



CONCEPT PAPER

FROM VITALITY TO VITALITY OF MEMORY

Conceptual Foundations of the Role of Memory and Heritage in the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities

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A Word from the Librarian and Archivist of Canada

Under the *Official Languages Act*, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), like any institution under the authority of the Government of Canada, has the duty to take “positive measures” for “enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development”. Furthermore, under the *Library and Archives of Canada Act*, LAC also has the mission “to support the development of the library and archival communities.”

While the mandate is clear, the fact remains that for a memory institution like LAC, supporting the vitality or development of official language minority communities (OLMCs) may not be as obvious as it seems, because it raises the question of the relationship between memory and vitality.

In order to fulfill these obligations as appropriately as possible, a strategic research project on the issue was launched in 2017. As you will read in this concept paper, LAC’s proactive attitude has enabled it to base its actions in support of OLMC vitality on in-depth analysis and evidence. LAC’s approach is also part of a broader one that encompasses memory and heritage, including documentary heritage.

Moreover, in its strategic approach, LAC was able to leverage its close ties with the academic community, throughout the process and especially during the validation of the final report. Thanks to the support of the Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française (University of Ottawa) and the Avie Bennett Historica Chair in Canadian History (York University), thirteen high-calibre experts, including several from the University of Ottawa, participated in a day of study to validate the concept, propose improvements to the document and identify avenues for follow-up.

LAC is also pleased to learn that, in the wake of the report, a partnership with several university researchers is being implemented to continue the research, further strengthening the close ties already established between LAC and its university partners. Other projects of this type, aimed at validating the concept in the field, are also taking shape in OLMC circles.

In conclusion, LAC intends to continue its actions to fully meet its obligations in support of OLMC memory vitality. We also value and plan to continue our partnerships in support of OLMC with the archival and library communities and with the academic world.

Happy reading.

Leslie Weir
Librarian and Archivist of Canada

A Word from the Official Languages Champion at Library and Archives Canada

How do memory institutions, including Library and Archives Canada (LAC) support the vitality of official language minority communities (OLMCs)?

While simple at first glance, this question proved to be more complex than it seemed. We found it necessary to revisit the conceptual foundations that lay at the heart of this requirement.

It was essential to understand how memory and heritage, including documentary heritage, could effectively promote the development of these communities. To put their relationship with the past at the heart of their culture required examining not only the contribution of memory to the concept of vitality as we had always understood it, but also defining its essential characteristics. This fundamental question, for these communities as well as for our federal memory institutions, therefore required further research and led to this concept paper.

As you will soon read, the potential avenues are particularly interesting.

First, our review of the concept of vitality and its evolution, which is more generally used than the concept of development, shows how important it is to broaden our perception of OLMC vitality by integrating the historical and heritage dimension.

Second, the proposed model of memory vitality provides a useful framework to capture the overall memory dynamic and allows us to understand the contribution of documentary heritage to these communities. The application of this preliminary model to the community of Maillardville, in British Columbia, allows us to understand, concretely, how such a vitality of memory is manifested and its contribution to the future of the community.

Finally, and more generally, this report opens up some very stimulating perspectives for organizations concerned with the preservation and enhancement of OLMC memory and heritage. The proposed model could, for instance, help them analyze their environment and maximize the impact of their actions. Similarly, for federal memory institutions such as LAC, the model provides a framework to better integrate memory into the Government of Canada's concerted actions and to promote the establishment of tools that allow for a better application of the *Official Languages Act* and its Part VII.

I am convinced that this most relevant report will inspire you.

Linda Savoie
Corporate Secretary and Official Languages Champion
Library and Archives Canada

Executive Summary

- Under the *Official Languages Act* (OLA), Library and Archives Canada (LAC), like all other Government of Canada memory institutions, must “enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and support . . . their development.” The issue is to define how history and heritage, including documentary heritage, can contribute to the vitality of official language minority communities (OLMCs).
- This concept paper aims to answer that question. After identifying the conceptual premises and some definitions, it proposes a four-step approach.
- **Review the concept of vitality to include memory and vitality of memory:**
 - A review of the evolution of the concept shows that, having focused first on a demolinguistic (demographics and linguistics) aspect, both research and the legal provisions adopted have led to a broader definition.
 - However, throughout this process, the aspect of the historicity of OLMCs, supported by history and heritage, has been neglected.
- **Define vitality of memory:**
 - It is important to understand the phenomenon of memory as a whole, in order to effectively support the social bond that it creates.
 - *Definition:* Vitality of memory refers to the strength and diversity with which the memory of a community is expressed in a defined real and symbolic space. It can be seen in the presence of the past in various areas of the collective life of a community. In the present, it reflects common experiences over time and the community bond that makes it possible. It is the result of and supports the ability of the minority community to assert itself as distinct.
 - *Characteristics:* Five major traits characterize vitality of memory —multiplicity, intensity, diversity, openness/isolation and sharing.
 - *Levels:* There are three levels.
 - *Components:* Memory works like an ecosystem, which is seen in many ways in the environment and the culture of a community, so it is important to understand all of its facets. Modelling them provides a dynamic portrait of vitality of memory.
- **See how documentary heritage contributes to vitality of memory:**
 - Documentary heritage can have two types of effects: direct impacts (the presence of the minority language in the public space) and those that are induced (supporting the memory of the community).
- **Consider the example of Maillardville, British Columbia:**
 - Using a concrete example, we see how the concept of vitality of memory helps in understanding the manifestations of memory in a community and, beyond that, their contribution to the vitality of the community.

Introduction

In 2005, an amendment to the *Official Languages Act* (OLA) required that Government of Canada institutions take “positive measures” to “enhance the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and support and assist their development”.¹ However, the OLA does not define “positive measures” nor the “vitality” and “development” of official language minority communities (OLMCs), which raises various problems of interpretation, as evidenced by the Gascon decision, delivered in May 2018.²

For Library and Archives Canada (LAC), like all Government of Canada memory and heritage institutions, including museums and historical sites, the resulting issue seems very simple. To determine the positive measures to be taken, we simply need to know, how does heritage—particularly documentary heritage—contribute to a community’s vitality?

However, answering that question is far from easy, as the answer stems from two complex and interrelated aspects. On the one hand, we must characterize the “vitality” of a community so we can take appropriate measures to support its development. On the other hand, we must consider the role of history, heritage and memory—a cultural reference ecosystem that includes documentary heritage—in that vitality. In short, it is a matter of integrating the historicity of communities and their presence over time, their vitality of memory to some extent, a major aspect of the identity of OLMCs and of society as a whole, but one that has been somewhat ignored to date. By identifying the characteristics of a community’s vitality relating to history and heritage, including documentary heritage, we should be better able to adjust LAC’s actions.

This concept paper has four parts.

First, we present the conceptual and methodological premises that we relied upon.

We then come back to the very concept of vitality and its evolution. This is essentially a literature review to identify trends and changes in the approach or definition of vitality. At the same time, we will look at the role assigned to memory and heritage, vitality of memory, to draw some conclusions from it.

We then propose a modelling of vitality of memory. This involves defining its components, characteristics and levels. This model, still in the exploratory stage, also includes some parameters related to the role of documentary heritage in vitality of memory.

¹. Subsections 41(1) and 41(2) of the *Official Languages Act* (R.S.C., 1985, c. 31).

². In the case involving the Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique, Employment and Social Development Canada and the Canada Employment Insurance Commission concerning the provision of services in French under a federal-provincial agreement, Justice Denis Gascon ruled against the Fédération on May 23, 2018, regarding its claims concerning parts IV and VII, particularly on the interpretation of what constitutes “positive measures.” In Justice Gascon’s view, the obligation is general and gives departments full discretion in the implementation. The decision was appealed. Justice Denis Gascon, “Reasons and decision in the case between the Fédération des francophones de la Colombie-Britannique, applicant, and Employment and Social Development Canada and the Canada Employment Insurance Commission, defendants, and the Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada, intervenor,” Ottawa, Ont., May 23, 2018, Docket T-1107-13, Citation 2018 FC 530, 178 pages.

Finally, in a preliminary field validation effort, the model underwent a preliminary test in a Francophone minority community: Maillardville in British Columbia. The preliminary data are presented in Appendix 2.

Methodology

The research first consisted of a literature review. This review focused on the concept of vitality and its evolution, including various reports and articles that addressed that issue, including those produced or supported by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL) and the Department of Canadian Heritage (PCH). The literature review also focused on a reflection on the history and heritage of these communities and their various manifestations.

This review examined the concept of vitality to suggest the concept of vitality of memory and proposed modelling it. Both the definition and the modelling are based primarily on previous field surveys that were conducted to validate the concept of vitality, retaining those that focused on the historical and heritage aspect. The data were supplemented by a survey of nine archivists and specialized historians conducted in the fall of 2017 and a literature search.³

After this paper was prepared, discussions were held with various researchers. First, the preliminary results were presented at scientific conferences and to OCOL.⁴ There were also exchanges with various researchers in the fall of 2019 concerning current research and its potential for supporting the vitality of OLMCs and the development of research into their vitality and memory. As a result, three partners—the Centre for Research on French Canadian Culture (CRCCF) at the University of Ottawa, the Avie Bennett Historica Canada Chair in Canadian History at York University, and Library and Archives Canada—felt it was important to submit the report for discussion and validation by high-level academic researchers interested in these issues.

To that end, a day of study was needed to discuss the report and more specifically the concept and its potential in terms of research development. Fourteen high-level researchers⁵—including six research chairs and three heads of research centres—were invited to “contribute to a shared reflection on a key aspect of the identity of these OLMCs and to foster full recognition of the role of history and heritage in their vitality.” [translation]

That was before COVID-19 came into the picture.

³. They were Gratien Allaire, Marthe Brideau, Claude Couture, Patrick Donovan, Yves Frenette, Michel Lalonde, Gilles Lesage, Lorraine O'Donnell and Martin Pâquet. The questionnaires were completed, or the interviews conducted, in October and November 2017.

⁴. “Réflexions préliminaires sur les impacts sociétaux du patrimoine documentaire en milieu linguistique minoritaire,” 33rd Conference of the Congrès mondial du Conseil international d'études francophones, University of Ottawa, June 19, 2019; “Réflexions préliminaires sur les impacts sociétaux du patrimoine documentaire en milieu linguistique minoritaire. Les institutions de mémoire fédérales et la vitalité mémorielle des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (CLOSM),” Conference of the Association des archivistes du Québec, Gatineau, Quebec, June 7, 2019; “Memory Vitality: A Proposed Conceptual Foundation in Support of OLMCs Vitality from Federal Memory Institutions,” Presentation to the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, June 16, 2020.

⁵. See the list in Appendix 1.

However, given the strategic interest of the approach, the decision was made to continue, virtually. A preliminary version of the report was submitted to the invited researchers for comments in June 2020. Following the comments received, two discussion sessions were held on the report and its follow-up on October 2 and 9, 2020, respectively. Several proposals were made for improvements and have been included in this report. Overall, however, the researchers all highlighted the relevance of the report and the enormous potential of this research for preserving and promoting documentary heritage and OLMC memory more generally.

Conceptual and Methodological Premises

This research is based on a number of conceptual and methodological premises that must be clarified at the outset.

From the French concept of *épanouissement* to that of *vitalité* of OLMCs

The French concept of *épanouissement* in relation to OLMCs appeared in 1988 in an amendment to the OLA. At that time, a general statement was added, noting in section 41 of Part VII in French that the “gouvernement fédéral s’engage à favoriser l’épanouissement des minorités francophones et anglophones du Canada et à appuyer leur développement, ainsi qu’à promouvoir la pleine reconnaissance et l’usage du français et de l’anglais dans la société canadienne.” [“The Government of Canada is committed to enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society.”]

This inclusion, declaratory in nature, did not impose any obligation, which would be changed in 2005. However, the concept of *épanouissement* in the French version of the OLA is not defined, and the English version, which uses the term “vitality,” does not provide any clarification. The French equivalent of that term—*vitalité*—would be used more commonly in French, as seen in documents from Canadian Heritage.

We cannot make any assumptions about the ongoing revision of the OLA, but the distinction between the French concepts of *épanouissement* and *vitalité* is significant in terms of memory and heritage. Indeed, according to the *Larousse* dictionary, *épanouissement* is defined as “the act of flourishing, being fulfilled” [translation], while *vitalité* is the “quality of someone, of a group, whose energy, dynamism, is manifested through activity. . . . Ability to produce many important results.”⁶ [translation] For the latter term, the Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales (CNRTL) in France states that, by analogy, *vitalité* means “Ability to develop, to perpetuate, to produce results.”⁷ [translation] In short, given its characteristics associated with dynamism and maintenance, the concept of *vitalité* is clearly more appropriate in French. In addition, as noted in a document from Canadian Heritage, “The term ‘vitality’ is used in the English version of the *Official Languages Act*, while the French version uses the term ‘épanouissement.’ In common practice, however, the French term ‘vitalité’ is preferred over the concept of ‘épanouissement.’ ”⁸ [translation]

Vitalité is therefore the preferred term in the original version of this paper, written in French. This is not an issue in the English version, since “vitality” is the term used in the OLA.

6. Entries for “Épanouissement” and “Vitalité,” *Larousse, Langue française*, <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais>.

7. “Vitalité,” Centre national de ressources textuelles et lexicales, <https://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/vitalit%C3%A9/substantif>.

8. Canadian Heritage, “Cadre de référence sur la vitalité des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (CLOSM),” working paper, May 2012, p. 15.

OLMCs and diversity

According to the generally accepted definition, OLMCs are English-speaking communities in Quebec and French-speaking communities outside Quebec.

Again, however, we could ask, who makes up these communities? Some research has focused on a typology of these communities.⁹ That said, following the precept that to define is to exclude, and in a context of reflection on an “inclusive definition” of the Francophone community in Canada,¹⁰ it seems that a general and inclusive definition, the commonly accepted one, is more appropriate for understanding the memory dynamics in place.

