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Canadian Parents for French

Michael Temelini

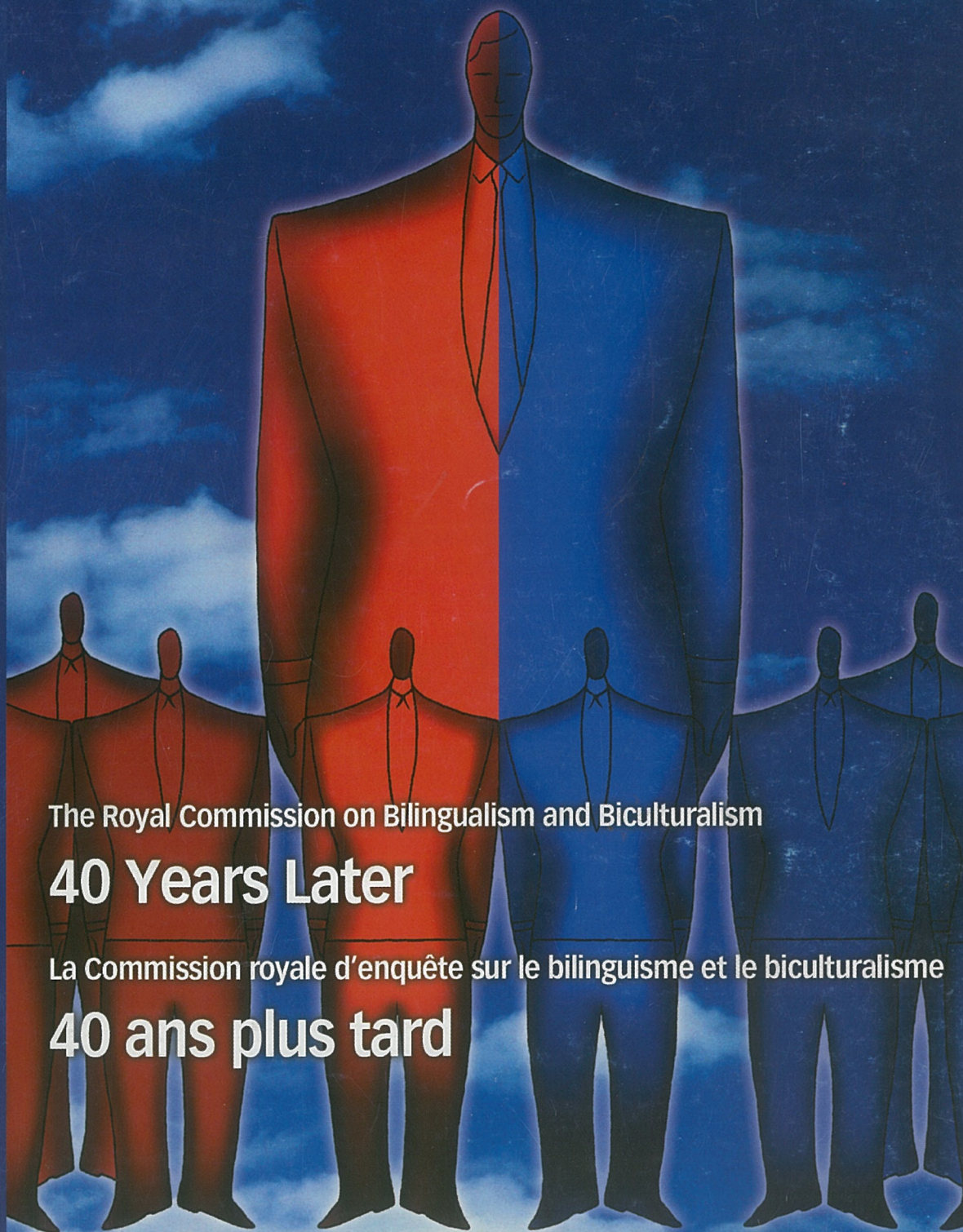
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LETTERS/LETTRES

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All in the Family: The Canadian Story Tout est dans la famille : l'histoire canadienne

Canada's ongoing effort at self-definition and the historic conflicts to which it has given rise have all the makings of a family squabble. Some 135 years later, the contract that enacted the Confederation is the object of divergent interpretation between the consenting parties. The dispute involves the identification of the signatories themselves. While some insist that there were two equal partners (British and French – call them the *parents*) that signed on to the original deal, others maintain that there several entities (the provinces – call them the *extended family*) that were contracting parties and not just witnesses to the pact of 1867. Those who joined the Canadian family at a later time (the *offspring*) have developed their own sense of identity. Not to mention the Grandparents or Elders (our aboriginal peoples) that claim that they were not taken into sufficient account by the contracting parties – however they are defined – and often remind the parents and the offspring that they have collectively erred in this regard.

For many of the children of the original French parent who have overwhelmingly settled in one part of the territory or property (Quebec), Canada will always be viewed as a forced marriage in need of a divorce. Yet others see it as a marriage of convenience in which they are constantly negotiating for more autonomy and greater recognition with the other partner. At times, the feeling that their difference has not being properly acknowledged has resulted in strong feelings of rejection, making them more open to considerations of divorce. Most, however, do not appear to prefer a break-up. Despite the frustrations, there are many in Quebec for whom being part of the Canadian family remains an affair of the heart. Recently most decided that they don't want to talk about break-up or any new contractual arrangements for a while.

Le parent britannique a subi de nombreux changements au cours du dernier siècle, si bien qu'il ressemble maintenant très peu à ce qu'il était à l'origine. Ce qui est resté s'est incorporé à la famille élargie, qui insiste sur le fait qu'on ne peut effectuer aucun changement au contrat original sans le consentement de tous. Plus encore, certains membres de la famille élargie (appelez-les les Albertains) ont éprouvé des sensations d'aliénation de plus en plus grandissantes, pensant qu'ils contribuaient davantage à l'héritage de la famille que ce dont ils recevaient en retour. Quant au contrat en soi, la famille élargie déclare maintenant qu'il s'agit d'un choix entre le divorce et le mariage (et ils ajoutent aussi que les conditions du divorce seraient vraiment excessives).

In the 1960's the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* (RCBB) warned of the possible break-up of the Canadian family. It contended that the very will of the English and French to live together was in serious jeopardy. The RCBB was mandated to look into ways of reconstructing an equal partnership between the English and the French through the implementation of national bilingualism and biculturalism. Marking the 40th anniversary of the RCBB, the texts that follow offer an assessment of the impact of the Commission on language and cultural policies, look at the influence of some of the principal intellectual and political actors of the period and provide important insights into the contemporary debate on national identity.

Since the RCBB presented its findings, the Canadian Constitution was repatriated and a Charter of Rights was introduced. There have been two Quebec referenda on the issue of sovereignty and two failed attempts (Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords) at amending the Constitution to recognize certain collective characteristics of the Canadian population, amongst them the recognition of Quebec as a distinct society. Christian Dufour and Jocelyn Maclure respectively examine the roles of Pierre Elliot Trudeau and André Laurendeau in the debates over national identity. Dufour contends that Trudeau denied Quebec's national identity to the detriment of national unity while Maclure argues that the rejection of the binational vision proposed by Laurendeau continues to prevent a necessary reconciliation between English and French Canada. Both Dufour and Maclure remind us that the first choice of the majority of Quebecers is to remain part of Canada, but until some recognition of Quebec's specificity is conferred the debate over the country's future will remain unresolved.

Simon Langlois explains the thinking behind the commissioner's use of the term "biculturalism" which he sees as a recognition of *l'égalité culturelle* and greater asymmetry on Canada-Quebec relations. He laments that Trudeau later chose to drop the notion. Michael Oliver, research director for the RCBB, provides an account of the daunting challenge of defining the idea of 'equal partnership' as Laurendeau envisioned it. In the final analysis, Oliver contends that the major task of the RCBB was to get Canada beyond the crises it soon faced in the area of English-French relations. This author concurs with Oliver that, from the outset, the RCBB was challenged with constructing models for a new Canadian partnership based on concepts that were difficult to apply.

Dans son essai, Joseph Turi nous rappelle que les démographies du Canada ont profondément changé depuis que la CRBB, le multiculturalisme et le biculturalisme sont à la hausse. Il suggère que la CRBB a eu un impact important dans l'introduction de la législation de la langue au niveau des gouvernements fédéral et provincial. Matthew Hayday jette un regard sur l'impact de la CRBB sur l'enseignement de la langue seconde au Canada et affirme qu'en dépit de l'importance des recommandations découlant de la Commission, une telle instruction a subi une multitude d'importants défis depuis les années soixante. Plusieurs de ces défis, qui sont associés aux Canadiens anglophones vivant à l'extérieur du Québec, et qui comprennent aussi la disponibilité des ressources humaines et financières, sont examinés par James Shea, directeur général de *Canadian Parents for French*.

Michael Temelini looks at the role played by the RCBB in the eventual emergence of Canada's multicultural policies. He argues that multiculturalism was never intended to be 'rights' or 'rules' based and instead the emphasis was to be on the substantive moral commitment to diversity. Temelini correctly contends that the issue of harmonious cross-cultural relations cannot be confined to respect for the rights of the other but also require sensitivity to cultural difference.

Stéphane Dion, Canada's Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, leads our examination by referring to the progress that the population has made in terms of the current level of support for language duality and the improved situation of minority language French schools outside of Quebec. He presents the major orientations of his recently introduced policy on Canada's official languages – *The Next Act* – which he notes are animated by much the same spirit and ideals that were identified by the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* forty years ago.

AN ACTION PLAN FOR OFFICIAL LANGUAGES DESIGNED FOR THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY

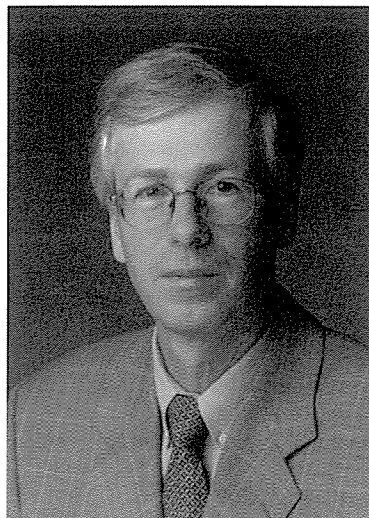
UN PLAN D'ACTION POUR LES LANGUES OFFICIELLES CONÇU POUR LE DÉBUT DU XX^{IE} SIÈCLE

I am in a good position to know how much Canada's official languages policy, which is certainly one of the greatest success stories ever, is the result of an exceptional research effort. My father, the political scientist Léon Dion, was the special research advisor to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. He devoted several years of his life to that task. So I am grateful to the Association for Canadian Studies for inviting me to contribute to the special edition of *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of that Royal Commission of inquiry, which so marked our country.

Without further dwelling on the metaphor of the filial link, I would like to take this opportunity to highlight the continuity running through the Government of Canada's official languages policy, from the recommendations of the Commission up to the Action Plan for Official Languages.¹

1. Our language policy from the Royal Commission to the Act of 1988

The Commission was supported by the most extensive humanities research program every known in Canada. André Laurendeau mentioned in his memoirs that Lester B. Pearson had even expressed some concern: he was afraid the research would never finish.² But



Je suis bien placé pour savoir à quel point la politique sur les langues officielles du Canada, qui est certainement l'une des plus réussies qui soient, est issue d'un effort de recherche tout à fait exceptionnel. Mon père, le politologue Léon Dion, a été le conseiller spécial pour la recherche de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Il y a consacré plusieurs années de sa vie. Aussi j'éprouve de la gratitude envers l'Association d'études canadiennes de

m'avoir invité à contribuer au numéro spécial *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* à l'occasion du quarantième anniversaire de la mise sur pied de cette Commission royale d'enquête qui a tant marqué notre pays.

Sans insister davantage sur la métaphore du lien filial, je voudrais saisir l'occasion qui m'est donnée pour faire ressortir la continuité qui marque la politique des langues officielles du gouvernement du Canada, à partir des recommandations de la Commission jusqu'au Plan d'action pour les langues officielles.¹

1. Notre politique linguistique de la Commission royale à la loi de 1988

La Commission s'est appuyée sur le plus vaste programme de recherche en sciences humaines que le Canada ait connu jusqu'alors. André Laurendeau mentionne dans ses mémoires que Lester B. Pearson en était même inquiet : il

THE HON. STÉPHANE DION
Stéphane Dion is the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs
Stéphane Dion est Ministre des Affaires intergouvernementales

in fact, thanks to the Commission, legislators were able to take action on solid foundations.

Although some of the Commission's suggestions were not retained, some of its recommendations form, even today, the basis of the Government of Canada's official languages policy. In keeping with its mandate, the Commission identified ways to help Canadians learn English and French, but it also recognized that a bilingual country is one whose main institutions must provide their services in both languages to citizens, the vast majority of whom may be unilingual. On the basis of that general principle, the Commission formulated a number of premonitory recommendations:

- that English and French be formally declared the official languages of the Parliament of Canada, of the federal courts, of the federal government, and of the federal administration;
- that the federal Parliament adopt a federal Official Languages Act and that the Governor in Council appoint a Commissioner of Official Languages;
- that the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice be recognized (depending on demographic concentration);
- that the Constitution be amended so as to incorporate the fundamental principles supporting the proposed policy.

It took several years to implement those recommendations. The *Official Languages Act* of 1969 constituted the first major step, for which we are indebted to Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Since that legislation was purely declaratory, however, it did not provide for any legal remedy.

The second step in implementing the Commission's recommendations was of course the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982. In addition to establishing in law the equality of status of Canada's two languages, it conferred minority English- and French-language education rights. The advent of the Charter necessitated a legislative amendment, which came in 1988 in the form of the *Act respecting the status and use of the official languages of Canada*. That legislation was the third major step in implementing the work of the Commission. It updated enforcement measures for equality of status in terms of the use of official languages within federal institutions, and contained measures for fostering both languages within Canadian society and minority-language communities.

When the Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, asked me in April 2001, to prepare an action plan to give new momentum to Canadian linguistic duality, I agreed with my colleagues that it was important to follow the same kind of process as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. By that I mean we needed to take the time to properly diagnose the situation before launching what we hoped would become the next step in the official languages policy. That is what

craignait que les chercheurs n'en finissent plus². En fait, grâce à la Commission, le législateur a pu passer à l'action sur des bases solides.

Même si des suggestions de la Commission n'ont pas été retenues, il reste que certaines de ses recommandations constituent, encore aujourd'hui, le fondement de la politique sur les langues officielles du gouvernement du Canada. Conformément à son mandat, la Commission a recherché les moyens susceptibles de permettre aux Canadiens d'apprendre le français et l'anglais, mais elle a aussi reconnu qu'un pays bilingue en est un dont les principales institutions doivent dispenser leurs services dans les deux langues à des citoyens dont l'immense majorité peut être unilingue. Sur la base de ce principe général, la Commission a formulé un certain nombre de recommandations prémonitoires :

- que l'anglais et le français soient déclarés langues officielles du Parlement du Canada, des tribunaux fédéraux, du gouvernement fédéral et de l'administration fédérale;
- que le Parlement fédéral adopte une loi sur les langues officielles et que le gouverneur général en conseil désigne un Commissaire général aux langues officielles;
- que soit reconnu le droit des parents canadiens de faire instruire leurs enfants dans la langue officielle de leur choix (selon la concentration démographique);
- que la Constitution soit modifiée de façon à y inscrire les principes fondamentaux appuyant la politique proposée.

La mise en œuvre de ces recommandations a demandé plusieurs années. La *Loi sur les langues officielles* de 1969 en a constitué le premier acte, que nous devons à Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Cependant, cette loi était purement déclaratoire, elle ne prévoyait aucun recours judiciaire.

Le deuxième acte de la mise en œuvre des recommandations de la Commission a bien sûr été la *Charte canadienne des droits et libertés* de 1982. En plus d'instituer en droit l'égalité de statut des deux langues du Canada, elle confère des droits à l'instruction dans leur langue aux minorités de langue française et anglaise. L'avènement de la Charte a nécessité un ajustement législatif, qui est survenu en 1988 sous la forme de la *Loi concernant le statut et l'usage des langues officielles du Canada*. Cette loi est le troisième acte de la mise en œuvre des travaux de la Commission. Elle a mis à jour les moyens de faire respecter l'égalité de statut quant à l'usage des langues officielles au sein des institutions fédérales et elle prévoit la promotion de ces deux langues dans la société canadienne de même que des communautés minoritaires qui les parlent.

Lorsque le Premier ministre du Canada, le très honorable Jean Chrétien, m'a demandé, en avril 2001, de préparer un plan d'action pour insuffler un nouvel élan à la dualité linguistique canadienne, j'ai convenu, avec mes collègues, qu'il importait de s'inspirer de la démarche de la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. J'entends par là qu'il nous fallait prendre le temps de poser un bon

we did, in close consultation with official-language communities.

2. Where is our linguistic duality today?

We have made a dual finding: first, our linguistic duality has made impressive progress since the time of the Commission; but second, that duality faces challenges that were not as extensive 40 years ago.

The progress made can be seen first in terms of mentalities: the anglophone majority is much more open today to linguistic duality than it was then. Indeed, opinion polls show that support for the official languages policy is especially high among youth. Those same polls also highlight a strong desire by parents for their children to learn the other official language. The results, however, do not live up to those expectations. Mastery of English among Quebec francophone youth (15-24) rose from 31% in 1971 to 42% in 2001. Mastery of French among anglophone youth outside Quebec also increased from 7% in 1971 to 14% in 2001. We are making progress, but slowly, too slowly.

The evolution of our law has been just as spectacular as that of mentalities. Our case law now affords much better protection to the equality of status of English and French in Canada. In recent decades, court decisions have taken into account the vulnerability of French or official-language minorities for reasons of equity specific to our Constitution and our vision of Canada.

Great progress has also been made in terms of institutions. The public service is no longer the almost unilingual institution it was 40 years ago. Today, francophones are well represented in the federal government at all hierarchical levels, and the number of designated bilingual positions has increased steadily, rising from 21% in 1974 to 37% in 2001.

Even more noteworthy has been the transformation in educational institutions in minority francophone communities. There were no French schools in half the provinces in 1982. In 1990, French-speaking minorities were running only some French schools in Ontario and all French schools in New Brunswick. What a contrast with today, when minority school management structures are in place in all provinces and territories. Enrolment in francophone schools in minority communities has risen from 56% of students eligible under the Charter in 1986, to 68% in 2001.

However, despite that substantial progress, the situation of French remains fragile. I would like to stress one challenge in particular. A key factor for the future of minority francophone communities, no doubt the most important, is the transmission of the French language to children. The transmission rate of French is 62%, according to the 2001 Census. Why is it not closer to 100%, given the cultural, institutional and legal progress that has been made? We have found that the main element of response lies in the fact that, increasingly, one of the two parents is not francophone: this is known as exogamy.

When both parents are francophones, transmission of French is around 95%. But when one of the two parents is not francophone, that rate drops to 42%. And exogamy is becoming more widespread. Indeed, nearly two thirds

diagnostic avant de lancer ce qui deviendra, nous l'espérons, le nouvel acte de la politique sur les langues officielles. C'est ce que nous avons fait, en consultation étroite avec les communautés de langue officielle.

2. Où en est notre dualité linguistique aujourd'hui ?

Nous avons dressé un double constat : premièrement, notre dualité linguistique a progressé de façon impressionnante depuis l'époque de la Commission; mais deuxièmement, cette dualité fait face à des défis qui n'avaient pas la même ampleur il y a quarante ans.

Le progrès accompli, on le voit apparaître d'abord du point de vue des mentalités : la majorité anglophone est bien plus ouverte à la dualité linguistique qu'elle ne l'était à l'époque. Les enquêtes d'opinion montrent d'ailleurs que l'appui à la politique sur les langues officielles est particulièrement élevé chez les jeunes. Ces mêmes enquêtes font ressortir un fort désir chez les parents que leurs enfants apprennent l'autre langue officielle. Les résultats ne sont pas à la hauteur de ces souhaits cependant. La maîtrise de l'anglais chez les jeunes francophones du Québec (15-24 ans) est passée de 31 % en 1971 à 42 % en 2001. La maîtrise du français chez les jeunes anglophones hors Québec s'est aussi accrue, passant de 7 % en 1971 à 14 % en 2001. On progresse, mais lentement, trop lentement.

Notre droit a connu une évolution aussi spectaculaire que celle des mentalités. Notre jurisprudence protège bien mieux qu'autrefois l'égalité de statut du français et de l'anglais au Canada. Les dernières décennies ont vu apparaître des jugements qui prennent en compte la vulnérabilité du français ou des minorités de langue officielle pour des raisons d'équité propres à notre Constitution et à notre vision du Canada.

D'énormes progrès ont également été accomplis du point de vue des institutions. La fonction publique fédérale n'est plus du tout l'institution quasi unilingue qu'elle était il y a quarante ans. Aujourd'hui, les francophones sont bien représentés dans l'administration fédérale à tous les échelons de la hiérarchie et le nombre de postes désignés bilingues n'a cessé de s'accroître, passant de 21 % en 1974 à 37 % en 2001.

Encore plus notable a été la transformation des institutions d'enseignement des communautés francophones en situation minoritaire. On ne trouvait pas d'écoles françaises dans la moitié des provinces en 1982. Encore en 1990, les minorités d'expression française ne géraient que quelques écoles en Ontario et l'ensemble de celles du Nouveau-Brunswick. Quel contraste avec la situation d'aujourd'hui, alors que des structures de gestion scolaire minoritaires sont en place dans toutes les provinces et dans les territoires. La clientèle scolaire en milieu minoritaire francophone est passée de 56 % des élèves admissibles en vertu de la *Charte* en 1986, à 68 % en 2001.

Cependant, malgré ces progrès substantiels, la situation du français reste fragile. Je voudrais insister ici sur un défi en particulier. Une donnée clé pour l'avenir des communautés francophones en situation minoritaire, sans doute la plus importante, est la transmission de la langue française aux enfants. Ce taux de transmission du français est de 62 % selon le recensement de 2001. Comment se fait-il qu'il ne soit pas plus proche de 100 % compte tenu des progrès culturels, institutionnels et juridiques accomplis ? Nous avons trouvé

of children now live in families where only one of the parents is mother-tongue French. That phenomenon was much less pronounced at the time of the Commission, and today's official languages policy needs to reflect that.

A very important factor to consider in this respect is that when the anglophone parent does not speak French, the likelihood of the children's learning French is only 32%, whereas it rises to 70% when that parent masters French.

This same phenomenon can be seen among English mother-tongue Quebecers, although the consequences are less significant given the strong attraction to their language. The rate of transmission of the languages is 86%, but drops to 54% when one of the parents is francophone. So the transmission of English to children is not automatic among exogamous couples. And couples that make up the anglophone community are now exogamous almost six times out of ten.

So there is a positive link between learning of the other official language by the majority and the vitality of minority official-language communities: the more minority parents have a spouse who speaks their language, or at least has a certain mastery of it, the more likely it is they will transmit their language to their children.

3. An Action Plan for the beginning of the 21st century

Building on that finding, the Government of Canada has designed its action plan for official languages. The first priority is education, of course, because it is through education that we can help parents pass on their language. The Government of Canada is reinvesting in minority-language education and second-language instruction, including immersion schools. It is devoting the necessary funds to that end. It is adding to the existing \$929 million over five years an additional amount of \$381.5 million. But it is more than a matter of just increased funding. More stringent objectives are required to meet the challenges I have just described.

Together with its partners, and fully respecting their constitutional jurisdiction, Canadian Heritage wants to fund measures accompanied by clear objectives, in terms of both access to education in the language and the quality of that education, from daycare through to post-secondary studies. A major objective is to substantially increase the proportion of eligible students enrolled in francophone schools. It now stands at 68%; we want to increase it to 80% in ten years. Another ambitious but realistic objective: to double, within ten years, the percentage of Canadian youth 15 to 19 with a knowledge of the other official language. That percentage now stands at 24%. The objective is that in ten years' time, one out of two Canadian youth will master our two official languages. To achieve that goal, we need to improve core English and French, revitalize immersion, increase the number of qualified teachers, and give graduates the opportunity to put their skills to good use.

