

Janet Muller

Report of Study Visit to Canada 2006

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## **Executive Summary**

### **Background**

Canada's provisions for language diversity, particularly in relation to the two Official languages, French and English, are widespread and deeply rooted in the country's decentralized, federal system of government. The Canadian constitution splits governmental power between the federal and provincial levels of government. There are ten provinces and 3 territories in the federal system, each of them with their own constitution. Each can regulate its own tax system and can also enact legislation. Many of the ten provinces of Canada have their own language legislation, perhaps most significantly, in Québec, where there is extensive and powerful legislation for French. Whilst Nova Scotia has taken a number of measures in recent years at a provincial government level in respect of Gaidhlig, legislation has not been amongst these initiatives to date.

Canada's parliamentary system, which was based on the UK system, has also been significant in the past two years in adding to the federal language legislation through an amendment to the Official Language Act.

### **French and English**

In Canada, the language issue was brought into the heart of the federal government agenda when the Official Languages Act was enacted in 1988. The Act creates equal status for French and English throughout the country, and in the case of any province where there is a 'minority' in either of the two languages, it places a duty upon the federal government and upon the provincial government, to co-operate together to ensure that services are provided through that language.

In Québec, the province has a specific and powerful law, the Charter for the French Language, Law 101, which is intended to protect the French language and maintain and improve its position within the province. In Québec, it is English speakers who are the 'minority', although their overall dominance throughout the rest of the country, and indeed in the neighbouring United States, mitigates against this position in terms of Canada as a whole. Nonetheless, English speakers in Québec are protected under the federal government's Official Languages Act.

Outside of Québec, there is a smaller, more dispersed population of French speakers, who are therefore protected under the Official Languages Act. Some of the Canadian provinces, for example, New Brunswick, which is officially bilingual, has enacted provincial legislation for French language protection and promotion. Other provinces, however, have been resistant to meet the needs of French speakers, and there is a continuing struggle in areas like Manitoba and

British Columbia to achieve effective development and protection for French speakers.

### **Aboriginal Languages**

Canadian aboriginals fall into 3 political groupings: The First Nations, the Inuit and the Métis (a French word used to describe someone of mixed aboriginal and French descent). Sources do not agree on all details, but it is generally accepted that within the First Nations there are at least ten different languages. The Inuit languages are separate entirely from these, and from the unique 'mixed' language of the Métis.

The aboriginal languages of Canada exist in widely different circumstances and under different conditions. A large number of these languages are under serious threat of disappearance, whilst others are under pressure, but still spoken widely. Generally, there is improvement in the legislative position of these languages and the interest in them within their own communities is growing.

### **Celtic Languages**

The influence of Irish Gaelic and Gaidhlig settlers from Scotland can be seen throughout Canada. In Nova Scotia, and particularly on Cape Breton, there is a significant Gaidhlig heritage, including the remains of a native Gaidhlig speaking community which at the turn of the century numbered between 50,000 and 80,000 native speakers. Over three generations, this figure has dropped disastrously, but in recent years, the provincial government has taken steps to begin the protection and development of the small remaining Gaidhlig speaking community.

### **Ethnic Minority Languages**

Canada is a country of immigrants. In the Federal Official Languages Act, there is official recognition of the importance of languages other than French or English, but in general, immigrants to Canada learn either French or English and these are the languages of public life.

### **Research actions**

Extensive desk research was undertaken into language legislation and into the particular circumstances of the different languages of Canada. In addition, the researcher attended several key conferences on language policy, including:

1. AIDEQ

Association Internationale Des Études Québécoises  
Programme d'Études sur le Québec de l'Université de McGill  
'La Culture publique commune' (The Common Public Culture)  
(16th and 17th May, McGill University, Montréal)

2. Congres Annuel de l'ACFAS 2006

(ACFAS Association francophone pour le savoir)

Langues Officielles et dualité linguistique: structuration de la recherche et partenariats (Official Languages and linguistic duality: structuring research and partnerships)

(18th and 19th May, McGill University, Montréal)

### 3. CAIS

Canadian Association for Irish Studies

Urban Ireland

14th -17th June, Ottawa

In order to make some comparisons between the state of languages in Canada, research was carried out in Québec and Nova Scotia. Interviews were conducted with senior officials at federal government level, at provincial government level, and with representatives of the community and academic sectors.

The researcher found that there are both similarities and significant differences in the Canadian and northern Irish experience, but that Canada represents a significant body of good practice and learning upon which the north can draw in its efforts to build a new society.

## Québec and Nova Scotia

### Introduction

#### Purpose of the Study Visit

The 4 month study visit to Canada was geared towards research on legislative, governmental, economic and community responses to issues around equality, language rights and cultural diversity. As a country with a Federal system of government, Canada has sought to protect linguistic and cultural rights in different ways at a national, regional and provincial level, often based on local circumstances of the languages concerned. For this reason, the practical implementation of language and cultural rights displays considerable local variation. The visit therefore, focused on language issues in two different provinces: Montréal (Quebec) and Nova Scotia / Cape Breton.

Following the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, which made significant references to the Irish language and a clause on the need to accord respect to Ulster Scots, sign language and to the users of ethnic minority languages, the British government signed and ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML). Many viewed this as an excellent opportunity to bring the Irish language in from the margins of society.

However, in choosing to ratify only 36 clauses of the ECRML for the Irish language, it appears that the UK adopted a minimalist approach to the Irish language. The ECRML itself demands that states select the clauses and options appropriate to each language in their jurisdiction but many Irish speakers feel that in choosing the weakest options, the UK ratification instrument contravenes this instruction.<sup>1</sup>

The 2001 census statistics show an 18% increase in the number of Irish speakers in the last ten years. These statistics are complemented by a rapid growth in the Irish medium education sector that has seen the number of schools increase. Irish speakers draw attention to the fact that there are inconsistencies between how the Welsh language in Wales and Gàidhlig in Scotland are supported in comparison to Irish in the north, a point noted in the Committee of Experts (COMEX) Report of March 2004.<sup>2</sup> Whilst Welsh and Gàidhlig in Scotland are subject to comprehensive legal protections, the north

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<sup>1</sup> European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Part 1, "This flexibility takes account of the major differences in the *de facto* situations of regional or minority languages" and, "*The role of the states will be, not to choose arbitrarily between these alternatives, but to seek for each regional or minority language the wording which best fits the characteristics and state of development of that language*"

<sup>2</sup> COMEX report March 2004, "...differences in approach and commitment by the authorities in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales towards regional or minority language policy. The practical and political support varies for each language."

of Ireland is the only corner of the UK jurisdiction where there is no such protection for the primary indigenous language. This anomaly was emphasised by the response of the UK Government to the COMEX Report of March 2004:

*The UK Government is also aware that there is an issue regarding the position of the Charter in UK law. Consultations are currently taking place on language Bills for some of the languages covered by the Charter. Such legal Acts could contain provisions to ensure compliance with the Charter at all levels of Government.*<sup>3</sup>

A 2005 report on the implementation of the European Charter by POBAL, the umbrella organisation for the Irish speaking community, of which the researcher is Chief Executive notes,

To all intents and purposes, Irish remains a hidden language in the north of Ireland. Even in areas where there is clear demand, there is no significant increase in the public visibility of the Irish language in official signage, in advertising, in publicity and information campaigns. On the BBC, Irish language television broadcasting hours have decreased to a mere five hours in the last year and the Irish language remains invisible in the proposed BBC Charter and UK Communications Act. No progress has been made towards consistent regional policy development in facilitating use of Irish language street and place names. Irish speakers still often struggle for the right to use the correct forms of their own names. The use of Irish in the workplace remains a troublesome and often stressful issue. Rights enshrined in the ECRML often appear to be flouted by agencies as central to public administration as the Inland Revenue and the Electoral Office. Where hard-fought rights are won in one case, they may reappear in another, leaving Irish speakers vulnerable and unsure.

Of course, in December 2006, the British government itself gave tacit acknowledgment of the need for domestic protection and policy development for Irish in the north when it published a consultation document on an Irish language Act. Irish speakers, drawing from international experience, including that gained during this study visit, have said that a strong Irish language Act will assist in harmonising equality and language legislation in the jurisdiction of the UK and will provide the legislative and policy framework required to

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<sup>3</sup> *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Application of the Charter in the UK, Appendix II, Comments by the Government of the United Kingdom, Strasbourg 24<sup>th</sup> March 2004*

support the constantly growing and active community of fluent young Irish speakers and adult learners in the north of Ireland.

Canada is internationally recognised as, arguably, the most valuable example of both. Canada is a diverse and multilingual society, with a complex social and political history that has at times included intense controversy and conflict, often originating in cultural and linguistic differences. In spite of this legacy, Canada has emerged as a strong and confident multilingual and multicultural society. It has introduced extensive legislation to protect language rights, as well as devising strong legal and governmental mechanisms to support implementation. Its different language and cultural communities have adopted a variety of approaches to community development and economic development issues, as well as to partnership and governance issues. Montréal is of course at the heart of the French Canadian Québécois community, and claims to be the second largest French-speaking city in the world, after Paris. In addition to this, the city and its environs are also the traditional home of the Iroquois, Huron and Algonquin indigenous peoples, with a collection of languages still being taught and used on a daily basis, and to over 80 different thriving ethnic minority communities.

Whilst Montréal can be said to be at the heart of Francophone Canada, Ottawa reflects a different demographic status, with English speakers predominating. As the administrative capital of Canada, Ottawa is theoretically bilingual. Government bodies and service providers adopt different measures to meet perceived linguistic needs and the community has responded to their circumstances through a series of innovative initiatives based around cultural clustering and mixed economy approaches.

Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, as well as being the site of great historical injustice against the Acadian (French-speaking) community, is the heartland of the Scots Gàidhlig speaking community. Persisting to this day, but under considerable pressure, the Gàidhlig speaking community retains some unique linguistic and social characteristics, and is in the process of early collaboration between government and local groups towards language preservation. As elsewhere in Canada, the area is also home to native languages, strongest of which is Miq Mac. The economy of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia is dependent upon the sea, and presents considerable challenges in terms of economic development and the regeneration of language communities.

The Study Visit sought to examine whether there were lessons appropriate to the north to be learned from the experience of Canada in language rights. It is noticeable that in recent years, both government and civil society have made numerous attempts to draw from the experience of other countries. As advisors, formally and informally, and at both community and governmental levels, information has been exchanged and comparisons sought from Eastern Europe,

from South Africa, from the United States of America and, in particular, in relation to language rights and transitional justice, from Canada.

Prominent academics with Canadian roots including Robert Dunbar and Fernand de Varennes have been consistent features at conferences organised by both NGOs and by government consultants.

The north has not been alone in its enthusiasm for the lessons of Canada. Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Éamon Ó Cuív, drew extensively on the legislative experience of Canada in preparing the drafts of the Official Languages Act 2003, and the south's major Irish language NGO, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge twice brought Canada's Commissioner for Official Languages, Dyane Adam, to talk to community organisations.

It is logical to suggest that, from a northern perspective, the different players in this ongoing exchange have different objectives and different expectations of this contact. As Marc Tremblay notes, the fact that the administrative system and structure of Canada is based on the British model may, to some civil servants and to the British government itself, facilitate transferability of experience,<sup>4</sup> as may the historic relationship of the British with Canada.

