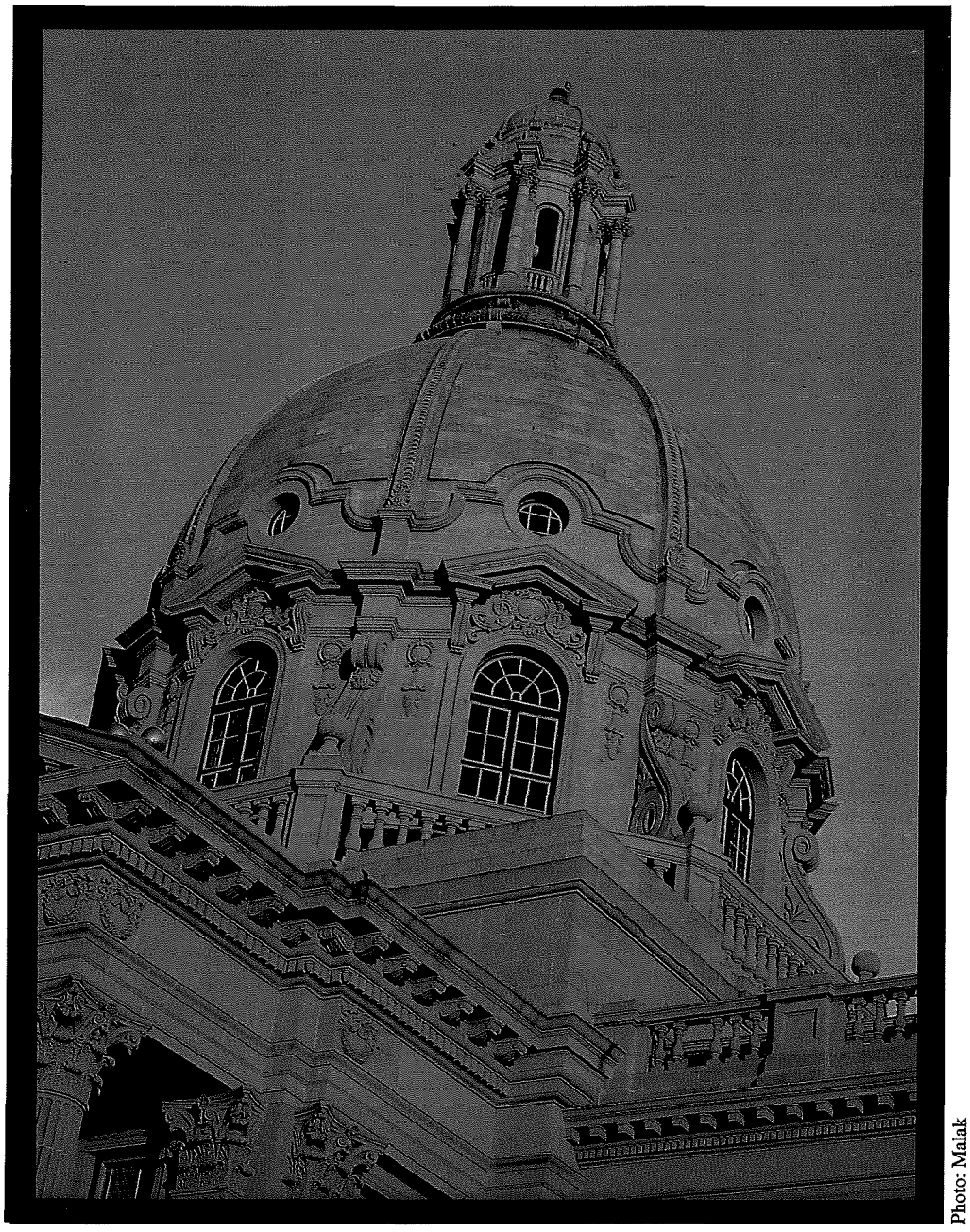
LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY



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A LAW FULL OF PROMISE!

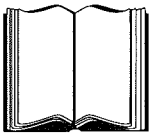
THE CENSUS: TRENDS REVERSED?

AFTER SASKATCHEWAN, ALBERTA...

Special Report:
LANGUAGE OF WORK IN
THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE

Number 24, Fall 1988

BOOK REVIEW



French in Today's World

"La langue française dans le monde d'aujourd'hui". Marc Blancpain, supplement to *La Revue des deux mondes*, December 1987-January 1988.

The author knows whereof he speaks, for the spread of the French language throughout the world has been the object of his work since 1931 and he has been president of Alliance française since 1944. At the beginning of his brief study (only 23 pages long), Marc Blancpain says that he feels qualified to speak about the status of French in the world without engaging in either bluster or pessimism.

One thing he does not tell us is how many people there are in the world who have been educated in French or who speak French. To find out, we must refer to other specialists. Thierry de Beaucé, the former director general of cultural relations in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is one of these. In the spring of 1987, he told us that there were 145 million people in the world who had studied in French and 215 million French speakers.

International communication

Mr. Blancpain takes note, as well he might, of the increase in the number of people attending the classes of Alliance française: 14,000 students in 1938, nearly 300,000 in 1987. He also tells us that in 1938 France exported 40,000 metric quintals of books and that this figure had grown to 310,000 metric quintals in 1984. Whatever the figure, official French efforts do not seem to have had the desired effect, particularly with respect to usage and in scientific, technical, tourist, trade and banking affairs. In these areas, a language other than French is required. "It is an undisputed and indisputable fact. The practical tool for international communication, which could have been Esperanto but is not, is neither the English of Oxford nor the American of Yale, but a diminished jargon. To distinguish it from real English, it is often referred to as 'sub-American'." But, as Marc Blancpain writes, this language is not the instrument of a culture; it really cannot and does not threaten any of the great languages of civilization, with the possible exception of the one of which it is the diminished and altered form. We can only regret that in many countries, including France, regardless of their language, the vogue for using the vocabulary of this language, usually incorrectly, holds sway. Thus does snobbery lead to a kind of self-colonization!

Mr. Blancpain points out that a good many French scientists consider that it enhances their stature to employ this "subAmerican" language, even when they do so rather clumsily and without being aware of their clumsiness. Conversely, he notes, some English speakers have for years been voicing their concerns about the invasion of subAmerican. Thus, in 1983, in a work entitled *The Foreign-Language Barrier*, J.A. Large wrote that the use of English as the lingua franca of world trade, science and tourism had already had debilitating effects on the English language itself.

The future of French

In Mr. Blancpain's view, it is necessary to demonstrate that French is a living and useful language, rich and living enough to be capable of expressing scientific and technical ideas as effectively as any other language, and that at the same time, and perhaps first and foremost, it is the modern language of high culture. This, he feels, is the surest guarantee of its future as an international language.

As for the institutions of the French-speaking community, they are now so numerous, he says, that an observer may conclude that the situation of a patient who needs so many doctors must be desperate! Moreover, we should realize that such clamorous efforts cannot fail to irritate — while also occasionally amusing — our competitors and cause them to redouble their own exertions. A degree of discretion is called for in matters such as these. Finally, he notes that duplication of effort, needless repetition and, perhaps, the existence of factions must be feared, considering that the 1987 directory of Francophone organizations and associations — and there is no assurance that it is complete — lists no less than 246 of them! ■

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

This quarterly review is published by the Commissioner of Official Languages for all interested Canadians, and especially for social and political commentators, political and administrative leaders, educators and leaders in voluntary organizations, the private sector and linguistic communities. The review aims at reflecting the linguistic experience of Canadians and at keeping them informed of relevant major events and at encouraging dialogue.

Opinions expressed by contributors from outside the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages do not necessarily reflect the views of the Commissioner.

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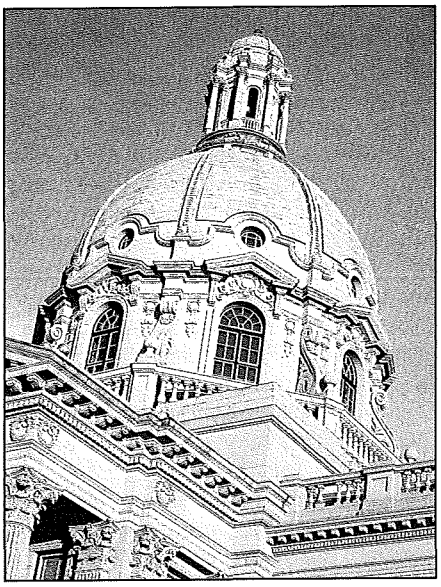

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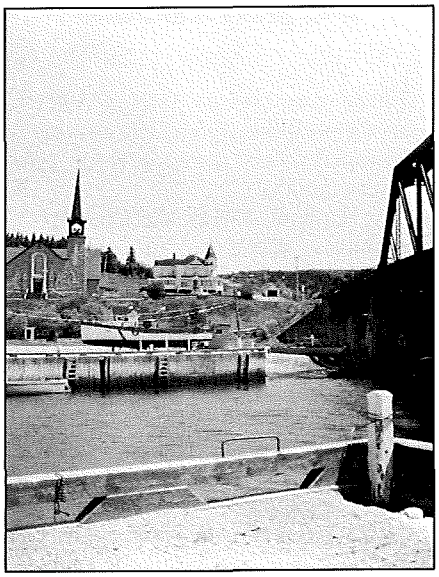
The Alberta Legislature



In Gaspé:
Anglophone Unity (p. 27)

NOTICE

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name, address and telephone number, are most welcome. The Editor reserves the right to publish letters, which may be condensed. Send to: *Language and Society*, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, Canada K1A 0T8. Tel.: (613) 995-7717.

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

The New Act and One of Its Aspects

D'Iberville Fortier

For almost ten years the Commissioner of Official Languages and the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages have urged that the 1969 Act be updated. The 1969 Act, supplemented by the 1973 Parliamentary Resolution, provided an adequate tool for reform in the 1970s, but it revealed its shortcomings in the light of some court decisions on its application, and particularly with regard to the linguistic provisions of the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which enshrined English and French as Canada's two official languages.

The government could have opted simply to amend the Act, but it chose a better route. In June 1987 it tabled a Bill with a broader scope which was, on the whole, improved upon by a Parliamentary Committee prior to receiving overwhelming all-Party approval. A predictable series of hitches occurred during this process, despite the positive shift in attitudes throughout the country. Fortunately, the hurdles were overcome in a truly democratic fashion. After the Bill was passed by the House of Commons, Keith Spicer was fully justified in writing of "Mr. Mulroney's courage and the opposition's statesmanship."

The new Official Languages Act clarifies both the obligations of federal institutions and the rights of citizens. It reinforces the principle of the equality of English and French, according both languages equal status before the courts and giving most of its provisions primacy over other legislation.

It also calls for the federal government to co-operate closely with provincial governments in support of official language minorities and to advance the knowledge and use of both our official languages throughout Canadian society. These new provisions are essential; our official language minorities need understanding and support. And although the private sector and voluntary organizations are not subject to this Act, they also have an important part to play in meeting the needs of both linguistic communities and respecting their aspirations.

In short, the Act sets out a vision of a society based on justice and tolerance. In its pursuit of equality, it does not exclude the acknowledgement of existing differences and inequalities between communities. And although some provisions of the Act will not become effective until after the regulations are promulgated, its spirit requires that these be as generous as possible.

The Commissioner, with his mandate broadened and his powers extended, remains available to make all Canadians more familiar with their rights and to assist them in defending those rights. Laws very rarely provide the full extent of their potential benefits unless everyone who has an interest in them demands that they be respected in their entirety. The Commissioner will, of course, make use of the new powers that Parliament has granted him, but he will continue to rely primarily on persuasion, conciliation and negotiated solutions to achieve his objectives.

The three components of linguistic equality in federal institutions — service to the public, equitable participation by members of both communities and, under the conditions stipulated by the Act, freedom to choose the language of work — will require special efforts. It is no accident that *Language and Society* features a special report on the language of work. The Commissioners have devoted particular attention to this question in their annual reports and in studies and special reports; the new Act specifically acknowledges its importance by establishing for public servants and Crown corporation employees "the right to use either official language in accordance with this Part."

There is no real linguistic equality without freedom of choice. Neither is there real freedom of choice unless institutions have created conditions favourable to its exercise, and speakers of both languages clearly understand what is at stake and encourage its application. That is why, in our 1986 Annual Report, we advocated the recognition of a "reciprocal civic obligation" shared by members of both linguistic communities. The continual or, at least, the frequent use of one's own language at work preserves its quality and transmits its underlying cultural values to the public.

Our columns address themselves primarily to public servants and Crown corporation employees, but they may also be of interest to anyone else wishing to explore the thorny issue of two languages at the service of citizens and the state.

Our columns cannot hope to be exhaustive. However, they will feature historical information, provide the results of surveys and offer opinions. We hope that they will give renewed impetus to the active search for new attitudes and the implementation of solutions which guarantee not only equality, but mutual respect. ■

Departures

Three employees filling very senior positions in the Office of the Commissioner have left us in recent months.

At the end of May, the Commissioner's adviser for special projects, Stuart Beaty, took leave of his colleagues and joined the Canadian Human Rights Commission to take up a similar position with the Chief Commissioner, Max Yalden. Mr. Beaty was a regular contributor to *Language and Society*.

His departure coincided with that of the Commissioner's Executive Assistant, Lucie Douville, who resigned to serve as the first ombudsman of the Université de Montréal, beginning in June. Mrs. Sandra Zagon, an employee of the Office who had been seconded to External Affairs for three years, has been filling Mrs. Douville's position since June 20.

At the end of June, the Director of Communications, Emmanuelle Gattuso, left that role to become vice-president for communications with the Canadian Association of Broadcasters.

While we regret the loss of these three employees, who have served the cause of official languages well for many years, we wish them all the best as they pursue their careers.

Bill C-72: Rites of Passage

Tom Sloan

The passage of rights, despite some Parliamentary opposition, continues to affirm Canada's commitment to bilingualism.

It was 19 years nearly to the day after the passage of Canada's first Official Languages Act that a new revised and expanded Act received third and final reading July 7, 1988. It was also just over a year after Bill C-72 was first introduced.

Ray Hnatyshyn

As was the case two decades ago, the Bill had the support of all parties in the House of Commons. In both cases, the opposition came from a small band of mainly backbench Progressive Conservatives, led in 1969 by former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, but in effect leaderless in 1988. In 1969, 17 members stood up to oppose the Bill. Last July, there were nine.

Restatement

Why was a new law necessary? Essentially, it was viewed by observers both as a restatement of the country's 1969 commitment to official bilingualism and, more importantly, as a necessary reinforcement of the earlier law to clear away ambiguities and to bring it in line with the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which was adopted in 1982.

With these aims, it was not surprising that the 45-page Bill was twice as long as its predecessor. And, while the changes did not alter the thrust of the earlier Act, they were nevertheless substantial.

They include a preamble, explicitly spelling out the goals of the legislation, of use both to students of language rights and to the courts in any decisions they may have to make on language issues.

Recognition

The new Act is more explicit in several areas, including recognition of language rights in federal courts, of the right of Canadians to government services in the language of their choice, and of the right of public servants to work in their own first official language within reasonable limits.

As well, the new law takes steps to enhance the visibility and availability of bilingual government services and the participation of both official language groups in the federal Public Service. It explicitly recognizes the duty of the federal government to work for the promotion of both official languages in general and for the survival and development of official language minorities in particular.

Provisions

To accomplish this the law includes a panoply of provisions, one of which ensures it priority over all other federal legislation except the Human Rights Act. In practical terms, the Act gives broad mandates to the Treasury Board, the Department of the Secretary of State and to the Commissioner of Official Languages, as well as providing for the strengthening of co-operative relations between the federal and provincial governments and between the federal government and the private sector to encourage the bilingual process.

Passage

Final passage of the Bill by the Commons in July was a cause for jubilation among those involved in the language question, including leaders of minority language groups across the country. But it also marked the end of a battle which, if it was in no danger of being lost, did cause some division. Following second reading in mid-March, the Bill was the subject of two months of parliamentary committee hearings, during which opponents charged that it was unfair to unilingual Canadians, whose position in the federal Public Service, they claimed, could be severely eroded by the legislation. Following the hearings, there were renewed rumblings from the government backbenches, culminating in the submission in late June of 136 amendments, including among others proposals that the Armed Forces be essentially unilingual English and that most areas of the country outside the National Capital Region be considered as either unilingual English or unilingual French for government purposes.

Jean-Robert Gauthier

In the face of strong cabinet reaction, led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the amendments were quickly dealt with and defeated. But, before July's third reading, the government did make some changes to the Bill, which, while they did not satisfy a small group of hardline opponents, did attempt to deal with some of the perceived shortcomings.

One of these concerned the areas of the country where the free choice by a public servant of language of work is to be considered a normal procedure. For the first time these areas were firmly defined in the law in what the government clearly thought were acceptable

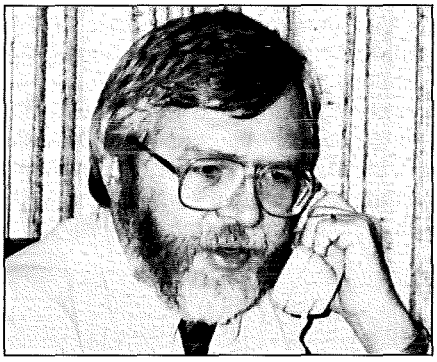
⇨

terms. They now include, in addition to the National Capital Region, portions of eastern Ontario, central Quebec including Montreal, and the province of New Brunswick.

In a move to protect the prerogatives of Members of Parliament, any changes in these designated areas or any other regulations under the Act will be placed before Parliament well before their proclamation to allow time for examination and debate.

Unilingual rights

To allay fears that arbitrary decisions could ride roughshod over the individual rights of public servants or of those seeking employment with the



Ernie Epp

federal government, a provision has been inserted which is designed to make sure that any new bilingual requirements for a particular government job will be recognized as "objectively" necessary, and to recognize the right of appeal by a unilingual person in case of disagreement. This move was at least partially prompted by a case in British Columbia in which an official of the Federal Court Registry Office was denied a promotion following an administrative decision to make bilingualism a requirement for the post being sought. The case is still before the courts.

While at first glance a concern for the rights of unilinguals in a law the aim of which is to promote a bilingual Canada may seem to represent an unusual twist, the law's proponents might well deny that to be the case. One of the long-standing arguments of the supporters of institutional bilingualism, as represented by both the 1969 and the 1988 legislation, has been, after all, that the concept is in no way designed to penalize unilingualism in Canada. To the extent that the law makes the same point in its own provisions, many supporters believe, it will be more acceptable to an everbroadening range of public opinion. ■

The 1986 Census: Some Enduring Trends Abate

*Jacques Henripin**

The demography of language groups has been discussed in *Language and Society* on a number of occasions. The brief analysis that follows, while different in content, in a sense is a continuation of the study by Robert Bourbeau (1983)[1]. We were able to use the 1986 census information, published in April 1988, but did not, however, avail ourselves of the cross-checks between mother tongue and home language to which Bourbeau had access.

A technical problem with the 1986 census is of some importance: the instructions on the questionnaire allowed the respondents to list several mother tongues and several home languages. The double (or triple) listings involve only 4% or 5% of the population, but this is sufficient to distort comparisons with previous censuses. Statistics Canada has produced "adjusted" figures in order to validate such comparisons insofar as possible. These are very useful, but the adjustment cannot be perfect, and it would be prudent not to attach importance to minor differences.

Recent trends continue

In order to gain an understanding of the most important pieces of the Canadian linguistic mosaic, it is possible to restrict oneself to two regions (Quebec and the rest of Canada) and three linguistic categories (English, French, other languages). This makes six pieces, or nine, if Canada as a whole is also taken into account.

For each of these entities, the absolute figures for mother tongue or home language show the same trend between 1981 and 1986 as between 1971 and 1981, with one exception: the number of those who speak mainly French at home has increased in the rest of Canada. The following are the annual rates of increase of the two largest minorities:

	1971-1981	1981-1986
English, Quebec:		
mother tongue	-1.2%	-0.8%
home language	-0.9%	-0.3 %
	1971-1981	**1981-1986**
French, outside Quebec:		
mother tongue	+1.2%	+0.1%
home language	-0.1%	+0.2%

Note as well:

1. that Anglo-Quebecers are losing less ground if one considers the language spoken at home rather than mother tongue, while the opposite is true of Francophones outside Quebec, between 1971 and 1981;

2. that the rate of decrease of Anglo-Quebecers has fallen by one-third or by two-thirds, depending on whether one considers mother tongue or home language. This is attributable mainly to the fact that the net emigration of Quebecers whose mother tongue was English declined from 16,000 a year in 1971-81 to 8,000 a year in 1981-86;

3. that the number of those who speak mainly French at home outside Quebec has increased, whereas it had declined in the previous decade.

