LANGUAGE and SOCIETY

No. 19 April 1987

A COMMON VISION OF CANADA

André Laurendeau (1912-1968) and Davidson Dunton (1912-1987)
Co-chairmen of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, they worked relentlessly for linguistic justice and harmony in Canada. Canadians are deeply indebted to them — their profound and enduring influence on our country cannot be underestimated.

LANGUAGE and Society No. 19 April 1987

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COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

Some Twenty Years Later . . .

D'IBERVILLE FORTIER

The death of Davidson Dunton in February stands as a reminder of how great a debt the country owes the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, particularly the original co-chairmen, André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton. To their memory we dedicate this issue of *Language and Society*.

It all began January 20, 1962, when André Laurendeau — then editor of *Le Devoir* — published a restrained yet dramatic editorial calling for an inquiry into bilingualism. "For my part", Laurendeau wrote, "I propose a moratorium on crumbs: no more bilingual cheques, no new bilingual inscriptions, no fragmentary concessions for a time. In their place, a Royal Commission." He concluded his piece with the comment: "Paris was worth a Mass; perhaps Canada is worth a Royal Commission." The deplorable state of relations between Quebec Francophones and the rest of Canada made him fear the worst for the future of the country.

Set up by the federal government in summer 1963, the Commission began its work that fall. After discussions with hundreds of people from all sectors of society and all parts of the country, followed by meetings with thousands of Canadians in the course of extensive regional consultations, the Commissioners felt compelled to report that: "Canada, without being fully conscious of the fact, is passing through the greatest crisis in its history."

Where do we stand nearly a quarter of a century later? The country did not break up as feared, and separatism has lost its appeal. In fact, the language question no longer sets Francophones and Anglophones at odds to the same extent it once did, as is clear from the lead article by Stacy Churchill and Anthony Smith (pp. 4-8). Their analysis of the Canadian Facts survey we commissioned in 1985 leads them to conclude that from coast to coast there is majority support for linguistic duality and the availability of certain public services in the language of the provincial minority. But as they themselves emphasize, Canadians generally and their political leaders in particular must put their shoulders to the wheel with more dedication than ever if they do not want to lose ground. This opinion is shared by most of the contributors to this issue of *Language and Society*.

A second section presents reactions to the survey data and to the Churchill-Smith article from a number of people deeply interested in language matters: Gérard Pelletier, father of the Official Languages Act; John Carson, former Chairman of the Public Service Commission; David Crombie, current Secretary of State; Yves Laurendeau, son of André Laurendeau; Norman Webster, editor of *The Globe and Mail*; Paul-André Comeau, editor of *Le Devoir*; Ernie Epp, New Democratic Party Member of Parliament; and Jean-Robert Gauthier, Liberal Member of Parliament. Even the most reserved and the most cautious among them recognize that optimism is nonetheless appropriate.

The reader will also be interested in the four articles that complete the substance of this issue. Gilles Lalande, former Deputy Commissioner of Offical Languages, calls for a return to basics — a return to the spirit of the B and B Commission and its recommendations — accompanied by a vigorous new thrust. In an interview with Wendy Johnson, Gerald Caplan, co-chairman of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy, outlines the role the electronic media should play in building a bilingual Canada. Professor Joseph Magnet makes a case for government assistance to help minorities establish the economic infrastructure they need to flourish. Finally, Stuart Beaty of the Office of the Commissioner of Offical Languages discusses the educational rights conferred on minorities by Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the obligations of the provinces in this respect.

On a closing note, I should like to express the enduring gratitude of all Canadians to the members of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism; to Jean-Louis Gagnon, co-chairman from 1968 on; and especially to the late André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton.

D'Iberville Fortier

The national picture is a positive one overall — past policies have had their effect. Though it will require courage to enter into arenas in which little policy discussion has yet taken place, the data strongly suggest that support for new initiatives will increase.

The Time Has Come

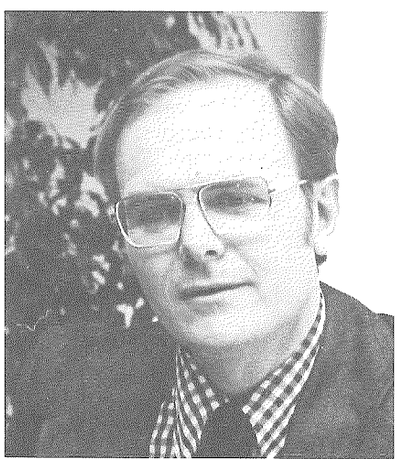
STACY CHURCHILL
ANTHONY H. SMITH

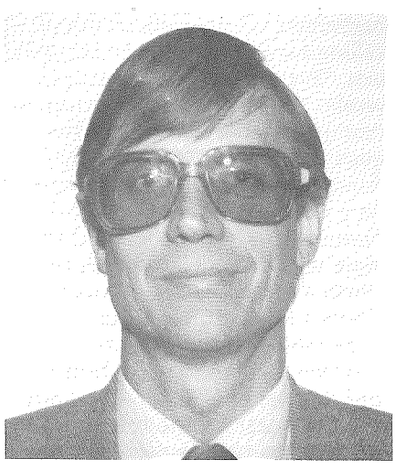
"The time has come," the Walrus said,
"to talk of many things..."

LEWIS CARROLL
Through the Looking-Glass

Discussions of Canada's official languages proceed in a kind of code, proclaiming *linguistic duality* or *language equality*, describing English and French as *official*, and labelling the entire package *bilingualism*. The code is one we have inherited, and it colours our views of today's language issues with the perceptions of past decades.

Recent opinion data show that inherited preconceptions of how opinions divide us are sadly out of date. Regional differences do exist, but they do not involve two groupings with totally opposed goals.





Stacy Churchill is a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. He is the author of several studies dealing with the education of minority Francophones.

Anthony Smith was trained in Sociology at Leicester University in the United Kingdom and at Princeton and has taught at the University of Toronto.

It is undoubtedly true that there are Francophone Quebecers who are hostile to English and people outside Quebec who are hostile to French. There are still many language-related disputes to sustain belief in the existence of opposition. However, the real question is one of numbers. Are the numbers significant or does the past persist only as a residue? There is reason to believe the two solitudes are closer together than ever before. Indeed, the best illustration of this point comes by comparing the extremes in the opinion data: the views of Quebec and British Columbia.

Attitudes of the 1980s

It may come as a surprise to many Canadians who speak English that the commitment of Quebecers to bilingualism, both individual and institutional, is extremely high. The rate of basic bilingual proficiency in Quebec is two to three times that in other regions. Almost half (47 per cent) of Quebecers can "carry on a conversation, but not very easily" or speak the other language "without any trouble at all". More passive measures of bilingual ability, such as reading or following television programs, would likely show far higher levels of bilingualism. An astounding 99 per cent of Quebecers consider the ability to speak both English and French to be very or moderately important in helping a young person get ahead. Fully 93 per cent of Quebecers believe that English and French should be required in school.

Quebecers are almost as supportive of the language rights of the English-speaking minority as they are positive about the value of learning English. Eighty-eight per cent of Quebec's Francophones believe that Anglophones in Quebec should be entitled to education for their children in English. Eighty-nine per cent believe that English-speaking residents of Quebec should be able to receive hospital service in English. Support for service in English in the post office is 85 per cent, and for department stores, 82 per cent.

How do the views of English Canadians compare? Is there any basis in measured public opinion for the notion of a hostile West? The survey data do reflect some of the preconceptions. On all the measures of attitudes in the survey, the Atlantic is most positive, Ontario next, then the Prairies and British Columbia. If the data were to be used to create a profile of the Canadian least likely to support bilingualism, the profile would single out an Anglophone, 50 or over, with no past training in French as a second language, no current contact with the French language, living in Western Canada.

Such a picture might sound like a confirmation of the past, a re-affirmation of old divisions and old divisiveness. But it is the numbers that count and the numbers are striking.

In British Columbia, 69 per cent of the population believe that speaking both English and French is important to a young person getting ahead. Seventy-seven per cent think it would be a good thing if all Canadians spoke both English and French and 59 per cent support the compulsory teaching of both languages in schools.

Although British Columbia does not have a strong French presence (not even two per cent of the population were Francophone at the time of the 1981 census), 57 per cent of the population believe that people who live in the province and speak French should be entitled to education for their children in French. Similarly, a majority (55 per cent) believes that hospital services should be available in French to Francophones.

True, only 36 per cent of the population name both English and French as the languages in which the provincial government should provide service. Yet when the issue of language rights is approached in terms of vital services, access in French receives majority support. Specific questions about meeting basic human needs are apparently more effective in tapping the positive attitudes that exist than are abstract questions about government services.

This portrayal of the contrast between Quebec and British Columbia leaves out detailed description of the Atlantic region and Ontario, areas where support for the right to French-language services is substantial, and the Prairies, where levels of support are comparable to those in British Columbia. Again, the numbers are striking.

In the Atlantic region there is majority support for services in French on every question asked in the survey. Support ranges from a low of 62 per cent approving service in French in department stores to a high of 82 per cent naming English and French as the languages in which the federal government should provide service.

In Ontario the support for language rights is at majority levels on all the questions asked about the public sector. It is in the 40 per cent range on questions asked about service in the private sector.

The Prairies are also supportive of key minority language rights, with figures broadly similar to those for British Columbia.

Questions about meeting basic human needs are more effective in tapping positive attitudes than are abstract questions about government services.

Findings for Ontario and Atlantic Canada are reported as illustrations that, on many questions, these regions occupy the upper half of the scale between Quebec and Western Canada. When the regional results are added up the national picture is a positive one overall. The levels of support for service in the language of the provincial minorities is at the 50 per cent level or better on all the questions asked, including both those which deal with the public

Quebecers and Linguistic Duality

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Francophone Quebecers with five or more years' past study of English and those who have never studied English are equally in favour of minority rights. In Quebec age and past study of English have little impact on attitudes towards languages. It is the situational importance of English, not age or education, which apparently shapes attitudes.

The commitment of Quebecers to bilingualism, both individual and institutional, is extremely high. The rate of basic bilingual proficiency in Quebec is two to three times that in other regions.

sector and those which deal with the private sector. If the focus is on opinions outside Quebec the support is at the 50 per cent level or better on all questions asked about the public sector. Overall support outside Quebec for access in French to institutions in the private sector was measured by the survey in the 40 per cent range.

Shaping language attitudes

The survey data offer substantial clues as to the forces that shape attitudes towards official languages. Three factors show strong relationships to many of the attitudes tapped by the survey: age; past study of the other language; and exposure to it, or language contact. Age and past study are particularly relevant to the attitudes of English Canadians. They are of limited relevance in explaining variations in the attitudes of Francophone Quebecers. Contact with the other language is relevant both inside and outside Quebec but, again, it makes the most difference in English Canada.

Useful skills for young people

Attitudes to official languages are strongly related to age among English-speaking Canadians. The relationships were examined in a previous article (in *Language and Society* Nº 18, September 1986, pp. 5-11) but the main dimensions are worthy of re-emphasis.

The personal value of knowing or using the other language is age-related for both Anglophones and Francophones. More of the young are interested in learning the second language and interest declines among older age categories. On most other attitudes, Francophone Quebecers are extremely positive at every age.

One attitude is *not* related to age: Canadians of all ages believe that bilingualism is a useful skill for young people. Even if older Canadians often do not consider bilingualism valuable for them personally, they support second language learning for their children and grandchildren.

Support for minority language rights is also patterned quite distinctly for the two language groups. Among Francophones, support for the rights of English-speaking Quebecers is high across all generations and, by and large, unrelated to age. Among Anglophones outside Quebec, support for the language rights of Francophones is highest among the young and declines dramatically with age.

Increasing empathy for minorities

The age effect on Anglophones is marked and it is consistent across the whole range of attitudes about bilingualism and language rights: the young have consistently more favourable attitudes. Patterning as strong and stable as this in survey data is not a chance occurrence. Some very systematic effect is at work to create it and the obvious candidate is French language instruction. In sum, French language instruction apparently not only serves its immediate purpose but also increases empathy for minority language rights.

The value of second language education is confirmed by the survey's findings on the relationship between attitudes and prior study of the second language in English Canada.

Compelling evidence of the relationship comes from examining the impact of prior study of French on the attitudes of English-speaking Canadians towards French-language hospital services. Overall, 65 per cent of Anglophones residing outside Quebec favour such services. Among those who have studied French extensively (five or more years) the percentage in favour is 79, while among those who have never studied French it is 54. Past study of French is similarly important in shaping the views of Anglophones on all the other questions about language rights included in the survey.

> *The personal value of knowing or using the other language is age-related for both Anglophones and Francophones.*

In contrast, Francophone Quebecers with five or more years' past study of English and those who have never studied English are equally in favour of minority rights. In Quebec age and past study of English have little impact on attitudes towards languages. It is the situational importance of English, not age or education, which apparently shapes attitudes.

In British Columbia, 69 per cent of the population believe that speaking both English and French is important to a young person getting ahead.

Contact with the other official language has a clear and direct relationship to attitudes towards it. Both within the province of Quebec and outside it, those who have most contact with the other language are most supportive of the language rights of the minority.

Private sector weaknesses

A telling illustration of this point comes from the area where support for language rights is weakest overall — the private sector. Eighty-nine per cent of Quebec Francophones who hear English spoken every day believe that Anglophone Quebecers should receive service in English in department stores. At the extreme end of the scale, among those who never hear English spoken, 74 per cent believe that Anglophones should receive such service.

A similar picture emerges among English-speaking Canadians outside Quebec, but with much larger differences. Seventy-five per cent of those who hear French spoken every day support access in French to department stores for the provincial minority. Only 28 per cent of those who never hear French support such access.

The sharp differences between Anglophones who have contact with French and those who do not are cause for concern. Opinion shows a direct link to the least tractable feature of the language map, the distribution of the French language in English Canada. The need to counter the realities of language distribution with policies which promote the contact of Anglophones with the French language and culture are reinforced by these findings. The importance of second language instruction and exchange programs is doubly emphasized.

Implications for policy

Responses to the survey generally endorse what is already being done by public policies. Although current levels of support for minority language access are not sufficient basis for concrete action in every region and every sector, public opinion offers strong areas for progress in the immediate future and considerable hope that the frontiers of language policy will expand.

First of all, the availability of federal government services in English or French is an accepted fact, which means that further steps in this area can be pursued with every expectation of popular support.

Public opinion also ratifies the legal guarantees written into the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms with respect to education in the language of the English or French provincial minority. The data should be very encouraging for provincial governments as they move toward the task of making good quality schooling available to Francophone minorities outside Quebec.

Broad new initiatives

Overwhelmingly favourable responses to the provision of health care in English and French make this a prime target for broad new initiatives. In concrete terms, this will mean offering hospital and medical services in French outside Quebec, New Brunswick and the few centres (mainly in eastern Ontario) where they are now available.

The obvious public interest in providing vital services to the English- and French-speaking population in their own language probably has implications (not tested in this survey) for other services that are currently available only in the language of the majority, including many under provincial administration — for example, criminal and civil justice, social assistance and even daycare.

Age patterns in the data suggest strongly that future support for a wide range of policy initiatives will increase, primarily as a result of the aging of young Anglophones. Young English-speaking Canadians have become interested in learning French, they have the support of their parents in this, and they are very positive in their attitudes towards language rights.

Exchange programs invaluable

The signs are that past policies of support for second language instruction and exchange programs have worked and can continue to work. But, in the long run, the success of such measures will also depend upon strengthening the French language and the status of French in communities across Canada. To an important extent French will be valued by English speakers for its utility. Giving French a larger role in all sectors of Canadian life, including business, would therefore make sense as a major aim of future language policy.

Surprisingly strong support for the provision of service in English and French by business was recorded in

the survey. Overall, 53 per cent of Canadians said business should provide service in English and French. There are, of course, wide differences between Anglophones and Francophones, with those in favour running at 44 per cent and 76 per cent respectively.

Seeping into the public consciousness

Private sector bilingualism has, by and large, been neither a matter of public debate nor the focus of policy initiative in the past 20 years, yet the notion of access in both languages to the institutions of the private sector has seeped into the public consciousness by osmosis. It will require courage to enter arenas like this, where little policy discussion has taken place. If such initiatives are to succeed, a continuing effort will have to be made to promote the positive attitudes which are necessary to underwrite change, particularly in English Canada.

Data from the survey suggest that there are policy actions which can reinforce and develop positive attitudes towards language reform. The strongest card continues to be an emphasis on opportunities for the young — particularly young Anglophones — to study and use their second official language. Contact between Anglophones and Francophones can be enhanced directly through exchange programs. Creation of institutions that work in both languages can also increase contact and promote changes in attitudes, while public radio and television broadcasting in the minority languages can increase the opportunities for Anglophones to hear French and for Francophones to hear English.

The bilingualism of federal institutions has been publicly and symbolically on display for nearly 20 years. Even if confusion exists over the meaning of some terms, there is now widespread support for the practical matter of teaching the young to speak English and French and the principle of providing access to vital services in both languages. The strength of support across Canada is sufficiently large to rewrite the phrase book for policy discussion.

In Ontario the support for language rights is at majority level on all the questions asked about the public sector.