For language activists, the interest may spring from the perception that Canada is a country that has achieved a balanced response to the different needs of linguistic groupings, and that it is a country where linguistic duality, 'est plus que jamais profondément enracinée dans l'esprit collectif des Canadiens et des Canadiennes. Elle est un trait de base de la personnalité et de l'identité canadiennes contemporaines.'<sup>5</sup>

During the study visit, the similarities and differences in terms of linguistic rights, in the north and in Canada were examined to determine to what extent experience can be transferred. Given the locations of the visit, emphasis was placed upon the effects of Canada's approach to language rights in the case of the two official languages, the development of extensive legislation and service provision and a reversal of language drift in one significant part of francophone Canada. I shall postulate that this has, in turn, been one of a number of factors in the creation of a more open and inclusive society, both at a federal level and in

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<sup>4</sup> Marc Tremblay, Avocat général et Directeur, Groupe du droit des langues officielles, Ministère de la Justice, Canada: General Counsel and Director, Official Languages Law Group, Department of Justice, Canada, during interview with researcher, Friday 16<sup>th</sup> June 2006

<sup>5</sup> '...is rooted more deeply than ever in the collective spirit of Canadians. It is a fundamental feature of Canada's personality and contemporary identity.' (Official translation) Rapport Annuel 2005-6, *Les Langues Officielles au Canada: Le tournant à prendre*, pg 99; Commissariat aux Langues Officielles, Ministère des Travaux Publics et des Services gouvernementaux Canada 2006. Annual Report 2005-6, Official Languages in Canada: Taking on a New Challenge, pg 99; Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Minister of Public Works and Government Services, Canada 2006

the province of Québec. In a further section to this report, I shall also briefly examine how this atmosphere of openness is interpreted and experienced by some members of the First Nations in relation, in particular to their search for self governance and language and cultural rights.

### **Canada as a peaceful society.**

‘The...Lower Canadians drew themselves up and said, if the constitution were not drawn up so as to give them power to protect beyond a doubt, their institutions, their religion, their language and their laws in which they had so great pride, they would never consent to a union, and if we had not agreed to that, we should not have had the Dominion of Canada.’

‘The issue...is simply whether this Canada of ours is to be British, and nothing else than British, or whether it is to be a mongrel land, with two official languages and ruled by a divided authority. Should Ontario buckle under to the demand now being made upon her, farewell to the hope of Canada being British.’<sup>6</sup>

Modern Canada is lauded throughout the world as the very model of a modern democracy, built upon tolerance and inclusivity. Whatever the reality of this image in real terms, it is one that is all the more striking given the considerable strife and political conflict that are at the heart its recent history. In a later section of this chapter, we shall discuss the relationships between the modern Canadian state and the First Nations peoples. In this section, we shall focus on the development of policies relating to Canada’s two Official Languages recognised at federal level, French and English.

### **Reaching consensus on language rights in Canada.**

On 25<sup>th</sup> August, 1943, Franklin Roosevelt presented a speech at the Chambre des communes, which he concluded with the following sentiment expressed in French, ‘Le Canada est une nation fondée sur l’union de deux races. L’harmonie de leur association dans l’égalité peut servir d’exemple à l’humanité tout entière - un exemple qui vaut partout dans le monde.’<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> JA McDonald to Costigan, 1872, quoted in Sellar, R. *The Tragedy of Quebec: The Expulsion of its Protestant Farmers*, 1907, reprinted Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974, pg 184.

<sup>7</sup> LeDevoir, 21.10.99, quoting Roosevelt’s visit to Canada and speech from 25<sup>th</sup> August 1943. ‘Canada is one nation founded on the union of two races. The harmony of their association, based on equality can serve as an example for the whole of humanity – it is a valid example throughout the world.’; -Researcher’s translation

Today, Canada is noted for the depth of its approach to linguistic rights and the tolerance of its people. It is viewed as a stable modern democracy, keen to assert its own identity and policy framework in the shadow of its dominant neighbour, the United States. It is however significant that, in spite of Roosevelt's assertion of 'a union based on equality', this apparently well-established calm was preceded right into the twentieth century by several generations of intense social conflict around the political and linguistic issues of concern to the two dominant 'settler' communities, the English speaking communities who gave broad allegiance to Britain and the French speaking communities who identified broadly with France.

In any review of Canadian history, however brief, it is important to note that in spite of the distances involved, the nature of the life of early settlers and the interdependent exchanges between communities that developed in the 'New World', to a greater or smaller extent, the policies of European mother countries still impacted upon settlers.

As Berger notes,

'Throughout the seventeenth century and for the first half of the eighteenth century, Britain and France were almost continuously at war. Every clash between the two powers was carried into North America. Indeed relations between the French and the English in North America often seem to have been a history of meaningless wars with confusing names and obscure European origins.'<sup>8</sup>

The clashes, however 'incomprehensible' they may have appeared, were to continue to be a key feature in shaping Canadian society well into the twentieth century when finally the issue of how to shape a country that appeared to be pulling in two opposite directions, came centre stage.

### **Quebec and the federal state**

In a Canada working to develop its own structures and relationship with international powers around it, language and national identity were to become core elements of a debate that at times seemed ready to destabilise Canadian society.

To today's casual observer, the following comparison may appear anomalous,

There is a depressingly close parallel between the Québec Question, which has haunted Canadian politics since the 1960s, and the Irish Question, which haunted British politics for fifty years prior to the creation of the Irish Free State in 1922...It is devoutly to be hoped that Canada can avoid the final stages of this historical precedent, which still resonates in Northern Ireland today.'<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Berger, T.R. *A long and terrible shadow: white values, native rights in the Americas 1492-1992*, Douglas and McIntyre, Vancouver/Toronto, University of Washington Press, Seattle 1992

<sup>9</sup> Richard, J. *The Case for an Explicit Division of Powers over Language*, in *Survival: Official Language Rights in Canada*, Riachrads, J. Vaillancourt, F. Watson, William G. EDs, The

How could Canada move so rapidly to an apparently stable and well established society? A brief exploration of the timeline involved in shaping these issues may help to clarify the situation. This is an examination that may help us to isolate factors that would help the north to also package its linguistic and political 'troubles' and move forward.

### **Timeline**

In 1867, Canada was two-thirds anglophone and one-third francophone. Before agreeing to join Confederation, French Canadians wanted the right to educate their children in French. The 1867 Constitution Act set up federal and Quebec institutions to be bilingual. However, in the hundred years, since the establishment of the Canadian federal system in 1867, the Francophone population had witnessed ongoing economic, social and linguistic discrimination including repressive actions in some provinces (for example in Manitoba and in Ontario) which had legislated to abolish French medium schools or to make it difficult for francophones to educate their children in their own language.

In 1963, Canadians of ethnicities other than French and English numbered 5 million. There were 7,966,000 anglophones and 5,554,000 francophones. In all, Canada's population was almost 19 million.

To respond to increasing tensions throughout the country but centred in Québec, Prime Minister Lester Pearson created the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. It urged the creation of a new "equal partnership" and took evidence during their cross country tour that lasted for some weeks. Meetings at times attracted several hundred people, and all ranges of opinion were heard.

"Canada is not a bilingual country" one man sternly told the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism as it toured across the country for opinions. They visited nearly every corner of the nation, including Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Sherbrooke, Quebec and Regina, Saskatchewan. Crowds of up to 700 come out for the discussion.

One woman from the West exemplifies how that region is mostly against bilingualism, "I don't see why there's such a terrible emphasis put on French. I can't see what good it is to us," she proudly explains. "I think this whole thing can be settled quite easily if they [the French] would teach their children English in schools in Quebec."

By definition, the Commission's role was to look at the relationship between two languages and two cultures, English and French. The Commission was

accused of forgetting one of the country's founding nations — Native Canadians. Mrs. Monteur of the National Indian Council insisted that rather than being bicultural, Canada is actually "tri-cultural."

On October 17<sup>th</sup> 1968, new legislation was introduced to make Canada officially bilingual. The Official Languages Act meant citizens could choose to be served in either French or English by federal government institutions. Services were to be available in both official languages in Ottawa, and in areas with large concentrations of official-language minority populations. An ombudsman's office, the Commissioner of Official Languages, was also set up to monitor enforcement.

Public reaction was mixed, with some significant resistance. In the end, however, the desire to safeguard a politically unified entity and to put an end to the downward spiral of increasingly violent physical conflict on the streets of Quebec won out and all federal parties officially supported the bill, which was passed on July 9, 1969.

At a conference of the premiers of the ten provinces of Canada at St Andrews in New Brunswick in August 1977, the Anglophone premiers refused a 'reciprocity agreement' with Quebec. This was to have been a bilateral agreement with Quebec, by which each of the other nine provinces would be unilingual but would grant minority rights in education equivalent to those held by Anglophones in Quebec under Loi 101

In 1979, P  pin and Robarts' Report of the Task Force on Canadian Unity was published. It included a number of recommendations on language, proposing that the principle of equality of status, rights and privileges of English and French should be enshrined in the constitution; that each provincial legislature have the right to determine an official language or languages for that province; that linguistic rights in relation to French and English be included in provincial statutes in relation to education, health provision and the principle of the right to trial in one's principle language.

This was followed by the Report of the Quebec Liberal Party in 1980, which also contained a number of recommendations on language under the title, A Charter of Rights and Liberties for the constitution.

The subsequent Constitutional debate of the early 1980s led to the further strengthening of the federal identity of Canada but also, conversely, deepened and embittered the sovereignty debate within Qu  bec. Many people felt that their interests had been subjugated to a federalist programme by Premier Trudeau's proposals which made no recognition of the special character of Qu  bec, and one clause even appeared specifically designed to invalidate an article of the popular Charte de la langue fran  aise (Bill 101).

René Levesque, the separatist premier of Quebec and his government, refused to accept and sign the new constitution and the province was constitutionally isolated. Trudeau supporters claimed that the Charter of Rights and Freedom mooted in the proposals would prove to be as much of benefit to Quebecers as it would be to other Canadians. In Trudeau's mind, the Charter of Rights was to be a central piece in developing a common sense of Canadianism all across the country. Others have claimed for years the province of Québec availed itself of the notwithstanding clause inserted on their insistence into the Charter of Rights to render its operation impossible in the province. Since 1982, six separate provincial governments, some federalist, some separatist, have refused to sign the constitution, using the same notwithstanding clause, and have all demanded that changes be brought about.

Whatever the reality, the constitutional debate of 1981-2 has had an enormous and ongoing influence, with debate still current about the status and nature of Québec. The Official Languages Act was updated in 1988 and amended in 2005 but in Québec, separatism continued to grow and still commands the support of the majority of French speaking Quebecers (the last referendum was only lost by the separatists by a margin of 50.5% to 49.5%). New voting patterns were set for a considerable period, until the early 2000s, when the separatist Parti Québécois lost power back to the Liberals for the first time in 19 years. This period has also seen the first swing in Québec towards support for a Conservative Premier, Stephen Harper. In spite of these changes, in 2006, Québec liberal premier, Jean Charest, availed of the opportunity whilst on an official visit to France, to note that Quebec had the 'means' to become a 'nation'.