But we need to go beyond the classroom if we want to ensure the vitality of our official-language communities. The great novelty of the Plan from that aspect is to target specifically priority areas and allocate substantially increased funding to them. Those areas are early child-

que le principal élément de réponse tient à ce que, de plus en plus, l'un des deux parents n'est pas francophone : c'est ce qu'on appelle l'exogamie.

Lorsque les deux parents sont francophones, la transmission du français se fait dans 95 % des cas. Mais lorsque l'un des deux parents n'est pas francophone, ce taux baisse à 42 %. Or, l'exogamie se généralise. En fait, près des deux tiers de ces enfants se trouvent aujourd'hui dans des familles où seulement l'un des deux parents est de langue maternelle française. C'est là un phénomène qui était beaucoup moins développé à l'époque de la Commission et dont la politique sur les langues officielles d'aujourd'hui doit tenir compte.

Une donnée très importante à intégrer de ce point de vue est celle voulant que, lorsque le parent anglophone ne parle pas français, la probabilité que les enfants apprennent cette langue n'est que de 32 %, alors qu'elle grimpe à 70 % s'il maîtrise le français.

On retrouve le même phénomène chez les Québécois de langue maternelle anglaise, bien que les conséquences en soient moins significatives étant donné la force d'attraction de leur langue. Le taux de transmission de la langue est de 86 %, mais il baisse à 54 % lorsque l'un des parents est francophone. La transmission de l'anglais aux enfants n'est donc pas automatique chez les couples exogames. Or, les couples dont la communauté anglophone est formée sont maintenant exogames presque six fois sur dix.

Il y a donc un lien positif entre l'apprentissage de l'autre langue officielle par la majorité et la vitalité des communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire : plus les parents en situation minoritaire ont un conjoint qui parle leur langue, ou du moins en a une certaine maîtrise, plus les chances qu'ils transmettent leur langue à leurs enfants sont élevées.

3. Un Plan d'action pour le début du XXI^e siècle

C'est fort de ce constat que le gouvernement du Canada a conçu son plan d'action pour les langues officielles. La première priorité est bien sûr l'éducation, car c'est par elle que l'on peut aider les parents à transmettre leur langue. Le gouvernement du Canada réinvestit dans l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité et dans l'enseignement de la langue seconde, y compris dans les écoles d'immersion. Il y consacre les sommes nécessaires. Il ajoute au montant prévu de 929 millions de dollars sur cinq ans la somme de 381,5 millions. Mais il ne s'agit pas seulement de majorer le financement. Il faut aussi se donner des objectifs plus exigeants, qui correspondent aux défis que je viens de décrire.

Avec ses partenaires, et dans le plein respect de leur compétence constitutionnelle, le ministère du Patrimoine canadien voudra financer des mesures assorties d'objectifs clairs, tant du point de vue de l'accès à l'enseignement dans la langue que de la qualité de cet enseignement, des garderies jusqu'aux études postsecondaires. Un objectif majeur est d'augmenter de façon substantielle la proportion des étudiants admissibles inscrits dans les écoles francophones. Elle est actuellement de 68 %; nous voulons qu'elle atteigne 80 % dans dix ans. Autre objectif ambitieux, mais réaliste : doubler d'ici dix ans le pourcentage des jeunes Canadiens âgés de 15 à 19 ans qui connaissent l'autre langue officielle. Actuellement, ce pourcentage est de 24 %. L'objectif est que

hood, health, justice, immigration, and economic development. In all these areas, the Plan expands communities' access to quality public services in their own language and appropriate government programs that will help them better develop, which hinges on communities themselves. The Government of Canada is giving itself the means to be a more effective, present and attentive partner.

But for that to happen, the Government of Canada must lead by example in terms of official languages practice. Much remains to be done before the federal public service is in line with the Canada envisioned at the time of the Commission. The fact is that offices that are supposed to provide services in both languages cannot always do so, not all bilingual positions are staffed by bilingual incumbents, and shortfalls in language evaluation and training are accumulating. Therefore, the Action Plan is designed to make official languages a government priority again and change the organizational culture of the public service accordingly.

To that end, in the next five years the Government will invest a total of \$64.6 million in new funding to create an exemplary public service. For Treasury Board, that new funding represents a 208% increase to its official languages budget. The measures provided will be determining factors, including the new Regional Partnerships Fund, the new Innovation Fund and a much better equipped Official Languages Branch. All federal institutions would be better able to not only fulfil their obligations under the Act, but also to be truly grounded in the official languages culture.

Moreover, to ensure that official languages remain a day-to-day priority in the design and implementation of public policy and government programs, the Action Plan provides the Government with an accountability and

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coordination framework. The framework accomplishes two things. First, it sets out for the first time the existing responsibilities of federal institutions. Second, it adds new responsibilities. Henceforth, all federal institutions are required to analyse the impact of proposals contained in memoranda to Cabinet on the language rights of Canadians and federal public servants. The general execution of their mandate must provide for the consultation of official-language communities. A minister responsible for official languages ensures the horizontal coordination required to implement and evaluate the Action Plan.

d'ici dix ans un jeune Canadien sur deux maîtrise ses deux langues officielles. Pour cela, il faut améliorer le français et l'anglais de base, donner un nouvel élan à l'immersion, augmenter le nombre d'enseignants qualifiés et offrir aux diplômés l'occasion de mettre à profit leurs compétences.

Mais il faut aller au-delà de la salle de classe si l'on veut assurer la vitalité de nos communautés de langue officielle. La grande nouveauté du Plan sous cet aspect est de cibler de façon particulière des domaines prioritaires et d'y consacrer un financement fortement accru. Ces domaines sont la petite enfance, la santé, la justice, l'immigration et le développement économique. Dans tous ces domaines, le Plan élargit l'accès des communautés à des services publics de qualité dans leur propre langue et à des programmes gouvernementaux appropriés qui pourront mieux les aider pour un développement qui dépend avant tout d'elles-mêmes. Le gouvernement du Canada se donne les moyens d'être un partenaire plus efficace, présent et attentif.

Mais pour cela, il faut que le gouvernement du Canada soit lui-même exemplaire du point de vue de la pratique des langues officielles. Or, il reste beaucoup à faire avant que la fonction publique fédérale soit conforme à la vision du Canada énoncée à l'époque par la Commission. Le fait est que les bureaux censés offrir leurs services dans les deux langues ne sont pas toujours en mesure de le faire, que les postes bilingues ne sont pas tous comblés par des titulaires bilingues et que les retards s'accumulent dans l'évaluation et la formation linguistiques. Aussi le Plan d'action vise-t-il à replacer les langues officielles parmi les priorités gouvernementales et à modifier en conséquence la culture organisationnelle de la fonction publique fédérale.

À cette fin, au cours des cinq prochaines années, le gouvernement investira des fonds nouveaux totalisant 64,6 millions de dollars pour rendre la fonction publique exemplaire. Pour le Conseil du Trésor, cela représente une majoration de 208 % de son budget affecté aux langues officielles. Les mesures prévues seront déterminantes, avec notamment le nouveau Fonds régional pour les partenariats, le nouveau Fonds d'innovation et une Direction des langues officielles substantiellement mieux outillée. Toutes les institutions fédérales seront plus à même, non seulement de remplir les obligations que leur assigne la Loi, mais d'être vraiment imprégnées de la culture des langues officielles.

D'ailleurs, pour que les langues officielles demeurent une priorité quotidienne dans la conception et la mise en œuvre des politiques publiques et des programmes gouvernementaux, le Plan d'action dote le gouvernement d'un cadre d'imputabilité et de coordination. Ce cadre accomplit deux choses. Premièrement, il codifie, pour la première fois, les responsabilités actuelles des institutions fédérales en matière de langues officielles. Deuxièmement il en ajoute de nouvelles. Désormais, les institutions fédérales sont tenues d'analyser les incidences des propositions qui font l'objet de mémoires au Cabinet sur les droits linguistiques du public et des fonctionnaires fédéraux. L'exécution générale de leur mandat doit prévoir la consultation des communautés de langue officielle. Un ministre responsable des langues officielles assure la coordination horizontale nécessaire à la mise en œuvre et à l'évaluation du Plan d'action.

Conclusion

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, bolstered by an imposing research program, set good objectives: helping Canadians learn to speak the two official languages and giving them the institutions to serve them in both languages. Spectacular progress has been achieved in the meantime. For instance, minority francophone communities could only dream 40 years ago about the institutions or rights they enjoy today. Similarly, linguistic duality was a value much less integrated into our political culture.

Canada must continue to pursue the objectives set by the Commission. But it must do so taking account of today's context. At the time of the Commission, the fertility rate was much higher and youth remained more in their communities than now. By the same token, youth of different languages did not start families in comparable proportions to the current situation. Therefore, we need to rethink our policies to help youth strengthen their ties with their language and their community, in a context where they are much more mobile than before. We also need to help the many exogamous couples pass on their dual linguistic heritage to their children.

We need to help Canadian youth learn their two official languages not only to strengthen the cohesion of our country. It is also because our linguistic duality is an asset for our future, at the beginning of the 21st century, in an increasingly global world, where communications are ever more important and the economy is increasingly knowledge- and innovation-based. Canada has the great fortune to have two official languages of international stature. Our two official languages are two wonderful wide-open windows that give us access to the world. They familiarize us with linguistic pluralism and learning other languages spoken at home and abroad.

At a time when other developed countries are investing heavily in the language skills of their populations, Canada has a duty to build on the legacy of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. We need to tap into the full potential of our linguistic duality. That is what Canadians are asking. And that is what the Government of Canada's Action Plan will help them do.

¹Privy Council of Canada, *The Next Act: New Momentum for Canada's Linguistic Duality – The Action Plan for Official Languages* (Ottawa: Canada, 2003).

²«The Prime Minister talked about the criticism levelled against him in connection with the Commission and its research program. 'If I sometimes get impatient with you,' he said, '(research that doesn't finish and proliferates indefinitely), it is understandable that others are at the point of exasperation.'» [Translation] André Laurendeau. *Journal tenu pendant la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme* (Montreal: VLB Éditeur/Le Septentrion, Montreal, 1990), p. 358.

Conclusion

La Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, forte d'un programme de recherche imposant, a identifié les bons objectifs : aider les Canadiens à apprendre les deux langues officielles et leur donner des institutions en mesure de les servir dans ces deux langues. Les progrès accomplis depuis sont spectaculaires. Notamment, les communautés francophones en situation minoritaire ne pouvaient que rêver, il y a quarante ans, aux institutions ou aux droits dont elles disposent aujourd'hui. De même, la dualité linguistique était une valeur beaucoup moins intégrée dans notre culture politique.

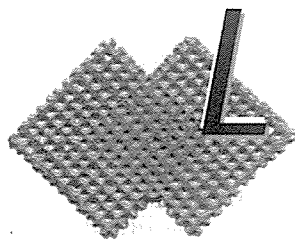
Le Canada doit continuer à poursuivre les objectifs que la Commission lui avait indiqués. Mais il doit le faire en tenant compte du contexte d'aujourd'hui. À l'époque de la Commission, le taux de fécondité était plus élevé et les jeunes restaient davantage dans leurs communautés que maintenant. De même, les jeunes de langues différentes ne fondaient pas des familles en proportion comparable à la situation actuelle. Il faut donc repenser nos politiques de façon à aider ces jeunes à renforcer leurs liens avec leur langue et leur communauté, dans un contexte où ils sont beaucoup plus mobiles qu'autrefois. Il faut aussi aider ces nombreux couples exogames à transmettre leur double héritage linguistique à leurs enfants.

Si nous devons aider les jeunes Canadiens à apprendre leurs deux langues officielles, ce n'est pas seulement afin de renforcer la cohésion de notre pays. C'est aussi parce que notre dualité linguistique est un atout pour notre avenir, en ce début de XXI^e siècle, dans ce monde de plus en plus global, où les communications revêtent une importance toujours plus grande, où l'économie est de plus en plus axée sur le savoir et l'innovation. Le Canada a l'immense chance d'avoir deux langues officielles qui sont des langues de stature internationale. Nos deux langues officielles sont les deux volets grands ouverts d'une belle fenêtre qui nous donne accès au monde. Elles nous familiarisent avec le pluralisme linguistique et l'apprentissage des autres langues qui sont parlées chez nous et ailleurs.

Alors que les autres pays développés investissent massivement dans les compétences langagières de leurs populations, le Canada se doit de s'appuyer sur l'héritage que nous a laissé la Commission royale sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Nous devons tirer le plein parti de notre dualité linguistique. Les Canadiens le demandent. Le Plan d'action du gouvernement du Canada les y aidera.

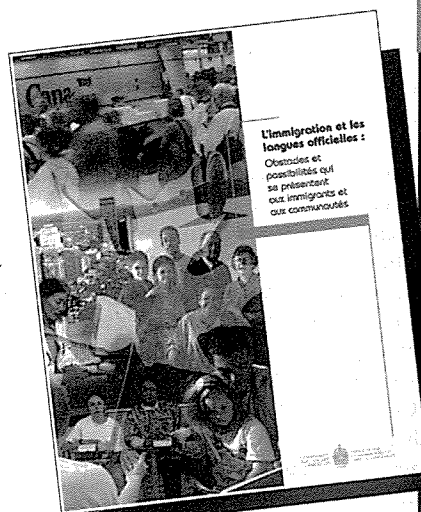
¹Canada, Bureau du Conseil privé, *Le prochain acte : un nouvel élan pour la dualité linguistique canadienne*, Ottawa, 2003, 79 pages.

²« Le Premier ministre parle des critiques formulées autour de lui contre la Commission et son programme de recherche. S'ils m'arrive, dit-il, d'avoir des moments d'impatience par rapport à vous (recherches qui n'en finissent pas et prolifèrent indéfiniment), on comprend que chez d'autres, cela aille à l'exaspération. », André Laurendeau, *Journal tenu pendant la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme*, VLB Éditeur/Le Septentrion, Montréal, 1990, p. 358.

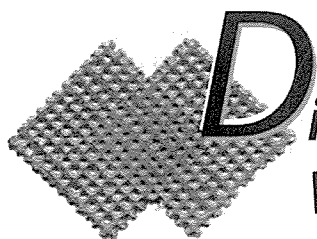


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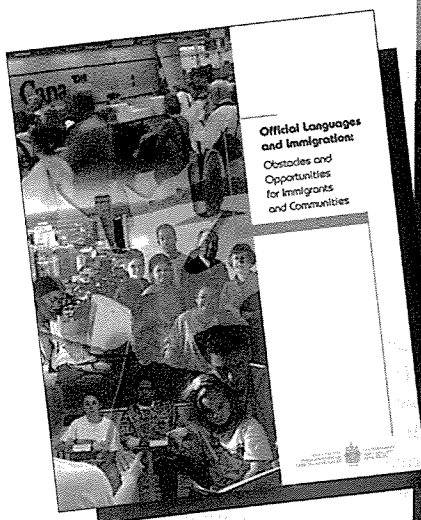


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CANADA

PARTNERSHIP AND RIGHTS IN CANADA

ABSTRACT

Of the many words and phrases mentioned in the terms of reference handed to them by the Pearson government, the RCBB Commissioners identified one phrase – “equal partnership” – as especially important. But what was to be the shape of this equal partnership?

As the world approached, then passed, the new millennium, it became faddish to announce the obsolescence of some of the intellectual baggage we carried from the past. Daniel Bell proclaimed the end of Ideology in 1960, Francis Fukuyama the end of History in 1991, and numerous observers have told us of the futility of the assumptions underpinning the UN Security Council since the Second Gulf War. In such an intellectual climate, the tenets of an enquiry dating back forty years would seem to have little chance of retaining their validity.

Nonetheless, a case can be made for a more than antiquarian review of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) that began its work in 1963. Its conclusions, on how our inter-cultural relations must adapt if the country is to fulfill itself, merit reflection.

A strong reason for another look at the concepts that were central to the RCBB inquiry is that they marked an early formulation of a range of problems that preoccupied political theorists during the last two decades of the 20th century. The politics of identity and recognition, the exploration of authenticity, and the analysis of multiculturalism rose high on the agenda of political philosophers and, in spite of recent doubts about their durability (v. Maclure CJPS, March 2003), they are likely to engage us for years to come.

Canadians, such as Charles Taylor, Will Kymlicka and James Tully, influenced by the circumstances that led to the RCBB and often reacting to the Commission’s approach, have been central to this discourse.

It is useful to remember that the Commission did its work in the troubled 1960s. Bombs had gone off in Montréal and people had been killed. The atmosphere of crisis, difficult to imagine today, inevitably affected the Commission’s outlook; but the Commissioners did not allow the tensions of the day to prevent them from fulfilling their terms of reference with thoroughness and scholarly deliberation.

The most difficult element in the Commission’s approach to its task came from the opening phrases of the terms of reference handed it by the Pearson government:

to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution (RCBB, Book 1, App. 1)

The Commissioners, not surprisingly, identified one phrase as the “mainspring” of the inquiry: “equal partnership”. And throughout the books, volumes and research reports that became its output – covering official languages, the work world, education, the federal capital, parliament, cabinet, the Supreme Court, voluntary associations, other ethnic groups, arts and letters and the media – the keynote on which they rang the changes was “equal partnership”.

There are few topics more daunting than “equality”. Compare the richness of Isaiah Berlin’s essays on liberty with the thinness of his essay on equality (1955). To understand what it means to be equal and different, unique and common, is strenuously demanding. André Laurendeau, Co-chair of the Commission with Davidson Dunton, took the plunge into this conceptual morass in his draft of the “Blue Pages” (RCBB, Book 1, xv-liv). Crucially, he set out to explain “equal partnership”; and we will shortly turn to that.

But think for a moment how different the Commission’s approach might have been if its mandate had been phrased, as Pierre Trudeau would have wanted, in terms of rights: protecting the language rights

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of French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians. Something like the language provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms might have been the outcome of the Commission's work. There were models for language protection, spelled out in interestingly different ways in the countries the Commission actually studied (especially Belgium, Finland, Switzerland and South Africa), that could have been adapted to assure language rights and the courts could have been given the primary responsibility for securing them.

It is arguable that if two (or more) groups of people, each with a different language and culture, simply want to co-exist and follow an extremely limited agenda of common projects, such a rights approach would be quite sufficient. But the purview of the modern state, even one where federalism limits central state jurisdiction, is anything but the "night-watchman" dream of 19th century liberals, where the role of the state was limited to protecting persons and property. If, as certain signals suggest, we are beginning to shake off flimsy neo-liberal beliefs in the omnipresent, inherent and benevolent wisdom of unregulated markets, the role of states, if it is only that of creating a rules-system for planetary problems like environmental preservation, humanitarian protection, and common security, will extend well beyond the short list of common action that neo-liberalism envisages.

The principles that best guide the joint pursuit of multiple and complex common goals by groups with distinct identities extend far beyond those of rights-definition and rights-protection. Patterns of cooperation and partnership, patterns that ensure genuine participation in the setting of objectives and the means of achieving them, are required. Partnership principles do not displace rights, but they permit a much broader pursuit of common goals. If Canada is to play a full role in the working out of 21st century problems, it needs to face partnership issues. We can be grateful to the Pearson government for beginning this process as far back as the 1960s.

How did the Commissioners, discussing Laurendeau's Blue Pages draft, tackle the problem of "equal partnership"?

The first step was to designate clearly the partners between whom equality was to prevail. History could have been evoked, with a re-arguing of the "compact-between-races" interpretation of Canada's origins, and the reference in the terms of reference to "founding races" invited that course of action. It was rejected, however, and the notion of a biological frame for the partners disappeared. Instead, the Commissioners put together three factors – language, culture and society – to define the two equal partners.

Language was the foundation point for the identities of the partners. Sizeable numbers of Canadians had English or French as their mother tongue, and/or the language in which they communicated in most of their interactions with others. Living in the language meant perceiving the world around them through a set of categories that were at least slightly, and often robustly, different from the perceptions and experiences of those who spoke another language. Language and culture were inextricably interwoven, and together they shaped social institutions that expressed an identity and enabled those who led their lives largely through these institutions to develop a special character.

For anglophones and francophones in Canada, and for these two languages and cultural groups alone, numbers were large enough and concentrated enough for a full-scale society, answering most needs and aspirations, to have been built. For anglophones, their society extended over all of Canada (with perhaps some wobbly bits in Québec outside of Montréal); for francophones, the society was located in Québec with outlying elements, sizeable in New Brunswick and Ontario, throughout the country.

Equal partnership, therefore, had to bring together two societies, each distinct though linked, each porous (in terms of exit or entry) and somewhat amorphous though identifiable; each claiming recognition, though the anglophone society that already commanded recognition usually made its claims tacitly. How would this equal partnership be achieved between them? Before sketching the RCBB's answer to that question two points should be made.

Membership in the partner-entities was open to all Canadians; no one was excluded. [There was an exception to this proposition. The Commission, perhaps with an excess of caution, stated that it would not deal with the situation of Native Peoples. It was conscious that this is an issue that further challenges our concepts of equality, legitimacy and rights, in ways that go beyond the RCBB frame of reference.] Those who identified themselves as (or were identified as) members of "other ethnic groups" entered into the political power-sharing and the negotiation of partnership objectives as they associated themselves with either the anglophone or the francophone societies of Canada, as well, of course, as full, rights-bearing citizens of the Canadian state. This formulation never went down well in the West and in most Allophone communities. The idea that there were only two "complete" societies in Canada, only two absorbing cultures, "sociétés d'accueil" to use a more recent phrase, and that those facts justified a difference status for them, was unappetizing. Moreover, the Commission's assumption that both of the "equal partners" shared a willingness and capacity to "welcome" Canadians of any mother tongue or ethnicity may have looked less convincing in the 1960s than it does today. English Canada's vaunted mosaic in those days had brighter tiles and duller tiles. And only recently has the Québec-based francophone society actively and eagerly embraced all those who are willing to accept French as Québec's common language, in part so that it can compete with anglophone society as a pole of attraction. The rubicund features of former premier Bernard Landry, welcoming the enrichment provided by Québécois(es) of all creeds and colours contrasts sharply with the still common images of the fiercely flamboyant profile of Dollard des Ormeaux fighting "jusqu'au bout" for faith and race.

Secondly, the Commission makes only limited use of the concepts of majority and minority. Léon Dion was wont to remind the Commission of the "two majorities" (anglophone in Canada, francophone in Québec), but equal partnership based not on numbers but on distinct identity prevailed as the mainspring of the report. Numbers reasserted themselves, however, at the level of practicality, when questions of the viability of schools and the boundaries of language districts arose.

What then was to be the shape of equal partnership? Clearly, there could not be equality in all contexts. Rather,

RCBB called, in comparable situations, for comparable opportunities and facilities. Underlying the recommendations, but never fully spelled out, was the principle that there should be an equal distribution of the costs and benefits of partnership, and thus attention given to the overall balance of advantages and disadvantages. But because in one setting after another – school, work, public service, media availability – it was practical to provide Anglophones opportunities and facilities and impractical to provide them to Francophones due to low population concentrations, an off-setting factor had to be found. An obvious candidate for the off-set was the jurisdictional scope of the Québec government. Greater autonomy for Québec, compared to provinces where the anglophone partner predominated, could right the balance. And it was difficult, without Utopian proposals, to find any other balancer.

If the equal partnership balance is examined as a dynamic system, it becomes clear that the more Francophones see respect for their language, and the more they share in power and recognition in running the federal government, in running the provinces like New Brunswick and Ontario where there numbers are significant, and in the business and non-governmental organizations of the whole of Canada, the weaker becomes the logical, and much more important, the emotional need for a gathering of all powers in Québec.

Not surprisingly, this reciprocal relationship is fiercely denied by Québec nationalists, among whom the romance of statehood is deeply held. It is more surprising when anglophone federalists cast doubt on the usefulness of francophone recognition outside of Québec as a means strengthening the fundamental Canadian partnership.