Reducing confrontation

The code words of the 1960s served the needs of yesterday's policy makers by reducing opportunities for clear-cut confrontation. In today's more positive environment, they serve only to recall the fixed ideological positions of past disputes. Opposition to new initiatives is probably inevitable. While that opposition is most likely to change in response to the political will of a new generation whose commitment to bilingualism is very strong, a new vocabulary can draw on the support for language rights that evidently exists across Canada instead of triggering responses based on past preconceptions.

> Why do those who discuss official languages policy seem so reluctant to talk in specifics which the public would consider intelligible? Some of the answer lies in the traditional reluctance of politicians to take explicit positions. But, with the English and French languages, another answer is fear. Anglophones and Francophones have, at various times and in various locations, fought and hated one another. Language is seen as our Pandora's box. We store it in the nation's capital. We have gilded the lid. We have inscribed magical phrases on it, in both languages, with a pleasing symmetry so that neither language appears superior to the other. It has become our most important national symbol, and we give it pride of place on state occasions when we practice bilingualism as a rite. Yet we fear to open the lid lest the ills of the past spill out to destroy the future.

The time has come to abandon abstract expression and to find ways of speaking about human needs in human terms. The time has come to stop talking about "official bilingualism" and "language equality" and to start talking about institutions serving the English and French minorities in their own language.

N.B. Data on which this article is based are drawn from a national survey of some 4,000 Canadians conducted by Canadian Facts in fall 1985. The tables (at the end of this issue) consolidate the principal data found in the analysis.

We asked a number of people to comment on the results of the Canadian Facts survey and on the Churchill/Smith analysis: first those who were involved in various ways in the debate that accompanied the sometimes stormy implementation of Canada's language reform program; and, second, representatives of our major political parties and the editors-in-chief of The Globe and Mail *and* Le Devoir.

REACTIONS AND COMMENTS

Why Are We Less Divided?

GÉRARD PELLETIER

Commenting on the findings of a survey is always a risky business, especially for someone who is instinctively suspicious of all surveys and of all conclusions drawn from them — doubly so when it involves commenting on an analysis by two experts in the field. This is an invitation to recklessness, a challenge not to be accepted lightly. It was only because of my long-standing interest in the subject that I was persuaded to take on the task.

Language and Society asked me: "How would you explain the major changes in attitude and the extraordinary evolution in English Canadian thinking on official languages revealed by the survey?"

My first problem is that I am not sure the poll does reveal such an evolution. Our two analysts are not sure either. Although they clearly imply that attitudes have changed, they do not say so anywhere. Their caution is justified: they have no point of comparison. In order to draw firm conclusions, there would have to have been at least one other comparable poll on the same subject around 1969, since the supposed evolution in attitudes is said to have started when the Official Languages Act was passed. As far as I know, no such study was ever done, and if it was, Churchill and Smith do not mention it anywhere in their article.

What grounds did they have, then, for implying that there has been progress? Signs of progress can certainly be found, although they are somewhat inconclusive.

Churchill and Smith make much of the fact that a majority of Canadians in the West came out in favour of education and hospital services delivered in French to Francophones in these provinces. Without clearly saying so, they give us to understand that this is something new since 1969. Are they sure about that?

What they know is that throughout Canada in 1969 numerous Anglophone politicians — federal and provincial — refused to entertain any suggestion of French-language services. That was common knowledge. I remember a Minister of Education one time in Halifax who welcomed me by commenting in an injured tone: "Something very sad took place this week in Nova Scotia. Unilingualism raised its ugly head again." As I had never seen English unilingualism in that province lower its head even the slightest degree, I wondered how it could be raising it again! What was the Minister talking about? It turned out that it was *French unilingualism* that was giving him ulcers. A group of Francophone parents had come to him to ask for a school for their children where the language of instruction would be French. Yet at the very same

time in the very same province, Anglophone parents by the thousands were already demanding French immersion courses for their children.

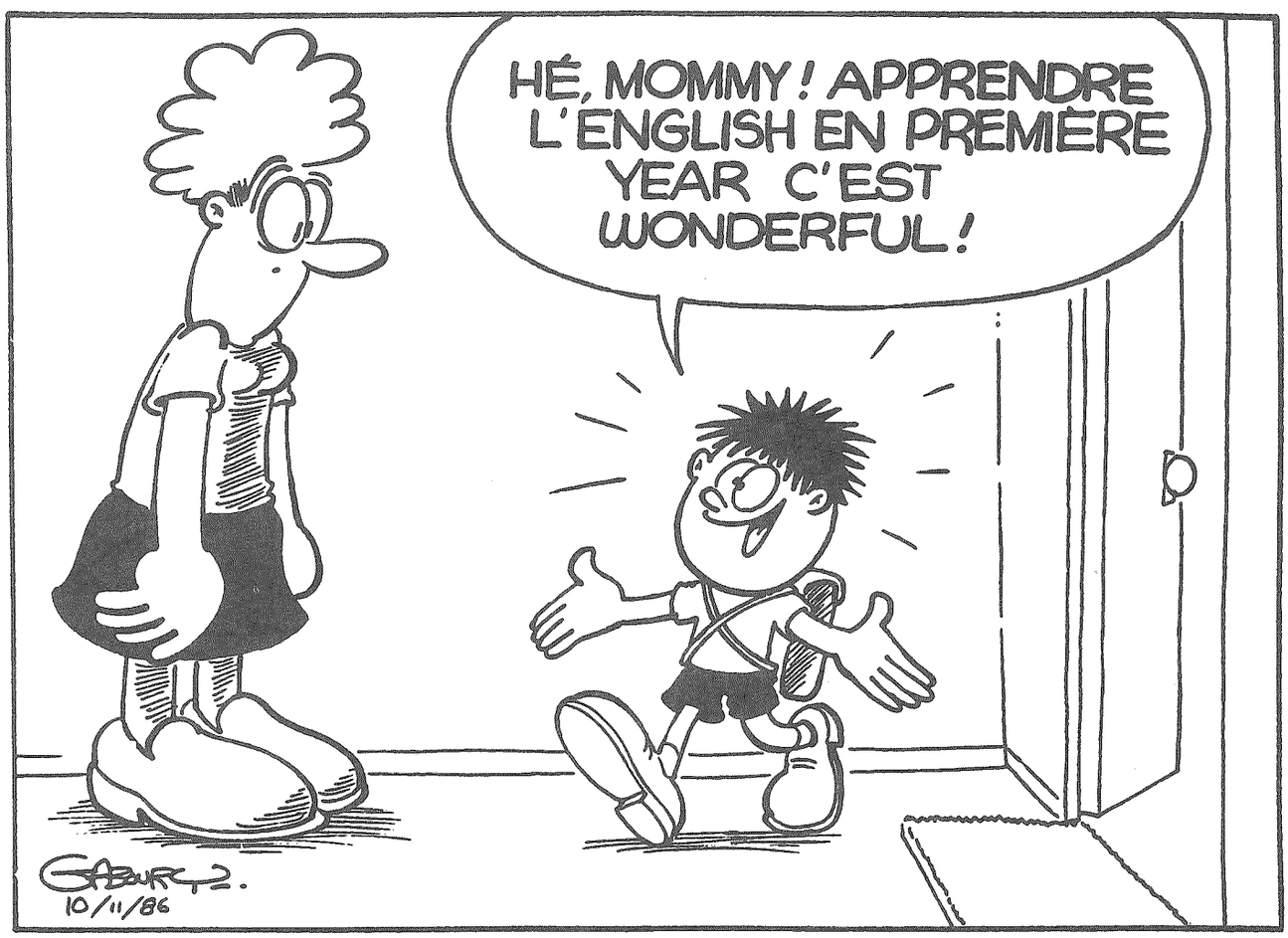
You may also recall Allan Blakeney, then Premier of Saskatchewan, saying on television during a constitutional conference that he was inclined to establish a few services in French, but the province's Francophone minority should not entertain any illusions that he was doing it for them; he was thinking of Francophones who might be visiting the cities of Saskatchewan. He was certainly far behind the rest of the population in his province, which showed that it was quite incapable of making such subtle and petty distinctions.

As for those Conservative Party diehards in federal politics whom Robert Stanfield was unable to neutralize despite his valiant efforts, they are well known. What is less well known is that, even within the Liberal government that had just passed the Official Languages Act, very few Anglophone ministers were prepared to support the Act in public, and some of them opposed it in private with singular ardour.

Yes, political circles harboured the worst sort of prejudices, just as they do today. But would a survey have found the same latent racism in the general public? It seems unlikely. In Vancouver, for example, under the particularly thick-skinned government of W.A.C. Bennett, pro-French feeling was astonishingly high. When the province's pioneer French radio station decided to celebrate its first anniversary by inviting its listeners to drop in, the tiny quarters of Radio-Canada were completely swamped with people.

No doubt the provinces with an Anglophone majority all have their share of anti-French sentiment (just as Quebec has its anti-English cliques) and the fierce opposition of provincial politicians to the spread of French certainly helped fuel the fires of intolerance. However, as far as I know, almost nothing has changed, except perhaps in New Brunswick where French has been making a comeback since 1960.

The case of Ontario is particularly interesting. Fairly old opinion data are available for the province which say basically the same thing as the survey commented on by Churchill and Smith, namely, that the majority of Ontarians (like most of the media) have been ready for language reform for years. The fact is that the pace of change is in direct proportion to the political courage of the elected representatives, which is close to zero. If political leaders had been determined to asphyxiate the large French-speaking community in Ontario, as happened out West, they would



By Gaboury. Reprinted with permission — *Le Soleil*.

have acted no differently. Feeding crumbs to the starving is a sure way to kill them, without spilling a single drop of blood. However, I do not believe that the governing class in Ontario has any such dark designs. On the contrary, I believe it is devoid of any coherent plan. What holds it back is not malice, but plain and simple fear of its own shadow.

Churchill and Smith are right to say on the basis of the survey that steps to ensure vital minimum social services in French, outside Quebec and New Brunswick, can be taken with the knowledge that a majority of non-Francophones is in favour of key services. Politicians in Ontario realized this two decades ago. But where are the hospital services in French? I am told that French-language service is not available in Ontario even in hospitals under federal jurisdiction. My own first contact with Ontario hospitals was during the prosperous days of Elliott Lake in the late 50s when Quebec miners went there by the thousands to work in the uranium mines. An obstetrician originally from Quebec confided to me (I was there as a reporter): "In the hospital my patients are required to speak English to the nurses, even those who understand French. Since they are young mothers in good health, I mobilize them to the cause. I tell them: 'Ask for the bedpan in French. If they refuse to bring it, soil the bed.' Better than any public awareness campaign, this strategy quickly brings amazing results!"

Why do I find it so hard to believe that French has made "extraordinary" progress in Canada in the last 20 years? Impatience, perhaps? Or realism?

Careful study of the survey in question leads to one inescapable conclusion. The vision of a deeply divided Canada, split between fanatically nationalist Francophones on the one hand and racist redneck Anglophones on the other — a vision that was very nearly indelibly imprinted on Canada — evidently no longer corresponds to contemporary reality.

A majority of Canadians now seems disposed to accept Canadian duality, at least in theory. Among Francophones in Quebec, the majority is so large as to be all-inclusive. When it comes to Anglophones outside Quebec (the survey provides no information on the opinions of Anglophone Quebecers), tolerance is less certain, varies by region and on some points is at low levels in the Prairies and British Columbia, where in 1986 the majority of citizens still did not know that French is one of Canada's official languages. So there is a long way to go yet.

Overall, the survey findings show that Canadians are not at odds about the language issue. On the contrary, they agree that knowing and using both English and French is desirable, even if they personally know only one language. The same majority that in the past allowed governments to dispossess the Métis and execute Louis Riel, impose the iniquitous Regulation XVII on Ontario Francophones, violate the Manitoba Constitution for 90 years to repudiate the French language, proclaim in Saskatchewan "the sole language of instruction shall be English" and so forth, today regards the coexistence of two different languages in our country as an asset. It would probably not approve a resumption of active persecution by those in power, although it generally turns a blind eye to the continued application of two different yardsticks in day-to-day life. Today, thousands of Anglophone parents enrol their children in immersion programs — an indisputably new turn of events. To run as leader of a federal party, you must now be able to speak French, however hesitantly, and this too is new.

How can we explain this evolution?

As far as Francophones are concerned, there has been very little evolution. Necessity has long forced them to recognize the importance of English. And the harassments they have long suffered at the hands of the Canadian majority have made them aware of damage that can be done by intolerance: they have never been willing to subject their minority to the same treatment. No Quebec government has ever trampled on the language rights of Anglophones with the same unswerving determination as Anglophone provincial governments have shown in fighting the survival of French within their borders.

English Canada, on the other hand, appears to have travelled a long road — and in the right direction. To what can we ascribe this change of course?

At the risk of astounding my readers, I would attribute it primarily to the American influence. There is a French saying that a woman is always at the bottom of things — "Cherchez la femme!" When it comes to explaining new cultural phenomena among English Canadians, you can be sure that Americans have a lot to do with it — "Cherchez l'américain!"

Consciously or not, English-speaking Canadians almost always take their lead from trends south of the border. It so happens that, in the last 20 years, our American neighbours have rediscovered the usefulness, even the necessity, of speaking more than one language. In a supplement on education published January 4, 1986, the *New York Times* reported: "The outlook for foreign-language instruction in the nation's schools hasn't looked this good in years. When the Modern Language Association held its annual convention in New York last month, 777 new college-teaching positions had been listed, an increase of more than 50 per cent in the last two years, and the largest number of job openings ever. In North Carolina, the legislature has ordered every district in the state to offer foreign languages starting at the kindergarten level and continuing through high school. And beginning next year, the California State University system will require the successful completion of two years of language study as an admission requirement for all incoming freshmen.

"Beside state legislatures, the trend has been fueled by pressure from Congress and business leaders who are worried that the inability of most Americans to master a second language has undermined the nation's commercial and strate-

gic position in an increasingly competitive world."

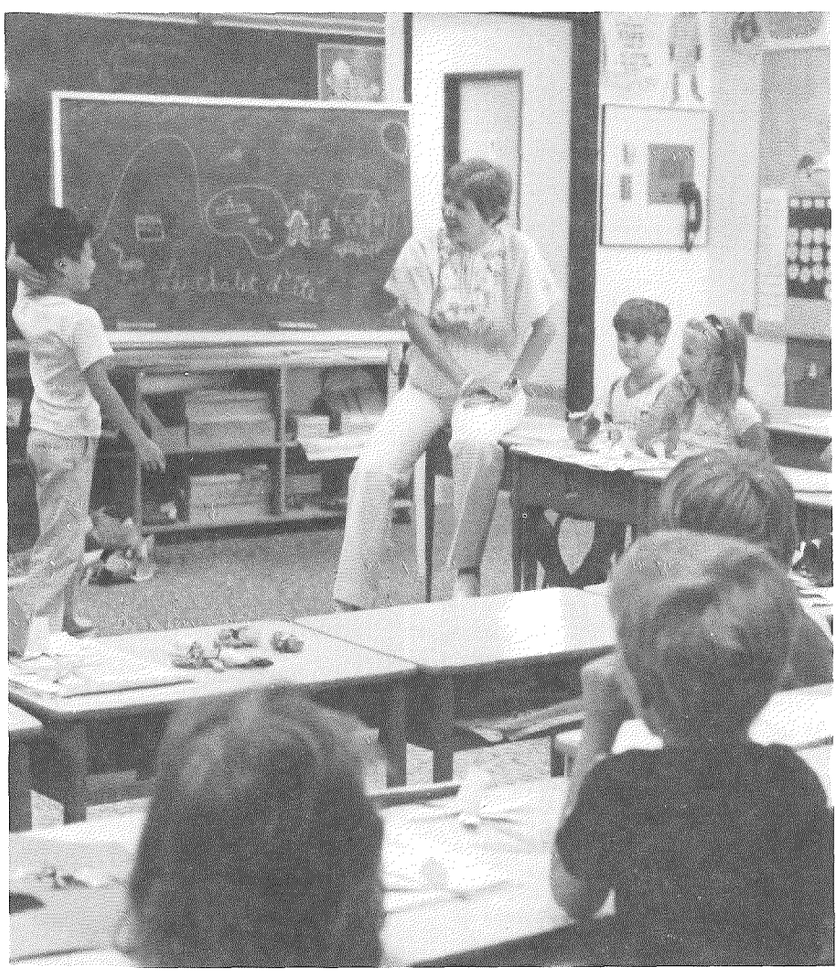
This is food for thought, especially coming from a resolutely unilingual country....

If I were listing factors that contributed to the evolution of attitudes, I would give equal weight to passage of the Official Languages Act and the creation of the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Parliament had previously been so embarrassed by the language issue that it quickly swept the subject under the carpet every time it was raised. The Anglophone majority in Parliament felt that it was divisive and in poor taste to make the slightest reference to language questions. The Official Languages Act cleared the fog and created specific obligations that started a real revolution (not yet complete) in federal government practices. The Commissioner of Official Languages is now there to prick the conscience of those in power and to ensure that language problems are not forgotten as they were so easily in the past.

