similarities, there is an enormous difference between the essentially private and always partial world of associations and the public and more total sphere of politics. Voluntary associations may be able to accommodate themselves to their country-wide members speaking with two or more voices a great deal more easily than governments; the consequences of a split in an association are insignificant when compared to a split in a country.

A. The Importance of Adequate Communications

213. In earlier Books of the Commission's *Report,* and in the discussion of associational activities above, we have repeatedly emphasized the importance of linguistic differences as an obstacle to equal participation and to equal partnership. The greater cost to Francophones of participating in common country-wide associations is most apparent in this area. In this chapter we examine the linguistic cost more fully; we also look at the problem of maintaining adequate communications and co-ordination in voluntary associations from a broader perspective than that of language alone. Some of the methods for overcoming the problems of communications and co-ordination are surveyed, and it will be apparent that the most suitable method varies from one association to another. The adequacy of its internal communications are of central importance to any organization, quite apart from what happens to individuals and groups within it. If an organization is to function effectively, its members must be aware of the relevant events in its environment, the intelligence so perceived must be passed on to the decision-making organs, and the association's programme must be transmitted accurately and quickly to those who are to execute it. An association with an ineffective communications system will not likely respond to the demands of its environment or make good use of the human and other resources available to it. The weakness of the communications system penalizes all members, although not, of course, to the same degree.

B. The Cost-Benefit Balance

1. The prevalence of the English language

214. In most mixed Canadian associations, most members normally speak and write in English; most of the activities are carried out in English; publications, agendas, meetings, minutes, and reports are in English; and the language of administration is English. We noted in our discussion of structural forms that some associations have sections in which some or all of these things are done in French; this may affect *parts* of the organization, but in pan-Canadian activities and concerns, English almost certainly predominates. Often decisions at the country-wide level are the most important ones and have a pronounced effect on all parts of the organization. Furthermore, Francophones may find themselves in places or associations where no French-language sections exist; so they must function in English if they wish to, or must, join a given association.

215. Many associations provide written material for the purpose of implementing their educational, recreational, or utilitarian aims. If Francophones do not understand this literature, or if they must make a greater effort to understand it, their benefits from belonging to the association are reduced. Even for those who are well acquainted with the second language, it is usually more time-consuming or tiring to use it and it is also easy to miss the full meaning and nuance of what they read. This, of course, applies equally to spoken communications: lectures, study-sessions, meetings, conferences, informal get-togethers.

2. Psychological costs

216. There are other costs often borne by Francophones which, although perhaps less obvious, are nevertheless just as real. We have already pointed out that Francophone members of pan-Canadian associations do not get as much out of attending annual conferences as Anglophones, because many do not speak English well enough to benefit fully from the presence at these gatherings of highly knowledgeable but totally unilingual Anglophone experts in fields of interest to the association. A less-than-perfect command of English prevents many Francophones from benefitting as much as their Anglophone colleagues from the informal, between-sessions exchange of technical and specialized lore. The other side of this coin is that many specially skilled and expert unilingual Francophones do not attend annual conferences and similar meetings, or even work-shops of the asso-

ciation, because their inability to speak English prevents them from participating effectively. Where there is no provision for adequate interpretation, French-language sections of associations must often send as delegates not necessarily the best qualified people but those who can participate in the English programme. This inflicts a psychological penalty on Francophone members of an association, but it also imposes a cost on the Anglophones: it deprives them of the experience and insights of a knowledgeable group of colleagues.

3. The penalties for acting as translators

217. An entirely different cost of linguistic duality paradoxically results from efforts to make Canadian associations serve both linguistic groups effectively. An experienced officer of a Francophone section of a pan-Canadian association told one of our researchers that it was difficult for Francophones elected to positions of responsibility on the central executive to discharge their executive and leadership roles, because they were forever being asked to act as translators and interpreters. Because a much higher proportion of Francophones than Anglophones is bilingual, almost invariably, in associations which do not have the necessary staff or the services of professional translators, it is the Francophones who perform this function, and this leaves them little time for the job to which they were presumably elected—that is, to direct, with their Anglophone colleagues, the affairs of their association. In Book II of our *Report* we said:

> Bilingualism also involves hidden costs for individuals who act as intermediaries between the two language groups. If bilingual Francophones are expected to provide the links between these groups, their own careers may be affected. A Francophone employee often faces a personal dilemma. He may be asked to interpret or translate something from French or to draft a French translation of a letter or document; because his Anglophone colleagues are not bilingual he may end up by constantly translating the ideas of others rather than contributing his own. His other talents will not be developed because somebody must play the role of intermediary.[1]

218. If this practice is fairly widespread, it reinforces the tendency to the underrepresentation of Francophones on the executive committees of common associations. The translator-executive type, although generally considered to be a Francophone member elected to office, may not be able, because of his other duties, to influence the decisions made as effectively as his Anglophone colleagues; the underrepresentation of Francophones *in the decision-making process* may

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 530.

therefore be greater than a mere count of Francophone and Anglophone members would suggest.[1]

219. The practice of using Francophone executives as translators may reduce the influence of Francophones in another sense as well. It may quite wrongly give the impression that they are uninterested in, or unsuited for, the really important decision-making roles, thereby contributing to a self-perpetuating myth about the characteristics of Francophones; because this notion is held by a larger number of people, nothing is likely to happen which would test or disprove it. Some Francophone executives may indeed become so engrossed in this task, and the related one of being a "liaison specialist" or "Quebec spokesman," that they are satisfied to play a less widely influential role in their associations than their capacities and original motives promised. If these tendencies become widespread, Francophones will continue to feel that they are generally underrepresented in pan-Canadian associations and that it is fruitless to try to participate fully in the larger Canadian society.