Of course, this means taking into account the diversity of these communities, whether it involves differences of origin—due to migration within Canada or immigration—class, gender, etc.

About collective memory

Many studies have been done on the concepts of memory, places of memory or the relationship between memory and history. Historians, sociologists, philosophers and many other researchers have pondered this. While it is not within the scope of this document to make a final assessment, it is nonetheless important to clarify the foundation upon which this document is based.

Indeed, we must consider the diversity of approaches. As noted by sociologist Marie-Claire Lafabre,¹¹ three main paradigms can be distinguished: that of “realms of memory” from Pierre Nora, “working through memory” from Paul Ricoeur or “frameworks of memory” from Maurice Halbwachs. For Lafabre, memory is “finding the past in the present.”¹² [translation] This reflection is in line with what was proposed by Ricoeur:¹³ inspired by St. Augustine, for whom “memory is the present of the past,” he tries, unlike Nora, to address the overall dynamic of realizing the past in the present of a society. Similarly, acknowledging that “memory is the matrix of history,” he proposes a dialogical, not hegemonic, relationship between history and memory.

⁹. See in particular Chedly Belkhodja, Christophe Traisnel and Mathieu Wade, “Typology of Canada’s Francophone Minority Communities. Executive Summary,” Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012, 9 p.; Mathieu Charron, “Les communautés francophones en situation minoritaire : un portrait de famille,” *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 38–39 (2014), pp. 153–196; André Langlois and Anne Gilbert, “Typologie et vitalité des communautés francophones minoritaires du Canada,” *Canadian Geographer*, 50(4) (Winter 2006), pp. 432–449.

¹⁰. Sylvie Lafrenière and Peter Dorrington, “Repenser la francophonie canadienne,” *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario*, 35–36 (2010), pp. 7–12; Gratien Allaire, “La Francophonie canadienne, un ensemble légitime en changement,” *Minorités linguistiques et société / Linguistic Minorities and Society*, 5 (2015), pp. 172–196.

¹¹. Marie-Claire Lafabre, “Paradigmes de la mémoire,” *Transcontinentales*, 5 (2007), pp. 139–147; “Usages et mésusages de la notion de mémoire,” *Critique internationale*, 7 (2000), pp. 48–57; “La ‘mémoire collective’ entre sociologie de la mémoire et sociologie des souvenirs?,” pre-publication, 2016, <https://isidore.science/document/10670%2F1.4v0e9c>.

¹². Marie-Claire Lafabre, “Usages et mésusages,” loc. cit., p. 49.

¹³. Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, 642 p.; Pierre Nora et al., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 3 volumes: V. 1 La République (1 vol., 1984), V. 2 La Nation (3 vol., 1986), V. 3 Les France (3 vol., 1992), Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque illustrée des histoires coll.

This societal approach to the relationship with time and the work of memory has obviously been supported by various researchers, primarily in sociology, as seen in the interest in Memory Studies. Among these works, we note the reflections of Halbwachs, Connerton, Fentress and Wickham,¹⁴ and many others who have been interested in this work on memory, i.e. how a society fits into time and, as such, how memory contributes to the dynamic and entrenchment of the community. We therefore subscribe to this perspective of shared memory.

Some useful definitions

The following definitions have been used for the purposes of this discussion:

- **Historicity** is understood here to be the community's presence in time.
- **Memory** includes all of the various manifestations of remembering the past in a community's present.
- **Heritage** includes all traces left by the past. There are three major components of this:
 - Material heritage, whether it be the built environment (buildings, cultural landscapes) or artifacts
 - Intangible heritage, including narratives and traditions
 - Documentary heritage, consisting of archives and library collections
- **History** is understood to be the knowledge, built from research using a proven methodology, related to the past and that informs the community.
- **Vitality of memory** is the strength and diversity with which a community's memory is expressed in a specific real and symbolic space.

Archives and collective memory

The reflection on collective memory has raised some interest in the archival community. Although it has not been shared much outside the circles in question, this critical analysis has given rise to a new paradigm. Indeed, beyond simply managing documents inherited from the past, archivists are increasingly recognized as playing a role as memory agents.¹⁵

¹⁴. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992; Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, New York: Harper & Row, 1980; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 121 p.; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, New Perspectives on the Past coll., 1992, 229 p.

¹⁵. Major contributions include Brian Brothman, "The Past that Archives Keep: Memory, History, and the Preservation of Archival Records," *Archivaria* 51 (Spring 2001), pp. 48–80; Martine Cardin, *Archivistique: information, organisation, mémoire. L'exemple du Mouvement coopératif Desjardins, 1900-1990*, Sillery: Septentrion, 1995, 456 p.; Barbara L. Craig, "Selected Themes in the Literature on Memory and Their Pertinence to Archives," *American Archivist*, 65(2) (Fall/Winter 2002), pp. 276–289; Terry Cook, "Evidence, Memory, Identity, and Community: Four Shifting Archival Paradigms," *Archival Science*, 13(2–3) (June 2013), pp. 95–120; Terry Cook, "Remembering the Future: Appraisal of Records and the Role of Archives in Constructing Social Memory" in F.X. Blouin Jr. and W.G. Rosenberg (eds.), *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Santer Seminar*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007, pp. 169–181; Terry Cook, "Archives, Evidence and Memory: Thoughts on a Divided Tradition," *Archival Issues*, 22(2) (1997), pp. 177–182; Trond Jacobsen, Ricardo L. Punzalan and Margaret L. Hedstrom, "Invoking 'collective memory': mapping the emergence of a concept in archival science," *Archival Science*, 13(2–3) (June 2013), pp. 217–251; Eric Ketelaar, "Archives as Spaces of Memory," *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 29(1) (2008), pp. 9–27; Eric Ketelaar, "Sharing: Collected Memories in Communities of Records,"

However, as noted by Anne Klein,¹⁶ this recognition also implies a commitment in society's use of archives. That is the social purpose for which archives play a role of memory support and help to maintain a living memory. While acquiring and preserving archives play a key role that cannot be underestimated, vitality of memory is based on the various manifestations of archives in culture, from the production of historical volumes to that of works of art and various types of public manifestations of the past, which are usually based on documentary heritage to enrich content. For Klein, "archivists can no longer be the impartial and neutral guardians cited by Jenkinson but become agents of the writing of history, grappling with political responsibilities, and a mediator with power over the passing down of heritage."¹⁷ [translation]

However, Klein argues that archives are not rigid, and she calls for a review of the "classic relationship between archives and memory." [translation] It is no longer a matter of seeing them simply as a heritage of the past, because "Memory becomes a construct that always stems from the past. In that perspective, if archives create memories, they do so under the influence of many contexts. With that in mind, archives are understood as a means of creating memory rather than a form of memory."¹⁸ [translation]

In short, archives and their contribution to the vitality of a community can only be considered by understanding the overall memory dynamics within a cultural ecosystem in which reference to the past—the community's memory—is manifested in various areas of life. It is therefore a matter of seeing documentary heritage not only as a "repository of memory" but as material that supports the various ways of expressing the relationship to the community's past.

A few authors have expressed this concern, particularly with regard to the archives of Francophone communities, including Carole Barnabé, Lucie Hotte, Michel Lalonde and Geneviève Piché,¹⁹ who emphasize in particular the social role of dissemination, unlike other articles that more generally list the resources available.²⁰ However, this perspective can equally be applied to documentary heritage as a whole, understood here as all published works and archives.

Archives and Manuscripts, 33(1) (2005), pp. 44–61; Eric Ketelaar, "Cultivating Archives: Meanings and Identities," *Archival Science*, 12 (2002), pp. 19–33; Laura Millar, "Touchstones: Considering the Relationship between Memory and Archives," *Archivaria*, 61 (2006), pp. 105–126; Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory," *Archival Science*, 2 (2002), pp. 1–19; Carolyn Steedman, "The Space of Memory: In an Archive," *History of Human Science*, 11(4) (1998), pp. 65–83.

¹⁶. Anne Klein, *Archive(s), mémoire, art : éléments pour une archivistique critique*, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2019, 264 p.

¹⁷. Ibid., p. 109.

¹⁸. Ibid., p. 110.

¹⁹. Carole Barnabé, "Le service des archives du Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface : son établissement et son avenir," Master of Arts Thesis, Department of History, University of Manitoba, 2002; Lucie Hotte, "Construire la mémoire d'une communauté : le cas de la francophonie ontarienne. Patrimoine oral et valorisation à l'ère du numérique," *Port Acadie*, 30–31 (Fall 2016–Spring 2017), pp. 15–31; Michel Lalonde, "Mutations identitaires et mémoires, archives et mobilisation" in Michelle Landry, Martin Pâquet and Anne Gilbert (eds.), *Mémoires et mobilisations*, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, Culture française d'Amérique coll., 2015, pp. 293–307; Geneviève Piché, "Le Centre de recherche en civilisation Canadienne-française (CRCCF) de l'Université d'Ottawa : 60 ans dévoués à la mémoire documentaire des francophones du Canada," *Archives*, 49(1) (Hiver 2019).

²⁰. See in particular the special editions of the journal *Archives* on the Francophonie outside Quebec (*Archives*, 36, 1 and 2, 2004–2005) and Claude Roberto, "Identité francophone et archives en milieu minoritaire franco-albertain (Canada)," *Comma*, 2013(1) (January 2013), pp. 85–92.

Identifying manifestations of vitality of memory

The concept of vitality itself is polysemic and includes different realities. Also, as noted by Canadian Heritage in a 2012 document, “Although numerous models for capturing vitality have been developed in the academic communities, the practical application of these models has yet to be established in terms of policy development and the delivery of official language support programs.”²¹ [translation]

In this paper, however, we want to highlight the heritage and memory component. A review of literature on the evolution of the concept, including validation studies, helped us to identify potential indicators that would allow memory institutions to identify their contribution to vitality of memory and could thereby guide them in implementing Part VII of the OLA.

To define these manifestations of vitality of memory, this research is based on a body of work carried out in the field to validate the concept of vitality as expressed in the OLA. Indeed, in recent years, various projects have been carried out to concretely define what is meant by vitality and, to that end, have somewhat defined a certain number of “indicators” that were validated in the field. We see this approach in four major projects:

- From 2006 to 2010, OCOL conducted nine studies on indicators in nine communities or series of communities. These studies were published and are available online.
- From 2012 to 2016, as part of the development and validation of the *Frame of Reference for the Vitality of Official-Language Minority Communities*, nine other studies examined various characteristics of their vitality.
- From 2005 to 2010, the project at the University of Ottawa on the vitality of Francophone communities examined the daily lives of residents of about 30 communities. In addition to a report, which was published as a book²² that presents a few case studies, more substantial reports were produced, of which only some 10 documents remain.
- From 2013 to 2017, the Fédération culturelle canadienne-française conducted a study on cultural life in 20 communities to identify the broad characteristics of cultural centres.

In all, field research examined 68 communities.²³ Of these field analyses, we have selected those that have examined, to a greater or lesser extent, the concept of memory and heritage. Surprisingly, this is generally a blind spot. The ones that garnered the most attention were the validation studies from OCOL on Anglophone communities in the city of Québec and the Eastern Townships (2008) and nine case studies conducted under the auspices of PCH²⁴ to validate its *Frame of Reference for the Vitality of OLMCs*.

²¹. Canadian Heritage, “Cadre de référence sur la vitalité des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (CLOSM),” working paper, May 2012, p. 15.

²². Anne Gilbert (ed.), *Territoires francophones : Études géographiques sur la vitalité des communautés francophones du Canada*, Québec: Septentrion, 2010, 424 p.

²³. This also excludes the series of indicator documents on 132 communities produced by PCH in 2017–2018 and available online.

²⁴. These documents were not published.

That said, to fully understand what vitality of memory is, an exploratory model needed to be developed, and this model still needs to be perfected. This research approaches memory as an ecosystem of references to the past in which a community evolves; it includes documentary heritage. In this respect, our approach differs from most—if not all—research on memory and its contribution, as other research generally relates to the relationship between history and memory or a specific aspect, such as heritage.²⁵

Given that such a systemic approach remains largely unexplored, to attempt to set the parameters, we needed to create a model based on the following in particular:

- a critical analysis of the field validation studies on the concept of vitality;
- a critical analysis of the *Frame of Reference for the Vitality of OLMCs* by examining the relationships of its various elements with the memory and heritage of communities;