Second on my list would be the fact that racism became socially unacceptable. Flagrant or covert, conscious or unconscious, economic or cultural, it is now thoroughly discredited. Until 1945 you could still think, and say out loud: "Speak white" or "Dirty nigger" without any loss of self-respect. But this changed with the "discovery" of the holocaust, segregation in the United States and South African apartheid. In the past two and a half decades, racist behaviour has become almost unheard of except in people suffering from psychiatric disorders. Am I wrong to believe that the survey also reflects that evolution? Even when one feels strong racist impulses, one now tries to contain them.

Another reason why certain answers to the poll are different than they would have been 20 years ago may be that language teaching has improved. As far as immersion courses are concerned, there has been undeniable progress. In any case, language teaching could scarcely have regressed: in the 60s it had hit rock bottom. I remember a confession that Bill Davis, then Ontario Minister of Education, made one night: "Do you know my problem? My ministry employs *six thousand* French teachers, of whom *four thousand* neither speak nor understand the language." Another example was afforded by a colleague, a New Democratic Party Member of Parliament from British Columbia, who used to sit next to me in the Cultural Affairs Committee in 1966 because he needed an interpreter to compensate for the flaws of simultaneous translation. At the slightest breakdown in the system he was completely lost, unable to grasp the sense of even the simplest French sentence. I translated just for him, word for word. After some weeks of this, when we had become good friends, I asked him one day what he did as a "civilian" before he was elected to Parliament. He blushed, looked around to make sure no one was listening and then replied, "Believe it or not, my friend, *I was a teacher and I taught French!*" Was the teaching of English in Quebec any better? Undoubtedly a little ... but not much!

One last factor whose importance is difficult to assess is the heightened awareness we all have of Canada's fragility. Before 1960, Canadians had complete confidence in their national unity. Even secessionists who entertained the idea of dismantling the Canadian federation felt they were attacking a monolith, a sort of political Gibraltar. It seemed to them to be an impossible goal. Would they ever manage to make the majority of their fellow countrymen take them seriously?



When the B and B Commission explored the nature and purpose of minority language education, they made it painfully clear that its present condition and future development would be central to what Canada itself might hope to become.

It took less than a decade to reach that point. And as Joe Clark said the night before the Quebec referendum in 1980: "A victory for the 'Yes' side will not mean the end of Confederation; nor will a victory for the 'No' forces mark the end of the problem." A majority of Canadians are now aware of this fact. They know that the referendum did not settle everything and they realize that only a profound change in the attitude of the majority could provide the potential for change. If we love our country, they tell themselves....

Bilingualism — Once Again Revisited!

JOHN CARSON

I was flattered and pleased to be asked by *Language and Society* to comment on the recent survey of Canadian attitudes towards bilingualism, official languages, or "whatever you want to call it". It is 10 years since I last wrote on the subject — and then I was trying to exorcise myself of the battle wounds I had acquired as the alleged "enforcer", during my 11 years as Chairman of the Public Service Commission, 1965-76. At the risk of claiming clairvoyance, I did predict today's results in the closing paragraph of that 1977 article. What a really wonderful change has taken place in the hearts and minds of some of our fellow citizens and their children, as time moved on.

One language and one religion

I say this with feeling, because during the past five years, I have spent most of my time in our fellow Commonwealth country, Sri Lanka, trying to establish an MBA/MPA program at the University of Sri Jayewardenepura. In that jewel of an island, where multiculturalism and bilingualism did co-exist after a fashion for more than 2,000 years, there is now a civil war being fought by Singalese Buddhists, with their ill-advised battle cry of "one language and one religion", and a militant minority of Tamil Hindus.

If it were not for the wisdom of the leaders of all federal political parties since Lester Pearson this might have happened in Canada.

But fortunately we did have those courageous men, as well as some equally courageous federal and provincial colleagues. They refused to allow language rights to become a partisan or demagogic issue, and so the confederation survived and we ultimately became an officially bilingual country.

Slowly, but surely, our fellow citizens are growing to accept this, and apparently their children even more so.

Euphoric national pride

What a far cry from 1966 when I was threatened with dismissal by some "honourable" members for declaring that bilingualism would become a modest element of merit for appointment to some positions in the public service of Canada. (Fortunately for me, the then Prime Minister came to the rescue, and Parliament didn't fire me.)

During the next few years, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism began submitting its reports, Expo 67 brought an euphoric sense of national pride to the country, Mr. Trudeau, our quintessential bilingual and bicultural Canadian, was elected Prime Minister, and the Official Languages Act was enacted by Parliament. These were heady events, but some parts of the citizenery were not amused and did not share in them. Of course some still don't, as reflected in the significant minority view just reported in the *Language and Society* survey.

I can recall addressing audiences in my native province of British Columbia, the Prairies and the Maritimes during the late 60s and 70s. Whenever I mentioned bilingualism, eyes would glaze over and I knew I had lost the silent majority.

Well, obviously that is changing. Witness the surprising statistics in support of bilingual services for health and education in British Columbia, even among older Anglophones like myself. As for people my age, our passions seem to ease up on issues we can identify with, especially when they involve the future of our children and grandchildren. In any event, *we* probably won't have to pay for them.

Imagined fear

I don't want to sound cynical about my own English-speaking cohort's attitude towards bilingualism. At one time I suspect I shared those views. During World Wars I and II, the Anglophone majority of the country felt that it carried the burden of those two conflicts and deserved to be recognized through the "overseas veterans preference" in appointments to the public service of Canada. It was a great shock for this largely unilingual English public service population to discover some 20 years later that this privilege might possibly replaced by another. That didn't actually happen, but the imagined fear was always there.

Well, we have come a long way in English-speaking Canada. The historic fear of bilingualism seems to have been resolved in favour of fairness and equity — and that is a great accomplishment. It is also a great tribute to Canadians' generosity of spirit, both in the English- and French-speaking provinces. Of course it isn't perfect, and we still see lots of bigotry on both sides, but this latest survey shows we are making progress.

Embracing bilingualism

I was fascinated by the English-speaking young people's motivation — that bilingualism would help to establish their Canadian identity and set them apart from their American cousins. I must admit that this became an element in my own motivation when I embraced bilingualism in 1965, following the release of the Preliminary Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Surely we all need a touch of this altruistic sense of purpose (both Anglophone and Francophone Canadians), even more today than ever before. But before leaving this issue, I want to re-examine my only major confrontation with Keith Spicer, the

first Commissioner of Official Languages. In his 1975 report, the Commissioner seemed to give up on the adult public service language training program (with which I was so heavily involved) and "put all of his eggs in the 'youth option' basket". From the result of this survey, he would seem to have been more prescient than I.

However, back then I was arguing that the "youth option" would probably not work very effectively if left to its own devices. I was convinced that it would need the positive reinforcement of greater and immediate job opportunities, particularly in the public service (and even the negative reinforcement of opportunities lost). This has certainly taken place on the Francophone side, as indicated in the survey under discussion. And I think it is starting to influence thoughtful Anglophones across the country as well. Certainly, the lessons of the Conservative Party's last leadership convention, when an otherwise bright and able candidate from Newfoundland went down to defeat on the issue of his unilingualism, were not lost on aspiring future leaders of this country.

I am still convinced that if personal or individual bilingualism is really going to take hold in English-speaking Canada, these lessons have to be repeated regularly and often — altruism is wonderful, but for many of us it may not be quite enough.

Towards Linguistic Equality

DAVID CROMBIE

I would like to thank the Commissioner of Official Languages for inviting me to comment in *Language and Society* on the survey conducted by Canadian Facts. It is an opportunity I welcome.

The Commissioner is to be congratulated for having commissioned a survey on the perceptions of Canadians, particularly those of the upcoming generation, on a topic as important as our linguistic duality.

No matter how important they may be, government policies that do not enjoy the support of the public are largely unsuccessful and achieve only limited results. Since democracy stems from numerous exchanges of opinion and depends on the evolution of ideas for its progress, it is important for those who have a direct interest in public life to ascertain and assess the perceptions and values of the society in which they work.

As Secretary of State and head of a department that administers important programs devoted to the advancement of our official languages, I was, naturally, most interested in the results of the survey. I was also very pleased with the outcome since, as Stacy Churchill and Anthony Smith point out, the data show that Canadians (even those with no frequent contact with the other official language) believe in our country's linguistic duality. They support second language instruction and agree that members of the other language community should have the rights and services that enable them to live and develop while using their own language.

The survey also indicates that linguistic duality appears to be generally accepted everywhere in Canada, not just in certain regions or levels of the population. As the Commissioner observed in the previous issue of *Language and Society*, "All the evidence suggests that a major shift in beliefs and attitudes has occurred."

These findings come at a most opportune time. They encourage our government to pursue a number of initiatives that have already been introduced and will be implemented in coming months.

First, there is the renewal of official languages policy which my colleagues at the Department of Justice and Treasury Board and I have undertaken at the Prime Minister's request. This renewal will take several forms. We shall update the legal framework by making major changes to the 1969 Official Languages Act. At the same time, we shall reinforce official languages policy within the federal administration.

In addition, by calling for enhanced federal-provincial co-operation (among other initiatives) we wish to give a major boost to the delivery of federal, provincial and municipal services in the language of the minority. We want public services, which are supported by public funds, to be provided in the official language of the taxpayer's choice. To ensure *de facto* equality of the two official languages, it is essential that the delivery of these services in the minority language in fields such as education and health be improved considerably. This is one of the basic conditions for the development of official language minority communities — a high priority for the government.

We should be inspired to make significant progress by the survey's finding that more than 70 per cent of Canadians, representing a clear majority in each of the country's five regions, support education and availability of hospital services in the language of the minority.

This policy renewal will be accompanied by other actions, such as increasing emphasis on second language instruction to provide the necessary opportunity for people wishing to become bilingual. Renewal will also focus more on participation by the private and voluntary sectors. We shall strive to enhance the participation of these sectors through the use of incentives and by relying on their increasing receptiveness.

It is fortunate that these measures will coincide with the celebration in 1987 of the 40th anniversary of the Canadian Citizenship Act. Like the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, this Act helps create the bonds that make us feel we belong to Canadian society. We would mark this anniversary appropriately, to highlight the way our official languages contribute to our identity and our sense of community, both of which are based on the full participation of citizens and on the respect for diversity that gives the fabric of Canadian society its richly varied texture.

Finally, we are preparing for the forthcoming Francophone Summit in Quebec and the meeting of the Commonwealth nations in Victoria. These two prestigious meetings are yet another example of our immense advantage in having two international official languages. These languages give us access to over half the world's countries and to related political, economic and cultural benefits. Receptiveness to our linguistic duality is a fundamental aspect of our citizenship; it also provides dual access to an increasingly interdependent world.

In noting progress made, ideas proposed, and positive developments, I would neither like to suggest that I believe everything is perfect nor that the official languages situation presents us with no more challenges or demands. In my travels and meetings, particularly with representatives of official language minority communities, I have seen that undue discrepancies still exist between formal legislation and its concrete application in daily life.

It is also true that progress toward equality has been uneven. While remarkable advances have been made in some regions, such as New Brunswick and Ontario, others are still setting up basic minority language educational services, for example. To summarize, there are major challenges in a number of areas: increased services for the various official language communities so that they may diversify their growth and round out their community life; post-secondary education in both official languages; improved immersion programs, which have become so popular; and still other opportunities that may stem from these developments themselves.

For me, the key element is that a significant social consensus now exists (and this is why the survey is so relevant), that all sectors involved — governments, voluntary organizations and the business community — collaborate in furthering the development of linguistic duality to a more advanced stage. We are witnessing an awareness, not yet fully awakened but evident in various ways, whose effect is that Canadians increasingly see linguistic duality as a tool for development, growth and enrichment rather than a source of discontent and tension.

Another important lesson we should draw from the survey is that debate on official languages should not be based on concepts that are too abstract; all too easily, abstraction can give rise to misunderstanding and ambiguity.

Respondents appear confused when asked to recognize expressions that are current in government circles, such as the definition of "official language of Canada". To quote Stacy Churchill and Anthony Smith in the previous issue of this magazine: "Decidedly, abstract policy debates have had little impact on public knowledge."

It seems more productive to discuss language policy in concrete terms, exploring practical issues such as the right to education or health services in one's own language. Under these circumstances, Canadians' goodwill and open-mindedness come spontaneously to the fore. Consensus is best achieved, and the desire to respect and encourage our diversity is most readily tapped, when an appeal is made to tolerance and humanity. I feel these qualities are traditionally Canadian.

We can see that the survey authorized by the Commissioner of Official Languages corroborates the results of other surveys and indicators of public opinion. A major change in beliefs and attitudes means that linguistic duality is now seen to offer personal benefits as well as an opportunity to be receptive to other Canadians and other countries.

In preparing the renewal of official languages policy, our government intends to take its cue from this new trend. Through our policies and programs, we wish to support the efforts and the determination that have been displayed concerning this fundamental aspect of our identity. We can — and must — advance linguistic duality to demonstrate once again that our country is founded on tolerance, respect for diversity, and community spirit. These qualities are especially important to me, and they will continue to serve as an inspiration to my Department.

Between Hope and Disenchantment

YVES LAURENDEAU

I have been asked what the reaction of my father, André Laurendeau, would be to the survey results, reported elsewhere in these pages, 20 or 25 years after his involvement with the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

A memory immediately comes to mind of an incident that happened in Calgary, I think it was in 1964, during one of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission hearings. An elderly man was speaking, solemnly and gravely. Brandishing an English version of the Bible in one hand and pointing to it with the other, he ended his presentation by stating emphatically, "If it was good enough for Christ, it is good enough for me!"

Of course English Canada's interpretation of the famous question, "What does Quebec want?", cannot be summarized by a single example drawn from personal experience. In fact, the old man's statement had enough of the caricature in it that the Commissioners did not quote it in their *Preliminary Report* of 1965. But André Laurendeau, struck by the abysmal lack of understanding between Canada's founding races and by the passions aroused by the Commission in the course of its travels, sometimes took pleasure in telling the story to those close to him.

It is hard to imagine such a scene taking place today. Certainly, passions could easily become inflamed again. As recent events in Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec show all too clearly, we must still tread on eggshells when we raise language issues. But feelings are less touchy now, perhaps because the spectre of Quebec separatism has faded considerably. And, as the poll reveals, attitudes have evolved

while mutual distrust and ignorance have tended to dissipate. In short, André Laurendeau would have to recognize that progress has been made, substantial progress, albeit slow, in an area where he knew only too well that change takes time.

My answer could almost stop there. I regularly meet people who harbour the illusion that my father's spirit has doubtless been appeased. After all, the Official Languages Act was passed and opinions have changed: therefore, mission accomplished!

But if you had ever really known André Laurendeau, a complex and multi-faceted personality, or understood his reasons for becoming part of the B and B Commission, you would realize that my answer cannot stop there.

My father, who was born in 1912, was brought up to believe — as most members of the French-Canadian nationalist élite had been for many years — that Confederation was the product of a pact between the two nations that formed British North America at the time. There are very few traces of this view in constitutional texts. Whether or not it is founded in law, the pact has great historical importance in that many Francophones regarded it as the moral basis of the marriage of reason celebrated in 1867.

For a person who thought this way, many subsequent developments appeared to be "betrayals": the deteriorating French school situation in the West, New Brunswick and Ontario; Canada's participation in the Boer War; the Conscription issue in 1917 and again in 1944; the centralization of government during the economic crisis of 1930 and more particularly during the Second World War which strengthened the hand of the federal government; the difficulty in obtaining federal services in French. It seemed clear that English Canada had not kept the "promises" made by its political leaders in 1865 to extract French Canada's consent, and that every single compromise over the years had come from the minority, not the majority.

Although he was imbued with these ideas, André Laurendeau was not a separatist. He had flirted with the idea of Quebec independence while working in his early twenties with Jeune-Canada, a kind of nationalist students' club with vaguely separatist and xenophobic tendencies. But a two-year stay in Europe in the mid-thirties gave him a first-hand appreciation of the damage that could be wrought by nationalism and made him think more calmly about the destiny of French Canadians in an Anglophone North America. He returned home permanently convinced that independence was a dead end. From then on, he devoted himself to bringing Quebec into the twentieth century, defending his province's autonomy from infringements by the federal government, improving conditions for Francophones and the French language in federal institutions, and advocating the rights of Francophone minorities outside Quebec.

His aim was to ensure that French Canadians could feel completely at home as Francophones within Confederation. In his view, this was a right that had both an individual and an institutional dimension. Every individual should have access in his or her own language, French as well as English, not only to federal services but as far as possible to provincial services as well. Language is the expression of a culture, which is the expression of one's whole being. Human beings are social beings; there is no purely individual culture and you cannot develop in your language unless there are other people who speak it. The French-Canadian community exists, it has the right to preserve its identity and to affirm its existence as it understands it, as long as this affirmation does not threaten the "Confederation pact". André Laurendeau's thought on this matter had not completely jelled and I am undoubtedly distorting it by this summary treatment. In any case, it is certain that the structural and constitutional dimensions of the problem were extremely important in his mind. His solution seemed to be something along the lines of special status for Quebec, the only place where French Canadians were in the majority.