***Jacques Henripin is a professor in the Department of Demography at the University of Montreal.**

Homogenization of the two regions

As Table 1 indicates, Quebec continues to become more French and the rest of Canada to become more English. These are long-standing trends, as demonstrated by Lachapelle and Henripin (1980)[2], and they are continuing. There is nothing surprising about this, since the conditions that cause them have not changed very much. It should be borne in mind that in Quebec the French-speaking group is disadvantaged by linguistic transfer, but that the effects of this phenomenon are more than balanced by Anglophone emigration. In the rest of Canada, linguistic transfer and migration favour the English-speaking group. In Quebec in 1986, 82.8% of the population was French-speaking (mother tongue or home language); this is 2% more that it was 15 years ago. It can also be seen in Table 1 that this trend is even more marked in the Montreal area than in Quebec as a whole. In the rest of Canada, English has made nearly comparable gains. In 1986, 88.6% of the population there spoke mainly English at home, and 80% had English as their mother tongue.

The minority groups are clearly losing ground. It should be noted, however, that, based on the "adjusted" figures from Statistics Canada, the loss of Anglophone weight in Quebec has slowed. Both for mother tongue and home language, the English-speaking group in the province lost 0.2% a year between 1971 and 1981; it has lost only 0.1% a year between 1981 and 1986. In the rest of Canada, the French-speaking group counts for little in demographic terms, at least in the area taken as a whole: 5% in terms of mother tongue; 3.6% in terms of home language.

Francophones are therefore two or three times less numerous (depending on the criterion chosen) than persons of "other languages" in the rest of Canada, where the latter show a tendency to lose importance, whereas they are gaining slightly in Quebec. In that province, however, they represent a smaller fraction of the population.

TABLE 1

Percentage of certain linguistic groups, Canada, Quebec, rest of Canada, Montreal, Toronto, 1971, 1981 and 1986

REGIONS AND LANGUAGES	Mother tongue 1971	1981	1986	Home language 1971	1981	1986
CANADA						
English	60.1	61.3	62.1	67.0	68.2	68.9
French	26.9	25.7	25.1	25.7	24.6	24.0
Others	13.0	13.0	12.8	7.3	7.2	7.1
QUEBEC						
English	13.1	11.0	10.4	14.7	12.7	12.3
French	80.7	82.4	82.8	80.8	82.5	82.8
Others	6.2	6.6	6.8	4.5	4.8	4.9
REST OF CANADA						
English	78.3	79.4	80.0	87.2	88.2	88.6
French	6.0	5.3	5.0	4.3	3.8	3.6
Others	15.7	15.4	14.9	8.5	8.1	7.8
MONTREAL						
English	21.7	18.2	17.0	24.9	21.7	20.8
French	66.3	68.8	69.7	66.3	68.9	69.7
Others	12.0	13.0	13.4	8.8	9.3	9.5
TORONTO						
English	73.8	72.0	72.1	81.8	81.6	82.2
French	1.7	1.5	1.6	0.8	0.7	0.8
Others	24.5	26.5	26.3	17.4	17.7	16.9

Source: 1981 and 1986 censuses (1986 figures "adjusted").

The vitality of the languages

The various languages spoken in Canada persist with varying degrees of vigour. In truth, only English is really vigorous everywhere in Canada. In fact, it is making relatively significant gains in every province. In the course of time, persons who have another mother tongue adopt English at home, and this language of adoption becomes the mother tongue of their children. French just manages to hold its ground, and only in Quebec, where its losses to English are almost exactly compensated for by the gains it makes at the expense of third languages. In the other provinces, the persistence of French ranges from rather weak to very weak, except in New Brunswick, where its strength is remarkable. As for third languages, their persistence is weak everywhere, but to varying degrees.

The vitality of the languages can be determined simply by dividing the number of home language speakers of language X by the number of mother tongue speakers of language X. If the ratio is greater than unity (as in the case of English), the language in question is making net gains on the others. If it is less than unity, the language in question is losing ground, and the smaller the ratio, the faster. This ratio has been given a name: the index of linguistic continuity. Table 2 shows its values for the segments of the Canadian population of which we have already spoken.

The value of this index has changed very little since 1971, with one exception: the index for Anglophones in Quebec has risen from 1.125 in 1971 to 1.188 in 1986. This is largely accounted for by the substantial emigration of Quebecers whose mother tongue was English during this period. The following are some observations on the indexes in Table 2.

1. Only English is gaining.

2. It is gaining relatively more in Quebec (19%) than in the rest of Canada (11%) because, all things considered, the linguistic groups ⇨

from which it draws are far more numerous there.

3. In terms of its mother tongue speakers, French is suffering a net loss of 28% in the rest of Canada; it is neither gaining nor losing in Quebec.

4. The other languages are losing, both in Quebec (28%) and even more (48%) in the rest of the country.

5. Outside Quebec, therefore, French shows more resistance than the other languages.

Let us take this last value to illustrate concretely what the index means: out of a group of 100 persons living outside Quebec and having a third language as mother tongue, half have adopted English as their home language. In actual fact, the abandonment of the mother tongue (at least as the language mainly spoken at home) is even greater (approximately 70%), but we cannot demonstrate this here.

New Brunswick and Ontario

The index of continuity of French is far from being identical everywhere in the rest of Canada. The net loss it shows (in terms of French mother tongue speakers) is only 7% in New Brunswick. The resistance shown by the Acadians to the adoption of English is as remarkable for its strength as for its stability, at least since 1971.

In 1986 Ontario accounted for 51% of the Francophones living outside Quebec (by home language). Their numbers had fallen between 1971 and 1981, but increased slightly between 1981 and 1986 to reach 341,000. In view of the steps taken in Ontario to facilitate living in French, it will be interesting to see whether Franco-Ontarians resist assimilation more. It is too early to reach a conclusion, but it can be said that the proportion of Francophones in the total population remained nearly stable from 1981 to 1986 (3.9% and 3.8%), whereas it had declined from 4.6% to 3.9% between 1971 and 1981. Taking the unequal duration of these two periods into account, it can be said that the rate at which Franco-Ontarians are losing ground is only one-third as great. Moreover — and this is undoubtedly more significant — the index of linguistic continuity has increased slightly from 70.5% in 1981 to 71.1% in 1986, whereas it had fallen between 1971 and 1981. It would be risky to draw rash conclusions from these recent developments, but they are nonetheless intriguing. Perhaps certain policies are effective, after all?

TABLE 2

Speakers by mother tongue and home language and index of linguistic continuity, Canada, Quebec, rest of Canada, 1986

LANGUAGE AND REGION	Speakers of language (in thousands) Mother tongue	Home language	Index of linguistic continuity Uncorrected	Corrected*
ENGLISH				
Canada	15,710	17,250	1.098	1.111
Quebec	679	797	1.174	1.188
Rest of Canada	15,031	16,453	1.095	1.107
FRENCH				
Canada	6,355	6,016	0.947	0.958
Quebec	5,409	5,343	0.988	1.000
Rest of Canada	946	672	0.710	0.718
OTHER LANGUAGES				
Canada	3,245	1,756	0.541	0.547
Quebec	445	315	0.708	0.717
Rest of Canada	2,800	1,442	0.515	0.521
TOTAL	**25,309**	**25,022**	n/a	n/a

* The index has been corrected to take into account the fact that the total number of speakers of all languages is greater for mother tongue than for home language. This is a statistical anomaly that requires correction.

Source: 1986 census (figures "adjusted").

The other provinces

Returning to the subject of "losses" as defined earlier, after New Brunswick come Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Ontario (20-30%); Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (40-46%); and Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and the Yukon (55-60%). In some cases, the numbers involved are very small. In the Territories, in Newfoundland, in Prince Edward Island and in Saskatchewan, there were less than 10,000 persons in 1986 who spoke mainly French at home.

English-French bilingualism

English-French bilingualism in Canada has been increasing constantly for at least 15 years. In 1971, 13.4% of Canadians were bilingual; in 1981, 15.3%; in 1986, 16.2%. This linguistic phenomenon, however, is very uneven depending on the region and the group in question. In Quebec, 34.5% of the population is bilingual; in the rest of Canada the figure is 9.9%.

In the majority English-speaking provinces, 80% of Francophones are bilingual, but 6% of non-French speakers are also. In Quebec, non-French speakers are twice as likely to be bilingual (approximately 60%) as Francophones (approximately 30%). English unilingualism is rare: only 6% of the population in Quebec. This nevertheless represents a third of the non-Francophone population.

Conclusion

There are no great surprises in the 1986 census. It confirms that the trends observed in the recent past are continuing. The most significant of these are probably the francization of Quebec (of Montreal in particular) and, historically, the anglicization of the rest of Canada. These phenomena, however, do not impede the remarkable progress of bilingualism.

Other significant findings include the remarkable resistance of the Acadians of New Brunswick and the fact that the percentage of Francophones in the population of Ontario has remained nearly stable between 1981 and 1986. Elsewhere, we note the erosion of French through the abandonment by Francophones of their mother tongue as principal language. In certain provinces, they now expect their numbers to be much reduced. Unless migratory movements reinforce these groups, the loss will continue at the rate of approximately half the members of each generation. Nearly all the Francophone groups in the West are threatened in this way.

The resistancce of New Brunswick Acadians to linguistic assimilation is remarkable.

Anglophones in Quebec are not in the same situation. Their concentration in Montreal gives them considerable weight: 600,000 persons who are making a small net gain in their linguistic exchanges with Francophones and who, in addition, absorb three-quarters of the speakers of other languages. They are, in fact, threatened only by their own emigration, and this, it seems, has greatly slowed in recent years. ■

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2 Lachapelle, Réjean, and Jacques Henripin, *The Demolinguistic Situation in Canada. Past Trends and Future Prospects*, Montreal, The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1982; *La situation démolinguistique au Canada. Évolution passée et prospective*, Montréal, L'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.

Multiculturalism: Keeping Canadians Informed

Stella Ohan

The Commissioner of Official Languages reiterated his support for a policy on multiculturalism

Bill C-93 on multiculturalism was passed in July. In March, after second reading, the Bill had been referred to a legislative committee chaired by the MP for Edmonton North and former Minister of State for Multiculturalism, the Hon. Steve Paprowski.

The committee held public hearings, giving its members an opportunity to observe firsthand the variety of reactions to the tabling of Bill C-93 the previous December — reactions which had been widely reported in the press.

Bill C-93's detractors took exception to its non-imperative nature and deplored the lack of effective mechanisms to monitor its implementation. Above all, they lamented the government's refusal to create a position of Commissioner of Multicultural Affairs analogous to that of Commissioner of Official Languages. Nevertheless, they welcomed the inclusion of a provision assigning the Canadian Human Rights Commission the role of multiculturalism watchdog.

Those who saw this Bill as the culmination of their efforts to achieve legislative confirmation of what had been merely a political statement on multiculturalism warned the sceptics against jeopardizing it by a superficial assessment.

The Commissioner of Official Languages accepted the committee's invitation to appear before it. Testifying on April 28, he reiterated his support for a policy on multiculturalism, provided that it respected Canada's official bilingualism and that newcomers were able to learn our official languages and the cultural values they convey. According to the Commissioner, "Canadians' attitudes towards the policies of multiculturalism and official bilingualism, and their perception of these policies, could be significantly improved through a well-designed information strategy." He also stressed the importance of celebrating the Canadian creative spirit in order to reinforce our national identity.

After hearing many witnesses, including the Chief Commissioner of the Canadian Human Rights Commission and representatives of the Canadian Multiculturalism Council, the Canadian Ethnocultural Council and numerous other ethnic organizations, the committee recommended a number of amendments, which the government agreed to incorporate in Bill C-93. ■

Petroleum/ Pétrolière

The Petroleum Resources Communication Foundation of Calgary distributes a detailed and colourful 64-page magazine format publication called "Our Petroleum Challenge: The New Era", accompanied by a Teacher's Guide.

"Our Petroleum Challenge", which is an up-to-date and highly illustrated overview, includes information on the current state of the industry, its evolution, production and products, and takes a look at the resource future.

The good news is that this publication, which is popular with teachers — it is used in 10% of Canada's schools and has gone into a revised third edition — is available in either an English or a French edition, as is the Teacher's Guide.

Official Languages and the RCMP

Mary Lee Bragg

Commissioner Norman Inkster is proud to cite changes in the Force's attitude to the official languages. He has shown that he attaches great importance to respecting the spirit of the Official Languages Act.

Norman Inkster, the fluently bilingual Commissioner of the RCMP, is describing the situation that prevailed at the Mounties' training academy in Regina in the late 1950s. "My concerns about official languages actually began during recruit training. You couldn't help seeing that Francophones were at a tremendous disadvantage in that environment."

Push-ups and parades

At that time, all training was in English only, and the punishment for disobeying an order — or not obeying a misunderstood order — ranged from push-ups to extra parades. One year after his appointment to the RCMP's top position, Inkster is proud to cite changes at the training academy as an example of the Force's changing attitude to the official languages. Starting in September 1988, all recruits to the RCMP will receive their basic training in the official language of their choice.

"If we want people to be capable peace officers, it stands to reason that we should train them in the language they best understand," Inkster says.

Training at Depot, the Regina academy, has been carried out in French as well as in English for nearly two decades. However, the hazards of scheduling have sometimes generated situations like the one reported to our Office two years ago: a group of 28 Francophones and four Anglophones went through a training course in English only.

The spirit of the Act

Such situations are unlikely to recur under Inkster's leadership. Since his appointment to the job in September 1987, the Commissioner has shown that he attaches great importance to respecting the spirit of the Official Languages Act.

Under the Cadet Official Languages Training Program, which began in April 1988, all new recruits to the RCMP will receive training in their second official language before they begin their police training at Regina. Recruits will receive 200 hours of instruction in their second language; those who show the aptitude required will be allowed to continue in language training until they have reached the accepted Public Service standard.

Norman Inkster

The RCMP is also recruiting Francophone and bilingual members, gradually losing its old image as an English enclave. "This organization reflects the society it serves," Inkster says, citing the numbers of immersion-school graduates as potential recruits. He points out that the proportion of bilinguals among RCMP members is climbing — from 20.7% in 1987 to 22.1% in 1988.

If that seems low, the Commissioner is also ready to point out that over 60% of the RCMP's regional staff is stationed west of Winnipeg. Many of them are doing police work that in Ontario and Quebec is carried out by provincial or municipal police forces. Their public is predominantly English-speaking, and so is the police force. Inkster himself is a native of Winnipeg and began his career in the RCMP in Alberta.

Language of choice

The RCMP has set itself the objective of 20.8% Francophone participation among members. Inkster expects to achieve that goal by 1996. Improved participation of Francophones in the RCMP is only one element in a program whose ultimate objective is "a recognition that to serve the public well, we must serve them in the language of their choice."

To those who criticize the RCMP's insistence on bilingualism as a prerequisite for its most senior positions, Inkster replies that a unilingual Anglophone "has a career path that could go from constable to Deputy Commissioner in the West. The sad fact is that a unilingual Francophone is at a disadvantage in terms of career opportunities."

"To serve the public well, we must serve them in the language of their choice."

In discussing official languages Inkster frequently refers to cultural awareness, sensitivity and the importance of a positive attitude.

He cites an anonymous letter he received from "Constable Bonhomme". The constable, far from home and family at Christmas time, did not respond warmly to the Christmas message his commanding officer sent staff, in English only. "I discussed it with the officer," Inkster says. "He was surprised, but he could understand the point being made. From now on, all those sorts of personal messages are going to be in both official languages."

His smile says they will. ■

LANGUAGE OF WORK IN THE FEDERAL PUBLIC SERVICE

Breaking Old Habits

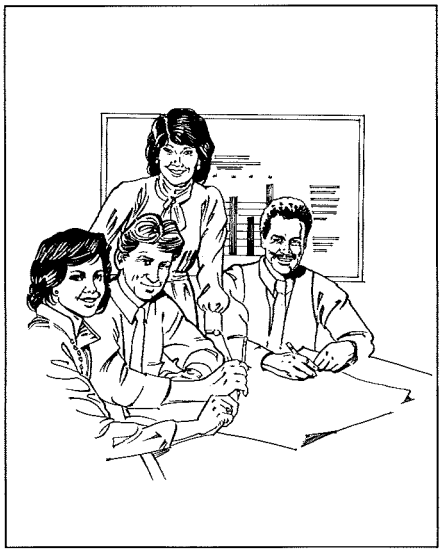
D'Iberville Fortier

Working in one's own language in the federal Public Service

Something pretty remarkable has happened to the work habits of the federal Public Service in the last 20 years. In the late 60s, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism observed that "French has never enjoyed the full status of an official or practised language in the Public Service. As a result, the language and culture of French-speaking Canada have had little opportunity to take root in the vast majority of work situations in the federal administration." Whatever the status and use of French as a federal language of work in 1988, they are obviously a far cry from the systematic disadvantages that existed a generation ago. French-speaking Canadians are increasingly well represented throughout the federal bureaucracy; the tools of their respective trades are generally available in their own language; the number of English-speaking colleagues who can handle French is several times what it used to be; and, perhaps most important of all, attitudes have changed. French no longer has to prove itself as a necessary and effective vehicle for carrying on the business of the Canadian government. It would be an exaggeration to say that French has "arrived", but there is no longer any question that it is well on its way toward "the full status of an official or practised language in the Public Service."

Basic logic

One might have thought that this would justify a modest toast to the foresight of the Bilingualism and Biculturalism Commissioners, who rightly saw that there could never be a fully satisfactory service to the French-speaking public while the administration itself remained an English-speaking bastion. But they also had the wisdom to see that to make the Public Service responsive in that way would require a serious organizational investment extending over many years. So one might have thought that the decision to recognize that need and accept that cost was behind us. However, the debate surrounding the new Official Languages Act (Bill C-72) showed that this was not the case; it is *not* obvious to all Canadians why and to what extent the equal status of French as one of Canada's official languages requires that Francophone employees should, *within well-defined limits*, be able to use their own language on the job. Yet, paradoxically, no one questions the proposition that Anglophone employees should, within the same general limits, be able to use English. That the basic logic of official language equality must apply, *mutatis mutandis*, in both directions sometimes seems much more difficult to get across than any particular administrative consequence. Perhaps some lessons simply have to be relearned every 10 or 20 years.



Equal official status

According to circumstances, the rationale for stating, as the new Official Languages Act clearly will, that "English and French are the official languages of work in all federal institutions" is no different from what it has always been. For many years it was taken for granted that virtually any French-speaking Canadian who wished to work in the Public Service would sooner or later have to acquire some English and that serious work presented in French was going nowhere. Not only did this deprive the federal service of many fine candidates, it also under-used the potential of its French-speaking staff and convinced many Francophones that "Ottawa" represented an essentially alien, and at times oppressive, administration. There was no doubt in the minds of the Commissioners that this could only lead to a fatal polarization of the federal state. Their answer was unequivocal: first to grant French equal official status, and then "to change the work environment of the Public Service by ensuring that French is fully used in both internal and external communication."

Easier said than done, of course. The proper strategy, as the Commission saw it, was fourfold: French-language units to provide an optimal language milieu; an increased Francophone presence throughout the administration; greater individual bilingualism among Anglophones in critical positions; and the necessary bilingual documentation and equipment. What is not perhaps sufficiently realized is that most of that strategy has been followed ever since the 1969 Official Languages Act came into effect, and the basic preconditions for a linguistic "partnership" in the workplace are already available. French-language units were extensively used in the launch period up to 1973. They have now largely given way to a language regime which gives all employees the right to choose English or and French *in areas where both these languages are widely used*, a regime which requires many supervisors in those areas to be bilingual.

Simple facts

We might have been saved a lot of misspent media ink if the presentation of Bill C-72 in 1987 had been accompanied by some simple fact-sheets indicating where the bilingual areas are, what the regional distribution of English-speaking and French-speaking employees is, how many jobs are bilingual primarily to ensure supervision, and what proportion of those jobs already have bilingual occupants. But much of the questioning runs much deeper than that. It amounts to a public doubt that French can ever find a legitimate space in a hard-pressed bureaucracy with a lot more than language on its mind. It is certainly a question that has to be asked. In this number of *Language and Society* we have tried to explore some of the implications of that question. It is not a question to which

there are purely administrative or technical answers; a fruitful working partnership among employees of two different language groups is in large part a problem in *human* perspectives and *human* reactions. To bring the language of work right that is embodied in the new Act to life, we need to understand the inter-personal dynamics whereby a conducive work environment actually leads to an equitable use of the two languages.

Both intuition and experience suggest that it takes something more than a permissive arrangement of bilingual people and bilingual documentation to offset the traditional dominance of English as a working language outside Quebec. What we are looking for are new ways of breaking old habits. And this is why it remains one of the most arduous problems of our language reform. As we all know too well, there is no discipline like self-discipline. Whether one is a French-speaker with aspirations to use one's own language professionally or an English-speaker with a need to put acquired skills to use, there is no substitute for "direct action", for taking the plunge. There will be degrees of discomfort on both sides. We suggest that the best thing is to put them up front and discuss them.

Reasons and occasions

Where the institution can be of most help is in providing reasons and occasions for breaking the circle of majority-language dominance. French-language units did that to a large extent and, in the process, established the very viability of French as a federal language of work. The same principle applies just as well on a smaller scale in the designated regions: teams using French, projects conducted in French, meetings held in French, weeks or days where employees are encouraged to use French. These represent a conscious institutional decision to give a local or temporary preference to French so that it gets the professional workout that everybody needs.