4. Respect for language and culture

The consequence of seeing one's language mangled

220. Francophones may be expected to react negatively to the fact that many common associations unthinkingly overlook their special linguistic interests and needs. It is also not unnatural for them to react negatively to the fact that an overwhelming proportion of Anglophones have failed to learn even the most rudimentary French and they expect automatically that the Francophones will make the effort necessary to get along in English. It may come as a surprise to some well-intentioned Anglophones, however, that a similarly negative response may meet their well-meant efforts to make their association more hospitable to both linguistic groups. Francophone members of pan-Canadian associations are often highly irritated by efforts of the Anglophones to provide the association's literature in French. The reason for this anger is not the motive of the Anglophones, but the way in which it is executed. All too often the French version of these documents is ungrammatical, unidiomatic, and replete with spelling errors. These sloppy translations imply a lack of respect for the French language which, in the eyes of many already sensitive Francophones, only underscores what they expect from their Anglo-

[1] A related phenomenon has been observed in the business world. It was put as follows in the brief of the Society of Industrial and Cost Accountants to the R.C.B.&B.:

The French speaking Canadian professional accountant is sometimes penalized because of his bilingual abilities. He may achieve a top position in a company within a predominantly French speaking community, but his bilingualism makes him too valuable to transfer to a higher position in a predominantly English speaking community.

phone colleagues: an unwillingness to grapple seriously with the problems of language use in their association. The faulty translation becomes nothing more than a meaningless and irritating token.

221. Constantly seeing one's cultural tradition ignored or belittled is likely to induce either a resigned acceptance of not being recognized or a strong reaction leading towards excessively vigorous efforts at self-assertion. Neither of these psychological responses leads to a realistic appraisal of the respective requirements of the two groups or to a satisfactory redefinition of their relations.

Problems inherent in translation

222. It is almost impossible to overcome the difficulties of translating certain ideas exactly. Even a letter-perfect rendition of a statement from one language to the other may fail to capture all the nuances of the original. A translation may therefore mislead members of both linguistic groups into believing that they understand one another's position or the meaning of a document when the translation in fact conceals some important differences in emphasis or even in the substance. This possibility is reduced if the individuals concerned have come to know one another and their respective preoccupations and points of view by a frequent, relaxed collaboration ranging over a variety of joint concerns.

The language used affects the message it conveys

223. The social context within which a language is used is particularly important. Language is not merely a passive, mechanical means for transmitting ideas; it expresses and *affects* the content of these ideas. Language and culture cannot be separated. A decision formulated in English, and then translated into French, is not likely to be quite the same as a decision made in French by the same people on the same issue. In reaching many of their important decisions, therefore, common voluntary associations that wish to take account fully of their cultural duality cannot be satisfied with merely translating the relevant documents and the outcome of the discussions based upon them. They must ensure that Francophones and Anglophones participate freely in the deliberations, and that some of the discussions take place in each language. For example, certain subjects may be of particular relevance and interest to the Francophones; it would be desirable to discuss such subjects in French, either in a session in which Francophones and Anglophones consider them together or in a subcommittee composed only of Francophone members.

"Why bother translating into French: everybody understands English here!"

224. The insistence on translating documents widely and on conducting the association's business in both languages is sometimes thought to be really unnecessary, since the Francophone members involved speak English anyway. This argument is voiced particularly in professional and large-scale business associations where most Francophones do manage well in both languages. It overlooks not only the fact that

to operate in a second language imposes handicaps on the person involved, but also the significant relation between the language used and the content of the ideas conveyed. Sometimes the "Quebec spokesman" joins the Anglophone in declaring wasteful and unnecessary the use of both languages in his association. This is partly because he has become acculturated and partly because he is not aware of two facts: first, even he would probably have been better off had he been able to participate fully in his first language and, second, there are almost certainly many potential Francophone members who would join the association if they could be assured that their language would be welcomed. Common associations in which little emphasis is placed on the use of French have likely never heard from those who would welcome it most, because they have not found it worthwhile joining.

225. However, it is possible that, in some very small groups where translating all documents and discussions would be quite prohibitive and vexing, it would be sensible to use only one language; obviously, in a country-wide association, the chances are that English would be favoured more often than French. But this practice must not be allowed to lead to the exclusion of unilingual Francophones from the decision-making processes; on those occasions when the personnel involved calls for it, the groups must be prepared to become unilingually French. Leaders in voluntary associations should be continually on the alert to spot long-lasting inequalities between the two linguistic groups and to make sure that if one group has for a time been favoured, this is not allowed to become a permanent condition. Compromises are tolerable to minorities and majorities alike, if they are reciprocal over time.

C. Methods of Coping with the Problem

1. A realistic assessment of the costs of bilingualism

226. The costs of servicing two linguistic groups in an association are of course also more direct and concrete than those mentioned so far. To translate all of an association's publications, reports, and other documents, to provide simultaneous interpretation at meetings, to engage bilingual staff members, and to undertake all the other measures required to provide equal services to both linguistic groups—all these cost a great deal of money. On becoming aware of the requirements of Canada's cultural duality, associations sometimes declare themselves bilingual without realizing the human effort and monetary outlay involved. It is easy enough to add the translation to the associa-

tion's name and to render the constitution into French, but to provide all the necessary services may impose substantial strains on its resources. To pretend to be bilingual without taking the steps really necessary to serve both linguistic groups equally is misleading and certain to be interpreted as a breach of faith by many Francophone members and as yet another example of the Anglophones' token response to the exigencies of Canadian dualism. It is essential that common associations which decide to provide their Francophone and Anglophone members with equal access to their services realize fully the consequences of this resolve, that they find out realistically all the costs of such a step, and that they state clearly how the additional costs are to be allocated.