The RCBB saw its major task as helping Canada to survive the life-threatening crisis in French-English relations it identified in its Preliminary Report. But its terms of reference spoke not of survival, nor of “regime maintenance”, nor of remedies, but of development within an equal partnership. And indeed the Commissioners were not just concerned with the expedient, or with plastering over a deep split in Canadian unity. They were concerned with justice and fairness; they called for generosity in intercultural dealings and for mutual respect and recognition. It is important to stress this point, for maximizing Canadian unity is hardly a profound good in itself. Only if we have reason to believe that this state can be the arena for the exercise of power for worthwhile purposes is it essential to study the ways to strengthen equal partnership. A radically decentralized Canada, with a watch-dog central government, based on enforcing the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and with courts more important than Parliament, can be envisioned. Within it, the problems of partnership would have little significance.

But it was argued earlier that states like Canada have crucial roles to play in managing the transition to a world where even broader partnerships for achieving common security, equitable distribution and just relationships can be assured. We must look also for models to improve our international system, where concerns about equal partnership and division of powers and responsibilities are even more complex. For such tasks, a Canada that pays close attention to the RCBB problem of equal partnership is needed.

TRUDEAU'S LEGACY: A NEW CANADIAN NATIONALISM BASED ON THE DENIAL OF THE QUÉBÉCOIS HEART OF CANADA

CHRISTIAN DUFOUR

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ABSTRACT

Why is a growing majority of Quebecers feeling alienated by the existing Canadian federation? The refusal to listen to and to integrate Québec into the reflection of what is Canada has negative consequences for the Canadian political system. Ironically, Trudeau's vision for Canada seems to be at the root of a new emerging Canadian nationalism.

When former prime minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau died in September 2000, nearly every Canadian appeared deeply moved, even those who fiercely fought Trudeau's political ideas during his lifetime: English Canadians from Ontario, but also from the West and from Québec, Canadians from neither French or English origin and Aboriginals all over the country, and French speaking Canadians outside Québec. The emotion, the pain and the pride were sincere and surprisingly intense: everybody mourned the great Canadian man, the

statesman who had changed Canada for the best forever. Everybody, except those for whom Trudeau had specifically entered Canadian politics in the first place, more than thirty years ago. The French-speaking majority of Québec clearly stood apart from the rest of the country, respectful but silent.

Contradicting the official line over Trudeau's admirable political achievements, the clear difference in the popular reaction within and outside Québec was the measure of Trudeau's – and contemporary Canada's – big failure: the Canadian incapacity to make French Québec more comfortable within Canada, to integrate even the moderate, pro-Canadian aspects of Québec nationalism. In a very real way, an old problem has been made worse, unsolved by the golden child of Québec and Canada, the most gifted politician of his generation, whom both parties had trusted to solve that problem. Instead, the legacy of Trudeau, the enemy of all nationalisms, is paradoxically a new Canadian nationalism based on the denial of the *Québécois* heart of Canada.

The *Québécois* as the founding people of Canada

A century ago, the first French Canadian to become Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, exhorted the English Canadians of that time to perceive themselves less as members of the British Empire and more as Canadians, the way their French-speaking compatriots had felt themselves to be Canadians as far back as the 17th century. Now, 100 years later, a substantial number of Quebecers would like to make Québec into an independent state, and a majority of the French-speaking population no longer feels comfortable in today's Canada.



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What has happened in the interim to have caused the most Canadian of all Canadians to adopt such a negative attitude toward a country that is envied the world over? There is no understanding this change if one is limited to the English Canadian vision that often is the only perspective conveyed and if one fails to consider another point of view deeply rooted in the history of Canada – that is, the vision of Canada specific to French-speaking Canadians¹.

The first element of this vision, which is overlooked to a great extent abroad and to an increasing degree within Canada itself, is probably the most fundamental one. Concerning the construction of Canadian identity, French-speaking Quebecers are the first Canadians. Forget for a moment the attempts to rewrite history to suit the current fashion for political correctness. In terms of identity, there are not three, or even two founding peoples of Canada. There is only one such people, represented by the ancestors of francophone Quebecers of today. They alone called themselves *Canadiens* in the century preceding the British conquest in 1763. Throughout that time, they lived side by side with the first occupants of the land, the Aboriginal peoples, who never thought to call themselves Canadians, for the Canadianization of Amerindian identity only began around the mid-20th century. Beginning in 1763, the *Canadiens* would be joined by British subjects, who would take more than a century to feel they were Canadians – until

the late 19th century, when Laurier was prime minister. For more than two hundred years, during the formative years of Canadian identity, the French speaking ancestors of today's *Québécois* were the only ones to feel and call themselves *Canadian*.

So, in relation to Canadian identity, Québec identity is not a phenomenon coming after, or on the margins of, some other construction, as is the case with Scotland vis-à-vis Great Britain, or Slovakia vis-à-vis the former Czechoslovakia. In its French-Canadian embodiment since 1840 and in its *Québécois* embodiment since 1960, the identity of Québec francophones has, in many ways, remained the fundamental Canadian identity throughout history². There is absolutely no understanding the profound ambivalence of Québec francophones and their great reluctance to leave a country they feel attached to despite being increasingly marginalized within it, without also considering the farewell they will have to bid to a Canadian identity they have brought into being. All opinion polls show that the first choice of Quebecers would be a Canada where Québec could enjoy a particular status that took into account the fact that it is home to the only society with a French-speaking majority in North America.

Canada as a pact between two peoples

The second major factor explaining the growing alienation of French-speaking Quebecers within Canada could be summarised as follows. Historically, French Canadians have likened the modern-day Canada stemming from the Confederation of 1867 to a pact between two peoples that their representatives – chief of whom was Georges-Étienne Cartier – had concluded with English Canada in their name and that could not be amended without their consent. A keystone of this agreement was a federal system of government, instead of the unitary type of system preferred by many English Canadians, including the man who was to become the first Prime Minister of Canada, John A. Macdonald. Although this dualistic conception of the country was never completely accepted in the rest of Canada, it nevertheless was adhered to by the great majority of French Canadians until 1982.

In the aftermath of the rejection by Quebecers of the proposal for sovereignty-association put forward during the 1980 referendum, this conception was discarded without the consent of the government of Québec, the only such authority to be controlled by a majority of francophones. It is difficult to overestimate Trudeau's role and responsibility in that process. In 1982, Trudeau imposed into the Canadian constitution a number of far-reaching amendments that marginalized Canada's predominantly French-speaking province: multiculturalism, Aboriginal rights, linguistic minority rights, equality among provinces, the Canadian Charter of Rights.

Worse, seventeen years later, Trudeau came back from retirement to effectively torpedo the Meech Lake Accord, a political compromise accepted by every Canadian government to make Québec part of the new 1982 constitution. The Meech Lake accord had been worked out among all of the country's premiers and provided for approval of the new constitution by Québec in return for recognition of a minimum of political and institutional duality: Québec was to be recognised as a distinct society within Canada. It was a historic compromise on the part of Québec society, which had always considered itself to be a nation.

The Meech Lake agreement had been reached under ideal conditions. At the time, the government in power in Québec was federalist and the Canadian federal government was open to the specificity of Québec. It was also a period of prosperity which fostered generosity and openness. With the failure of this agreement, it became patently clear that the Canadian system had become significantly biased against the French-speaking majority of Quebecers and their specific concerns, that were henceforth relegated to a marginal status as never before in the history of Canada.

One last key to understanding the Canada-Québec problem has to do with demography. The percentage of francophones in Canada has been declining since the middle of the twentieth century, and now stands at less than one fourth of the total population. On the other hand, with 83% of its seven million citizens being French-speaking, Québec is now home to 90% of the country's francophones. The official Canadian discourse often makes little mention of Québec but refers instead to a French Canada extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and encompassing the country's ten provinces and three territories. In reality, however, the French-speaking society of Canada has become increasingly concentrated in Québec and the bordering areas inhabited by the Franco-Ontarians and the Acadians. The problem with the Canadian political system is that it fails to consider the fact that Québec constitutes the only non-anglophone society on a massively English-speaking continent (where francophones are outnumbered 40 to 1) that tends to consider Québec society as an ethnic phenomenon.

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A new English Canadian nationalism

Clearly, the inability of the Canadian political system to recognise that Québec collective difference has political consequences, that this is a distinct society within Canada, is bad for Québec. For example, in a Canadian constitutional system based on equal individual linguistic rights from coast to coast, without any reference to the French-speaking majority of Québec, it will become more and more difficult to defend in the courts the fact that French is – and must be – the predominant language in Québec, without excluding English. This is because, from a simple individual point of view, the predominance of French in Québec is discriminatory: indeed, it implies that a francophone is superior to an anglophone. There is a potential danger here as the predominance of French in Québec is for a large majority of Quebecers a question of equity and common sense.

It is something basic and essential for the Québec identity to stay open and not feel unduly threatened³.

Therefore, it is a Québec problem. But it is, and will increasingly become a Canadian problem too because everything indicates that Québec will stay in Canada. So this inability of the Canadian political system to recognise that Québec collective difference has political consequences and affects in a negative way this whole system. Whether they are recognised or not, these consequences are there. But, because they are not well integrated, they make the Canadian system dysfunctional; reality takes its revenge⁴. First, a dangerous idealism is affecting every new tenet of Canadian identity since 1982: bilingualism, multiculturalism, equality of the provinces, aboriginal rights, the Charter. Second, it weakens the federal principle itself,

particularly the separation of constitutional powers between the federal government and the provinces that this principle implies. Third, the Quebec problem, via the presence of the sovereigntist Bloc Québécois at Ottawa, makes the federal government a one party property, namely that of the Liberal party of Canada, and it worsens the regional alienation of the West⁵.

These consequences of Trudeau's failure to integrate Quebec within Canada in a healthy way are clearer now that people realise that the biggest probability is not Québec leaving Canada but staying in Canada, its French-speaking majority more alienated than ever. But the worst part of the Trudeau legacy is a stunning paradox, considering the prime minister's well-known supposed aversion for nationalism of any kind. This odd legacy is a new Canadian nationalism – for which Trudeau is a hero – an ideology doomed in the longer run because it is based on the denial of the *Québécois* heart of the country⁶. A big problem with this ideology, that can be surprisingly intolerant toward modern Québec political difference, is that it is not aware of itself: it doesn't see itself as nationalism at all⁷. It is therefore very difficult for these new Canadian nationalists to be critical of themselves.

Those with a real interest in Québec are already aware of many of these facts. Unfortunately, that is not the case with too many Canadianists. And yet, to do solid research on Canada, it is important to at least be aware of the existence of another vision of the country; otherwise, there is simply no understanding the Canada-Québec problem. Obviously, that does not mean that this other vision can be defended on every point. Québec indépendantistes, for example, have underestimated the threatening aspect of a political project which would separate an already highly Americanized and henceforth exclusively anglophone Canada in two; in this scenario, absorption by the U.S.A. would ultimately become likely. The two referenda they have lost, along with the resulting weakening of Québec's position, have highlighted a certain lack of realism among Québec nationalists concerning the nature of Québec identity and its relation with Canada. It is the other part of a political dead-end that Trudeau's actions clearly contributed to make worse.

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM: A NEW DIRECTION FOR OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Amidst the criticism of official languages programs initiated in the wake of the RCBB, a success story has emerged: that of second language instruction and of minority language schools. The official languages in education program, with its federal funding and provincial administration has ultimately laid the groundwork for new constitutional guarantees for minority language education.

In the forty years that have passed since the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB) was created, both the Commission and the official languages programs initiated by the federal government in response to its recommendations have come under fire. Not only have the Trudeau government's language policies been criticized for failing to protect and promote the French language in Quebec (Guy Laforest,

The End of a Canadian Dream, 1995), they have also been accused of fostering a conception of Canadian identity, popular in English-speaking Canada, that has driven an even deeper wedge between the two solitudes of English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Quebec (Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada*, 1997). The continued threat of Quebec separatism is routinely cited as evidence of the failure of these language policies to come to terms with the distinctive nature of that province. In recent months, Ottawa's long-standing program to promote bilingualism in the civil service has come under renewed fire for discriminating against English-speaking Canadians, particularly those from Western Canada.

While there has been ample criticism of Ottawa's response to the recommendations of the RCBB, there are also important instances of progress which stemmed from its work. The field of education has been particularly rife with success. In the first fifteen years following the release of Commission's report on education, almost all of the provinces initiated new programs in French immersion, expanded their second language course offerings, and undertook major initiatives to legalize and expand their official minority language education programs. By 1977, all of the English-speaking premiers had publicly declared their commitment to official minority language education, and in 1982 these rights were guaranteed under Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. In the years which have followed, a series of legal challenges and hard work by community leaders has led to the further elaboration of these rights and the establishment of homogenous minority language schools.

These changes to the Canadian language education landscape, which prior to the 1960s could best be characterized (with the exception of Quebec) as hostile to the education rights of official language minorities and passive to second language acquisition, can be traced to a the recommendations of the RCBB. Recommendation 31 of the Commission's report on education stated that "the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools," and further recommendations spelled out how a program of instruction should be constructed. For the official language minority communities, the Commission established the principle that "Anglophone and Francophone parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language. To implement this principle, minority-language schools will have to be provided." In terms of Ottawa's role, the most important recommendations were 26 and 27, which called on the federal government to "accept in principle the responsibility for the additional costs involved in providing education in the official minority language," and spelled out what it estimated those costs to be.

In response to these recommendations, the Canadian government, in collaboration with the provinces, launched an ambitious program in 1970 to pay for a percentage of the cost of minority and second official language education, from the primary grades through to post-secondary institutions. It also began providing bursaries to students and teachers who wished to improve their language skills, funded the establishment of teacher training centres, and paid for half the cost of special pilot

projects in official languages education. The Canadian government would spend over \$1.8 billion on its Official Languages in Education Program (OLEP) in its first fifteen years of operation. The program continues to exist to the present day, and was recently granted a new lease on life with the Privy Council's renewal of the Canadian government's official languages action plan (PCO, *The Next Act: New Momentum for Canada's Linguistic Duality*, 2003). How did this federal involvement in education, a provincial jurisdiction under the BNA Act, come about, and how did Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism help determine the parameters of this involvement?

Crafting the Recommendations

In determining their recommendations concerning how to establish a language regime for Canada, the Commissioners were undoubtedly influenced by the demands of official language minority community associations. French-Canadian and Acadian community organisations, including the Association acadienne d'éducation en Nouvelle-Écosse, the Société nationale des acadiens, the Association canadienne-française de l'éducation de l'Ontario, the Association des éducateurs canadiens-français du Manitoba, and the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta, among others, appeared at committee hearings and submitted detailed briefs to the Commission. Their submissions repeatedly stressed the need for official language minority education programs, if there were to be any hope of a future for their communities. Moreover, several of these associations called specifically for Ottawa to get involved to protect their language rights. While the commissioners acknowledged that education was not a panacea to the survival of the French language in Canada, it was the necessary first step.

While the RCBB accepted the principle that official minority schools should be established, the commissioners also agreed that it should be the parents' choice of whether or not their children would attend these schools, rather than making this attendance compulsory, as was the case in some countries with bilingual educational systems. The inclusion of right to a freedom of choice was particularly sought by Commissioner Gertrude Laing. She stressed that parental values in this respect must be respected, and that parents from the minority language community should have the right to send their children to majority language schools, if they felt that this was in the child's best interest (for economic reasons, etc.)

The commissioners recognized that the establishment of minority language schools would not be accomplished by virtue of good wishes and legislation alone. The establishment and functioning of these schools would entail additional costs over and above the cost of a single language education system. A number of different cost factors were identified by the commissioners, ranging from simple economies of scale, to the purchasing of new textbooks and audiovisual materials, to the training and hiring of new teachers. While the commissioners recognized that education fell under provincial jurisdiction, they believed that the confirmation of the bilingual and bicultural character of Canada required action by the fe-

deral government, and thus recommended that the federal government pay for the additional costs entailed by this education.

This funding recommendation represented a hard-won compromise from within the Commission. It was initially proposed by Professor H.B. Neatby, the RCBB's research director, and supported by Commissioner Laing, the Chair of the Commission's study group on Education. The pro-proposal emerged out of a desire to have the Commission put forth a concrete proposal to resolve the problem of minority language education. The other main alternative floated in meetings was to propose constitutional changes which would make the provision of minority language education mandatory for the provinces, a solution which was particularly supported by Commissioners Laing and Frank Scott. However, there were major concerns raised, particularly by Commissioners Royce Firth and Paul Lacoste, that such a proposal could provoke a worse crisis in federal-provincial relations, and that there was not enough public support for such a change at present. Moreover, André Laurendeau noted that Quebec would be particularly resistant to any move towards new constitutional guarantees under section 93 of the *British North America Act*. The commissioners thus accepted the administrative proposal, so as to give a more concrete solution to the Canadian government.

The modalities of this funding were the cause of great debate within the Commission. The model proposed by Neatby and Laing stressed a universal federal funding formula, applicable to all provinces. Other commissioners, notably Davidson Dunton, Paul Lacoste and Frank Scott, wanted the federal money to be targeted specifically at minority language education in unilingual provinces, to enable them to catch up to the level of development of provinces such as Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec. However, this position was rejected by the majority of the Commissioners, particularly given André Laurendeau's assertion that this type of proposal would be unacceptable in Quebec, which would get no funding under this model. H.B. Neatby and Commissioner Rudnyckj also noted that it would be unwise to exclude the bilingual provinces from this program, as there would then be no incentive for them to improve their existing programs. Moreover, if the federal funding was merely rolled into an equalization grant, as had also been proposed, provinces such as Ontario could divert the funds to other provincial priorities, such as welfare. As such, the universal approach to official language minority education funding was the one put forward in the final recommendations.

Second language instruction was also considered an important priority, especially given the higher receptivity of young children to language instruction. A national interest was also attached to knowledge of the second language, as the commissioners believed that this knowledge would develop into a greater degree of cultural understanding and familiarity with the way of life of the other cultural group. Second language knowledge would also advance a more practical objective of training young people (especially anglophones) for an envisioned bilingual civil service.

The crux of the RCBB's approach to second language instruction was recommendation 31, which states: "We recommend that the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools." The commissioners believed that this would not entail radical change to the existing structure of provincial educational systems, as second language programs were already offered in most of these systems, albeit not always by all local school boards, and not at all grade levels. The RCBB notably did *not* make any recommendations about federal funding of second language instruction. Rather, it believed that these programs already existed, and should merely be broadened to include all students.

From Recommendations to Action

The RCBB's report on Education was released amidst the ongoing mega-constitutional negotiations of the late-1960s. Ottawa and the provinces met several times between 1967 and 1971 in an attempt to revamp the Canadian constitution, and respond to the challenges posed both by new trends in Canadian federalism and by the new nationalism of Quiet Revolution-era Quebec. Provincial governments, led by the conciliatory efforts of Ontario Premier John Robarts, and New Brunswick Premier Louis Robichaud, were thus more favourably disposed to a national official languages program than they had been in the past. This is not to say that there was no resistance. Indeed Alberta Premier Ernest Manning was particularly resistant to the *Official Languages Act*, and several premiers balked at the prospect of a new role for Ottawa in the field of education.

The end result of the RCBB's recommendations, Ottawa's priorities and provincial concerns was a compromise. After two years of negotiations, the federal-provincial programme of cooperation for the promotion of bilingualism in education (renamed the OLEP in 1979) was launched. The federal government agreed to pay for a percentage of the per-student costs of official minority language education and second language instruction programs administered by the provinces. While Ottawa had ideally envisioned a role in evaluating and setting priorities for these programs, the provinces insisted that this was properly their jurisdiction, and blocked those proposals.

The results of the OLEP have been mixed. Deprived of the ability to actively direct the structure of new education programs, Ottawa has often been frustrated by how provinces spent the OLEP grants, at the slow speed with which new programs have been initiated, and at the pedagogical approaches employed by provincial departments of education. Despite these setbacks, the achievements of the OLEP have nevertheless been significant. They have greatly expanded access to both minority and second language education programs across the country, shifted the discourse about language education in Canada, and consequently have laid the groundwork for new constitutional guarantees for minority language education. While one may contest the success of certain aspects of the RCBB's work, it is clear that in education, the Commission is responsible for some significant positive transformations to the Canadian language landscape.

TO 'BI' AND NOT TO 'BI':

Canada's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1960-1980

ABSTRACT

The Commission's greatest difficulties lay in the application of ideas such as "equal partnership" and "biculturalism". Evolving demographics and jurisdictional realities in Canada rendered the effort unworkable. Still, support for official languages and the multicultural policies that arose out of the Commission's deliberations is higher today than many critics care to acknowledge.

Assessing the Impact

In the early 1960's, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism reported that relations between English and French Canadians had deteriorated to a point where the two groups' very will to live together was in jeopardy. Four decades have now passed since Canadians were warned that while they might not be fully conscious of it, the nation was passing through perhaps its greatest crisis. In an effort to prevent this imminent disaster, the Royal Commission was mandated to inquire into and report on the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend measures whereby Canadian Confederation could be developed on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races. While in the process of attempting to forge such a deal between founders, the Royal Commission was also instructed to consider the contribution made by immigrant/ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada.

Some four decades later it is difficult to assess the impact of the Royal Commission. Clearly its principal impact was on the introduction of official bilingualism and federal multiculturalism policies. Although they are very popular amongst most Canadians some analysts contend that these policies were at the root of the problems that the federation encountered in the decades that followed. If one's criteria for measuring the success of the RCBB is the evolution of the constitutional debate than the subsequent rise of the sovereignty movement may lead some observers to infer that the Commission did not achieve its objectives. However in this regard it might have been too much to ask the Commission to quell the seemingly inevitable rise of the sovereignty option in Quebec. In effect, since Confederation the federal government had not achieved much success in addressing linguistic and cultural tensions on those occasions when it might have intervened. In this regard one thinks in particular of the historic challenges facing linguistic minorities in several provinces. Political and demographic realities had since Confederation contributed to the view that the overriding of provincial authority on such matters was more likely to put the federation at risk than the taking of action on behalf of language minorities.

Finally the Commission was faced with the daunting task of constructing an equal partnership between English and French that would presumably supersede the territorial-provincialism that increasingly defined the federation. During the 1960's a significant challenge for the RCBB was to determine the proper role for the federal government in matters of language and culture that were widely seen as within the purview of the provinces. With all this in mind perhaps the most significant question facing the RCBB was a constitutional/jurisdictional in nature something that was not effectively addressed until the Canadian/Quebec situation deteriorated markedly.

Cultures Undefined

From its very outset the RCBB was confronted with defining a common language and discourse within which to situate the crisis that Canada was then facing as proclaimed by the Commission. Clearly the concepts used by the RCBB to describe the Canada's problems of identity and self-definition had a profound impact on the solutions that it ultimately offered.

Tout au long de l'enquête, une application peu commode des termes « culture », « ethnicité » et « race » semble tourmenter la Commission. La CRBB a rapidement laissé tomber le terme des « deux races fondatrices » et a commencé à utiliser subséquemment le terme des « deux peuples fondateurs ». Toutefois, la plus grande difficulté était l'application conceptuelle et politique des idées de biculturalisme et de partenariat égal entre deux groupes culturels. Qui plus est, les attentes de la CRBB à propos de l'introduction possible de tels modèles ont contribué au sentiment de rejet de la part des Canadiens francophones. Il était illusoire de penser qu'une telle entente bilatérale culturelle puisse faire son chemin dans une société traversant une profonde transformation démographique. La législation d'un partenariat entre deux « peuples » fondateurs dans une société libérale grandissante était impraticable, tel que l'a démontré les épisodes politiques et constitutionnels subséquents. Néanmoins, l'implication dans cette affaire était l'idée que les Canadiens français et les Canadiens anglais soient deux entités culturelles monolithiques reliées.

Il y avait une confusion compréhensible en ce qui a trait à la manière dont l'état serait prêt à appliquer le concept de biculturalisme. À partir des délibérations de la Commission, au-delà de l'acquisition des deux langues

(l'anglais et le français), la base pour cette notion n'a jamais semblé très claire. Tel que défini ambigument par la Commission, le terme biculturalisme réfère à la co-existence de deux groupes distincts qui ont plusieurs particularités communes. Pour en faire état, la CRBB déclarait que :

Just as bilingualism should not lead to a blend of two languages so Canada's cultural duality cannot be taken to mean a mixture of the two cultures: each has its own existence... cultural is to the group what personality is to the individual: it is rare for a person to have two personalities or two styles of living at the same time.