Jean Dorian is the General President of the St John the Baptist Society of Montréal, the longest established social association in the city, drawing together francophone community and non-governmental interests in the protection and promotion of the French speaking community. He notes that Levesque was always clearer about the needs of the French speaking population of Québec than anyone who came after him. In those days, the movement for the protection of French felt they had the high moral ground 'un sentiment de grand puréte, et ça nous donnait beaucoup de forces'<sup>10</sup>

Trade Unionists, Manon Perron and Diane Lapointe of the Conseil Centrale du Montréal Métropolitain, CSN, note that whilst the community may not always have agreed with Levesque, advances were made under his guidance. However, they believe that communities and social partners must always keep making demands if progress is to be assured. They feel that the world of work is changing with globalisation and economic changes, including the pressure on threatened natural resources. It is their belief that radical movements, socially, linguistically and in terms of Quebec sovereignty have been pushed back. In

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<sup>10</sup> Jean Dorian interviewed by researcher in Montréal, 5<sup>th</sup> July 2006

turn, this causes people to turn inwardly and cease to promote a radical social agenda.

Perron notes, “Il faut éviter la réplie sur soi” that is not at all what she thinks they are about in Québec. “Ce n’est pas ça du tout”<sup>11</sup>. The rights of immigrants and asylum seekers should be at the heart of the political life of francophones in Quebec, because for these two trade unionists, human rights are central to their own identity.

### Québec

Laxer (1979)<sup>12</sup> identifies six factors which led to the emergence of a distinct society in Quebec, citing history, language, law, common origins, feelings and politics.

As key factors, he notes,

- the nationalisation of Hydro Québec in 1962 which was symbolic of the notion that the francophone majority were indeed ‘maitres chez nous’ (Masters of their own home – Researcher’s translation)
- trade unions: the radicalisation and confederation of 3 components, the CMTU, the Federation of Labour and teachers’ groups
- The overhaul of education and the move from religion and rapid expansion of education particularly in Québec

The period was also characterised by heightened nationalism, including in the late sixties mass demonstrations for French language universities and jobs and an expansion in the expressions of a francophone culture.

Although there is some debate about the specific beginning and end of the period that Canadians refer to as Québec’s ‘révolution tranquille’ or ‘quiet revolution’, it is generally agreed that the bulk of the seismic changes associated with the period took place during the 6 year premiership from June 1960, of Jean Lesage and the Québec Liberal party.

Elected on a platform of ‘C’est le temps que ça change!’, the party was to keep its promise, even though most commentators believe that even the prime movers in the party were unaware of the scale of the reform they were about to undertake. In a few short years, there were to be a series of profound changes in Québec society: the reform of the education system, the creation of a health insurance system, massive recruitment of civil servants, the initiation and development of a significant number of key new economic levers, including the nationalization of Hydro Québec, the electricity generating board, and an opening up of Québec culture and society to a more international audience. In this climate of change and unprecedented success, Québec society grew in self

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<sup>11</sup> Manon Perron interviewed by researcher in Montr éal, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2006: ‘You must avoid becoming inward-looking.’

“That’s not it at all” (Researcher’s translation)

<sup>12</sup> Bilingual Tensions in Canada, Laxer, R.M. General Editor, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and Canada Studies Foundation, Curriculum Series / 41, 1979

confidence and assurance as it gathered momentum in its modernization programme towards urbanisation.

Commenting on this period, Guy Boutillier, former president of the Saint John the Baptist Society in Montreal, notes that change has been brought about with astonishing rapidity in Quebec. Born and raised in Montreal, he notes that during the 1950s, “C’était une ville anglaise”.<sup>13</sup> It was the Anglophone community who exerted power, with all major law firms working through the medium of English and university education also through English. A former student of Classics at Loyola University, he recalls noting the presence of many other students whom he judged to be francophone from their names. ‘Mais on ne parlait jamais en français, même ensemble, même parmi nous. C’était un environnement complètement anglophone’<sup>14</sup>

Young francophones had an overwhelming sense of the dominance of Anglophones in the history and development of Montréal, and indeed of Canada. Boutillier cites the example of a small but significant group of highly influential and powerful Scottish settlers whose influence extended through the power structures of citywide Anglophone society to the physical infrastructure of modern Canada. ‘Les chemins de fer, par exemple, ont été conçu, financé et construit par ces hommes, ces écossais du Montréal.’<sup>15</sup>

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism 1965 – 1970 identified real disadvantage in economic and social terms suffered by francophones in Canada. Not only did they tend to receive significantly lower wages, they were grossly under represented in government employment of all kinds and the civil service, had fewer, or no public services of all kinds available to them.

Francophone society throughout Quebec experienced a drip feed of negative commentary from the Anglophone media and society.

In 1964, the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism commenced a six week ‘fact-finding’ tour of the country, including public meetings in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, Sherbrooke, Quebec and Regina, Saskatchewan. Audiences of up to 700 people were reported for some of these meetings. News reports of the time reflected comments from participants, including, “Canada is not a bilingual country” and in the west of Canada, a particularly strong reaction was apparent. One woman reported on CBS news comments, “I don't see why there's such a terrible emphasis put on French. I can't see what good it is to us. I think this

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<sup>13</sup> Guy Boutillier, during interview with the researcher, Montreal, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2006 ‘It was an English (-speaking) city’ - researcher’s translation.

<sup>14</sup> Boutillier, *ibid*: ‘But we never spoke French, even together, even among ourselves. It was a completely Anglophone environment’ – researcher’s translation,

<sup>15</sup> Boutillier, *ibid* ‘The railways had been conceived, financed and built by these Scots from Montreal’ – researcher’s translation

whole thing can be settled quite easily if they [the French] would teach their children English in schools in Quebec.”<sup>16</sup>

Such attitudes were not confined to the sixties or to the far west of the country. A vox pop comment from the 1976 Toronto Star typifies the stance,

‘Look at this bag of chips. French words all over it. Look at this word, “croustilles”; what in hell does that mean? I had to taste them to find out they were plain and not B-B-Q chips.’<sup>17</sup>

As late as 1978 and 1979, sports crowds in Ontario were booing the singing of the Canadian national anthem in bilingual version, an action that Premier Pierre Trudeau called ‘a sad commentary’. Significantly, he went on to say that little could be done about such an attitude, except to continue to sing in both languages until people, “slowly attune their ears to the reality that there are two languages in Canada and two main linguistic groups”<sup>18</sup>

Quebec premier, René Lévesque was less resigned. In a reference to Hugh MacLennan’s novel “Two Solitudes” about Anglo-French relations in Canada in the early twentieth century, Levesque commented that Canada’s French and English speakers were no longer two solitudes, but two hostilities.

Observers from the north of Ireland may note that this situation reflects perhaps more closely the situation in the north than they might have expected from such a stable and peaceful and tolerant democracy.

Asked to identify what brought about such significant change over so short a period of time, Boutillier says, ‘la volonté politique, notre projet politique ici à Québec, et une vision d’un unilinguisme français’<sup>19</sup>

### **The role of the State**

1910 – 60s in Québec there was no legislation regarding language, in spite of the intense social conflicts and the perception of Francophones, who were even then the majority in the region, that they were the subject of intense discrimination. Throughout this fifty year period, there was only one Statute that might have suggested to an uninformed observer that there was more than one language in use, and this concerned the provision in the public transport system for a French version of information. Boutillier notes that it took two years of battles internally within the Québec government to achieve this in the face of

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<sup>16</sup> CBC television news report, May 6, 1964

<sup>17</sup> Article from The Toronto Star, October 9<sup>th</sup> 1976

<sup>18</sup> @Booing of Anthem a sad Commentary’, The Sault Star, Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario, May 24<sup>th</sup> 1978

<sup>19</sup> Boutillier, *ibid*, ‘the political will, our political project, a vision of a Francophone unilingualism’

pro-Anglophone influences. He characterises the francophone elements within the Québec government as ‘conservateur et tres timide’.<sup>20</sup>

Prior to the 1960s the state played a passive ‘laissez-faire’ approach to the development of the community. Commentators have pointed to a number of significant contributory factors to social change in the decades prior to this, but it would be the bold historian however that would seriously compare the advances of the sixties with this timid progress.

In 1936, Duplessis called for the adoption of legislation on the justice system itself, so that while Québec laws would be drafted bilingually, the French version would take precedence. This proposal attracted huge opposition from Anglophone sources, and Duplessis annulled the law.

Outside the realm of language, minor reforms were undertaken. Measures taken by the government of Adélard Godbout included in 1940 the recognition of a woman’s right to vote, compulsory education up to the age of 14 and the founding of Hydro Québec from Montreal Heat and Power. Others note that even in Duplessis’ time, there was some motion towards change, the bringing of electricity to rural areas and some hesitant reforms of the education system. He complained about centralisation and took some unpopular decisions about taxation.

Other forces for change include the quickly stifled 1953 Royal Commission on constitutional problems (La Commission Tremblay), nascent radicalism in the trade unions, including most notably the ‘Asbestos strike’, put down by heavy handed police intervention in 1949, the strikes at Dupuis Frères and in Louiseville in 1952, in Murdochville in 1957 and at Radio-Canada in 1958-1959.

The embryonic radical tendencies found their champions also in certain publications including; *Le Devoir*, which called for economic, social and political reform; *Cité libre*, (largely the brain child of Gérard Pelletier and Pierre Elliott Trudeau) which was widely read in intellectual circles and which was also critical of the inaction of the Duplessis government. Certain university departments, such as L’École des sciences sociales et politiques at the Laval University played a key role in developing the training and education of a generation of political scientists and economists who were prepared to challenge the status quo.

The inflexibility and conservatism of Québec society which has been forced inwards on itself and into a socially suffocating dependence upon the Catholic Church was also highlighted and challenged in the late forties and early fifties by Québec artists. Under the guidance of painter Paul-Émile Borduas, 15 other artists signed up to a manifesto denouncing the past, criticising the role of the

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<sup>20</sup> Boutillier ibid, ‘conservative and very timid’ – researcher’s translation

Catholic church and rejecting conformity which they accused of suffocating art and original thought.

Perhaps ironically, electoral fraud was highlighted in 1956 in the text, *Le chrétien et les élections*, written by priests Gérard Dion et Louis O'Neill, and four years later, brother Jean-Paul Desbiens published his critical analysis of archaism in the education system, which he blamed in part for what he saw as a poor standard of French spoken in Québec. He condemned the stranglehold of religion in public life, inciting the citizen to reject conformity and submission to authority. Observers of contemporaneous affairs in Ireland may not be surprised to note that the book, *Les insolences du Frère Untel*, whilst being ferociously condemned by the Church, sold a record 100,000 copies.

Québec throughout the fifties was clearly a society struggling to find its voice in spite of suffocating social and political restrictions. The state itself, however, was still strongly inclined towards non intervention and conservatism in its approach.

### **La révolution tranquille**

J'estime qu'il nous reste peut-être dix ou quinze ans si nous voulons faire un effort sérieux pour restaurer la langue française et, conséquemment, la sauver, sinon elle deviendra une sorte de patois dont nous aurons honte [...], une petite langue familiale et à saveur folklorique qui ne servira plus vraiment comme véhicule de pensée chez nous.  
- Jean-Marc Leger<sup>21</sup>

if Laxer identifies six factors leading to the emergence of a distinct society in Quebec, (history, language, law, common origins, feelings and politics) Boutillier adds to this list the changing perception of the role of the state.