2. *The need for frankness*

227. If information is to be transmitted accurately, the individuals concerned must be realistic in assessing events and frank in expressing their thoughts. It is exceedingly dangerous to achieve satisfactory relations between any groups—and particularly cultural groups whose images are inevitably the subject of numerous myths—if misconceptions are allowed to develop about how they view one another and how they react to one another's thoughts and acts.

228. A satisfactory relationship can be attained only if both sides have a clear idea of what the other expects from the relationship. A dangerous situation develops when one of the partners takes it upon himself to decide what the other wants, either because he is so arrogant that he believes he knows best or because the other partner does not bother to say. If both linguistic groups are to profit equally from Canadian associations, a sustained flow of frank communication is essential between the Anglophone and Francophone members.

Conditions under which conflict may be useful

229. Under certain conditions, conflict between two groups may be a necessary and salutary process. It can become totally destructive if it is not contained and resolved; but as a prelude to finding new solutions to problems of human relations it may play a positive role by helping the participants to define and express their interests and to demand satisfaction. But conflict cannot be contained if its causes and manifestations are concealed; the sentiments which inspire it must be communicated as early and as realistically as possible.

3. *The importance of well-established officials and leaders*

230. Associations which experience a rapid turnover of officers and staff usually find it more difficult to maintain adequate communications

between various component parts and groups than organizations where the senior officials do not change too often. Stability in personnel assures that decisions are made by people who have an intimate knowledge of the association and its problems, who know one another, and among whom personal friendship and loyalties may well have bridged some of the institutional disagreements. Very often these personal loyalties cut across linguistic lines and assure that the grievances causing inter-group tensions are expressed.

231. In some organizations, well-entrenched executives and officials may have a strong vested interest in maintaining the status quo and so oppose reform. As a rule, however, such vested interests as the old "organizational hands" may develop in their association, and such identification of their personal careers as they may have with it, create conditions favourable to the satisfactory resolution of conflict. These men and women, who have long-standing commitments to their association and whose personal careers may be vitally affected by the well-being of it, are likely to be greatly concerned for its survival. Whenever this survival is threatened—be it by a lack of funds, the exertions of a competing group, or a break-up caused by dissension between Francophones and Anglophones—the well-established officers and leaders will likely do everything in their power to prevent a possibly fatal crisis, and to find a solution for the difficulties besetting their organization; they will be prepared to make substantial changes and to invent and propagate reforms which promise to find favour with the membership. Seasoned officers, benefitting from extensive experience and contacts with each of the two main linguistic groups, are therefore often effective agents for the communication of ideas and decisions and for the co-ordination of effort by Anglophones and Francophones.

4. Passive bilingualism

232. Translation of all generally circulated documents is a basic requirement, of course. However, in many associations it is possible to confine the translation to documents intended for the membership at large and not to translate those directed to the executive, because the members of the executive bodies are able to read both languages. An extension of this procedure, known as passive bilingualism, assumes that either French or English may be used at the meetings of the decision-making bodies and that the documents used may be in either language. Participants are expected to understand both languages and to be understood by everyone present if they speak in either French or English. This approach to the problem seems to be gaining in

popularity and can be an effective device for assuring the equal access and equal participation of members of both linguistic groups on the decision-making bodies.

233. An interesting comment on the undesirability of translating all of an association's literature was made to the Commission by the Canadian Museums Association. "It is possible," it was argued, "that complete bilingualism in publication could frustrate the ideal of profitable dialogue between the two cultures. . . . It would, at least, confirm the inveterate reader in one language in his feeling that only one was necessary. Perhaps, for certain publications it would be better to print articles in English *or* French with—at the most—a résumé or digest in the other language. This would at least provide some incentive to bilingualism."[1] There is merit in this view. Associations should carefully weigh which documents to translate and which to leave in the original. On balance it is wise, at least at the present time, to err on the side of too much translation rather than too little.

5. Simultaneous interpretation

234. In no assocation (except perhaps those of translators and interpreters or linguists) can the rank and file be expected to participate on equal terms if all the communications to members are not translated and if simultaneous interpretation is not provided. All associations wanting to encourage equal participation make some arrangements for simultaneous interpretation at general meetings. However, as well as being expensive, this practice has some other drawbacks: it is awkward and tends to be resented by those who do not perceive how essential it is. There is also a tendency to tire quickly of the ear-plug and stop listening to the translation. The effective use of simultaneous interpretation therefore requires not only substantial financial resources but also a positive attitude on the part of the membership towards it.

235. The practice of providing simultaneous interpretation at general meetings of common associations often comes about as the result of pressure from the Quebec branch. A brief from an organization of nurses presented a picture which is typical of many associations:

The Canadian Nurses' Association, a federation of ten provincial associations, has adopted the policy of the official use of the two languages, both for all publications and, at the biennial meetings, through the use of simultaneous translation. This policy was adopted at the request of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec and was acknowledged

[1] Canadian Museums Association in composite brief of the Canadian Conference of the Arts to the R.C.B.&B.

unanimously, not only as a right for the French nurses, but also as an advantage for the whole profession.

The persistence of the French language nurses in making known their rights and their cooperation in supporting the efforts held by the Canadian Nurses Association have enriched all.[1]

Repeating statements in the other language

236. The same organization also made an interesting comment on another device which has been usefully employed to facilitate communication and co-ordination between Francophones and Anglophones: the repetition in the other language of statements made at meetings.