In contrast to the definition put forth by the Commission, then Canada's Prime Minister, Lester B. Pearson, argued that biculturalism did not imply that the notion's social fabric would be characterized by the co-existence of two separate cultural societies. In his 1964 Throne-Speech, Pearson stated that "for one thing English and French cultures are not and cannot be separate and distinct from each other or other cultural strains in Canada". He added that "there was no pressure on one to absorb the other, but they should develop along with each other each I hope influencing the other".

Despite the apparent difference, the Commission and the Prime Minister were attempting to say the same thing. In essence they felt that it was possible to respect cultural difference while sharing common objectives. Canadians were being informed that there were English and French communities with clearly distinguishable traits beyond language. Yet the Commission noted that it was essential to reconcile the apparent differences of these two allegedly monolithic groups that had "much in common". Indeed, the Commission observed that while most French Canadians retained their mother tongue, they practiced an essentially Anglo-American lifestyle.

In an essay entitled "Bilingualism and the Myths of Culture", an eminent sociologist criticized the Commission for making absurd, often contradictory statements about culture, cultural identity and cultural equality. John Porter claimed that by defining Canadian character on the basis of a poorly conceived co-existence of two separate cultural entities, the Commission was unwittingly promoting social separatism and thereby, leaving unresolved serious questions about national identity. He concluded that the Commission would "bring us together through bilingualism, but keep us apart through culture".

Quebec Affirmation

The Commission's substantive recommendations aimed at the promotion of bilingualism were often subsumed in the cultural discourse that was widely used during the early years of the inquiry. As previously noted the Commission's cultural discourse gave rise to confusion. The Commissioners felt that beyond linguistic remedies, a larger symbolic gesture was critical to stem growing nationalist feeling in Quebec. Such a step seemed vital at that time since leading Quebec intellectuals and politicians were talking about becoming "Maitres Chez Nous (Masters of Our Own House)" and talking "Equality or Independence".

The linguistic and cultural survival of francophones was at the very center of the Commission's mandate. But, while

certain Canadians spoke vaguely of an "equal partnership", francophones in Quebec increasingly felt that their dilemma was best resolved within Quebec. As early as 1963, a then Liberal René Levesque articulated this view when he stated that:

... we must not mislead others into believing that biculturalism is a basic goal or value. It is infinitely more important to make Quebec progressive, free and strong, than devote the best of our energies to propagating the doubtful advantages of biculturalism. Moreover, if the French language is to be respected that will depend upon all vigour, on the economic and political importance of Quebec. This must become and must remain our first concern, by far out most decisive and constant preoccupation.

During the early 1960's, Quebec engaged in considerable expansion of the role of government. A Ministry of Education was established and the state became more active in the provincial economy. By the mid-1960's measures were being considered by the vastly expanded bureaucracy to support the French language.

Canada: Bilingual and Multicultural

It was the link between language and culture that proved difficult to reconcile by the Commission and the task was left to federal policy-makers to address this very central element of the quandary that faced the country during that defining decade. In theory the policies eventually introduced by the federal government and Quebec authorities embraced different conceptions of the relationship between language and culture. For the federal government language served two distinct purposes. On the one hand, it was considered the vehicle for the expression and transmission of a culture. On the other, language had a neutral or utilitarian function permitting those of different cultural backgrounds to communicate with each other and thus conduct the everyday business of the day.

During the 1970's, the federal authorities focused more upon the utilitarian aspects of language in formulating its policy. In this way, it remained possible to sustain official bilingualism without establishing official cultures. As the idea of predominance by two founding peoples was deemed inadmissible, the Royal Commission's endorsement of official biculturalism was rejected so as not to create an obstacle to what was referred to as the cultural freedom of all Canadians. Several Canadians of ethnocultural backgrounds objected to the Commission's original pursuit of an "equal partnership between the two founding races/peoples" because they believed it would bestow a particular status upon charter groups that placed others at a disadvantage.

In 1971, the federal government opted for a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau described this approach in the following way:

... such a policy should help break down discriminatory attitudes and cultural jealousies. National unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity;

out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes and assumptions. A vigorous policy of multiculturalism will help create this initial confidence.

En adoptant la formule de bilinguisme/multiculturalisme, les autorités fédérales maintenaient qu'au-delà de l'appui pour les langues officielles, il en revenait aux francophones de promouvoir leur culture à leur façon. Cependant, si la langue était effectivement l'aspect critique de leur culture, l'attention d'un fort appui linguistique était alors considérée suffisante. Pour plusieurs observateurs, la reconnaissance du biculturalisme était un geste symbolique d'une importance qui ne doit pas être sous-estimée. Cependant, le gouvernement fédéral croit qu'il y a eu un important geste symbolique pour la promotion des langues officielles. De là, les propositions originalement envisagées par la CRBB à ce propos ont été sévèrement délayées, sinon complètement éliminées par la politique du gouvernement fédéral.

Certains francophones ont considéré la décision fédérale de promouvoir le multiculturalisme comme un démenti du « fait français » au Canada. Une telle politique, on l'a contesté, placerait les Canadiens français sur le même pied d'égalité que les Canadiens provenant de divers milieux ethnoculturels et, conséquemment, il n'y aurait aucune réparation du dilemme culturel, cependant vaguement défini, qui confrontait les francophones. Ceci, en ce qui concerne le multiculturalisme, a été intensifié par la réalisation que les groupes ethnoculturels utiliseraient l'anglais comme langue principale ou secondaire, ce qui relèguerait le français à une position inférieure.

Bicultural Backlash

During the seventies, the rejection of biculturalism returned to haunt the federal government. Protesting against the introduction of multiculturalism, advocates of biculturalism were more convinced than ever that only Quebec could provide substantive guarantees for the preservation of French Canadian culture. In the early years of the decade, Claude Ryan, then a prominent journalist, argued that if Canada had any future, it would have to be based on the equality of the "two founding peoples". This required that every Canadian obtain a working familiarity with the two official languages and become acquainted with the culture of the two "leading" communities. Ryan concluded that the effort to resolve the question of linguistic parity without redressing cultural inequities would be to "...say good-bye, once and for all, to the possibility of united country".

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa expressed somewhat similar views in his reaction to the federal bilingual/multicultural initiative. He maintained that the policy of multiculturalism was highly unsuited to Quebec where the majority of the population was linguistically and culturally French, where a large minority was linguistically and culturally English, and where there were many minorities having other linguistic and cultural origins. The Premier claimed that the federal government's policy was founded on a questionable dissociation of culture from language.

Both Ryan and Bourassa concluded that the multicultural initiative contradicted the RCBB's initial objective of establishing equality between the two founding peoples and

the eventual development of a bilingual and bicultural nation. With the federal government assuming responsibility for the promotion of all Canada's cultures – ironically an implicit recognition of the country's multiethnic character – Bourassa concluded (maintained) that:

... Quebec must take on within its territory the role of the prime defender of the French language and culture in North America and it proposes to do this with all the means at its disposal. This does not mean that there will be the slightest discrimination against other cultures.

While important Quebec spokesmen argued that multiculturalism posed a threat to the cultural survival of French Canadians, a number of Canadians of ethnocultural backgrounds believed that the policy lacked the necessary measures to secure their cultural survival and had more symbolic than actual impact. Ironically while some francophones were displeased with the absence of the symbolic dimensions of the federal policy those of various ethnocultural backgrounds were reduced to symbolic recognition.

Le multiculturalisme : théorie ou réalité ?

En partageant avec les Canadiens français la notion que la culture et la langue sont indivisibles, certains porte-parole de groupes ethnoculturels proclamaient que le multiculturalisme n'était pas adéquat sans les garanties pour les langues non officielles. Il y a eu quelques réserves parmi les personnes plus âgées des groupes ethniques comme quoi que si les descendants ne parlaient pas la langue ethnique, la culture relative disparaîtrait. Un des membres de la CRBB est même allé jusqu'à proposer que là où les nombres sont garantis, le gouvernement fédéral devrait considérer l'établissement d'autres scénarios bilingues tels que l'anglais-ukrainien, l'anglais-polonais ou l'anglais-allemand.

Cependant, peu de Canadiens semblaient prêts à accepter l'idée d'un Canada officiellement multilingue, et la plupart reconnaissaient que pour maintenir l'harmonie, il était impératif de surmonter les scénarios linguistiques particuliers aux régions. Plus encore, il a été grandement compris qu'une langue commune – dans le cas du Canada, on parle de deux langues – était un préalable pour diriger efficacement les affaires publiques du pays, de manière à ce que l'on se retrouve dans une situation semblable à celle de « Babel ». Finalement, il n'était pas très évident que la majorité des personnes d'origines ethnoculturelles et/ou leurs descendants étaient en faveur d'une promotion si vaste de leur langue ethnique respective. Cela n'a servi à rien que, trois décennies plus tard, les démographies aient changé et que les langues tels que l'allemand, l'ukrainien et le polonais soient de loin moins parlées que le chinois et les langues sud asiatiques.

Although some ethnocultural leaders liked to describe the collective weight of their groups as constituting a third force in Canadian politics, this idea never translated into anything tangible or concrete. Ethnocultural groups never had a sufficiently common agenda to mobilize their collective numbers. As a leading ethnic advocate concurred, it was not sufficient that Canadians with ancestral origins were ethnics whether they recognized it or not. Being "analytically or scientifically ethnic" was not very useful where political

action was concerned. A decade after the adoption of the multicultural policy, Manoly Lupul observed that:

It seems to me that what is needed on the part of academics who warmly embrace multiculturalism is less wishful thinking based on ethnicity as an analytical or scientific category and more attention to the real place or ethnicity in the daily lives of all Canadians. The inept implementation of multiculturalism at all political levels is no accident, and it is incumbent on scholars to explain the situation.

Still for some time following its adoption the multicultural policy was held up as a threat to the French fact in Canada and to the recognition of Quebec's unique character. The detractors of the policy however never feel the need to demonstrate either empirically or otherwise in what way the policy contributes to language losses amongst francophones or prevents Quebec's affirmation.

Quebec Takes Matters Into Its Own Hands

The Bourassa Liberal administration did indeed pursue its own course in the area of language and culture. However it paid a political price for doing so. The introduction of Bill 22 declared that French was Quebec's official language while recognizing English as a minority language. The law also proposed measures in schools and the workplace to promote greater use of the French language. Still, the legislation failed to meet the expectations of francophones seeking stronger intervention in this regard. For their part, Quebec anglophones felt the law went too far and infringed upon their rights. The defeat of the provincial Liberals in 1976 brought to power the sovereignist Parti Québécois that in the following year introduced the Charter of the French Language or Bill 101 that did indeed propose stronger measures for the protection of the French language. One analyst has observed that the PQ's Charter of the French language was "more classically pluralistic" than the Liberals Bill 22 in that minority language recognition in the former law referred to "langue autre que français", whereas in the predecessor law it referred to English.

Several aspects of Bill 101 rejected the utilitarian concept of language. The White Paper preceding the legislation insisted, "...the French in Quebec have never believed that their language could be dissociated from destiny of the entire nationality, of its economy and of its culture". It added that the French language couldn't be reduced to "...the right of each individual to express himself in that idiom when addressing governmental bodies, school administrators, his wife and children. Here, the French language coincides with a society through a historic heritage..."

Like the federal "bilingual-multicultural" framework, the PQ's "unilingual-pluralistic" design also included a utilitarian concept of language. Bill 101's chief architect, Camille Laurin, explained that:

... In order to live together in the same nation, the various ethnic groups which make it up must be able to speak and understand each other. Hence, a national language and common culture are useful, although they do not preclude the continued use of ethnic languages and maintaining of individual cultures.

Pushing the logic further, he stated that "if we believe each person's cultural contribution should be available to all, it would seem important that everyone be given the faculty to communicate with the national community". Hence the policy did partially retain the utilitarian idea wherein French would become the common language of all Quebecers. Initially, however, it was felt that this would result in cultural assimilation.

Whereas federal multicultural policy was believed to have put francophones on equal footing with Canada's ethnocultural groups, Quebec's approach initially appeared to treat Quebec's English community as a minority 'parmi les autres'.

However when it came to cultural identification this required supporting the ethnocultural expression of the older stock Jewish, Greek and Italian groups that had largely adopted the English language and thus shared it with those Quebecers of British origins. In the 1980's this involved the adoption of multiculturalist policies by the Quebec government that are similar to those introduced by the federal government but referred to as interculturalism. Marie McAndrew quite correctly referred to the Quebec approach as "de-facto multiculturalism".

Conclusion

L'appui pour les langues officielles et les politiques multiculturelles qui ressort des délibérations de la Commission a survécu aux décennies suivantes et est plus populaire aujourd'hui que les détracteurs sont prêts à admettre. Les sondages de l'opinion publique confirment des niveaux significatifs d'appui pour le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme à l'extérieur et à l'intérieur du Québec. Un sondage Environics effectué en mars 2003 révèle que trois Canadiens sur quatre (neufs Québécois sur dix) croient que cela a contribué positivement à l'identité canadienne. Dans le cas du multiculturalisme, huit Canadiens sur dix (trois Québécois sur quatre) croient que cela a contribué positivement à l'identité canadienne. Dans un sondage effectué en mars 2002, près de six Québécois sur dix étaient en désaccord avec le fait que le multiculturalisme constituait une menace pour l'avenir de la langue française. Cela signifie donc que les francophones croient que la langue française est en sécurité. Toutefois, près de la moitié exprime une réserve quant à son avenir, mais ils n'attribuent simplement pas la menace au multiculturalisme.

From the RCBB proposals through Meech and Charlottetown, the efforts at reconciliation through constitutional recognition of Quebec's unique character have been unsuccessful. Such approaches to our national identity crises are now widely viewed as missed opportunities by some observers and/or failed experiments by others. The view of Canada that corresponds best to the opinion of Quebecers is a multicultural country with two official languages (47%), with the multinational federation concept corresponding to 29% support and a country characterized by two founding peoples reflecting the views of 18% (Environics, October 2002). Public opinion notwithstanding, history has yet to render its final judgment on which approach to the country's identity conundrum will prove not only to be in the best interests of Quebecers and other Canadians, but also the most workable.

NEW PUBLIC OPINION DATA ON THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, BILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

The Association for Canadian Studies commissioned this poll from Environics Research Group/Focus Canada. The survey of 2,012 Canadians 18 years of age and over looks at attitudes toward the French language, bilingualism and multiculturalism in Canada. The ACS-Environics survey was carried out by telephone from March 15-23, 2003. Results are accurate to within plus or minus 3,5%, 19 times out of 20. Comparison to 2000 data refers to Environics/Focus Canada data from its "Focus Canada Report 2000-1".

Do you think the future of the French language and culture **in Quebec** is very secure, somewhat secure, not very secure, or not at all secure? (by language spoken at home)

	Total Canada		English		French	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Very Secure	33	32	39	38	15	9
Somewhat secure	41	40	42	41	38	38
Not very secure	18	20	12	13	37	42
Not at all secure	6	6	5	5	9	11
DK/NA	2	2	2	3	1	-

Do you think the future of the French language and culture **in Quebec** is very secure, somewhat secure, not very secure, or not at all secure? (by region)

	Atlantic Provinces		Quebec		Ontario		Western Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Very Secure	50	40	17	14	40	40	33	35
Somewhat secure	34	39	38	39	41	40	45	42
Not very secure	12	13	35	38	12	14	15	13
Not at all secure	3	5	10	9	5	6	5	6
DK/NA	1	3	1	-	2	1	2	5

Do you think the future of the French language and culture in Canada **outside of Quebec** is very secure, somewhat secure, not very secure, or not at all secure? (by language spoken at home)

	Total Canada		English		French	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Very Secure	7	8	8	9	3	4
Somewhat secure	31	31	36	36	18	12
Not very secure	39	38	37	36	43	47
Not at all secure	21	21	16	17	35	36
DK/NA	2	2	2	2	1	1

Do you think the future of the French language and culture in Canada **outside of Quebec** is very secure, somewhat secure, not very secure, or not at all secure? (by region)

	Atlantic Provinces		Quebec		Ontario		Western Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Very Secure	13	17	3	4	8	10	7	7
Somewhat secure	45	46	16	14	36	36	34	35
Not very secure	35	25	44	47	38	35	38	37
Not at all secure	7	11	35	34	16	18	20	17
DK/NA	-	1	1	1	2	1	2	3

As you know, English and French are Canada's two official languages. Are you, personally, in favour of bilingualism for all of Canada? (by language spoken at home)

	Total Canada		English		French	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Yes	56	57	46	46	88	91
No	42	39	52	48	9	8

As you know, English and French are Canada's two official languages. Are you, personally, in favour of bilingualism for all of Canada? (by region)

	Atlantic Provinces		Quebec		Ontario		Western Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Yes	54	60	89	89	45	47	44	42
No	44	37	8	8	52	49	55	51

Are you in favour of bilingualism for your province? (by region)

	Total Canada		Atlantic Provinces		Quebec		Ontario		Western Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Yes	57	57	63	68	83	83	52	51	41	39
No	41	39	35	31	15	13	46	45	57	56

How important are each of the following to the Canadian identity...?
(by topic and language spoken at home)

	Bilingualism		Multiculturalism		Charter of Rights and Freedoms	
	English	French	English	French	English	French
Very important	31	58	47	44	72	66
Somewhat important	37	30	39	40	22	26
Not very important	18	8	8	11	3	3
Not at all important	13	3	6	5	3	4

NOUVELLES DONNÉES D'OPINION PUBLIQUE SUR LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE, LE BILINGUISME ET LE MULTICULTURALISME

L'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC) a chargé le groupe de recherche Environics de mené un sondage auprès de 2,012 Canadiens et Canadiennes de plus de 18 ans afin d'évaluer leurs opinions sur une variété de questions, dont la langue française, le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme. Le sondage a été effectué par téléphone entre le 15 et le 23 mars 2003. Les résultats sont précis jusqu'à plus ou moins 3.5%, 19 fois sur 20. Les données de 2000 correspondent au rapport « Focus Canada Report 2000-1 » de Environics/Focus Canada.

Est-ce que vous pensez que l'avenir de la langue et de la culture françaises **au Québec** est très assuré, assez assuré, pas très assuré ou pas du tout assuré ? (d'après la langue parlée au domicile)

	Total Canada		Anglais		Français	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Très assuré	33	32	39	38	15	9
Assez assuré	41	40	42	41	38	38
Pas très assuré	18	20	12	13	37	42
Pas du tout assuré	6	6	5	5	9	11
NSP/PR	2	2	2	3	1	-

Est-ce que vous pensez que l'avenir de la langue et de la culture françaises **au Québec** est très assuré, assez assuré, pas très assuré ou pas du tout assuré ? (d'après la région)

	Provinces atlantiques		Québec		Ontario		l'Ouest du Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Très assuré	50	40	17	14	40	40	33	35
Assez assuré	34	39	38	39	41	40	45	42
Pas très assuré	12	13	35	38	12	14	15	13
Pas du tout assuré	3	5	10	9	5	6	5	6
NSP/PR	1	3	1	-	2	1	2	5

Est-ce que vous pensez que l'avenir de la langue et de la culture françaises **hors Québec** est très assuré, assez assuré, pas très assuré ou pas du tout assuré ? (d'après la langue parlée au domicile)

	Total Canada		Anglais		Français	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Très assuré	7	8	8	9	3	4
Assez assuré	31	31	36	36	18	12
Pas très assuré	39	38	37	36	43	47
Pas du tout assuré	21	21	16	17	35	36
NSP/PR	2	2	2	2	1	1

Est-ce que vous pensez que l'avenir de la langue et de la culture françaises hors Québec est très assuré, assez assuré, pas très assuré ou pas du tout assuré ? (d'après la région)

	Provinces atlantiques		Québec		Ontario		l'Ouest du Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Très assuré	13	17	3	4	8	10	7	7
Assez assuré	45	46	16	14	36	36	34	35
Pas très assuré	35	25	44	47	38	35	38	37
Pas du tout assuré	7	11	35	34	16	18	20	17
NSP/PR	-	1	1	1	2	1	2	3

Comme vous le savez sans doute, l'anglais et le français sont les deux langues officielles du Canada. Est-ce que vous êtes personnellement en faveur du bilinguisme dans l'ensemble du Canada ? (d'après la langue parlée au domicile)

	Total Canada		Anglais		Français	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Oui	56	57	46	46	88	91
Non	42	39	52	48	9	8

Comme vous le savez sans doute, l'anglais et le français sont les deux langues officielles du Canada. Est-ce que vous êtes personnellement en faveur du bilinguisme dans l'ensemble du Canada? (d'après la région)

	Provinces atlantiques		Québec		Ontario		l'Ouest du Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Oui	54	60	89	89	45	47	44	42
Non	44	37	8	8	52	49	55	51

Êtes-vous en faveur du bilinguisme dans votre province ? (d'après la région)

	Total Canada		Provinces atlantiques		Québec		Ontario		l'Ouest du Canada	
	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000	2003	2000
Oui	57	57	63	68	83	83	52	51	41	39
Non	41	39	35	31	15	13	46	45	57	56

De quelle importance sont chacune des thèmes suivants à l'identité canadienne ? (par thème et la langue parlée au domicile)

	Bilinguisme		Multiculturalisme		Charte des droits et libertés	
	Anglais	Français	Anglais	Français	Anglais	Français
Très important	31	58	47	44	72	66
Assez important	37	30	39	40	22	26
Pas très important	18	8	8	11	3	3
Pas du tout important	13	3	6	5	3	4

LE BICULTURALISME OUBLIÉ

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur résume la pensée des Commissaires sur le biculturalisme et évalue où en est la dualité canadienne 40 ans plus tard.

Le mot « biculturalisme » qui apparaît dans l'intitulé de la Commission royale présidée par Laurendeau et Dunton est aujourd'hui tombé en oubli. Pourtant, c'est le mot-clé auquel il faut se référer pour comprendre le mandat de la Commission et pour mesurer le chemin parcouru quarante ans après. La Commission a considéré dès le début de ses travaux que le problème de la place du français au Canada débordait la question linguistique au sens strict. Pour elle, la langue renvoie à une culture partagée, la langue est le propre d'un peuple, une notion qui revient souvent dans le rapport. Les commissaires ont avancé dès le départ que le statut des langues au Canada n'était pas indépendant du statut des sociétés et des nations dans lesquelles vivent les locuteurs. Pour eux, la question de la co-existence de deux langues pose la question de la coexistence de deux cultures, de deux nations, de deux sociétés même, trois termes qui reviennent fréquemment dans leurs analyses. D'où le lien qui était fait entre bilinguisme et biculturalisme, ce dernier concept renvoyant à ce qu'on nommait à l'époque la dualité nationale.

Biculturalisme et conflit de sociétés

« L'idée maîtresse du mandat, selon nous, c'est l'égalité entre les deux peuples qui ont fondé la Confédération canadienne » (*Rapport préliminaire*, p. 13, souligné dans le texte original). Dans cette perspective, le rapport avance un concept nouveau mais qui est tombé en oubli tôt après la fin des travaux de la Commission : celui d'égalité culturelle. Le passage qui suit me semble central pour comprendre la démarche originale de la Commission et l'évolution ultérieure des choses. Les auteurs parlent d'égalité culturelle entre groupements collectifs et non pas seulement d'égalité entre les individus.

« Il ne s'agit pas de l'égalité des citoyens au sens courant... ; cette égalité est inscrite dans nos législations (...). L'objet principal de nos analyses est autre : il s'agit pour nous du citoyen en tant qu'il participe à l'une des deux cultures; c'est l'égalité de l'anglophone et du francophone en tant que tels, quelle que soit d'ailleurs leur origine ethnique » (*Rapport préliminaire* p. 16).