In January 1962 André Laurendeau had been editor-in-chief of *Le Devoir* for several years. Quebec was then going through that period of effervescence and questioning known as the Quiet Revolution. He had been hoping and working for this renewal for 20 years. He had a great deal of influence in his circles and he was visibly happy with these developments. He was somewhat perturbed, however, to see the most dynamic elements of the young generation of Quebecers sweeping federalism out with the Duplessis past. In Ottawa, the Conservative government of John Diefenbaker continued to pour fuel on the flames by a series of blunders and obstinate refusals.

That is why my father, in a landmark editorial, proposed the creation of a royal commission to hear the views of Canadians on these problems and to "lance the abcess." Diefenbaker curtly rejected the suggestion, but it was taken up a year and a half later by the Pearson government.

Anyone close to the situation at the time can testify that it was not without trepidation that my father finally agreed to be Joint Chairman of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The task seemed colossal to him from the outset, perhaps superhuman, and the path between English Canada's lack of understanding and the new intransigence of Quebec youth appeared strewn with pitfalls. If he went ahead despite his misgivings it was because he felt that such an undertaking was probably the last chance for Canada as he conceived it, and because the Commission's mandate, to deal with biculturalism as well as bilingualism, gave him enough leeway to examine all the dimensions of a problem he deeply cared about.

The rest is history: publication of the first volume of the Commission's Report at the end of 1967, my father's death in June 1968, appearance of the second volume, adoption of the Official Languages Act in 1969, publication of the other volumes, and then in 1971 the

scuttling of a Commission that had become somewhat demoralized and had run out of steam.

If my father were to come back today he would see that language reform has made a great deal of progress and that attitudes are changing, although the Official Languages Act is still imperfectly applied and the Commission did not cover all the territory planned. But, on the structural and constitutional side, he would find that Quebec is essentially in no better position than it was in 1968. The Commission was not able to achieve the objective it set itself in 1967 of drafting a final volume containing its proposals on these issues. In any case, the conclusions of the Pépin-Robarts Commission on Canadian unity issued some 10 years later, which are the closest to what I imagine the last volume would have said if my father had continued as a driving force of the B and B Commission, have just been gathering dust on the shelf.

I suspect, therefore, that my father's reaction would be somewhere between hope and disenchantment. But can one ever really be sure with such a finely tuned intelligence? He would undoubtedly provide far more subtle insights than those I have ascribed to him!

A Central Fact of Canadian Life

NORMAN WEBSTER

Just about 20 years ago, when bilingualism was creeping into fashion in Ottawa, a Cabinet minister gave me his frank estimate of the value of Canada's other official language. French was okay, he conceded, for those with the time and inclination to indulge themselves. It was a luxury, an extra that added a little polish if a country could afford it, but hardly something Canadians should take seriously.

He thought a bit more, then added: "It's sort of like piano lessons." It was not an opinion he cared to put on the record.

I remembered the minister (alas, with us no longer) when reading the results of the survey undertaken for the Commissioner of Official Languages by Canadian Facts. He provided a good reference point for the most heartening findings I can remember in years, maybe ever, on the vexed issue of bilingualism.

Stacy Churchill and Anthony Smith sum it up best in their analysis of the findings. "Canadians," they say, "including those residing in English Canada, now believe in the linguistic duality of the country, support the learning of the other language." We've come a long way from piano lessons.

It is, in fact, a revolution we're talking about here. The data indicate that bilingualism has become a central — and accepted — fact of Canadian life, with all that implies for second-language learning and support for minority rights. Young Anglophones have embraced our linguistic duality wholeheartedly, and there is every indication that the next generation will be still more favourable in its attitudes.

As Churchill and Smith ringingly conclude, "... the question to be asked in the future may not be the fearful one that has haunted policy makers in the past: 'Will there be a backlash?' Instead, the relevant question may be: 'How can the implementation of policy keep pace?' " (*Language and Society*, No. 18, September, 1986). Huzzah.

Some interesting points emerge from the data. Here are three that stand out for me. First is that real contact with the other language — which begins, for most, in school — produces more sympathy for the other guy and more willingness to see he gets a fair shake, linguistically speaking. When you think about it, this is not all that surprising. Learning another's language removes much of the mystery and threat from him. His books and films, cities and ski slopes, history and politics become accessible. You have more understanding for his point of view. French is no longer either impregnable code or plot, but just another practical way of getting across ideas, fears and desires. There is some irony to this one. For years, everyone mouthed agreement that we had to start in the schools. Even the fiercest opponents of language justice in Canada would temper their attacks with the hypocritical statement that the only right way was to teach the children. They didn't really want that to happen, of course — now that it has, it's delightful to see it come back and bite them.

The first Commissioner of Official Languages, Keith Spicer, put the whole proposition deftly in his Annual Report in 1976, when he wrote: "Thousands of 'average' Canadians have been saying for years that the long-term answers to our public service language tensions lie mainly in the schools... Putting the language priority on our children instead of on public servants would merely be a nice little democratic admission that the people are not always wrong." Keith was right; so were those tolerant, decent, 'average' Canadians. And, as Canadian Parents for French was to learn in the following decade, there was a remarkable well of enthusiasm out there for the bilingual adventure.

A second finding is that those who think a second language is just a luxury, a bit of frippery, are very much in the minority these days. That vital word 'useful' keeps popping up. Eighty per cent of Anglophones (not to mention 99 per cent of Francophones) say bilingualism is useful in helping a young person get ahead, while another question finds that the younger the English-speaking interviewee the more likely he or she is to consider a knowledge of French useful.

I think this is very significant. Any parent of young people knows how ruthless they can be in their judgements of practicality. And what have their own eyes and ears shown them in recent years? Three straight Anglophone Prime Ministers fluent in French and fully committed to bilingualism; a French-Canadian business surge that reaches well outside the borders of Quebec; lines of anxious parents standing in the early morning hours in western Canada to register their children for immersion schooling; and on and on. The

message has been received loud and clear: in Canada, today, bilingualism gives you a head start.

A third point emerges from the data. This is that, while official bilingualism and other grand bureaucratic concepts leave many Canadians fuzzy, they are very much in favour of real people getting the real, human services they deserve. Hospitals and schools touch every family deeply, and people in every region of the country support minority language services in these vital institutions. This holds true even in western provinces where the Francophone community is tiny.

Once again, I think, 'average' Canadians have quietly made a decision in favour of fairness and decency. They usually do, whatever the screams of the bilious minority. As Churchill and Smith conclude, "Official bilingualism will remain a symbol, revered for the unity it has created, but feared for the discord it may still engender. Yet the fear of this discord is now to a large degree based on myth." Let's repeat that: based on myth.

"It is time to set aside this fear and get down to brass tacks of when, what, how and at what cost." What they seem to be telling us is, the revolution is over and it's time for the dull details of housekeeping. Canadians are pretty good at housekeeping. Let's get on with it.

Beyond the Closed World of Political Games

PAUL-ANDRÉ COMEAU

André Laurendeau first sounded the alarm in the mid-60s in the blue pages of the preliminary report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Since then Canada has seemed to have moved from a state of severe crisis to social consensus on language matters. Two decades of political discourse and practical experience with institutional bilingualism have appeared to have brought about major changes in the relationships between the two "founding nations" (to use the language of the 60s). At least that is the preliminary conclusion suggested by an opinion poll undertaken in fall 1985 at the request of the Commissioner of Official Languages.

The principal change that has occurred is a shift in attitudes among the Anglophone majority. In contrast, Francophones in Quebec (and perhaps throughout Canada, although the poll does not provide this information) show a remarkable similarity in their attitudes: young and old alike espouse the ideal of a structurally bilingual and bicultural society.

Young Anglophones between 15 and 25, born at a time when André Laurendeau was discovering the depressing extent of resistance to bilingualism, have evidently adopted a more open and generous view of the other founding nation. A progression of attitudes can be seen between age categories — not surprisingly, for social behaviour does not change overnight. At the other end of the scale, among older Anglophones, the prejudices, clichés and negative attitudes are almost as persistent as ever. They provide a yardstick for measuring the progress of the younger generation, which seems to have accepted the value and understood the practical implications not only of bilingualism but of the coexistence of two languages and two language groups.

What is the meaning of this evolution? Have the federal government's initiatives been successful? Has the social fabric of the country, which runs counter to many currents, including economic ones, altered significantly — perhaps even definitively?

A logical hypothesis based on a further analysis of the attitudes, feelings and perceptions of the rising generation of English-speaking Canadians would be that Anglophones and Francophones are now seeking an accommodation that transcends the mere coexistence prescribed by historical rivalries transplanted from a European past. Apart from this conjecture, the survey also raises interesting sociological questions.

Collective attitudes and images

Political leaders as well as ordinary citizens can find reason for satisfaction in the survey data. One could go so far as to postulate a cause-and-effect relationship between the evolution in the opinions of Anglophone Canadians about linguistic duality and their perceptions of the other language group. Since valid time-series data for recent decades are lacking, such an assumption can only be justified for the 15 to 25 age group in English Canada. Does this mean that the old clichés about feelings of superiority and unconscious hostility towards a minority group perceived as creating obstacles to "national unity" have been erased from their collective subconscious? As far as Quebec Francophones are concerned, it is impossible to assess the influence of the last two decades on the basis of the survey data, still less to measure their impact. There is no way of knowing whether they are less distrustful of the majority group, or less hostile towards it. Because of the focus of the survey, changes and trends can only be detected in the country's Anglophone majority.

A closer look at the graphs and tables reveals a subset of young Anglophones distinguished by their very positive attitudes. Anglophones under 25 are quite unlike their elders in their acceptance of the realities and risks of a bilingual country. A significant number of Anglophones in this age group now holds opinions almost identical to the nearly unanimous opinion of Quebec's Francophone majority. Similarities can be found across the board, from the perceived usefulness of the second language to recognition of an obligation to serve the minority group in their own language. From this it is clear that there is now a cleavage in English Canada's cultural frame of reference, whereas opinion in French Quebec has always been fairly uniform and can be expected to remain so. This is perhaps a sketchy conclusion, but it is far from absurd and certainly bears thinking about.

A number of problems arise, however, when one attempts to explain changes in the political culture of Anglophone youth. Does their

newly found respect for the principles of official bilingualism and acceptance of the obligations and implications of language equality really mean that their attitudes have changed? Has the collective ideal of linguistic and political equality been incorporated into the myths and images that shape attitudes and national bonds? It is still too early to attempt to answer these questions about group frames of cultural reference. The confusion between *bilingualism* and *official languages* suggests the complexity and uncertainty of a process set in motion by a federal government decision. The absence of a concerted approach by the federal and provincial governments — which would have to co-operate to make bilingualism a reality — rules out any definitive pronouncement on the subject. A glance at the private sector only increases the uncertainty. It seems that the links in the chain have not yet been forged.

It may be that there is a certain ambivalence, an as yet incomplete cognitive and affective articulation of a new mental image of the other community which could provide the basis for a new willingness to work together to build a bilingual nation. At this stage in the process of redefining the relationships between the two communities, such ambivalence would not be surprising. The assimilation of new values put forward by one political level is bound to take time. It is something like learning to play a new game whose rules we do not clearly understand.

Forming habits

The theories of social psychology can also help to explain the younger generation's change in attitude or, more precisely, its acceptance of values different from those of the vast majority of the English-speaking population. It is easy enough, for example, to find a correlation between exposure to the other language group (through exchanges, language study and so forth) and the trend to greater tolerance and then full-fledged acceptance of the other community. Contact with the "other" is the first step to questioning accepted ideas and the prejudices forged by history and tradition. Yet there has not been any substantial change in the distribution of the two "founding nations" throughout the country in the last 20 years, nor has there been any major impetus for contact between the two communities, nor any decisive turning point. We will have to look elsewhere for an explanation of the emergence of a new attitudinal system at variance with two centuries of history.

That explanation is to be found in the assimilation of political discourse by those 35 to 55 years of age and their acceptance of ideas advanced at the federal level by one segment of the political class. Keenly aware of the new political currents, worried that the world they knew was being turned upside down, and concerned about possible changes in the government's administration, this generation of English Canadians was receptive to this line of political thought which has now found pride of place in political socialization.

The causal effect hypothetically attributed to political discourse cannot be lightly dismissed. Support for immersion courses and French-language schooling, like the value placed on bilingual ability, reflects a calculated assessment by a generation whose personal frame of reference remains essentially unchanged, as indicated by their answers to almost every question in the poll. Their decisions about their children's education are motivated by their recognition that change was inevitable in certain spheres, starting with federal institutions and certain public sector services. This is a typically rational approach which does not imply any change in attitude, much less behaviour.

If the younger generation now finds itself in an environment where attitudes have changed appreciably, if it has embraced new values in language matters, can we infer that new behaviour will follow, that new habits will lead to new relationships within the federation? The poll has nothing to say on this issue. But the question does point to the next stage of implementation, namely the extension of bilingualism across the country's institutions and into dealings between government and citizens.

One thing is certain: discourse on the subject can no longer be restricted exclusively to the political arena. We must reach a much wider cross-section of society and make deeper inroads into daily life; otherwise bilingualism may become just another myth that is seldom questioned but leads to few changes in individual or social behaviour (like time-worn references to Canada as the leader of the middle powers).

Members of the Laurendeau-Dunton Commission would undoubtedly be happy about the progress made in the last 20 years. Our political leaders must continue to play a key role as they have done in the past: their influence on a substantial portion of Anglophone society can be seen today in the emergence of a new generation free from traditional prejudices. But the current fashion of reducing the political sphere of influence will make their task vastly more complicated. They will have to supply new arguments and new aspirations to evoke generous and innovative behaviour on the part of Canadians, for, if they merely repeat the same lines, there is a great risk that the vision of a society where the two solitudes share one country and one future will stay forever locked in the closed world of political games.

A Remarkable Phenomenon

ERNIE EPP

It has often been said that laws don't change attitudes. The corollary of this "axiom" is that there is no point to fighting prejudice.

The public opinion polls analyzed by Stacy Churchill and Anthony Smith in this and the preceding number of *Language and Society* provide an exciting contradiction to these pessimistic principles.

The hopes which found expression in the Official Languages Act of

1969 are being realized. Support for a bilingual Canada is strong in every region of the country.

The Canadian Facts public opinion survey of September-October 1985 reveals attitudes that the late David Lewis would have found deeply satisfying. Writing in the first number of this journal on the tenth anniversary of the Official Languages Act, he referred to feeling "saddened by the fact that too many Canadians still refuse to accept bilingualism as an integral part of their country's being."

He suggested that many Canadians were "ready to tolerate the Official Languages Act on the statute books, so long as nothing, or little, is done to bring it to life; it could thus serve as testimony to their generosity of spirit without disturbing their linguistic or racial prejudices."

But Lewis provided his own contradiction to this pessimistic suggestion: "My travels across Canada also tell me there is now a much wider and deeper understanding of our country's duality than even one or two decades ago. Many more people are eager to learn the second language and to see an end to the linguistic conflict."

These observations of the late 1970s are confirmed by the public opinion survey of 1985. Quebecers are almost unanimous at 99 per cent in thinking knowledge of both English and French is important to a young person's success. And more than two-thirds of British Columbians (69 per cent) agree with them.

Historic changes

Attitudes have clearly changed, even in the province furthest removed from the Francophone heartland of Quebec: 77 per cent of British Columbians think that it would be a good thing if all Canadians spoke both English and French and 59 per cent support the compulsory teaching of both languages in schools.

This shift in public opinion has produced a remarkable phenomenon in contemporary "English Canada": growing French immersion classes that challenge the resourcefulness of local boards of education as well as the training programs for Francophone teachers. The organization, Canadian Parents for French, testifies to the change of attitudes among Anglophones.

The success of these classes threatens an unprecedented crisis in Canadian education: a shortage of Francophone teachers. There is concern that the success of French immersion classes occurs at the expense of good education for the Francophone minorities.

Clearly, provincial governments will have to respond to this historic shift in Canadian attitudes. Fortunately, there is growing evidence that they are ready to do so.

The province of Ontario has decided by vote of all three parties in the Legislature to extend services in French to the official language minority. The local governance of French-language schools is being strengthened and their autonomy will lead to smoother and more rapid development.

The Ontario Legislature expressed the new national consensus in its unanimous vote. One may wonder, of course, whether Premier William Davis might not have obtained similar support from both the Liberals and New Democrats for significant movement towards a bilingual Ontario.

It is possible that Ontario Premier David Peterson is the political beneficiary of a recent shift in national opinion. It is quite possible that the year 1984 marked the turning point from the divisions of the past to a new national consensus.

English Canadian bigotry

Pierre Elliott Trudeau retired from the Prime Ministership that summer and, like a scapegoat, bore the animus of English Canadian bigotry into the oblivion of private life. The late summer general election brought another bilingual Quebecer to the Prime Ministership as leader of a caucus as strongly based in Quebec as it was in the rest of the country.

If Trudeau had been unfairly blamed for "ramming French down their throats" in English Canada, he had the last laugh when the Progressive Conservative Party chose Brian Mulroney as leader and thus found itself with a largely bilingual caucus in the House of Commons. Conservative Members of Parliament no longer voice the prejudices against official bilingualism that disfigured public life in earlier years.