> At the provincial level, all deliberations are in the two languages, either by repetition in the other language or by simultaneous translation. It is in the course of discussions, particularly of the Committee of Management that the bilingual character of our Association is affirmed. Even though some members are bilingual, others understand only one language. It is necessary to express the subject in both languages and the discussions which follow must be repeated in the alternate language.
>
> This tradition, created by necessity, is always maintained. There are advantages to this repetition. Certain aspects which have not been visualized by one group are brought to light when expressed in the other language through a different mode of thought. New ideas are presented which compensate for the length of the discussion.[2]

6. Special meetings, conferences, and committees

237. Some associations have organized special meetings or conferences to co-ordinate their programmes and to ensure that both the Francophone and Anglophone members can communicate better and can have a voice in deciding certain issues. These special meetings are usually called by associations whose leaders believe that the normal processes of communication, consultation, and co-ordination are inadequate for a particular programme or under particular conditions. This is an effective device, particularly when the organizers take the steps necessary to assure the full and easy participation of members of both linguistic groups. Among such steps are the provision of translation services, travel assistance where necessary, and genuine consultation on the timing, location, agenda, and other organizational details of the meeting.

Special committees

238. Other organizations have established standing committees or procedures for the purpose of assuring that the ideas and activities of Anglophone and Francophone members are co-ordinated and that the communications between the two groups are satisfactory. There are many such committees, bearing a variety of names, constituted in

[1] Brief of the Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec to the R.C.B.&B.
[2] *Ibid.*

various ways, and occupying varying positions of influence in their organizations. Some of them co-ordinate activities and practices, but others have more specialized terms of reference. They may be responsible for the proper use of both languages in the association, for the adequate representation of certain regional interests, or for the provision of special services to members of one or the other of the two linguistic groups.

239. The special committees have performed a useful service in co-ordinating the viewpoints and programmes of Francophones and Anglophones in Canadian associations. Such a committee can sometimes become a vigilant pressure group within its organization, guarding against the development of programmes or practices which might become obstacles in the enjoyment of equal access by Francophones and Anglophones to what the association offers its members. These committees usually take one of two structural forms; they may consist entirely of Francophones, or they may be composed of members of both linguistic groups, frequently in equal numbers; the latter is a more common arrangement today.[1]

The dangers of special committees

240. Special committees do have weaknesses: they can usually concern themselves only with the matters placed in their care. The very existence of such a committee may then become dangerous. Association members assume that all problems in the field of cultural relations are taken care of and that no one need worry any further about a situation which is well in hand. However, there may be difficulties outside the committee's jurisdiction which will be neglected because of this false sense of security. The committee can also become a salve to soothe the conscience of those members who ignore the complexities of intergroup relations, or who are satisfied with a mere token reaction to its demands.

The short life-span of some committees

241. Co-ordinating or liaison committees have often enjoyed only a short life. In some associations they have been very active for a period after they were established and have then fallen into disuse. In many associations it is difficult to sustain the original impetus for the systematic attempt to communicate effectively and co-ordinate the activities of the component sections through the use of special committees. These committees often seem to be created on the prompting of one or two enthusiastic individuals who are particularly sensitive to the requirements of culturally mixed societies and who provide the driving force. If their term of office is limited, "their" committees may simply atrophy after their departure.

[1] The brief presented to the R.C.B.&B. by the Canadian Welfare Council gave a full and informative account of a special committee, affording an exceptionally good view of the kind of work they do. It is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix III, for purposes of illustration.

7. The exchange of executive members and delegates

242. One successful means for co-ordination, and for maintaining effective communications, has already been discussed in a different context: the exchange of delegates or representatives on the respective executive bodies of the component parts of common associations. The presence of spokesmen from the "sister" division of the other linguistic group at all important executive and other meetings assures that both groups are informed of each other's ideas and activities. Thus it is relatively easy to co-ordinate these when this seems desirable.

8. Bilingualism among the staff

243. To benefit fully from membership in an association, an individual must be able to deal with it in his own language. This requires that the permanent staff serving both linguistic groups be thoroughly bilingual, but this ideal can almost never be achieved. Linguistically alert associations normally assure that receptionists and telephone operators are bilingual and that beyond this the staff contains a good mixture of Francophones and Anglophones so that all items of business can be discussed with interested members in either language. Some associations favour the practice of appointing the two most senior officials so that they represent both of Canada's official-language groups.

9. Joint headquarters and personnel

244. The two unilingual pan-Canadian co-operative associations have placed their headquarters in the same location, to facilitate the co-ordination of their efforts. This practice also makes it easier for each to cope with such language problems as it may encounter despite its unilingual character, and it offers great rewards for common associations in which one of the component sections is a Quebec association. The joint headquarters of "national" and "Quebec" associations enables each to benefit from the linguistic specialization of the other. The sharing of a joint headquarters by the Montreal Board of Trade and the Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal was obviously inspired by the desire to assure better communications and co-ordination between the two bodies. In some instances, particularly where one or both of the associations concerned is not large enough to engage many staff members, they have combined resources and have together appointed bilingual personnel particularly adept at handling translations. Francophone employees of French unilingual organizations have

also served on a part-time basis with the pan-Canadian association to provide it with a fluently French-speaking member of the staff.

10. Conclusion

The importance of concerned individuals

245. The institutional devices reviewed here have contributed materially to the success that some associations have had in assuring satisfactory communications between the two linguistic groups and in co-ordinating the activities of their Francophone and Anglophone members. However, the most effective guarantee of the appropriate relations lies in the associations' human resources. In practically every organization where relations between the two linguistic groups were satisfactory, this was in large part attributable to the presence of one or two alert and dedicated individuals. Sometimes these key individuals have held elective posts, in which case their term of office was probably limited; more often, they have been permanent officials, whose intimate knowledge of the work, personalities, and problems of their associations gave them unique opportunities for effectively co-ordinating the programmes and the interests of the members. Many of these officials have made determined efforts to become reasonably bilingual; this has of course made their task considerably easier. To perform effectively the role of a vital communications link, they have needed not only an interest in the issues posed by a bilingual country but also a high sense of awareness, great sensitivity, and considerable skill.