Although recent statistical proof may be lacking, there is enough impressionistic evidence that French has been gaining ground as a language of work to give us hope that the "right" established by the new Act will be not just used but enjoyed. But there would be little satisfaction in transforming what is at present a relatively harmonious, if lop-sided, partnership into a battlefield of linguistic litigation. The power to avoid such silliness resides with individual public servants rather than with the law. ■

From the B and B Commission to C-72: Degrees of Choice

Stuart Beaty

There has been a consistent line of development between the findings and recommendations of the B and B Commission and the language of work rules that are now set out in the Official Languages Act.

One of the things the House Legislative Committee on the new Official Languages Act felt it was important to spell out in the Act was the so-called "bilingual regions" where federal employees may effectively choose their language of work. This was done by incorporating into the Bill, by reference, the schedule of language of work regions that had been enunciated at the time the principle of choice was first approved by an all-Party Parliamentary Resolution in 1973 and that was later made fully specific by Treasury Board policy in 1977. Broadly speaking, the bilingual regions are: the National Capital Region; northern and eastern Ontario; Montreal Island, the Eastern Townships, the Gaspé and parts of the North Shore in Quebec; and New Brunswick. The Committee has, in effect, made it doubly clear that, while the new Act will clarify and consolidate the principles of official languages equality, it will not radically alter the rules of the game.[1]

In fact, there has been a remarkably consistent line of development between the findings and recommendations of the B and B Commission and those set out since 1970-1971 by the Commissioner of Official Languages in his Annual Reports[2] and the language of work rules that are now set out in the Official Languages Act. In its volume, *The Work World*, one can clearly follow the Commission's thinking on this crucial issue. Should the equality of English and French be restricted to the public's right to be served in either official language? And, by the same token, is it realistic to suppose that an administration that operates internally in only one language will be equally adept at providing a credible service to Canadians of the other language group? The plain logic of the situation seemed to the Commission to dictate a negative answer to both questions, and nothing that has happened in the last 20 years has given the lie to that decision.

The logic of equality

Having accepted the fact that official languages equality must in all conscience apply inside as well as outside

the Public Service, the Commission, and indeed all subsequent administrators of the Official Languages Act, had then to face another set of questions. Since it is manifestly impossible to give each and every public servant complete freedom to work in either English or French, what degrees of choice are both fair and manageable, how are they to be defined and organized, and what are the administrative consequences that flow from these decisions?

Three main considerations guided the federal language of work policy:

- there can be no effective choice of language where one or other official language group is barely or not at all represented in the work environment;

⇨

- as a rule, French starts from a point of disadvantage as a working language, both numerically and in terms of institutional tradition;

- it is not enough to declare certain regions "bilingual" (i.e. regions of choice); a proper environment has to be created so that the right to choose can be exercised.

Much of the criticism that was addressed to Bill C-72, by both English- and French-speaking Canadians, failed to grasp that the application of the 1969 Official Languages Act always has been flexible, nuanced and, yes, even asymetrical, where the *goal* of equal treatment of English and French is concerned.

Articulation by region

Nowhere is that clearer than in the articulation of federal language of work policy. First, it confines the internal choice of English and French to those bilingual regions of the country where such a choice is clearly viable. *There are no bilingual regions for this purpose west of Ontario or east of New Brunswick.*

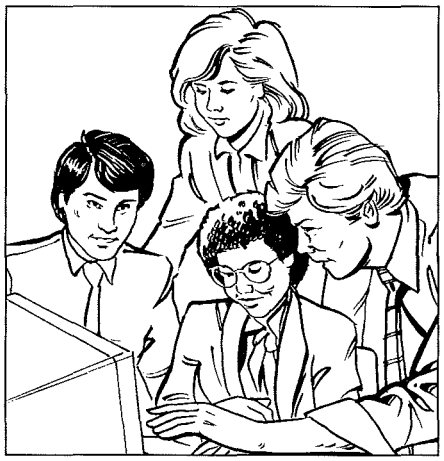
Consequently there is no legal or policy requirement for supervisors of minority language public servants to be bilingual outside the "bilingual regions", whether it be in Alberta, Quebec or Newfoundland. Such public servants may request certain personnel services in their own language in what might be called the "unilingual regions", but essentially the language of work in those regions is the language of the provincial majority. Moderate, sensible and realistic? I would say so.

Making choice possible

Whatever the critics may say, Canada's Official Languages Act has never attempted the impossible. That is probably because it has had its hands full just trying to make the possible a reality. In this regard, no task has been tougher than that of developing French as a federal language of work that could hold its own with English. Even in Quebec, where French-speakers made up a large majority in the Public Service, English was often the order of the day in the early 70s.

Well before the Quebec government instituted programs of "francization" in the workplace, the federal government had established an experimental program of French-Language Units which, at its height, affected some 28,000 public servants and provided a major organizational impetus for developing bilingual documentation and for establishing the communication rules (or language regime) without which no language of work policy is even conceivable. When the Parliamentary Resolution of 1973 was approved, the French-Language Unit experiment was judged to have done its work in providing the necessary organizational impetus for French and was formally concluded. Later large-scale efforts to reintroduce a modified version of this concept — Units Working in French — were abandoned as over-ambitious when Treasury Board issued its Revised Policies on the Official Languages in 1977. Those policies do not, however, preclude the use of such units on a voluntary and selective basis.

The keystone of Canadian policy in bilingual regions is that members of both groups should work together. Proponents of a language of work regime that is linguistically segregated, by sector or by region, might consider the results of the Belgian model, which may be officially bilingual and right for Belgium, but proves to be a "separate-but-equal" recipe for non-communication.



There is, of course, a price to be paid for encouraging people of different language communities to co-operate in a single institutional endeavour. The first price is mutual understanding and respect, a price which, as the C-72 debate painfully reminds us, is a lot higher than any dollar figure.

There is a price, too, for bringing French up to speed as a viable language of public administration at the national level. Here again, the new Official Languages Act essentially formalizes the process of creating a conducive environment that has been part and parcel of the language of work policy since 1969: the development of bilingual documentation and internal services, and the guarantee of bilingual supervision in bilingual regions. A lot of the ground work has now been done in providing the necessary documentation and in developing good linguistic practices when it comes to the written word. However, there still must be a persistent effort of application on the Francophone side and acceptance on that of the Anglophones. The sense of a shared responsibility for making the regime work is one that the Commissioner's Office continues to regard as the indispensable catalyst in the language of work area.

The same is even more true when it comes to paying the price of "choice" at the level of oral communication. For two reasons: (1) oral communication sets a premium on active individual bilingualism, which has to be reflected in job requirements all through the central hierarchy of the Public Service; (2) it really does impose a linguistic "noblesse oblige" *on the majority* to set aside the principle that "might is right" and not only to accommodate but to encourage the regular professional use of the minority language.

As the reader will see from other parts of this language of work feature, noblesse oblige is not something that comes naturally to many people. Canada has not chosen the easiest regime in the world, but it has chosen one that is fully respectful both of its history and of contemporary political reality. As Winston Churchill said of democracy, it may be the worst of systems, with the exception of all the alternatives. With any luck, the Bill C-72 debate has put an end to the endless questioning of French's *right*, in Canada, to be a full-fledged federal language of work and helped to bend our minds to the essentially human task of making that right a reality.■

Notes

[1] To make assurance doubly sure the government has now amended the Act to allow Parliament to review any regulatory modification to the bilingual regions by means of a negative resolution procedure (Section 85).

[2] In addition to his Annual Reports, the Commissioner of Official Languages published a special study on language of work in 1982 and devoted one of his very rare Special Reports to the Governor in Council to the language of work in the Department of National Defence in 1987.

Language of Work in New Brunswick: Anglophones and Francophones in Agreement

Jan Carbon and Jean-Guy Patenaude

Both groups solidly support current policies on work instruments and bilingual meetings and both suggest that language abilities should be assessed regularly.

Both English- and French-speaking federal public servants agree on what they consider the most useful measures to improve the situation of French as a language of work in federal agencies in New Brunswick. Both groups call for stricter enforcement of the current policies on work instruments and bilingual meetings. They also suggest that the use of both official languages by employees filling bilingual positions and by those who have received language training at government expense be assessed regularly. Public servants in both groups experience terminology problems that limit the use of French at work. Anglophones propose that language training should stress receptive knowledge (reading and understanding the other official language), while Francophones request training in their first language.

These are the findings of a survey carried out by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages last fall of the 2,853 public servants in this officially bilingual province.

Help or hindrance?

While readily acknowledging the demographic, social, cultural and economic asymmetry between the two languages, the most decisive factor for language of work appears to be the presence of unilingual colleagues in the immediate environment. The typical French-language public servant, in one case out of three, has, on the average, one unilingual supervisor and three unilingual colleagues. A third of the work environment therefore consists of unilingual Anglophones. The chances of an Anglophone having a unilingual Francophone colleague or subordinate are only 3.5%.

However, the environment also has a multiplier effect. The more Francophone or bilingual employees there are in a work environment, the more French is used and the more it is written.

For French to be used by Francophones more than 30% of the time, quite a large critical mass of French-speaking or bilingual employees is required (Table 1). French-speaking employees instinctively speak English with their Anglophone colleagues unless there is a very high proportion of Francophones present (Table 2). However, Anglophones use French much more with Francophone colleagues when the latter are more numerous or when the number of bilingual persons in the work unit is larger.

In view of this factor, significant progress in the use of French is attainable only at percentages that markedly exceed those for New Brunswick as a whole, where 28.6% of positions are filled by Francophones and 33.5% of positions are designated bilingual.

The proportion of the population having French as a mother tongue, however, exceeds 70% in the north and in the coastal area of eastern New Brunswick. *It would therefore be useful to adopt a sliding scale in order to achieve higher rates of representa-*

Table1

WRITING IN FRENCH
DEPENDING ON THE PERCENTAGE OF FRANCOPHONES OR BILINGUALS IN THE WORK UNIT

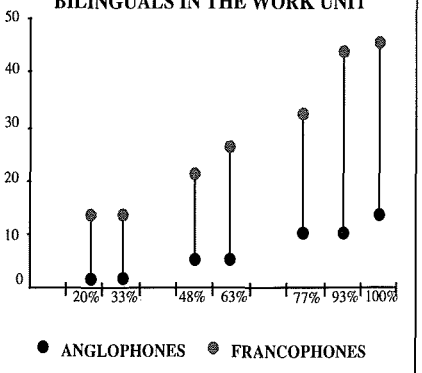


Table 2

SPEAKING TO A COLLEAGUE OF THE OTHER LANGUAGE GROUP IN THAT LANGUAGE

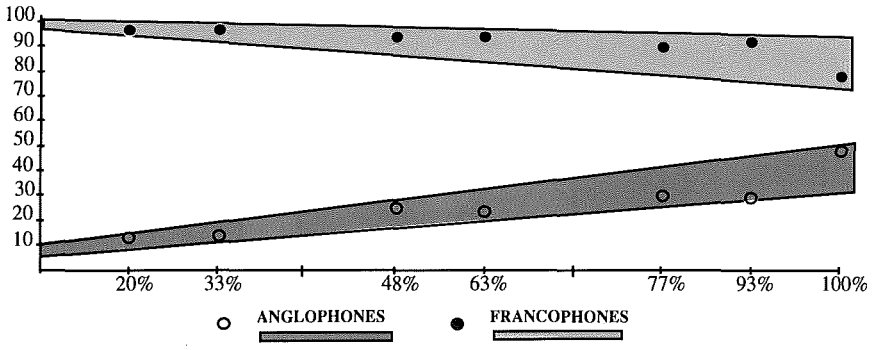
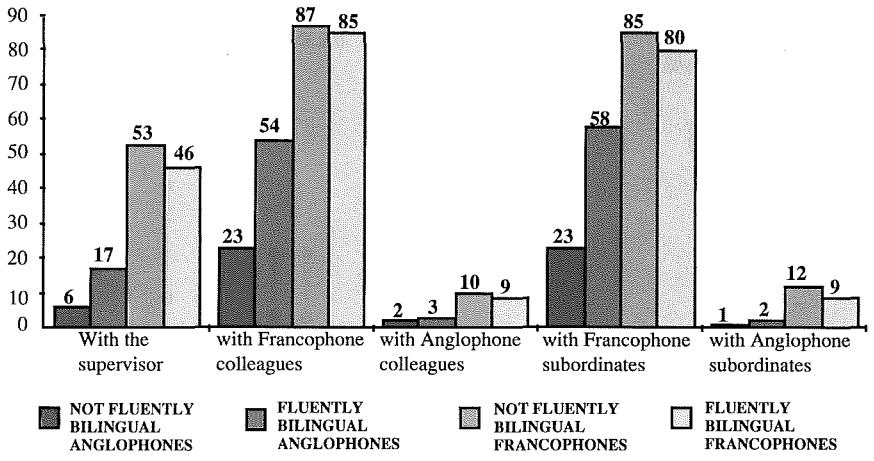


Table 3

SPEAKING FRENCH



tion than the average (34%) in certain regions, such as Shediac or Madawaska.

Level of bilingualism: a multiplier?

As Table 3 shows, being very comfortable in their second language prompts English-speaking public servants to use French with their French-speaking colleagues and subordinates at least twice as often as when knowledge of French is more limited. We have considered as "very comfortable" only those who have achieved the C level of competence, or have received an exemption, for oral interaction.

For Francophone employees, being more bilingual has a slightly opposite effect, since greater ease in English reduces use of French, even with Francophone colleagues and subordinates. This "subtractive" bilingualism has been abundantly illustrated in research on the subject.

Clearly, the supervisor has a key role to play in the work environment and plays it not only strictly on the working level, but also in terms of linguistic behaviour. Having a French-speaking supervisor allows Francophone subordinates to use French up to 40% of the time, on average, for writing, whereas with a unilingual Anglophone supervisor, this figure falls to 16%. Table 4 illustrates a similar phenomenon.

Since Francophone public servants, in one case out of three, have unilingual supervisors, this pivotal role cannot work to full effect. *Any increase in the number of bilingual supervisors will therefore have a favourable impact on the situation of French as a language of work.*

Obstacles

Anglophone and Francophone public servants were presented with a list of obstacles, from which they were asked to select those which seemed most important to them in terms of the language of work situation in their environment.

First of all, the two groups brought up their particular concerns. Anglophones ranked as first the statement that "federal language training does not adequately prepare public servants to work effectively in their second official language". Francophones indicated that their principal obstacle is that "in meetings attended by Francophones and Anglophones, my official language is not spoken."

Both groups agreed that "some of the persons to whom my work will be given are unilingual", that "supervisors prefer their first official language as language of work", that "there are too many bilingual positions filled by bilingual employees who do not have a good enough knowledge of the other language" and that "work instruments are often available in only one official language."

Concerning obstacles of a personal nature, French-speaking public servants admitted contributing to the problem; 72% of them stated, "I am used to working in my second official language." Both groups agreed that "having a good knowledge of my second official language will help my career." As we have seen, this is a double-edged sword in terms of promoting the use of French.

An entente cordiale?

When asked to choose from a list of 18 statements, Anglophone and Francophone public servants selected an average of 5.5 and eight of them respectively; this indicates the degree of their interest.

The first finding was that both groups solidly support the policies concerning bilingual meetings and the availability of work instruments in both official languages, and these policies are in the forefront of the measures they wish to see taken to improve the language of work situation.

Second, both groups wish to have a better knowledge of their rights and obligations with respect to language of work.

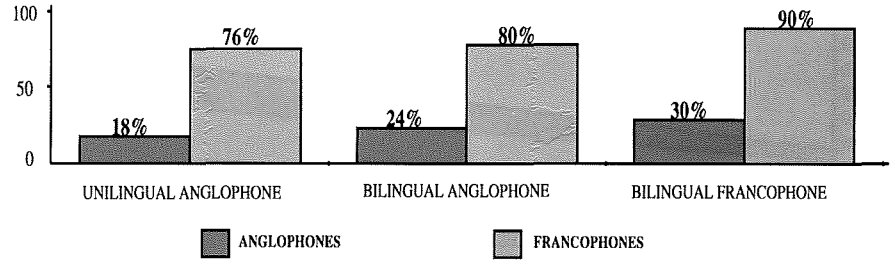
They agree in wanting linguistic abilities to be assessed by means of usage standards and performance criteria.

Finally, they suggest that managers and supervisors receive training to prepare them for pro-active management with respect to official languages.

The sequence of measures listed suggests a logical approach. *A language of work program has one essential: work instruments, including meetings (an essential work instrument, since it is at*

Table 4

SPEAKING FRENCH WITH FRANCOPHONE COLLEAGUES
DEPENDING ON THE LANGUAGE SKILLS OF THE SUPERVISOR



meetings that new work methods and approaches are discussed, the team receives direction in terms of objectives, etc.). It cannot make progress without having available a written reference source regarding rights. It cannot take concrete form unless it is assessed, monitored and adjusted so as to determine its effects and unless it is managed according to a specific and well-understood model.

English-speaking public servants want language training to stress receptive knowledge and the terminology required at work. French-speaking public servants agree with this suggestion.

In addition, more than 48% of Anglophone and 40% of Francophone public servants say they have difficulty with the terminology needed to work in French. This is a challenge that must be taken up. Among Francophones, it is linked to assimilation, for approximately the same number state that employees who have worked for a long time in their second official language should receive retraining courses in their first official language.

Both Anglophones and Francophones place importance on learning French, with a specific orientation to the linguistic abilities required in the workplace, and, in the case of Anglophones at least, with an emphasis on receptive knowledge. It would be a good idea to experiment with this no doubt less costly approach, so that both language groups could attend the same courses.

Many public servants say they have difficulty with French terminology.

The New Brunswick public servants expressed little interest in French-language units or in raising the language profiles of bilingual positions from the B to the C level. This is surprising, since the analysis of linguistic behaviour seemed to provide support for such measures. Did the first perhaps evoke fears of a linguistic "ghetto"? Did the second seem too idealistic? It is difficult to give a definite answer.

The plan proposed by the New Brunswick public servants has features that will exercise the skill and sense of proportion of the architect. It is a blueprint that will leave no one indifferent. More than a thousand employees who answered the questionnaire added their comments, which were notable for their variety. ■

Public Servants Express Their Feelings

Public servants wrote hundreds of comments, under the cover of anonimity, when they responded to the survey. With varying emotions, they explained how they felt about bilingualism in their work environment in New Brunswick. Here are a few excerpts.

For training to be really effective, an employee should be required to work in an environment using his second official language immediately following language training.

Provision of bilingual work instruments helps to promote individual upgrading.

If your only objective is to force two-language interaction in the workplace, go to it. But if you have any concern for efficiency, effectiveness, productivity and morale, leave the problem of communication to those who are trying to communicate.

I feel French language training would greatly enhance my career opportunities.

I have asked the Francophones working with me if there would be some compromise that they would find acceptable. They informed me that they would be quite pleased if I could at least understand written and spoken French. They would accept my continuing to speak in English.

For the most part, our clients and co-workers (i.e. the Francophones) are perfectly bilingual in this region and personally I am reluctant to burden them with my French when I know they speak English fluently.

I have been receiving the bonus since I completed Language School and honestly do not feel I am worthy of it because the level of French I had when I wrote the LKE and the level of French I have now is certainly not the same.

I think that employees should be much more vocal in insisting on their linguistic rights. I've attended meetings where 80% were Francophones and not one word of French was spoken. Someone's afraid to offend the 20% English employees, I suppose. My first language is English.

The time it takes in a bilingual area to deliver programs and services in both official languages is not recognized in "Productivity" factors. Any memos I write need to be bilingual; therefore it takes me twice the time.

Have you enumerated the number of forms completed on the English version by individuals professing their mother tongue is French and stopped to consider why they have completed the English version?

Teach our kids in both languages — stop the program of *trying* to teach civil servants — it's a dismal failure!

At the present time motivation to learn French in PSC courses is often not high, because students know that even if they fail some kind of creative bureaucratic solution will be found to keep them from losing their jobs.

The problem is not as serious as we think. I have yet to come across anyone in person or on the phone who could not speak English since I have been a civil servant.

Too many of these jobs in the New Brunswick area are level C imperative. This means that most Anglophones are being eliminated from the upper level management of the federal government in this region.

Since I work in technical situations and 40% is American data there is not much chance of having bilingual data. Canadian data that I do receive is more and more bilingual every day.

The French Environment only exists on the North Shore and in the minds of a few bureaucrats.

I find it very difficult to strike up a conversation in French with my Francophone colleages as they are more at ease speaking English to me and prefer it that way (I have asked why and they admit that it is out of habit).■

The following two articles could have shared a single title: Language of Work — The Day-to-Day Experience. They clearly have something in common. The first summarizes the observations of 20 bilingual senior managers and supervisors, all Anglophones; the second gives the views of 40 or so federal public servants, working in over 20 departments in the National Capital Region. We have kept the two articles separate, however, so as not to obscure the significance of the comments made by the latter group.

Language of Work and the Supervisor

Charles Hollands

In the federal official languages program, improved statistics have thus far provided little more than a measure of paper gratification as far as language of work is concerned.