By Ben Wicks. Reprinted with permission — The *Toronto Star*.

The reaction in Manitoba to the provincial government's attempt to meet Supreme Court requirements on bilingual legislation may have been the last outburst of the old feelings. Perhaps we can concentrate now on providing services to our fellow Canadians.

Although members of the Joint Standing Committee on Official Languages were not allowed to travel during 1985-86 and were thus prevented from forming their own impressions of the new consensus supporting a bilingual Canada, they can work in Ottawa secure in the knowledge that Canadians generally support their efforts.

There is significant support for provincial as well as federal government services being offered to citizens in both official languages. There is substantial support for service in both official languages in large-scale private business as well as from the various levels of government.

Canadians appear to support this service to the official language minority from motives of humanity and compassion. They are clearly no longer ready to see persons suffering in hospitals unable to speak to nurses and doctors in their own language. They are clearly convinced that Canadian children should be educated in the language of their homes.

Respect for all minorities

This national response to the needs of official language minorities can be seen as part of a growing sensitivity to multicultural and multiracial realities. It may be too early in the era of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms to obtain similarly happy readings on attitudes about "visible minorities" but large-scale shifts in public opinion can be anticipated.

It can be predicted that the Employment Equity Act will broaden Canadian support for a multiracial Canada. The Act must be given strong federal backing, however, like that the Official Languages Act received, if we are to achieve this development in Canadian public opinion.

The fundamental change becomes more and more clear: there is a growing recognition of official bilingualism as a vital feature of Canadian multiculturalism among both official language groups and within other ethnocultural communities of Canada.

As legislators, we can take real pride in the compassionate development of Canadian opinion that has been produced by sound cultural policy over the past 20 years.

Bilingualism: A Canadian Reality

JEAN-ROBERT GAUTHIER

Official bilingualism in Canada, at the centre of political debate for many years, is a product of our history, and we should not forget this fact. A colony first of France and then of England, Canada is characterized today by its cultural and linguistic duality, to which a multicultural element has been added by those who immigrated to this country.

Over the centuries the two principal cultures managed to survive and flourish, as statistics prove. In the 1981 census, 6.25 million Canadians identified themselves as French-speaking and 14.91 million as English-speaking — or 26 per cent and 61 per cent of the population respectively. Another 3.17 million Canadians identified themselves as Native People or said they spoke a language other than English or French.

Given this demographic picture, it is hardly surprising that language issues occupy such an important place in Canadian politics. Respect for language rights is enshrined in our laws and shapes our institutions, as evidenced by the British North America Act or, closer to home, by the Official Languages Act and the Constitution Act of 1982, which set down and reinforces these rights. Moreover, a whole body of language legislation has been passed by federal and provincial governments to preserve Canada's rich cultural and linguistic duality.

The objectives of true language equality and mutual respect cannot be attained overnight, however. It will take time and more than one generation to achieve this goal. But recent polls are encouraging in this respect. Young Canadians have made great progress in their attitudes toward language issues. An increasing number are convinced that bilingualism is important and are enrolled in immersion programs or second language courses. A survey carried out for the Commissioner of Official Languages found clear evidence that a majority of Canadians throughout the country believe that linguistic duality is now a fact of life in Canada and regard this as desirable.

Although the survey reveals regional differences, the fact remains that even in areas where the percentages are lower, a majority of Canadians support protection of minority language rights. Sixty per cent of Canadians are in favour of their government providing services in the language of the minority group and more than 70 per cent believe that the minorities should receive hospital services in their own language. It is clear, therefore, that the principles of bilingualism and respect for the other cultural group have made considerable inroads in recent years. Politicians who, until now, have been reluctant to legislate language rights for fear of provoking a backlash from the electorate no longer have any reason to be afraid or any excuse for inaction.

It goes without saying that a change of this nature must be gradual so that people will have time to adjust. The process should not be rushed. A slow evolution is the best way of avoiding antagonism and rifts. We must seek to develop our nation together and in harmony. That is why we are counting on the creative energies of Canadian youth. For it is the youth of this country who represent our brightest hope for a bilingual Canada where every citizen would truly respect the cultural and linguistic value of his or her fellow citizens.

Today it is patently clear that while language equality may have been established in a legal sense, it is far from having been translated into a fact of everyday life.

Back to the B and B

GILLES LALANDE

Ambitious, but desirable and urgent. Difficult, but possible and promising.

These are only a few of the many epithets that could appropriately be applied to the process of language reform that began in the 60s with the appointment of the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, widely known as the B and B Commission. The series of measures introduced at the same time soon tested the open-mindedness and tolerance of Canadians. No one could remain indifferent to such a far-reaching program of reform, for it challenged deeply ingrained habits and demanded radical changes in attitude.

What is the situation years later? Has the fire of reform burned out? Are we left holding the dying embers of a national dream we did not know how to keep alive? Is it too late to rekindle the flame? This article represents an attempt to answer those questions.

The major objectives of the language reform program are well known: improved relations between Anglophones and Francophones; recognition of the equal status, equal rights and equal privileges of English and French in federal institutions; affirmation of the position of French in Quebec; protection and encouragement of the official-language minorities throughout the country. Behind this goal lay a strong patriotic desire to make Canada the antithesis of the American "melting pot" by preserving its historical legacy of linguistic and cultural duality.

Gilles Lalande was Deputy Commissioner of Official Languages from 1980 to 1985. He has been a Canadian Ambassador and was co-secretary of the B & B Commission.

In spite of scepticism and opposition from the perennial foes of change and social justice, language reform had a promising start. The initial changes created a mood of optimism, particularly following publication of Book I of the B and B Commission's Report, *The Official Languages*. Parliament acted promptly to ensure that federal services would be offered in English and French and that Francophones would be represented within the federal public service at least in proportion to their population. Francophones were also to be able to work in the public service in their own language.

Undeniable progress was made on a number of fronts, with the federal government taking the lead. It not only contributed to the growth of second language instruction programs throughout the country but encouraged the

provinces to offer schooling in the language of the minority. Certain provinces eventually did so, although only after epic battles by their minorities. Moreover, the federal government's oft-repeated profession of faith in bilingualism clearly imprinted the notion of linguistic duality and equality on the minds of Canadians. Finally, there was unstinting federal support for official language minority groups.

> *The federal mandarins explain their failure to apply the principle of language equality to the workplace by their fear of creating injustice and bitterness.*

The pressure that motivated these changes seems to have dissipated. Neither the population nor its elected representatives display the same sense of urgency that originally characterized the philosophical approach to language reform and the concrete measures to implement it. Are Canadians just pausing to catch their breath or have they completely lost interest?

The provinces are lukewarm

The members of the B and B Commission believed that it was essential for the provinces to respect the vision of an officially bilingual Canada in which the three levels of government (federal, provincial and local) would co-ordinate their language policies.

While there was no out-and-out refusal, the majority of provinces showed little enthusiasm to co-operate in this joint project. The federal authorities foolishly believed that all they had to do was set an example, and the provinces would automatically follow suit. But the only province to do so — probably because its Francophone minority accounted for almost 35 per cent of its population — was New Brunswick, which in 1969 passed its own Official Languages Act.

Ontario absolutely refused to make English and French its official languages; provincial politicians were as worried about the political consequences as they were about the financial implications. Yet the French speaking population in Ontario is the largest outside Quebec. Ontario's stance dealt an untimely death to the hope inspired by the B and B Commission that the three provinces with the largest official language minority populations (Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick) would treat their minorities equally and fairly.

What about the proposed bilingual districts? That idea was so appealing in the early days that the architects of the new language régime made it the cornerstone of the reform they advocated. But as things turned out, bilingual districts have been the subject of little more than lip service and empty declarations of intent.

From this rather gloomy picture, two things are clear. The first is that the language reform envisaged by the B and B Commissioners never took place. Today, in 1987, French is still the poor relation, the misfit language, the language of translation even in the federal government. This fact cannot be denied and the statistics confirm it all too clearly. Secondly, federal government initiatives to promote linguistic equality at least managed to avert the political crisis that everyone was so worried about in the 1960s.

These reservations about the success of language reform are confirmed by the current lack of public interest in the subject. There is a kind of boredom where only yesterday there was passionate debate. The general public is not alone in its reaction: our leaders have also turned off.

Signs of losing steam

By and large, the provinces have not played their part. Implementation of the Official Languages Act remains fragmentary and tentative. The federal government has been accused of lack of consistency, imagination and discernment (Max Yalden) in its application of the Act, the keystone of the language reform program. The federal mandarins explain their failure to apply the principle of language equality to the work place by their fear of creating injustice and bitterness. But these explanations beg the question and put us back where we were 20 years ago. Current public opinion appears to run as follows: the federal government, constitutional provisions, the courts and the provincial legislatures — so favourably disposed in spite of everything that has happened — will no doubt ensure that the objectives of reform are realized sooner or later. So let's be patient and let time do its work.

Back on course

But this approach will not do. We simply cannot take the course of least resistance and risk losing two decades of hard work. We must shake off the lethargy that has come over the general population and our public figures. If we want to waken Canadians from their present apathy — a state which is likely to perpetuate inequalities and injustices over the long term — we will have to admit that collectively we may have been overly ambitious and taken the wrong tack. It is high time to get our priorities straight.

To their undying credit, members of the B and B Commission understood the fundamental and universal truth that language and society are inseparable. A language is viable only so long as it is the living expression of a society, the heart of a dynamic culture. Language is much more than a mere instrument of communication. In 1987 I can learn to speak Latin, but there is no way I can live in Latin. Society, not to be confused with country, state or nation, is the indispensable medium of a living language. The galloping assimilation of Francophones outside Quebec cannot be explained any other way. It takes more than pretty sentiments to preserve a language. Language needs fertile soil in which to take root and grow.

The B and B Commission recognized from the outset the special linguistic role of Quebec. The first Commissioner of Official Languages, Keith Spicer, referred to it

repeatedly in his annual reports. In his first report (1970-1971), he said that the vitality of French throughout Canada would depend on the dynamism, even the predominance of French in the only area where Francophones constitute the majority. In his third report, he wrote that for French to be a language of work in the federal government, it would have to have a solid and unshakeable base, that is, it would have to be so predominant in one part of the country that there would be no doubt as to its strength and usefulness.

Unfortunately, federal authorities have never been willing to recognize that Quebec offers the best soil for maintaining and developing the French language in Canada. Quebec's special role, which does not in any way preclude the existence of secondary centres elsewhere in the country, has never been taken into account. For example, reports by the Commissioner of Official Languages after 1977 equated the various provincial official language minorities and the national French speaking minority. The intention was no doubt to avoid linguistic polarization; it was wrongly believed that reinforcing Quebec's Francophone community would work against the national program of language reform.

The reasons for this position were obviously political. In the 70s, there was a fear of giving implicit support to the strong Quebec nationalist movement and, incredible as it may seem, Quebec's Francophone community was seen as a threat to the existence of the Anglophone minority in Quebec. That is why federal authorities so consistently shied away from publicly acknowledging the need to consolidate the status of French in Quebec. But the situation has changed, and it is time for attitudes to change as well.

The foregoing partially explains the predicament in which we find ourselves today. Reform has been marking time because we have lost sight of its fundamental objectives. "The role that Quebecers play in French life in Canada should be given much more recognition than is the case today." That was the view of the members of the B and B Commission, and they felt it should be reflected in language reform. But today it is patently clear that while language equality may have been established in a legal sense, it is far from having been translated into a fact of everyday life.

Back to the basics

We have reached a dead end. The only way to get out of this impasse and reactivate reform is to go back to basic principles and recognize that language rights are the shared responsibility of the federal government and the provinces. As the B and B Commission correctly pointed out, each province has sovereign authority in its own domain. It follows that future language reform will have to be approached through provincial authorities and the federal government will have to pay more attention to Quebec's desire — unequivocally expressed in three high-profile pieces of legislation (Bills 22, 63 and 101) — to make French the normal and usual language of work, education, communication, trade and commerce within its borders.

> *It takes more than pretty sentiments to preserve a language. Language needs fertile soil in which to take root and grow.*

The federal government will therefore have to be more insistent with the Crown corporations which still try to evade the obligations imposed by the Official Languages Act to make French the language of work within Quebec. In other words, federal authorities will have to recognize the role Quebec must play in providing leadership for French language and culture in Canada.

If reform is to be given new life, federal authorities will also have to control their tendency to give identical treatment to all official language minority groups. It is not a question of denying the equal legal status of both languages, but rather of recognizing an obvious fact. English is dominant everywhere in North America except Quebec, which has the only government on the continent elected by a Francophone majority. Linguistic polarization is an imaginary problem, since Quebec is officially bilingual under Section 133 of the BNA Act.

In conclusion, what language reform needs is to get back to basics, in this case to the spirit of the B and B Commissioners, who so wisely understood that French speaking Quebec must be at the heart of any solution to the problem of language equality in Canada. The existence of two official languages does not signify that there are two countries within our borders. Rather, it symbolizes the fact that Canada, from a linguistic and cultural perspective, is an ellipse. And like all ellipses, it has two focuses.

Gerald Caplan, co-president of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy talks about reconciling linguistic and broadcasting needs. The Task Force Report of September 1986 is the first to examine our country's bilingual broadcasting needs in the light of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Language and Broadcasting: An Interview with Gerald Caplan

WENDY JOHNSON

Vital issues of language are dealt with in the recently released Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy.

The "Principles and Objectives" of the Report make it clear that the seven-member Task Force explored conscientiously and fully the inseparable relationship between language and broadcasting in order to meet the vital needs of a bilingual Canada.

Prescriptions constantly recur in the sections and recommendations dealing with national, regional and local television and radio programming, cable television services, technological advances in broadcasting, community broadcasting and the rights of Canadians. The Report also devotes special sections to the distinctive nature of the Quebec broadcasting system and to minority language broadcasting needs.

The Report may not be without fault in its treatment of language issues — no report that is 730 pages long with more than 180 recommendations can be. However, when I interviewed him for *Language and Society*, co-chairman Gerald Caplan told me that the challenge of the Task Force lay in dealing constructively with real problems: "There was no point in creating illusions and pretending we were for things we couldn't be for, or recommending solutions we knew had no chance of being accepted. We tried not to be silly about things like that."

Wendy Johnson has a Master's Degree in Journalism from Carleton University and has studied advanced Journalism at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa.

The Caplan-Sauvageau Report was the first to examine broadcasting policy since the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was enacted in 1982. Little wonder that the Report should say: "...it is therefore incumbent upon us to examine the extent to which the Charter affects the constitutional basis of the broadcasting system."

> *Quebec's history, development, culture, current programming and other needs dictate that its broadcasting system must be recognized, in law, as being different from its English-language counterpart.*

The right to broadcasting service in English and French is already an integral part of the 1968 Broadcasting Act, which states, in Subsection 3(e), that "...all Canadians are entitled to broadcasting service in English and French as public funds become available." The Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force recommends that the new Broadcasting Act do more than simply reaffirm this earlier principle and, in fact, goes well beyond it by calling for "public sector concerted action", when necessary, to guarantee the right of Canadians to receive broadcasting service in both official languages.

Distinctiveness of Quebec broadcasting

Concern for the tightly-knit relationship between language and broadcasting is evident in another principle the Task Force wants incorporated in a new Act. This is the recommendation on broadcasting in Quebec which would recognize, in law, "...the special character of Quebec broadcasting, both in itself and as the nucleus of French-language broadcasting throughout Canada."

This recommendation has sparked debate among those who feel that a "national" broadcasting policy should not single out any province for preferential treatment or force on Canadians a view of their country not shared by all.

However, as the Task Force repeatedly asserts, a realistic and effective Canadian broadcasting policy cannot ignore the facts — Quebec's history, development, culture, current programming and other needs dictate that its broadcasting system must be recognized, in law, as being different from its English-language counterpart. Caplan insists that this was not an ideological but rather a pragmatic consideration which was carefully thought out by the Task Force: "We tried as hard as we could in the Report and also in all of our interviews to argue that the Quebec situation was not a question of principle...it was not a political judgement that could be extrapolated into other spheres of interest or other jurisdictions. It reflected only the reality of the Quebec broadcasting system. If we had not argued it we would, as Florian [Sauvageau] used to say, 'look like the fool.'"

A realistic Canadian policy

To accept this recommendation is to accept that Quebec broadcasting "grew up together" with culture, language and society. It has always had special needs which a uniform broadcasting policy serving both English- and French-speaking Canada would fail to accommodate. "French Canada has been able to develop a separate, inventive and popular broadcasting system. This is an achievement which must be preserved...it is a system that needs its future development to take place within a framework that is made-to-measure for its aspirations." Caplan elaborates: "When we looked at the history of how broadcasting developed, the specific purpose it played in Quebec, the audiences it got, even the nature of the programming...there was no parallel in English Canada."