246. The solution of the language problem is a necessary first step for the creation of equal partnership, but it cannot exorcise genuine differences of aims or disparities in conditions necessary for their achievement. Cultural differences, too, come into play—subtler and more difficult to comprehend than linguistic problems, but certainly not less significant. Successful intercultural relations in voluntary associations involve sensitivity to and acceptance of these realities.

The interrelations of the four aspects

247. The four aspects or areas of associations that we have examined—objectives, activities, structure, and communications—are obviously related to one another; yet each may affect the relations between Francophones and Anglophones quite differently. The objectives and structure, for instance, may encourage the development of equal partnership, but the activities pursued and the problems of communications may prevent it. Members concerned with promoting equal partnership in their association may, when confronted by obstacles in certain areas, be able to correct the situation by working on the others. Even within some of the four aspects there is often a good deal of variation and "inconsistency" in the sense that certain features may help to promote better cultural relations and others may impede them.

Variations in flexibility: a ranking

248. Some of the four aspects offer greater scope to those members and leaders who wish to adapt their association to new circumstances. For example, it is normally easier to change the orientation of an organization's activities or language policy than to adopt a new organizational structure or to make a basic change in the objectives. Starting with the most easily revisable, the four aspects can be ranked as follows: activities, communications, objectives, structure. On the other hand, each of these is composed of various elements which are more or less susceptible to change. For instance, in our discussion of structure in Chapter IV, we made a distinction between formal and informal structural features. Informal features, since they are not fixed by association by-laws, are more flexible. Thus it is easier to make changes in procedures of co-ordination than in methods of representation and the latter can be altered more easily than the basic organizational form as laid down in the constitution, which can usually be amended only through a slow and cumbersome procedure.

Advantages of variations

249. Leaders of voluntary associations can therefore compensate for unsatisfactory conditions in one aspect of their association by assuring that exceptional efforts are made in another. This frequently leads to a substantive improvement. It may also frequently have secondary benefits—notably an atmosphere of goodwill, which makes it easier to deal with the more "stubborn" areas where fundamental readjustments may be necessary. There are certain advantages in gradually initiating new procedures and policies, and thus avoiding the risk of a premature general reorganization. An experienced leader will profit from them in instituting useful improvements in those areas of least resistance.

Dangers of partial reforms

250. This attitude is not without danger: it tends to postpone indefinitely difficult reforms in other equally important areas. The temptation is particularly strong because tensions between Francophone and Anglophone members tend to manifest themselves first and most vociferously in certain particular aspects of the association: internal communications and representation on the decision-making bodies. This discontent is no doubt always quite genuine, but it may also be a sign of even more fundamental difficulties—related to the formal structures, the objectives, or some of the activities—which may be overlooked. Fragmentary solutions, conceived to cope with those aspects of discord which manifest themselves most shrilly, are often only palliatives and do not go to the source of the trouble.

251. Reforms must not be limited to simple accommodation but must aim at installing equality of opportunity between the two linguistic groups. If a common association does not succeed in responding to these exigencies, Francophones must resign themselves to an inferior position or withdraw to create a unilingual association. But separation, if it occurs, may weaken both groups.

Costs of separation

252. Within a common association, responding to the needs of the two linguistic groups presents a real difficulty that the members may be tempted to evade or to resolve by separating to form two associations. Anglophones, like Francophones, may see this as a simple and attractive solution, and in certain circumstances it may be the best one. But when separation results in a total absence of contact between the two groups, it is an expensive solution—even if neither group is aware of this fact —and it makes the whole country poorer. On the other hand, the maintenance of close ties between the two groups tends to create a feeling among the members of both groups that they have much in common. By sharing their interests and their problems they can realize that they are alike in many ways.

253. In our *Preliminary Report* and the subsequent volumes, one point of view is repeated again and again. Canadians must accept that "if Canada is to continue to exist, there must be a true partnership, and

that partnership must be worked out as between equals."[1] The idea of partnership requires that there is contact between the groups, that they undertake certain tasks together, and that they interact and mutually influence one another. This interaction between different kinds of people and different kinds of cultures is potentially a promising human experience.

Interaction between groups is enriching

254. The coming together of people belonging to different cultures has had the effect of unleashing energies and resources which have enriched mankind. Under conditions of equality, the interaction of cultural groups is generally fruitful. When two such groups inter-react under appropriate conditions, they normally introduce each other to somewhat different viewpoints on the world around them and they bring more than one cultural tradition to bear on matters of mutual concern. When both groups have to explain their ideas and actions, they are forced to make a critical self-examination and thus they may come to understand themselves better. Moreover, because of rivalry between them, each will make greater efforts than they might otherwise do. Segregated, the groups are not as inclined to creative initiatives.

255. In Canada at the present time, the two main linguistic groups are assessing the means by which they may draw the greatest possible benefit from joint participation in the affairs of the country and at the same time allow equal opportunity for the full and free development of each community. A parallel may be drawn between problems in the functioning of voluntary organizations and political problems in Canada. The attitudes that voluntary associations take towards the problem of finding a satisfactory basis for the creative interaction of the two communities have far-reaching consequences, both because of the example they afford, and because of the influence they exert on their members, the general public, and, in particular, politicians. Ultimately, the arrangements made between two linguistic groups in the private and public sectors are certain to be affected by the country's voluntary organizations.

The dangers of widespread segregation

256. If in their voluntary associations, economic enterprises, and artistic and intellectual concerns, Canadians become increasingly segregated into respective ghettos, they will find it more difficult to collaborate at the political level. A massive and large-scale split of voluntary associations into separate unilingual organizations, if unaccompanied by determined efforts to maintain close and meaningful contact, is likely to lead to a growing alienation of the two groups. Political collaboration tends to be easier in those areas where there are highly varied and criss-

[1] *Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, § 135.

crossing ties of other non-political kinds. Certainly, voluntary associations that facilitate interaction of Canada's two cultures in recreational, educational, occupational, and other pursuits contribute to the working out of political solutions.