²⁵. While not providing a comprehensive list, we note in particular Michel Bock, “Se souvenir et oublier : la mémoire du Canada français hier et aujourd’hui” in J.Y. Thériault, A. Gilbert and L. Cardinal (eds.), *L’espace francophone en milieu minoritaire au Canada : nouveaux enjeux, nouvelles mobilisations*, Montréal: Fides, 2008, pp. 161–203; Michel Bock, “Le sort de la mémoire dans la construction historique de l’identité franco-ontarienne. Partie II : mémoire et fragmentation. L’évolution de la problématique identitaire en Ontario français,” Proceedings of the 2004 annual symposium of the Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française, University of Ottawa, March 5, 2004, *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 18 (Automne 2004), pp. 119–126; Paul Dubé, “Récit de vie et mémoire, à la fois battante (Histoire) et battue (des histoires), usurpée par un passéisme identitaire” in Michelle Landry, Martin Pâquet and Anne Gilbert (eds.), *Mémoires et mobilisations*. Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, Culture française d’Amérique coll., 2015, pp. 241–263; Serge Dupuis, “La mémoire en milieu minoritaire francophonie et l’expérience de la Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario (1942-2015)” in Martin Pâquet (ed.), *Les usages du passé en francophonie nord-américaine*, Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, Culture française d’Amérique coll., 2017; Anne Gilbert and Danielle Migeon, “Mémoires d’ici, mémoires d’ailleurs,” *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario*, 42 (2017), pp. 13–51; Anne Gilbert, Joseph Yvon Thériault and Michel Bock (eds.), *Entre lieux et mémoire : l’inscription de la francophonie canadienne dans la durée*, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, Amérique française coll., 2009; André Langlois, Michel Phipps and Denis Leroux, “L’analyse des paysages ethnoculturels de l’Ontario de l’Est et du Pontiac (Québec),” *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 37(102) (1993), pp. 451–638; Michelle Landry, Martin Pâquet and Anne Gilbert (eds.), *Mémoires et mobilisations*, Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, Culture française d’Amérique coll., 2015, 318 p.; André Magord, “Histoire, mémoire et identité au sein d’une minorité franco-canadienne : les acadiens” in Marc Bergère, Hélène Harter, Catherine Hinault, Éric Pierre and Jean-François Tanguy (eds.), *Mémoires canadiennes*, Rennes, France: Presses universitaires de Rennes, Des Amériques coll., 2018, pp. 177–185; É.-Martin Meunier and Joseph Yvon Thériault (eds.), *Les impasses de la mémoire : histoire, filiation, nation et religion*, Montréal: Fides, 2007; Lorraine O’Donnell, “La diversité, la pauvreté et le capital historique et social des communautés d’expression anglaise du Québec” in Michèle Vatz Laaroussi, Estelle Bernier and Lucille Guilbert (eds.), *Les collectivités locales au cœur de l’intégration des immigrants : Questions identitaires et stratégies régionales*, Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 2013; Martin Pâquet and Serge Dupuis (eds.), *Faire son temps. Usages publics du passé dans les francophonies nord-américaines*, Québec: Presses de l’Université Laval, 2018, 352 p.; Michael Poplyansky, “Le poids de la mémoire dans la francophonie canadienne : d’hier à aujourd’hui,” *Social history / Histoire sociale*, 49(100) (November 2016), pp. 685–692; Stéphanie St-Pierre, “Présentation : Découvertes et colonisation : le rôle de l’histoire dans le discours d’enracinement au Canada français,” <https://www.usainteanne.ca/nouvelles/20141030132/creaf/presentation-decouvertes-et-colonisation-le-role-de-l-histoire-dans-le-discours-d-enracinement-au-canada-francais>, accessed January 23, 2020. For the Anglophone community in Quebec, see also in particular Lorraine O’Donnell, “The Historical Diversity of English-Speaking Quebec as a Public Project: A Preliminary Strategic Analysis,” *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne*, 8(2) (Spring 2010), pp. 33–37; Alexandra Mills, Désirée Rochat and Steven High, “Telling Stories From Montreal’s Negro Community Centre Fonds: The Archives as Community-Engaged Classroom,” *Archivaria: The Journal of the Association of Canadian Archivists*, 89 (Spring 2020), pp. 34–68; and the works of Paul Zanzanian, including “Historical consciousness and metaphor: Charting new directions for grasping human historical sense-making patterns for knowing and acting in time,” *Historical Encounters*, 2(1) (2015), pp. 16–33; “Mobilizing Historical Consciousness for Concerted Social Action: English-Speaking Quebec’s Community Leaders and Their Quest for Group Vitality,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada*, 51(1) (2019), pp. 111–133.

- a survey of reputable historians, researchers and archivists, conducted in 2017²⁶.

We therefore hypothesize that vitality of memory is seen in all traits or references to a community's past:

- in the environment in which the community exists;
- in cultural practices in both historical and artistic societies;
- in cultural productions that refer to it, whether historical, literary or artistic works;
- in the production conditions for such memory (archives, dedicated organizations, etc.);
- in various more personal practices (family transmission, etc.).

Together, these manifestations, for which the categorization and structure can still be largely improved, give us a portrait of the presence of memory in a community's present and, consequently, indicators to measure that vitality of memory, which is expressed in many ways.

²⁶. See note 3.

Part 1: Vitality: The Role of Memory

1.1. The emergence of the concept of vitality

Over time, the concept of vitality has been the subject of intensive research, particularly until about 2016.

Initial efforts focused on the “overall” vitality of OLMCs; based on work from the 1970s and 1980s, the research is essentially characterized by demographic and sociolinguistic data, particularly in relation to language practices.

The adoption of the changes to the OLA in 2005 marked a turning point; the concept, as set out in the Act, had to be implemented. The reflection that began, first within OCOL and then at Canadian Heritage—which proposed a frame of reference in 2012—included a broader societal approach, although still largely demolinguistic in nature. However, fieldwork to validate the parameters identified revealed some traits related to memory and heritage.

At the same time, there has been research on additional dimensions of vitality. Researchers are reflecting on the concept of institutional completeness, i.e. how institutional structures support a community’s vitality. Similarly, a large project was launched by Anne Gilbert in 2005 to examine the spatial aspect of vitality. For its part, the Fédération culturelle canadienne-française launched a survey on cultural hubs (2016–2018).

Overall, we see that the concept of vitality has been expanded over time, marking the shift from a demolinguistic measure to a more sustained integration of culture in the broader sense in the vitality of OLMCs. Moreover, despite the above, memory practices have been given little place as a fundamental element of identity and vitality.

Research on “vitality” peaked between 2005 and 2016. However, given the importance of memory practices in the identity of these communities, it would be appropriate at this time to give memory its rightful place again.

Now, let us look more closely at this evolution.

1.1.1 An ethnolinguistic definition of vitality

The issue of assessing the vitality of minorities, particularly Francophones in Canada, has been the subject of major political debates, leading to discussions about their viability. This issue is still relevant, as seen in the recent debate about the position taken by Denise Bombardier on the weekly television show *Tout le monde en parle* in October 2018.²⁷ In addition, although facing different challenges, including its identity, the fate of the Anglophone community in Quebec is also the subject of reflection.

²⁷ René Landry, “Francophonie canadienne : tout le monde en parle de Denise Bombardier,” *Radio-Canada*, October 22, 2018, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/nouvelle/1131247/denise-bombardier-tout-monde-en-parle-tlme-p-francophonie-acadie>, accessed July 17, 2018.

Clearly, beyond the political discussions, the issue of disappearance has prompted reflection on how to quantify linguistic assimilation. As a result, the initial research in the wake of that conducted by Richard Arès²⁸ primarily uses Canadian census data to “measure” the linguistic vitality of Francophone minority communities. This reliance on statistics presents a demonstration of assimilation that is being explored by Charles Castonguay, a professor of statistics at the University of Ottawa.²⁹

In the 1980s, there was more in-depth reflection on the concept of linguistic vitality, a long process that began in particular with the works of Giles, Bourhis and Taylor in 1977. These authors examine this vitality based on three types of variables: group status or recognition, demographic strength and institutional support.³⁰

In the 1990s and 2000s, that initial research was followed by important work that would refine the concept by more closely examining the demolinguiistic dimensions. Among these researchers, Bourhis and Landry are the most prolific. They state the following:

The notion of group vitality provides a conceptual tool to analyze the sociostructural variables affecting the strength of language communities within multilingual settings (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, 1977). The vitality of a language community is defined as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup settings” (Giles et al., 1977: 308). The more vitality a language community enjoys, the more likely it is that it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in the given intergroup context. . . . Three broad dimensions of socio-structural variables influence the vitality of language communities: demography, institutional support and status.³¹

In short, ethnolinguistic vitality is essentially determined by a group’s linguistic practices, which are supported in particular by demography and community institutions.

Efforts would be made to move beyond that demolinguiistic framework. For example, in 2001, Michael O’Keefe acknowledged that his “publication will mostly focus on the demographic elements of vitality,” but he nonetheless proposes a list of key factors supporting that vitality:³²

Symbolic: Is the language an official language? Are there official activities that cannot be accomplished in this language? Are there areas where the language is prohibited?

Demographic: What are the numbers, proportion, fertility, etc. of the language community?

²⁸. Marcel Martel, *Le deuil d’un pays imaginé : rêves, luttes et déroute du Canada français : les rapports entre le Québec et la francophonie canadienne, 1867-1975*, Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1997, p. 83.

²⁹. “Charles Castonguay,” Wikipedia, .

³⁰. Anne Gilbert, André Langlois, Rodrigue Landry and Edmund Auger, “L’environnement et la vitalité communautaire des minorités francophones : vers un modèle conceptuel,” *Francophonies d’Amérique*, 20 (Automne 2005), pp. 51–62. See also Howard Giles, Richard Y. Bourhis and Donald Taylor, “Towards a Theory of Language in Ethnic Group Relations” in Howard Giles (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity and Inter-Group Relations*, London: Academic Press, 1977, pp. 307–348.

³¹. Richard Y. Bourhis and Rodrigue Landry, “Group Vitality, Cultural Autonomy and the Wellness of Language Minorities” in Richard Y. Bourhis (ed.), *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*, Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 2012, p. 24.

³². Michael O’Keefe, *New Canadian Perspectives. Francophone Minorities: Assimilation and Community Vitality*, 2nd edition, Ottawa: Canadian Heritage, 2001, 107 p.

Institutional: Are services (governmental and other) available in this language? How complete a range of institutions are available to the language community? Does the linguistic community manage and control its own institutions?

Education: To what extent is access to quality education available in this language?

Status and prestige: Is the language one that is viewed as prestigious, e.g. is it used internationally, in key national institutions, does it facilitate travel, open access to cultural materials/products, or is it spoken widely by the elite within a society?

Identity: The sense of community can be an important consideration. What is the value members attach to their identity as members of the linguistic community? How important is language to personal identity?

Utility: What is the economic and social utility of the language? As utility is not only economic, non-economic motivations should be considered as well. Is access to modern communications media possible in the language? Does the language facilitate travel to desirable destinations, and does it widen cultural horizons?³³

In short, while initially seen as primarily ethnolinguistic, i.e. mainly, if not solely, associated with the presence and practice of the language, the concept of vitality tends to be extended to include other factors. However, the main, if not sole, vector of vitality remains linguistic.

1.1.2 The *Official Languages Act*: communities and vitality

The issue of vitality is intrinsically linked to that of community. However, as shown in various research studies, the perspective advocated when the OLA was adopted in 1969 is to promote an individual rather than a community approach. The interest is in individual speakers, not communities: As noted by Serge Rousselle, the initial version of the OLA “focuses solely on individual rights, without any mention of communities.”³⁴ [translation] While one provision provided for the establishment of “bilingual districts,” its application was limited by administrative reluctance³⁵ and a “community” perspective implicit in the OLA but at odds with respect to the individual rights approach. It must be noted that this perspective is thus also at variance with the report by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, known as the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission.

There was a change in course with the adoption of a new version of the OLA in 1988, following the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. That new version also included the following as its second purpose: “support the development of English and French linguistic minority communities and generally advance the equality of status and use of the English and French languages within Canadian society.”³⁶

³³. Ibid., p. 12.

³⁴. Serge Rousselle, “Les 40 ans de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* : de l’individuel au collectif” in Jack Jedwab and Rodrigue Landry (eds.), *Life After Forty: Official Languages Policy in Canada / Après quarante ans : les politiques de langue officielle au Canada*, Kingston, Ont.: School of Policy Studies, Queen’s University, 2011, p. 105. See also François-Olivier Dorais, Michel Bock and É.-Martin Meunier, “Le projet de bilinguisme canadien : histoire, utopie et réalisation,” *Bulletin d’histoire politique*, 26(2) (Hiver 2018), pp. 9–20.

³⁵. Daniel Bourgeois, “La commission BB et la bureaucratie fédérale,” *Mens*, 14–15(2–1) (2014), pp. 13–51.

³⁶. OLA, S.C. 1988, c. 38, section 2, cited in Rousselle, loc. cit., p. 107.

As noted by Rousselle, not only this objective but also all of the amendments that were made “indicate an express desire to support the development of official language minorities and linguistic duality in the country, giving direct importance to the collective aspect of these rights, something new in Canada”³⁷ [translation], as seen in particular in the addition of parts VI and VII.

Clearly, the new Act embraced this approach of collective rights for OLMCs. Indeed, section 41 of the OLA states: “The Government of Canada is committed to enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development; and fostering the full recognition and use of both English and French in Canadian society.” During the debates in 1988, then Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard argued that “section 41 states the full scope of the government’s intentions. It confers on the federal government the obligation to enhance the vitality of the linguistic minorities, to support their development and to foster the full recognition and use of English and French. This is the first time that this notion of vitality of the linguistic minorities appears in an enactment.”³⁸

Stemming from academic research, the concept of vitality is now legally entrenched, although the concept is still undefined. Section 41 also remained obscure for some time, as it did not come into force until six years later.

During the 1990s, there was debate over the implementation of section 41, as the section did not impose any enforceable obligations on federal institutions at the time and did not create any rights that could be sanctioned by the courts. Reports on these points (OCOL, 1996; Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages, 2000³⁹) and a Court of Appeals ruling in 2004 noting the declaratory nature of section 41 led to the tabling of various bills.⁴⁰ Finally, in 2005, enforceable provisions were added to the OLA:

- 41.1(2) Every federal institution has the duty to ensure that positive measures are taken for the implementation of the commitments under subsection (1) [for enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting and assisting their development]. For greater certainty, this implementation shall be carried out while respecting the jurisdiction and powers of the provinces.
- 41.1(3) The Governor in Council may make regulations . . . prescribing the manner in which any duties of those institutions under this Part are to be carried out.⁴¹

³⁷. Rousselle, loc. cit., p. 107.

³⁸. Lucien Bouchard, “Proceedings of the Senate Special Committee on Bill C-72,” 33rd Parliament, 20 July 1988, cited in Robert Asselin, “Section 41 of the *Official Languages Act*: Scope, Evolution and Implementation Framework,” Political and Social Affairs Division (Ottawa: Canada, Library of Parliament, report PRB 01-9E, 2001). <http://publications.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/BP/prb019-e.htm>, accessed July 17, 2019.