Pressure from the francophone community of Quebec contributed to the forces for change, and resulted in the 1960 election victory of Jean Lesage's Liberal party. By 1962, Lesage was proposing an extraordinary election pledge, 'un projet de transformer Hydro Québec, de nationaliser Hydro Québec'<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Jean-Marc Leger, journalist and diplomat, the first director of the Office de la Language Français, speaking during a television interview with CBC journalist Judith Jasmin, 12<sup>th</sup> December 1960

'I believe that we have perhaps ten or fifteen years left if we want to make a serious effort to restore the French languages, and consequently, to save it, or else it will become a sort of patois that we shall be ashamed of (...) a little family language with a folklore flavour that will not really serve any longer as the vehicle of thought amongst us' – researcher's translation

<sup>22</sup> Boutillier, *ibid.* 'a project to transform Hydro-Québec, to nationalise it' – researcher's translation

Lesage's mantra, that the Quebecois should be 'Maîtres chez nous'<sup>23</sup> marked a profound change in the common view of what constituted suitable concerns for the Québec state. Equally important, it prefigured an incremental increase in confidence - even daring - and a new willingness to interfere in the economy of Quebec. This new approach coincided with, and added to, an upsurge in the local economy. The state of Québec was about to become a player in the language field.

In 1961, Lesage's government established the Office de la Langue Française, whose purpose was to carry out corpus work. Boutillier notes that since this work had no real interface with Anglophone society, it was the subject of relatively little controversy. It was an important factor, however, in the newly developing self-confidence of the francophone community since it contributed to the modernisation of the language spoken by the majority. New vocabulary and technical terminology was researched and put into use, contributing to the sense that Québecois French was a vibrant language capable of dealing with all aspects of life, and not the outdated and archaic 'patois' that some of Anglophone society perceived.<sup>24</sup> Of course, the legislative and policy oriented initiatives were not the only ones to play a role in the development of the French language as spoken in Québec. The popularity of many francophone singers also helped to build the confidence of francophones that the language they used had validity.

Lesage's government was concerned with more than language, however. Buoyed by the flourishing Québec economy of the first half of the decade, Lesage created a number of new government bodies, including, la Société générale de financement (1962), la Sidérurgie du Québec (1964), la Société québécoise d'exploration minière (1965) and la Caisse de dépôt et de placement (1965). He also undertook a root and branch reform of the civil service, most significant of which was perhaps the formation in 1964 of the ministère de l'Éducation. Lesage's premiership was marked by a series of public successes that both fed upon and in turn nourished the public desire for radical change. The public image of the period is one moulded and defined by a series of slogans, that go beyond narrow party political concerns, building one upon the other to express an intense social energy and determination. As well as the 'Maîtres chez nous', Lesage's government coined another campaign battlecry, 'C'est le temps que ça change'.<sup>25</sup>

The sixties was also the period of the "démocratisation de l'éducation". Education was no longer something for a small elite. The Commission for Bilingualisme and Biculturalisme was formed in 1963. Speaking to Boutillier,

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<sup>23</sup> 'Masters in our own home' – researcher's translation

<sup>24</sup> Boutillier noted that in correspondence and conversation, the researcher had used the term 'courriel' for e-mail. He pointed out that this is a Québecois word. The French in France use the anglicised form 'e-mail'.

<sup>25</sup> 'It is time to change all that' – researcher's translation

there is a great sense of the uncertainty of the period and of a rapid emergence from internalised self-doubt to self-confidence and pride. It is clear that during this time many of those at the forefront of the movement for social and linguistic change were themselves in doubt as to whether their goals could actually be achieved. Success, however, breeds success. When much of the senior management of Hydro Québec decided to leave because of the switch to French in the workplace, there was nonetheless a pool of francophone civil engineers and technicians who had been working in less senior positions and in local facilities to draw from. In spite of all the challenges, Hydro Québec survived and thrived as a nationalised, French speaking symbol of the new Québec.

Increasing emphasis on technical matters, on entrepreneurialism, on educational and training exchanges in non-traditional fields like science and law were opened up as part of the efforts to close the skills gaps and bring about a changed context for francophones.

And change it did, particularly in 1964 when three legislative reforms were introduced: an in-depth revision of the Employment Code; the adoption of Law 16 ending discrimination against married women in the legal system, and the creation of a system of retirement support.

Boutillier feels that the dynamism of international events was of crucial importance to the Québécois during the sixties. He notes the influence, albeit perhaps unconscious of leaders like Cuba's Castro and the events of the Vietnam war. He recalls the impact on students of the film 'Battle of Algiers' showing another group of French speaking people in uprising against a repressive state. It is perhaps typical of the complex relationship between the Québécois and the nation of France that the Québécois did not automatically take the part of the French state during this period of increasing awareness and self-confidence.

Boutillier acknowledges, nonetheless, that the growing status of France as a world power was also a factor in the upsurge of ideas and determination in Québec. The Québécois began to have a better understanding of the power of France. For the first time, they began to realise that French was a language spoken in 25 countries. The Québécois had an international context which they were free to interpret and analyse. No longer did they see themselves as a tiny, isolated enclave in an entirely Anglophone world.

Boutillier acknowledges the importance of De Gaulle's visit to Québec in 1967, and his public proclamations in support of "Québec libre"<sup>26</sup>, but feels that it was his reorganisation and revitalisation of France as a world power that had most

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<sup>26</sup> De Gaulle made a public appearance in Québec in 1967 at which he used the slogan of the radical 'Free Québec' movement

influence. ‘Le monde ne semblait plus exclusivement anglophone’.<sup>27</sup> France also had significant technical and scientific successes which co-incided with the period in Québec development when the French language and francophone community was breaking out of the stereotype of what the French language was good for. All of this technical development had the effect of provoking “un essort” in the Québec economy.<sup>28</sup>

Boutillier’s analysis is reminiscent of that of Bernadette McAliskey, political activist and former Westminster MP for Derry. In her autobiography, *The Price of My Soul*, McAliskey states that she and other students in the north were greatly influenced by the Civil Rights movement in the USA. ‘We thought if that small group of people could take on such a mighty nation, we could certainly take on a tin-pot state like the north of Ireland’.

There was an increase in activism on the ground, including campaigns like the “McGill français” campaign. Boutillier acknowledges the radicalism and imagination central to the campaign, which would have been unthinkable a few years before. On 28<sup>th</sup> March 1969, 10,000 young radicals gathered for a demonstration outside McGill university in Montréal, founded in 1821. The richest of the city’s three universities, it was viewed by many as a bastion of anglo-saxon domination.<sup>29</sup> The demonstrators were calling for greater accessibility to the university for working class people and for the city’s French-speaking majority, a demand that had moved more sharply into focus with the incremental increase in students in Québec which the only two francophone universities in existence at the time (Laval and Montréal) could not cope with. A few months after the campaign, a new francophone university, Université de Québec à Montréal (UQAM) opened its doors.

The “McGill français” campaign, which also attracted the support of a handful of high profile leftist Anglophones, such as Stanley Gray, is considered by historians as a key factor in the revision of language policy in Québec in the following decade and one which also fits into the international context of the period of student revolt and debate around the issues of imperialism. Boutillier notes that in this period of international foment, ‘meme les Libéraux, ils ont commencé à parler de la “décolonisation.” Imaginez-vous, une telle parole dans leurs bouches!’<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Boutillier *ibid*, ‘The world no longer looked exclusively anglophone’ – researcher’s translation

<sup>28</sup> Boutillier, *ibid*, ‘rapid growth and expansion’ – researcher’s translation

<sup>29</sup> For some, McGill University retains this image to this day. Like the University of Concordia in Montréal, it is still not officially bilingual. The May 2006 edition of *JournalSSJB*, the journal of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste carries a front page article by their General President, Jean Dorian, condemning what he sees as a policy of unjustified privilege being accorded to McGill for ‘historic reasons’. (See also chapter.....interview with Jean Dorian)

<sup>30</sup> Boutillier, *ibid*, ‘Even the Liberals began to speak of “decolonisation”. Imagine that, terminology like that being used by them!’ – researcher’s translation

Boutillier also acknowledges with some irony, that the experience of English-speaking, British identifying Canada was also a factor in growing assertiveness in Québec. He believes that as its influence in the US diminished, the British stepped up their influence in English speaking Canada. Anglo Canadians seemed to reattach to their British citizenship in a more direct manner than previously.

This led to a further isolation for Francophone Québécois who perceived themselves as being the clearly identified outsider. There was an increase in the visibility of British flags and emblems and the external trappings of British identity, including the singing of the British anthem

Boutillier believes that this was also a complex response to the pressure of assimilation from the United States. English-speaking Canadians felt it difficult to assert their separate identity. Their writers, musicians and intellectuals 'se sentaient avalés par les États-Unis',<sup>31</sup> which increased their drive towards nationalism and the growing perception of the need to establish a specific Canadian identity.

Politically, the Canadian premier, Diefenbaker, began to take a stronger stance on relations with the USA, which in turn made the notion of 'nationalism' in Canada a more current and acceptable one, reflected in the writings and activities of intellectuals and artists.

In this increase in Anglo Canadian nationalism, 'il y avait de l'abri pour les francophones', according to Boutillier.<sup>32</sup> It meant that for ordinary francophone people, it was more comfortable and accessible to have these ideas as the 1960s drew to a close. .

### **The New Era continues**

Notwithstanding the success of the Lesage government's policy of 'the big idea', his party lost the 1966 elections in a shock result that saw Daniel Johnson and the Union Nationale Party win 56 seats to the Liberals 50. Commentators, including the Liberal party member, René Levesque, suggested there had been too little emphasis on rural and community issues.

Whatever the reality, it was to be Johnston's government that would enact the first language legislation in Québec for over thirty years when it passed Bill 63 in the autumn of 1969. The Bill was an attempt to address a number of issues, including the Crisis of St. Léonard's, a Montréal suburb with a high percentage of Italian speaking immigrants. The school board in the district had decided that all children whose mother tongue was not English would attend French medium

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<sup>31</sup> Boutillier, *idib*, 'They felt themselves swallowed up by the United States' – researcher's translation

<sup>32</sup> Boutillier *ibid*, 'There was shelter for the francophones', - researcher's translation

schools. The anger of the parents and disappointment and outrage of French speaking Québécois combined in an explosive situation. Bill 63 was intended to clarify the situation and improve access to French classes for immigrants, but its critics, with justification, pointed out that the Bill meant in effect that each individual could choose the language of their children's education. The linguistic dynamic, Québécois felt was such that allophones (those with neither English or French as their mother tongue) would gravitate towards English medium education.

The legislation is widely thought to have precipitated an end to the Johnson government, replaced once more by the Liberal party under Robert Bourassa, in 1970.

### **Bourassa.**

In 1974, the Liberals under Premier Robert Bourassa passed Bill 22, la Loi sur la langue officielle, which made French the official language of Québec. Under the legislation, French became the official language of contracts, and corporations were obliged to use French names and to advertise primarily in French in Quebec. They also had to acquire a certificate of francization, which could only be obtained when a company showed it could function in French and address its employees in French, thus, in effect, making it possible for the first time for French to be the language of the workplace.

The legislation also restricted enrolment in English schools for the first time. Children had to show they had an understanding of English before they could be admitted to an English school.