257. Voluntary associations are private organizations. Therefore, in a country that treasures its freedom, voluntary associations must be allowed to carry out their affairs without interference by the state, except when their activities have public implications or when they assume certain duties on behalf of the state, as in the case of licensing members of a profession. For this reason, and because they are so numerous and varied, we have not, in contrast to our practice in other books of this *Report,* formulated any recommendations for them. In our opinion, a careful reading of the various points raised and the illustrations provided will make the members of voluntary associations more sensitive to the linguistic and cultural expression of voluntary action, and will help them to identify problems and seek solutions. In this light, generalized recommendations would be presumptuous.

258. Some people may realize that the aims of their organization, as formally laid down in its constitution, largely reflect the interests of Anglophone members of another generation, and that they could not be fully implemented today without alienating the Francophone members. Or they might suddenly perceive that Francophone members seldom participate in the process of arranging their association's programme, and that the programme does not answer their aspirations. Finally, they may become aware of the important role played by the senior permanent staff.

259. In many associations the relations between Francophone and Anglophone members could be improved. We have discussed various aspects touching on these relations and many of the means that associations have used in dealing with the difficulties they present.

260. All associations aiming to play their full part in helping Canadians to realize and profit from their country's cultural duality must accept certain basic requirements. In the first place, voluntary associations need to be "culturally aware" and sensitive to the consequences of their activities on relations between the two linguistic groups. Leaders of associations should regularly examine their procedures and activities from a cultural point of view—what one might term a "cultural relations yardstick." In speaking of this subject in Book II we said : "The aim here is to make Canadians so conscious of our cultural duality that they will be accustomed to think of cultural partnership as one of the factors to be weighed when decisions are made."[1]

[1] *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism,* II, § 803.

261. Second, voluntary associations should make equal status for the two official languages a fundamental principle. The inability to use French in the procedures and activities of most common associations has been a major stumbling-block to equal participation. In recent years, some organizations have made determined efforts to overcome this obstacle. Satisfactory communication between the two groups implies the following: adequate translation services, bilingual officers and staff, and simultaneous interpretation. The last, because of the problems associated with it, has as yet been rarely used. If centres in which simultaneous translation equipment is installed could be made available to major pan-Canadian associations, and if portable equipment could be rented at a low cost, it would help to facilitate communication at conferences and conventions. Discussions to this end might be held between the major pan-Canadian associations and the Citizenship branch of the department of Secretary of State, which is already engaged in programmes aiding these associations to promote cultural understanding. Provincial governments, too, should be willing to assist in such an undertaking. Governments have recognized the importance of voluntary associations by providing them with aids designed to make them function more effectively. There are other departments of the federal government and all provincial governments which support voluntary associations in a variety of projects. We think it appropriate and in the country's interest that associations should receive increased assistance in this area.

262. Further, in order to assure equal opportunity in common associations, the vital areas to be scrutinized are participation in decision-making, representation, and communication. We have already discussed the various ways of improving the situation in these areas.

263. More particularly, for parallel associations, we wish to stress the vital importance of keeping communications lines open. It may happen that, for valid reasons, the Francophone minority may decide to set up a separate organization. While this may perhaps provide more satisfactory service to their respective members, there is, on the other hand, a danger of isolationism for the two parallel associations. Without links between the two groups, there may be a risk of impoverishment: the associations may lose the mutual benefit of their successful initiatives and Canada may not share in their common experiences and aspirations. Today the trend is clearly away from highly integrated and centralized organizational forms to much more loosely linked structures. Modified structures must be devised which combine a high degree of decentralization with close co-operation between the cultural communities. Both sides should respond jointly to common challenges and consider goals and activities that enrich them individually and collectively.

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,[1] 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,[2] 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] André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

[2] The resignation of Jean Marchand 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 M. 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

Appendix II — A Case History[1]

To illustrate, by a concrete example, the possibility of mutual understanding and acceptance between French and English Canadians, when they are able to meet in a serene atmosphere and exchange quietly and directly (without the media of newspapers or political parties, for example), we would like briefly to mention here the exchange of visits between our Board of Directors and that of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce. This was a precedent in the history of our two movements.

Aware that the separatist wave in Quebec, certain purchasing policies of provincial government agencies, and the expression of various opinions by French-Canadian politicians were often misinterpreted and sometimes inadequately understood within Ontario business circles, our Chamber of Commerce took the initiative, towards the end of 1963, in organizing a meeting at the level indicated above.

This suggestion was warmly received by the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, and the first meeting took place in Toronto, on January 21, 1964. It was most cordial, frank but prudent. Our president, in the closing address, explained, with logic and vigour, Quebec's position. His statements were received with an open mind by our Ontario confreres.

Following the first meeting, a Joint Committee of four members on one side and four on the other side was formed, and met to study the different subjects stressed during the first meeting, particularly: the economic objectives of Quebec, the purchasing policies adopted by our provincial government, and various policies of our movement in the fields of trade and bilingualism.

On both sides, it seems that everyone was astonished to observe how easy it was to reach an understanding on all these issues when they sat around a table to discuss them in honesty and frankness, and without, in any manner, betraying the interests or viewpoints of the groups they represented.

Subsequently, there was a second meeting of our Boards of Directors in Montreal in March, 1964. As in Toronto, there were approximately a hundred in attendance, almost equally divided between each Chamber. This was a group of businessmen coming from all corners of each of the provinces. The results of the deliberations of the Joint Committee were submitted, discussed, then unanimously accepted.

[1] Excerpt from the brief of the Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce to the R.C.B.&B.