³⁹. Commissioner of Official Languages, *A Blueprint for Action: Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages on the Federal Government’s Implementation of Part VII of the Official Languages Act*, Department of Supply and Services Canada, 1996; House of Commons. Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages. *Implementation of Part VII of the Official Languages Act*, *Interim Report of the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages*, House of Commons, June 2000, <https://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/36-2/LANG/report-3/page-2>, accessed July 17, 2019.

⁴⁰. Bill 32, introduced September 19, 2001, died on the order paper; Bill S-11, introduced December 10, 2002, died on the order paper; Bill S-4, introduced February 3, 2004, died on the order paper.

⁴¹. OLA, Part VII.

All that remained was the application of these provisions.

1.2 The search for an operational definition within the Government of Canada

From 2005 to 2016, work was carried out by the Government of Canada to provide an operational definition of vitality.

1.2.1 The work of OCOL (2005–2010)

The inclusion of the concept of “vitality” in the modified OLA in 2005 both provided a legal basis for the concept and led to renewed debate about its definition. At the same time as—and in coordination with—research in the academic sector (see 1.7 and following, below), efforts were made within the Government of Canada to understand its complexity and its various dimensions.

From 2006 to 2010, two additional projects were undertaken by OCOL and other bodies. On the one hand, an attempt was made to define vitality. This would be the subject of three major studies that informed the reflection:

- a study by Marc L. Johnson and Paule Doucet in 2006,⁴² commissioned by OCOL;
- a study by Jean-Pierre Corbeil et al., from Statistics Canada, published in 2006;⁴³
- a report from the Standing Committee on Official Languages in 2007,⁴⁴ the study for which was begun in 2005.

In addition, to test various indicator hypotheses in the field, nine action-research studies were conducted with various communities.

Defining vitality

The first report, prepared by Marc L. Johnson and Paule Doucet in 2006, examined the issue of vitality based on a literature review, around 20 interviews and a forum held in September 2005. Its objective was “an analysis of the current capacity to recognize the factors that make up vitality, evaluate changes in vitality and find ways to strengthen this ability within OLMCs.”⁴⁵ As noted by Commissioner of Official Languages Dyane Adam in the foreword to the report by Johnson and Doucet:

[t]he study points to the importance of proper diagnoses and proper planning of development activities, and the need to draw on knowledge in order to empower ourselves in achieving the objective of greater vitality. All involved need to equip

⁴² Marc L. Johnson and Paule Doucet, *A Sharper View: Evaluating the Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities*, Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2006, 108 p.

⁴³ Jean-Pierre Corbeil, Claude Grenier and Sylvie Lafrenière, *Minorities Speak Up: Results of the Survey on the Vitality of the Official-Language Minorities*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 2006, 176 p.

⁴⁴ House of Commons, Standing Committee on Official Languages, *Communities Speak Out: Hear Our Voice. The Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities*, Ottawa, May 2007, 196 p.

⁴⁵ Marc L. Johnson and Paule Doucet, op. cit., p. 4.

themselves with tools for evaluating activities and initiatives that will strengthen community vitality. . . . Rather, all parties involved must take responsibility and work together more closely. The vitality of official language communities will be the cumulative result of ongoing cooperation between the communities, governments and researchers.⁴⁶

The study has four sections: a portrait of community morphology, an analysis of the vitality of communities, a reflection on the evaluation and various indicators, and finally, a reflection on empowering communities. A bibliography and glossary complete the report.

As for the concept of vitality itself, the authors recognize that the same term covers three different concepts:⁴⁷

- ethnolinguistic vitality, as developed by Giles et al. (1977), but enriched in particular by the works of Rodrigue Landry and Rousselle, who associate it with structural variables associated with demolingustics, institutional support and status;
- linguistic vitality, which includes the spatial, temporal, social and linguistic dimensions of the use of language; and
- community vitality, associated with the works of Anne Gilbert.

However, rather than adopting a position on these definitions, the authors preferred to examine the overall parameters of vitality by grouping them into various dimensions:

- demographic: the number of members and the use of languages;
- social: the network of organizations, institutions and spaces for social interaction;
- political and legal: the political and regulatory framework at all levels, public recognition of OLMCs, access to government services, participation in governance;
- cultural: networks, creativity, heritage, school and media; and
- economic.

Broadening this vitality to the various aspects of community life, the report proposes the adoption of specific indicators for measuring the vitality of a community; however, the authors simply list the various sets of indicators without proposing a list as such.

For its part, the study by Corbeil, based on the 2001 census, presents a detailed analysis based on four major parameters:

- sense of belonging and subjective vitality, including identification with one or the other of the two language groups, the perceived importance of being able to use the minority language in daily life, and how the presence of the minority language has changed in the past 10 years and will change in the next 10 years;

⁴⁶. Ibid., p. ii.

⁴⁷. Ibid., p. 18.

- use of languages in daily activities;
- accessibility and use of health care in the minority language; and
- school attendance.

Finally, the report from the Standing Committee aimed to provide an evaluation of the *Action Plan for Official Languages 2003–2008*, as well as an “account of what community representatives think of the Government of Canada’s role and actions, and what they consider to be the best avenues for the future,” hence the usefulness of the concept of vitality. In this respect, the report is to some extent the political counterpart of the “academic” report by Johnson and Doucet.⁴⁸ However, the committee intended to define vitality based on “the change in the number of households where the minority official language is used within a given geographic area.”

In the section on the vitality or development of communities, the various themes studied “are those that were a priority of a large number of the organizations that the Committee met.” The 11 themes are “education, from early childhood to the postsecondary level; the vitality of community networks; infrastructure; the inclusion of linguistic clauses in federal transfer payments to the provinces and territories; the budget cuts of September 2006 (Court Challenges Program and literacy); the promotion of French; the media; the arts and culture; justice; economic development; and research.”

Returning to the Corbeil study and the Standing Committee report, Johnson looked at the issue of vitality in an article published in 2008, in which he presented a contrasting view of the concept used. After noting that “this vitality is complex and multiform, never clearly established and no doubt, paradoxical,” Johnson reviewed the major themes (identity, demography, recognition, organization and economy) and concluded as follows:

Vitality factors seem to lack in convergence: flagging demographics, increasing institutional completeness, deficient human resources, strong status recognition, frail legitimacy of community spokespeople, enviable socioeconomic situation, rural migration, etc. Francophones, however, do not believe any less that their vitality is strong enough.⁴⁹

Field validations (2007–2010)

Following the study by Johnson and Doucet, “the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages noted that knowledge regarding vitality and how it can be evaluated varied and the many issues faced by community development stakeholders regarding research on vitality.” As a result, a three-year action-research program was launched, aimed at “better understanding the practical aspects of assessing community vitality.”

⁴⁸. House of Commons, Standing Committee on Official Languages, *Communities Speak Out...*, op. cit., pp. 3–4.

⁴⁹. Marc L. Johnson, “The Evasive Vitality of Francophone Minority Communities,” *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens*, Spring 2008, p. 23.

This research, based on an analysis of community vitality, took place in three phases, each analyzing the vitality of three communities or community groups from specific angles. After presenting the series of studies, we will come back to those in particular that present an element of culture and/or heritage.

These studies seek to some extent to operationalize or measure vitality by analyzing various potential indicators. A logic model was developed following an environmental scan based on the identification of a community profile, including an inventory of community resources and best practices that the community identifies with. The model is then converted into a certain number of expected results, each with three or four indicators and for which data sources are defined.

In the first phase, in 2006–2007, the analysis focused on Francophone communities in urban environments in Winnipeg, Sudbury and Halifax.⁵⁰ Four sectors of vitality were observed: community governance, health care, immigration and access to government services. In short, there was little on culture in general, and even less on heritage and memory.

In 2008, the second phase looked at three English-speaking communities in Quebec: in the city of Québec, the Eastern Townships and the Lower North Shore.⁵¹ The sectors of vitality analyzed were youth, health and social services, the arts and culture (for two of the three studies), and leadership and visibility. Two of these looked at the memory of communities.

The third set of studies was conducted in 2010 and examined the vitality of Francophone communities in Western Canada: in rural communities in Saskatchewan, in Calgary, Alberta, and in British Columbia.⁵² While this series of studies shows a refinement of the perspective, defining more and more precise and complex indicators, the role of heritage is nonetheless still limited; the studies of communities in British Columbia and Calgary offer nothing specific in terms of the arts and culture, or heritage and memory. However, the study of three rural communities in Saskatchewan includes a certain number of traits related to culture and heritage.

1.2.2 The PCH *Frame of Reference* (2010–2016)

Further to OCOL's work, the PCH Official Languages Support Programs Branch undertook to develop a *Frame of Reference for the Vitality of Official-Language Minority Communities* in 2010. Here again, the frame of reference involved two components: development, as such, and field validation.

⁵⁰. Commissioner of Official Languages, "Vitality Indicators for Official Language Minority Communities 1: Francophones in Urban Settings (2007)," http://www.officiallanguages.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_sum_som_10_07_e.php, accessed November 15, 2017.

⁵¹. Commissioner of Official Languages, "Vitality Indicators for Official Language Minority Communities 2: Three English-Speaking Communities in Quebec (2008)," http://www.officiallanguages.gc.ca/html/stu_etu_062008_summary_sommaire_e.php, accessed November 15, 2017.

⁵². Commissioner of Official Languages, "Vitality Indicators for Official Language Minority Communities 3: Three Francophone Communities in Western Canada," release, [n.d.], <https://www.clo-ocol.gc.ca/en/publications/studies/2010/vitality-indicators-for-official-language-minority-communities-3-three-francophone-communities>, accessed November 15, 2017.

Built “based on a document review and consultation with experts—primarily academics with a specialization in official languages and OLMCs,” the *Frame of Reference* “structures the vitality factors to be considered in planning departmental action to enhance vitality.”⁵³ However, as the February 2018 update⁵⁴ to the document points out, “although many models for capturing vitality have been developed in academic communities, the practical application of these models has yet to be established in policy development and the delivery of official language support programs.” [translation]

The objective is therefore to provide a practical guide to “promote interventions that have a greater potential of having an impact on communities’ vitality by taking into account the needs that must be met and the issues raised.” [translation]

To confirm its validity, the *Frame of Reference* was tested during the horizontal evaluation of the Roadmap for Canada’s Linguistic Duality 2008–2013. At the time, it was submitted to a panel of vitality experts for validation and testing in nine OLMCs in 2012 and 2016 (see below). For each dimension of the *Frame of Reference*, a summary table, dated May 2012, provides a description of its relevance, its manifestation, and examples of indicators or potential sources.⁵⁵

There again, the goal is to define the contours of this vitality. The 2012 working paper recognizes that vitality models developed to date by university researchers “demonstrate the complementarity of the approaches that are specific to their fields of study, including statistics, language sociology, social psychology or ethnography.” [translation] It is, however, the concept of “ethnolinguistic vitality” that is considered most appropriate when discussing the collective dimensions of OLMC vitality. Furthermore, as an explanatory note of the *Frame of Reference* indicates:

The vitality models developed to date by researchers demonstrate the complementarity of the approaches that are specific to their fields of study, including statistics, language sociology, social psychology or ethnography. However, for the purposes of our exercise, the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality is probably that which is most appropriate when discussing the collective dimension of OLMC vitality. The pioneering contribution of Giles et al. (1977) introduces the social dimension into the field of linguistic research by creating a concept associated with that of the group or community (ethno-), the expression “ethnolinguistic vitality” linking the linguistic and cultural dimensions. According to this approach, vitality is defined as “. . . the structural and sociological factors that influence the survival and development of a linguistic minority.” Strong ethnolinguistic vitality ensures that the ethnolinguistic and cultural community will remain a distinct, active entity, whereas weak ethnolinguistic vitality is associated with linguistic and cultural assimilation.⁵⁶ [translation]

⁵³. Canadian Heritage, Office of the Chief Audit and Evaluation Executive, Evaluation Services Directorate, *Evaluation of the Official Languages Support Programs (2008-09 to 2012-13)*, January 2013, p. 37.

⁵⁴. Canadian Heritage, Programmes d’appui aux langues officielles, “Cadre de référence sur la vitalité des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (CLOSM),” February 2018, 3 p.

⁵⁵. Canadian Heritage, “Cadre de référence sur la vitalité des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (CLOSM),” working paper, May 2012, 15 p.

⁵⁶. Canadian Heritage, “Cadre de référence sur la vitalité des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire (CLOSM),” working paper, May 2012, 15 p.

Lastly, since 2015, the *Frame of Reference* has been used to develop a series of questions to guide grant applicants under the “Cooperation with the Community Sector” sub-component of the Official Languages Support Programs. The questions should help to “identify the issue or issues that describe the situation at the root of your request.”⁵⁷ [translation] Following all of these approaches, the *Frame of Reference* was amended slightly in 2016.

The *Frame of Reference* seeks to identify the sociolinguistic and demographic dynamics of community vitality. As for the definition of “cultural vitality,” of which documentary heritage would be a part and with which specific indicators would be associated, the *Frame of Reference* captures this reality poorly; heritage is evoked only in association with “recreational and cultural activities,” thus with the most evident manifestations.

The *Frame of Reference* itself was tested in nine OLMCs as part of the Roadmap evaluation between 2012 and 2016, namely Surrey, B.C., Gravelbourg, Sask., London, Ont., and Pontiac, Beaconsfield and New Carlisle, Que., in 2012; Timmins, Ont., in 2014; and Bathurst, N.B., and Summerside, P.E.I., in 2015.⁵⁸ To supplement it, 64 telephone interviews were conducted in 2016, followed by a summary report, a document that is still in the draft stage.⁵⁹

1.3. Other major research works on vitality

1.3.1 Vitality and institutional completeness

As part of an approach driven by language practices, the concept of institutional support, built around that of institutional completeness, is significant for Bourhis and Landry. In a report published in 2017, Bourhis and Sioufi state the following:

Institutional support constitutes a key dimension influencing the vitality of language communities (Giles et al. 1977). Formal support is achieved by linguistic groups whose members have achieved positions at decision-making levels in various state and private institutions. Formal institutional support for majority and minority language communities can be gained for the provision of municipal, regional and national government services, the public administration, primary, secondary and post-secondary education, health care and social services, the police and the judiciary, the military, mass media, leisure, sports and religious institutions.⁶⁰

Joseph Yvon Thériault took a critical look at the founding concept of this approach. Summarizing what is behind “institutional completeness,” a concept developed by sociologist Raymond Breton in 1964, he points out that, pursuant to this concept, the vitality of a group depends:

⁵⁷. Canadian Heritage, “Programmes d’appui aux langues officielles. Guide du demandeur,” February 2018, p. 8.