The legislation came under attack from both sides of the language divide. The anglophone community resented having to put their children through tests to get into an English language school. Critics on the francophone side said the legislation didn't do enough to protect the language.

Once more, the language issue played a major role in the Québec elections. Bourassa's Liberals were defeated in 1976, paving the way for the election of Quebec's first separatist government. In the summer of 1977, the Parti Québécois government, under the leadership of René Lévesque, passed Bill 101 – the Charter of the French Language.

Within that bill was the declaration that French was to be the only language allowed on commercial signs in the province. With few exceptions, the use of English was banned.

On the education front, English was to be restricted mostly to those already in the system, their siblings, those temporarily posted in Quebec, or children whose parents had received an English elementary education in the province.

**Loi 101**

Journalist and diplomat, Jean-Marc Léger was made first director of the Office of the French Language. Widely experienced in language rights work on behalf of French-speakers, he had been instrumental in the establishment of other linguistic agencies throughout the 60s and 70s.

Today's organisation has key responsibility for the implementation of the Charte for the French language, Québec's Law 101, a comprehensive and extremely detailed rights-based document. It recognises French as the official language of Québec and establishes the right of every person to communicate in French with all aspects of the public administration, the health and social services, public utilities, professional corporations, associations of employees and even, "all enterprises doing business in Quebec". Most significantly, perhaps, it also creates the right for them to receive this service back from them in French.

The same right is extended in the deliberative assembly and the workplace; to consumers; and extensive rights were created in the legislature and in education. The Government, the government departments and the other agencies of the civil administration use only the official language in their written communications with each other, and those seeking to be appointed, transferred or promoted to an office in the civil administration, must have a knowledge of the official language appropriate to the office applied for.

Further provision includes the drafting in French alone of contracts entered into by the civil administration, including the related sub-contracts, within the province of Québec, although recognition that other languages could be used in contracts linking Québec with other provinces etc is also noted.

In terms of signage, the administration is instructed to use

"...only French in signs and posters, except where reasons of health or public safety require the use of another language as well.

In the case of traffic signs, the French inscription may be complemented or replaced by symbols or pictographs, and another language may be used where no symbol or pictograph exists that satisfies the requirements of health or public safety.

The Government may, however, determine by regulation the cases, conditions or circumstances in which the civil administration may use French and another language in signs and posters."

The issue of public signage of course has been one of the most controversial provisions of Law 101 and one referred to by many of the interviewees in this research, both in positive and negative contexts.

Jean Dorian, General President, John the Baptist Society, Montreal, cites signage as an important example of the success of the Office de la Langue Française. At road junction in Québec where one is required to stop, the Office imposed the 'Arrêt' sign. This has been controversial, even among some francophones because this form of the verb is the substantive and this is not usually used as an order form, but he cited 'Silence!' and another army term for issuing orders as other examples. He likes the Arrêt sign because it is very common and it also carries always the circumflex. He says they have succeeded in 'imposer une vocabulaire'.<sup>33</sup>

Loi 101 also creates extensive rights to work through the medium of French and prevents discrimination against workers who may be exclusively francophone or who wish to converse or carry out their work through the means of French.

An employer is prohibited from dismissing, laying off, demoting or transferring a member of his staff for the sole reason that he is exclusively French-speaking or that he has insufficient knowledge of a particular language other than French, or because he has demanded that a right arising from the provisions of this chapter be respected.<sup>34</sup>

Professional corporations are required to assess the proficiency of their members in the official language prior to the issuing of professional certification to practice. A detailed process is outlined, mirroring to some extent the process in place for the francisation of companies themselves, allowing for those wishing to become members of professional bodies to acquire fluency over a period of several years.

Inscriptions on products, on its container or on its wrapping, or on a document or object supplied with it, including the directions for use and the warranty certificates, have to be drafted in French; as are catalogues, brochures, folders, commercial directories and any similar publications must be drawn up in French.

All computer software, including game software and operating systems, whether installed or uninstalled, must be available in French unless no French version exists. The legislation also prohibits toys or games which require the use of a non-French vocabulary for their operation, unless a French version of the toy or game is available on the Québec market on no less favourable terms.

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<sup>33</sup> Dorian, J. "...imposing a vocabulary" during interview with researcher,

<sup>34</sup> Loi 101, la Charte pour la langue française, OQLF

Application forms for employment, order forms, invoices and receipts are also governed in the Act, and all commercial signage and advertising must be in French unless the government makes an exception. Later clauses allow for non-profit making newspapers that are printed in languages other than French to be exempt from the clause.

Firms names must be in French, although family names, place names, expressions formed by the artificial combination of letters, syllables or figures, and expressions taken from other languages may appear in firm names to specify them, in accordance with the other Acts and with the regulations of the Government. A firm name may be accompanied with a version in a language other than French provided that, when it is used, the French version of the firm name appears at least as prominently. Some firms names had French versions added after 1980. In other cases where social welfare groups delivered services to a community speaking languages other than French, it was permitted for them to continue to use that name as long as they also added a French version.

In addition to these exemptions, the Charter for the French Language also exempts the reserves of the First Nation peoples and notes that there are exceptions in the Charter relating to the use of Cree and Inuktitut in the territories of northern Quebec and St James Bay and to the Naskapi of Schefferville. Nonetheless, the legislation requires that in these territories where other languages have a claim of Official status, provision must be made for the authorities in these areas to deal with the rest of Quebec through the medium of French, and to provide services for those in their territories who are French speakers.

The Government of Québec may also make an exception to the application of one or several provisions of the Charter in respect of a person who resides or has resided on a reserve, a settlement in which a native community lives or in the James Bay and New Quebec territories

Further clauses concern linguistic committees, terminology, standardization of expressions etc and note that once published in the official Québec Gazette, such standardisations become obligatory in official documentation and teaching materials.

The establishment of various institutions, including the Office de la Language française and a place names commission are also covered in the Charter with details breakdown of their responsibilities and powers. Again, it is noticeable that a mechanism is established, not simply for the proposing of new place names or definitive versions of existing names, there is also a mechanism to ensure their use in all official documentation on a continuing basis.

It is common in language legislation that those affected operate within a structured process to deliver their responsibilities. In many places, this is done through the adoption of schemes, or normalization programmes. In Québec, it is done through a detailed francisation process which works under the scrutiny of the Office de la langue française.

This applies to all enterprises, including public utility enterprises. Enterprises employing one hundred or more persons must form a francization committee composed of six or more persons. The francization committee shall analyse the language situation in the enterprise and make a report to the management of the enterprise for transmission to the Office. Where necessary, the committee shall devise a francization programme for the enterprise and supervise its implementation. Where a francization certificate is issued to the enterprise, the committee shall ensure that the use of French remains generalized at all levels of the enterprise according to the terms of section<sup>35</sup>.

The francization programme is intended to generalize the use of French at all levels of the enterprise through

- (1) the knowledge of the official language on the part of management, the members of the professional corporations and the other members of the personnel;
- (2) an increase, where necessary, at all levels of the enterprise, including the board of directors, in the number of persons having a good knowledge of the French language so as to generalize its use;
- (3) the use of French as the language of work and as the language of internal communication;
- (4) the use of French in the working documents of the enterprise, especially in manuals and catalogues;
- (5) the use of French in communications with the civil administration, clients, suppliers, the public and shareholders except, in the latter case, if the enterprise is a closed company within the meaning of the Securities Act (chapter V-1.1);
- (6) the use of French terminology;
- (7) the use of French in public signs and posters and commercial advertising;
- (8) appropriate policies for hiring, promotion and transfer;
- (9) the use of French in information technologies.

In addition, there are a number of factors which a francization programme must take account of, including:

- (1) the situation of persons who are near retirement or of persons who have long records of service with the enterprise;

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<sup>35</sup> ibid

- (2) the relations of the enterprise with the exterior;
- (3) the particular case of head offices and research centres established in Québec by firms whose activities extend outside Québec;
- (4) in enterprises producing cultural goods having a language content, the particular situation of production units whose work is directly related to such language content.
- (5) the line of business of the enterprise.

It is only when a company has implemented their francization programme to the satisfaction of the Office de la langue française, that the Office shall issue a certificate showing compliance. The certificates must, however, be renewed every two years in the case of companies with fewer than one hundred employees, and every year in the case of larger firms.

The Office may refuse, suspend or cancel the attestation of implementation of a francization programme or the francization certificate of an enterprise which is not or is no longer complying with its obligations under the Act.

Similarly, companies with fewer than fifty employees may be compelled to analyse its language situation and to prepare and implement a francization programme, although in these cases, an agreed timescale may be established.

### **The Québec Office of the French Language**

The Office québécois de la langue française has offices in Montréal and Québec city. Its mission is to define and conduct Québec policy on linguistic officialisation, terminology and the francization of the civil administration and enterprises. The Office is also responsible for ensuring compliance with Act 101.

The Office monitors the linguistic situation in Québec and reports to the Minister at least every five years, especially as regards the use and status of the French language and the behaviour and attitudes of the various linguistic groups within Quebec.

As well as ensuring that French is the normal and everyday language of work, communication, commerce and business in the civil administration and in enterprises, the Office is also empowered to take any appropriate measure to promote French and to help define, develop and monitor the francization programmes.

The Office also has responsibility for terminology and the standard of French in public use and can establish the necessary research programmes and studies underpinning implementation.

Gisèle Delage et Normand Maillet<sup>36</sup>, of the Office's Secretariat de la Politique Française, Québec point out whilst Law 101 is a lengthy and complex piece of legislation, that the first six sentences lay out the essentials of the Charte. They feel that whilst most people wouldn't know the detail of the law, they would probably recognise these six principles or declaratory articles because they are easily communicable demands.

Delage accepts that over a period of years, the Charte pour la langue française had been altered substantially, with many clauses deleted or amended following court challenges. However, she points out that the question did not really start with the legislation. "Il y a toute une stratégie qui précède une loi."<sup>37</sup> She said that what they had in Québec was the result of many years of study and research at both Québec and Canadian levels. She said that what had been achieved following this had been done in "un temps record"<sup>38</sup>, but still that 'la Charte n'est pas arrivée toute de suite, il y avait tout un travail qui renforçait le besoin de la Charte'<sup>39</sup>

She notes that this ground work had to be put in place, because "l'adhésion de la communauté doit être assurée".<sup>40</sup> Other changes to the Law had taken place to improve it and to bring it up to date. She says that change comes as a result of effort and a great deal of concerted activity. "Il faut démontrer la nécessité avant de proposer un changement"<sup>41</sup>

Asked if, in spite of the changes to Loi 101, Québec has the law it needs, Delage notes, "de manière générale, la Charte porte des fruits...le français est la langue commune, la langue de partage dans la plupart des secteurs: dans le travail, dans l'éducation, dans le commerce, dans les affaires..."<sup>42</sup>

However, pressed to assess the effect of the court challenges over a long period of time to the Charter, she notes, "La Charte a eu des effets très positifs. Ce qu'on a perdu de la Charte, c'était peut-être inévitable." Nonetheless, she acknowledges that the Charter has been "affaibli" by the "par la Charte Fédérale".<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with researcher, 11th July 2006

<sup>37</sup> Delage, G. « There is an entire strategy that precedes legislation... » interview with researcher, 11th July, 2006

<sup>38</sup> Delage, G, « record time » ibid

<sup>39</sup> Delage, G, "le Charter didn't arrive straight away; there had been a whole work programme that reinforced the need for the Charter", ibid

<sup>40</sup> Delage, G. « you must ensure the unity of the community », ibid

<sup>41</sup> Delage, G. « You have to demonstrate the necessity before you propose a change to the law », ibid

<sup>42</sup> Delage, G « In a general manner, the Charter is bearing fruit...French is the common language and the shared language in the bulk of sectors, in work, in education, in commerce, in business..." ibid

<sup>43</sup> Delage, G. « The Charter has had some very positive effects. What we have lost from the Charter was perhaps inevitable." The Charter has nonetheless been "weakened" by the "Federal Charter". ibid

Most observers would acknowledge that there have been significant defeats for the Charter for the French Language in particular in the areas of signage and education.