> *French Canada has been able to develop a separate, inventive and popular broadcasting system. This is an achievement which must be preserved....*

> *In Quebec, the common denominator in all the arts was the French language....Francophones are well aware of the importance of radio and television in strengthening the language.*

The Task Force identified four indicators of distinctiveness:

- First, most of the current and potential market for French-language radio and television is in Quebec, which means that production, stations and audiences for French-language broadcasting in Canada are also almost entirely in Quebec: "The Canadian content of programs is essentially Quebec content."
- The second indicator of Quebec's distinctiveness springs from the nature of its programming. Linguistic isolation led Quebec to look inward and to draw on its own talents and resources for the development of its programming. French Canada never had access to English Canada's ready-made and abundant supply of programs purchasable from the United States.
- The third indicator is in the viewing patterns themselves: French-language television has always enjoyed a large audience for its original productions. It is notable that in Quebec nine of 10 domestic productions get the highest ratings compared to three of 10 for English Canada.
- Finally, the cultural background of Quebec is itself distinctive. "The common denominator in all the arts was the French language... Francophones are well aware of the importance of radio

CANAPRESS PHOTO SERVICE

Task Force on Broadcasting Policy co-chairmen Florian Sauvegeau, left, and Gerald Caplan — exploring the inseparable relationship between language and broadcasting in order to meet the needs of a bilingual Canada.

and television in strengthening the language."

"Everything about it is different," said Caplan. "To say that Quebec didn't have a different broadcasting system simply wasn't true. So I repeat, on the one hand we have a solution that calls for a specific, distinct Quebec system, on the other hand we insist that there are no larger constitutional implications in that assertion."

Serving distinct societies

Several recommendations in the Report take into account Quebec's special nature. Undoubtedly, one of the more forceful recommendations is that which rejects the 1983 reorganization of the CBC. Up until that reorganization, which centralized the senior levels of both English and French networks in Ottawa, the CBC French-language service had enjoyed for nearly 15 years the autonomy it deserved. "There was in fact not one CBC, but two separate CBC networks at the service of distinct societies."

The Task Force found the change was neither popular nor effective. It forced the two networks to be treated as "identical twins" and ignored the special character of Quebec, both in television and radio. To correct the effects of English-oriented decisions being made in Ottawa and then imposed on the French network, the Task Force recommends: "The autonomy of French-language services (radio and television) within the CBC should be recognized, and French-language CBC should be allowed to develop distinctly from English-language CBC. The two sectors serving distinct societies should be allowed to take different approaches to meet the objectives assigned to public broadcasting, without prejudice to the ultimate responsibility of the Corporation under the Act."

Another main principle to be included in a new Broadcasting Act would be explicit recognition of the right of access to the broadcasting system by all Canadians, including official language minorities: Anglophones inside Quebec and Francophones outside Quebec.

"Already disadvantaged in other spheres, minorities have perhaps the most to lose through exposure to the homogenizing impact of most broadcast programming. If our minorities are not given the opportunity to become full and active participants in broadcasting, all Canadians stand to lose much of what makes the cultural and linguistic fabric of this country distinctive."

Minorities need broadcasting access

Altogether, the Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force, which visited every Canadian province, received 253 briefs, heard 267 submissions and met privately with more than 170 people. Language minority groups across Canada were well represented at Task Force hearings. Over and over again, the Task Force heard the same concerns from minority groups and associations: insufficient choice of French-language broadcasting and insufficient access to the broadcasting system itself.

The Francophone groups outside Quebec, "...usually living in small communities geographically remote from one another and lost in a sea of English, with very few opportunities for them to express their culture", were passionate when they addressed the Task Force. These groups have a much more limited range of programming than their counterparts in Quebec, so much so that "there are many groups of Francophones in Canada who have no programs or very few programs available in French on cable television." Indeed, the report reserves some of its harshest criticism for the cable industry, which the Task Force says shows little interest in providing programs for Francophone minorities — perhaps because they are

The 1983 reorganization of the CBC forced the two networks to be treated as "identical twins" and ignored the special character of Quebec.

not required to or perhaps, as representatives of the cable industry argued, because they cannot afford to, particularly in areas where the population is so small it is not economically feasible to provide such service.

Complaining of inappropriate programming, the Francophone minority groups outside Quebec say they do not see enough of themselves in the French-language schedule. Instead, they must rely on CBC programs developed by and reflecting concerns and tastes of the Quebec Francophone population. As Caplan says: "[they feel] the CBC is a Montreal broadcasting system, not a Canadian broadcasting system."

Finally, the Task Force concluded that minorities across Canada do not just want broadcasting services in their own language. The strong message repeatedly received by the Task Force was that minority groups require access to radio and television so they can develop good programming which truly reflects their own cultures and communities.

Reflecting cultures and communities

It was perhaps in their contacts with the minority groups that the Task Force felt the full import of their mandate. As Caplan explains, "...it was not very difficult in principle for us to agree among ourselves unanimously with the official language minorities. Yet when we dealt with the minority language question, we were vexed and disturbed, caught between our abstract support and our sense of political realism." Caplan cites only as an illustration the English-speaking minority in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, who were bothered by the level of service being provided by the CBC. While the Task Force listened carefully to their concerns, it had to reconcile these with the fact that this group has far better service than most minority groups across the country and in some instances even receives better service than Francophones in Quebec. "Montreal," says Caplan, "has superb English-language services. It's infinitely better than French-speaking Montrealers have."

Whistling in the wind

The Task Force faced a similar dilemma in the fact that the French-language CBC predominantly reflects the world of Quebec. Once more, Caplan says, the Task Force had to resign itself to being little more than sympathetic. While, intellectually, members understood the grievances being presented, they found there were no easy solutions. "Radio Canada will never be anything other than a predominantly Quebec broadcasting system," says Caplan, "and anybody who argues otherwise is simply whistling in the wind."

> *Already disadvantaged in other spheres, minorities have perhaps the most to lose through exposure to the homogenizing impact of most broadcast programming.*

In line with the Task Force's self-imposed challenge to come up with realistic recommendations, Caplan says that although many of the demands made by minority groups could possibly have been resolved by changes within the CBC, there was a limit to what the Task Force felt they could ask the CBC to handle. "Frankly, we think we have asked for so much from the CBC that to get what we have asked for would be close to a political miracle."

Caplan says the Task Force was one hundred per cent sympathetic, but not one hundred per cent agreeable, to what some of the minorities asked for. "We could not meet their wish list at all," he says. In the final analysis, Caplan says, the Report of the Task Force on Broadcasting Policy is quite candid about the plight of the minorities. "They will have to understand and accept that their life will not be as fulfilled as they expect it to be," says Caplan, "and never can they expect otherwise, at least not in broadcasting."

Despite the seeming insolubility of some of the complexities posed by the broadcasting system in Canada, the Caplan-Sauvageau Task Force tried to meet head-on most of the major and many of the minor problems presented to them by both English- and French-speaking Canadians.

New television channels

By far the most significant recommendation, in Caplan's mind, is a bold and imaginative proposal for a new public television channel to be called "TV Canada" and "Télé-Canada". The new channel would carry Canadian programming only across the country, and would rebroadcast the best Canadian programs, emphasizing regional productions, performing arts, programs for young people and documentaries. The French channel would seek further improvement of services by carrying news and information programs.

Another recommendation that has strong regional and local implications, and one the Task Force worked hard on, is the strengthening of community television: "Community broadcasting, complementing the public and private sectors, must be seen as an essential third sector of broadcasting if we are to realize the objective of reasonable access to the system that is a central theme of the Report."

Clearly, many of the Task Force's recommendations, if acted upon, will be costly. The development and operation of the proposed TV Canada and Télé-Canada require substantial investment. Task Force members were well aware of this and even included a special section in the Report suggesting where the extra money might be found. However, the overriding consideration was to outline a way to provide Canadians with quality broadcasting across the board.

The Task Force rightly takes the view that our nation deserves the best that can be provided, even if that will mean a substantial capital and operating outlay.

Canadian circumstances suggest a modified approach to the principles of linguistic accommodation. Economic development in the minority language is the critical initiative so far lacking in governmental support. Linguistic minorities can be supported energetically by a meaningful network of institutions and services.

The Future of Official Language Minorities in Canada

JOSEPH ELIOT MAGNET

Some commentators view the portending disappearance of official language minorities with equanimity. They reason from sociolinguistics. English is the norm among the Quebec elite; knowledge of French the exception among its English-Canadian counterpart. A shift from English to French is associated with a rise in prestige for English Canadians. The reverse is true for French Canadians. "The shift of a French Canadian to English," argues Professor J.A. Laponce, "is increasingly likely to have negative effects on the speaker, alienating him from self and from his cultural group."

> *Linguistic minorities can survive only if they remain territorially concentrated, albeit on a local and municipal level.*

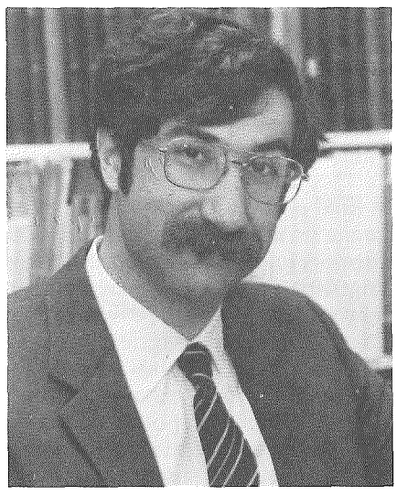
The conclusion drawn is that the only sensible language policy is one that protects the dominant language in a given territory. Guarantees for minority languages are ineffective and harmful. The argument is that it is preferable for Canada to divide into two linguistic islands: French in Quebec, English elsewhere. Canadian language policy should concentrate on reinforcements for French in Quebec, and English in the other provinces. Protections for linguistic minorities should be withdrawn. The faster linguistic minorities disappear, the more stable our political system will be, the more rational relations between Quebec, Ottawa and the other provinces, the more secure the positions of the English and French languages.

Canadian language problems require Canadian decisions

This line of reasoning is buttressed by developments in the general theory of language planning. Language planning theory postulates "two main principles: the principle of personality and the principle of territoriality." As explained by Professor William F. Mackey, who founded Le Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme at Université Laval:

> According to the first [the personality principle], it is the institution which accommodates the individual; according to the second, it is the individual who accommodates the institution. Countries such as Canada, for example, where each person has the statutory right to be served by the governement in the official language of preference (according to the provisions of the Official Languages Act), are governed by the principle of personality. Countries such as Switzerland, where the citizen's relations with the state are in the language or languages of the canton, are governed by the principle of territoriality according to which, *cuius regio, eius lingua*, the language of the region is that of its rulers.

Those who agree with Professor Laponce see Canadian language planning options as a choice between these two principles. Professor Laponce examines the experience of other multilingual societies through the prism of Mackey's theory. His conclusion is irremediably coloured by the assumption of "two main principles", and the need to choose between them. So Professor Laponce is led to say: "Whether I induce from the Canadian, Swiss and Belgian cases or induce from the laws of specialization, I con-



Joseph Eliot Magnet is professor of law at Ottawa University. He has acted as counsel to official language minority groups and to aboriginal associations.

clude in favour of the solution which seeks to give distinct areas of monolingual security to each linguistic group." In short, 'let the minorities disappear'.

The first point to note is that Canada's linguistic complexion is utterly different from that of Switzerland or Belgium. Switzerland has four principal languages, not two; Swiss and Belgian language groups are territorially compact, not territorially diffuse. Canada, by contrast, must accommodate a population of some 940,000 Francophones widely diffused outside Quebec, and the more than 700,000 Anglophones who are somewhat less diffused in Quebec. That is a lot of people to condemn to extinction against their strongly expressed will because they do not fit in with academic theory.

> *It is worrisome that provincial Francophone associations have had difficulty mobilizing for the legal and political challenges that lie plainly in view.*

The second point is that the theory is unsophisticated. Each case of language planning is unique. Policy must be adapted to specific local circumstances. I know of no country that presents the same spectrum of problems about linguistic accommodation as does Canada. As our problems are singular, so must our solutions be.

A final point must be made. Language policy need not be limited to support for demographically viable linguistic groups. Language policy may equally strive to revive dying, dead or ancestral languages. The revivification of Hebrew as the national language of Israel is a spectacular case in point. At the time resuscitation attempts began, not a single person spoke Hebrew as a language in the home. Other revival efforts are being made in Ireland, Wales and Scotland (Gaelic), France (Flemish), Holland

> *It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Justice Department has an institutionalized bureaucratic resistance to established federal official languages policy.*

(Frisian) and elsewhere. Many national governments have implemented language revival policies in order to stem the rise of separatist movements, or otherwise to pacify national minorities.

Measures governments

However, there is an important limit to the achievements governments may expect with respect to official linguistic communities. Governments cannot dramatically increase the numbers of an official language community. The French language outside Quebec will thus remain in a relatively weak position, constantly in contact with the dominant English language. Our research experience with languages in contact is conclusive: in these demographic, economic and cultural circumstances, English will forcefully attract Francophones as they begin school, enter the work force, marry and participate in social and economic institutions. To a lesser extent the attractive power of the dominant French language will be exerted on Anglophones in Quebec. Although in the North American context French can never rival English for assimilating power, Quebec initiatives to defend French will make up much of the difference. Mr. Trudeau was quite wrong when he wrote in 1965: "Like the United States, we must move beyond 'separate but equal' to 'complete integration'." 'Complete integration' for linguistic minorities means complete assimilation. Linguistic minorities can survive only if they remain territorially concentrated, albeit on a local and municipal level.

From the perspective of theory, I would disagree strongly that there are only *two* proper approaches to language planning analysis. Canadian circumstances suggest a third approach to the 'two main principles' of linguistic accommodation delineated by Professor Mackey. This third possibility is a modification of the territorial approach. It requires reversal of the institutional conclusions drawn by Professor Laponce. Professor Laponce thinks that all territorial approaches are the same, just as all require removal of institutional supports for linguistic minorities outside the protected territory. The modified territorial approach sees territorial groupings as small, separate linguistic islands, linked together by a network of common institutions which, while they may operate in particular regions or provinces, would complement and interact with each other. These islands could be made doubly secure by overarching institutions in the federal state that, on language matters, would deal with linguistic minorities on the basis of equality with other national communities.

The modified theory is useful because it allows us to ask what conditions are necessary to encourage the survival and prosperity of linguistic minorities. Linguistic minorities can resist the attractive power exerted by the dominant language on two conditions:

- that linguistic communities be territorially concentrated in large or small areas;
- that linguistic minorities be supported energetically by a meaningful network of institutions and services.

> *With the decline of the parishes, the schools are now becoming the centre of cultural life for the French-speaking outside Quebec.*

The first condition is certainly met in Canada. There are many concentrations of linguistic minorities. But the second condition is not met and that is what I want to explore: the network of services. In Canada this network can only be provided by federal and provincial governments and, to a lesser extent, by linguistic minority associations.

Francophones watch their children being swept into the net of English in 'mixed schools'; cauldrons of assimilation.

Mixed schools: cauldrons of assimilation

Schools are crucial. As the Symons and Mayo Commission on French-language education found: "...with the decline of the parishes, the schools are now becoming the centre of cultural life for the French-speaking [outside Quebec]." A principal cause of assimilation is the lack of effective control of French-language education and facilities by French linguistic minorities. Francophones watch their children being swept into the net of English in 'mixed schools'. Mixed schools are principal institutions of French education in Anglophone Canada. They are cauldrons of assimilation. Courts, legislatures and executive commissions have found independently, on the basis of extensive expert evidence, that the grouping of Anglophones and Francophones together in mixed schools is harmful to the linguistic minority child and community and leads directly to assimilation.

There is reason for some optimism in the education sector. In *Reference re Minority Language Educational Rights* the Ontario Court of Appeal clearly declared that the Charter of Rights was specifically designed to cure this mischief. Provincial legislatures, the Court said, have the duty to design educational facilities which can be said to be of, or to appertain to, the linguistic minority in that they can be regarded as being part and parcel of the minority's social and cultural fabric. The minority educational system must provide education of equal quality to that given to the majority. It is doubtful that linguistic mixing in instructional facilities can survive this ruling, and equally doubtful that the linguistic majority can continue to use its control of school governing structures to determine this issue against the linguistic minority.

Declarations are one thing. Actions are another. What are provincial governments likely to do?

Effects of the Manitoba events

Provincial governments outside Quebec cannot but have been impressed with the events of the Manitoba language rights crisis of 1983-84. The Manitoba government's plan, under threat of a Supreme Court of Canada ruling, to respect *partially* its constitutional obligations for institutional bilingualism and to expand modestly French-language services provoked hysteria in the population, violence against the Francophone minority, widespread demonstrations, paralysis of the legislature and — significantly — collapse of political support for the NDP government. A similar phenomenon is currently occurring in New Brunswick. With the single exception of New Brunswick, it is unlikely that any provincial government will voluntarily take significant initiatives to support the Francophones community outside Quebec. This is probably true even in the education sector, where there are as yet imprecise constitutional guarantees for French; but it is certainly true with respect to culture and governmental services, where constitutional guarantees are at best implicit, not express, and have not yet been tested before the Supreme Court.

Litigation in the education sector is inescapable for Francophone minorities in the near future. It is worrisome that provincial Francophone associations have had difficulties mobilizing for the legal and political challenges that lie plainly in view. The decision of the Ontario Court of Appeal was a significant initial victory for official language communities, but that ruling will become hollow *de facto* if further cases are not pursued energetically to implement the promise of new educational guarantees in all provinces. Nevertheless, one does not have to be in the trenches long to realize that Francophone associations are frightened by the Manitoba events, worn out, lacking effective leadership and losing their will to fight. Governments that resort to palliative measures while the shrinkage in numbers continues will find many linguistic communities willing partners in the enterprise.