⁵⁸. However, these documents are still in the draft stage and have not been published yet.

⁵⁹. Canadian Heritage, “Évaluation horizontale de la Feuille de route pour les langues officielles 2013-2018. Rapport technique : études de cas sur la vitalité des CLOSM,” draft, 2017, 39 p.

⁶⁰. Richard Y. Bourhis and Rana Sioufi, “Assessing Forty Years of Language Planning on the Vitality of the Francophone and Anglophone Communities of Quebec,” *Multilingua*, 36(5) (2017), pp. 647–648.

largely, and first and foremost, on institutional resources available within the group in question. By institutional resources, Breton meant religious organizations, associations, newspapers and clubs identified directly with a specific cultural ethnic community (today, they would be referred to as civil society associations). The crux of his theory could be summarized as follows: the more an ethnic community is in “institutional completeness”—the more institutions it has linked to it, ethnic institutions—the more its members tend to maintain strong interpersonal relationships between one another, and the less they tend to assimilate with surrounding groups, particularly the dominant cultural group.⁶¹ [translation]

This dimension was largely popularized during the development of the concept of vitality and was taken up by other researchers, including Roger Bernard, as well as during the battle to save the Montfort hospital. Thériault recalls that the Court sided with the complainant, emphasizing that “institutions are essential to the survival of cultural communities. They are far more than service functions. They are linguistic and cultural environments that provide people with the means to assert and express their cultural identity.”⁶² [translation]

For Thériault, the dissemination of this concept in minority political circles in the 1990s and 2000s calls for a second look. He situates the issue of using the concept of “institutional completeness” in the opposition between two different visions, i.e. “nationalist representation” on the one hand and “ethnic representation” on the other. While the first “places particular focus on the memory dimension, the history of identity” [translation] and is more directly political, the second is of a more utilitarian nature and “aims for integration with society as a whole.” [translation] For him, “by borrowing the perspective from (American) ethnic sociology and, especially, by turning the concept into action, minority users of the idea of institutional completeness were thus involved in changing the French-Canadian ‘nation’ into a Francophone minority ‘ethnic group.’” [translation]

What interests us here is the relationship between memory and history. The concept of institutional completeness is certainly useful in defining the offer of bilingual services by determining, through the presence of institutions, a significant number of speakers at a given time. This is how the concept was captured in the regulations associated with the OLA. While the 1969 Act provided for bilingual districts, a provision that was not enforced, the Government of Canada’s offer of bilingual services nevertheless had to be defined. To that end, the *Official Languages (Communications with and Services to the Public) Regulations*⁶³ introduced the concept of “significant demand.” This concept is determined by a set of rules, as described by Marie-Ève Hudon:

the rules relating to “significant demand” include provisions based on data from the most recent decennial census published since 1991, relating to the size of minority communities. A series of statistical formulas is used to prepare a list of offices and points

⁶¹. Montfort ruling, Ontario Divisional Court, 2001, cited in Joseph Yvon Thériault, “Complétude institutionnelle : du concept à l’action,” *Mémoire(s), identité(s), marginalité(s) dans le monde occidental contemporain, Cahiers du MIMMOC*, 11 (2014), paragraph 26, <http://journals.openedition.org/mimmoc/1556>, accessed August 7, 2019.

⁶². Idem, p. 26.

⁶³. *Official Languages (Communications with and Services to the Public) Regulations* (SOR/92-48), passed December 16, 1991.

of service that must offer bilingual services. The rules relating to “significant demand” also include provisions based on the volume of demand in the minority language when demographic data are not relevant.⁶⁴

It is on this basis that four bills were tabled in the Senate⁶⁵ requesting the inclusion of qualitative criteria, including “institutional vitality.”⁶⁶ While the bills do not define the concept, their sponsor, Senator Maria Chaput, stated the following in 2012:

First, institutional vitality has to be defined. This definition will have to be made in consultation with the official language communities. I personally believe that education has a significant place in the assessment of the institutional vitality of a community, because the presence of a school is the most important indicator that a community is vital and viable in the long term. I also believe that culture, health, social services and economic development are important factors. The different indicators will have to be weighed in committee and in consultation with the affected communities.

It should be noted that the concept of institutional vitality is not entirely new and its definition is far from abstract. In addition to being recognized as an important factor in Canadian jurisprudence, it has already been the subject of various regulations within the government.⁶⁷

When the bill was introduced in 2015, the Commissioner of Official Languages supported the proposal. It was not until 2018–2019 that the concept was finally incorporated into the amended regulations. The draft regulations stated that “the incorporation of a community vitality criterion will add a qualitative measure that ensures bilingual services when a minority language school is within an office’s service area.”⁶⁸ A provision in this respect was adopted (SOR/2019-242, ss. 5[6]) but has yet to be implemented.⁶⁹

However, this concept provides little information on the cultural dynamic or, in the case of the time relationship, on the memory dynamic. Institutions are admittedly important, and they feature substantially in the *Frame of Reference*, but in terms of language performance, there is no memory or cultural anchor.

⁶⁴. Marie-Ève Hudon, *Bill S-205: An Act to Amend the Official Languages Act (Communications With and Services to the Public)*, Library of Parliament, October 3, 2014, 15 p. Publication No. 42-1-S205-E, p. 2.

⁶⁵. S-220 in 2011; S-211 in 2013; S-205 in 2013; and S-209 in 2016.

⁶⁶. Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁷. Ibid., p. 7.

⁶⁸. Canada, Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, “Proposed Amendments to the *Official Languages Regulations*,” October 26, 2018, <https://www.canada.ca/en/treasury-board-secretariat/news/2018/10/proposed-amendments-to-the-official-languages-regulations.html>, accessed January 23, 2020.

⁶⁹. Sub-paragraph 5(6)(d1.1) of the *Official Languages (Communications with and Services to the Public) Regulations* (SOR/92-48), [last amended on June 25, 2019], <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-92-48/FullText.html>, accessed February 15, 2020.

1.3.2 Vitality and community space: The Vitalité communautaire des minorités francophones project (2005–2010)

Although language is considered the main, if not the only, driver of identity and vitality, the need to have a broader view has been expressed since 2004. That year, the annual symposium of the Réseau de la recherche sur la francophonie canadienne shone a spotlight on the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, publishing its main communications in the *Francophonies d'Amérique* journal.⁷⁰ As summarized in the editor's introduction:

the theme . . . shone a new light on the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. Introduced in 1977 by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, this concept seeks to define the structural factors through which language groups remain distinct and active entities in their intergroup contacts. Many studies have revealed the complexity of factors associated with the vitality of language groups.

Through these conceptualizations of ethnolinguistic vitality, the effect of many factors other than geographic density that can contribute to the vitality of Francophone and Acadian communities appears in the analysis: population profile, organizational and institutional capacity, sense of belonging, engagement, laws, policies and programs, and so on and so forth. The purpose of the “Si destinée n’était pas synonyme de densité” [if destiny were not synonymous with density] symposium was to explore these factors further, but also to serve as a thought-provoking exercise on the processes contributing to the vitality of these communities in the context of a changing environment from both a microsocial and a macrosocial standpoint.⁷¹ [translation]

In short, dimensions other than vitality are worth exploring. It was to this end that a research project, headed by Anne Gilbert, was launched in 2004 and 2005.⁷²

The online project presentation stated that while research work had thus far focused on the impact of speakers or institutions in community development, few studies have looked at the geographical context by associating “reflections on linguistic identity, practices and behaviours as well as reflections on institutional resources enjoyed by community members, the weight of numbers and the status of the language.” [translation] In that respect, the project sought to “grasp the effect that environments and networks have on the community vitality of Francophone minorities, better define the role of the

⁷⁰. *Francophonies d'Amérique*, 20 (Automne 2005), “La vitalité des communautés francophones du Canada,” Actes du colloque du Réseau de la recherche sur la francophonie canadienne, Congrès de l'Association francophone pour le savoir, [conference proceedings], Montréal, 2004, pp. 9–173.

⁷¹. “La vitalité des communautés francophones du Canada,” *Francophonies d'Amérique*, 20 (Automne 2005), <http://francophoniesdamerique.uottawa.ca/revues/fa20.html>, accessed July 17, 2019.

⁷². Anne Gilbert, André Langlois, Rodrigue Landry and Edmund Aunger, “L'environnement et la vitalité communautaire des minorités francophones : vers un modèle conceptuel,” *Francophonies d'Amérique*, 20 (Automne 2005), pp. 51–62, <https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/fa/2005-n20-fa1813443/1005336ar.pdf>.

environment in the dynamics at work in their development and better understand how the environment fits into relationships that unite their members and into their relationships with the majority.⁷³ [translation]

The project consists of conducting a detailed analysis of the space occupied by 29 communities in six provinces (Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta).⁷⁴ The methodology was outlined in an article in *The Canadian Geographer*.⁷⁵ A detailed report was produced for each community, specifying:

- a historical profile, including that of the neighbourhood where applicable;
- the linguistic, demographic and socio-economic profiles;
- the French fact in the space (population and institutional space);
- the local status of French (signage, access to cultural products, French as a language of use);
- the work of organizations (profile, files, achievements);
- companies (profile, French fact, achievements, projects);
- individual practices (respondent profile, linguistic behaviours, engagement and identity); and
- subjective vitality.

The project led to the publication, in 2010, of a work entitled *Territoires francophones: études géographiques sur la vitalité des communautés francophones du Canada*, edited by Anne Gilbert.⁷⁶ Despite the scope of the research, where the geographic angle was widely covered, the presence of heritage remains limited, as acknowledged by Gilbert, who writes:

The whole question of heritage has not really been incorporated into my exploration of the vitality of Francophone communities. This oversight is all the more disappointing as it factors significantly into the sense of belonging of Francophones who live primarily in cities. They often remain attached to neighbourhoods they have otherwise deserted because of their memory of the places and spaces in which they used to live.⁷⁷
[translation]

1.3.3 Vitality and cultural hubs: The Fédération culturelle canadienne-française survey

Cultural vitality was the subject of extensive research conducted at the initiative of the Fédération culturelle canadienne-française (FCCF).

⁷³. “Vitalité communautaire des minorités francophones,” version of February 2, 2006, saved on Wayback Machine, https://web.archive.org/web/20060502114652/http://langlois.geog.uottawa.ca:80/home_vit.htm.

⁷⁴. The studies were posted online on a site that no longer exists. Those studies that could be retrieved are for Bonneville, Alta.; Edmonton, Alta.; the Eastern Townships, Que.; Hearst, Ont.; Prince Edward Island; Moncton, N.B.; Pembroke, Ont.; Saint John, N.B.; Saint-Pierre-Jolys, Ritchot and Niverville, Man.; Saskatchewan; Sudbury, Ont.; and Toronto, Ont.

⁷⁵. André Langlois and Anne Gilbert, “Typologie et vitalité des communautés francophones minoritaires au Canada,” *The Canadian Geographer / Le géographe canadien*, 50(4) (Winter 2006). pp. 432–449.

⁷⁶. Anne Gilbert (ed.), *Territoires francophones : études géographiques sur la vitalité des communautés francophones du Canada*, Québec: Septentrion, 2010, 424 p.

⁷⁷. Personal communication, April 10, 2019.

The FCCF took an interest in this topic in 2013, attempting to identify the determinants based on the concept of cultural hubs. Conducted jointly with Laurentian University, the research focused on 20 communities. High-vitality and low-vitality communities were identified through the analysis.

The first research report was published in 2016,⁷⁸ followed by a second in 2017. A consolidated report was published in 2018.⁷⁹

What must be recognized from the outset is that while the document explores “cultural dynamics,” as its title indicates, it actually focuses on the artistic dimension and therefore the narrower definition of culture. That said, the report aims to determine why some communities are dynamic and others less so. These cultural dynamics are significant because:

the future of any community in the postmodern era is related to the fourfold relationship of identity representations, cultural expressions, artistic practices and media practices. The more society is placed in a minority situation—the more it is marginalized by its minority status—the more identity representations become vulnerable to cultural expressions, artistic practices and media practices that originate from the outside.⁸⁰ [translation]

In this regard, the report states that “minority Francophone culture is not defined solely by language: the linguistic component is not the only aspect that makes a Francophone minority distinct; values, historicity and relationship to the environment, among others, must be included as well.”⁸¹ [translation]

However, the report only looks at the presence and vitality of the arts and at the creativity of Francophone minority communities to understand “the workings of interactions contributing to these dynamics.” [translation] The research was conducted in two phases. First, a statistical analysis correlating selected control communities and data on the practices adopted⁸² gave rise to a set of findings and modelling of factors specific to minority Francophone cultural vitality. Then, 64 interviews with agency heads refined the research with qualitative data. A textometric and qualitative analysis was used to propose modelling. The result was a mapping of the cultural hubs analyzed.

Table 1: Vitality Levels of Cultural Hubs	
High Vitality	Low Vitality
Whitehorse	Vancouver
Saskatoon	Gravelbourg
Edmonton	Yellowknife
Winnipeg	Kelowna
Hearst	Windsor

⁷⁸. Julie Boissonneault and Simon Laflamme, “Formes du dynamisme culturel dans les communautés francophones et acadiennes en situation minoritaire au Canada,” Phase I, Research report for the Fédération culturelle canadienne-française, March 2016, 2nd Edition, 433 p.