Some could claim that in accepting our points of view our Ontario colleagues yielded without conviction. This is not our opinion. In proof of this, at the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Chamber of Commerce, which subsequently took place in May, 1964, a resolution was adopted by the general assembly, without our asking or even suggesting. The unanimous resolution not only recognized the economic goals of Quebec, but, in the original text of the resolution: "Promised full support for whatever measures that changing times and historical transition may prescribe for the continuation of this great union, and to this end will subscribe to and foster whatever constitutional, economic and social evolutions that may prove to be necessary to achieve this paramount goal."

The Ontario Chamber also recommended: "That the provincial government adopt a long-range policy so as to:

a) train sufficient qualified teachers to provide instruction in at least conversational French to every elementary school student in Ontario;
b) make the teaching of oral French compulsory for the elementary grades when teachers are available;
c) in the interim period, encourage and assist the development by local boards of sound oral French programmes in elementary grades."

These resolutions thus became part of the new policies of the Ontario Chamber, and all who know the workings of our movement realize that these words imply serious involvement.

The Committee is still in existence, and will soon meet to discuss other subjects which are a source of controversy between our two provinces, and other meetings are envisioned at the level of our respective Boards of Directors. We are even, at the present time, thinking of extending this formula to other provinces.

We are of the opinion that these were human experiences which are very conclusive and indicative of measures which could, with advantage, be repeated in other areas, on condition that they are entered into with good will.

The French Commission: Canadian Welfare Council[1]

16. ... The Council recognized the need to meet the wish of French-speaking Canadians to take part in *all* the activities, general and specialized, of the Council. But there was also need to find some way to encourage them to meet among themselves, if they so desired and afford them the opportunity to draw away from the specialized interests of sectors, to integrate themselves with the over-all policies of the Council, and bring about a sound expression of opinion reflecting the general interest of the French group of the Council. After a study, the method adopted was that of the French Commission, a body with both consultative and executive functions, in which the French-speaking element of each section of the Council, including the Board of Governors, was represented.

This new plan had many advantages. For one thing, it did not move away radically from the past structure, and it gave the French group a much more definite role in the formulation of Council policy. It also provided an opportunity for French-speaking members to consult among themselves, and it counteracted to some extent the weakness and indetermination that could have resulted from the dispersion of effort through many sectors.

17. It might be useful to illustrate concretely the role of the Commission. It was first called upon to advise, in a number of circumstances, both the Board and the divisions. Institutes held under its auspices have channelled the thinking of the Council towards the French-speaking community and vice-versa. The Commission has expressed the point of view of the French-speaking members of the Council on briefs and has assisted in promoting them; it has also co-operated in the formula presentations that followed. The Commission has advised the Council on the need for bilingual staff, both for the general and for the specialized services, and it has helped in the search for competent candidates. It has assisted in obtaining financial support from French Canada and it has helped in recruiting members. The decade after 1950 was particularly active and a brief reference to major achievements follows.

18. *1950-1959*

In 1951, the Council was seriously considering moving its office to Toronto. There were various reasons for this: many of the volun-

[1] Submission by the Canadian Welfare Council to the R.C.B.&B.

teers, administrators and university people with whom the Council staff were dealing lived in that city and it was believed that travelling time and costs would be reduced if the CWC office were in Toronto. The French Commission was consulted and it advised that for the sake of national unity, of the past efforts of the Council to bring about co-operation between French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, and for the sake of the Council's efforts in advancing social services and social welfare legislation, the office should remain in Ottawa. The Commission added that if the environment of a large city were needed to pursue the Council's work, Montreal rather than Toronto should be chosen. And the Council stayed in Ottawa! This proved to be a wise decision.

In 1953, after noting that the English name of the Council had official recognition, the Commission intervened and obtained the same recognition for the French name in the by-laws of the Council.

19. The Commission has always been concerned with representation of French-speaking people on the Board and has suggested candidates each year. These for the most part are recruited from among business and professional men, and from boards of local and regional agencies. They come mostly from large and medium-sized urban communities; there are few from rural areas.

20. The Commission has studied through the years the important briefs of the Council which bear on various questions, such as assistance to the handicapped, public assistance, capital punishment, health services, lotteries, unemployment, social security, human rights, taxation and welfare, and the Canada Pension Plan. The Commission has advised and made suggestions on each of these major proposals after consulting not only its own members but also other French-speaking specialists. The same type of consultation is given when advice is sought by Council divisions.

The Commission has always been interested in the problems of structure of the Council, and the Function and Organization study (completed in 1954-55 and dealing with the purposes, the internal and external structure and the administration of the Council) offered the opportunity to clarify its relationship with the different sections. The role of the Commission is, all in all, quite delicate. It counsels and, if need be, takes certain initiatives. It is different from a divisional national committee in that it does not attempt to build its own program but rather works towards strengthening the other sections of the Council.

21. The institutes and meetings organized by the Commission are probably the activity which has most attracted the attention of the French-Canadian public to the Canadian Welfare Council. These institutes planned and organized in relation to the Council's program, have also taken into account the concerns and needs of the French-Canadian community. One could cite, for instance, the institute on foster homes (1954). For many years, the Council has been interpreting to French-Canadians the idea of foster homes for the placement of homeless children. One can guess that to a community in which the predominant type of child placement was the institution, this idea was rather shocking and brought about a lively debate. With time, however, the quarrels subsided and the soundness and reason of the Council's position were better understood. The discussion during the 1954 institute did away with the competition between opposition camps and took into account the wise use of both methods of child placement. During other institutes, it was the Council that benefited from the meeting of the two cultures. This influence was particularly felt during the institute on public assistance which was the prelude to an official statement of the Council on this subject. The emphasis on the family that is inherent in French Canada brought about some significant changes in the Council's statement.