Of the three cornerstone objec-tives of the federal official languages program, language of work is the least understood. For many, it consists of increasing the number of bilingual positions and gradually upgrading the language requirements in the belief that this process alone will achieve the desired goal: a language of work environment in which public servants can freely work in the official language of their choice. On the basis of the findings of our linguistic audits, and the increasing number of complaints from public servants, we concluded in our Annual Reports for 1986 and 1987 that improved statistics have thus far provided little else than a measure of paper gratification.

Softness in the system

We who work for the Commissioner are fortunate in that our staff is highly bilingual and language of work is not problem. Because we lack the day-to-day experience of working in a large department, we invited 20 bilingual Anglophone supervisors and senior managers to help us identify problems and, if possible, to find appropriate solutions. The group agreed from the very beginning that, as one manager put it, "there is too much softness in the system." The $800 bilingualism bonus was cited by several participants as an example of excessive permissiveness. One manager summed it up. "It is repugnant that the government pays my salary and training, then rewards me with an $800 annual bonus for doing what I am supposed to do." "Worse still," said another, "everybody who passes the test gets it whether they use the second language or not."

The language training program also came under fire. Levels B and C (the highest level of proficiency) were both judged inadequate. Apparently a B level in writing does not allow one to write correctly or to evaluate properly the work of Francophone employees. And forget about drafting cabinet documents in French even if you have level C.

No real need

The group felt that motivation was low because there is still no real need for most Anglophones to become and remain bilingual. One can therefore take language training, pass the test, and continue with impunity to work exclusively in English. As one senior manager pleaded, "Give us some incentive and the tools we need."

"The language of science and technology is English," we were told. In the field of informatics, for example, the technology comes mainly from the United States, and the manuals and software are produced in English. Thus, Francophones who work in these, as well as several other sectors, are trained in English and the manuals, once translated, become practically useless.

We learned that bilingualism is still frequently perceived as an impediment, a requirement that astute personnel managers regularly circumvent so that a linguistically marginal candidate can get the job. At the same time, while senior managers often "bend over backward to conduct management committee meetings in both languages", written work must be drafted in English "as it goes up the line" because many of the recipients are bilingual only on paper. This is especially true when work is deemed urgent, in which case preparing it in French or in both languages is viewed as a problem. At bottom, bilingualism often means the language of top management, especially that of the minister. Occasionally, this can be of benefit to French. The fact is, however, that both languages should get equal treatment. It would appear that some of our senior bureaucrats have an attitudinal problem which the "softness in the system" has tolerated far too long.

Solutions: an uphill battle

While it is often easier to identify weaknesses than to propose solutions, our participants nevertheless made a number of interesting suggestions.

When discussing motivation, for example, one senior manager said: "The fact that it is nice to learn French will not get the average guy going. What is needed is a work milieu where the Anglophone has to use French to be effective." In other words, being bilingual has to become a professional requirement for keeping one's job and for getting promotions.

Some of the participants found their Francophone colleagues reluctant to speak French with them, and expressed the view that Francophones must shoulder more responsibility by being

more patient with Anglophones who are struggling to learn French. Others disagreed. "You can't place the burden on the shoulders of Francophones." These persons believed that firm rules were needed in respect of French usage, making it obligatory, for example, to alternate from English to French for each item on the agenda during management committee meetings. It was also suggested that entire units should be established where French would normally be used as the language of work "because that is the rule."

A representative from a large department addressed the question of unilingual manuals. "If you put it in the contract as an obligation, you'll get your bilingual manuals." Some participants said that their organizations lacked the financial clout to impose such demands. Nevertheless, the idea is worth pursuing, especially by institutions which purchase a great deal of expensive equipment.

For many managers and executives, the B level is viewed as "only a starting point" and is next to impossible to maintain in an essentially English-language environment. They therefore proposed that graduates from language training be assigned for at least a year to positions in areas where it is obligatory to speak French. "In Ottawa," they say, "when an Anglophone joins in we switch to English."

Role of supervisors and senior managers

Modifying attitudes and linguistic behaviour in the context of a permissive linguistic regime is a difficult undertaking. Without strong leadership and sincere commitment from Public Service managers at all levels, it is probably impossible. It is clear that the system needs overhauling, especially in

A B level in writing does not allow one to write correctly.

light of the new Official Languages Act, which entrenches language of work principles and practices. Government will need to look carefully at such items as the designation of bilingual positions, the creation of more realistic language standards, and the problems associated with unilingual manuals and language retention, to name only a few. It will also want to tackle the excessive permissiveness which, at present, tends to seriously undermine the program's effectiveness and, all too often, makes French expendable.

In the meantime, what can you as a supervisor, senior manager or executive do to help create a work environment in which employees of both groups can work in their first official language? Indeed, why should you bother? The latter question is relatively easy to answer. You do it, if you are not an idealist, for practical reasons.

Bilingualism is still frequently perceived as an impediment

As Public Service managers, like your counterparts in the private sector, you are constantly striving to improve efficiency and productivity. No doubt many of you subscribe to the widely accepted idea that people are worthy of respect and are the primary source of productivity gains. In the Canadian context, however, there are two official language groups, and many managers have failed to grasp the link between the notion of respect for the individual

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and for that individual's language. The fact is that people perform better, and are more likely to be productive, when working in their own language. It is therefore clearly in your interest to encourage your employees to develop professional expertise in their first official language. To do so is one means of increasing productivity, and that, after all, can only make you look good.

For many managers and executives, the B level is viewed "only as a starting point."

The following suggestions, based on our consultations with your peers and with experts from the academic community, may be of help. The list is by no means exhaustive.

- Don't even bother trying to learn the second language unless you clearly intend to use it *on the job*. Your objective must go well beyond the mere passing of a test; you should be committed to the notion that being bilingual will make you a more *effective* manager.

- Aim high. Even the C level is considered inadequate *by your peers*. When you graduate, insist on being assigned to an area where the daily use of your second language is mandatory.

- Be persistent. Francophone colleagues and employees in your normal work environment will likely switch to English when you address them in French. If you stick to your guns, they will eventually take you seriously.

- Be patient with your Francophone employees and colleagues who prefer to work in English. Some of them learned their maternal tongue in the family context, but were educated in English and have developed their professional expertise in that language. For them, working in French can mean learning an entirely new work-related vocabulary. Try to obtain special language training for those willing to make the attempt.

- Make it clear that, in your shop, work drafted in French will receive the same attention as that which is drafted in English. Take the time to evaluate French texts. It will benefit you in the long run.

- Encourage your unilingual staff to gain at least a passive knowledge of the second language so they can follow what is being said at meetings.

- Never allow entire meetings to be conducted *only in English* because of the presence of one or more unilingual persons. No one will be motivated to learn French if the system allows them to function solely in English. We suggest the following rule of thumb: the use of French should at least correspond to the percentage of Francophones in attendance.

- During meetings, take an *active* role by openly encouraging participants to intervene in their first language. Address them, and answer their questions, in their first language. (Consult Treasury Board's publication on *Chairing Meetings* for more information.) The boss sets the tone; people will co-operate if they know you mean business.

- *Do not compromise* on language principles for the sake of expediency. Work sent "up the line" should be in the language in which it was drafted. It is up to the recipient to adjust.

If you consistently put some or all of these suggestions into practice, you will have made a very significant contribution. You are, when all is said and done, the *linchpin* of the language of work program. Without your commitment to fair play and linguistic equity — for practical as well as emotional reasons — renewal and progress in this area are not likely to occur. ■

Language ABCs for Minority Language Federal Public Servants in Bilingual Regions

Always address members of the public in *their* preferred official language; otherwise, think, speak and write in *your* official language. Make it a work habit.

Benefits: deal with the health service, the pay service, personnel or the library in *your* first official language.

Conferences, committees and other meetings: take part in *your* official language.

Admittedly, it may be faster to use the majority official language, but it's a dead-end street. Thinking that using the majority official language is necessary to understanding is a dead-end street.

By using *your* first official language with your superiors, either you are using *their* first official language as well, or else you are helping them to use their second one.

Continue to attend professional training and development courses in *your* first official language.

Doublespeak

A portable handheld communication engraver: a pencil!

The National Capital Region: A Situation in Need of Review

Gérard Vincent

Both official Public Service language groups feel that French is not used widely enough in the National Capital Region and that the current situation does not encourage the use of the minority official language.

Some 40 federal employees from the National Capital Region (NCR) have explained how they deal on a daily basis with the issue of English and French at work. The Office of the Commissioner heard from an equal number of Anglophones and Francophones working in more than 20 departments.

The two groups were interviewed separately, but expressed a similar view of the place of French in offices in the NCR. Both official language groups feel that French is not used widely enough in the Region. The Anglophones suggested that, if it does not exist, the need to work in French be created, and they expressed the hope that Francophones would allow them to work in French more. The Francophones stated clearly that they wish to work in French more and spoke of systems and habits that discourage the use of French at work.

Certain less obvious but nonetheless perceptible attitudes and facts of life also appear to hinder the free choice of language of work. There may be a temptation to regard Francophones who insist on wanting to work in their first official language as troublemakers; such employees may face a lack of understanding on the part of certain supervisors who are bilingual on paper only. It may also be tempting to use the official majority language because more people understand it and that makes things so much easier! Finally, the belief exists that by speaking English a Francophone has a better chance of succeeding professionally. In short, French does not appear to enjoy full status as a language of work in federal offices in the National Capital Region.

Competence and productivity

Employees would seem to have every reason in the world to want to use their first official language at work. It is a question of well-being, of greater satisfaction, of quality of life and, more simply, of competence and productivity. Although this has not been demonstrated by any comprehensive study, nevertheless the specialists we have consulted do not deny its plausibility.

As a general rule, it will be admitted that less energy is expended in using one's first official language. The words do not lag behind the thought, and thought and expression even seem to be inseparable. The vocabulary is more varied and expression is easier and fuller. Conversely, on other occasions, gestures, facial expressions or intonation make the flow of words almost superfluous. Moreover, it may be harder to work in one's second language because it entails the loss of one's natural and instinctive code of communication. It means having to search in a dictionary for the meaning of a word that is understood immediately by a colleague of the majority official language.

Action required

According to Treasury Board figures, on March 31, 1988, Francophones constituted more than a third of the federal employees in the NCR. In addition to these 25,600 Francophones, there are 16,600 bilingual Anglophones. There were therefore 42,200 bilingual employees among the 70,000 in the NCR.

Impressive! But why then has the use of French at work not significantly expanded in recent years in the NCR, and why do the Anglophone and Francophone employees with whom we met want French to be used more?

We must admit that the arithmetic is not so simple. First of all, we know that federal employees are required to serve the public and that they must use the client's preferred language in oral or written communications. Moreover, we believe there is a considerable number of employees who do not have to serve the public directly and that some of those who do, do not devote 100% of their working time to this task. In short, there is room for employees to choose their working language.

Aside from a fair balance between the two language groups, which is difficult to achieve in all sectors of activity and at all levels of the Public Service, other systemic barriers restrict the free use of the minority official language at work. Employees have to contend with the fact that certain manuals, especially in the field of computers, and various work instruments are still unilingual. They also have to deal with the inadequate bilingualism of some supervisors. In short, they have to contend with the refusal or inability of the milieu to understand the minority official language.

Less energy is expended using one's first official language.

In such a work environment, minority official language employees may themselves come to oppose the use of their first official language at work. Worn down by the system and faced with its shortcomings, they will tend to use the majority official language and will go so far as to show impatience and some intolerance toward supervisors or colleagues who may have difficulty in using their second official language. In the end, the majority official language wins out, and that is where the problems start.

It is clear that the current situation with respect to use of the two official languages at work does not encourage the use of the minority official language. We therefore ask that the government review the situation, not only in order to abolish the systemic barriers or reduce their number, but also to encourage use of the minority official language. Meanwhile, as was suggested during our meetings, we invite minority official language employees to strengthen their commitment to their first official language. ■

First Anniversary of the New Series

Having now published four issues in its new series, *Language and Society* seems to have carved out a place for itself as the medium for dialogue among those seeking to find new ways of building bilingualism in Canada.

Based on the evidence of these four issues, contributors appear to spare no effort to compile original and interesting articles on a subject to which no one is indifferent: official languages.

We had promised to better inform our various publics, to defend their interests more effectively and to publish shorter and more accessible articles. We have kept our word. You have accepted our invitation to find out more about official languages, about the concerns of official language minorities and about the new opportunities that the amended Official Languages Act opens up for all Canadians.

Our print run has increased from 10,000 to 18,000 copies. We are pleased with these results and proud of them.

In the first issue of the new series (No. 20) we published a special report on *la Francophonie* to mark the Francophone Summit in Quebec. The following issue presented a special report on the English language in the world in honour of the Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver.

In the current issue, we address the crucial problem of language of work in federal agencies. This new special report contains a wealth of thought-provoking information of significance to Canadian society. From time to time, other special reports will appear in *Language and Society* in which various positions and points of view will be explained and supported.

At a time when there is renewed interest in language reform, we would like to know what our readers think of *Language and Society* and receive suggestions from them about how they can be better served.

The Editorial Staff

A Feather in Our Cap

The Communications Branch of the Commissioner's Office took first place on the 1987 merit list of the Information Services Institute. At its general meeting in May, the Institute awarded prizes to three of the Branch's publications.

The Institute annually awards prizes in 21 categories to information publications on which its members have worked.

The award-winning publications are *Agenda* and the brochure, "Explore the World of Languages". For the first, Tina Van Dusen of the Programs and Services Section won the prize for excellence in the "miscellaneous" category, as well as the jury prize (which is awarded only for an outstanding publication). "Explore the World of Languages" received the merit prize in the free brochure category.

Language and Society also received its share of honours. The Institute recognized the quality of the magazine — both its writing and editing — in its new format by awarding Patricia Goodman, who was responsible for production, the merit prize in the periodical category.■

Alberta's Language Law

Alberta's new language law erases historic French-language rights that had been confirmed by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Alberta Premier Don Getty and his cabinet do not see their refusal to translate so much as a single provincial statute into French as an unfriendly act towards Franco-Albertans.

The premier seems to have convinced himself that most of the province's 63,000 Francophones — a few "hotheads" from the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta notwithstanding — join what he calls the vast majority of Albertans in supporting his legislation.

"Standing up to Central Canada"

Provincial pundits may lament Getty's lack of a Canadian vision and leadership, but many do believe that he reflects the views of most Albertans. In the province's multi-ethnic culture the new law to wipe out historic French-language rights that were confirmed by the Supreme Court of Canada is regarded as a proud example of "not giving in to Central Canada."

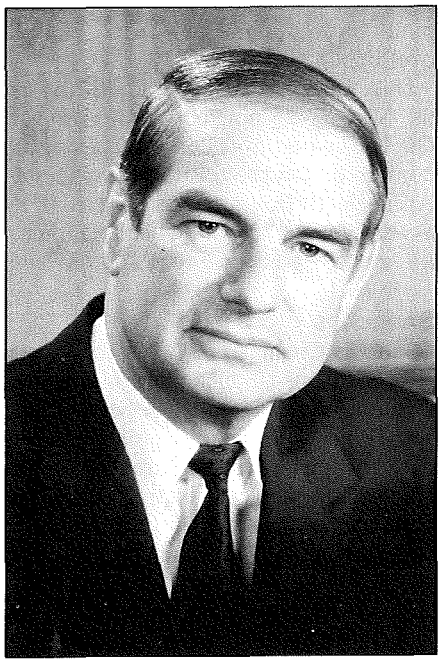
Standing up for the majority is couched in a bewildering array of old slogans. "Don't let them ram French down our throats" is a favourite one cited privately by Conservative ministers.

That reaction is defensive. The notion that Francophone neighbours, with longer historical memories, believe themselves to have been insulted is met with incredulity.

Georges Ares, president of the Francophone association, takes a more positive view of the attitude of the majority of Albertans. He accuses the provincial government of listening only to the vocal minority which writes or telephones the politicians and media to express anti-French sentiments.

A tolerant majority

"The silent majority," Ares says, citing his experience on a Calgary CBC radio show, "doesn't normally make phone calls." The first five people who phoned in were "incredibly anti-French. I couldn't reason with them. But then others, clearly provoked, called and said they were ashamed. It ended up with nine saying the government had not done enough for us as opposed to eight who said it had."



Premier Don Getty

Ares believes that Franco-Albertans will yet win their rights from a tolerant majority, but only when the present provincial government is ousted. His current slogan is "Vote for anybody but the Conservatives — the party of the anti-French element in this province."

Reactions

The Francophone president says he finds it "totally surprising" that Prime Minister Mulroney "hasn't said a word" about Alberta's failure to live up to the spirit of Confederation. He notes that Senator Lowell Murray, the Minister of State Responsible for Federal-Provincial Relations, did suggest that the Alberta law conflicts with the province's Meech Lake commitment to preserve the existence of its Francophone communities. But, Ares continues sadly, Don Mazankowski, the Deputy Prime Minister, who comes from Alberta, could only say that he was "disappointed, but that was the law of the province."

The Alberta government's view is that the law making the province officially English is quite in keeping with Meech Lake, an accord interpreted by the provincial government as granting greater independence to the provinces. To that end, Premier Getty distorted the language of Meech Lake by applying to Alberta the agreement's formal description of Quebec as a "distinct society". Alberta, too, he said, was a "distinct society" whose language policy should reflect that society.

Alberta's Francophones had asked for the translation of only 20% of the province's laws.

The one Franco-Albertan who could and did claim a victory with the passage of the language law was MLA Léo Piquette. No longer will he have to apologize, as the Speaker demanded he do last year, for speaking French in the legislature. However, it is only the right to speak in French in the legislature and in the courts that has been conceded. No proceedings of the assembly, and none of the province's laws or regulations, will be translated.

Both the New Democrat and Liberal opposition criticized the government for the way in which it brought in the legislation. Premier Getty argued that Alberta could never accept "full bilingualism" although no Albertan had asked for any such thing. The province's Francophones had wanted the translation of only 20% of the province's laws and argued that Ottawa would pay most of the cost. The opposition parties favoured at least symbolic translation, but they did not press the point energetically. There are few Alberta votes in bilingualism, NDP leader Ray Martin conceded, and even Léo Piquette played down the cause.

The Supreme Court ruling had cheered the Francophones of Saskatchewan and Alberta by recognizing their ⇨

historic language rights, but any feeling of euphoria was short-lived when the two Prairie governments exercised the option opened up by the Court to take the English-only exit.

The Alberta Conservatives claimed to be shocked when their Saskatchewan counterparts agreed at least to aim to do better for Francophones. Premier Getty's ministers have justified their intransigence as the only way to avoid an English backlash.

A new solidarity

However, their action, Georges Ares says, has had one positive result. Franco-Albertans have been brought together as never before. "It has woken up a lot of Francophones who had lost their desire to live in French."

Edmond Laplante, director of the Francophonie Jeunesse de l'Alberta, agrees. He says youth membership is swelling because of anger at the government. "We have a renewal of proudness in being French. The kids are not giving up, and when youth is not giving up, it's not over." ■

Disappointing, Says Fortier

For D'Iberville Fortier, Commissioner of Official Languages, Alberta's new languages bill was deeply disappointing.

In a June 23 press release, Mr. Fortier said that considering the incalculable harm done to the French language and the Franco-Albertan community over the 83 years they had been deprived of their rights, one might have expected appropriate redress.

"Far from recognizing and preserving these rights, as it undertook to do, and without even making specific commitments with respect to education," Mr. Fortier said, "Alberta is preparing to abrogate some of them."

Mr. Fortier said that he hoped nevertheless that the government of Alberta would agree to amend its bill, accept the federal government's offer of co-operation and accord Franco-Albertans greater official recognition and essential services in French.

Count Us In

Hal Winter

Anglophones at Alliance Québec's convention agreed that "we are all Quebecers" and called for more dialogue.

If goodwill alone could dissolve Quebec's language tensions, the problems which have been plaguing the province for the past two decades would vanish overnight.

This was pointed up dramatically at the May 27-28 convention of Alliance Québec, when 500 delegates from all corners of the province met at Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue near Montreal to assess the position of Canada's minorities and chart a course for the future.

Speeches

"Quebec: Count Us In" was the theme reiterated by Alliance President Royal Orr. And "we are all Quebecers" responded the Quebec government in an eagerly-anticipated address by Guy Rivard, the new minister responsible for implementation of Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language adopted in 1977.

A call for good will came also from Deputy Commissioner of Official Languages Peter Rainboth, who reminded delegates that "the desire to protect the French language is natural enough on a continent where the vast majority speak English."

However, he stressed, "any measures adopted should not diminish the fundamental rights of Quebec Anglophones." And he urged "more consultation — more problem solving" to avoid "digging in" by both sides and to allow language reform to continue across Canada "without acrimony".

Moderation and mutual respect

To top matters off, a Sorecom poll released by Alliance Québec strongly suggested that, "despite the shrill headlines of recent months", most Quebecers still favour a language question approach based on "moderation and mutual respect" between the Anglophone and Francophone communities.

It's at the level of translating all this goodwill into concrete action, however, that the consensus tends to come apart.

Though he called for "dialogue" and told delegates "now is not the time to march in the streets", Orr spelled out the Alliance's opposition to the Meech Lake accord in its present form, reiterated its enthusiastic backing for Ottawa's Bill C-72 (the new Official Languages Act) and reaffirmed its pledge to fight Bill 101's ban on the use of English on commercial signs.