Asked about the effects to date of the Supreme Court judgement of March 2005 on the compulsion for all immigrants to educate their children through French under Loi 101, Delage felt that in some ways there had been an important positive gain at this time because the Supreme Court had recognised the Constitutionality of Loi 101, even if they had enforced a change in the qualitative assessment of childrens' education. Nonetheless, she recognised that the issue of court challenges was "un parti du jeu", part of the game.

Her colleague, Montréal based Communications Director with the Office, Gérald Paquette, points out that the Charte pour la langue française is the basis of the language planning process in Québec. Enacted in 1977, it is now almost 30 years old. It is comprehensive and covers all activities in Québec. He stresses its importance, "This is a Charter. That shows how important and comprehensive it is, and its status"

It has been quite a feat to achieve this change. It is easier for the younger generation than for the older one. We have witnessed through our planning programme that we can change completely the language pattern of a people without violence. There may have been some minimal violence but it was associated with the political question and not the language.

Asked if these two elements could be separated, Paquette says,

Yes. There is a very distinct difference. Francisation satisfies both the Federalists and the separatists. For the Federalists, if the Charte succeeds, it helps French speakers to accept that they can live in Canada and be culturally sovereign. For sovereigntists, they believe that the success of the Charte will make Québec so French that in the long term people will choose sovereignty.

Crucially, he notes,

But the language issue can't be separated from the political fabric of Canada. It comes back again and again. Any politician who tries to be indifferent to it will be reminded very quickly. It is part of the political fibre in Quebec especially.

An illustration of this occurred during the summer 2006, when there arose some controversy in relation to French street signage in an area of Montréal called Beaconsfield, with an anglophone residents' group refusing to comply with the

Charte, on the basis that they spoke English, not French and were unwilling to have the language in a visible position in their area.

Paquette points out that the Québec liberal premier, Jean Charest had had to make a statement on the Beaconsfield issue from Europe where he was on an official visit<sup>44</sup>. “You can’t escape language”

Gérald said that Beaconsfield “has been stalling for 20 years. So you can see we are very patient, but also very persistent”

You have a group of people in this case who object to the principle of French predominating. They won’t say this openly. They find many excuses. They say we are ‘pétillant’ or petty, they complain about costs, but if they had spent all the money that they have spent on lawyers instead on the street signs, the job would be done

But you have to recognise that we have come from a position where English was predominant in all aspects of life and the law aims to change this. The majority of people have agreed with this, but we still have a minority that have resisted change, I won’t say ‘fiercely’.

We also have generations of young people who have accepted the change. The resistance comes from older people and they may be the kind of people who also resist changes in weights and measures and won’t accept the change to kilometres and so on. They were at ease before, and happy like that and now they resist all social change. You have to ask yourself, too, is it normal that there would still be someone in Québec who doesn’t speak French, and there is 30% of the population who do not.

Asked to what extent the Charte had been a success, Paquette says,

Most people are satisfied with the progress but still very attuned to the fact that French is in a fragile – not a critical- but a fragile position. We have succeeded in having people believe that the Charter is one of the most important social institutions in the infrastructure of Quebec. People say there are 3 concerns in Québec, ‘health, education and language’.

Guy Boutillier, former president of the St John the Baptist Society feels that the Charter, although coming under severe pressure from the Federal government,

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<sup>44</sup> Charest insisted that Law 101 would be implemented and that French language street signs would be used

has made remarkable change in Montréal. He notes that twenty years ago, to all intents and purposes, Montréal, “C’était une ville anglaise”.<sup>45</sup>

Reviewing the progress of linguistic policies, he feels that there remains much to be done. However, “ce n’est certainement pas un échec”.<sup>46</sup>

Delage agrees, “C’est mission accomplie”<sup>47</sup>

Dorian, current president of the St John the Baptist Society feels that in general, there has been great progress, ‘pas assez, mais un grand progres’<sup>48</sup>

The success in terms of signage he finds ‘spectaculaire’. Like Boutillier, he remarks on the changing visibility of the French language in Montréal since the fifties. Signage, he feels, is important because it, “change l’attitude et l’habitude des gens, parce qu’il est partout. Ce n’est pas quelque chose de symbolique seulement. Quand nous voyons le français partout, nous parlons français aussi”.<sup>49</sup>

Gérald Paquette also points out that the Charter has been changed over time in that it has been strengthened through the adoption of government policies, including, for example, in public purchasing. He cites the example of computer technology, where the adoption of a purchasing policy by government, which is a very big buyer, had meant that companies are very often inclined to comply. This has a knock-on effect for the private consumer because the products and instructions are now available for them too.

He notes that many IT people had thought that it would be impossible to ensure that the instructions would be given in French and the programmes etc done in French. But the fact that the government adopted the policy made it happen.

Paquette nonetheless points out that the Québécois were often reluctant to impose strong legislation,

In the 1970s, 80s and 90s, some people thought that French and English should be ‘equal’ in status and protections. But in a north American context, one language would always be more equal than the other, and that language would be English. Eventually people became persuaded that the only way to change this was for a law to impose French as the predominant language. Even so, in many areas of life, this predominance is actually literally

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<sup>45</sup> Boutillier, G. « It was an English (sic) city”; interview with researcher, 12<sup>th</sup> June 2006

<sup>46</sup> Boutillier, G. « It has certainly not been a failure », *ibid*

<sup>47</sup> Delage, G. « It’s mission accomplished »

<sup>48</sup> Dorian, J. « Not enough, but great progress »

<sup>49</sup> Dorian, J. « it changes the attitude and habits of people, because it is everywhere. Its not just something symbolic. When we see French everywhere, we speak it also”

equality, for example on marketing products where English and the French versions are exactly the same.

Many observers recognise that in terms of language legislation in Québec, as Delage notes, there has been “un coté négative, la police linguistique”<sup>50</sup>. Questioned on this issue, her colleague, Gérald Paquette points out that it is a matter of opinion. To Anglophones, the Office de la langue française might be ‘the language police’ but to francophones, it is the guardian angel of the language

Nonetheless, both underline the need to undertake persuasive and collaborative work to ensure compliance to the law. It is clear that a great deal of time and energy is spent on this in Quebec. Delage talks of, “valorisation et sensibilisation de la population”, and of the emphasis placed on the “mérites du français” and on “redonner le français aux québécois”<sup>51</sup>

Paquette notes that self respect is a major issue for speakers of minoritised languages.

Without this you are going nowhere. “People here enjoy living through French in a context that should be hostile. There is great pressure on them from the Anglophone culture all around them, but they have succeeded in living their lives through French because of the law, the policies, the institutions and the will and the pride of the people in speaking French.

He says that people often say to them,

“‘We’re amazed at what you have done’, and we say, ‘So are we’ and they say ‘How have you done it?’ and we say, ‘We plan and we implement, and then we cross our fingers’”.

For Delage, all the work being carried out shows that “le changement linguistique est possible”. They try to “élargit cette sensibilisation chaque année” They try and “valoriser la langue sans être menaçant” This means that “la population a l’impression, et même la certitude, qu’il y a des avancées”<sup>52</sup>

Given that there is a need to reinforce the confidence of the population against adverse reaction to language protections, would it have been better to have had a less stringent law?

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<sup>50</sup> Delage, G. « a negative side, the language police » *ibid*

<sup>51</sup> Delage, G. « ...valorisation and awareness-raising of the population,», of the “merits of French” and on “giving the French language back to the Québécois” *ibid*

<sup>52</sup> Delage, G. « ...linguistic change is possible », and they try and « increase this awareness every year”. They try and valorise the language without being threatening” and this means “the population has the impression, and even the certainty, that there are advances being made”.

Paquette responds that although he was not there when these decisions were being made, he feels that “it was wise to have strong and comprehensive legislation, and then to have progressive methods which allow for implementation in a civil fashion.” Like Delage, he is adamant that the Charter was needed and that without it, progress could not have been made.

He tells companies, especially from the United States,

It’s like having you as our neighbour. You’re a great neighbour and we love to invite you round to our house, but when you come, you’re too big and you break the chairs. But we still want to invite you in, so we have made a steel reinforced chair for you. We know you’re not entirely comfortable in it, but at least you’re not breaking the chair. In Québec, we call the steel plating, the Charter for the French Language.

Delage emphasises, “Mais on ne peut pas coercer. On ne serait jamais aussi bien réussis”<sup>53</sup> Even in the community at large, people who are strongly in favour of French would back off if the stakes got too high. The vast majority of the complaints cases of non-compliance they deal with are settled outside of court.

Clearly, however, they place great value on the Charter. Delage notes, ‘On avait besoin de cette loi la. On veut tellement la préserver que l’on cherche toujours la paix linguistique pour protéger la loi.’<sup>54</sup>

### **The Federal Position**

In general, Canada is accepted as a country in which huge progress been made in the area of two official languages. Instrumental in this situation has been the Charter for Official Languages. The Charter states that its purpose is to,

... ensure respect for English and French as the official languages of Canada and ensure equality of status and equal rights and privileges as to their use in all federal institutions, in particular and with respect to their use in parliamentary proceedings, in legislative and other instruments, in the administration of justice, in communicating with or providing services to the public and in carrying out the work of federal institutions:

The policy in relation to two official languages has wide support from politicians and from within the civil service and from employees of Crown bodies. There appears to be willingness on the part of both francophones and anglophones to use both official languages, and there are a number of practical

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<sup>53</sup> Delage, G. « You cannot co-erce people. We would never have succeeded s well.”

<sup>54</sup> Delage, G. « We needed that law. We want so much to preserve it that we always seek to maintain linguistic peace in order to protect our law”.

successes where there is a clear commitment to linguistic duality. Nonetheless, a report for the Office of the Official Languages Commissioner in 2005, *Making it Real*, notes that equality of the two official languages in the workplace has not yet been achieved and remains a work in progress on several fronts. Federal public servants and employees who belong to the linguistic minority community must often adopt the language of the majority in order to advance within the federal institutions, the report notes. Anglophones in Quebec, where they are a minority in the Civil Service experience similar conditions to francophones outside Québec. Nonetheless, when federal bodies are in contact with Quebec-based departments, they tend to expect to deal with the Quebecois through English. The report notes,

Within the eight Crown corporations surveyed, English is used much more heavily than French, except in Quebec, where the use of the two official languages is more balanced. However, it has been observed that Anglophones mainly use their first official language, whereas Francophones use English and French on a relatively equal basis.