22. *1960-1964*

As the time passed, and as various sections of the Council enjoyed more and more French participation, it became less necessary for the Commission to exercise its executive function. French participation in the functional fields such as aging, family and child welfare was evidenced by the increasing number of translations and the request for bilingual meetings, including general meetings of the Council and those of the different sections.

23. A study of the role of the Commission was then undertaken. As a result, it was decided to emphasize its role as an "advisor and consultant" within the CWC. Its rather heavy structure (65 members) was simplified. In the past, the Commission included all French representatives of the Board and national committees; it now includes only one representative from each of the divisions (to insure liaison between the two structures), three representatives from the Board and the chairmen of the Commission's subcommittees, eighteen members in all.

24. The Commission considered that its first and most urgent task was to secure official recognition of the bilingual and bicultural character of the Council, and it urged that an official position should be taken by the Board. It therefore prepared a statement which was later referred to a joint committee and then presented to the Board. Formal approval came on October 18, 1963. The Council's Executive Committee was then requested to implement the principles enunciated in the brief, which bind the Canadian Welfare Council to a policy of full bilingualism and biculturalism. So far, steps have been taken to improve the knowledge of French among the English-speaking staff to emphasize to a greater extent than in the past the bilingual presentations of numerous official media of communication (letterhead, forms, etc.). The search for French-speaking and bilingual staff for certain vacant posts has also been intensified.

25. In brief, the French Commission has been a vital and necessary agent in directing the Council's work in French Canada and in winning for it the co-operation of the French-speaking community. The Council thus has been able to serve both of the main linguistic groups of Canada, taking into account their differences and the contributions each can make. Is this to say that the task was pursued without friction or difficulties? Not at all: some people thought at times that the Commission delayed and stood in the way of certain projects or else that it encouraged the Council to adopt solutions of compromise. Others saw the Commission as a useful instrument which gave to all Council activities a truly Canadian outlook. Whatever the point of view, the Council has always deliberately promoted the integration of bilingualism and biculturalism within its structure, in spite of the problems inherent in such a situation. These problems must be approached philosophically, however, because in spite of the general goodwill of the English-speaking group there are still misunderstandings, over-sights, not to say indifference, at times. These mistakes create in certain members of the French-speaking group the feeling of "not belonging," which is frustrating to them. For the time being, the French Commission does assist in settling these differences and bridging the two elements.

Appendix IV

Quotations Originally in French, Translated into English in the Text

§ 33. « Au fossé qui semble s'être creusé entre les élus et le peuple, s'ajoute le recours à des moyens inédits, depuis le début de l'ère libérale, de pression sur le gouvernement. Les sociétés libérales en effet, outre les partis politiques, se sont données un mécanisme particulier pour permettre aux citoyens de manifester leur mécontentement contre le gouvernement. Ce mécanisme s'appelle l'association volontaire ou le groupe d'intérêt. Malheureusement, ce mécanisme est trop souvent devenu l'instrument de dirigeants qui s'en servaient pour promouvoir leurs propres intérêts plutôt que ceux de leurs membres. Les efforts actuels pour mettre un terme au règne des oligarchies aboutissent souvent à la dissolution de l'association elle-même. Ainsi, l'immense monde étudiant dans le Québec ne dispose plus d'associations pour le représenter. D'où le recours à l'action directe comme technique de pression. »

§ 94. « Il faut éviter non seulement la domination d'un groupe par l'autre, mais il faut éviter qu'un groupe semble être dominé par l'autre. Et là je trouve ça très important au point de vue psychologique, le moment qu'il y a une minorité et une majorité, on permet à la minorité de se trouver noyée, même si c'est vrai, par la majorité, et quand nos classes sont vraiment à peu près des nombres, enfin plus ou moins égaux, nous voyons que les cours communs marchent d'une façon beaucoup plus efficace, que quand le professeur sent la nécessité de, soit favoriser un groupe majoritaire, parce qu'il est majoritaire, ou de soit favoriser justement le groupe minoritaire pour la raison que c'est la minorité. »

§ 153. « Comme nous, ils ont besoin d'une association professionnelle organisée et d'entreprises économiques solides s'ils veulent survivre et s'affirmer. Isolés chacun dans leur coin, les cultivateurs sont impuissants et sont noyés dans un milieu qui leur est étranger ; organisés ils ont des cadres bien à eux et peuvent se faire entendre. »

§ 167. « [. . .] une organisation nationale qui a des membres des deux langues devrait donner la chance de former des groupes de langue française ou de langue anglaise ou des groupes qui seraient bilingues, parce qu'on permettrait ainsi d'augmenter probablement le recrutement du côté canadien-français. Je pense que c'est peut-être une des raisons pour lesquelles nos membres de langue française sont moins nombreux que dans les autres provinces.

Évidemment, ça, c'est une opinion absolument personnelle, et je dois vous dire, puisque vous vous intéressez aux attitudes, à mon avis, il y a autant de Canadiens-français qui s'opposent à cette idée-là que de Canadiens-anglais. Ce n'est pas une question de dire : on va faire un melting pot au sein de la Voix des Femmes, mais c'est que les Canadiens-français eux-mêmes [. . .] ne veulent pas avoir l'air de se séparer — elles ne veulent pas en fait se séparer du reste de nos compatriotes de langue anglaise, parce que nous travaillons toutes pour un bien commun, pour un objectif commun.

Mais au simple point de vue pratique, je crois que ceci nous a nui, en définitive, et a peut-être nui à notre mouvement.

Si on pouvait simplement s'apercevoir que le fait pour une section locale d'être de langue française uniquement, ce n'est pas un geste de séparatisme, ce n'est pas un geste de protestation, mais une formule de travail qui nous permet d'être plus efficace et de rendre un plus grand service, d'avoir plus de membres. »