Vital dialogue

By contrast, while agreeing that "dialogue is vital", that "Quebec needs the English-speaking community", and that "you must be reassured about the preservation and vitality of your institutions", Mr. Rivard was careful not to touch on any of the three explosive questions raised by Orr. And, he stated flatly, "the Charter of the French Language is here to stay."

The Bourassa administration, which Rivard represents, is an ardent supporter of the Meech Lake accord as it stands and is implacably opposed to any move to alter its terms along the lines suggested by Alliance Québec.

"The Charter of the French Language is here to stay."

In addition, the Conseil de la langue française — which advises the Quebec government on language matters — has come out strongly against application of some of Bill C-72's provisions in Quebec, seeing a danger that federal spending power could edge the province towards institutional bilingualism, which it equates with *de facto* English-language domination.

Signage

On the language of signs issue, all Quebec is awaiting the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada on the constitutionality of the prohibition of any language other than French on business signs.

Should the ruling come down against the prohibition, there will be enormous political pressure on Premier Bourassa to invoke the "notwithstanding" clause in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Sorecom poll

The language of signs question was the only one of the key issues directly addressed in the Sorecom poll. Results showed a majority of Quebecers (74%) felt that other languages should be permitted on signs, so long as French is always included.

Bill C-72, however, received indirect support from the majority (70%), who agreed that Canada's provincial governments should promote the vitality of their language minorities. And a resounding 80% felt that "the English-speaking community has a legitimate place in Quebec society."

"Being a Quebecer is a privilege."

Even more (88%) felt the Quebec government should ensure such fundamental rights as freedom of expression. And 74% thought Anglophone children should have access to English schools.

Again, 74% felt that the French language should be promoted without limiting minority and individual rights. And a solid 85% said the ordinary citizen does indeed have a role in the protection of French.

Areas of concern

Alliance Québec's interpretation is that, since most Quebecers do not perceive language issues in either/or terms, "it is time for the government to listen more closely to the views of the majority of its citizens, rather than to extreme minorities...".

In addition to this message, over the months ahead the Alliance will continue to push for action in areas of concern, such as the "virtual absence" of Anglophone representation in the Quebec Public Service and the "lack of concern" for language minorities in the province's recent welfare reforms.

Alliance Québec has come a long way since its founding in 1982, and it knows it still has far to go. But the effort is well worthwhile, says Royal Orr: "Being a Quebecer is a privilege, because Quebec is unique on this continent." ■

Royal Orr

Alliance Québec's third president has consistently promoted the idea of more active Anglophone participation in the mainstream of post-Bill 101 Quebec.

To his task as Alliance Québec's third president and most visible spokesman for the province's English-speaking community, Royal Orr brings a blend of incisiveness without abrasiveness.

His endorsement by acclamation for a second term suggests that his intensive but low-key approach in seeking joint Anglophone-Francophone solutions to Quebec's language problems now enjoys ever-wider support with what is today being termed the "Moderate Majority".

The Moderate Majority

However effective, earlier leadership was often associated with big city corporate lawyers, with "yuppy-ism" and the Anglophone elite. This, many say, was perhaps needed at the outset, as the 40,000-member minority rights organization fought to find its feet amid endless legal and political tangles.

In today's climate, however, Orr — a 31-year-old Eastern Townships education co-ordinator and popular CBC radio host with a broad constituency across both rural and urban areas — is seen as the ideal choice to reflect the everyday concerns of ordinary Anglophones in all corners of the province.

Since his election in May 1987, Orr has consistently promoted the idea of more active Anglophone participation in the mainstream of post-Bill 101 Quebec through "integration without assimilation". In his speech at Alliance's 1988 convention last May 27, as he hammered home the point with the slogan "Quebec: Count Us In", the delegates responded with an enthusiasm showing Orr is clearly right on track.

First involvement

Orr first became involved with the minority rights cause when, by the late 1970s, it was "clear something had to be done" to reaffirm the basic identity of Quebec's English-language community.

In 1979 he helped found the Townshippers' Association to protect and promote minority interests in that hard-pressed region some 100 kilometres southeast of Montreal.

Prominent among the "townships" is the village of Hatley, where Orr lives with his wife Louise and their two children, not far from where his Irish immigrant ancestors worked as stonemasons until his great grandfather got a farm near Lennoxville.

"What I'm doing now is a commitment to this community."

After serving as Townshippers' Association executive director from 1981-83, Orr became an Alliance Québec vice president, especially interested in constitutional review and research. His experience convinced him that Quebec Anglophones today are questioning their own legitimacy and wondering if they can count on the institutional support needed to survive. With his own easy bilingualism, Orr admits he has "always felt fully accepted as an individual. But I'm aware that there's a growing sense that my community as a whole is no longer accepted. As less and less attention is paid to your basic rights, there comes a feeling, somehow, of a lack of credibility. So what I'm doing now is a commitment to this community, to where I live."

A new language reality

Orr, however, has extended this commitment to cover all minorities across the breadth of Canada and he is convinced that Ottawa's proposed revisions to Bill C-72 will provide leadership and example in all those areas where the minority is Francophone.

"Both English- and French-speaking Canadians are aware that there is a new language reality across the land. Our task is to ensure that policies today are no longer based on the outmoded perceptions of another generation," he says. *H.W.*

The Story of an Acadian Family

The Acadians settled in Nova Scotia in 1604, so why an account now? This is a modest attempt to show how "galloping assimilation" might be checked by means of serious and effective education programs at the provincial level.

After a sketch of the region's geography, we shall follow the educational and social progress of the members of a quite ordinary Acadian family. Is it possible to preserve a culture? Will assimilation occur, and is revival and renewal a possibility without a sound educational system at the provincial, or even the federal, level?

Sydney, with approximately 30,000 inhabitants, is the "capital" of Cape Breton Island. Two nearby towns, Glace Bay and New Waterford, share the same school board.

This part of Cape Breton, the only industrialized part, is located halfway, a two-hour drive, between two well-known Acadian regions: in the north, that of Cheticamp, Saint-Joseph du Moine and Margaree, and, in the south, that of Isle Madame, including Louisdale, Petit-de-Grat and Arichat. Early in this century, the Sydney steel plant, and then, after the Second World War, the mines, needed many labourers, and so the Acadians flocked there in search of work. A French Club still exists in the north end of Sydney. It was founded by workers at the steel plant, each of whom contributed $100 for this purpose at the end of the Second World War. There were no government grants at that time!

French in the home

In New Waterford, some 25 kilometres away, the Evangéline Acadian school, staffed by nuns, educated at least two generations of young Acadians until the end of the 1960s, when it was mysteriously closed. Throughout the region, many family businesses proudly proclaim their origins, as in the well-known song by Angèle Arsenault: "Acadien Sidings...L'Évangéline... Acadien Lines."

There is an Acadian presence, then. The most recent census showed some 7,260 persons of Acadian ethnic origin, but only 1,460 said they still spoke French at home. The 1981 census had shown 13,000 people of Acadian origin. Galloping assimilation? We leave it to the sociologists to comment.

Since its founding in 1969, the Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse has always considered the Cape Breton industrial region as one of the six Acadian regions, even though it never had a local representative before the fall of 1987. Moreover, the fortress of Louisbourg on its outskirts, the various federal government offices and the Canadian Coast Guard College (a federal institution) had also attracted many Francophones from the French-Canadian diaspora.

Acadian culture

Where does our Acadian family fit into this? In the mid-1960s, after being educated in French at the convent in Arichat, the mother, Gemma, had to pursue her secretarial studies in Sydney, the city nearest to her family. She studied in English, succeeded in spite of this handicap and quickly found work. She met Raymond Chiasson, who had been brought up in Sydney by a Scottish mother and an Acadian father from Cheticamp who had come to work in the steel plant. Raymond did not speak French, although he understood it a little, his mother tongue being that of his mother and of society, and he did the same type of work as his father. The couple married and had three children. The question of language of education did not arise; there were only English schools. Gemma was distressed: what would become of their Acadian culture? English was gaining ground in the family despite the many holidays they spent in the neighbouring Acadian communities. The children were interested in French, but spoke it haltingly and sometimes refused to do so in front of "the others". However, the road of life has many turnings, and their elder daughter married a young Acadian from Petit-de-Grat. She took up French seriously, lived in an Acadian village and in the end was able to speak the language fluently, even studying it at university. The couple's younger daughter attended a community college, obtained a good job as a laboratory technician and had to become bilingual because her job frequently required her to work in Quebec. She met a young New Canadian of European origin who was also French-speaking. The youngest child, a boy, after spending some time in school in Quebec, decided to study law. He wants to become a lawyer and practise in both English and French in his native province.

What's bred in the bone

All's well that ends well, you may say. There is nothing unusual about this story: what's bred in the bone will out in the flesh; the culture has asserted itself, and Pierre Vadeboncoeur's cultural genocide is a myth. Do the figures lie, then?

Ordinary or not, this story is not peculiar to Sydney. It is repeated a thousand times throughout Canada. Should we congratulate ourselves and rest content? But what does the future hold in store? If little three-year-old Sébastien in Sydney has no French school to attend, what will he do when the time comes? The French immersion school there, which starts late, in grade 7, hardly meets his needs. He needs a school, a parish, a community centre, like those that exist in Fredericton and Saint John, New Brunswick, or the one now under construction in Halifax.

Here in Sydney, a group of Francophone parents has been campaigning officially for the creation of a French school for five years. Finally, on May 27, 1988, the chairman of the school board announced that there would be a French school, "if the enrolment warrants it." The numbers are there. Professional surveys in 1986 showed that 429 or more children were eligible. A judge of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court will make the decision once enrolment closes on June 30, 1988, and the school would open in September. The time is short, but a great wave of hope has broken over Sydney and its surrounding area. Sébastien and his friends may have their school. Will Acadian culture survive in the end? No more historical accounts then — Canadian bilingualism will be a splendid reality. ■

Gaspesia

For those living along the coast of Baie des Chaleurs, education reform proved the key to transformation.

All too often, English-speaking Quebecers feel that they were bypassed by the Quiet Revolution. But along the southern shores of the Gaspé Peninsula, the reforms of the 1960s triggered events destined to end two centuries of fragmentation and create one of the most dynamic Anglophone communities anywhere in the province.

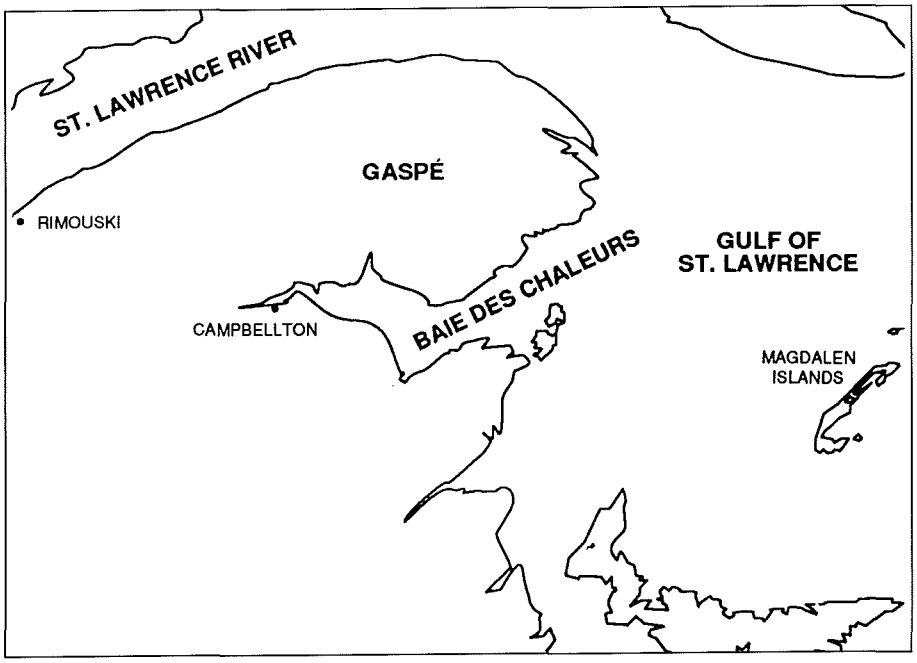
Origins

The origins and history of the people who inhabit the 300-kilometre coastline between Matepédia and the Atlantic town of Gaspé are as colourful and diverse as the region itself. Even today, this is reflected in their wealth of individuality, their spirit of self-reliance and optimistic innovation.

The Gaspé Peninsula forms the eastern extremity of the South Shore where the St. Lawrence River widens into the Gulf to join the Atlantic. Along its northern coastline, Gaspesia proper begins around Rimouski — 300 kilometres east of Quebec City — then sweeps in an increasing arc around the headland to the great ocean bay of Gaspé. From there, the road leads south to Percé, then west along the historic Baie des Chaleurs, to end at the mouth of the Matepédia River where Quebec meets New Brunswick.

Apart from the townships dotting the north-south Matepédia Valley highway, only this narrow coastline strip is really inhabited. The vast wooded and mountainous interior is virtually empty except for a few villages along the renowned salmon rivers.

European settlers on the Baie des Chaleurs coast included Acadians, French, English, Irish, Scots, Channel Islanders and Loyalists from New York. Today, the descendants of the Loyalist fugitives from the American Revolution — who began arriving in Gaspesia in 1784 — form the core and driving force of the Peninsula's 15,000 strong, newly cohesive Anglophone community.



The Quiet Revolution

Following the 1959 death of Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis came the government of Jean Lesage and the Quiet Revolution. For the peoples along the coast of Baie des Chaleurs, education reform was to prove the key to transformation. In the quiet hamlet of Grande-Cascapédia, near the former Loyalist settlement of New Richmond, 64-year-old Bud Campbell recalls the early turmoil. Regionalization was the brainchild of Quebec's first education minister, Paul Gérin-Lajoie. His master plan, "Operation 55", consolidated hundreds of parish school boards under 55 regional authorities. For the Peninsula's Anglophones, 1968 marked the birth of the Regional School Board of Gaspesia (RSBG), whose jurisdiction extends offshore to the remote Magdalen Islands.

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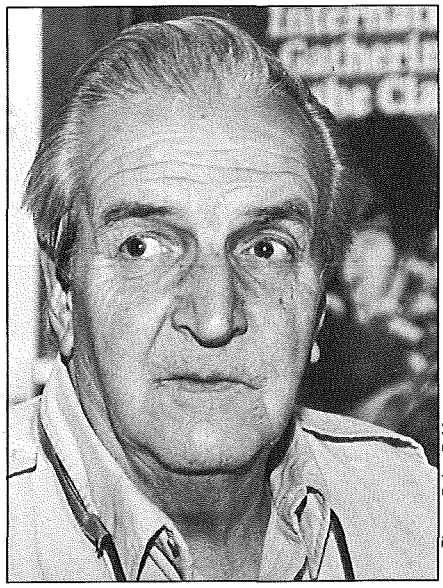
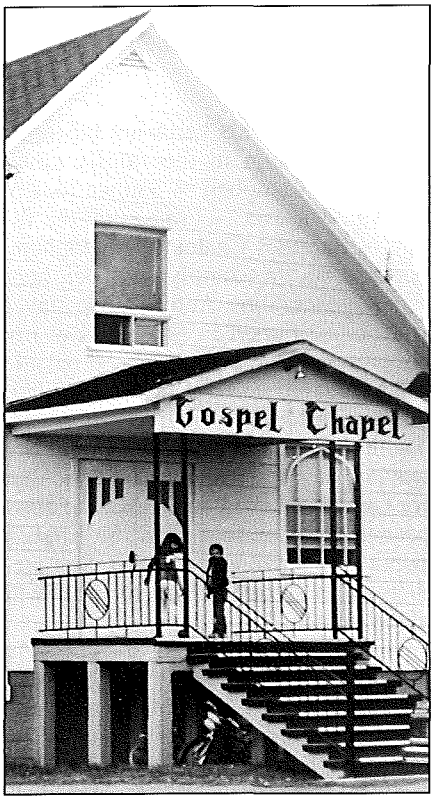


Photos: Reina Goldsteger

Bud Campbell



Joan Richards

"At the time, there was a lot of screaming. But it soon turned out to be the best thing that ever happened," says Campbell, RSBG chairman for 20 years. For the first time in their 200 years of history, he explains, the English-speaking people of the area were pulled together by mutual interest. Out of this initial unification grew a new sense of pride, of identity, giving rise to a host of active community organizations, including a weekly newspaper, SPEC. Born in 1975 to cover the area's social, political, economic and cultural issues, the tabloid is today self-supporting, with a circulation of around 4,000 and a staff of seven.

Concerns

In the office of his hardware business, which has been in the family since 1836, Bud Campbell — known locally as "Mr. Gaspesia" — muses on the future of Baie des Chaleurs' Anglophone population. "My family has been here for six generations. And I plan to stay. I want to be buried in Quebec. But my children have all been educated outside of the province. So I'm not worried. They're mobile...can live anywhere. There is no work and the young are leaving...not for Montreal anymore, but for Ontario or even out West. The business here is for sale. And the English population remaining is aging. So I predict that in 25 or 30 years, this area will all be French."

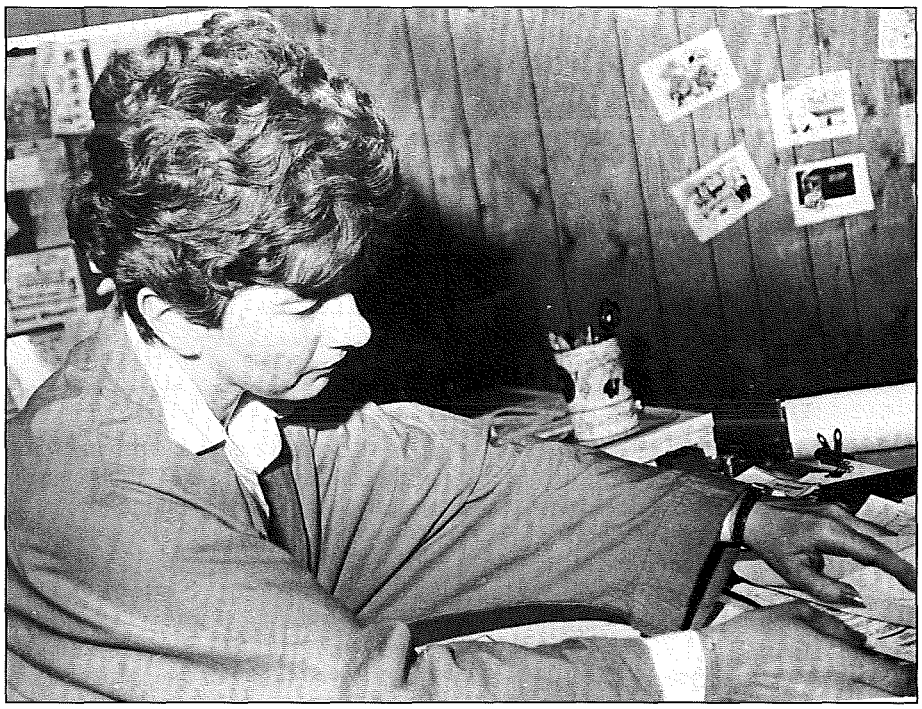
This concern — with a generally stagnant economy, emigration of youth and an aging Anglophone population doomed ultimately to disappear — is echoed by other community leaders along the coast. "But this doesn't mean we can simply throw up our hands and do nothing in the meantime," says Joan Richards, program co-ordinator for CASA, the well-organized Committee for Anglophone Social Action. CASA, she explains, covers the entire gamut of social services, including acting as intermediary between the community and government, or between individuals and the authorities. One of CASA's most recent projects is to establish a senior citizens' residence which would allow the old folk to remain in the area they call home instead of having to uproot and move to live with their children outside Quebec.

A sense of identity

CASA began in 1975. "I think the spark came with Bill 22 [the first Bourassa government's language legislation]," Joan Richards says. "As the community began to feel threatened, it started to come together, seeking a sense of identity. Then came the Parti Québécois government. And this made us take another look at ourselves. And out of this came a fresh sense of integrity."

The people are marked by a wealth of individuality, a spirit of self-reliance and optimistic innovation.

Before the unifying impact of the RSBG and CASA, Richards stresses, Anglophones in Gaspesia shared the same problems. But they still lived in their isolated pockets and never got together. "We even had different square dances." Today, with 7,000 members around the Peninsula, CASA provides a common voice to defend the interests of some 15,000 residents. "And we're always hoping for some miracle, for some divine agency which will help us build a real future in Gaspesia." *H.W.*



Producing SPEC

Toronto's Théâtre français

Sarah Hood

The Toronto company has an unbroken history of plays going back to the 1967-68 season.

P'tite Miss Easter Seals immobilized

It is unlikely that the first members of the Théâtre du P'tit Bonheur ever thought that their theatre company would survive two decades, or that their shows would be produced anywhere but in its birthplace — the parish hall of the Église Sacré-Coeur. Yet this year the group is celebrating its 20th year of operation, and plays to respectably large audiences of Francophones and Anglophones in the elegant and professional theatres of Toronto's Harbourfront complex.