Within the eight Crown corporations surveyed, Anglophones are more satisfied with the use of their first official language than Francophones. We have observed the opposite situation for Anglophones working in federal government departments located in bilingual regions of Quebec: they would like to make greater use of English at work.

One of the key factors in determining effective linguistic equality in the workplace, is clearly connected with the behaviour of senior management who give an important lead in these areas. The report notes, that supervisors play a crucial role in establishing the 'culture' of the workplace and must therefore have high levels of fluency in both English and French to enable them to carry out supervision in the language of choice. The report states, "Unilingualism in senior management hinders the establishment of workplaces that are conducive to the effective use of both official languages" and recommends that,

The Government of Canada must strengthen its accountability mechanisms. It must evaluate senior managers based on the concrete action they have taken to create a workplace that respects the language rights of employees.

In addition, the report notes that management must show leadership and take significant and concrete action as a matter of priority to demonstrate the importance it places on linguistic duality by using both official languages regularly. Federal institutions, it points out, must encourage minority language employees to use their first official language. Not only does this provide them with necessary support for their linguistic choice in the workplace, but it also gives employees from the majority language community with greater opportunities to maintain and build on their second-language skills.

The Commissioner's Office has built up a considerable range of skills and knowledge and it is not surprising to note that they recognize the challenges in relation to federal policy and law. Language competence they imply is something to be acquired, and learning a second language is not easy. Those with highly developed skills must, therefore be patient with those less fluent and encourage them to improve their own skills rather than switching languages when they see learners stumble.

The Office of the Official Languages Commissioner occupies a key place in the federal government. Nonetheless, the Office has at times had recourse to complain that previous recommendations had been sidelined. This is the case with their report 'Walking the Talk of March 2004, in which,

...the Commissioner pointed out that an effective program for managing official languages is based on three strategic priorities, which require constant and simultaneous effort: leadership, institutional capacity and the personal capacity of employees in their second language. Although progress has been made in recent years with respect to two of these components, namely institutional capacity and personal capacity, effort is still required. However, the key to the solution rests with senior management leadership. Without clear commitment from leaders and senior managers, the spirit of the *Official Languages Act* often goes unheeded.

Out of eight recommendations made in the Making it Real document, four appeared in the earlier report.

Further signs of lacklustre implementation are shown in the ongoing failure of older civil servants to pass required language tests. In 2003, after a 5 year deadline for improvement passed, 200 senior bureaucrats faced wage cuts or transfer to less linguistically challenging posts, even after being offered a 30% bonus if they had met targets. Politicians railed that the managers should have been sacked, whilst those charged with the forward implementation of policy, were more inclined to point to the success, rather than the failure rate.

Faced with the reality of failed learning programmes, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages carried out a sociolinguistic analysis in the summer of 2003 in Ottawa to gain a better understanding of the range of personal and organizational factors that influence the choice of language in various work situations. During the summer of 2003, more than 2,000 questionnaires were distributed to public servants working in the National Capital Region. A total of 1,221 completed questionnaires were returned, for an overall response rate of 60.9%. The results show the following.

- In Ottawa, the National Capital Region, the organizational culture remains predominantly English.
- Senior management plays an essential role in defining the importance given to linguistic duality in the workplace. It is, very often, managers who set the example.
- The perception that senior managers are unilingual is a major obstacle to the use of both official languages. Although the majority of senior managers in the EX category meet the language requirements of their positions, a good number of them do not use French.
- The lack of confidence in work performed in French encourages Anglophones to resort to English. For Francophones, on the other hand, a better knowledge of English seems to confirm an already existing tendency towards greater use of English. The habit of working in English becomes all the more evident when one observes that Francophones sometimes use English when speaking to each other.
- Francophones showed a tendency to favour use of their supervisor's language to the detriment of their own first official language. A large number said they preferred to work in English so that their performance is more fully recognized and appreciated. Moreover, English is recognized as the language that offers the best chance of professional advancement.
- The frequent recourse to English by Francophones tends to discourage many Anglophones.
- In general, respondents work in an environment where 98% of the staff can communicate in English and where 28% of Anglophones are unilingual. Anglophones are therefore rarely faced with the need to interact with unilingual Francophone colleagues.
- Anglophones and Francophones are both in favour of the increased use of French in the workplace. Meetings are the one setting where the unequal status of the two languages is most strongly felt.
- To be good leaders, supervisors have to understand and take into account the unequal status of the two official languages. Because it is underused, the French language requires special measures if it is to achieve a balance with English in the workplace.

In addition to proposing a management framework for deputy heads, the study proposes ten recommendations specifically for federal institutions, the Clerk of the Privy Council, the Public Service Human Resources Management Agency and the School of the Public Service.

### **Court decisions**

Since the enactment of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, the courts have played an essential part in interpreting the language rights guaranteed in the Canadian Constitution and in federal and provincial legislation. Others,

including, at times, the courts themselves, have noted that the very fact that they are required to rule on such matters is an indicator of failure in implementation.

In the 1999 Beaulac case, the Supreme Court delivered a landmark decision, resolving the difference between two schools of interpretation. The first favoured a restrictive interpretation of language rights, based on the fact that they result from a political compromise. The second, which the Court adopted, wished to see a liberal interpretation based on the purpose of the language rights. Noting that in all cases language rights should be interpreted "purposively, in a manner consistent with the preservation and development of official language communities in Canada", the Supreme Court opened the way to a more generous approach to language rights.

The judgment handed down by the Supreme Court more recently in *Doucet-Boudreau* is another landmark that will help to clarify the approach the courts must take in awarding just and appropriate remedies. The Court confirmed that courts have the power to devise novel solutions to ensure that language rights are effectively implemented. They can also order a non-compliant government to take the necessary positive action, especially where—as with obligations contained in section 23—the language obligations of governments depend on "number". The Supreme Court properly observed that "the affirmative promise contained in s. 23 of the Charter and the critical need for timely compliance will sometimes require courts to order affirmative remedies to guarantee that language rights are meaningfully, and therefore necessarily promptly, protected".

Of special note among the other judgments mentioned in this report are *Donnie Doucet* and *Tremblay v. Town of Lakeshore*. They raise the important and still unresolved question of the scope of the courts' power to control governmental action.

In *Donnie Doucet*, the Federal Court had to determine the constitutionality of the *Official Languages Regulations* defining the obligation of the RCMP to provide services based on the "significant demand" test rather than in accordance with the "nature of the office" test. The Court concluded that Parliament had given the Governor in Council the choice of deciding which institutions would be covered by the concept of "nature of the office", and it was not for the judiciary to make any ruling on that choice.

In *Tremblay*, also known as "SOS Église", a decision of the town council of the Town of Lakeshore was the subject of an application for judicial review because it had not taken the unwritten constitutional principle of minority protection into account. Although the case could be decided on other grounds, the Ontario Superior Court noted that there were limits to discretion and it had to be exercised in accordance with the fundamental values and principles of Canadian society, including the respect of the linguistic duality.

The question of judicial review of the government's discretion was also discussed by the Federal Court in *Raïche*. A challenge was made to a decision of the New Brunswick Electoral Boundaries Commission, in particular because it had not taken into account commitment mentioned in Part VII regarding the development of the Francophone community. Ruling on the legal scope of section 41 of the *Official Languages Act*, the Federal Court held that it was only declaratory and imposed no duty on federal institutions. In *Forum des Maires*, the Federal Court of Appeal came to the same conclusion and also noted that the way in which that commitment was given effect could not be the subject of judicial review. The Supreme Court has agreed to hear the latter case in order to rule on this fundamental point.

The Office of the Office Languages Commissioner, however argued that although the courts have an essential part to play in clarifying the language rights guaranteed, final responsibility lies with the Canadian parliamentary representatives. Significantly, it also points out the individual sacrifice and determination required for members of the community to go to court and, by implication, deplores the necessity for them to do so in clear cut cases.

In conclusion, the Commissioner, Dyane Adam, notes

Though reference to the courts may sometimes be necessary, even inevitable, it is to be hoped that the direction indicated by court judgments will encourage political leaders to give more attention to dialogue with individuals. True equality of English and French can best be achieved by this kind of leadership and joint effort.

### **New Parliamentary efforts to strengthen the Act**

In November 2005, sustained attempts by parliamentarians to strengthen the Official Languages Act resulted in the enactment of Bill S-3. This creates new duties for federal gov't bodies, emphasises better resourcing to strengthen communities and imposes a more active governmental role in promoting official languages.

It may be too early yet to determine the difference this Bill will cause, but most observers take it as a sign of Canada's seriousness in relation to language policy that such an amendment be made. Marc Tremblay, Director of the Official Languages Group in the Department of Justice notes that in relation to language policy, the work can be described in the following way, "C'est une édifice dont on peut être fier, mais on peut toujours ajouter un autre étage. La Constitution même indique cet esprit de progression."

He notes however that there is not full equality in some areas, and in some specialisations, and therefore, what has been built, “c’est une édifice inachevée...on n’est pas encore fini. Il reste d’autres projets”.

<sup>55</sup>As a legal specialist, Tremblay notes that legislation is a blunt instrument and has its limitations. “Parfois il existe d’autres facons de faire faire des choses. On doit persuader. On doit convaincre. »<sup>56</sup>

Asked though if it would be better not to have the legislation, he gives an unequivocal “Non, non et non.”

### **Nova Scotia**

Nova Scotia is one of the poorer provinces. Acadian, the French-speaking population, were driven out in the 18 century and the province settled after this by entire communities from Scottish Highlands. This has meant that there remains high levels of clann cohesion, a retention of music and story-telling traditions and of lines of community governance right into the twentieth century.

The number of Nova Scotians claiming “Scottish” (Scottish settlers from the Highlands and Islands and Lowlands of Scotland) descent represents approximately half of the Province’s population. Settling primarily in the Province’s Eastern Districts, an estimated 227,000 Nova Scotians still claim descent from settlers originating from the Scottish Highlands and Islands whose emigration period spanned the late 1700 to mid 1800s. Many of these descendants “continue to identify themselves along linguistic and ethnic lines, i.e. ‘Gael, Scottish Gael, Highland Scot or Scottish Nova Scotian’”<sup>57</sup>. Settlers from the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were predominantly Gaidhlig speaking.

Historically, the Gaidhlig language was “forced from important social domains that organically allow languages to develop fully, evolve freely and move from one generation to the next”<sup>58</sup>. It was rarely present in the public domains where Gaidhlig speakers were themselves to be found, such as in schools, government services, industry or business.

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<sup>55</sup> Tremblay, Marc, “It is an edifice of which we can be proud, but you can always add another floor. The Constitution even reflects this spirit of progression.”

“It’s an unfinished building. We haven’t finished it yet. There are still further projects”

<sup>56</sup> Tremblay, M. “Sometimes there are other ways to get things done. You have to persuade. You have to convince” –

<sup>57</sup> Developing and Preserving Gaelic in Nova Scotia, Strategy for a Community Based Initiative, A Report of the Gaelic Development Steering Group to Community and Government, April 2004, p. 5

<sup>58</sup> Developing and Preserving Gaelic in Nova Scotia, Strategy for a Community Based Initiative, A Report of the Gaelic Development Steering Group to Community and Government, April 2004, p. 4

Today, Gaidhlig survives in Nova Scotia, as does its associated culture. Numerous Féisean (Festivals) and Nova Scotia Tourism, Culture and Heritage signature events like Highland Games and Celtic Colours held throughout the summer and autumn every year reflect the tremendous impact that Gaidhlig language and culture has on the economy of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton.