With the single exception of New Brunswick it is unlikely that any provincial government will voluntarily take significant initiatives to support the Francophone community outside Quebec.

Ottawa could do much to support official language minorities by intervening directly with French-language economic structures.

Litigation in support of official language minorities in the services and cultural sectors is possible and probably desirable in Manitoba, New Brunswick and Quebec under various constitutional provisions. This process has started, and has produced mixed results. In the *MacDonald* and *Société des Acadiens* cases, the Supreme Court of Canada delivered a clear message that it was unwilling to act energetically to protect official language minorities under existing constitutional guarantees. The Court stated that improvement of the minorities' *in extremis* condition must come from the legislatures.

The only other way to improve the situation would be for Ottawa to bear the cost of expanding French services in areas of provincial jurisdiction, or to attach appropriate conditions to transfer payments in this regard. Prior to the language rights crisis of 1983-84, the Manitoba government agreed to expand critically important French-language municipal services on Ottawa's promise to pay 50 per

cent of the cost. Given the negative public reaction to that agreement, together with present federal preoccupations with economic development, deficit reduction and improved federal-provincial relations, this seems unlikely to happen again in the near future.

Bureaucratic resistance to official languages policy

Certain actions of the federal government are particularly difficult to understand. The Department of Justice repeatedly intervened in court *against* Francophone attempts to expand official language rights. In some cases the action was explained as an oversight or error, and the Department moved to amend its position. But in the *MacDonald* case the Justice Department intervened foursquare against the linguistic minority's attempt to achieve an expansive reading of official language rights. "A broad and generous interpretation [of language rights]," the Department maintained, "cannot be used." Opposition members questioned the Prime Minister about the matter in the House. They asked that Justice's factum be withdrawn. The factum was not withdrawn. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Justice Department, and perhaps other departments, has an institutionalized bureaucratic resistance to established federal official languages policy. The courts have commented on this with respect to Justice Department actions relating to Indian litigation. Perhaps other minorities have had similar experiences?

A more serious problem is Ottawa's failure to exercise its constitutional powers intelligently to support official language minorities in the areas of broadcasting and culture. While the Broadcasting Act guarantees services in English and French to all Canadians subject to availability of public funds, the reality falls short of that promise. The CBC consistently refuses to provide Francophones outside Quebec with programming that relates to the vital concerns of their communities. Francophones in St. Boniface are not interested in strikes at Université Laval (which is what the CBC 'network programming' offers them). They are interested in strikes at Collège de St. Boniface, for which they have to switch to local programming in English. This is why the Fédération des Francophones hors Québec stigmatizes CBC programming as contributing "to the anglicization of Francophones outside Quebec."

Ottawa's most significant failure has been with respect to the language of work.

Ottawa's most significant failure has been with respect to the language of work. Its only effort in this regard relates to the federal civil service. Indeed, it has made no effort in the public sector, and no serious attempt to co-operate with Quebec's initiative to make French the language of work in that province, despite the recommendations of the federal Laurendeau-Dunton Commission to this effect. The failure of Ottawa to support Quebec's language of work initiatives by complementary legislation for firms outside Quebec impedes that province's efforts to give French economic value. Quebec is placed in the position of erecting defensive linguistic barriers around the province, a strategy that could contribute to the further weakening of its economy and the ghettoization of French within its borders.

Even Ottawa's attempts at improving the position of French in the civil service show modest results. Only 17 per cent of appointments to bilingual positions were filled on an imperative basis between 1979 and 1983. Anglophones graduating from federal language training courses use French in the workplace a mere 9 per cent of the time. These depressing failures to implement French as a secure working language in the federal civil service are disquieting, to say the least.

Economic development in the minority language

Ottawa could do much to support official language minorities by intervening directly with French-language economic structures. French-language research centres and specialized services, such as laboratories and data processing centres, could be decentralized and located in Francophone communities such as St. Boniface and Sudbury. Research centres could be blended into existing French-language institutions such as Hôpital de St. Boniface or Laurentian University. Ottawa could make significant investments in existing Francophone institutions like Collège de St. Boniface. With appropriate start-up funds, Collège de St. Boniface could become a major research centre, networking and contracting with compatible French-language institutions throughout western Canada. With appropriate direction, Collège de St. Boniface could become self-supporting through research contracts. This kind of activity would provide much needed economic opportunity for Francophones outside Quebec, would imbue French with significance beyond family and church, and would undoubtedly contribute to the long-term survival of official language minorities.

Economic development in the minority language is the critical initiative so far lacking in governmental support for linguistic communities. If progress could be made here, all else could be forgiven. Current trends towards shrinkage, in that event, might be arrested. Economic development for linguistic communities is the key ingredient needed to stop the moving finger from writing the obituary of Canada as a land where linguistic minorities thrive.

The present condition and future development of minority language education are explored in detail by Stuart Beaty, who warns that Canada must act swiftly if it is to avoid "declaring collective bankruptcy" on the issue.

What Are We Waiting For?

STUART BEATY

> *"I invoke the genius of the Constitution!"*
> — William Pitt, Earl of Chatham

To understand why the question of minority official language education in Canada must be posed in terms as stark as those in my title, it is necessary to step back a little and consider what is meant by minority language education and what its purpose and potential are in the Canadian context. We know that most countries are plurilingual in the basic sense that, whether or not they have an official language or languages, they are home to more than one language community. As a general rule, one of the languages spoken will tend to predominate for official purposes, either in the country as a whole or in a particular part of it. This may be called the dominant or "majority language", and all other languages spoken within that territory are, by the same token, "minority languages".

Stuart Beaty has his degree from Oxford University. He occupied several Public Service positions before joining the Commissioner of Official Languages in 1978.

In Canada, where some 70 different languages are in daily use, every language has to be considered "a minority language" in one setting or another. Not even our official languages, English and French, are immune from this linguistic condition. Where they differ from our other minority languages is that they have usually been granted, in law and/or in fact, a degree of recognition or legitimacy which goes well beyond anything afforded the others. In itself, then, the fact that English and French, even when they are most completely in a minority situation, are nonetheless *the official languages of Canada*, means that they have *ispo facto* a special standing relative to other minority languages.

Minority language education may be taken in the broadest sense to refer to schooling in which members of a given minority language group receive a significant part of their instruction in that language. In that sense, a number of Canada's languages are the medium of "minority language education", including several Native languages and a growing number of heritage languages such as Ukrainian, Chinese and Hebrew.

National purpose and commitment

However, when we come to speak of minority language education in English or French, we are faced with something like a quantum leap, not because it aims to transmit a valuable linguistic property from one generation to the next — that is true for a lot of our educational endeavours — but because minority *official language* education is part of a larger national purpose and commitment.

It is important that we grasp this fact, not in any way to denigrate the intrinsic and functional value of any other language that Canada is fortunate enough to possess, but to underline for ourselves that there are some important socio-political assumptions underlying Canada's quest for effective minority language education in English and French which do not apply, at least to anything like the same extent, when we talk of effective minority language education in Pilipino or Polish, Japanese or Greek.

Put at its simplest, this difference hinges on the symbolic and practical importance of English and French as part of Canada's nation-building process. Other language groups have made and continue to make great contributions to what we most value in this country, but

there is no gainsaying the fact that English and French have been by far the largest tributaries to our linguistic history *as one nation*, and the special status that they have received as Canada's official languages is, in good part, a measure of what this country owes to these particular cultural vehicles.

B and B Commission

When the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism explored the nature and purpose of minority language education, they not only provided a crash course in the history of this phenomenon, they also made it painfully clear that its present condition and future development would be central to what Canada itself might hope to become.

So it is worth taking a moment to summarize what the B and B Commissioners had to say, before going on to consider how things stand in 1987. Their analysis brings out three things:

- As languages of education in Canada, English and French have taken markedly different paths, both as majority and minority languages.
- Whereas English was able to establish and institutionalize itself as a powerful language of schooling in Quebec, efforts outside that province to afford French some reciprocal recognition as a medium of instruction were most often curbed, sometimes savagely, and might indeed have come to naught without the accidental shelter they found in the denominational school rights in Section 93 of the BNA Act.
- As a result, in the early sixties there was a remarkably full and flourishing English school system in Quebec and a generally feeble and fragmentary pattern (one could not call it a system) of French language education almost everywhere in the other provinces and territories.

Far-reaching conclusions

From this clinical diagnosis of a clearly asymetrical situation, the B and B Commission drew several far-sighted and far-reaching conclusions. First it noted that the language milieu of the school must be considered a vital element influencing language retention, and that there will be situations where an education wholly in the minority language will be required even to satisfy the limited objective of graduating bilingual students. It then went on to say that citizens of a country with two official languages should be provided with an education which allows them to participate in either society.

> *In the early 60s there was a remarkably full and flourishing English school system in Quebec and a generally feeble and fragmentary pattern of French language education in the other provinces and territories.*

Roughly translated, this amounts to saying that at least two conditions contribute to effective minority language education: (1) that it be provided in sufficient quantity and in such an environment as to maximize its power to offset the worst acculturating effects of the majority language; and (2) that there be enough people of both language groups around to make the retention and use of the minority language meaningful.

From the time the Official Languages Act was passed in 1969 until this day, these have been cornerstone conditions for federal and provincial endeavours surrounding minority language education. One might therefore think that enshrinement of minority language education rights in Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 was a considered consequence of at least a dozen years experience rather than a mere impulse to constitutionalize.

One might think so; but the experience of minority language education in Canada since 1982 does not, as a whole, reflect a well-considered acceptance by either the federal or the provincial authorities to meet the main conditions for providing effective minority language education within the letter and spirit of Section 23.

Responsibilities for Section 23

Section 23 first defines which classes of Canadian parents have the right to have their children educated in the minority official language and then goes on to the when, where and how of its application. Stated briefly, the right applies wherever the number of eligible children is sufficient to warrant minority language instruction paid for out of public funds and includes, subject to the same qualification, "the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds."

On the face of it and allowing for legal formulations, the plain meaning of Section 23 would hardly strike the average reader as obscure. Why, then, has the realization of Section 23 become such a "problem" for the various governments, courts, communities and interest groups who have become involved?

> *Citizens of a country with two official languages should be provided with an education which allows them to participate in either society.*

A full answer would no doubt be complex, but a general review of the issues and the behaviour of the parties involved suggests a certain "avoidance" pattern on the part of the authorities, a pattern which tends to become more pronounced as the demands of the communities become more specific. It is difficult, indeed, to avoid the conclusion, that most of the mainly English speaking provinces and territories had too little idea of what they

were committing themselves to and are to some extent buying time while they try to figure out how to honour their commitment with a minimum of reorganization.

A comparative study by Prof. Pierre Foucher of Moncton University of the provincial and territorial legislation on minority language education and its compatibility with Section 23 of the Charter found virtually none of the 11 educational situations concerned to be totally consistent with what he judged to be a full and generous interpretation of the Charter. Prof. Foucher noted significant discrepancies of five kinds:

- too much discretionary power in the hands of (majority-dominated) local school authorities;
- arbitrary pre-determination of the numbers that would suffice to warrant minority language education;
- failures to discriminate adequately between minority language education and other forms of bilingual or immersion schooling;
- problems of defining minority language schooling in relation to access by majority children; and
- little or no provision for minority management of minority language education.

Since 1982 much court time has been logged in learned judicial debate over these issues as Francophone minorities who have long been starved of educational choices try to get the judiciary to spell out what minority language education comprises and to oblige provincial governments to bring it into being. Section 23 cases have already been heard in Ontario, New Brunswick, Alberta and Quebec, and others are in preparation in Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan.

The judgments that have so far been handed down have not always agreed and cannot in any case be called conclusive. However, they do serve to underscore two things:

- that effective implementation of Section 23 must set a premium on inventiveness, on devising special solutions for what are, by definition, special educational problems; and
- that few such solutions are likely to be forthcoming until the authorities and the communities concerned can agree on a common problem-solving approach to questions that are not made any easier by becoming politico-judicial footballs.

> *Authorities and communities need to agree on a common problem-solving approach to questions that are not made any easier by becoming politico-judicial footballs.*

There are several aspects of the present dilemma which should, in my view, make it offensive and unacceptable to most Canadians. It can only do further harm to the linguistic health of the minority communities and, by so doing, render the credibility of English-French reciprocity in a bilingual Canada more precarious overall. If official bilingualism fails in its promise of providing basic and fair English-French choices across Canada, it will matter very little how many bilingual public servants can dance on the head of a pin in Ottawa or what pedagogical wonders are performed in French immersion: a major *raison d'être* of Canadian bilingualism will have gone, probably forever.

But the present impasse also imposes a cruel and unnecessary test upon the confidence of the official language minorities and on all those who have been led to believe, if not that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms would solve all their problems, that it was to be a key instrument in establishing a new deal for Canadians, a made-in-Canada social contract that we could not only turn to in moments of high patriotic sentiment but to inform and ease our daily lives.

No one should be under any illusion, of course, that rapid development of effective and appropriately managed minority language schooling will, in and of itself, suffice to counter the polarising trends in Canada's official languages environment. It does, however, constitute the necessary condition *par excellence*, and Canadians really have no moral alternative to giving it the priority and the practical attention which it now deserves.

The immediate task is abundantly clear. We must mobilize all our political and professional inventiveness to address the very real but not insuperable problems that have been identified by Foucher, among others, and by the courts. Insofar as the reluctance of provincial and territorial authorities no doubt stems in part from a lack of solid and objective information on the basic premises and expectations of minority language education and on the kinds of administrative solution that are most apt to meet the needs, the first requirement is for enlightened and impartial research.

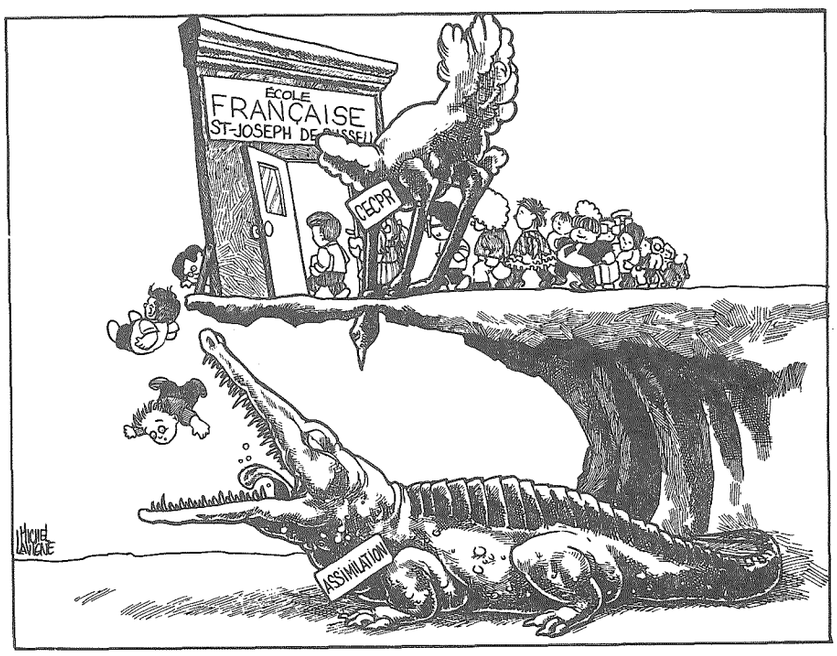
> *If official bilingualism fails it will matter very little how many bilingual public servants can dance on the head of a pin in Ottawa or what pedagogical wonders are performed in French immersion.*

That is why it has seemed necessary to the Commissioner of Official Languages and others concerned to launch what might be

called a technical offensive to clear the air, as much as possible, of unnecessary fears and obfuscations and to bring to bear the best available professional advice.

At the risk of oversimplifying, I would suggest that the essence of the problem is how best to provide quality education in their language to often small and dispersed communities who have little enough experience of genuine minority language education, some understandable misgivings of their own about breaking with the patterns of the past, and a great deal still to learn about managing their own educational affairs. The last thing that federal and provincial authorities should be doing, in the circumstances, is placing additional obstacles in their way.

But it is precisely because the numbers are small and the dispersion great that governments should be seeking the best adapted and most cost-effective solutions to those specific problems rather than trying to force these square minority pegs into pre-established majority holes, and in ways that could well prove more "wasteful" of public funds and certainly less effective as safeguards of minority language values.



By Michel Lavigne. Reprinted with permission — *Le Carillon*.

> *The essence of the problem is how best to provide quality education in their language to often small and dispersed communities who have little enough experience of genuine minority language education....*

Once we have recognized that we are in a bind that is largely of our own making, the "beginning of wisdom" is surely to have all parties to the predicament agree to a process of resolution. So, with the backing of minority language parents groups, the Commissioner's Office is placing before the Department of the Secretary of State and the Council of Ministers of Education a proposal that they jointly sponsor a fact-finding study to assemble the essential data on:

- the nature and purpose of minority official language education in Canada;
- the social and pedagogical premises that underlie the present formulation of minority language education rights in s. 23 of the Charter;
- the present state of practical compliance with s. 23 in various settings, with emphasis on any innovative approaches to remodelling legislative and administrative structures to fit the case, in Ontario for instance; and
- other available or plausible structural approaches to special educational needs which could be adapted to implementing s. 23.