Mais comment définir les entités collectives que postule la notion d'égalité culturelle ? La Commission pose ainsi le problème : « 'Écrasante majorité', 'société', 'nation' : qu'est-ce à dire ? » (*Rapport préliminaire*, p. 103). En réponse à la question, la Commission BB invente le concept de *société distincte* – qui allait devenir si important plus tard dans les discussions constitutionnelles – pour désigner la population francophone du Québec qui a ses aspirations propres et ses institutions et qui constitue une réalité historique, culturelle, sociale et politique, pour reprendre les termes mêmes du rapport (p. 103).

Les Commissaires prennent soin de préciser que la société québécoise est loin d'être monolithique; pour eux elle est traversée de conflits internes et d'oppositions entre groupes, comme toute société (p. 106). Celle-ci est par ailleurs marquée par un nouveau dynamisme, une volonté de changement rapide et ils notent qu'elle est loin d'être refermée sur elle-même. Bref, ils proposent en quelque page une véritable sociographie du Québec en voie de modernisation rapide, un portrait d'ensemble favorable et qui a peu vieilli à la relecture quarante ans après.

Ayant défini cette double référence collective que sont le Québec français et le Canada anglophone, les Commissaires tirent deux conclusions d'ensemble. D'abord, ils reprennent à leur compte le diagnostic de l'infériorité économique des Canadiens français (du Québec principalement, et plus particulièrement de Montréal, partageant même l'inquiétude des citoyens entendus lors des audiences publiques vis-à-vis du visage anglais de la ville à majorité francophone). Mais les commissaires vont plus loin. Ils concluent à l'existence d'un important *conflit de sociétés*. Pour eux, le problème est plus large que celui de l'inégalité des chances des individus de langue française en matière d'éducation ou de travail, comme l'attestent de nombreux passages. Nous en citerons trois :

- « Il est évident, toutefois, que la situation critique actuelle provient des divergences entre le Canada anglais et le Canada français, et plus particulièrement entre le Québec français et le Canada anglophone » (*Rapport préliminaire*, p. 101).

- « Les principaux protagonistes du drame, qu'ils en soient pleinement conscients ou non, sont le Québec français et le Canada anglais. Et il ne s'agit plus, selon nous, du conflit traditionnel entre une majorité et une minorité. C'est plutôt un conflit entre deux majorités : le groupe majoritaire au Canada et le groupe majoritaire au Québec » (*Rapport préliminaire*, p. 127).
- « Le Canada traverse actuellement, sans toujours en être conscient, la crise majeure de son histoire », écrivent les auteurs du *Rapport préliminaire* en février 1965 (p. 5), et ils ajoutent : « Cette crise a sa source dans le Québec ». On ne saurait être plus clair.

Un autre concept qui allait devenir important par la suite est bien présent dans les travaux de la Commission en début de mandat vers 1963-1964 : l'idée de *reconnaissance* de la spécificité de la société québécoise, une notion qui a été reprise par Charles Taylor dans les années 1980.

Le lien entre deux sociétés globales est clairement posé dans les pages bleues de l'introduction au rapport final de la Commission BB : « Le problème peut donc se formuler ainsi : comment intégrer le Québec nouveau dans Canada d'aujourd'hui, sans restreindre l'élan québécois, mais aussi sans risquer l'éclatement du pays. » (*Rapport final*, Livre I, p. xxxviii). Et à la fin du rapport, les Commissaires avancent le principe général qui devait selon eux guider l'action politique pour corriger la situation : « ...un pays bilingue et foncièrement biculturel » (*Rapport final*, I, p. 119).

Un pays bilingue et foncièrement biculturel : voilà donc le programme d'action que trace la Commission BB dans ses deux premières publications de 1965 et de 1967, un programme cependant dont un seul volet a été mis de l'avant par la suite.

Droits des minorités et multiculturalisme

L'action politique qui a suivi, au niveau fédéral, le dépôt du rapport de la Commission BB n'a retenu que le bilinguisme et la promotion des droits des minorités nationales et ethniques. Le gouvernement Trudeau a repoussé catégoriquement le concept d'égalité culturelle au sens défini par la Commission et il a plutôt privilégié une approche centrée sur les droits individuels des francophones dans les institutions fédérales et dans tout le Canada là où le nombre le permet, ainsi que l'approche du droit historique des minorités de langue officielle au contrôle de leurs institutions scolaires (les choses sont moins claires en santé), ce qui a surtout profité aux francophones en dehors du Québec puisque les Anglo-Québécois contrôlaient déjà leurs institutions. Le gouvernement Trudeau a aussi mis un frein à tout nouveau transfert de points d'impôts vers le Québec et à toute dévolution de pouvoirs vers les provinces, contrairement à la tendance présente sous le gouvernement Pearson. Ce virage a mis fin à l'adoption de nouveaux partages de compétence entre le gouvernement du Québec et le gouvernement fédéral sous le modèle illustré par la création de la Régie des rentes du Québec et du *Canada Pension Plan*. Le fédéralisme asymétrique qui aurait pu correspondre à la reconnaissance du biculturalisme tel que défini par la Commission BB venait de mourir. Certaines exceptions ont été observées par la suite (l'entente sur l'immigration, par exemple) et des arrangements administratifs

ont pu être conclus, mais le discours dominant n'est plus au partage, contrairement à ce qui se passait à l'époque Pearson, et surtout, l'émergence de la notion d'égalité entre les provinces est venue bouleverser l'évolution des choses observable avant l'ère Trudeau.

Les deux premiers rapports publiés par la Commission examinent au passage la situation des minorités de langues officielles, la situation des immigrants et celles des Amérindiens, mais elle ne leur accorde pas une place centrale. Ces trois questions sont abordées, mais du point de vue des deux sociétés globales qui constituent les milieux d'intégration de ces trois types de minorités. L'un des chapitres du premier rapport préliminaire ne porte-t-il pas le titre très évocateur de cette approche : *deux sociétés* ? Les choses vont changer après le décès de André Laurendeau et surtout, sous le gouvernement Trudeau dans les années qui vont suivre le dépôt du rapport final.

La suite est connue. La Commission va se préoccuper davantage, dans les dernières années de son mandat, du sort des minorités francophones hors Québec (et en particulier de la question épineuse du système scolaire) ainsi que des minorités ethniques et de l'immigration. L'État fédéral va de son côté adopter la politique des langues officielles en 1968 et mettre de l'avant l'approche Trudeau plutôt que l'approche Laurendeau, davantage sensible à la dualité nationale.

Les nations doivent reconnaître de temps à autre les nouveaux piliers qui les constituent, avance Charles Taylor. De son côté, Fernand Dumont parle de refondation de la nation à certains moments de leur histoire. Une vaste entreprise de refondation nationale a alors pris forme à la fin des années soixante autour d'un certain nombre d'idées-force qui se sont imposées : la diversité multiculturelle, la reconnaissance des premières nations et de leurs droits ancestraux, la reconnaissance des droits historiques des minorités de langues officielles, l'égalité des individus, l'égalité entre les provinces et le bilinguisme des institutions.

Depuis la création de la Commission BB, la société canadienne a connu une profonde mutation. Les Acadiens ont gagné une reconnaissance officielle et ils ont connu leur propre révolution tranquille au Nouveau-Brunswick. Les minorités francophones du Canada ont pris un virage communautariste assez radical en s'intégrant dans leurs provinces respectives. Le mot diaspora (qui les situait en référence au Canada français traditionnel et historique, un mot encore présent dans le Rapport de la Commission BB) disparaît de même que le mot minorité est banni du vocabulaire de la Fédération des Communautés francophones et acadienne. La vitalité des communautés est devenue le nouveau mot à la mode ; l'État fédéral et les cours de justice ont désormais remplacé l'Église comme institution supportant les communautés.

Les Amérindiens – ces étrangers venus d'ici, pour reprendre la belle expression de Rémi Savard – ont été reconnus comme premières nations et leurs droits historiques et ancestraux ont été inscrits dans la Loi constitutionnelle de 1982.

Le multiculturalisme reflète la volonté de définir les conditions d'intégration à la société canadienne qui sont plus équitables et non pas la ghettoïsation ou l'enfermement dans la différence. Loin d'être une forme de séparatisme culturel, le multiculturalisme est à la fois une politique officielle d'intégration et une nouvelle perspective en philosophie politique

inventée au Canada et adopté par bon nombre de pays. Will Kymlicka l'a mieux défini que quiconque : « L'objectif du multiculturalisme n'est pas d'éviter ou d'empêcher l'intégration, mais d'en réaménager les conditions. C'est là le cœur de la question¹ ». Bref, le multiculturalisme a supplanté le biculturalisme dans le discours officiel que le Canada tient sur lui-même.

Et le Québec ?

Reste la question québécoise, qui était à l'origine des travaux de la Commission BB comme on l'a vu plus haut. Il est paradoxal de noter que le principal problème diagnostiqué par la Commission en 1964 soit resté pendant – soit resté sans solution officielle dans l'importante réforme constitutionnelle de 1982 et par la suite – alors que les autres questions problématiques découvertes ou ramenées à la surface en cours de route – ont été l'objet d'interventions structurantes et somme toute assez satisfaisantes du point de vue des acteurs concernés : les immigrants, les communautés francophones, les Acadiens, les Amérindiens et les Anglo-Québécois. Certes, bien des difficultés persistent et bien des revendications restent à satisfaire pour chacun de ces groupements, mais le cadre juridique et constitutionnel permettant d'y faire face est en place. Ainsi, tous ces acteurs peuvent invoquer la Constitution ou aller devant les tribunaux pour faire valoir leur point de vue, et leurs discours politiques reposent sur une légitimité qui est maintenant reconnue.

Il en va différemment pour le Québec, comme l'ont avancé plusieurs analystes provenant de différents horizons. Dans son ouvrage *Reimagining Canada* (1994), Jeremy Webber montre que la perception du Canada anglais vis-à-vis du Québec est erronée. Il avance que l'Ouest a gagné des modifications constitutionnelles sur la fiscalité des ressources naturelles, que les droits scolaires des minorités de langues officielles sont maintenant mieux protégés, que les droits historiques des autochtones sont inscrits dans la Constitution et que l'héritage multiculturel du Canada est reconnu. Mais après toutes ces années, note Webber, « pas une seule modification n'a pris en compte les préoccupations traditionnelles du Québec quant au pouvoir fédéral de dépenser, au partage des compétences, au pouvoir de désaveu ou au caractère distinct du Québec »². Une exception est survenue depuis, soit l'amendement constitutionnel bilatéral sur la confessionnalité du système d'enseignement au Québec. À cela il faudrait ajouter la reconnaissance par la Chambre des communes du caractère distinct du Québec après le Référendum sur la souveraineté de 1995, une résolution qui n'a pas la force d'un amendement constitutionnel. W. Kymlicka est encore plus dur dans son diagnostic, parlant de « la haine idéologique de Trudeau pour le nationalisme québécois ». Et il ajoute : « Bref, en trente ans de débats et de réformes constitutionnelles, le Québec a toujours été le perdant et non le gagnant³ ».

J. Ajenstat, W. Kymlicka et d'autres analystes ont critiqué l'approche de Pierre Trudeau qui a voulu se servir de la Constitution canadienne comme instrument de construction nationale. Kymlicka note que, sous l'impulsion de Trudeau, la constitution canadienne est devenue « un moyen de faire progresser des opinions idéologiques » au lieu d'être une *constitution procédurale*. Il a voulu que le document exprime les valeurs partagées des Canadiens, espérant renforcer leur allégeance au Canada plutôt qu'à une province ou à une

région. Si cette approche a été une réussite au Canada anglais, observe Kymlicka, elle a aussi entraîné une demande de reconnaissance de la part des nationalismes minoritaires. Les droits de la plupart des groupements minoritaires sont maintenant identifiés dans la Constitution sur laquelle ils peuvent s'appuyer, mais non ceux des Québécois depuis l'échec de l'Accord du lac Meech qui prévoyait un amendement spécifique sur la notion de société distincte mise de l'avant dans le rapport de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton.

Mais il faut préciser qu'une partie des problèmes diagnostiqués par la Commission en 1964 et 1967 ont trouvé une solution, en bonne partie sous l'impulsion des politiques de



« Le principal problème diagnostiqué par la Commission en 1964 soit resté sans solution officielle dans l'importante réforme constitutionnelle de 1982 »

l'État québécois. L'infériorité économique systématique des Canadiens français (devenus entre temps des Québécois) a été réglée largement avec l'avènement de Québec inc. et avec la réforme du système scolaire. La loi 101 a donné au Québec un visage français et mis un terme à une situation déplorée par la Commission BB, notamment dans le cas de Montréal. Cette loi a aussi mis en place le cadre facilitant l'intégration des immigrants à la société civile québécoise. Les Anglo-Québécois ne se sont pas redéfinis eux-mêmes de la même façon que les Franco-Canadiens en milieux minoritaires, mais ils se situent maintenant comme groupement dans l'espace politique québécois, ne serait-ce que pour en contester les politiques linguistiques dans le cas des activistes. Les amendements apportés à la Loi 101 par le ministre Claude Ryan ont établi un *modus vivendi* qui paraît satisfaire la majorité des Québécois, y compris une majorité d'anglophones. Plus largement, on peut aussi observer au Québec une vaste entreprise de refondation nationale avec l'émergence de la notion de nation québécoise, ouverte à l'intégration des immigrants et à distance de l'enfermement dans l'ethnicité culturelle qu'aurait représenté le maintien de l'identité canadienne-française traditionnelle. L'identité québécoise est maintenant inclusive, comme l'est la nouvelle identité canadienne vis-à-vis les immigrants⁴.

Bref, la question des relations entre le Québec et le Canada reste posée, justement comme un rapport entre sociétés différentes, comme l'avait présenté le rapport préliminaire de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton. Mais ces deux sociétés globales ont bien changé en quarante ans.

THE ACTUALITY OF LAURENDEAU

ABSTRACT

Forty years ago, Laurendeau believed that Canada would either undergo fundamental changes or break apart. Canada did change, says the author, but in way that aggravated Laurendeau's concerns rather than alleviating them.

Looking back at the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* 40 years later provides us with an opportunity to reflect on the heritage left by André Laurendeau, one of the most interesting figures of Quebec's intellectual history. Although the debate on the "national question" has crystallized around the Trudeau-Lévesque confrontation, one could plausibly argue that Laurendeau's thoughts best capture the non-secessionist nationalism embraced by a majority of Quebecers generation after generation. The Laurendeau-type of nationalism was channelled politically largely by the nationalist wing of the Quebec Liberal Party (Claude Ryan, Robert Bourassa at times, the young Mario Dumont). It showed its face for instance in the support in Quebec for the Meech Lake Agreement. The prevalence of this language of nationalism also explains why all sovereignist leaders – including Jacques Parizeau in the 1995 referendum – championed one form or another of shared sovereignty projects rather than outright independence.

For Laurendeau, Canada in the 1960s failed to confer upon Quebec both the symbolic recognition and the political autonomy it needed to flourish as a "distinct society", as he famously put it. If he then rejected the incipient independence movement – which presented itself as a liberation/anticolonial struggle – he strongly felt that the non-recognition of the equal status of the two "founding peoples" poisoned the Quebec-Canada relationship and constituted a threat for the future of the Canadian federation. Repudiating both the independence project and Trudeau's principled antinationalism, he pleaded in favour of a major reform of Canada along the lines of a bilingual, bicultural (i.e. binational) and asymmetric model of federalism. In the introduction he wrote for the B&B Report (the Blue Pages), he laid down the principles of a constitutional reform which would have guaranteed Francophones access to services in French and made it possible for them to "identify with the political institutions and the symbols of [their] country" (p. xli). According to him, the equality of the "founding" peoples of Canada *as peoples* had to become the "mainspring" ("idée-force") of the federation. In a passage presumably addressed to Trudeau, Laurendeau specified that "it is not cultural growth and development at the individual level which is at stake, but the degree of self-determination which one society can exercise in relation to another" (p. xlv).^{1[1]}

Trudeau disregarded Laurendeau's "idée-force" and implemented, between 1968 and 1984, his own preferred vision of Canada as a bilingual, multicultural and *uninational* political community. The 1982 'refoundation' of Canada put an end to the political ambiguity set in place by the BNAA and left no choice to many Quebecers but to forgo their conception of Canada as a binational federation.^{2[2]}

Laurendeau thought that the commission would lead Canada "either to its break-up, or to a new set of conditions for its future existence" (p. xvii). This was in 1967. Was he, bewitched by the problems and circumstances of his time, being too alarmist? Charles Taylor stated before the Bélanger-Campeau Commission – set in place as a response to the failure of the Meech Lake Agreement – that,

We can envisage Quebec, at least as a starting point for this reflection, as a society free of all previous commitments, which is preparing to give itself structures that suit it and which, as a consequence, is thinking of proposing to one or some possible partners new arrangements that would be of common interest... On June 1990, the 1867 Constitution died morally in Quebec. It is necessary to create anew.^{3[3]}

It is not much of a stretch to think that a common thread unites Laurendeau's and Taylor's statements. Having benefited from the deliberation and research carried out in the wake of the B&B Commission, Laurendeau believed that Canada was at a crossroads: it would either undergo fundamental changes or break apart. As I just alluded to, Canada did change, but in way that aggravated the problem rather than alleviating it – at least from a Laurendeau-inspired point of view.

The Meech Lake proposal was presented as a corrective for the adoption of the *Constitution Act, 1982* without Quebec's consent. Hence, for people like Taylor and many others, the failure of the Meech constitutional reform implied that Quebec was legitimately entitled to re-conceive its basic political status and, in so doing, its relation to Canada.

To the great disappointment of several nationalists, Premier Bourassa squandered the post-Meech capital of political freedom in the Charlottetown round of negotiations. The Meech and Charlottetown failures were then presented by sovereigntist leaders as irrefutable proofs of the impossibility to amend the Canadian constitution in a way acceptable to Quebecers. The 1987-1992 constitutional fiasco explains, to a great extent, why so many soft nationalists voted in favour of sovereignty in 1995.

With a second defeated referendum that demonstrated the displeasure in Quebec with the state of the federation, the Laurendeau vision was once again shattered. The federal government's answer was *not* to reconsider the basic premises of the Quebec-Canada relationship and seek to accommodate some of Quebec's claims, but rather to heighten Canadian nationalism and to play the hard line toward Quebec (Plan B). When the Supreme Court of Canada canvassed a promising framework of constitutional amendment in 1998 (the right to initiate public deliberation around a constitutional change proposal and the correlative duty to negotiate the proposal, granted that the four basic principles of Canadian constitutionalism were respected)^[4], the federal government quickly double-locked the door by tying Quebec's right to self-determination to highly constraining conditions (the *Clarity Bill*). On the administrative side of things, major disagreements erupted over such issues as social union, higher education, health care funding and the existence of a "fiscal imbalance."

The post-referendum period was thus characterized by a clash of nationalisms, rather than by an open political dialogue over the reform of Canadian federalism. Of course, the PQ was too dogmatically committed to sovereignty to ever consider working on a hypothetical reform of Canada. Be that as it may, the "general store" of constitutional reform was "closed", as Jean Chrétien delicately said to Jean Charest during the 1998 election campaign.

In the meantime, and this is the point I want to stress, Quebec was furthering its Quiet Revolution. The symbolic transformation of Quebec identity initiated in the 1960s reached new stages. Paradoxically, the success of French-Canadian nationalism caused the dissolution of French-Canadian identity in Quebec. French-Canadian ethnic nationalism was successful in turning French-Canadians into a real and effective majority within Quebec. French-Canadians or, more accurately now, Quebecers of French-Canadian origins, began to feel and act as an empowered majority in Quebec, rather than as a subjugated minority in Canada. This "Quebecisation" process, heavily supported by the development of the Quebec state, ineluctably raised the question of the status of all those inhabitants of Quebec who are not of French-Canadian origins. From the first government of the Parti Québécois to the present, an ongoing discussion on the contours and character of Quebec identity has taken place.^[5] The debate was, and still

is, sometimes laborious (Parizeau's exclusivist "We" on the referendum night), but it nevertheless opened up on a state-sponsored civic and plural conception of national identity endorsed and continuously redefined by a majority intellectuals and political leaders.^[6]

This internal process of self-interpretation and self-determination is all the more intense since the 1995 referendum. With the failures of the last 15 years, Quebecers seem to have decided to push the "Quebecisation" process further, i.e. to consolidate Quebec identity and political community as far as possible within the current constitutional order. As I just alluded to, modes of accommodating cultural diversity and of conciliating the aspirations of the majority and the minorities – which are themselves not homogeneous – have been the object of constant debate in the past 25 years. This has yielded, against all odds, the "Peace of the Braves" with the Eeyou (Crees) and the current negotiations with the Innus (Montagnais). Similar processes have taken place in many other fields.

This stance is particularly natural for the first generation, so to speak, of Quebecers who did not live through the transition from French-Canadian to Quebec identity.^[7] This generation grew up in the post-Quiet Revolution Quebec society. For many of them, sovereignty is not the necessary pathway to survival and freedom, but just one possible answer to the constitutional stalemate. They are also the children of the language laws (bills 22 and 101) that shattered the quasi-hermetic frontier between francophones and immigrants in making French a common public language. Even young anglophones are affected by the quebecisation process: an incredibly high 89% of young anglophones between ages 18 and 24 can speak French and half of Quebec anglophones deem it legitimate for the government of Quebec to pass legislation to defend French language.⁸ Quebec anglophones are themselves developing a self-consciousness as distinct within Canada.

This is not to say that Quebec has become a multicultural paradise. Minor and major disagreements still erupt between citizens of all origins in Quebec, as can occur in any multicultural and multinational democracy.^[9] What stands out however is the constant process of reworking and consolidating the Quebec identity and polity. Canada, to some extent, has disappeared from the radar screen.

I often ask myself, how does Canada progress while Quebec is acting, as far as it can, as a sovereign nation? Will the children of the Quiet Revolution and Trudeau's heirs be capable of reforming Canada in a way minimally acceptable to both sides? I do not know, but my hunch is that we do not have any more reason to be optimistic than Laurendeau had.^[10] Some observers like to think, in the wake of the PQ's recent defeat, that the hard line "killed" separatism. Leaving wishful thinking aside, it seems much more plausible to me to say that the hard-line artificially maintains separatism alive. In fact, it is the Quiet Revolution that "killed" separatism. A form of nationalism, called "*affirmationnisme*" by many, will remain, but the future of the sovereignty depends upon the continued principled non-accommodation of Quebec's (multinational) vision of Canada. In that sense, maybe Laurendeau was right: the rejection of the B&B Report did (and still does) represent a menace for the future of the Canadian federation.

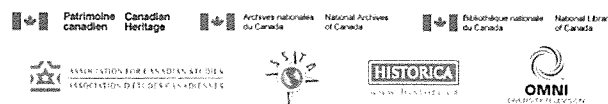
DU 24 AU 26 OCTOBRE 2003

LA PRÉSENCE DU *Passé*



UNE CONFÉRENCE NATIONALE SUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT,
L'APPRENTISSAGE ET LA COMMUNICATION DE L'HISTOIRE
DU CANADA

HOLIDAY INN HALIFAX - HARBOUR VIEW DARTMOUTH
DARTMOUTH, NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE



Suite au succès de deux conférences, *Donner à l'avenir un passé* (Winnipeg, 2001) et *Donner au passé un avenir* (Montréal, 1999), *La présence du passé* portera un regard sur les méthodes d'enseignement de l'histoire les plus efficaces et innovatrices et traitera de l'importance de l'histoire et sa présence dans notre vie de tous les jours. Cette troisième conférence nationale examinera les différentes approches à l'enseignement de l'histoire qui ont fait surface grâce aux nouveaux choix de curriculum et aux nouvelles techniques d'enseignement, et explorera comment l'enseignement de l'histoire a évolué dans le contexte d'une réalité sociale plus large.

Plus de mille personnes ont participé aux deux premières conférences nationales sur l'histoire. Une fois de plus, des académiques canadiens de premier plan, des professeurs, des étudiants, des professionnels et des organismes voués à la dissémination d'information sur l'histoire du Canada seront présents à Halifax, ainsi que des organisations œuvrant dans la construction de nouveaux outils et de techniques d'apprentissage.