⁷⁹. Simon Laflamme, Julie Boissonneault, Lianne Pelletier and Roger Gervais, “Pour des modèles de vitalité : le dynamisme culturel de la francophonie canadienne en milieu minoritaire,” Ottawa: Éditions CFORP, 2018, 188 p.

⁸⁰. Ibid., p. 11.

⁸¹. Ibid., p. 12.

⁸². The six artistic disciplines selected for the study were media arts, visual arts, song and music, dance, literature and publishing, and theatre.

Sudbury	Penetanguishene
Ottawa	Kingston
Caraquet	Halifax
Moncton-Dieppe	St. John's
Clare	Évangéline-Summerside

The FCCF continued on this path with the primary aim of ensuring that culture is fully incorporated into the modernization of the OLA. It also garnered the support of 42 other cultural organizations to request the creation of a national action framework for culture during the 2019 election.⁸³

1.4 An overall finding: Broaden the conceptual basis of “vitality”

While the OLA is officially under review, one might wonder what is happening with the concept of “vitality” as originally stated.

First, the initial—vague—definition was based on material linking language performance and community vitality, performance supported by institutions (institutional completeness). These elements were reiterated and formalized in the *Frame of Reference*, which incorporates a set of indicators into the statements.

Furthermore, when looking at the vitality of the English-speaking community in Quebec, it is not language that stands out, but rather sense of belonging, identity and cultural vitality.⁸⁴ Although diverse, these communities have a perception issue because “general public” representations are often inaccurate or exaggerated, as they are too focused on a narrow history of “dominant rich English speakers,” portraying them as historical adversaries and an existential threat to Quebec’s Francophone society. This criticism was notably made in respect of the public high school curriculum.⁸⁵

An approach centred on language performance is therefore limited in terms of support for the OLMC culture, a weakness underscored by many stakeholders. As a result, the Standing Committee on Official Languages has required more consistent action on culture since 2007. In its report entitled *Communities Speak Out: Hear Our Voice. The Vitality of Official Language Minority Communities*, it points out that “[t]he field of arts and culture was, with media, the other glaring absence in the *Action Plan for Official Languages*, even though it is unquestionably an essential element in community vitality. It is also an element in the development plan of many of the communities that the Committee visited.”⁸⁶

⁸³. Fédération culturelle canadienne-française, *Priorities of the Arts and Culture Sector in the Canadian and Acadian Francophonie*, 2020, 13 p., https://www.fccf.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/FCCF_Trousse_Politique_EN-final.pdf.

⁸⁴. See, in particular, Richard Y. Bourhis (ed.), *The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival*, Montréal and Moncton, Centre d’Études ethniques des universités montréalaises and Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities, 2008; Richard Y. Bourhis (ed.), *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec / Déclin et enjeux des communautés de langue anglaise du Québec*, Canadian Heritage, Ottawa, 2012, New Canadian Perspectives coll., 400 p.

⁸⁵. History Experts Committee, “An Independent Report of the History Experts Committee on the Provincial History of Québec and Canada and Approved English Textbooks,” English Montreal School Board, October 2018, <https://az184419.vo.msecnd.net/emsb/emsb-website/en/docs/2018-2019/history-report.pdf>.

⁸⁶. Standing Committee on Official Languages, *Communities*, op. cit., p. 142.

Yet the Committee notes that this vitality greatly depends on the community networks and their funding. It therefore maintains that “given this, until there is a significant reinvestment in support for community organizations, it is almost utopian to envisage a structured plan to support cultural initiatives.” It therefore makes the following recommendation:

32. That the arts and culture be considered essential elements for the vitality of the official language minority communities, that this be reflected in the follow-ups to the Action Plan for Official Languages, and that Canadian Heritage add adequate funding for arts and culture projects and the corresponding infrastructures in the “Community Life” component of its official languages support programs.⁸⁷

The government’s response is rather cryptic, focusing essentially on arts and culture programs without mentioning the historical and heritage dimension.⁸⁸

However, the limitations of such an approach centred on the ethnolinguistic dimension of vitality have, over time, led to its expansion over the territory and to cultural hubs. This resolve to broaden the definition of the concept of vitality also emerged during consultations on the OLA’s renewal in 2019. The consultation report states that participants reiterated “that the protection and promotion of official language minority communities is, first and foremost, a cultural project that Canadian society has embraced. Among other things, it was suggested that the preamble to the Act should specify that arts and culture are essential to the vitality of these communities and should address the importance of protecting Canadian cultural institutions”⁸⁹

In short, the pivotal role of culture in this vitality is recognized. In that regard, it must be acknowledged that, in more recent years, culture—but not history or heritage—has been given more prominence in the Roadmap and then in the Action Plan for Official Languages. Proof of this is the position taken by the FCCF in 2018.⁹⁰ In its recent strategic plan, it also points out that this is an “outstanding achievement” [translation] because “while the previous Roadmap for Official Languages (2013–2018) was particularly disappointing, the new Action Plan for Official Languages (Investing in Our Future), for the 2018–2023 period, proved much more receptive to the Fédération’s requests.”⁹¹ [translation]

Nevertheless, despite increasing public recognition of the importance of identity and creativity and, therefore, the role that the past plays in this vitality, studies on vitality have left little room for history, heritage and memory, as if this aspect were removed from culture. The consultation report on the modernization of the OLA does not even make mention of it except to refer to Indigenous linguistic heritage.

⁸⁷. Ibid., pp. 142–143.

⁸⁸. “Government Response to the Seventh Report of the Standing Committee on Official Languages” [October 17, 2007], <https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/39-1/LANG/report-7/response-8512-392-236>.

⁸⁹. Canada, *Summary Document: Engaging Canadians as a Step Towards Modernizing the Official Languages Act*, Ottawa, 2019, p. 25.

⁹⁰. Fédération culturelle canadienne-française (FCCF), “Plan d’action pour les langues officielles 2018-2013. Pour la FCCF et le réseau de ses membres c’est : ‘En avant toute!’,” news release, April 3, 2018, <https://refc.ca/plan-daction-pour-les-langues-officielles-2018-2023/>.

⁹¹. Fédération culturelle canadienne-française, *Planification stratégique 2020-2025*, 2020, p. 13.

This inevitably has a tangible impact on communities. The fact that memory is somehow absent from the examination of vitality has impacted the Action Plan for Official Languages, in effect excluding funding for OLMC activities associated with heritage.

The same consultation report states that “the Act is more than just a law; it represents a vision for society. Therefore, the next version should work more explicitly to promote the vitality of official language minority communities. This raises the question of how to better measure this vitality—a question requiring further research.”⁹²

For history, memory and heritage, this is essential.

⁹². Ibid., p. 29.

Part 2: Manifestations of Vitality of memory

2.1 Where does memory fit into all of this?

To put it briefly—and this is a surprise—most studies on vitality have paid rather limited attention to heritage, history and memory.

The only notable exception is the Johnson-Doucet report, which also points out how the cultural dimension is often neglected. Some importance is given to how communities fit in time, i.e. how they perceive their past and their future. This is crucial in terms of adaptation and projection into the future, considering that:

the cultural capital of OLMCs often appears as the lowest common denominator associated with minority status. Some observers expect that the survival of minorities will occur through the preservation of their cultural traits (Bernard, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992), while others expect that minority communities will construct cultural meanings for themselves (Martel, 2003). In this latter perspective, which is predominant today, the emphasis is on creation and innovation in the cultural field.⁹³

Yet this dynamic has decisive impacts on the historicity of the community because:

these changes and this diversification of OLMCs are part of major changes occurring within Canadian society and they call into question the idea of conserving and maintaining the values of communities and their linguistic and cultural individualities, both in Quebec (Caldwell, 1994) and in French Canada (Bernard, 1992). The positions adopted occur along a spectrum running from withdrawal into the founding historical identity to openness to the creative force of history.⁹⁴

In short, how communities fit in time changes between a fixation on the founding past and a projection into the future supporting creativity. However, the report ultimately pays little attention to this dimension of vitality. For example, with respect to heritage, it notes that:

the development of the heritage resources of OLMCs appears to be neglected by the arts and culture sector as well as by the various levels of government. No report exists on the situation, and there is no pan-Canadian network for the Francophone heritage sector (Doucet, 2000). In Quebec, however, the heritage organizations have formed the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network. There are also regional initiatives involving Anglophone and Francophone OLMCs that link tourism to artistic, cultural and heritage events, e.g. the Corridor francophone in the West and the Circuit Champlain in Ontario. These initiatives have significant potential for mobilizing cultural and heritage resources for community development and hence vitality.⁹⁵

⁹³. Johnson and Doucet, op. cit., p. 26.

⁹⁴. Ibid., p. 15.

⁹⁵. Ibid., pp. 26–27.

Therefore, although a certain touristic value associated more with the economic dimension of vitality⁹⁶ is recognized, memory's place in vitality is still a secondary phenomenon, leaving open the question of memory's contribution to vitality.

A reflection of the increasing integration of culture into the discussion on vitality, field studies conducted by OCOL and Canadian Heritage, respectively, will give more of a presence to history and heritage in support of this vitality. The first studies to focus on these dimensions are the two on Quebec's English-speaking communities carried out by OCOL in 2008.

Thus, in the study on the vitality of the English-speaking community in the city of Québec, only some resources and best practices related to history and heritage are identified.⁹⁷ The study proposes eight results measuring vitality associated with the arts and culture, but none are directly tied to heritage or memory.⁹⁸ However, the study does recognize the importance of culture and the arts, stating that:

in the medium term, the activities will lead to a broader range of English-language artistic activities, greater levels of community participation and the incorporation of arts and culture as an important value in the education sector. In the long term, the English-speaking community of the Québec City region will experience individual and collective well-being from a more valued and supported arts and culture sector.⁹⁹

As for the study on the English-speaking community of the Eastern Townships, the list of community resources, of which heritage and history are a part, includes various mentions of, for instance, traditional dance groups, heritage presence through an online magazine, two museums, a cultural and heritage centre, and three historical societies.¹⁰⁰ However, the vitality model proposed for the arts and culture sector identifies eight expected results, but none are directly related to heritage or memory, and they comprise just one indicator for representation in the Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network.¹⁰¹ There again, the report highlights the importance of the arts and culture:

In the medium term, these activities will lead to improved levels of funding, a greater appreciation of English-language arts and culture, and a greater understanding of the needs of the sector on the part of those who develop government policy. In the long term, the arts and culture will be a viable component of community life and will be recognized as the cultural expression of the English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships.¹⁰²

⁹⁶. Ibid., p. 28.

⁹⁷. Commissioner of Official Languages, "Vitality Indicators for Official Language Minority Communities 2: Three English-Speaking Communities in Quebec. The English-Speaking Community of Québec City," Ottawa: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2008, pp. 4–5.

⁹⁸. Ibid., pp. 16–17.

⁹⁹. Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁰⁰. Ibid., pp. 5–7.

¹⁰¹. Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁰². Ibid., p. 18.

As mentioned in the previous part, a *Frame of Reference* was developed by Canadian Heritage in 2011–2012, and amended slightly in 2016, based on a literature review and consultations with experts. It essentially defines the ethnolinguistic criteria used to characterize vitality, namely:

- demolinguistic renewal and language practices;
- sense of belonging to the language community;
- collective leadership;
- participation in community life through cultural and recreational activities and services, as well as in economic and social life; and
- a positive relationship with the majority.

Although absent as such from the proposed vision, many questions during field validations in 2012 and 2016 revealed features that are presented in greater detail in the next section.

2.2 About vitality of memory¹⁰³

History and memory seem to be excluded from identity-building based almost exclusively on language. However, things have recently begun to change.¹⁰⁴

2.2.1 A definition

More recent work thus favours a more comprehensive dimension of the place of culture in this vitality. As highlighted by the FCCF study, “[m]inority Francophone culture is not defined solely by language: the linguistic component is not the only aspect that makes a Francophone minority distinct; values, historicity and relationship to the environment, among others, must be included as well.”¹⁰⁵ [translation]

It is therefore in the depths of social relationships that vitality manifests itself. According to Anne Gilbert, vitality “corresponds to the relationships that are forged between members and the community born of their solidarity, in favour of the organizations they have established for themselves, within the environments they occupy and control.”¹⁰⁶ [translation]

And these relationships cannot be built without this historicity, which is a key component of identity representations. Recording it in time therefore manifests itself in a wide range of memory-based practices that help to define what could be referred to as the vitality of memory of communities, to paraphrase Anne Gilbert. Vitality of memory is “observable in the presence of the [past] in various

¹⁰³. As a complement, it would be interesting to continue this research by examining how heritage and memory contribute to community well-being. While there is limited documentation in French (see, in particular, Mouvement Acadien des Communautés en Santé du Nouveau-Brunswick inc., *Le mieux-être et la santé en français, quand les arts, la culture et le patrimoine s'en mêlent! Document de sensibilisation au concept d'aménagement culturel du territoire en lien avec le mieux-être et la santé*, 2017, 44 p.), various reports have been produced in Great Britain (see, in particular, Sarah Reilly, Claire Nolan and Linda Monckton, *Wellbeing and the Historic Environment*, Historic England, 2018, 79 p.; National Trust, *Heritage, Health and Wellbeing. Review of Recent Literature*, Tate Greenhalgh, March 2018, 71 p.; and Heritage Alliance, *Heritage, Health and Wellbeing. A Heritage Alliance Report*, 2020, 44 p.).

¹⁰⁴. Michel Lalonde, op. cit., p. 304.

¹⁰⁵. Simon Laflamme et al., op. cit., p. 12.