An unbroken history

The name has changed, but the company has an unbroken history of plays stretching back from this year's celebratory season of five plays to the spring of 1967, when the inaugural show, Felix Leclerc's *Le P'tit bonheur*, was presented under the auspices of the Fédération des femmes canadiennes-françaises. Over its first few years the company only produced one or two shows a year, but by the 1971-72 season the group had hit its full stride, producing five shows, including an evening of poetry.

In that season John Van Burek became the company's first artistic director. Toronto-born Van Burek, who was responsible for turning the church basement group into a professional theatre, left it in 1974 to work as a freelance director, translator and teacher in Vancouver, Calgary and Toronto. He returned to the group in 1981 and has been its artistic director ever since.

Molière to Maillet

The Théâtre français has produced everything from Molière to Michel Tremblay, including Eugène Ionesco, Marguerite Duras, Henrik Ibsen and Antonine Maillet. Since 1981 subscriptions have jumped from 300 to 1,500, a fact that is even more impressive when most professional theatre companies in Toronto are losing subscribers rather than gaining them. Only 36% of the theatre's receipts come from the box office, however. As with many arts groups, the rest is made up in grant money from various levels of government.

The 1987-88 season included plays from France, Quebec, the Maritimes and Ontario, as well as an English-Canadian play in translation. This line-up is a fairly good expression of John Van Burek's dedication to offering Torontonians a rich selection of live French-language theatre.

Assimilation

"Language is a reflection of culture, and vice versa," he says. "The role of this theatre is to encourage and strengthen the presence of the French language in Toronto. But more and more it's a dicey question, because I find that the whole question of French in Canada is less comforting than it used to be — the process of assimilation is still charging ahead."

Assimilation is one of the themes of the Théâtre's spring production of *P'tite Miss Easter Seals* by Lina Chartrand, a new playwright from Timmins, Ontario. The action takes place on a train bound for Toronto from Timmins. Monique, the title character, is imprisoned in a full body cast. She is on her way to the Hospital for Sick Children to have it removed. Her mother Antoinette and her cousin Nikki are with her on the trip.

The conversation of the three women works out a complicated relationship between physical imprisonment, the limitations of youth and inexperience, and the disadvantages of belonging to a linguistic minority. But does the author believe that enforced physical immobility is an appropriate metaphor for the situation of Ontario's Francophones?

"I think people have taken too much the idea that being crippled is a metaphor for being Francophone. It's a wide-open metaphor. The actual situation is part of the plot," says Chartrand, who used an episode from her own childhood as the starting point for the play. "They're trying to decide where they're going, but the train is headed for Toronto no matter what... perhaps you could see that as a metaphor for assimilation."

1988-89

In 1988-89 the Théâtre is planning another fascinating season. Besides four productions for school children, the group will be producing *La Camisole* (a translation of a piece by British playwright Joe Orton), Samuel Beckett's *En attendant Godot*, *Les Fridolinages* by Quebec's Gratien Gélinas, *Le Ciel de lit* (a two-person show by Jan de Hartog and Colette), and Jean Anouilh's *L'Invitation au château*. Van Burek's dedication does not seem to be flagging, and French-language theatre continues to thrive in Toronto. ■

A Toast to the Promoters of Bilingualism

An agreement between the federal government and Saskatchewan marks the first time that a pact of such scope has been concluded between the two jurisdictions.

In June the federal government announced the assistance it plans to provide for the promotion of official languages in Saskatchewan in the coming decade.

General agreement

The general agreement and the three subsidiary agreements on official languages which the federal government signed with the province are unprecedented in their nature and scope and were welcomed by the Association culturelle franco-canadienne. These agreements, designed to promote recognition of the French presence in Saskatchewan, have, in the Association's view, the praiseworthy feature of providing for consultation with the Fransaskois community regarding their implementation.

While the federal government has upheld the status of French in Saskatchewan for many years, this is the first time that agreements of this nature and scope concerning the language have been concluded between the two jurisdictions. The province will receive some $60 million from the federal treasury to finance the teaching of both official languages and initiate the use of French in the Legislative Assembly and the courts. Some of this money will come from programs already in existence.

In the general agreement, Saskatchewan makes a specific commitment to implement the Language Act which it passed following the Supreme Court decision and to adopt all important acts and regulations, both current and future, in English and in French.

The courts

The subsidiary agreement which spells out this commitment will launch a minor revolution in the legislature and courts of Saskatchewan. The federal contribution of $3,250,000 to this program will be used, among other things, for the translation of the 45 Acts listed in the schedule to the document. The provincial government intends to lose no time fulfilling this commitment. Judges, court officials and court personnel will be reimbursed for the cost of the training they will require to make the courts bilingual. Grants will be provided for an interpretation service to be established concerning court proceedings and for the translation of rules of court.

The legislature

The second subsidiary agreement provides for the introduction of the use of French in the Legislative Assembly through the creation of a French Language Co-ordination and Translation Office, which will provide services to the French-speaking community and co-ordinate various initiatives on official languages. The agreement provides for a federal contribution of $2.6 million.

Education

The all-important area of education will receive its share of federal largesse, and funds will be used in particular to rebuild Collège Mathieu in Gravelbourg and to found a Language Training Institute at the University of Regina where some 20 languages, including French, will be taught. The Collège and the Institute will receive four and 17 million dollars, respectively. The teaching of French as a second language will also be amply supported. It should be noted that Saskatchewan, in the third subsidiary agreement, agrees to implement a system of management and control of French-language institutions by the minority community and to provide it with various services, possibly including the development of instructional material. By doing so, it meets the wishes of Francophones, as so often expressed by the Commission des écoles fransaskoises.

This unprecedented co-operation was termed essential by the president of the Association culturelle franco-canadienne, Mr. Rupert Baudais. In his view, however, prudence is appropriate. "We must not assume that the matter is all settled for the Fransaskois," he commented, and went on to say that the Fransaskois community will be very vigilant. Vigilence is the watchword, for an administrative agreement, however fine, will never replace rights enshrined in law.

The Commissioner of Official Languages, Mr. Fortier, stated in a press release that "the spirit of Meech Lake and of Bill C-72 on official languages seems to be bearing fruit even before the legislation has been passed." ■

A New Collège Mathieu and More

Collège Mathieu in Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan, was levelled by fire on May 14. The Collège, which had been Saskatchewan's only completely French high school, served not only that province's Francophones but a number of French-speaking Albertans as well.

Financing for the reconstruction of Collège Mathieu is to be part of a package. Financial aid for rebuilding will also come from Saskatchewan Government Insurance and from Quebec, which has allocated $100 thousand in aid towards the Collège's rebuilding.

Before its destruction, Collège Mathieu had moved into the field of post-secondary education and since 1986, in addition to the regular program offered to its 130 students, had provided 80 popular training courses in 14 municipalities and one course by telephone from the Faculté Saint-Jean at the University of Alberta.

As part of an agreement between the federal and Saskatchewan governments announced in June, Ottawa has agreed to provide the province with some $60 million over five years to help provide French-language education, services and translation of some laws. This generous agreement on the part of the federal government is seen as making up *at least partly* for the weakness of the new Saskatchewan language law.

La chaîne française: Linking the Community

The cast of 17, rue Laurier

There is only one bilingual educational television network in Canada. TVOntario, the Ontario Government Communications Authority, which had always aired some French language programming, inaugurated "La chaîne française" in early 1987. La chaîne broadcasts in French on cable Monday to Sunday mornings. On Sunday afternoons, while La chaîne broadcasts in English, TVO's English-language channel sends out French programming which can be received without cable. *Language and Society* spoke with Donald Duprey, then Managing Director of French Programming Service at TVOntario.

Language and Society: *How do you think La chaîne française will change things for Franco-Ontarians?*

Donald Duprey: I think there are many levels to the question. On one level it acts as a catalyst because of its unique nature. It's the only media instrument in the province that reaches everyone simultaneously — almost everybody, if you consider the fact that we still don't have transmitters and so there are still some technological limitations for its widespread availability — but nevertheless 70% of the people in the province have access to it and on Sundays 96% have access to it.

In French we have a word "valorisation" and I think that that word really does underline the feeling of pride, the feeling of self-realization that the channel represents. You sense in the Francophones of this province a feeling of pride in this achievement. It is really an achievement for the Francophones because they fought for years for an extension of service.

There's also a level of the awareness it creates on the part of Ontarians in general that there are Francophones in this province and that they're a meaningful group of citizens. I think that's important in terms of the contribution it makes to the coexistence of both official languages in this province, because I think Ontario is an important experimental ground. The degree to which the Francophone minority can survive in this province is the degree to which the nature of this nation, as it is presently conceived, will be able to continue to exist. If we want to avoid "two solitudes" then we have to learn to coexist. I think this is an experiment in that and that's really why the French channel is an imperative beyond just what it provides to the French community.

It operates on a third level, in that for the first time we're offering real opportunities to the creative people among the Francophones in the province, an outlet for their creativity in the electronic medium. We're dealing with hundreds of people: performers, technicians, researchers, accounting people. There are new opportunities for French-speaking people in this province — so there's another area that we can't ignore in terms of what we can say we've achieved.

— Over the first year and a half, how did the outcome match what you had expected?

— I think it outstripped any expectations that I ever had. For me, the challenge was to get it on the air in a way that achieved sufficient respect. I think that — because of the drive of the people within the organization — we surprised everybody and I think that people were consistently amazed at the quality of programming that we provided.

Educational programming requires a great deal of development time. One of the things that we have to underline about TVOntario is its educational nature. When you talk of our type of programming, it's expensive programming to do well. I think that for the Francophone audience many of these things

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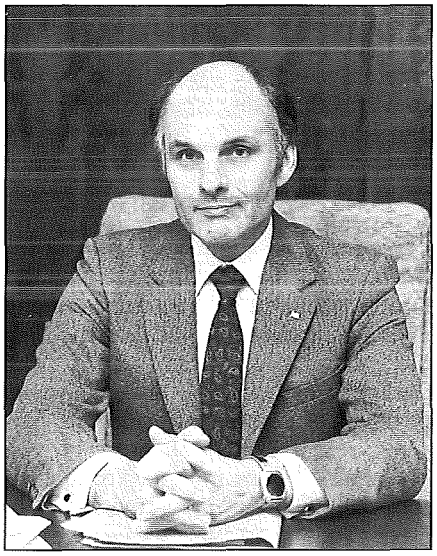
are new. It is an audience that has consistently indicated that it has a lower educational profile. It is more dispersed, and generally it would appear that Francophones may not be as accustomed to participating in initiatives as are some of the other people in the province — for whatever reasons — so that to register in a course, to seek out the learning material, to pursue the program, to call in, to use the tutors that are available, all of these things are quite important and I think we have a "learning curve" that we are experiencing in terms of trying to motivate people to engage themselves in lifelong learning experiences.

We work in the distance education area. We're working with Laurentian University, with the University of Ottawa, with Collège de Hearst, in



Donald Duprey

trying to develop distance education, in trying to create programming that they can use within their courses, and to create distance education opportunities for them to extend their credit programs beyond their buildings.

One of the things we think is important is this issue of motivation — of trying to encourage people to think about the opportunities. By broadcasting learning experiences we hope that we can create an atmosphere that will provide positive reinforcement towards learning and that will encourage the young and parents and others to think about learning as a process. We feel that alone could have an impact, should have an impact.

The question is compounded by the fact that the rate of assimilation is not insignificant. It's quite a complex issue. I think, though, that we have, more than the English network, a two-pronged thrust. We have an educational and a cultural thrust. We have a role in La chaîne of cultural reinforcement, to create a sense of discovery and to encourage people to want to think and discover and use this as an opportunity. This is no mean challenge.

— What are some of the areas that you'd like to concentrate on and develop over the next five or 10 years?

— First and foremost, we need to be comprehensive in the provision of educational television learning materials for use in the schools. A very critical audience for us is the children's audience. I think the degree to which we can maintain those young people in a stream of wanting to pursue their careers and their lives in the French language is critical to the future of Francophones in this province. They have to have an equal opportunity, and that means they have to have excellent programming at home and in the classroom. TVOntario has achieved international recognition for the kinds of programming it has provided for children, and we have to be able to complement that in the French language as well — that's one.

Secondly, I think that we have to clearly demonstrate our role of supporting the Francophone communities in the province by ensuring that we provide programming that supports what I call the special interest groups' educational objectives. There are many special interest groups in the province that have educational components to their missions. We have to support those and we have to demonstrate that we are an effective educational instrument for the goals of the Francophones in the province. We will achieve that by creating programming that has very specific objectives that we can obtain by research and evaluation from those specific groups.

Thirdly, I think we have to find the wherewithal to be able to reach all the Francophones, or the majority of Francophones, in the province. We have to move from the 70% to 90% plus. It is a dollars and cents proposition.

I think we have to emphasize the quality of the people who have worked at TVOntario, because I think that the successes are not isolated. It was not achieved without a lot of hard work by a lot of people, a lot of dedication and commitment, a lot of imagination — Francophone and Anglophone.

This is a little organization which is quite modest. When you imagine that we have 400-odd people who work here and that we increased the staff marginally — I think we added 25 or 30 people in total — in doubling the number of hours that we broadcast, that we added no technical facilities, that really it was an effort on the part of the whole organization, I think that it places TVOntario in a unique position. There is no other bilingual broadcasting organization in this country. Radio-Canada operates two separate services. We have one broadcast management, we have two program areas and they work closely together; we collaborate on projects. I think that it's to the credit of the government of the province that they support this, and that they have the vision to recognize the important role that communication plays in the development of both languages. I think it's important to give credit where credit is due. *S.H*

* * *

Donald Duprey is now Head of English Programming at TVOntario. A new director of French Programming has not yet been appointed.

St. Boniface: The Agreement Is Official

The position of the Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface in the field of French-language education in Manitoba is assured.

The University of Manitoba, which until now had sole authority to offer undergraduate and master's degree courses in French, officially granted the Collège general responsibility for such program in June.

Formal authorization came when degrees were bestowed on the graduates of the prestigious institution — 106 this year — before Governor General Jeanne Sauvé, to whom the Collège awarded an honorary doctorate.

We welcome this action, which the Commissioner recommended in his 1987 Annual Report.

Applying Minority Education Rights

Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was specifically conceived to afford official language minority parents the opportunity to educate their children in their own mother tongue

If there is one principle of official language law that is, as principle, clear and non-controversial, it is Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. It states, in plain terms, that parents who qualify may educate their children in French outside Quebec and in English in Quebec. What is more, says Section 23:

> where the number of those children so warrants [the parents have] the right to have them receive that instruction in minority language educational facilities provided out of public funds.

Section 23 has been enshrined in the Canadian Constitution for over six years now, but the principle which it expresses has been politically endorsed by all Canadian governments for almost twice as long — time enough to put the average Canadian child through school. Yet in 1988 the constitutional right to minority language education is far from being fully enjoyed in the majority of Canada's 10 provinces and two territories and the signs of substantive progress are slow in coming. Beyond the bilingual belt from Manitoba through New Brunswick, although only a small proportion of eligible children are actually enrolled in what could properly be called minority schools, most provincial or territorial authorities seem content to wait until the courts tell them what to do.

That in itself would be perplexing. What makes it more profoundly disturbing is that this relative inertia coincides with another new constitutional proposal to "preserve" the fundamental language duality of Canada, along with renewed demographic evidence that virtually all our official language minorities are in decline. One supposes that minority language schooling alone cannot "preserve" the minorities, but without access to effective education in their language any thought of preserving them must surely be out of the question.

Theoretical good will

When so much theoretical good will is paralleled by such modest practical results, one may be sure that there are many reasons for the discrepancy. The principal underlying reason seems to be that, outside Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario, any local experience in defining and laying on minority education "out of the public funds" is very limited. No one is entirely clear what is expected of them, or entirely sure what they may be getting into. This adds up to a climate of confusion and circular debate from which it is difficult to escape. The question that should concern us most at this point is not whether there are reasons for the confusion — that goes without saying — but whether everything reasonable is being done to dissipate it. Faced with the commitment of Section 23, who should be doing what? It is, for instance, remarkable that so few departments of education have even begun to devise provincial plans to give effect to Section 23.

Meanwhile, there have been more than a dozen court judgments related to the interpretation of Section 23, and the Supreme Court has been asked to clarify and consolidate many of those findings in reviewing the Bugnet case from Alberta. The questions that have been raised at law are all, in one way or another, tied to two central issues: what is the *purpose* of Section 23, and whose *responsibility* is it to see that it meets that purpose?

Jurisprudence

A review of the jurisprudence suggests that there is actually a wide judicial consensus as regards the purpose. By granting minority language parents the opportunity to educate their children in their own mother tongue, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms aims both to correct the obvious inadequacies and to compensate parents for opportunities which many were denied in their own ⇨

generation. Section 23 is remedial in every sense; it was specifically conceived to afford official language minorities "a second chance".

Judges have also tended to find that the right to "minority language education" entails something more than the mechanical right to receive instruction through the minority language. Where opinions begin to diverge is on the questions of *how much* more, and what the necessary administrative implications of the answer are. It is at this point that judicial interpretation starts to zero in on the test criteria that trigger a Section 23 entitlement:

> (a) the number of eligible children that warrants providing minority language instruction;
>
> (b) the (presumably different) number that warrants their receiving that instruction in "minority language educational facilities"; and
>
> (c) as an additional consideration, the number that warrants providing either (a) or (b) "out of public funds".

The administrative meaning of these criteria has challenged the wits of several judges. Not surprisingly, they have come up with several answers. The only certainty so far appears to be that the number or numbers in question are greater than one. Beyond that point, Section 23 rights seem to be set upon a sliding scale along which two somewhat competing notions must be reconciled:

> (a) what is necessary to ensure that minority language education is properly tailored to minority circumstances and the Charter's remedial purpose; and
>
> (b) what the community at large can accommodate, both administratively and financially, given good will and imagination.

Each of these questions is difficult in itself. In combination they have given rise to some very different practical answers. It may well be that the most positive meaning of Section 23 is that each province or territory must arrive at its own solution, provided of course that some fundamental conditions are met.

Conditions

One of the key conditions attached to successful application of Section 23 revolves around the notions of "management and control". Virtually all the judgments so far have accepted the premise that a constitutional entitlement to minority language education carries with it the right to define and oversee its content. The extent of that right may be problematical, but at least the courts are of the view that a degree of exclusive control must exist and, by implication, that its proper extent can be worked out.

It may be a while before the Supreme Court can tell us how it views the issue of management and control. That is no excuse for inaction. Whatever the Supreme Court decides in the Bugnet case, there will still be a need for each province and territory to apply that decision according to its particular circumstances. A thorough planning process is not conditional on the Court's decision.

This is why it becomes so important to see Section 23 as much more than a problem of judicial interpretation. The problem is not so much to clarify the *concept* as to define the *process* whereby it can be given effect. In the case of management and control, it would be cold comfort to be told that both are implicit in minority language education if neither the authorities nor the community had any idea how management and control could be made manifest.

Manifestations of management

In practice, things are not quite that bad. A number of provinces have already accepted minority management as indispensable to minority education. Some, like New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, have been aware for some time of the need to take a lead in the quest both for comprehensive analysis and comprehensive solutions. Elsewhere, it has been a rather different story. Even under prompting from the courts and minority pressure groups, too many provincial authorities have taken too long to concede that a full, orderly and expeditious implementation of Section 23 is first and foremost *their* responsibility. At last, however, there are the beginnings of an effort, notably in Manitoba and Prince Edward Island, to look at Section 23 as a challenging problem in educational and administrative planning and not as the moral equivalent of Custer's Last Stand.

The first step in an affirmative approach to Section 23 is to recognize that, particularly in those provinces and territories where the minority communities are smallest and most scattered, implementation of Section 23 requires a province-wide or territory-wide perspective. Without a clear idea of the number, distribution — and preparedness — of the minority clientele, it is hard to imagine any model of minority education and minority management that would appeal to, let alone satisfy, the needs of the communities concerned.

The next stage

It is quite possible the Supreme Court will, in effect, direct the provinces and territories to assume their responsibilities and to take the initiative in devising imaginative and attractive models of minority education and management. We hope so. In the meantime, there is still a good deal of ground work to be done:

> (a) to specify the essential features of minority management (e.g. community representation, financial control, appropriate pedagogy, and so on);
>
> (b) to consider the options for distributing these features as part of a total administrative and educational model applicable to a particular province or territory;
>
> (c) to place these possibilities before minority parents in such a way as to allow them to make informed decisions about their children's future.

There are now enough management models, or components of models, in circulation to give both distributors and consumers some inkling of what can be had and at what cost. But the details of *how* to carve out a minority language system from a majority school network remain quite sketchy and largely untested. The constitutional compatibility in some provinces of language rights and confessional rights also complicates matters.

This is a situation where the wisdom of the courts can only partially provide relief. In the absence of sound, basic and credible information, not even the courts can decide with any precision whether a particular group of parents is receiving its due. In the months to come, the Commissioner's Office intends to continue to plug some of the more obvious information gaps and to encourage other parties to join the quest to make Section 23 work. Stay tuned.

S.B./J-C. L.B.