La présence du passé comprendra aussi des séances plénières spéciales avec des professeurs qui enseignent le Canada historique et contemporain dans des salles de classes à l'étranger, offrant ainsi aux participants une perspective unique et intéressante sur le sujet.

Cet événement à Halifax sera la seule conférence nationale à rassembler un groupe aussi diversifié d'individus impliqués dans la communication et l'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada afin de partager de l'information et des ressources. Professeurs, étudiants, professionnels et toutes autres personnes impliquées dans le domaine de l'Histoire du Canada sont invités à participer à cette conférence.

La conférence comprendra plus de 45 sessions — des individus et des organisations de perspectives régionales, nationales et internationales y participeront — ainsi que des excursions et un nombre d'événements. Les sessions aborderont l'histoire du Canada en commençant par les méthodes d'enseignement conventionnelles et en passant par les récentes méthodes les plus innovatrices. D'autres sessions adresseront un nombre de questions importantes reliées à l'histoire du Canada.

À noter: plus de 20 organisations représentant des musées, la télévision, le cinéma, le multimédia, les gouvernements ainsi qu'une variété d'organisations à but non lucratif et académiques participeront à une *Exposition éducative*.

À SOULIGNER DANS LA CONFÉRENCE :

- Les participants à l'**Exposition éducative** : La fondation Historica, La Société d'Histoire Nationale du Canada, La bibliothèque nationale du Canada et les Archives nationales du Canada, l'Office national du film du Canada, Chinook Multimédia, Le Ministère de l'éducation (Gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Écosse), Le Ministère du Patrimoine canadien, L'Association des musées canadiens, Les Affaires indiennes et du Nord Canada / Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs / Les micro-reproductions historiques canadiennes et plusieurs autres organisations.
- Cocktail de bienvenue au Pier 21
- Banquet spécial le samedi soir avec des activités marquant le 400^e anniversaire de l'arrivée de Champlain en Nouvelle-France.
- Des ateliers et des panels comprenant les historiens et les professeurs de premier plan au Canada.
- Des invités d'honneur spéciaux, des excursions et des sessions interactives
- Des séances plénières comprenant des auteurs, des académiques, des journalistes, des enseignants et des représentants gouvernementaux du Canada et internationaux
- Des séminaires de développement interactifs avec des créateurs de ressources qui démontreront leurs nouveaux matériaux d'apprentissage interactif, les matériaux reliés aux ordinateurs et tous autres matériaux pertinents et offriront aux éducateurs un regard en profondeur sur le potentiel de ces ressources en tant qu'outils dans la salle de classe
- Des sessions et des activités qui aideront les professeurs à intégrer de manière efficace les médias, les musées, les archives, le multimédia/l'internet et les autres ressources autres que les manuels dans la salle de classe
- Des sessions hors-site et des activités qui impliquent des étudiants des niveaux élémentaire, secondaire et universitaire.
- Des événements et activités spéciaux appuyés par des organisations dédiées à l'avancement de l'enseignement et de l'apprentissage de l'histoire du Canada.

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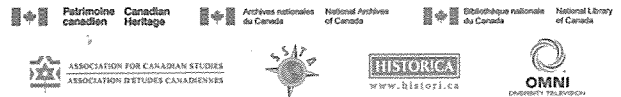
OCTOBER 24-26, 2003

PRESENCE OF THE *Past*



A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TEACHING, LEARNING
AND COMMUNICATING THE HISTORY OF CANADA

HOLIDAY INN HALIFAX – HARBOUR VIEW DARTMOUTH
DARTMOUTH, NOVA SCOTIA



Building upon two successful conferences – Giving the Future a Past (2001) in Winnipeg, Manitoba and Giving the Past a Future (1999) in Montreal, Quebec, *Presence of the Past* will look at the ways in which the history of Canada can be most effectively taught, as well as at the presence and relevance of history in our daily lives. This national conference will examine different approaches to teaching history, with new choices in curricula and new tools and techniques for teachers, and will explore how the teaching of history has evolved in the context of a broader social reality.

Over one thousand participants attended the first two national history conferences. Once again, many of Canada's leading academics, teachers and researchers, as well as organizations disseminating information about Canada's history, will be present in Halifax, as will those who are bringing innovative tools and technology in this field into the classroom.

Presence of the Past will also feature special plenary sessions with professors who teach contemporary and historical Canada in classrooms abroad, thus providing participants with a unique and interesting perspective on the subject.

This gathering in Halifax will be the only national conference to bring together such a diverse group of individuals involved in communicating and teaching the history of Canada for the purpose of sharing information and resources. Teachers, students, professionals and others involved in the field of Canadian history are invited to participate.

The conference will feature over 45 sessions – featuring individuals and organizations from local, regional, national and international perspectives – as well as a number of excursions and events. Many sessions will focus on Canadian history from conventional means of teaching to the latest innovative methods, while others will address several important issues in Canadian history.

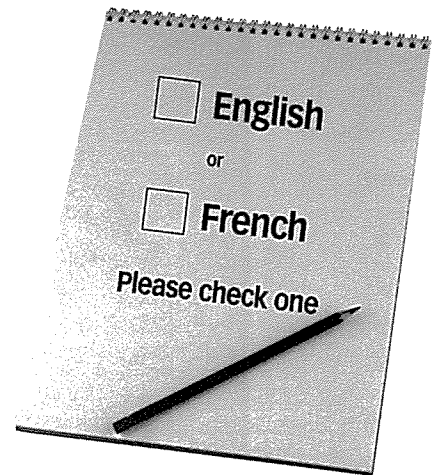
Of special interest will be a Learning Exhibition featuring over 20 organizations – representing museums, television, film, multimedia, governments and a variety of educational and non-profit organizations – displaying their latest resources.

CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE:

- **Learning Exposition** featuring: The Historica Foundation, Canada's National History Society, the National Archives and Library of Canada, the National Film Board, Chinook Multimedia, the Ministry of Education (Government of Nova Scotia), the Department of Canadian Heritage, the Canadian Museums Association, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada / Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs, Canadian Historical Micro-Reproductions and many other organizations.
- Welcoming cocktail reception at Pier 21
- Special Saturday night banquet with activities marking the 400 anniversary of Champlain's arrival in New France
- Workshops and panel sessions featuring Canada's leading historians and professors
- Special keynote speakers, excursions and interactive sessions
- Plenary sessions featuring leading Canadian and international authors, academics, journalists, teachers and government officials
- Interactive professional development seminars with educational resource developers demonstrating hands-on, computer-based and relevant take-home materials to give educators a more in depth look at the potential for these resources as classroom tools
- Sessions and activities to aid educators to effectively incorporate media, museums, archives, multimedia/internet and other non-textbook information in their classrooms
- Off-site sessions and activities involving elementary, secondary and university students
- Special events and activities sponsored by organizations dedicated to the advancement of the teaching and learning of the history of Canada

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"PLEASE CHECK ONE": METAPHORS OF BICULTURALISM IN CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP APPLICATIONS



ABSTRACT

The idea of biculturalism as it was framed in the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism has enjoyed a certain lingering presence in our national mythology. How has this image been textually reproduced through time? A contemporary citizenship application provides a glimpse into how the Canadian state manages its bicultural image.

The notion of Canada as a bicultural nation built upon the efforts of “two founding peoples” was a key premise at the core of the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. While multiculturalism and reminders of the prior occupancy status of Aboriginal peoples have suggested a reworking of the paramount status afforded French and English Canadian identities, the idea of biculturalism, as it was framed in the Commission’s report, has continued to enjoy a privileged position in our national mythology. How has this image been textually reproduced over time by the Canadian nation-state? What do the texts that citizens and would-be citizens engage with for routine bureaucratic procedures say about the contemporary salience of biculturalism? Are there ways in which the continuing presence of this historic reality shuts out other cultural pluralities?

To a considerable degree, our understanding of Canada’s cultural identity is affected by the images that we see in circulation in any particular moment. At one level, this is a question of marketing: if we think that we are a peace-loving nation, it is because we have been taught to see ourselves in such a way through dominant representations of the “typical Canadian” (leaving aside, for the moment, whether these are accurate representations or not). On a more subversive level, the marketing of national character and identity can be seen as evidence of ideology at work. To begin to unearth latent assumptions regarding the nation and its citizenry, textual analysis – a good, close reading of what a text is saying and what that same text is suggesting we, as readers, should think and do – can be particularly helpful.

Sociological analysis is apposite to this endeavour, notably, the work of Dorothy Smith, who in 1990 in *Texts, Facts, and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* suggested that much can be gained from seeing texts not just as repositories of information, but as “phenomena in their own right” (120). From this critical perspective, the term “texts” is expansive, describing not only conventional literary texts, but also advertisements, forms, television programs, and any other type of communication that is textually mediated. These texts, when closely scrutinized, can help us discover what is taken for granted on the part of the authors and those individuals who take up the text in the course of their day-to-day work. Such

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assumptions have myriad implications for the way we live our lives.

Put another way, texts affect what we think and what we do. They influence both our physical actions (for instance, we may donate to a charitable organization after reading an article in the news-paper) *and*, more subversively, they affect the thought processes that we embark on as a result of taking up the text. Such actions are rarely accidental; often, they are designed towards specific ends by corporations, organizations, government agencies, and other institutions that have a vested interest in maintaining or instituting certain values and seeing some types of processes carried out over others.

The ideological dimensions of the Canadian state's approach to biculturalism can be read through the nation's official documents. At the most obvious level, these documents include the policies and articles of legislation that frame the rules of the land; more covertly, however, they include the general documents taken up by average Canadians or would-be Canadians. Such texts might include income tax forms and health card applications, to name but two examples. Exploring the texts that we routinely encounter in our interactions with the Canadian nation-state is a helpful way of getting at how a particular image of Canada and the "Canadian citizen" is reinforced and perpetuated in Canadian society.

One such text that contains a representation of biculturalism is the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's *Application for Canadian Citizenship – Adults (18 years of age and older): Under Subsection 5(1)* and its companion set of instructions. This form is one of several applications available to individuals seeking Canadian citizenship. Its intended users are permanent residents/landed immigrants 18 years of age or older who have fulfilled the residency requirements for Canadian citizenship and consider themselves likely to pass the citizenship tests (emphasizing language proficiency and knowledge of the country's history, geography, and government structure). The utility of the form is, on one level, obvious; information about applicants is gleaned through a series of logical questions that solicit data about an individual's suitability as a Canadian citizen. But the application works at another level as well. As a form that would-be Canadians must complete, this document also acts as a textual intermediary for the Canadian nation-state. It is a representation, in other words, of Canada itself for those who engage with it. Consequently, it is an ideal text to analyze in order to determine how biculturalism is presented to aspiring Canadian citizens.

At first glance, the *Application for Canadian Citizenship* asserts itself visually through multiple text boxes and lines that emphasize the categorical nature of the information being sought; the actual substantive portion of the form itself is characterized by several types of questions. Some are

framed as "either/or" postulates, while others require a "yes" or "no" response. Still others ask for detailed factual information (addresses, names, etc) that will be used by department officials in determining the eligibility of the applicant for Canadian citizenship.

In the categories presented as "either/or" options, the notion of Canada as a bicultural nation first appears: users must choose between service in "English or French" and are specifically instructed to "please check one" of the options given. On one level, these alternatives represent the very real capacity of the Canadian nation-state to provide service in English or French. At a more ideological level, however, such categorization also assumes that individuals will fit into one of these binaries or the other – but not both. Thus, would-be citizens must straightaway make a decision between English or French as their "official" language of communication. Bilingualism is not presented as an option here, suggesting a resolute divide between the archetypal "two solitudes" of Canada's colonizing cultures. The addition of a third option requesting "either" language for service would send a different meaning to the applicant; namely, that the distance between English and French is not so great as to be insurmountable and indeed, that the idea of functioning ably across two cultures is altogether possible.

In the sections of the application that ask for more detailed responses, the notion of biculturalism again appears as a choice between two relatively separate entities. At question 4(B), applicants are asked to provide legal name change documents if they have changed their name since coming to Canada. Additional information given below this line tells applicants to "[s]ee instructions in Section 4 about Quebec issued documents."

Here, the focus shifts from a distinction along strictly linguistic lines to one based on provincial affiliation. At face value, this instruction logically reflects the reality that Quebec has its own legal and judicial system, based on the French Civil Code (as opposed to common law). But at a more abstract level, the special instruction here serves to insert Quebec's difference into this Canadian government document, underscoring the fact that this is a region separate from other provinces and territories. While such an assertion is by no means untrue – Quebec *is* different and has been since the nation was formed – it nevertheless contributes to a notion of biculturalism that emphasizes, once again, the very *separate* nature of the two founding cultures.

This framing of Quebec as a separate entity with respect to the rest of Canada is repeated further along in the form when applicants are asked to indicate whether they would like their name included on voters' lists. Two types of lists are described: the "National Register of Electors," which ensures that signatories are "included on the list of electors for federal elections and referendums" and "Quebec's Permanent

The ideological dimensions of the Canadian state's approach to biculturalism can be read through the nation's official documents.

List of Electors,” which includes the names of people who wish to be put on “the list of electors for provincial, municipal or school elections.” Again, such a framing is necessarily the result of requirements stemming out of Quebec’s unique legal and judicial system. But the implicit suggestion once again is that biculturalism means separate spheres with separate procedures. Additional confusion comes into play with this particular question because of the fact that British Columbia also has its own permanent list of electors. Permanent residents/landed immigrants applying for citizenship from British Columbia might well wonder why the opportunity to have their names included on this province’s list of electors is not similarly presented as an option here.

French and English Canada (and Quebec and the rest of Canada) are framed throughout this document as separate entities that do not intermingle to any significant extent. But the ideological differences embedded in the application do not stop there. The very fact that an added step (“see instructions in section 4”) is required to uncover information about Quebec issued documents serves, I would argue, as a type of narrative deferral. Moreover, this is the first section where users are told to go *outside* the application proper to an entirely new text (the instruction guide) in order to glean information about the Quebec case. Thus the deferral is a profound one, requiring as it does an extra-textual move away from the citizenship application to a supplementary, supporting document.

When the user turns to the instruction guide for additional information about Quebec issued documents, this deferral may transform into confusion. The instructions referred to at section 4(B) on the form do not assist the applicant in procuring special information about “Quebec issued documents.” Instead, a note at the end of this section refers the user to yet another part of the guide, a section ambiguously titled “Documents” which, because it is not included in the Table of Contents, may be difficult to find.

This repeated deferral — from application to instruction guide to table of contents in a perhaps futile search for the instructions in question — is tantamount to a narrative “run-around”; as such, it serves to position Quebec in the hinterland of the citizenship application, increasingly inaccessible and incomprehensible to the average user. This framing acts as a metaphor for the way in which the phenomenon of biculturalism, while supporting the notion of two seminal cultures, does not necessarily mean equality of opportunity or access for each of the founding peoples it seeks to circumscribe.

Inasmuch as the way in which biculturalism is presented in the citizenship application points to the separate spheres of French and English Canadian identity, and the displacement of Quebec relative to the rest of Canada, so too does it elide other realities. For instance, the choice of recei-

ving service in either English or French which, on a practical level, addresses the needs of Canada’s “two founding peoples,” simultaneously negates the possibility of other languages of communication, most notably Aboriginal languages (oral or written). In this way, the ideological dominance of Canada’s colonizing languages is shored up, becoming something of a self-fulfilling prophecy in its every incarnation. Another reality that gets glossed over in the emphasis on biculturalism is Nunavut. Characterized by a majority of Inuit residents and the predominance of the Inuktitut language, Canada’s newest territory has its own degree of cultural specificity that predates concepts of French and English identity in North America. This reality is not apparent from the citizenship application.

All of these metaphorical readings, one might argue, are to some extent moot if the framing of different portions of the citizenship application is seen only as a function of efficiency and reality. Canada has two official languages, so the argument would go; as a result, service is offered in French and English, and nothing else. Similarly, Quebec has its own unique legal and judicial system; hence, its processes surrounding name changes and voters’ lists are necessarily different, requiring distinct instructions on the application form. Reading these sections as meta-phors for something more insidious is, one might protest, both unhelpful and unsupportable.

Such a response, I would argue, is insufficient because it does not adequately deal with the question of how texts actually work to structure or perpetuate certain assumptions. Nor does it attempt to get underneath ideology, as it were, to explore what we take for granted about our national identity. This point was made somewhat differently by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*:

Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. In this now classic text, the author notes the importance of, among other things, daily newspapers in achieving a cohesive sense of identity across members of a disparate populace. The repeated rearticulation of foundational myths through textually mediated forms (whether newspapers or citizenship applications) is a seminal means of enforcing or reinforcing the hegemonic status quo — in other words, of maintaining the way things simply are.

Thus, we walk away from the Canadian citizenship application with the understanding that we can ally ourselves with only English or French when it comes to the Canadian state (never mind Aboriginal, Latino/a, South Asian, or any of a host of other identities). As well, we learn that Quebec is not just different but oftentimes paradoxically, even vexingly so. Moreover, it is the only province or territory singled out for its socio-cultural specificity. Indeed, the notion of biculturalism is present here in this Canadian citizenship application; the question now is whether the metaphors it suggests are appropriate, damaging, or somewhere in between.

Users must choose
between service in
“English or French”
and are specifically
instructed to
“please check one”
of the options
given.

INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS CELEBRATE!



TM Rogers Broadcasting Limited

INDEPENDENT PRODUCERS ON OMNI

Name of Program	Language	Original Time	
Caribbean Vibrations	English	2:30PM – 3:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Kontakt	Ukrainian	1:00PM – 2:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Latin Vibes Television	Spanish	4:00PM – 5:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Lehen Malti	Maltese	10:00AM – 10:30AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Macedonian Heritage Hour	Macedonian	5:00PM – 6:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Magyar Képek TV	Hungarian	12:30PM – 1:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Morning Waves	Russian	7:00AM – 8:00AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.1
Noi Românii	Romanian	12:00PM – 12:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Pasqyra Shqiptare	Albanian	2:00PM – 2:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1
Russian Waves	Russian	10:00PM – 10:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.1

Admas	Amharic (Ethiopian)	2:30PM – 3:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Afghan Hindara	Pusho/Dari	1:00PM – 1:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Amantran	Bengali	12:30PM – 1:00PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Arirang Korea	Korean	6:30PM – 7:00PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Flip	Filipino-English	12:00PM – 12:30PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Front Page Philippines	Tagalog, Visayan	4:00PM – 4:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Iran Zameen Today and Pasargad Today	Persian	12:00PM – 1:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Kala Kavaya	Sinhalese	10:30AM – 11:00AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Malayala Shabtham	Malayalam	11:00AM – 11:30AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Munawa'at Arabia TV	Arabic	1:30PM – 2:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Muuqaalka Soomaalida	Somali	10:00AM – 10:30AM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2
Nor Hai Horizon	Armenian	9:00AM – 10:00AM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Ondes Africaines	French (African)	3:00PM – 3:30PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
Planet Africa Television	English (African)	3:30PM – 4:00PM (Saturday)	- OMNI.2
TV Việt Tiên	Vietnamese	11:00AM – 12:00PM (Sunday)	- OMNI.2

With the launch of OMNI.2, Rogers Media television set new records in diversity broadcasting. Combined, OMNI.1 (CFMT-TV) and OMNI.2 will provide quality programming to over 50 different communities.

Twenty-five Independent producers were introduced at the OMNI Launch and joined The Hon. Sheila Copps, Minister of Canadian Heritage as she congratulated the OMNI team in numerous languages. Ted Rogers spoke of his 35 years of ongoing commitment to multilingual television in Canada.

Upholding this commitment to cultural diversity, Madeline Ziniak, Vice President and Station Manager, announced the production initiatives totalling \$50 million, of which \$30 million will be specifically dedicated to Independent Production.

Committed to Cultural Diversity!



OMNI
DIVERSITY TELEVISION

CANADA'S EDUCATION REVOLUTION IN ITS SECOND GENERATION:

French-Second-Language Education on the 40th Anniversary of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

ABSTRACT

The author reflects on the rewards of an experimental French immersion program in a school in suburban Montreal forty years ago and argues for sustained access to an education in both official languages for Canada's children.

The birth and development of French Second Language education in Canada parallels the birth and development of general public awareness of the issue of linguistic duality in Canada. Second official-language instruction and the progress of bilingualism in our school system and among Canadians, while sustained and shaped by government policy, has benefited enormously from parent activism and support. One of the great success stories of the last generation has been the enthusiastic response of Canadians from coast to coast to the learning of a second official language.

At the time of Canada's 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, parents were already pressuring for the establishment of an experimental French immersion program in a school in suburban Montreal. It was eventually established in 1965 at the St. Lambert Elementary School.

It is hard to overstate the revolutionary nature of this experiment. While previous generations of anglophones in Quebec had often been able to get by in English only, it had become increasingly obvious, with the transformations of the 1960s, that proficiency in French was going to be essential in the future.

Within a North American context with the dominance of English, other language groups have traditionally been required to speak English, but anglophones have rarely felt a similar obligation to learn a second language. It's often been noted that in Canada, French is taught, while English is caught. Generally speaking, if anglophones do not learn French in school, they are unlikely to learn it later in life. The 1960s showed a change in attitude, with anglophones now willing to overcome difficulties and inhibitions with learning French as a second language.

Immersion is a school program in which children who have little or no prior contact with the target language are put together in a classroom setting in which the second language is used as the medium of instruction. Across Canada, it involves teaching subjects partly or entirely in French to children whose mother tongue is English.

Word of the St. Lambert experiment spread, and French immersion programs began to pop up throughout English Canada. By 1977, the FSL movement had grown to the point that there were 45,084 (1.2%) students enrolled in immersion, and a national organization was called for. Canadian Parents for French (CPF) was born that year – only months after the election of the first Parti Québécois government galvanized all of Canada.

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In the late 1970s and early 1980s more and more Canadians became aware of the success of French immersion. English-speaking parents were lining up overnight in the streets outside schools across the country to enroll their children in immersion programs. The rapid spread of French immersion was part of a larger process of awakening within Canada. English-speaking Canadians, most of whom spoke no French, believed that it was important that their children learn French and become bilingual.

Forty years since the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the immersion model is being applied from one end of the country to the other. Since 1970, the Official Languages in Education Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage funds second-language education at the provincial/territorial level. The five-year bilateral action plans, deliver funding through the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, calculated according to enrolment data provided by the provinces, based on the recommendations of Statistics Canada.

In 2001, some 286,014 elementary and secondary students were enrolled in immersion programs.

In parallel with the growth of immersion programs, and informed by the research being done in the domain, pedagogical techniques for core French, or basic French second language education, were refined. A wide range of programs varying in intensity, time on task, and methodologies have evolved to serve different objectives and learning needs. Today, nearly two million students enrolled in English-language schools study core French.

The concept of official languages has become an important symbol of Canadian identity. A growing number of Canadians, particularly young Canadians, embrace the vision of Canada as a bilingual country. CPF has conducted opinion polls at five-year intervals since 1985, with remarkably stable responses. The latest CPF survey, conducted by Compas in April 2000, confirms that English-speaking Canadians continue to be supportive of French-language instruction in schools.

Attitudes toward French immersion are positive, with nearly six in ten (57%) saying they feel very or somewhat positive about immersion; 18% feel negative. Support exceeds opposition by more than 3:1. Attitudes toward core, or basic French second-language programs are largely positive, with almost two-thirds (64%) saying they feel very or somewhat positive about it; 17% feel negative. Support exceeds opposition by almost 4:1. Respondents are generally more positive about French second-language programs than about French immersion programs (64% vs. 57%). However, *strong* support for French immersion is higher than strong support for French second-language programs (24% vs. 20%).

A mix of altruism and personal benefit continue to explain why people think it is important for English-speaking children to learn French. Exactly half offer altruistic reasons to explain their support, pointing to the fact that Canada is a bilingual country with a bilingual and bicultural heritage (36%), that learning French is part of a good education (8%), and that it will help people understand French culture (6%). Somewhat fewer cite personal benefit reasons, believing that knowing French will help students find jobs (23%), provide other

personal benefits (9%), and that it is useful to speak a second language (7%).