¹⁰⁶. Anne Gilbert, “Conclusion – Une géographie difficile” in Anne Gilbert (ed.), *Territoires*, op. cit., p. 384.

areas of the collective life of a community. It translates in the present their common experiences through time and the community bond that makes it possible. . . . It arises from and supports the minority community's capacity to assert its distinctiveness".¹⁰⁷ [translation]

In short, stakeholders' involvement in history, heritage and memory fits into a cultural ecosystem where the past is recalled, which translates into a set of manifestations that could be referred to as a memorial ecosystem or footprint, in various areas of cultural expression in a broad sense. Defining the cultural universe of the memory of OLMCs, their *vitality of memory* thus provides an overview, a theoretical and operational model, that enables a better understanding of the impacts and contributions of memory and heritage, including documentary heritage.

This modelling, which has room for improvement, has three dimensions:

- characteristics;
- levels;
- components.

2.2.2 A characterization test

The characteristics of this vitality of memory can be grasped from analyses carried out in the field. On the one hand, the studies identify certain main features and differing levels of vitality of memory. On the other hand, the identification of various manifestations of the past in this memorial ecosystem completes the picture.

Main features

A minority community's *vitality of memory* has five major characteristics:

1. Multiplicity

Multiplicity is when memory activities manifest themselves in various forms and address multiple subjects inside and outside the community. In short, multiplicity reflects the historical wealth of the various dimensions of a community.

2. Intensity

Intensity can be considered a characteristic when activities or expressions of memory on a particular topic manifest themselves in various ways and produce a ripple effect. For example, this can be a festival with an exhibition and the publication of a work.

3. Diversity

Diversity occurs when expressions of memory bear witness to diversity (ethnic origin, social groups, etc.) within a community.

¹⁰⁷. Ibid., p. 384. Text in square brackets has been added.

4. Openness/closure

The examination of memory is often coloured by how the community's future is looked at. This feature is found when expressions of memory convey differing outlooks on the community's future, which can be somewhat closed - or open - to the future.

5. Sharing

The fifth feature is membership or knowledge of this shared heritage. This symbolic recognition is the act of the community itself, but also of the majority in which it exists.

Levels of vitality of memory

These studies reveal some features relating to the levels of vitality of memory.

Table 2: Levels and Indicators of Vitality of memory	
Level	Indicators ¹⁰⁸
Strong ¹⁰⁹	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Active role of bilingual historical society• Many strong memory landmarks (museums, tours, activities)• Majority support: Recognition of historic role by the majority• Multifaceted vitality of memory• Sense of historicity• Collaboration within a single heritage organization or jointly organized activities• Odonymic landmarks (distinctive naming of streets)• Heritage buildings/neighbourhoods• Heritage celebrations• Mobilization of own history/memory to support activities in other domains
Average ¹¹⁰	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Limited odonymic presence• Identity or cultural activities (festivals), but little memory-based anchoring• Unambiguous vitality of memory (a limited number of vectors)
Low ¹¹¹	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Little presence of the past (community with few historical roots)

These observations reveal that vitality of memory is:

- Strong when:
 - there is a multiplicity of memory vectors;
 - recognition of the past is enhanced by unique organizations (comprising both groups) and acknowledged by the majority;

¹⁰⁸. They are provided here as an example.

¹⁰⁹. Beaconsfield, Que.; New Carlisle, Que.; Bathurst, N.B.; Pontiac, Que.

¹¹⁰. London, Ont.; Timmins, Ont.; Summerside, P.E.I.

¹¹¹. Surrey, B.C.

- memory landmarks in the space (monuments, plaques, toponymy, toponymy) promote such recognition;
 - room is made for minorities within memory institutions, e.g. libraries, museums and archival centres, or minorities have their own institutions;
 - territorial anchoring (historic district, inventory, networks, etc.) supports this memory.
- Average when:
 - the reminder of the past is unambiguous (a single memory vector);
 - the cultural or symbolic anchors are insufficient to consolidate the community's historicization.
 - Low when:
 - community roots are not deeply entrenched over time.

2.2.3 Components of the memorial ecosystem

Starting with the premise that memory functions like an ecosystem that takes many forms in a community's culture and environment, it is no easy task to grasp all of its facets. That is why this list, with much room for refinement, contains a few facets that have yet to be completed. This table also insufficiently portrays the dynamic nature of interactions between these various dimensions of memory.

Moreover, Appendix 2 contains the result of a brief exploration of the expression of vitality of memory in a particular community: Maillardville, British Columbia.

Table 3: Components, Elements and Indicators of Vitality of memory		
Component	Element	Potential vitality of memory indicator
Environment		
Landscape		
	Toponymy/odonymy	Number of place names in the minority language
	Plaques/commemorative monuments	
	Arrangements and displays ¹¹²	
Built heritage	Historic district (e.g. Maillardville)	
	Historic building/sites	
	Interpretive panels	
Cultural institutions		
Libraries	Presence	Number and type of installations (public, university, community)
	Users	

¹¹². See André Langlois et al., 1993.

Table 3: Components, Elements and Indicators of Vitality of memory		
Component	Element	Potential vitality of memory indicator
	Availability of printed material	Percentage of Francophone/Anglophone works in collection Number of works on OLMCs Number of works on history and heritage
	Dissemination/digitization	Number of documents published Data on website Data on dissemination/digitization activities Data on on-site/virtual exhibitions
	Offer/service in the minority language	
	Presence on social networks	
	Staff	Number of staff from OLMC
Archival centres	Availability of archives	Number of fonds/collections processed or available and percentage of total Extent of fonds associated with OLMCs (linear metres of documents, number of photographs, etc.)
	Users	
	Availability of printed material	Percentage of Francophone/Anglophone works in collection Number of works on OLMCs Number of works on history and heritage
	Facilitation/dissemination/digitization	Number of documents published Data on website Data on dissemination/digitization activities Data on on-site/virtual exhibitions
	Offer/service in French	
	Presence on social networks	
	Staff	Number of staff from OLMC
	Policies	Policies on acquisition/preservation and services to ensure appropriate representation of OLMCs in archival fonds
		Specific/general mandate Representation of minority?
Museums	Exhibition	
	Collection	
	Services	
	Signage	
Cultural/interpretation centres		Mandate on history/memory
Oral history centres	Exhibition	
Cultural and social practices		
Societies	Heritage associations	Number of members Membership/leadership renewal

Table 3: Components, Elements and Indicators of Vitality of memory		
Component	Element	Potential vitality of memory indicator
	Historical societies	Unilingual (minority)/bilingual
	Traditional dance troupes	
	Traditional music groups	
Activities	Heritage days	Presence at multicultural days
	Cultural days	
	Historical festival	Presence Number of participants Number of activities
Historical and community research	Publications	Local stories Family and genealogy stories, proof of Métis ancestry or other legal uses
	Symposia, etc.	Number of university researchers and their publications/symposia/conferences
	Historical magazines/journals	Number of publications/year Number of subscribers Print runs
Communications	References in OLMC media	Number of articles/columns
	Community media	
Cultural productions		
Schools	Local history programs	
	School field trips	
Tourism	Map of historic sites	
	Networks (e.g. local)	
	Guided tours	
Theatre		
Literature		
Visual arts		
Cinema		
Symbolic		
Community trajectory/identity	Sense of duration	
	Future outlook	

Table 3: Components, Elements and Indicators of Vitality of memory		
Component	Element	Potential vitality of memory indicator
	Integration/openness	
Local government		

2.2.4 Societal impacts of documentary heritage

As stated by Anne Klein, there has been little discussion on the societal role of documentary heritage.

In this context, by examining and then gaining awareness of what happens as a result of our actions, we are better able to understand the impact and role of documentary heritage in this vitality. This, of course, includes direct impact, the preservation and enhancement of archives and publications, as well as crucial support for other forms of memory reminders. As Lucie Hotte points out:¹¹³

there is a belief that the history of minority communities is at constant risk of being forgotten. In this context, archives emerge as a treasure to be preserved, bearing witness not only to a rich and valid past, but also guaranteeing the future of the community whose founding act they perpetuate. [translation]

In this article, she reiterates the importance of access based on “the idea that digitization is the ideal means of promoting the archives and, by extension, the community, and of making known the group’s history to a large number of people at a small cost.”¹¹⁴ [translation] However, we can add that the societal impact is much broader if all of the manifestations of memory that support documentary heritage are considered. It is in this context that a 2017 survey of historians and archivists revealed the broad outlines of both direct and induced impacts.

Direct impacts associated directly with the presence of OLMC archives or archival centres and libraries, or those pertaining in whole or in part to the OLMC, can be identified where minority communities are concerned. These impacts are tied to their role of disseminator of documentary heritage in the minority language, contributing to the creation of a public space or the availability of material in the minority language. This results in:

- the availability of documentary heritage (archives, works, etc.) in the OLMC language;
- a set of dissemination activities, including digitization;
- a service offering in the minority language; and
- a presence in the public space, including on social media.

Induced impacts are those that are associated with the use of documentary heritage as such, and consequently, the vitality of memory (and identity vitality) of the OLMC.

First, it is about fostering the historicity of the community by enabling its insertion (and that of its members) into a perspective over time, one which both looks at the past and projects into the future. This relationship that a community has with time is expressed in many ways and entails complex interactions. Documentary heritage contributes to it **directly** through the presence of specially dedicated sites or activities, e.g. archival centres, and **indirectly** through the support that it provides for all cultural products that showcase the past of the OLMC, particularly through:

- historical research and the results arising from it (scholarly, local, family and other history);
- the promotion of this memory in the public space (exhibitions, museums, interpretation centres, historic sites, monuments, toponymy, education);

¹¹³. Lucie Hotte, loc. cit., p. 18.

¹¹⁴. Idem, p. 18.

- cultural activities of a memorial nature (festivals, etc.); and
- reminders of the past in public communications (marking conflicts, etc.).

The other dimensions of induced impacts are mainly:

- Support for artistic creation, i.e. the entrenchment in the past of contemporary cultural production (novels, theatre, visual arts, etc.); and
- Support for social integration, whether it has to do with newcomers to OLMCs or with fostering recognition of the OLMCs' role and importance by the majority.

The table below shows the various dimensions.

Table 4: Societal Impacts of Documentary Heritage	
Impact	Explanation¹¹⁵
DIRECT IMPACT	
Availability of documentary heritage	“archive descriptions that result from the processing of fonds, the preservation of these archives, which makes them accessible” [translation] (Lesage)
Dissemination activities	“The website . . . the publication of documents, exhibitions, conferences, workshops, open houses . . . help to meet one of the objectives of the Development of Official-Language Minority Communities Program, namely the aim to ensure the long-term development of minority communities in priority areas.” [translation] (Lesage)
Digitization activities	“provide access to numerous fonds that illustrate Francophone activities in minority communities” [translation] (Lalonde)
Offer/service in French	“by actively providing services in French . . . this promotes bilingualism, preserves achievements and promotes resources and activities in French.” [translation] (Lesage)
Presence on social networks	
Governance support	“essential to their governance” [translation] (Lalonde)
INDIRECT (MEMORY INDUCED BY DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE)	
Support for historical research, knowledge about the community	“Without this documentation, we cannot properly explore, document and research communities. This context therefore affects our Acadian identity and its contribution to the wealth of Canadian heritage.” [translation] (Brideau)
Support for historic sites/commemoration	Documentation, exhibition (Allaire)
Integration into festive practices	
Support for artistic creation	“This promotes cultural and artistic expression in French by making documentary wealth available to cultural creators of all sorts” [translation] (Lesage)

¹¹⁵. The quotations are taken from interviews conducted in 2017.

Table 4: Societal Impacts of Documentary Heritage	
Impact	Explanation¹¹⁵
Legal support	“Archives have been used and continue to be used to defend and support the determination of Canada’s French-speaking citizens to live in French throughout Manitoba, to have their constitutional, legal and language rights respected, and to receive their services in French from various orders of government as well as the private and quasi-public sectors, which also applies to Métis rights.” [translation] (Lesage)
Support for education	
Integration of newcomers	“Archives help increase the inclusive nature of official language minority communities by providing new immigrants with the opportunity to get to know the community where they have chosen to take up residence.” [translation] (Lesage) “The OLMC needs to be open to accepting the histories and memory (and “memorial ecosystem” as you nicely describe it) of the newcomers, rather than simply have the newcomers adapt to the prevailing memorial ecosystem that the OLMC already operates in.” (O’Donnell)
Legal support	
Genealogy	“Moreover, through SHSB [Société historique de Saint-Boniface] services, e.g. genealogy services, many Manitobans discover connections with individuals, families and Francophone communities. This also promotes the adoption of positive attitudes about the Francophonie among unilingual Anglophones and recognizes the French-speaking community’s contribution to the development of the province. This was done this year, e.g. with the preparation of genealogies to establish proof of Métis ancestry. . . . We enable francization insofar as people discover their Francophone ancestry by doing their genealogy and striving to find out more about their ancestry and identify with it, and by fostering access to resources on family and community history.” [translation] (Lesage)
Community services	
Delivery of services to the community	“The SHSB also ensures the creation, improvement and provision of direct services not otherwise available to communities in their language in the heritage component, which the Government of Manitoba also recognizes.” [translation] (Lesage)

Conclusion

Two compelling findings emerge from this research.

First, the concept of vitality deserves to be revisited and expanded if we are to truly support the development of OLMCs. While language performance is still a key component of identity, it is not the be-all and end-all. Cultural practices, organizations and culture are absolutely necessary to create living communities. Moreover, inscription in time—vitality of memory—also contributes not only to entrenchment in the long term, but also to the ability to project into the future. As other studies have shown, language practices, community institutions, inclusion in space, and artistic and cultural production are the cornerstones of this identity, essential for the vitality of these communities. However, vitality of memory, rather neglected thus far, adds a temporal dimension that strengthens the social bond and identity—prerequisites for sustainable development.

The second aspect has to do with the wealth and diversity of memory manifestations through which a community expresses itself. Some aspects have been addressed, more or less, by historians, to be sure. Thus, both commemoration and the production of historical works have been the subject of debate and research. Others have taken an interest in the various forms of traces, be it toponymy or heritage, as generally agreed, whether that is built or landscape, movable, intangible or documentary heritage. Yet it appears that this vitality of memory also manifests itself in other domains, including literary production, sociabilities (e.g. through historical societies) and many others. Understanding its wealth and diversity thus becomes a means of reasserting its value and, consequently, supporting it in its various expressions.