Transfers and Subsidies for Official Language Programs

The announcement this summer that the Department of the Secretary of State plans to spend an additional $195 million on official language programs over the next five years has raised both hopes and questions. With the additional sums, the total federal spending government spending on its two major programs, Official Languages in Education (OLE) and Promotion of Official Languages will reach $1.4 billion over the next five years.

That hopes have been raised is not surprising. In the context of the new Official Languages Act, the increases in funding can be seen as an indication of the government's determination to intensify its efforts to help open up new horizons for official language minorities throughout Canada.

That questions have been raised is also not surprising. The principal one, inevitably, is whether even this substantial increase will be sufficient to achieve the government's and Parliament's stated goals of ensuring the survival and development of official language minorities and respect for both English and French throughout the country. The aims are ambitious and the verbal commitment to them is clear.

OLE

Far the larger of the two major programs is OLE, which will involve the spending of $1.2 billion over the next five years. In the words of Secretary of State Lucien Bouchard, "This is a large amount of money and demonstrates not only a firm commitment to our minorities but also a concerted effort to improve their network of academic institutions", in addition to funding in part second-language education for the majorities.

Those are the general, rather abstract sounding guidelines. The reality impinges directly and positively on large numbers of Canadians. They include language teachers who have received special training, high school graduates who have received bursaries to study their second official language, about 200,000 pupils in French immersion schools, student assistants to language teachers and some 34,000 college and university students who, during the last five years, have taken summer immersion courses in their second language. The Secretary of State's avowed priorities, after much consultation, seem right.

The OLE program has made significant contributions to other projects. These include the development and exploration of a new concept of combination schools and community centres for Francophones in the Atlantic provinces, the establishment of faculties of law, forestry and public administration at the Université de Moncton, the development of new adult language programs in Quebec, and even the development of La chaîne française as part of the normal operations of Ontario's educational television.

Federal money is not the only factor in projects such as these; but without it their success would have been, to say the least, uncertain.

Language promotion

While the language promotion program is smaller in funding — involving $214 million over the five-year period — it also casts a wide and beneficial net across the country. In general terms, its function is to enhance the vitality and support the development of minority groups and to promote the use of both official languages outside federal institutions by working with the provinces and non-governmental groups interested in the challenge. In practice this means financial support to the provinces to help them expand their own services to minorities, to groups representing the minority communities themselves and to selected volunteer and private sector associations to help them bilingualize their own operations.

Framework agreements have been concluded with the Territories and with several provinces, including New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan, with federal grants available for items such as translation of provincial laws and extension of minority language services in social, cultural and other fields.

Beyond the provincial governments, the promotion program gives considerable support — about $24 million a year including the new funding — to a total of about 300 minority community groups. The two largest beneficiaries are the Fédération des Francophones hors Québec and Alliance Québec, the two largest umbrella groups representing respectively the French-speaking minority communities outside Quebec and the Anglophones within that province.

Private sector

An illustration of the government's aid to the voluntary and private sector is the co-operative relationship it has set up with the Canadian Society of Association Executives, which represents professional, trade and voluntary organizations of many kinds on both a national and provincial basis. In recent months, with the help of the promotion program, the Society has set up a task force to which has published a preliminary report on the needs of its member groups in their efforts to improve their own bilingual structures and services.

In the eyes of most observers, the Secretary of State programs have been impressive, and should become more so with the expanded responsibilities assigned to it by the new Official Languages Act. To the extent that they exist, the nagging doubts refer, not surprisingly, to the question of funding. In the matter of the OLE, for example, the announced $145 million increase amounts to a growth of about 4.5% annually, enough to cope with inflation, critics say, but not enough to show an increased real commitment to educational efforts — most specifically to the possibility of a continued growth in the demand for French immersion courses.

In the field of official language promotion, the increases have been proportionately much greater, amounting to about 38%. But the fact that the absolute amounts are relatively small has led some commentators to question the extent to which anything much beyond tokenism can be achieved.

In terms of stated commitments, the federal government and most of the provinces have been enthusiastic in their support of the official language programs, both those of the federal authorities and, in some cases, of their own. The question that arises is the extent to which both levels of government will, in the final analysis, be willing to spend to satisfy the hopes that those commitments have engendered. Only time, and the governments themselves, of course, will tell. *T.S*

Excising Customs

There has been a growing awareness of the challenge involved in ensuring that language graduates can retain their skills. Customs and Excise has innovative follow-up programs.

There may be more than one way to learn a second language, but, in the final analysis there is only one of keeping it — practice. But for practice there must be opportunities. These can be of many kinds, limited only by the imagination, and, of course, the budget, as Canada's Public Service is finding out.

Since its inception in the early 1970s, the federal language training program has had, along with its successes, at least two perceived problems. One has been the difficulty of teaching language skills to older persons, and the other has been ensuring that the students who have completed their training could retain their skills.

Challenge and program

While it would be unfair to suggest that those responsible for overseeing the drive for language equality in government had ignored the second problem, it would be correct to say there has been a growing awareness in recent years of the challenge involved. This fall, the Treasury Board, which oversees language policy in the Public Service, is completing work on a new, comprehensive program to help public servants retain, and even improve, their ability to communicate in their second official language both with their fellow workers and, more importantly, with the public.

In the meantime, things have not been standing still in individual organizations. Among the most active in the field has been the Customs and Excise division of Revenue Canada, virtually a department in itself, and one in which the question of language of work and of service to the public is of major proportions.

Complexity and decentralization

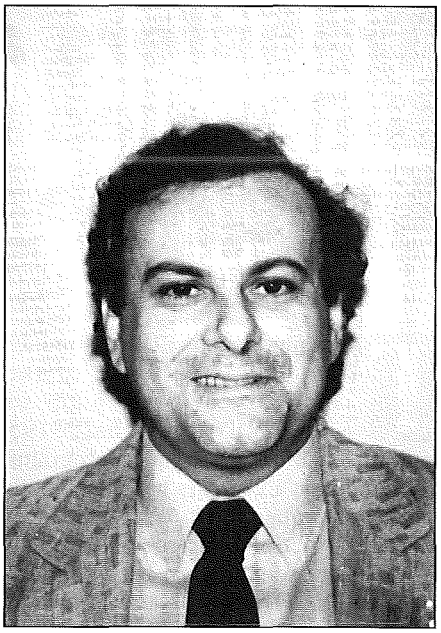
The reason lies in the combination of complexity and decentralization of services that are among the basic characteristics of an organization of 9,000-odd employees working in almost 600 offices at border points and elsewhere across Canada. Out of more than 7,000 people dealing directly with the public, some 3,000 are in positions where a bilingual capacity is essential if adequate service is to be provided in both official languages.

This in turn necessitates language training courses at all levels, but especially at the more advanced ones required for service to business people and the travelling public. Customs and Excise has taken up the challenge to enhance what might be called the post-graduate sector of language education.

André LeBlond, director of the Official Languages Division of the Personnel Administration Branch, does not particularly like the traditional terms "maintenance" and "retention" when referring to the challenge facing the men and women who have completed their basic training. Such terms suggest outdated, somewhat artificial methods, no longer favoured in what Mr. LeBlond describes as the follow-up program now in operation to help language course graduates.

About 3,000 personnel are in positions where a bilingual capacity is essential.

"Of course, it's the individual who is basically responsible for his progress," Mr. LeBlond cautions. "But we try to provide as much support as we can." Reliance on individual initiative is reflected in a growing emphasis on voluntary activities outside working hours. Customs and Excise reimburses employees who take evening and weekend language courses. But it does more than that. In each of its regions, Customs and Excise employs an official language co-ordinator, who is responsible for a documentation centre with books and audio-visual equipment available to all employees.



André LeBlond

Initiatives and tradition

On a more elaborate scale, there is a Self-Learning Centre at national headquarters in Ottawa, which runs oral communication workshops at different skill levels four nights a week and provides a wealth of study material to language students.

Recognizing that sometimes travel can provide an added incentive, Customs and Excise sponsors an exchange and special work assignment program to give selected employees an opportunity to work in an environment in which their second official language is in regular use.

These programs are limited to a few dozen people a year, but "the feedback has been excellent," Mr. LeBlond says. Quebec City, Saint-Hyacinthe, Sarnia and Vancouver have been some of the posts involved in such programs in recent years.

In the midst of all the experimentation, however, more traditional education remains popular. Last year, formal English and French courses, including basic and advanced grammar, administrative writing and telephone language skills, drew more than 600 students, mainly in Ottawa but in the regions as well, where the courses are offered if the demand is sufficient. In recent years there has also been a special French immersion program offered at the Customs and Excise College at Rigaud, Quebec.

Beyond the courses, the language division offers the services of its own resource persons to both groups and individuals as well as text revision and writing services to help the process of bilingualisation along.

"It's the individual who is basically responsible."

If there is a common thread in the whole approach, it lies in the attempt to transcend what Mr. LeBlond refers to as the "artificial climate" that is liable to appear in language-training programs in general. He admits to some initial uncertainty as to the response to the new emphasis on individual initiative, often outside normal working hours. "We were a little worried," he says, "but the response has been enthusiastic."

Flexibility

While awaiting further initiatives from Treasury Board, Customs and Excise is continuing the search for new ideas to expand its own program, which it insists must be flexible and open-ended. To do this, it is exchanging ideas and experiences with organizations facing similar challenges and is soliciting its own employees both in management and other categories for feedback on its present programs and for suggestions as to how it can better fulfil its back-up role in helping them. Present plans include the setting up of individual language training follow-up programs on a trial basis this fall.

Treasury Board is carefully watching the development of language retention programs.

Treasury Board officials say they are watching carefully the development of programs such as those of Customs and Excise. Whatever becomes of them, it is more than likely that, when the history of official bilingualism in government is written, they will have an honourable place in the story. *T.S.*

Heritage College

As promised in Language and Society *23, the story of the newly independent English-language college that opened in Hull this fall....*

If there is any other minority official language group in Canada with which the English-speaking community in western Quebec can roughly be compared, it is the French-speaking Acadian population of northern New Brunswick. Their relative situations, especially their history, are, of course, far from identical. In both percentage and absolute numbers the Acadians are far more numerous, but the challenges are not dissimilar. In western Quebec, as in northern New Brunswick, a vibrant, historically rooted community, strengthened by its geographical proximity to another province where its own language predominates, is waging a reasonably successful struggle to maintain both its own heritage and its rightful place in the life of the province of which it is a part.

An independent regional centre

One element that has been lacking to the 35,000-odd Anglophone west Quebecers has been an independent regional cultural and intellectual centre. This fall, with the emergence of the newly autonomous Heritage College in Hull as a post-secondary educational institution in its own right, new perspectives are opening up for the Anglophone minority.

As significant as it is, the event is marked by no spectacular physical evidence of its existence. There are no new office towers being built in central Hull, and none are likely to be built in the foreseeable future. This year, as last, the 750-plus full time students and 80-odd staff of what has until now been the Anglophone campus of the Cégep de l'Outaouais remain in the four-story building they have occupied for the past several years, if anything more cramped than before. This is essentially a symbolic and administrative story rather than a physical one, but it is nonetheless an important one.

The story began in 1969 when, to accommodate graduates from English-language high schools in the area, the Collège de l'Outaouais agreed to set up a small English-language teaching unit in what remained an overwhelmingly French-language institution. Very shortly, the unit became a separate campus and developed its own character. But it remained an adjunct of its Francophone parent; and, as numerous French-speaking educators across the country can testify, a small degree of *de facto* autonomy is not enough if a community is to see its reflection in any institution important to it.

It is true that west Quebec Anglophones have long had their own network of elementary and secondary schools, the graduates of which could take either three years of professional training or two years of pre-university courses at the Heritage campus. Six professional courses ranging from nursing to computer science and five pre-university programs in the fields of science, social sciences, commerce, liberal and fine arts are now available.

A room of one's one

What has been missing in all this has been a full-fledged institution that the community could call its own — something for which it has been pushing for at least the past decade. When it appeared briefly in 1981 that Heritage might become one of four campuses of Champlain Regional College, along with other English-language units in Lennoxville, Quebec City and Saint-Lambert, there was general acceptance. But, after the project was dropped at the last moment by the government of the time, the demand was for a locally-based institution.

In August 1987, the battle was won with the announcement by Quebec Education Minister Claude Ryan that Heritage would receive its own charter.

In a report following that event, the provincial Conseil des collèges recommended that, given the importance of the change, September 1989 would be an appropriate date for the new status to become official. But the community was in no mood to wait. "We've had other people telling us what to do for 20 years. Now it's our turn," explains one community spokesperson.

⇨

Parental blessings

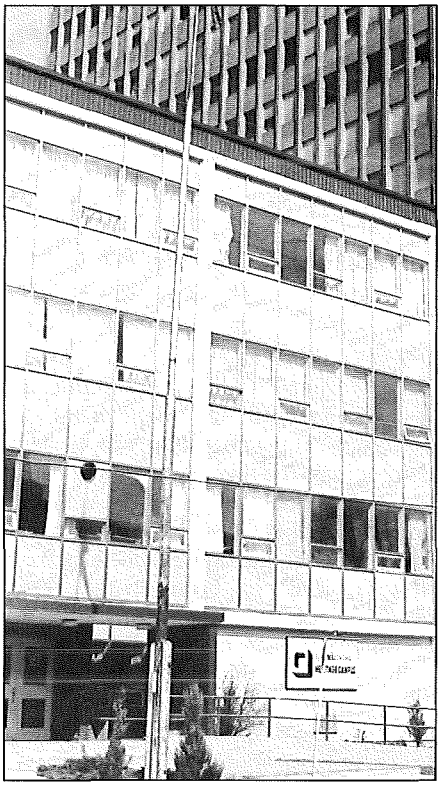
The achievement of autonomy has come with the full support of its Francophone parent, Heritage spokesmen emphasize. For some time, the Collège de l'Outaouais has recognized the anomalous situation arising from its having administrative control over a large English-language component. Not only has it given its blessing, it has promised its co-operation in helping Heritage over the transition period, including provision of computer services and the training of the additional administrative staff that the college needs to cope with its new responsibilities. While they have always been good, "our relations with the College will certainly be even better now," says Heritage Director-General Lawrence Kolesar. While some 15% of Heritage students last year had French as their first language, Heritage is continuing its policy of not actively recruiting in French-language schools, and insists on evidence of fluency in English for all applicants.

If, for the time being at least, the courses, the staff, the student body and the physical surroundings will remain virtually unchanged, the question arises as to what effect, beyond a certain sense of liberation, the new status will have on Heritage. Essentially, it will mean a significant change in the relations between the institution and the outside world, especially the surrounding community.

More specifically, it joins as an equal player, along with several others, including its parent college, in fully participating in the life of the whole region. Heritage becomes the second Anglophone institution, together with the Protestant Regional School Board of Western Quebec, to be eligible for membership in the boards of governance of a whole range of public health, social and economic service operations in the area. Such a role transcends linguistic lines. But, in the words of Director-General Kolesar, "We are going to try to be partners in the whole community of western Quebec, not only the Anglophone community."

A source of hope

Nevertheless, in the final analysis it will inevitably be on the latter group that the new college status will have the greatest impact. As a fully autonomous operation Heritage now becomes, more than ever, both a symbolic and a real centre of Anglophone community life. As the major educational institution, as a source of ideas, as a centre of adult education, as an institutional



representative in the wider community and, physically, as a meeting place, Heritage is now becoming an all-purpose resource centre. In so doing, it will help fulfil the dreams of the initiators of the new educational concepts a generation ago, who saw the colleges as real, vibrant centres of community life.

Heritage is something else as well. It is a symbol both of the continuing drive for self-assertion on the part of Canada's official language minorities and of the possibilities of co-operation between those groups and governments at all levels in ensuring success for that drive — itself a source of hope for all Canadians who believe in preserving the bilingual nature of the country.

...and its people

As a public institution, Heritage College accepts, without any tuition fee, high school graduates from anywhere in Canada. Not surprisingly, the great majority comes from western Quebec, where attendance is considered a natural continuation of studies in area high schools, whether as a preparation for university or for entry into the workforce.

Among the local students are Tracey Hutton and Ian Stobert, both 17-year-old graduates of Philemon Wright High School in Hull. Tracey, from nearby Aylmer, is specializing in social sciences and intends to continue her studies at Dalhousie University in Halifax. She is enthusiastic about Heritage. "The atmosphere and the teaching are both very good." The only shortcoming is the lack of space in athletic and other facilities. That, too, is the only complaint of her fellow student, a native of Wakefield, Quebec, who will study mathematics at the University of Waterloo this fall. Ian, leaving after one year, is unusual. Generally, pre-university students remain for two years, after which they can go directly into the second year of courses in most universities outside Quebec. In Ian's case, however, he has taken all the math courses available at Heritage. Both students are happy with the new status of their college. "I hope it will mean more money and better facilities," Ian says.

One of their teachers is Gerald Cammy, at 43 already a veteran, having taught political science and sociology from the beginning 19 years ago. A graduate of Sir George Williams and Ottawa universities, Mr. Cammy teaches all four political science courses. "This place has a very intimate atmosphere. It couldn't be better," he says.

Heritage is both a symbolic and a real centre of Anglophone community life.

For his first seven years Mr. Cammy taught at what was known simply as the Anglophone campus. It acquired the name Heritage when it moved into an old teachers' college designated as a heritage building. The appellation referred both to the building and to the desire to reaffirm the heritage of the surrounding English-language community.

At the centre of the administration of Quebec's newest college are two veterans of Quebec English-language education. The Director-General is Lawrence Kolesar, a former west Quebec high school teacher who came to the college in 1969. The Academic Dean is William A. Young, who worked in adult education and student services in Montreal before joining Heritage six years ago. *T.S.*

A French Class in Toronto

Toronto has never been remarkable for its bilingualism. Despite the fact that Canada's most populous centre is home to the speakers of dozens of languages, it is still for most purposes an English-speaking city. Nonetheless, some non-Francophones in Toronto are so convinced of the value of French that they're willing to put time and money into studying it as their second (or third) language. These people are not just trying to pick up enough phrases to take a weekend trip to Montreal — they want to be able to speak, read and write at the most advanced level. Why are these Torontonians so interested in making themselves bilingual?

The practicality of French

"The number is growing," says Berthe Arsenault of the Librairie Champlain, Toronto's French book store. "Lots of people are studying French — even the professionals are becoming fluent." Arsenault believes the trend may be due to the practicality of French. She cites growing trade with France and Quebec as reasons for the increase in interest. "And also," she says, "people are more interested in improving their level of culture than they ever were."

Language and Society spoke to students in an advanced French writing course offered by the University of Toronto to Francophones and to non-Francophones with a developed knowledge of French. The dozen or so students represented a typical selection of Toronto's bilinguals. About half were Franco-Ontarians hoping to hone their writing skills for business or pleasure. But an equal proportion were from other backgrounds, and were fluent to an extremely high degree. Only one was reimbursed by an employer for the cost (over $200) of the program. The students were happy to speak about their own reasons for wanting to take the course.

"Hope" (who shyly asked that her real name not be used), took the course simply for love of the language. "I did a B.A. mostly in French language and literature," she explained. An Ontario native, she "spent a summer in Trois-Rivières and another in Montreal." Although her work doesn't require a knowledge of French she hopes some day to get a job that does.

Andrea is one of the hundreds of ex-Montrealers in Toronto. A free-lance writer, she says that work is more plentiful in her new home. It was certainly not ignorance of French which drew her out of Quebec. "My first childhood friends were French," she says. She also attended Collège Jean-de-Brébeuf, the prestigious institution from which Pierre Trudeau, among others, graduated.

But it's not always easy to keep up a good level of conversational French in Toronto, so Andrea found the class an opportunity to loosen up verbally. "My conversation was getting tense and awkward. For someone who has been mistaken for a native speaker it was not only embarrassing but appalling. The class makes you more likely to chat casually with people."

Opening a window

Rita, born in China, believes that learning a new language is like "opening a window" in the wall that divides people from the rest of the world. Although Rita speaks deprecatingly of her own French, 35 years in Europe have given her a rich vocabulary, a fluent command of the language and an international outlook.

"One is almost illiterate without a knowledge of French," she says. "It's necessary for everyone with a certain level of education to learn more than one language." She sees conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones to be as petty as children's squabbles, and she believes that every bilingual Canadian has a special obligation: to promote understanding between the two founding cultures.

The students in this French class are representative of an increasingly noticeable minority in Toronto. Together with Toronto's Franco-Ontarians they are some of Toronto's bilinguals, people you might meet in the lobby of the Théâtre français de Toronto, or at a showing of *Jean de Florette*, or just strolling down Bay Street. Perhaps, as Rita believes, they will help to create a better understanding between Ontario's English- and French-speakers. *S.H*

Air Canada

Despite some fears that the federal government's decision to privatize Air Canada would lead to a shrinkage in the company's long-standing commitment to full bilingualism in serving both its passengers and its employees, it now appears that the airline, once privatized, not only will maintain its past commitments, but will also come under the provisions of the new Official Languages Act.

The development occurred early this summer following a flurry of reports that the company, while emphasizing its continuing bilingual commitment, was very seriously concerned about some aspects of the application of Bill C-72 to its commercial operations.