For Industry Canada and other bodies engaged in shaping Canada's labour market for the future, increased bilingualism among our young people is an even more important issue, given that interest in foreign languages is on the rise in other parts of the world, particularly in the United States and in Europe. Currently, anglophone Canadians are actually less bilingual than the British, who are the least bilingual of Europeans. This is a reality that puts our competitiveness at stake.

Interestingly, French immersion is also one of Canada's major exports in international education, with educators in Japan, Wales, Spain, and the USA applying made-in-Canada immersion methodology to the teaching of second languages, enhancing the language skills of young people around the globe. Inside Canada, students of heritage languages including Mohawk, Ukrainian and Cree benefit from the immersion approach in their cultural studies.

Initiatives such as French immersion draw strength and energy from the determination of thousands of parents who have worked behind the scenes to ensure that their vision of Canada is reflected in the type of education that is offered to their children.

We at CPF are very proud that ours is an organization built from the bottom up. We are determinedly grassroots. Since its foundation in 1977, CPF's services and activities have expanded to parallel the remarkable growth in FSL education.

Nine Branch offices support some 175 Chapters, the local community-based units of CPF, working in school or school district jurisdictions in every province and territory. In 2003, CPF is a network of 18,000 members dedicated to creating, supporting and promoting opportunities for young people to learn and use French as a second language.

Despite the sustained and consistent public regard for FSL, the 1990s context of funding cuts and re-evaluation of priorities within the educational system resulted in the reassessment and even closure by school boards of many French immersion and core French programs as a money-saving measure. As a result the rapid growth in French immersion seen in the 1970s and 1980s slowed and essentially over the 1990s enrolments in French immersion remained stable. Though demand remains steady, the supply of quality FSL programs has narrowed for today's students.

Since 2000, CPF has published an annual report entitled *The State of French-Second Language Education in Canada*. These reports, CPF's principal advocacy tool, track provincial enrollments in immersion and other FSL programs, discuss issues, and identify identifying areas of strength and areas for action at the national, and provincial or territorial levels within the complex system of support for FSL learning.

The inaugural report gathered, for the first time, facts, figures and research into a comprehensive view of the current situation of FSL education that was welcomed by education decision-makers at every level for its careful research, its thorough data collection and its pan-Canadian perspective.

Subsequent reports have built upon the first, with specific areas of focus complementing the update of provincial and territorial data. The 2001 FSL report included a *School Self-Assessment Tool* enabling interested parties, parents, teachers and administrators to discuss and evaluate their school's programs in a constructive manner.

In 2002, the worsening shortage of teachers of French in coming years was brought to the attention of ministries of education, school boards and faculties of education. With the commissioning and dissemination of the Teacher Shortage Study, CPF pointed out the urgent need for concerted action on this issue if the gains made in the last 25 years are to be maintained.

The FSL reports have identified the need for attention, resources, and action in several areas. Among the most urgent problems identified are actual and growing teacher shortages, the need for more and better resources and methods that will enable French immersion students encountering difficulties to get the help they need while staying in the program, the need for a totally transparent process of allocating federal funds in support of French second-language learning; and the need to evaluate current teaching methods and curricula and to adopt new ones informed by research.

The voice of CPF has been heard. The federal government's new Official Languages Action Plan responds directly to the issues identified in CPF's annual reports, and sets out both an ambitious objective and the means to achieve it.

Launched by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in March 2003, a new action plan for official languages, authored by Intergovernmental Affairs minister Stéphane Dion, set a target of doubling the proportion of secondary school graduates with a functional knowledge of their second official language by 2013. Currently, 24% of Canadians between 15 and 19 know both languages.

The "Dion Plan" will dedicate \$137 million over the next five years to initiatives in four priority areas in second-language education identified by CPF: Improvement of core English and French, a revitalization of immersion, an increase in the number of qualified teachers, and the provision of opportunities for bilingual graduates to put their skills to good use. An annex to the plan lays out an accountability and coordination framework.

Through close and strategic collaboration among the federal, provincial and territorial governments, school districts, researchers, post-secondary institutions, and volunteer organizations including CPF, we believe that the ambitious goal of doubled bilingualism can be realized.

On this 40th anniversary of the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, we are at a unique point in the development of linguistic duality. CPF takes this opportunity to salute the achievements of the first generation of true Canadian bilinguals, to reflect on the importance of sustained support for French-second-language education programs, and to look forward to a future shared with others who also believe in the importance of access to quality education in both official languages for all Canadian children.

THE FIRST STAGE OF THE MULTICULTURALISM DEBATE

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ABSTRACT

The author highlights why the policy of multiculturalism was so unconventional by examining the parliamentary debates that preceded the Commission and the recommendations that flowed from it. He suggests that the body of work together promoted a civic humanist meaning of multiculturalism and ethnic conflict resolution

There is a prominent interpretation of multiculturalism which suggests that it is essentially a liberal theory of minority rights. According to this sense of the term, multiculturalism is primarily a principle of procedural justice, and a rule of law. It would be foolish to disavow the importance of this interpretation. The adoption of rules-based guarantees and special recognition, particularly concerning visible minorities and distinct national identities must be seen as a contribution to Canadian civilisation. What concerns me is the extent to which other meanings are screened out when multiculturalism is interpreted exclusively within the juridical vocabulary of minority rights. In fact multiculturalism was originally articulated and defended by Canadians in the language of civic humanism: a good, a moral commitment, and a civic virtue that must be willingly accepted by citizens in a practice of ongoing dialogue. It was subsequent to the articulation of multiculturalism as a good that it was entrenched as a right in the constitution. Understanding the difference between these two political domains, that is the good and the right, will do much to clarify the meaning and significance of multiculturalism in Canada. Recognizing this difference is also crucial to understanding Volume IV of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*.

I want to illustrate the difference between rights and the good, and highlight why the policy of multiculturalism was so unconventional, by surveying the House of Commons debates that led to the setting up of Canada's *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, as well as the recommendations of its Volume IV, the subject of which was "the contribution by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution." It is a remarkable fact that many commentators on multiculturalism do not even mention these debates nor the *Royal Commission* itself. And yet the very first stage of the debate on multiculturalism

lism occurred during these parliamentary debates and Commission hearings. The Commission launched a groundbreaking pan-Canadian conversation that effectively redefined Canada's national identity. These debates and discussions and the *Final Report*, which was submitted in 1969 and accepted as official policy on October 8, 1971, should be seen as the birthplace of multiculturalism. What we find in these debates and discussions is not a juridical vocabulary but the recognition that understanding other cultures would lead to the enrichment and flourishing of Canada.

Created by an order in Council on July 19, 1963 the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* was a response to a widespread belief among public servants and Canadians in general that the country was experiencing, in the words of co-Chairman André Laurendeau, "a state of emergency – an emergency that can jeopardize the very existence of Canada." Laurendeau, (who made these remarks at the Preliminary Hearing, November 7 and 8, 1963) was referring to a series of events that effectively called into question the stability and integrity of Canadian federalism: A renewed resurgent Québec nationalism; the emergence of a growing popular secessionist movement; and the actions of the extreme terrorist wing of the nationalist movement. In the face of these complex challenges Canadians reacted in ways which were, as Kenneth McNaught has so aptly observed, "both indigenous and distinctive." (*Penguin History of Canada*, 1988, p. 307)

What was indigenous was that in the midst of this climate of fear and uncertainty, Canadians looked for a variety of non-violent solutions in the form of dialogue, self examination, and understanding. What was distinctive was that while Canada faced "the greatest crisis of its history" (as quoted in the "Preliminary Report," *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, Ottawa, February 1, 1965) Canadians recognized that the conventional practices of constitutionalism and federalism could not exclusively reconcile the conflict between the "founding races," or what we now call ethnocultural or ethnic groups. In fact both franco-phone and anglophone Canadians alike reacted to these events first by calling into question such conventions and then by adopting a remarkable spirit of good will and a genuine willingness and to negotiate and engage in dialogue. This willingness to negotiate was first articulated in a series of remarkable debates that took place in the federal House of Commons. A number of Members of Parliament launched a campaign between the Fall of 1962 and the spring 1963 to set up a royal commission on bilingualism and biculturalism. Prime Minister J.G. Diefenbaker carefully rejected such proposals. One aspect of the debate had to do with "respecting the rights of one another." But a number of Parliamentarians also stressed the importance of "a full understanding" and "a perfect understanding" between anglophones and francophones. One notable intervention was that of the leader of the opposition, Lester B. Pearson, on December 17, 1962. Pearson expressed concern about the "serious crisis of national unity" and then gave a passionate defence of confederation, which he described as "the rejection not only of political and economic annexation of the United States, but also of the American melting pot concept of national unity." Instead, Pearson saw confederation as,

...an understanding or a settlement between the two founding races of Canada made on the basis of an acceptable and equal partnership. That settlement provided that national political unity would be achieved and maintained without the imposition of racial, cultural or linguistic uniformity.

Throughout his speech, Pearson frequently employed this vocabulary, characterizing confederation as an "understanding" between two different founding Canadian "races" and he referred to the national unity crisis as a breakdown in this understanding. He described the crisis as a difference of interpretation, as a "misunderstanding" as "difficulties in relations" and "a difference over the meaning of confederation." To solve this crisis of meaning and understanding Pearson did not propose constitutional negotiations and he did not appeal to a language of rights. Instead he called for dialogue. He called for "a deep, responsible and understanding examination of basic situations" by means of a "review" of the "bicultural and bilingual situation in our country" in which there could be "every opportunity and every encouragement for Canadians, individually or in their associations, and organizations, to express their ideas on this situation."

The idea that the crisis required self-expression, and "a climate of mutual understanding and full cooperation" and not just rights, was a sentiment articulated by a number of Members of Parliament that day. Perhaps it was Stanley Knowles who articulated most clearly this distinction:

We...support wholeheartedly the proposition that every effort must be made to establish mutual respect and equality between the two great races that brought this country into being. We feel that it is not only a matter of according rights and adjusting certain grievances that have grown up, but that it will add to the richness of life in this country if we can further the binational, bicultural and biethnic heritage which is already ours.

In a speech that passionately outlined the prevailing moral commitment, Lionel Chevrier called for "self-examination" and a "spiritual retreat" aimed at mutual understanding. Chevrier remarked: "we must learn, on both sides, not only to remain ourselves and better to live our own culture, but also to become a little like the other, and to participate more actively in the culture of the other." The aim and expectation was that with this exercise, "we shall then become better citizens, and we shall form a richer and more united nation."

There were two related disagreements that arose during these parliamentary debates. First, there was a disagreement about the vocabulary in which to characterize the political situation. But this was not just a linguistic dispute because the disagreement was also a substantive political debate in which Canada's prevailing constitutional conventions were being questioned. Prime Minister Diefenbaker did not go on record as agreeing with the Official Opposition that Canada's crisis of national unity was a crisis of understanding. Consequently, in response to these calls for a royal commission, he stalled and redefined the problem along customary terms by proposing the more conventional Canadian practices of ethnic conflict resolution, namely constitutional

negotiations and the convening of a federal-provincial conference. The opposition certainly did not completely renounce these conventional practices, and many attempted to justify the royal commission as a complementary approach. But federalism and constitutional negotiations were rejected as a first option on the grounds that Canada was not facing a constitutional crisis, but a crisis of understanding, which could not be exclusively dissolved by federal-provincial negotiations. The parliamentarians justified their demands partly on the claim that federal-provincial and French-English relations were “unsettled and unsatisfactory,” as T.C. Douglas remarked on December 18, 1962. Douglas in fact called for a “new approach” to federalism, but he also argued that “the task we face as a country must be understood by all our people and this requires much more intensive thought and study.” For this reason he promoted the idea of a royal commission as “a thorough study of our experience of Canadian federalism” and a mechanism for “a careful rethinking of the relations between the two nations.”

The dispute was settled when the government was defeated on February 5, 1963 on a general non-confidence motion and with the election of the Pearson government in the April 1963 federal election. In its Speech from the Throne on May 16, the new government announced “the character and strength of our nation are drawn from the diverse cultures of people who came from many lands” and that “the greater Canada that is in our power to make will be built not on uniformity but on continuing diversity, and particularly on the basic partnership of English speaking and French speaking people.” To ensure that “the partnership shall be truly equal” the new government announced that it would establish a Royal Commission “to study...how the fundamentally bicultural character of Canada may best be ensured and the contribution of other cultures recognized.” During the debate on the Speech from the Throne, one Member of Parliament, S. Perry, suggested on May 23 that without “the recognition of the stimulating contribution of other cultures, this nation cannot flourish as it should.” And following the announcement of the terms of reference and personnel of the *Royal Commission* on July 22 there was widespread support declared on the grounds that it could lead to “greater understanding, co-operation and spirit of unity.” Still, Members of the Progressive Conservative Party, now the Official Opposition, expressed doubts that day concerning the Commission’s utility and Diefenbaker continued to insist that no “effective action” could be taken “until there has been agreement between the dominion government and the provincial governments on the question of the amendment of the constitution...”

What these public debates reveal is that there were at least two contested approaches to address resurgent ethnic and national conflict. There were on the one hand, those who sought a solution exclusively in constitutionalism and federalism. Against this position there were those who promoted the idea that cross cultural understanding was something that could be achieved in dialogue and conversation. The view that prevailed was the latter. What these debates also reveal is that Canadian parliamentarians were trying to articulate what Charles Taylor calls “the good” – something marked out as higher by a qualitative distinction, something considered valuable or worthy. In his *Sources of the Self*,

Taylor claims that the good is always primary to the right, “not in that it offers a more basic reason... but in that the good is what, in its articulation, gives the point of the rules which define this right.” (p. 89). Whatever other meanings the term has since acquired, in Canada (perhaps the first liberal democracy to adopt such a policy) multiculturalism was first embraced as a virtue term, a strongly valued good, as a way of life that must be willingly accepted by citizens engaged in an ongoing practice of dialogue. In fact there is striking historical evidence to support this claim. In Canada multicultural rights actually followed the articulation of multiculturalism as a good. Therefore it is precisely the case that this articulation gave the point of the rules that define minority or group rights.

The Members of Parliament believed that cross cultural understanding was neither a form of compensation nor exclusively a right. Rather, it was seen in more substantive terms as an admirable way of life, as something indispensable for the enrichment of the polity. They justified their support for a royal commission and pleaded for cross cultural understanding on the grounds that it would strengthen the bonds of civic solidarity. In this respect, there is nothing new about what Kymlicka calls the “new front in the multiculturalism wars.” Even at its genesis, multiculturalism was defended as a civic virtue that would ensure rather than corrode or undermine or destabilize “long-term political unity and social stability.” (Kymlicka, *Contemporary Political Philosophy*, p. 365-368.)

Aristotle is often cited as a source of this domain of ethical thinking. In his celebrated *Nicomachean Ethics*, he defined the good as that which “makes life something desirable and in no way deficient.” (I,vii) Following the establishment of the Commission, this sense of the good was articulated by Co-Chairman André Laurendeau at the Preliminary Hearing, November 7 and 8, 1963. He justified the purpose of the inquiry as follows:

The equal partnership, l'égalité culturelle: this is not a notion that compels recognition by itself, even in deference to the most profound studies. For such an idea to flourish it must have the voluntary support of the people in a free society. And that is why the discussions between the Commission and the public will have to be continuous, intimate and free... Aristotle wrote that friendship is the soul of the city. Today social sciences affirm that a nation exists where you find a collective “wish to live” among its members. Basically the two ideas are the same, and give our task some singularly profound perspectives.

Laurendeau went on to define the Commission inquiry as a “dialogue.” And indeed one of the remarkable aspects of the Commission is that it was really the first time that a Royal Commission undertook public hearings, rather than simply seeking expert opinions. This dialogical approach and Laurendeau’s explicit citation of Aristotle is striking evidence of the point I am making here. Aristotle claimed that the good is an aspect of *phronesis*. It does not come from a rule or a theory, but by training, by good habits from an early age, and by a practice of dialogue with others. “It is not enough to know about goodness” Aristotle explains

in the *Nichomachean Ethics*, “we must endeavour to possess it and use it, or adopt any other means to become good ourselves.” (X,ix) Indeed, the goal of political inquiry is “not to know what goodness is, but how to become good.” (II,ii) And this purpose is at the heart of these early parliamentary debates on multiculturalism, and might in fact be considered as the leitmotif of the *Royal Commission* itself, including Volume IV, from which the official policy was born. The aim of the *Royal Commission*, as Laurendeau explained in the preliminary hearing, was not theoretical knowledge. Rather it was an effort to convince Canadian citizens to talk to each other and to voluntarily change their practices, to create a new political society based on mutual understanding. Laurendeau was speaking to the quality of political life and the degree to which it embodied common deliberation. The end sought was not necessarily minority rights but a certain quality of “discussions between the Commission and the public.” Indeed, it was out of these discussions that Canadian citizens themselves democratically agreed upon a new civic self-interpretation. In the hearings that took place many of the groups appearing before the *Royal Commission* rejected the dualist image of Canada suggested of the terms of reference. Some participants wanted to replace dualism with a unitary concept of citizenship. On the other hand the idea of dualism aroused fears among many established ethnic groups who rejected it on other grounds. If Canada should be described by its ethnocultural composition, then the appropriate term is not biculturalism, they argued. Consequently, it was in its *Preliminary Report* submitted February 1, 1965, that the Commissioners announced the birth of multiculturalism as follows:

“What image of Canada would do justice to the presence of these varied ethnic groups? This question preoccupied western participants especially, and the answer they often gave was “multiculturalism”, or more elaborately, “the Canadian mosaic”... They asked: if two cultures are accepted, why not many? Why should Canada not be a Country in which a multitude of cultural groups live side by side and yet distinct from one another, all contributing to a richly varied society? Certainly, it was stated, the mosaic idea was infinitely preferable to the “melting pot.” (page 51)

I have been surveying the earliest debates on multiculturalism in which the concept was articulated as a virtue and a good in the civic humanist sense of an ability that shapes our character, in the sense that it makes us “become better citizens”, and in the sense that it adds “to the richness of life in this country.” To see multiculturalism as a good rather than a right is to recognize that achieving cross cultural understanding and avoiding ethnocentricity are of higher worth, are valuable and necessary civic achievements. If this argument is correct, it may help explain why educational associations most vigilantly defend multiculturalism. The focus on education might also help us understand how to properly address the challenges posed in a multicultural society. If Canada offers any lessons, it is simply that engendering cross cultural understanding is, to reiterate the words of Stanley Knowles, “not only a matter of according rights and adjusting certain grievances.” Rather, it is, also a philo-

sophy of education, by which I mean an approach that trains us to be good, that teaches us to value what is both similar and different in others, that teaches us to see differently. Multiculturalism is in fact, a modern version of the classical humanist tradition of *studia humanitatis* an approach that seeks to create the *vir perfectus*, an excellent human being. In the humanist tradition, the common good is seen in civic and moral terms and education was defended and promoted as a benefit to the city, or the republic. It was necessary in order to live civilly and honestly (*viver civil et honesto*).

The idea that multiculturalism is a good, something that needs to be cultivated, or what civic humanists call a moral virtue, that it enriches the polity, that it is a necessary feature of civilised society, is clearly articulated in these parliamentary debates, and indeed throughout all the submissions and hearings, and official documents of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* and in its Final Report, which was submitted to the Governor General in Council on October 23, 1969, which declared that “The presence in Canada of many people whose language and culture are distinctive by reason of their birth or ancestry represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians can not afford to lose.” Evidence can also be found in the sixteen recommendations of Volume IV. The Commission not only advocated human rights legislation, but educational measures to promulgate the newly understood good. The Commission recommended that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them “be incorporated as options in elementary and high school”; that universities “broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission and degrees.” Illustrating even more clearly the connection between multiculturalism and the civic humanist perspective, the Commission also recommended that Canadian universities “expand studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences related to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages.” Recommendations were also made to remove restrictions in public and private broadcasting, and even “to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups” other than the British and the French. Indeed, these recommendations follow quite dramatically the advice offered by the civic humanist tradition. These recommendations suggest that it is not enough to know that Canada is multicultural; rather, Canadians had to learn how to *become* multicultural, since otherwise, as Aristotle correctly adds, this knowledge “would be useless.” (*Nichomachean Ethics* II,ii)

On October 8, 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced in the House of Commons that his government accepted the recommendations of the Final Report of the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, which were contained in Volume IV. The new policy he announced was “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework.” When Trudeau stood in the House of Commons that day a remarkable transformation had already taken place in Canada. The debate about multiculturalism changed Canada in at least two important respects. First, it changed the way Canadians talked about and related to each other as an immigrant society. Second, Canadians, and the Québécois particularly, stopped seeing their ‘national’ identities exclusively in terms of the French-English dichotomy.

What began as a call to understand the difficulties in our linguistic and cultural duality resulted in the recognition that Canada is a diversity of cultures. What's interesting, is that this self-identification and understanding came from dialogue, not from a theory. Moreover, this new identity was defended as a strongly valued good, a term of excellence, as something that enriched us as Canadians, an indispensable condition of our existence. It was in 1982, thirteen years after the release of the *Final Report* and eleven years after the adoption of the policy, that multiculturalism was entrenched in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. And it was in 1988 that multiculturalism was guaranteed as a federal law. To paraphrase Taylor, articulating the good of multiculturalism was primary to entrenching multicultural rights, because articulating the good gave the point of the rules which define this right. This meaning of multiculturalism is screened out of Kymlicka's picture.

Conclusion

My argument here has been that the parliamentary debates establishing the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, as well as the discussions and recommendations of Commission promoted a civic humanist meaning of multiculturalism and ethnic conflict resolution. What the *Royal Commission* teaches us is that multiculturalism is not in essence a juridical or procedural commitment, but primarily a substantive moral commitment about what constitutes a good life, which we and others ought to strive for. Multiculturalism is not a just a rules-based approach. It is not simply a corollary of, or exclusively captured by, the language of minority- or "group-differentiated" rights. Regardless of the position one holds on the debate on rights, whether individual or collective, multiculturalism is not simply a principle of justice. The juridical or law-centred paradigm is an important aspect of the meaning of multiculturalism. But multiculturalism cannot be fully or properly understood if it is reduced to this idiom. Rather, multiculturalism must also be understood as a strongly valued good, and a civic virtue, by which I mean, an ongoing ability that is acquired in dialogue with others, and something that needs to be cultivated and learned. In this sense, whether the other culture is in the minority or majority is irrelevant. Because the aim is not a correct theory or principle of procedural justice, or compensation. Rather, multiculturalism is a continuing conversation, a practice of genuine cross cultural understanding. Multiculturalism on this view is not exclusively a procedure for according special powers or rights to national minorities and fair terms of integration to ethnic groups. Multiculturalism is a way of understanding others in which we *become* multicultural. If our aim is indeed cross cultural understanding, then this meaning of multiculturalism must be taken seriously. To see that multiculturalism is about virtues as well as rights means that 'national unity' must be based on something more than a constitution that guarantees the equality of all its citizens. It must be based on an ongoing dialogue and what Aristotle called in his *Nichomachean Ethics* "a right training for goodness from an early age."

RÉFLEXIONS SUR LES DIFFÉRENTES LÉGISLATIONS LINGUISTIQUES CANADIENNES

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RÉSUMÉ

Les conflits linguistiques au Canada ont éventuellement amené l'état à intervenir de façon considérable en matière de politique linguistique. Conséquemment, le bilinguisme officiel progresse à la vitesse des législations linguistiques qui se multiplient rapidement au pays actuellement. Ces dispositions juridico-linguistiques canadiennes demeurent néanmoins insuffisantes notamment pour préserver les droits des Canadiens allophones.