There are just three points that I would like to leave with the reader in conclusion. The first is that we no longer have time to waste in prevarication: either we do what needs to be done within the next few years or we declare our collective bankruptcy on this issue. The second is that the material from which solutions can be tailored is not that difficult to find or develop, provided of course we really are looking for solutions. Last but not least, negotiations to put together a new, five-year, federal-provincial agreement covering all aspects of official languages in education will be under way very soon. One can imagine no better forum in which the co-guarantors of Section 23 could begin a joint and disinterested search for "the genius of the Constitution!"

Readings for You by Emmanuelle Gattuso and Sarah Hood

Emmanuelle Gattuso is now the Commissioner of Official Languages' press attaché. She has worked as a television producer and as a media consultant for a number of years.

Public Confidence

Le temps des choix : 1960-1968, Gérard Pelletier, 379 pp., éditions Stanké, Montréal.

In the foreword to his book, Gérard Pelletier modestly cautions the reader, "I can only tell you about what I remember, no more, no less." Yet for people like me who were adolescents in the 60s, *Le temps des choix* is more than an account of events: it is a behind-the-scenes look at history in the making.

The author has already given us *Les années d'impatience : 1950-1960*, in which he describes the troubled years at the end of the Duplessis régime. In *Le temps des choix*, he continues his journey down memory lane and casts new light on the events of a critical period. His dual background as a journalist and a politician provides the material for rich insights and many amusing anecdotes.

Writing in an intimate style, the author shares his observations and experiences as a journalist covering the Plattsburg missile base in the Deep South and then on assignment in Algeria for the television public affairs series, "Premier plan". Later he was invited to become editor of the Montreal daily newspaper, *La Presse*, a formidable and thankless undertaking. Finally, he made the leap into political life, although not without second thoughts.

While allowing the reader to see how Pelletier, the intellectual, grappled with the problems of his times, *Le temps des choix* takes us into the Friday-night gatherings of a group of Pelletier's friends active in political and social causes: Pierre Trudeau, law professor at the Université de Montréal; Jean Marchand, Quebec union leader; André Laurendeau, journalist; and René Lévesque, Minister of Natural Resources in the Lesage government.

Each of these men chose a different political path. For Gérard Pelletier, dismissal from *La Presse* was a turning point, for it was then that he decided to enter federal politics.

Elected in 1965, he went to Ottawa. At that time, not so long ago, Racine's plays were advertised only in English in the nation's capital. Pelletier had his work cut out for him: the battle was to be a lengthy one. The "Three Wise Men" would succeed beyond their greatest expectations. The election of Pierre Trudeau as Leader of the Liberal Party and then, on June 25, 1968, as Prime Minister of Canada, was not the least of their achievements.

Will Gérard Pelletier write a sequel to his book? We sincerely hope so. A third volume could continue the story, covering the period from the beginning of the Trudeau era (1968) to the election of the Parti Québécois (1976).

The present volume, while not the work of an historian, deepens our knowledge of Canada's past. Gérard Pelletier's memoirs bring to life a chapter of history and they offer private glimpses of newsmakers of the day who changed the shape of our society.

EMMANUELLE GATTUSO

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On the Trail of Harmony

Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies, Prof. Kenneth D. McRae, Volume 1, *Switzerland*, 274 pp., Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983. Volume 2, *Belgium*, 387 pp., WLU Press, 1986.

In the first chapters of his series in progress, *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies*, Professor McRae discusses the none-too-sanguine views of modern scholars on the future of multilingual societies. There is a convincing school of thought which holds that those countries in which more than one language community is present are fated to hold a low position among the nations in terms of economic development. Few countries combine a high gross domestic product with a relatively large linguistic minority; chief among the exceptions are Canada, Belgium, Israel and the U.S.S.R.

McRae believes nonetheless that "high levels of political and economic development are compatible with the existence of two (or possibly more) significant language communities...". What are the keys to the success of ventures undertaken by groups which literally do not speak each other's languages? McRae proposes to pursue the mysteries of multilingualism by dissecting four societies notable for their linguistic composition. All are developed nations in the Western political tradition and all "have formally recognized their pluri-

lingual social structure by placing all their major languages and language communities on a footing of approximate legal equality." The countries he has chosen are Switzerland, Belgium, Finland and Canada.

Each of the studies will follow the method of the first two books, in which four aspects of the societies under discussion are examined: history, structure, attitudes and institutions.

The style of the first volumes is lucid and unpretentious, never becoming too technical or specialized for the comfort of a reader new to the subject. McRae's writing shows a pleasing lack of those pompous and avoidable strings of combination forms so dear to the hearts of many psycho-socio-linguistic scholars.

Switzerland is presented in Volume 1 as a model of prudent compromise. Its population is made up of four language communities; about three-quarters speak German, 20 per cent French, almost 5 per cent Italian and about 1 per cent Romansh. These communities are naturally grouped in geographical zones which are strongly homogeneous by language.

The Swiss Confederation is very respectful of the sovereignty of the cantons over language matters. Dealings with canton governments are carried on in their own languages, whether initiated by the Confederation government or by a private citizen. "The cantons have no obligation," as McRae says, "to provide services in languages other than their own." Immigrants are expected to learn the language of the canton.

The Confederation tries, against some difficulty, to maintain an equitable balance of linguistic representation in its public service. Government documents are produced in the three official languages (Romansh has only the status of *national* language) and there is a formal government translation department for French as well as a secretariat for Italian.

In these and other areas of Swiss culture Canadians will find themselves on familiar territory. Minority language education, the language of signs, second language learning, all have been confronted in the Swiss Confederation, usually with a small amount of stress. Even the great Swiss language struggle, in which the pull of French cultural solidarity inflamed the population of the territory of Jura to seek separation from German-Swiss Bern, provoked only mild conflict, relatively speaking.

Switzerland, as described by McRae, differs from Canada in the extent to which the majority has responded to multilingualism. Two-thirds of the German-Swiss population speak French and, in one study cited, the most frequent choice of German-Swiss respondents as to Switzerland's mission in the world was to cite it as an example to the world of linguistic and cultural co-existence.

Belgium, on the other hand, has long been a battleground for language disputes. Outbreaks of animosity are frequent. The southern territory is the home of the Francophone Walloons, while the north is inhabited by Dutch-speaking Flemings, except for the intrusive peninsula which is Brussels.

McRae explores the notion that language differences in Belgium have been aggravated by other kinds of social "cleavages"; religious and economic ones, for instance, which split the population along the same lines as do the languages. In Switzerland, conversely, there are French Protestants and German Protestants, a French upper class and a German upper class; in short, Swiss "cleavages" distract from language differences rather than augment them.

Belgium has a body to deal with linguistic questions, the Commission permanente de contrôle linguistique (CPCL). Like our Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the CPCL receives complaints from the public about the violation of language legislation, monitors the behaviour of government agencies before the law and pursues some special studies. It also oversees public service language examinations, a job carried out in Canada by the Public Service Commission.

Belgium's language laws are much more detailed than those of Switzerland, covering, for instance, the language of work in private business. All language matters are handled by the central government, unlike the Swiss system which leaves the cantons in charge of their own affairs.

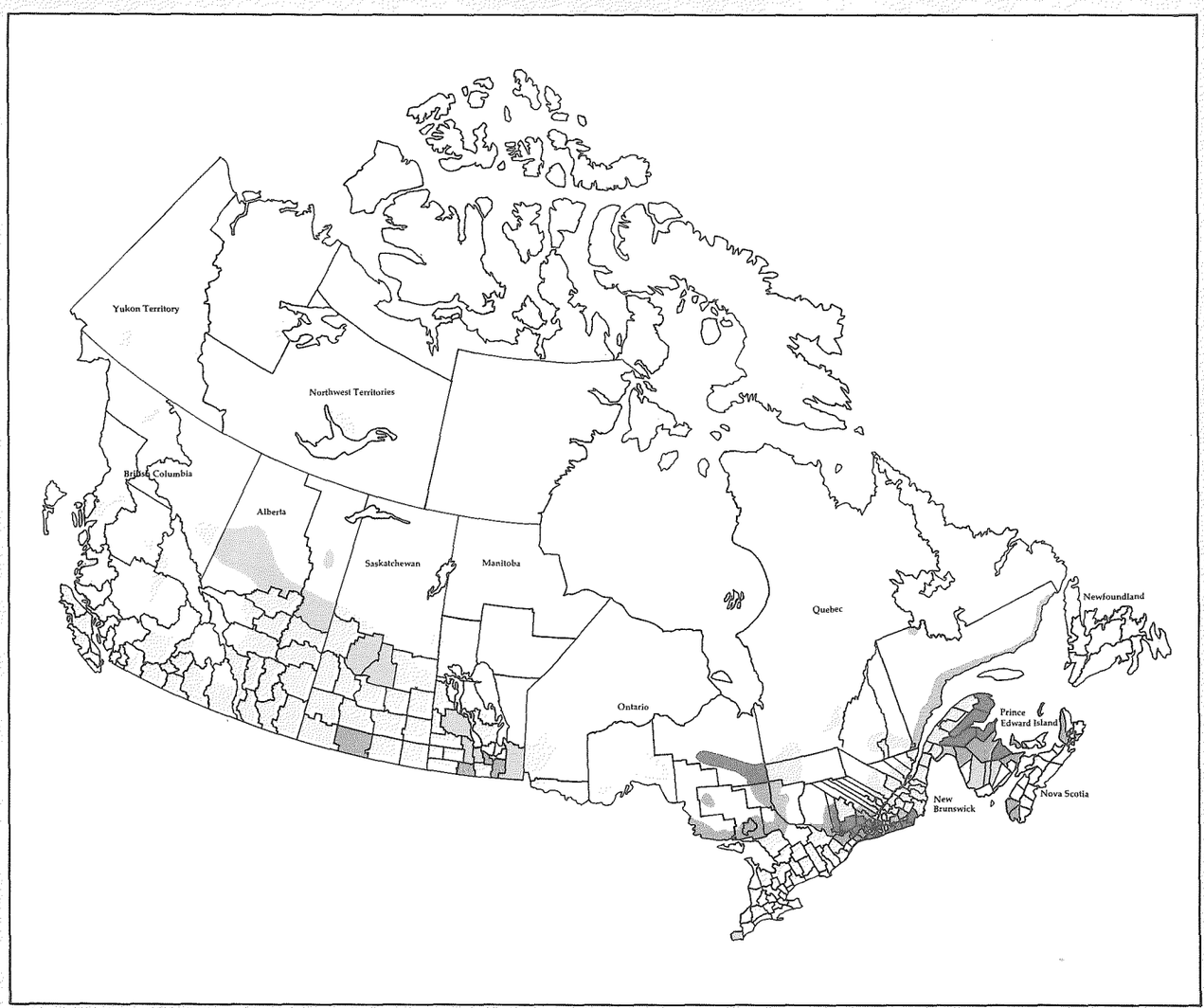
Such differences seem more like symptoms than causes of the utter dissimilarity between the two countries. Nonetheless, it will be most interesting to see the same process of analysis applied to Finland and Canada.

When the last two volumes are published, this series will no doubt take a place among the standard references for students of the field. The work will also be particularly valuable to Canadians, since McRae, who supervised research for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, is very conscious of parallels to the Canadian situation in his analyses of foreign language issues. His final volume may well turn out to be a study of great freshness and impartiality born of this extended opportunity to study the familiar from varied and unusual angles. If there are rules for good behaviour between the languages, Professor McRae is surely on their trail.

SARAH HOOD

LANGUAGE and Society
No. 19 April 1987

Data taken from the survey conducted at the request of the Commissioner of Official Languages by Canadian Facts in September-October 1985.



Proportion* of people in Canada whose mother tongue is French and who live in areas where most people speak English:

- 10% and over
- 5% to 10%
- less than 5%

Proportion* of people in Canada whose mother tongue is English and who live in areas where most people speak French:

- 10% and over
- 5% to 10%
- less than 5%

*Percentage of the total population in each census division.
Source: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census

1 KNOWING, WANTING TO KNOW, SUPPORTING LEARNING OF THE OTHER LANGUAGE

	ENGLISH CANADA					QUEBEC	CANADA
	ATLANTIC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIES	B.C.	4 REGIONS		
1.1 Proficiency: % who can "carry on a conservation, but not very easily" or better	20%	23%	13%	13%	19%	47%	26%
1.2 In-principle bilingualism: % who agree with statement "It would be a good thing if all Canadians could speak both English and French"	92%	83%	75%	77%	81%	97%	87%
1.3 Usefulness to young: % who think that knowing both English and French is "very" or "moderately important" in helping a young person get ahead	93%	82%	74%	69%	79%	99%	84%
1.4 Compulsory education: % who think English and French should be required subjects in all Canadian schools	77%	70%	57%	59%	66%	93%	73%
1.5 Usefulness to me: % who say it would be "very" or "quite" useful to be able to speak the other language or speak it better right now	38%	34%	23%	19%	30%	70%	40%

2 LANGUAGES IN WHICH FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, AND BUSINESS SHOULD PROVIDE SERVICE

	ENGLISH CANADA					QUEBEC	CANADA
	ATLANTIC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIES	B.C.	4 REGIONS		
2.1 Federal service: % naming English and French	82%	71%	62%	59%	68%	88%	74%
2.2 Provincial service: % naming English and French	74%	55%	45%	36%	52%	72%	57%
2.3 Business service: % naming English and French	70%	46%	37%	30%	44%	76%	53%

3 SERVICES IN THE MINORITY LANGUAGE

	ENGLISH CANADA					QUEBEC	CANADA
	ATLANTIC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIES	B.C.	4 REGIONS		
3.1 Schools: % agreeing that minority language residents of province should be entitled to have their own language	76%	68%	72%	57%	69%	88%	74%
3.2 Hospitals: % agreeing that minority language residents of province should be entitled to hospital services in their own language	78%	69%	56%	55%	65%	89%	71%
3.3 Post offices: % agreeing that minority language residents of province should be entitled to service in their own language when they buy stamps at the post office	73%	54%	53%	49%	55%	85%	63%
3.4 Department stores: % agreeing that minority language residents of province should be entiled to service in their language in department stores	62%	41%	36%	29%	41%	82%	52%

4 MAJORITY CONTACT WITH THE OTHER OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND APPROVING SERVICES FOR THE PROVINCIAL MINORITY

		FREQUENCY OF HEARING OTHER LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE COMMUNITY				
		TOTAL	NEVER	OCCASIONALLY	1-2 TIMES PER WEEK	EVERY DAY
4.1 Approving hospital service	Anglophones outside Quebec	65%	54%	71%	81%	87%
	Francophones inside Quebec	89%	85%	83%	89%	96%
	Two majorities combined	71%	57%	75%	84%	92%
4.2 Approving education for children	Anglophones outside Quebec	68%	59%	75%	78%	91%
	Francophones inside Quebec	88%	84%	84%	88%	92%
	Two majorities combined	73%	61%	77%	82%	92%
4.3 Approving post office service	Anglophones outside Quebec	55%	43%	63%	72%	81%
	Francophones inside Quebec	84%	77%	79%	84%	92%
	Two majorities combined	62%	46%	68%	77%	86%

Continued on next page

4 MAJORITY CONTACT WITH THE OTHER OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND APPROVING SERVICES FOR THE PROVINCIAL MINORITY (continuation)

		FREQUENCY OF HEARING OTHER LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN THE COMMUNITY				
		TOTAL	NEVER	OCCASIONALLY	1-2 TIMES PER WEEK	EVERY DAY
4.4 Approving department store service	Anglophones outside Quebec	41%	29%	47%	51%	75%
	Francophones inside Quebec	81%	74%	76%	78%	89%
	Two majorities combined	51%	32%	56%	62%	82%

5 MAJORITY PAST STUDY OF THE OTHER OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND APPROVING SERVICES FOR THE PROVINCIAL MINORITY

		PAST STUDY OF OTHER LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL				
		TOTAL	NONE	1-2 YEARS	3-4 YEARS	5 YEARS AND OVER
5.1 Approving hospital service	Anglophones outside Quebec	65%	54%	59%	65%	79%
	Francophones inside Quebec	89%	92%	87%	84%	90%
	Two majorities combined	71%	60%	63%	69%	83%
5.2 Approving education for children	Anglophones outside Quebec	68%	58%	63%	66%	82%
	Francophones inside Quebec	88%	89%	79%	85%	89%
	Two majorities combined	73%	64%	66%	70%	85%
5.3 Approving post office service	Anglophones outside Quebec	55%	41%	49%	55%	73%
	Francophones inside Quebec	84%	86%	80%	77%	87%
	Two majorities combined	62%	49%	54%	61%	78%
5.4 Approving department store service	Anglophones outside Quebec	41%	31%	37%	35%	56%
	Francophones inside Quebec	81%	86%	76%	76%	82%
	Two majorities combined	51%	40%	44%	44%	44%