Among the concerns expressed to the government were the expense involved in the translation of thousands of pages of repair and maintenance manuals, the necessity of answering on a continuing basis to the Treasury Board and the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, and some of the language of work provisions. "To demand, as Bill C-72 does, that supervisors be bilingual is a source of conflict and will affect morale," in the words of Air Canada official Richard Daignault.

In general, according to company representatives, the concern was that Air Canada would be subject to governmental language regulations that could put it at a commercial disadvantage compared to its competitors in Canada and abroad.

In the latter part of June, Air Canada's president and chief executive officer, Pierre Jeanniot, told a special parliamentary committee that following discussions with the government Air Canada had received the assurances it required and no longer had any reservations concerning its obligations under the Official Languages Act.

An important concession was reportedly a promise on the part of the government to make available special grants to compensate Air Canada for any additional expenses it might incur as a result of its linguistic obligations. The exact amount of the grants is not yet known *T.S.*

Press Review

Tom Sloan

The Meech Lake accord, hailed as a constitutional breakthrough when it was signed by the Prime Minister and 10 provincial premiers in June 1987, still had strong defenders but it was running into heavy weather a year later, with some press commentators even predicting its imminent demise.

Meech Lake and all that

Among the sceptics was Carol Goar, national affairs columnist for the *Toronto Star*. Citing several developments, including newly elected provincial governments, continuing language controversies and evidence of waning public support in the polls, she concluded that the accord might well not be ratified by the June 1989 deadline. "The chances are slim and getting slimmer....It is hard to imagine a plausible success scenario." Is ratification even desirable? "Last month's language debate in Saskatchewan opened a lot of eyes. Suddenly it became clear that the accord, which was supposed to safeguard the distinctiveness of French Canadians, provided no protection to Francophones living outside Quebec."

Also sceptical was Graham Fraser of the *Globe and Mail*. He was writing on the anniversary of the agreement, when "it seemed there was a new harmony in the country. But today, as persistent voices of dissent have grown in volume, what seemed like an example of consensus has become an awkward symbol of contradictory national visions and mutual incomprehension."

Increasing doubts were expressed in editorials in several papers. To the *Toronto Star:* "What a difference a year makes! Now, instead of harmony, mostly divisiveness flows from Meech Lake....The spirit of Meech Lake is in ruins." To the *Financial Post*, however, it was precisely the spirit of Meech Lake which was at fault: "the false ideal of Two Canadas, one French and one English, each a distinct society from the other." The same note was echoed by Joe O'Donnell in the *Toronto Sun*: "Under Meech Lake, Don Getty speaks for Alberta, Grant Devine speaks for Saskatchewan and Robert Bourassa speaks for Quebec. There's just one problem: Who speaks for Canada?"

Even the *Ottawa Citizen*, an early supporter of the agreement, was having "Second Thoughts". Noting ambiguities and disagreements even among the accord's defenders as to the significance of the clause recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society", the paper concluded that "this constitutional project should go no further until it is put right....Let us honour the spirit of Meech Lake, but by fashioning an accord we can live with. Better that than live to regret a bad bargain."

The accord as it stood, however, had its strong defenders — especially but not exclusively in the French-language press. While conceding its imperfections, editorialists on this side of the fence suggested there is no alternative. In the words of *La Presse* editorialist Pierre Vennat: "To decide today to put the accord back on the drawing board is to reject any possibility of an agreement before the 21st century. Worse, it is to consecrate the division of Canada and to encourage the secession of Quebec."

For Pierre Tremblay of *Le Droit* of Ottawa, the issue is clear: "After Quebec's Yes to Canada, what is lacking is a Yes from Canada to Quebec, which has put forward very few conditions for its adherence."

Rino Morin Rossignol in Moncton's *Le Matin* saw one reason above all for going ahead — the character of the opposition: "the adversaries of Meech Lake are above all defenders of the status quo; constitutional manipulators who are using Francophones outside Quebec, many of whom have not yet understood that if Quebec does not obtain the means of preserving the heartland of *Francophonie*, in 50 years there will no longer be any *Francophonie* outside Quebec."

In *Le Soleil* of Quebec, editorialist Raymond Giroux asked: "What becomes of Quebec without Meech Lake? A province just like all the others, without even a place at the negotiating table."

Among the English-language newspapers, one of the strongest pro-Meech voices belonged to the *Globe and Mail*, which saw the accord as an essential instrument of national reconciliation. "Meech Lake does not solve all of Canada's constitutional problems...but it remakes the vows of national union on which further change depends.

Not surprisingly, the debate over Meech Lake often tended to merge with the related discussions of official language minority rights in at least two western provinces — Saskatchewan and Alberta — as well as in Quebec.

Saskatchewan

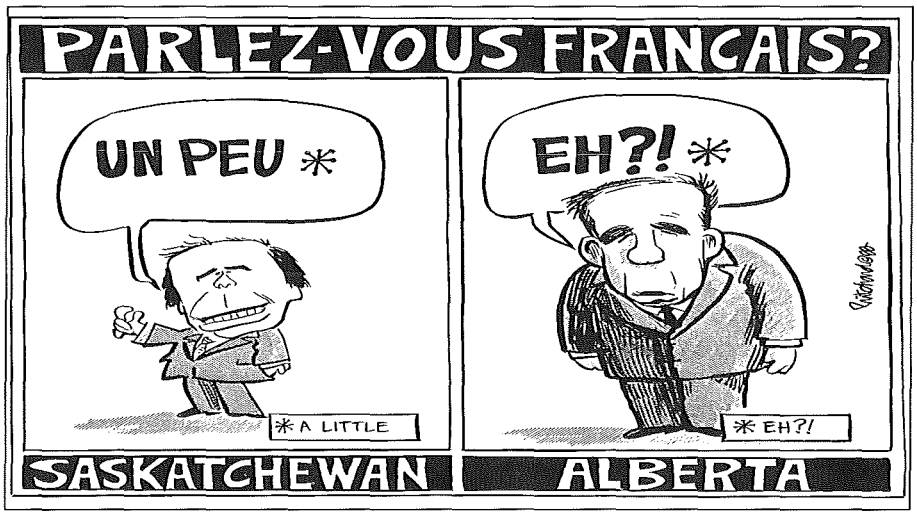
The decision of the government of Saskatchewan to remove itself from the jurisdiction of the North-West Territories Act, following a Supreme Court decision that it was still theoretically bound by the century-old law and its bilingual provisions, prompted several ironic editorial references to the fact that, after Quebec, Saskatchewan had been the first province to ratify the Meech Lake agreement. There were, however, also expressions of support for the government's action.

One came from the *Calgary Sun*, which described it as "the only course for Saskatchewan to take....The laws have worked quite well in English only, thank you, and will continue to do so." A similar approach came from the *Hamilton Spectator*. "The Bilingual Chorus in Ottawa is drowning Saskatchewan in pious denunciations of its new language law....Saskatchewan is taking a bum rap. Its legislation is not anti-French and does not restrict the use of French as Quebec's Bill 101 restricts the use of every language but French."

From the Regina *Leader-Post*, however, came a different tone: "the Saskatchewan government had the opportunity to open new doors for Francophones. Instead the new language bill leaves the impression of closing off an opportunity — and at best leaving the government holding the key."

Two papers, far apart in distance and different in language, found that Saskatchewan Francophones had been "humiliated" by their government. One was the *Vancouver Sun* and the other was *La Tribune* of Sherbrooke, where editorialist Roch Bilodeau took the province to task. "The government of Saskatchewan was the first to ratify the Meech Lake agreement. It is also the first to betray its principles."

In a second editorial, however, Mr. Bilodeau made a plea for realism on the part of Francophone minorities who, he said, "must avoid dreaming in technicolour and above all waging futilely symbolic battles." A similar line was taken by Michel Roy in *La Presse*. Rather than the translation of



past laws, it is better services that are needed. "What is important is to create and maintain places where French language and culture can live and develop."

Encapsulating several related issues in one short paragraph, the *Toronto Star* excoriated Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine on a number of fronts. "By his mean-spirited action, Devine has probably broken a promise he made last year at Meech Lake to preserve the rights of French-speaking people in his province. Will Alberta now feel free to copy him? And what will happen to the rights of English-speaking Quebecers?"

Alberta

The answer, as far as Alberta was concerned, was not long in coming. It took the form of a law basically similar to that of Saskatchewan, but giving Francophones even less in the way of rights and promises than did the government of the neighbouring province.

Just before the law was introduced, the *Edmonton Journal* was hopeful: "Alberta has a rare opportunity to show national leadership and vision." Shortly later, the *Journal* wrote: "Alberta's timid response to affirming French-language rights offends the spirit of Canada's constitution....By choosing lacklustre pragmatism over inspired statesmanship, the Alberta government has squandered an opportunity to uphold the generous vision of Canada it affirmed in the constitution." As for the *Calgary Herald*, it deplored "token gestures which stop far short of even Saskatchewan's half-hearted language laws." Two time zones away, the Montreal *Gazette* had concurred. "Alberta's Premier Don Getty dishonours his province's past and his country's future with his miserly approach to minority-language rights."

A related side issue was the reaction of Quebec's Premier Bourassa to the events in the West. His kind words for both the Alberta and Saskatchewan governments drew sharply different responses. To the *Lethbridge Herald*, "Bourassa is willing to sacrifice minority language rights..for his own political goals." As for the provinces in general, "The premiers have accepted a principle of provincial sovereignty over provincial territory. They have rejected the art of friendly persuasion of each other, or the people, for the benefit of the nation as a whole. They say the dream of a united, bilingual Canada is unrealistic, offering only the old two solitudes in replacement."

To the Montreal *Gazette*, "Mr. Bourassa's silence is deafening. Does he think it is acceptable to wipe out a language minority's legal rights? If not, he should say so clearly. If he does think so, he should say so too."

Other commentators, however, saw the Bourassa approach as blameless. In an editorial entitled "Bourassa Can't Wear Two Hats", the *Montreal Daily News* praised the premier's approach. "He would be irresponsible if he went thrashing about in other provinces in ways that endangered his gains of last year. He is premier of Quebec, not of the Francophones outside Quebec." The Medicine Hat *News* agreed. Alberta Francophones were wrong to denounce the premier. "In fact, Premier Bourassa has actually done the Francophone community a great service. His laudatory comments provide the Getty government with highly valued manoeuvring room."

Quebec

In Quebec itself, the Liberal government was coming under increased pressure to clarify its own language policies. For *Le Nouvelliste* of Trois Rivières, "The long honeymoon of...Robert Bourassa is coming to an end." The renewed ferment on the language issue is posing serious questions, wrote editorialist Sylvio Saint-Amant. "Mr. Bourassa is a clever politician. He has vast experience. But he will have to show some imagination to solve this longstanding language question that has always been his cross to bear."

One element in the ferment was a movement within the Anglophone community to repudiate what some considered as the overly moderate, non-political approach of the main English-language rights group, Alliance Québec, in favour of more militancy, including the creation of a new political party.

To Paul-André Comeau, Editor-in-chief of *Le Devoir*, the idea had little merit. "At best it would register...a more or less permanent dissidence which would be the equivalent to self-exclusion from the centres of decision. Demographic realities and the mechanical effects of the electoral system provide no other future for an Anglophone party."

Another sign of disjointed times was a march by 25,000 people in Montreal denouncing any possible tampering with Bill 101. Some journalists expressed surprise at the numbers. Not Roch Bilodeau of *La Tribune* of Sherbrooke: "The size of the demonstration will have astonished only those who thought Quebec linguistic nationalism is dead. On the contrary, it is clear that the language question is still a very sensitive one to Quebecers." As for Mr. Bourassa, he "will have to face an explosion of passions that he himself has helped exacerbate. To base a political decision on anticipated reaction rather than on principles and rational arguments is to look for trouble."

From the West came another comment on the event and those who took part. To the *Edmonton Journal*, a supporter of Francophone rights in Alberta, "Their protest is shortsighted and narrow-minded. How can they expect other provinces to respect the rights of their Francophone minorities as long as Quebec refuses to recognize the language rights of the Anglophone minority? By their actions, the supporters of Quebec's Bill 101 have

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Language Industries: A New Sector

*Lionel Meney**

Language industries is a expression used to designate technologies that meet new requirements, such as dialogue with machines, software and terminology. These industries have major economic, political and cultural implications. To discuss them,* Language and Society *interviewed André Abou, permanent representative of the relevant network, at the Francophone Summit in Quebec City.

Lionel Meney: *The language industries network seems to have lagged behind the others.*

André Abou: Yes and no. Since it is a new sector, a number of countries were slow to appoint representatives. The Southern Hemisphere countries regard language as a means of communication, and not as an "industry". In addition, it was necessary to explore the field, which was quite new. But we have made progress.

— *Why did you conduct a preliminary study?*

— The Japanese and the EEC have had programs for approximately 15 years. But we had to find out what, underlying these programs, was really of interest to the language industries. What would we undertake? To meet what needs? For what benefit? Africa's needs are not the same as those of Canada or of France. Certain techniques are reversible from English to French; we had to determine which ones. Finally, we produced a study called "Language Industries: Applications of Computer Language-Processing". The first volume analyses the technologies, products and markets. The second is a compilation of popular articles.

— *What were the major decisions taken in Quebec City?*

— The political authorities endorsed our efforts. In addition, we adopted a three-part program: research and industrial development, neologisms and terminology, and training.

The first involves providing the French-speaking community with the tools required for industrial applications: a morphological and syntactic analyser of French, a basic computerized grammar, and a data base containing all French morphemes and certain theoretical information to make it possible for non-specialists to converse with computers in a natural way. We are also going to set up a monitoring agency for language industries, organize a forum and establish a club of researchers and investors.

For the second part we will pool the resources that already exist in Canada (Termium), in Quebec (BTQ), in Europe (Eurodicotaum) and in Africa to avoid having several terminologies in the same field.

The third part consists of training linguists specializing in language industries. Switzerland will establish a program for a licentiate in computerized linguistics. France already trains engineers in speech processing and word processing.

— *Does the inspiration generating terminology in Canada differ from that in France?*

— The differences are the result of historical and geographical factors. Because of Quebec's contacts with English, and since Canada is a bilingual country, there is a need to develop a competitive French terminology. In France, we have to date relied on the natural resources of the language. But this approach is no longer enough. A public agency for terminology has been created, attached to the National Scientific Research Centre (CNRS). The commissions on terminology will be open to foreign partnership to ensure that we all work at the same pace and with common objectives.

— *We hear a great deal about the "decline" of French. Your thoughts?*

— Our world is changing. A new industrial structure is emerging. From this perspective, French is in retreat. The problem is to successfully adapt our language to the requirements of the modern world. If we cannot communicate with computers in French, the computers will impose another language on us.

— *Should we not first require documentation in French for everyday equipment?*

— Certainly. You are referring to giving impetus to research and technology in French. Importers tend to say to themselves, "the specialists know English. There is no need for programmers' or originators' manuals, for example, in French. A user's manual will be sufficient." It is up to us not to be passive consumers.

— *In Canada, France is sometimes criticized for being too lax in this regard.*

— France is a European country. Its major markets are European. If France were to insist on documentation in French, it would be accused of protectionism.

— *At the Summit, the importance of national languages was stressed.*

— Although we wish to create a new industrial structure with French as a common language, we must not abandon languages such as Wolof or Bambara. We will serve French best by allowing the national languages to develop, and not the other way around.

— *What place do you see for English in all of this?*

— We must be realistic. English has a very important place. In Europe, 70% of word processing is done in English. In France, we hope to use multilingual equipment, or equipment that is independent of any language. But the costs are so great and the Francophone market is so restricted that, for reasons of cost-effectiveness, we must maintain a bilingual French-English perspective.■

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Legal Mumbo Jumbo

*Harry Bruce**

I commend Sergeant Eric Bishop of the RCMP, Chester, Nova Scotia, for his straightforward yet eloquent description of a flasher on the loose. Unlike Bishop, cops often talk in a stilted, pretentious way, especially if they're testifying before lawyers and judges whose robes advertise higher education. The police merely go along with the tradition of mumbo jumbo that infects the entire legal community, doubtless thinking that if they don't talk the way the courts expect them to talk then the courts won't believe what they're saying. I'll return to the unusual Sergeant Bishop in a moment.

Adequate provisions

In *Clear Understandings: A Guide to Legal Writing*, authors Ronald Goldfarb and James Raymond offer a lawyer's version of "Give us this day our daily bread":

> We respectfully petition, request and entreat that due and adequate provision be made, this day and the date hereinafter subscribed, for the satisfying of this petitioner's nutritional requirements and for the organizing of such methods as may be deemed necessary and proper to assure the reception by and for said petitioner of such quantities of baked cereal products as shall, in the judgment of the aforesaid petitioner, constitute a sufficient supply thereof.

An American enemy of obtuse legalspeak is Judge Lynn Hughes of Houston, Texas. He says lawyers who write fluff that smothers fact are "lazy and thoughtless." Ordering a lawyer to rewrite pleadings he'd submitted, Hughes told him to eliminate "all excessive capitalization, empty formalisms, obscure abstractions, and other conceptual and grammatical imbecilities."

Hughes has at least one ally in England. *The Times* recently reported that "Mr. Justice Staunton, a judge in the Commercial Court, wants more plain English used in courts, and less of the legal language of the obscure past, some of which he says has been obsolete in ordinary speech almost since the Authorized Version of the Bible."

Archaic dances

More damaging than archaic verbal dances performed in court, however, is the fact that laws, contracts and agreements are often couched in language that's incomprehensible to those who must live by them. Consumer documents, such as loan agreements, are written in a kind of learned gibberish that intimidates borrowers but satisfies lawyers. They write it. They're the only ones who understand it, and some of them doubtless believe that's a fine way for the world to work, thank you. They often argue that the language of legal documents may not be as gripping as Stephen King's or as simple as Dick-and-Jane books but that its complexity is essential to legal precision. Now and then, however, someone who respects plain English gives the lie to this argument.

Honoré Daumier: The Two Lawyers

Impenetrable legalese

A few years ago, Alan Siegel, an American pioneer in the simplification of language in contracts, helped rewrite the consumer bank loan note of New York's Citibank. Before he went to work, just one sentence in the loan note included no fewer than 261 words of impenetrable legalese. The sentence started like this: "In the event of default in the payment of this or any other Obligation or the performance or observance of any term or covenant contained herein or in any note or other contract evidencing or relating to an Obligation or any Collateral on the Borrower's part to be performed or...". From there, things got even worse.

Siegel's firm found that at no risk to its client it could boil down the 261-word mass of obscurity to just 31 words of clarity. The borrower would now read simply this: "I'll be in default: 1) If I don't pay an installment on time; or 2) If any other creditor tries by legal process to take away any money of mine in your possession." Siegel believes language simplification is "a cleansing rather than a cosmetic process." It's a matter of purging prose of useless crud, and if the legal community had the will it could flush the waste not only out of courtroom discourse but also out of laws, bylaws and contracts whose language baffles tens of millions of people. It could start by insisting that every law school hire a competent writing coach.

Revealing language

But what has all this to do with Sergeant Bishop of Chester? Only that it was refreshing, if not miraculous, to hear a functionary in our system of justice express himself with the sewage-free precision of Ernest Hemingway. Describing a fellow who stood on a highway shoulder and revealed his family jewels to a woman driver, Bishop said, "The latest report indicates the flasher was wearing a red ballcap, a T-shirt of some type, and a pair of pants around his ankles." Now *that's* talking to the point.■

In 1985 Harry Bruce was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law by the University of King's College, Halifax. His latest books are *Each Moment As It Flies* and *Movin' East.

Press Review continued

shown themselves not more tolerant than those Albertans who rail against the Official Languages Act."

One source of dissension in Quebec was the belief among some Francophones that French was not always getting the respect it deserved in stores and elsewhere. Jean-Guy Dubuc of *La Presse* took up that particular cudgel following a complaint that a question in French had gone unanswered during a public meeting in the predominantly English-speaking municipality of Beaconsfield, west of Montreal. "When a Francophone asks to be served in French at a public meeting, in a store or in a restaurant, he is not denying rights to anyone else, he is simply asking that his own rights be respected. When someone else refuses him the right to speak his own language, he is being denied a fundamental right."

Amidst all the ferment, however, came the soothing balm of a public opinion poll that indicated a large degree of agreement between English- and French-speaking Quebecers over several aspects of language policy. Among other things, the poll indicated that 74% of both groups favoured the legalization of bilingual commercial signs, and that 80% of Francophones believed that English-speaking Quebecers have a legitimate place in Quebec society. To *La Presse* columnist Marcel Adam, the results showed that most ordinary Quebecers do not share the fear of much of the elite of the dangers of coexistence. In addition, "Quebecers recognize that this community is too initimately associated with the history and progress of Quebec to reduce it to the level of the other, more recently arrived non-Francophone groups."

Montreal *Gazette* columnist Gretta Chambers saw in the poll a distinction between people and politics. "Public policy and political rhetoric seem to be leading straight to confrontation. So it may be up to Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers who have found a linguistic *modus vivendi* to defend their working relationship against the onslaughts of those who would narrow social peace to a single issue....Quebec has an English fact that cannot be ignored, legislated away or easily assimilated."

To the *Gazette* editorialist, the message was clear and encouraging: "Moderation stands its ground in Quebec; tolerance lives." ■