Le problème des langues a toujours été important au Canada, tant au niveau central qu'au niveau local, parti-culièrement depuis 1867. Le Canada est depuis ses origines modernes, du point de vue constitutionnel, un pays fédéral officiellement bilingue au niveau central et au niveau des provinces du Québec et du Manitoba, conformément aux dispositions de l'article 133 de la Loi constitutionnelle de 1867 et de l'article 23 de la Loi du Manitoba de 1970. Ces articles édictent que le français et l'anglais sont les langues officielles du Fédéral, du Québec et du Manitoba, dans les domaines législatifs et judiciaires de leur compétence. Le bilinguisme officiel-constitutionnel est également prescrit pour le Nouveau-Brunswick, en vertu des articles 16 à 22 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, de 1982 (articles qui s'appliquent également au Fédéral).

Toutefois, le Canada, formé d'un État fédéral, de dix États membres, les provinces, et de trois territoires, tout en restant et en devenant davantage officiellement bilingue, est devenu une société multiculturelle. Ce n'est plus la même réalité sous-jacente de la Commission Laurendeau-Dunton! La population actuelle du pays est de quelque 30 millions d'habitants. Grosso modo, le 58 % est d'origine « anglophone » (établi surtout dans les huit provinces anglophones du pays), le 23 % est d'origine « francophone » (établi surtout dans la province francophone du Québec, dans la province franco-anglaise du Nouveau-Brunswick et au nord de l'Ontario), le 18 % est d'origine « allophone » (établi un peu partout au pays et ayant

tendance à s'intégrer plutôt du côté anglophone) alors que plus d'un demi million sont d'origine « autochtone », éparpillés un peu partout au pays et majoritaires dans l'ensemble des trois territoires du Canada (toutefois, le nombre de ces derniers tend à augmenter, car de plus en plus d'Autochtones se reconnaissent et se déclarent comme tels).

Les contacts et les conflits linguistiques au pays ont amené les pouvoirs publics à intervenir de plus en plus de façon importante en la matière, et c'est surtout dans le but d'« harmoniser » les relations linguistiques entre francophones et anglophones, et entre « Blancs » et Autochtones, qu'ils ont finalement adopté et continuent d'adopter au Canada différentes législations linguistiques, tout en légiférant de manière moins importante en faveur des « allophones ».

La langue, en tant que champ d'intervention considérable de la part des pouvoirs publics, est un champ relativement nouveau au Canada, du point de vue strictement juridique. Voilà pourquoi, sauf exception, la langue demeure toujours, du point de vue constitutionnel, une matière « accessoire », appartenant à la fois au fédéral et aux provinces, conformément au partage des compétences prévu dans les matières « principales » par la constitution.

Prenons des exemples classiques: les provinces sont compétentes en matières d'éducation et en matière de contrats. Ce sont les provinces qui sont par conséquent compétentes pour légiférer linguistiquement dans ces domaines. Le Fédéral est compétent en matière de radio et de télévision. C'est au Fédéral que revient donc la compétence de légiférer linguistiquement en la matière.

Les différentes législations linguistiques canadiennes sont fort complexes et compliquées du point de vue juridique et font d'ailleurs l'objet de modifications constantes. L'application de ces législations est en train de se faire sous nos yeux. Il faudra attendre quelques années encore avant de faire un bilan sérieux qui puisse mesurer leur impact réel.

Par ailleurs, l'interprétation des tribunaux, et plus particulièrement celle de la Cour suprême du Canada, a été fort salubre dans l'élaboration des différentes législations linguistiques canadiennes. L'interprétation de la Cour suprême du Canada a été très importante dans les domaines des droits linguistiques historiques (le droit d'utiliser le français et l'anglais dans les domaines de l'usage officiel des langues, plus particulièrement dans les domaines judiciaire et de l'enseignement). Mentionnons, entre autres, les affaires *Mahé*, du 15 mars 1990, *Beaulac*, du 20 mai 1999, et *Arseneault-Cameron*, du 13 janvier 2000. L'interprétation de la Cour suprême a été également fondamentale dans le domaine des droits linguistiques universels (le droit à la langue et donc le droit d'utiliser n'importe quelle langue). En effet, dans les arrêts *Ford et Devine*, du 15 décembre 1988, la Cour suprême a déclaré que la liberté d'expression, droit fondamental, et donc supérieur aux autres droits, reconnu par la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés et par plusieurs chartes provinciales de droits fondamentaux, dont la Charte québécoise, comprend en principe, implicitement et accessoirement, le droit d'utiliser librement la langue de son choix, surtout dans les domaines de l'usage non officiel des langues.

Enfin, dans la décision du 20 août 1998 sur le Renvoi relatif à la sécession du Québec, du 20 août 1998, la Cour suprême du Canada a établi les quatre principes fondamentaux suivants de la Constitution canadienne : le fédéralisme, la démocratie, le constitutionnalisme et la primauté du droit, ainsi que la protection et le respect des droits des minorités. Il s'agit d'une décision majeure de notre Cour suprême en matière de droit linguistique.

Cependant, le principe fondamental de la protection et du respect des droits des minorités de la Cour suprême a reçu une interprétation très restrictive, et défavorable à la minorité anglophone du Québec, de la part de la Cour d'appel du Québec dans l'affaire *Ville de Westmount c. le Procureur général du Québec*, du 16 octobre 2001, affaire relative à une loi québécoise dans le domaine des affaires municipales. Le domaine municipal est de compétence provinciale et il n'y a pas de contraintes linguistiques explicites en la matière. En revanche, ce principe a été interprété de façon très large et libérale, et nettement favorable à la minorité francophone de l'Ontario, de la part de la Cour d'appel de l'Ontario, dans l'affaire *Lalonde c. la Commission de restructuration des services de santé*, du 7 décembre 2001, affaire relative à une décision administrative ontarienne dans le domaine de la santé publique, par ailleurs apparemment incompatible avec la législation ontarienne sur les services en français.

Cela dit, il se produit actuellement au pays une véritable inflation de législations linguistiques, inflation relativement pacifique, du moins pour l'instant. Désormais, les politiques linguistiques canadiennes sont étroitement liées à des législations linguistiques. On peut donc parler au Canada de véritable(s) aménagement(s) juridico-linguistique(s), au pluriel bien entendu.

Le Québec a légiféré de façon nettement plus importante que tout autre pouvoir public au Canada, par le truchement de la Loi n° 101, et cela naturellement en faveur du français, en réalité en faveur de l'unilinguisme français, dans tous les domaines, officiels (législation, justice, administration et enseignement) ainsi que dans les domaines non officiels (communications, culture, travail, commerce et affaires) de sa compétence, pour des raisons historiques et culturelles qui lui sont propres. Le Fédéral a légiféré en faveur du français et de l'anglais, et donc en faveur du bilinguisme officiel, de façon relativement équitable dans les domaines de sa compétence, pour assurer une certaine égalité entre les deux langues officielles du pays, tout en insistant mais pas trop sur le caractère multiculturel du pays. Les territoires ont légiféré ou s'apprentent à légiférer en faveur du français et de l'anglais et en faveur des langues amérindiennes dans les domaines officiels de leur compétence. Le Nouveau-Brunswick a légiféré de façon telle que les francophones et les anglophones ont désormais, dans les domaines officiels, des droits linguistiques égaux. Qui plus est, les deux communautés linguistiques, la française et l'anglaise, ont désormais un statut, des droits et des privilèges égaux, en vertu de la Modification constitutionnelle de 1993. Cette Modification est importante en ce qu'elle accorde des droits linguistiques collectifs aux deux Communautés, ce qui est plutôt rare en droit linguistique comparé. En effet, les droits linguistiques, tout en étant culturellement collectifs, sont généralement considérés

juridiquement comme étant de nature individuelle, et pour cause, car l'éventuelle reconnaissance juridique des droits linguistiques collectifs pourrait déboucher, à toutes fins utiles, sur la reconnaissance juridique du droit à la sécession pour certaines minorités linguistiques, ce qui fait peur aux États souverains! L'Ontario est officiellement bilingue. Les autres provinces ont légiféré de façon relativement satisfaisante en faveur du français, dans les domaines officiels de leur compétence, plus particulièrement dans ceux de l'administration, de la justice et surtout de l'enseignement, afin de permettre à leurs minorités francophones de se sentir plus à l'aise culturellement. Pour les minorités francophones du Canada, c'est le domaine de l'enseignement qui est primordial.

C'est l'histoire qui nous dira si ces législations auront véritablement accompli leur mission. Quant aux autres domaines, les domaines non officiels de l'usage des langues, ils dépendent de la réalité sociale qui est favorable à l'anglais dans les provinces anglophones et dans les territoires, pour des raisons sociales et économiques bien évidentes. Il faut souligner cependant le fait que ce sont les Québécois anglophones qui sont les plus bilingues au pays!

Le bilinguisme officiel a fait des progrès considérables au Canada, au Fédéral, dans neuf provinces et dans les territoires, et c'est surtout le français à l'extérieur du Québec qui en a largement profité, des points de vue historique et juridique. Il s'est produit en réalité une forme particulière d'asymétrie substantielle au Canada en matière de langue : tendance vers le bilinguisme officiel à l'extérieur du Québec; tendance vers l'unilinguisme officiel au Québec. La situation du bilinguisme officiel à l'extérieur du Québec n'est évidemment pas parfaite, comme en témoignent les Rapports annuels de la Commissaire fédérale aux langues officielles. Mais les résultats positifs en faveur du français sont indéniables!

Il est par ailleurs évident qu'un État n'est officiellement bilingue que dans la mesure où il a l'obligation d'utiliser deux langues. Dans un contexte de bilinguisme officiel, les citoyens ont toujours le choix entre deux langues. L'État n'a pas ce choix. *Un pays officiellement bilingue n'est pas un pays où les citoyens sont bilingues, absolument pas!* Par ailleurs, une municipalité qui « peut » utiliser deux langues, la langue officielle, le français, et une autre langue, comme c'est le cas des municipalités « reconnues » du Québec, sans aucune obligation juridique de sa part pour ce qui a trait à l'autre langue, n'est pas officiellement bilingue; elle est tout simplement officiellement unilingue française.

Jouissant d'une souveraineté importante en matière de politique linguistique, à preuve la Loi n° 101 demeure parmi les lois les plus exhaustives et les plus draconiennes qui soient en droit linguistique comparé, le Québec préfère s'orienter de plus en plus vers l'unilinguisme officiel. Il y a bien sûr quelques contraintes constitutionnelles mineures, dont la plus notoire est représentée par l'application de la clause Canada, prévue à l'article 23 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés.

L'article 23 permet, à certaines conditions, l'enseignement primaire et secondaire en langue officielle minoritaire aux francophones à l'extérieur du Québec et aux anglophones à l'intérieur du Québec. L'impact de cette clause a

été minime au Québec jusqu'à maintenant. En effet, le nombre d'étudiants anglophones n'a presque pas augmenté au Québec à cause de cette clause. En revanche, l'impact de la clause Canada a été fort important en faveur des étudiants francophones à l'extérieur du Québec. En effet, à l'extérieur du Québec, la clause s'applique à tout citoyen canadien de langue française. Qui plus est, l'enseignement en français n'est pas interdit aux anglophones et aux allophones. Au contraire, au Québec, la clause ne s'applique qu'aux citoyens canadiens de langue anglaise qui ont reçu l'enseignement en anglais au pays. De plus, l'enseignement en anglais est interdit aux francophones et aux allophones. L'asymétrie formelle de l'article 23, qui accorde un statut linguistique particulier au Québec, joue donc contre les anglophones et l'anglais au Québec et en faveur des francophones et du français à l'extérieur du Québec.

Les dispositions juridiques disparates prises au Canada par les différents pouvoirs publics en matière de politique linguistique sont véritablement importantes. Elles s'inscrivent d'ailleurs dans la dynamique nouvelle de la mondialisation et de l'importance de plus en plus grandissante des phénomènes et des problèmes touchant à la régionalisation, à la culture, à la langue et au droit à la différence. Les États modernes interviennent de plus en plus en la matière. À certains égards, les différentes dispositions canadiennes paraissent exemplaires en ce qu'elles se sont avérées, tout en étant perfectibles, des mesures de paix ou de trêve linguistique au pays. Cela démontre aussi que l'application relativement équitable et mitigée du principe, souple, de personnalité linguistique, conjugué avec la mise à l'écart relative du principe, rigide, de territorialité linguistique, en produisant de bons résultats au Canada, pourrait, dans ce début du nouveau millénaire, inspirer avantageusement d'autres pays. Car, s'il y a guerre linguistique au Canada, au singulier ou au pluriel, elle est relativement pacifique.

Les différents systèmes juridico-linguistiques du Canada, dans toutes leurs variantes, y compris le droit linguistique québécois, ont apporté des contributions particulières en matière de politique linguistique, en s'adaptant à la diversité linguistique du contexte pancanadien et en accélérant les changements culturels qui étaient à la fois nécessaires et souhaitables.

Mais à d'autres égards, les dispositions juridico-linguistiques pancanadiennes sont nettement insuffisantes, particulièrement dans le domaine des droits des « allophones » et dans le domaine des affaires municipales. En effet, aucune ville n'est officiellement bilingue au pays, sauf la Ville de Moncton, qui est bilingue depuis le 6 août 2002. Quand on sait qu'en droit linguistique comparé le niveau municipal est parmi les plus importants qui soient pour ce qui a trait à la protection des minorités linguistiques, cela montre de toute évidence les limites des différentes politiques d'aménagement linguistique du Canada. De toute façon, l'avenir prochain nous dira si tout cet arsenal juridico-linguistique pancanadien pourra résister à l'épreuve du temps.

Reading Canada

The public good and private pleasures of reading
A NATIONAL FORUM

Lire le Canada

Les bénéfices publics et les plaisirs privés de la lecture
UN FORUM NATIONAL

November 6-8 Novembre 2003
Ottawa, Ontario

The year 2003 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the National Library of Canada and the thirtieth anniversary of the Association for Canadian Studies. Together with partners in the fields of reading, publishing, writing and literacy, they will present *Reading Canada: The public good and private pleasures of reading* - a national forum to be held in Ottawa in November 2003. The forum will offer a setting for all those involved in Canadian writing and publishing to come together and share their thoughts, concerns and experiences on a variety of important issues including:

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PUBLICATIONS POLICY
PRINT VS ELECTRONIC - THE FUTURE OF THE BOOK
GREAT CANADIAN WRITERS - FICTION,
NON-FICTION AND POETRY
SELF-DISCOVERY THROUGH READING
THE SOCIAL BENEFITS OF READING: YOUNG AND OLD
DEVELOPING CANADA'S FUTURE WRITERS
MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS
THE ROLE OF PUBLIC AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES
BOOK CLUBS / SHARED READING INITIATIVES
ACQUISITIONS
INFORMATION OVERLOAD
TRANSLATION
REVIEWING BOOKS
SELLING BOOKS
BRAILLE AND OTHER READING/INTERPRETING SYSTEMS
INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS

L'année 2003 marque le 50^{ème} anniversaire de la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada et le 30^{ème} anniversaire de l'Association d'études canadiennes. En collaboration avec divers partenaires des domaines de la lecture, l'édition, l'écriture et l'alphabétisation, ces deux institutions présenteront *Lire le Canada : les bénéfices publics et les plaisirs privés de la lecture* - un forum national qui aura lieu à Ottawa en novembre 2003. Le forum donnera l'opportunité aux intervenants des domaines de l'écriture et de l'édition canadienne de se réunir et d'échanger leurs pensées, intérêts et expériences sur une multitude d'importants sujets, dont entre autres :

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LA POLITIQUE DE PUBLICATIONS
L'IMPRIMERIE VS L'ELECTRONIQUE - L'AVENIR DU LIVRE
LES GRANDS ECRIVAINS CANADIENS - ROMAN,
ECRIT NON FICTIF ET POESIE
LA DECOUVERTE DE SOI PAR LA LECTURE
LES BENEFICES SOCIAUX DE LA LECTURE :
JEUNES ET MOINS JEUNES
LE DEVELOPPEMENT DES FUTURS ECRIVAINS
LES MAGAZINES ET JOURNAUX
LE ROLE DES BIBLIOTHEQUES PUBLIQUES ET SCOLAIRES
LES CLUBS DE LIVRES / LE PARTAGE DES INITIATIVES DE LECTURE
LES ACQUISITIONS
LA SURCHARGE D'INFORMATIONS
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National Library of Canada and
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Bibliothèque nationale du Canada et
Archives nationales du Canada



ACS PRESIDENT'S REPORT (2002-2003)

As the association for Canadian Studies nears its 30th anniversary, that milestone provides an opportunity for us to reflect and to look forward. When one considers that only a few years ago, the Board of Directors of ACS was confronted with a bleak financial report that necessitated urgent remedial action, the current activities and prospects for the organization are truly remarkable.

The executive director of the ACS, Jack Jedwab, and the staff at our headquarters in Montreal should be congratulated not only for the prudent fiscal management that has stabilized ACS finances at an extraordinarily high level but also for the effective use of those resources to fulfil the mandate of ACS. Through conferences and publications, members and associated partners have been able to reach wider audiences without prejudice to their scholarly aims and interests. As a result of the combined efforts of staff and members, the ACS has earned an enviable reputation for fostering understanding in Canada and abroad of issues and concerns that animate us all as scholars and citizens. No other scholarly organization in Canada has received comparable attention for its endeavours.

For the association and its members, the past year has been one of achievement and distinction. ACS has embarked on numerous successful initiatives, which have dovetailed with the continuation of past ventures (for example, the effective use of *Canadian Issues* in conjunction with thematic conferences). Consequently, ACS is in a unique position to foster dialogue and to advance research on a variety of subjects.

Even a cursory glance at the agenda for the past year conveys a sense of these myriad activities: last year's annual conference took place in the wake of the phenomenal conference that marked the 20th anniversary of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*; the conference on "Broadcasting the Nation" highlighted a wide range of inquiry and research; another gathering dealt with the implications of the events of 9/11 for Canada and Canadians; that was closely followed by an assessment of the legacy of the Charlottetown Accord; there was a round table on language issues in December; then in January of this year, there was a conference on "the Governance of Diversity in Canada" that attracted leading scholars and policy-makers; more recently, there were a series of meetings in Niagara Falls that highlighted, among other aspects, relations between Canada and the United States. That selection from a longer list conveys a sense of what ACS has been doing.

Through its publications and owing to its expertise, ACS has consistently contributed to public discussion of major issues, such as those associated with polling and census data. ACS has been consulted on key developments of interest to members, such as the merger of the National Library of Canada and the National Archives of Canada into a single institution. These various engagements have enabled ACS not only to serve its key aims but also to develop an enviable reputation as an effective partner for others.

As a consequence, we look forward to another year – and decades to come – in which ACS advances an understanding of Canada by diverse but complementary means and provides exceptional opportunities for its members and partners to make further contributions to that fundamental objective.

Hector Mackenzie

RAPPORT DU PRÉSIDENT DE L'AEC (2002-2003)

Lors que l'Association d'études canadiennes approche de son 30^{ème} anniversaire, une opportunité de réfléchir et de se pencher sur le future de l'organisation s'offre à nous. Lorsque nous considérons que seulement quelques années en arrière le conseil d'administration faisait face à déficit budgétaire nécessitant une action immédiate, les activités présentes et futures de l'organisation semblent certainement remarquables.

Le directeur exécutif de l'AEC, Jack Jedwab, ainsi que l'équipe au siège social à Montréal, méritent toutes nos félicitations non seulement pour une administration fiscale prudente qui a stabilisé les finances de l'Association mais pour l'usage efficaces de ces ressources financières dans la poursuite du mandat de l'AEC. Grâce à des conférences et aux publications de l'Association, nos membres et nos associés ont pu rejoindre un public plus nombreux sans compromettre leurs objectifs et leurs intérêts académiques. En conséquence des efforts soutenus de son personnel et de ses membres, l'AEC aura acquis une réputation enviable en tant que source d'informations précises et de d'explication compréhensives sur les sujets qui nous touchent tous en tant qu'intellectuels et que citoyens. Aucune autre organisation académique n'a reçu autant d'accolade au Canada.

Pour l'Association et ses membres, la dernière année fut marquée de succès et de rendement enviable. L'AEC a initié plusieurs projets réussis qui ont rejoint et qui continuent des projets déjà initiés tels que l'utilisation du magazine *Thèmes Canadiens* en conjonction avec les conférences thématiques. L'Association est donc dans une position idéale pour stimuler des dialogues et pour faire avancer la recherche sur une myriade de sujets.

Un coup d'oeil sur les activités de l'année dernière illustre bien cette myriade: la conférence annuelle de 2002 a talonné la conférence phénoménale marquant le vingtième anniversaire de la *Charte Canadienne des droits et libertés*. Le colloque intitulé « Diffuser la nation » a mis en valeur un rayon d'action étendu pour des champs de recherche éventuels, un autre colloque a exploré les conséquences des événements du 11 septembre 2001 pour le Canada et ses citoyens, une conférence examinant les retombées de l'Accord de Charlottetown l'a suivie de près. De plus, l'Association a tenu une table ronde sur le thème de la langue en décembre puis, en janvier, a organisé une conférence sur « la gouvernance de la diversité au Canada » qui a capter l'attention d'intellectuels et de stratégies prééminents. Finalement, l'AEC a récemment tenu une série de colloques à Niagara Falls traitant, entre autres, des relations Canado-Américaines.

À travers ses publications et grâce à son expertise, l'AEC a immanquablement contribué au discours public de thèmes importants avec, entre autre, ses sondages et ses données statistiques. L'Association a régulièrement été consultée sur des événements capturant l'intérêt de ses membres tels que la fusion de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Canada avec les Archives Nationales. Ses participations à des projets variés ont permis à l'AEC non seulement d'accomplir ses objectifs, mais aussi d'acquérir une réputation hors-pair comme un partenaire efficace et recherché.

Nous envisageons donc l'année qui vient et les décennies qui viennent confiants que l'AEC continuera de stimuler une meilleure compréhension de ce qu'est le Canada à l'aide de ses ressources variées et complémentaires. Nous sommes également confiants que l'Association persistera dans sa recherche d'opportunités unique de contribuer à cet objectif fondamental pour ses membres et ses associés.

Hector Mackenzie

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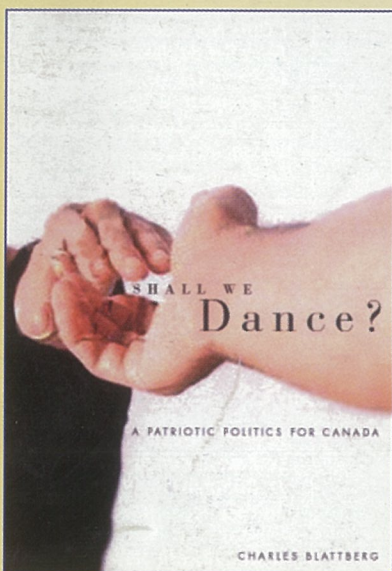
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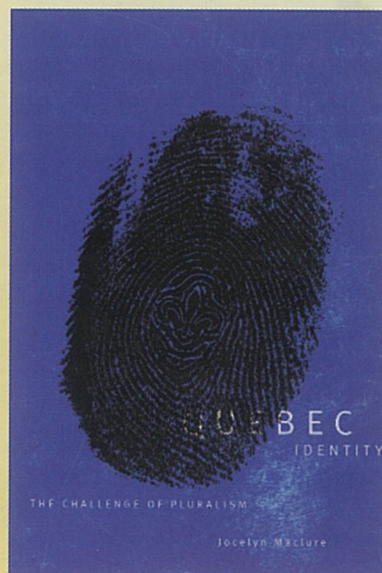
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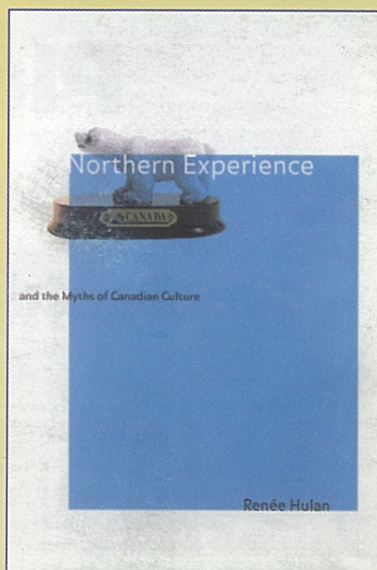


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