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Appendix 1: List of Authorities Consulted

Gratien Allaire, historian, expert on Francophone communities outside of Quebec

Michel Bock, professor, Department of History, University of Ottawa; holder of the Research Chair in the History of Canadian Francophonie (Chaire de recherche sur l'histoire de la francophonie canadienne)

François Charbonneau, associate professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa; Chair of the Francophonie committee of the ACFAS [Francophone association for knowledge]

Anne Gilbert, retired professor, Department of Geography, Environment and Geomatics, University of Ottawa; former Director of the Centre for Research in French Canadian Culture

Lucie Hotte, full professor, French Department, University of Ottawa; Director of the Centre for Research in French Canadian Culture; Outgoing President of the International Council of Francophone Studies; Director of the Laboratoire de recherche sur les cultures et les littératures francophones du Canada [research laboratory in francophone cultures and literatures in Canada]

Marcel Martel, professor, Department of History, York University; holder of the Avie Bennett Historica Canada Chair in Canadian History

E.-Martin Meunier, professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies, University of Ottawa; holder of the Research Chair in Quebec, Canadian Francophonie and Cultural Transformations (Chaire de recherche Québec, francophonie canadienne et mutations culturelles); Director of the Collège des chaires sur le monde francophone [college of chairs on the Francophone world] program, University of Ottawa

Lorraine O'Donnell, affiliate assistant professor, School of Community and Public Affairs, Concordia University; Research Coordinator, Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN)

Jonathan Paquette, associate professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa; holder of the International Francophonie Research Chair on Cultural Heritage Policies (Chaire de recherche en francophonie internationale sur le patrimoine culturel)

Martin Pâquet, professor of History, Laval University; holder of the Chair for the Development of Research in French Culture in North America (Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord [CEFAN])

Linda Savoie, Corporate Secretary and Official Languages Champion, Library and Archives Canada

Robert Talbot, Manager, Research, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages

Marie-Claude Thifault, full professor and historian, School of Nursing, Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Ottawa; holder of the Research Chair in Health and the Canadian Francophonie (Chaire de recherche sur la francophonie canadienne en santé)

Appendix 2: Vitality of memory: The Case of Maillardville, British Columbia

Introduction

To illustrate concretely how vitality of memory can emerge within communities, we conducted basic research into the case of an OLMC: Maillardville, British Columbia.

We selected this case at random and limited our research to sources available online. A more in-depth study will follow at a later date.

About Maillardville

Maillardville is a Francophone neighbourhood in the city of Coquitlam, Greater Vancouver. It was long regarded as the largest French Canadian community west of Saint Boniface.

Timeline:

- 1909: First wave of French Canadians arrives to replace the area's Asian workforce
- 1945: Foundation of the Fédération canadienne-française de la Colombie-Britannique [French Canadian federation of British Columbia] (FCFCB)
- 1950–1951: School strike
- 1960: Population is approximately 6,000 people
- 1971: 3,330 residents speak French as their first language; FCFCB headquarters, established in Maillardville in 1961, relocated to Vancouver
- 2001: 1,045 residents of the neighbourhood have French heritage

Vitality, memory and identity

The community has long been viewed as endangered, as the following quotations attest:¹¹⁶

All we can say for sure is that, if sociolinguistic conditions in Maillardville do not improve very soon, French will no longer be spoken there at all. This would be a great loss not only to the community's French Canadians, but to the province as a whole. [translation]

Monique A.J. McDonald, *Étude morphologique et syntaxique* (1968)

We were forced to retreat, leaving behind us minorities with no future who would end up not unlike the French of Louisiana and New England. . . . In Maillardville, for example, it was always understood that the poor souls who washed up there would rapidly assimilate into Anglo culture. [translation]

Jacques Ferron, *Escarmonches* (1975)

¹¹⁶. Quotations taken from Richard Patry, "La mondialisation avant l'heure : le devenir du français au Canada et au Québec dans l'oeuvre polémique de Jacques Ferron," *Présence Francophone: Revue internationale de langue et de littérature*, 63(1) (2004), pp. 204–229.

Assessing the state of French in Maillardville, André Pépin [in *La Presse*, April 23, 1991] proclaims the language nearly extinct. . . . He then writes of the constant struggle—and failure—of Francophones to survive in British Columbia, making the deprecating observation that in 1991 [sic] you would have better luck finding service in Chinese than in French in this province. [translation]

Richard Patry, 2004

However, in 2012, Franck Chignier-Riboulon offered this more nuanced analysis:

In 1979, Paul Villeneuve was already insisting on the importance of assimilation. The situation today is somewhat paradoxical, as French-speakers are now in the minority in the neighbourhood, and indeed are scattered over several different municipalities (where they are also very much in the minority). Moreover, the Maillardville school was relocated to a neighbouring municipality. And yet, “the spirit of the community remains,” according to Lionel Daneault, interviewed by Florence Debeugny.¹¹⁷ [translation]

Chignier-Riboulon concludes by asking, “Can we start viewing anchoring as above all spiritual, a sort of collective memory that drives activism and social activity?” [translation]

Without attempting to answer this question in full, we can ask ourselves the following: Can memory accounts serve to “build community”? Though certainly not the only contributing factor to a group’s vitality, such accounts nevertheless strengthen social ties. The expressive power of a community’s memory accounts - vitality of memory - is therefore a measure of the sureness of its collective identity. The Maillardville case sets itself apart by the strength and diversity of its vitality of memory.

¹¹⁷. Franck Chignier-Riboulon, “Maillardville (Colombie-Britannique), du village au cœur symbolique d’un (fragile) réseau francophone,” *Cahiers franco-canadiens de l’Ouest*, 24(1–2), pp. 101–118.

Table 5: Vitality of memory in Maillardville, B.C.	
Aspect	Signs/Manifestations
Manifestations of memory in the landscape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commemorative plaques: 75 Years (1984) and The Pioneers (1999) • Public art: Pioneer Spirit monument (2010) commemorating the 1909 pioneers • Odonymy: Bilingual street signs since 1990 • Public use of French: Community and cultural centres have French names (Place des Arts, Place Maillardville) • Historic and museum squares: Carré Heritage Square marks the historic entrance to Fraser Mills. Inaugurated in 1999, it is the site of Mackin House Museum, which opened in 1999 and is run by the Coquitlam Heritage Society; Place des Arts; and the Gare de Fraser Mills Station Museum. Facing Carré Heritage Square is Mackin Park, the site of the Festival du Bois. • On-site interpretation: Bilingual interpretive panels throughout the neighbourhood identify sites and serve as reminders of important events. The “Maillardville toujours” brochure recommends a tourist route through the neighbourhood, while Place des Arts offers an introductory educational program on the history of Carré Heritage Square and the arts. • Collective interest in heritage: Maillardville’s heritage value is key to the City of Coquitlam’s initiatives. In 1986, it drew up its first inventory, which identified 75 buildings. When the list was updated in 2007, only 35 of the buildings remained, with 14 considered to be of special interest. In 1987, the city identified six buildings as meriting heritage interest; they would be added to the heritage register upon its establishment in 2007. • Beautification: In 2007, the Société francophone de Maillardville obtained \$420,000 in grants, mainly from Western Economic Diversification Canada, to beautify the neighbourhood. • Revitalization: In 2015, the City of Coquitlam began revitalization work on the Francophone commercial core.
Cultural manifestations of memory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Associations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1955: Founding of the Association des Scouts francophones de Maillardville ○ 1963: Founding of the Société biculturelle de Maillardville to create a bilingual cultural centre ○ 1969: Founding of the Foyer Maillard, a seniors centre ○ 1972: Opening of Place des Arts (a non-profit) in Ryan House ○ 1973: Founding of the Les Échos du Pacifique choir ○ 1983: Merging of 11 associations into the Société francophone de Maillardville (Maillardville-Uni)

Table 5: Vitality of memory in Maillardville, B.C.	
Aspect	Signs/Manifestations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commemorations and other cultural events: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1984: 75 Years of Maillardville ○ 2009: Maillardville Centennial ○ 2010: Village international de la francophonie, Vancouver Olympic Games ○ 2017: Proposal for a Maillardville Francophone cultural centre (eight feasibility studies) • Festivals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ SuperFrancofête, 1974–1981 ○ Festival du sucre, 1983–present ○ Festival du bois, 1989–present; draws an average of 15,000 people each year <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ “While staying true to its French-Canadian musical roots, the festival has gradually embraced world music . . . to reflect the diversity of Francophone culture in the province.” [translation] (Radio-Canada, 2018) ▪ Recognized as one of the biggest cultural events in Vancouver by <i>Business in Vancouver</i> magazine in 2008 • Theatre: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1999: Stephan Cloutier and Craig Holzschuh, <i>Un One-way</i>, Théâtre la Seizième (about settling in Maillardville) • Novels: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ 1999: Norma Charles, <i>Sophie Sea to Sea</i> ○ 2002: Norma Charles, <i>Criss Cross, Double Cross: A Sophie Alias Star Girl Adventure</i>, Toronto, Dundurn Press (young adult novel set in 1949) ○ 2007: Norma Charles, <i>Boxcar Kid</i>, Toronto, Dundurn Press, 2007 ○ 2009: Marie-Laure Chevrier, <i>Le rêve de « Monsieur Maillardville »</i>, Montmagny, Quebec, La Plume d’Oie, 2009 ○ 2009: Rosemary I. Patterson, <i>Timber Sale: A British Columbia Literary History About Alexander Duncan McRae, Maillardville, the Comox Valley and the Canadian Western Lumber Company 1907–1916</i>, 146 p. ○ 2010: Annie Bourret, <i>Gabrielle et le vampire de Maillardville, Z’ailées</i>, 2010

Table 5: Vitality of memory in Maillardville, B.C.	
Aspect	Signs/Manifestations
Maillardville: History, archives and collective memory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ French, English and bilingual publications for the general public: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ on Maillardville (Spagnolo, 1980; Paré, 1994, 1997, 2000; Debeugny, 2009; Boire, 2016) ▪ on Coquitlam (Pioneer Tales, 1990; New Horizons, 2001) ▪ ten other history books that partially cover this history (Guibord, 2020) ○ Over 15 articles, dissertations and theses on the community, its language and its urban landscape ○ Promotion on websites (Société historique francophone de la Colombie-Britannique, Société francophone de Maillardville, Coquitlam Public Library) and in exhibitions (the permanent exhibition on the history of Maillardville and Fraser Mills at Mackin House Museum has over 700 historical photos on display) • Archives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Archives in various locations (City of Coquitlam Archives:15 fonds and collections ; Société historique francophone de la Colombie-Britannique; BC Archives) ○ Virtual exhibitions including <i>Les archives authentiques de Maillardville</i> (ca. 2001) and <i>Coquitlam 100 Years Photographic Collection</i> (Coquitlam Public Library)
Manifestations of memory: From individual accounts to collective memory	<p>The collective narrative has been shaped by various story-gathering projects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1972: Vancouver Oral History Project • Twenty-three interviews on Maillardville available through BC Archives and the Coquitlam Public Library • 1996: Antonio G. Paré, <i>My Memoirs of Le Vieux Maillardville</i> (book) • 1997–2000: “Le grand ordinaire” oral history project • 2009: Florence Debeugny, <i>Maillardville : 100 ans et plus – 100 Years and Beyond</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Project for the centennial consisting of a book in both English and French and an exhibition with a 16-minute video of archival photographs and films alongside 200 black-and-white portraits of 100 participants with connections to Maillardville. Several of the stories can be found online.

Table 5: Vitality of memory in Maillardville, B.C.	
Aspect	Signs/Manifestations
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2013: Coquitlam Heritage Society Oral History Project • 2016–2019: Mémoire Vivante du Village / Maillardville Story Project <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ The purpose of the “Capacity Building and Story Telling: Using Community Television to Capture the Past, Present, and Future of the Maillardville Community” project by the City of Coquitlam and community television is to air recorded stories on television (and upload them to YouTube). A film was released in 2019.
Maillardville and beyond: Recognition of memory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the Franco-Columbian community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Educational play from the Association historique francophone de Victoria ○ “If you bring up the province’s French-speaking community to anyone, Maillardville will be the first place to come to mind.” [translation] (Maurice Guibord, President of the Société historique francophone de la Colombie-Britannique, 2014) • In the wider population of Coquitlam and British Columbia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Role of the Coquitlam Public Library, the City of Coquitlam and the Coquitlam Heritage Society ○ Heritage recognition at the provincial level: British Columbia Historical Federation (BCHF) / BC Heritage / Province of British Columbia ○ Symbolic recognition: Riding of Coquitlam-Maillardville (created in 1991) ○ Centennial celebrations (2010): “the community enjoyed the support of many partners, such as the municipal, provincial and federal governments, private businesses and cultural organizations.” (OCOL, 2010) • In the Canadian Francophonie

Concluding remarks on this case

Is Maillardville a community in decline? Johanne Dumas, President of the Société francophone de Maillardville, observes:

Francophone organizations now have a stronger presence in their communities . . . Here in my region, I don't see my Francophonie declining at all. I believe my Francophonie is growing, just in a different way. . . . It has a new face. We're not just from Canada, we're from all over the world.¹¹⁸ [translation]

This preliminary overview allows us to conclude that there is significant vitality of memory, characterized by:

- diversity and strength;
- Recognition;
- Intensity.

The concept of vitality of memory explored in this paper appears to be a useful template for holistically understanding how memory contributes to a community's vitality. Furthermore, this concept highlights the importance of promoting memory and heritage to support the vitality of OLMCs.

¹¹⁸. "La Société francophone de Maillardville vue par Johanne Dumas," Conseil culturel et artistique francophone de la Colombie-Britannique, February 15, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=43Gn_QZ7OdQ.