Subsidies and grants paid to Colleges and Universities to help develop further and higher education course in Gaidhlig language and culture represent significant investment by the provincial government in the language.

In addition, small businesses, recording artists and local artisans all contribute to the Gaidhlig economy, providing materials, content and context for Gaidhlig language and culture, both in a historical and modern-day context. The Kennedy Report on Nova Scotia's cultural economy estimates some \$23.5 million in direct revenue through Gaidhlig associated events<sup>59</sup>.

In pure language terms, however, the picture is somewhat bleaker. In 1900, it is believed that there were between 50,000 – 80,000 native speakers of Gaidhlig in Nova Scotia. However, during the years 1950 to the present, there has been a disastrous fall, with perhaps only 500-1000 native speakers remaining. Nonetheless, Nova Scotia is the only remaining Gàidhealtachd (Scottish Gaidhlig speaking region) in the world outside of Scotland and as such represents a unique resource.

However, if the language is still spoken in Nova Scotia, generational language transmission has almost completely disappeared, making it necessary for new language learning environments to be developed.

The 1970s-2000 has seen a small number of learners and native speakers working on classes, collections of folklore and song. However, the typical picture is of small community projects with no resources and few paid workers.

A growing understanding of links between music, culture and language and an increase in local festivals has meant a change in focus for government, and along with the arrival of a new immersion language course (TIP) for learners which has been brought to the province by native speaker, Findlay MacLeod from the Scottish island of Lewis, there is evidence of slowly increasing optimism.

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<sup>59</sup> Gaelic Nova Scotia: An Economic, Cultural and Social Impact Study, Dr. Michael Kennedy, Spring 2001, p. 218

The TIP methodology does not employ reading, writing, or explanations of grammar for the first level course which consists of approximately 200 hours of instruction. Learning is completely oral and Gaidhlig is the only language used during sessions. Learning is activity based, making extensive use of props and creative play in a relaxed and fun setting that brings all the senses into the learning process. Course curriculum concentrates on the home environment and the many tasks, activities and social encounters that comprise a typical day. By the end of the course, students are said to be able to communicate in Gaidhlig on a wide number of subjects related to day-to-day family life and socializing.

At present, Comhairle na Gàidhlig is developing a TIP structure for the whole of Nova Scotia, and the newly established Office of Gaidhlig Affairs has identified the promotion of the teaching methodology as a priority.

In 2003, the province's conservative premier, himself a fiddle player of renown, Rodney MacDonald, awarded a small sum of 100,000 CAN Dollars to Gaidhlig projects, and spearheaded the creation of a Development Worker's post. The Worker, Frances MacEachern, administers a small grants fund, which she believes has been successful in encouraging the development of classes, courses and projects like the exchange visit of women and children from a Gaidhlig childcare project to Cape Breton in 2005.

Mac Eachern notes however that the infrastructure of Gaidhlig is extremely underdeveloped and the lack of paid workers means that it is often difficult for groups to follow up on projects or on funding opportunities.

It appears, however, that the government led initiatives will continue for the immediate future. In 2005, the province's premier created a Minister of Gaidhlig Affairs, and as Ministerial appointment, Angus Mac Isaac, former Minister of Finance was put in place. There followed the opening of the Office of Gaidhlig Affairs, and the creation of a further new post, that of Minister's Advisor.

The Office lists 4 short term priorities: the development of Gaidhlig organisations, the creation of new learners, research on dialects and teaching issues including which Gaidhlig should be taught; the local, Nova Scotia dialect and vocabulary or a more recently imported version from Scotland. In addition to this, they list the development of international links as a priority geared at breaking down the isolation of North America's only Gaidhleacht community.

### **Canadian Aboriginal Peoples**

The largest problem is that people have lost so much. There is a huge broken heart that people carry around with them....Drug and alcohol abuse amongst First Nations peoples is a way of "self-medicating" against loss...people who have survived this

are now the teachers and the elders and can tell young people not to give up.<sup>60</sup>

The Aboriginals of Canada are defined as three distinct political groupings: First Nations, Inuit, and Métis. There is some consensus that Canada's First Nations have at least 10-11 languages, that the Inuit languages are distinct from these and that Métis is a unique 'mixed' language.

### **The Inuit**

There are 44,000 Inuit living in the Canadian Arctic at present. Their traditional subsistence lifestyle has undergone substantial collateral damage in recent decades, with loss of self-esteem and world view based on a lifestyle that is no longer viable. In contrast to the First Nations in other parts of Canada, the demand from outsiders is not for the land of the Inuit, but for its resources. This has proven to be a considerable negotiating chip for the Inuit who have quickly learned to adapt and to evolve a new, less dependent relationship with the rest of Canada.

Nonetheless, health issues for the Inuit are intermingled with socio-political circumstances; the change in their daily diet with its devastating effect on bodies better adapted to Arctic provisions than to high levels of substances like sugar and salt, previously unknown in their diet. In addition, communities are still affected by the European disease legacy plus new diseases, including addictions to alcohol and drugs. Perhaps most striking is the effect of a lack of self-respect, and despair that has led to extremely high suicide rates. Few families of Inuit have not suffered at least one suicide of a young person.

Whilst these problems are recognised, addressing them is another issue> As noted by Dr Pat Abbott, to the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry in 1976,

The vast majority of the problems that I have seen as a clinical psychiatrist cannot, in all honesty, be classified as psychiatric problems...many of the problems seen are so closely interwoven with the life-style of the Native people in the north, which in turn is closely bound to such problems as economics, housing, self-esteem and cultural identity, that to label them as psychiatric disorders is frankly fraudulent and of no value whatsoever, as the treatment must eventually be the treatment of the whole community rather than (of) the individual.

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<sup>60</sup> -Interview with Patricia Sky Bellefleur, July 2006 Montreal Native Peoples' Friendship Centre

The Inuit live in the province of Nunavik, 'the immense place where we live' and exercise self government over the 14 villages of some 9,000 people who all share one language, Inuktitut. In the 1990s, the population realised that there was a fall in young people using Inuktitut, and this acted as a 'wake-up call'. Inuktitut was awarded Official Status and is undergoing current efforts to strengthen it. It is one of the strongest of aboriginal languages, but still in need of protection.

The language is spoken by about 2/3 of the 44,000 Inuit in Arctic Canada. Of those who have Inuktitut as mother tongue, 1/3 live in Nunavik in northern Québec, Canada's largest and newest territory. In addition to other language protection issues, there are also specific issues in developing written forms of the language, some of which date back to intervention by Christian missionaries in earlier centuries.

### **First Nations Living Conditions**

In spite of the federal government's report on social, cultural and economic rights of May 06 which outlines new programmes to aid Aboriginals and to improve access to information technology, the picture remains bleak. The report notes an agreement with Aboriginal leaders to improve health, and a £350 million investment in health projects over five years.

In spite of such assurances, a First Nations child living on a 'reserve' is 15 times more likely to be placed in state care than their non-aboriginal peer, there is considerable inequality in state welfare funding which it would take only 1.5% of Canada's surplus budget to resolve. A lack of respect for traditional laws and ways of caring for children, as well as judicial wrangling between provincial and federal government has exacerbated the problem and there has been strong criticism of the definition of who is entitled to be deemed a member of a 'First Nation' based upon the Indian Act. This Act gives 2 categories of definition, Registered or Status Indian and non-status Indian, with fewer rights for the second group in spite of the finding of the 1996 Royal Commission called for abolition of Indian Act.

At present, there are between 22,500 and 28,000 aboriginal children in Canada's welfare system, which is 3 times more than the number of aboriginal children placed in 'residential schools' in 1940s. The reasons given for these high figures include neglect due to poverty, poor housing and substance abuse.<sup>61</sup>

Other indices show a poor level of infrastructural support for First Nations people living on 'reserves'. A federal-government appointed panel to study

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<sup>61</sup> The Struggle for Equal Rights for First Nation Children in Child Welfare: Briefing to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the occasion of the review of Canada's fourth and fifth periodical reports, First Nation Child and Family Caring Society of Canada, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2006

water quality on 'reserves' and report back has shown that by August 2006, there were 83 Canadian 'reserves' under 'boil-water' Orders, with 21 communities on a Department of Health list as having 'high-risk water systems'. In northern Ontario, hundreds of people were forced to leave their reserve homes because of E-Coli infection found in drinking water.

During 2006, as in any other year, there have been ongoing conflicts around aboriginal land rights. Most notable of these conflicts, has been the Caledonia, Ontario blockade, during which local First Nations protestors built barricades when contractors came to build 500 new houses on land next to the 'reserve'. Perceived as the latest in along line of infringements on their guaranteed land, spokespersons for the First Nations people pointed out that as if the houses were not bad enough, they would herald a whole range of extended roadworks and services for the new community would be sure to encroach still further onto First Nations land.

In negotiations, the protestors claimed that a long-standing land treaty has been broken, going back as far as the eighteenth century, and complicated by many alterations, amendments and infringements over the years. The stand-off between residents of the local town and the protestors escalated with the blocking of routes in and out of town and with increasingly frequent acts of sabotage on the town's electricity supplies. Protestors for their part complained that the police were not protecting them and were in fact colluding in attacks on elderly people and children taking part in peaceful protest. The situation escalated into ongoing street battles between protestors and townspeople, leading to an influx of senior politicians and civic figures, all intent on calming the situation. After some weeks, the strip of land concerned was placed under state protection, preventing developers from taking further action, but also removing it from the control of the First Nations peoples who had owned it as sovereign territory a matter of weeks before.

### **Kahnawà:ke**

This Mohawk reserve outside Montréal houses some 8000 residents and serves the same number who live outside of its sovereign territory. Originating in what is now New England, the Mohawk were part of the Iroquois Confederacy, which at one time stretched from the East coast of Canada and the United States far into the Midwest. Commentators view the Confederacy as a complex and highly developed political and social organisational model. The Mohawk played a particular role in the Confederacy, being known also as the 'Keepers of the Eastern Door', a reference to their geographic location (The Seneca in the mid west were the keepers of the western Door). The door metaphor comes from the image of the Longhouse, both the habitation, but also the system of societal structure favoured by the Iroquois.

In Quebec, the Mohawk have a complex history of their own and one that displays many of the tragic elements of the First Nations peoples in their dealings with white European settlers. Traditional supporters of the British in Quebec, the Mohawk were semi-nomadic strip farmers, settling for periods of ten – fifteen years in one area before moving on as the land became exhausted by their intensive farming.

In the 1970s, to the surprise of many, Kahnawà:ke was to the fore in a return to traditional ways based around the Longhouse as both a symbol of social and political organisation. The Mohawk Warrior Society was founded as the 'military wing' of the Longhouse Movement and quickly became involved in open conflict with the state. Their armed resistance to incursions by both provincial and federal authorities marked the period, as did the development of a lucrative smuggling trade in tobacco. Tommy Deer, Librarian in the Cultural Centre notes that the tobacco industry was viewed by many as a legitimate expression of sovereignty by First Nations peoples, involving as it did the bringing in of tobacco from the United States into Canada through the 'reserve' territories of St. Régis, which straddles the Canada / US border. Nonetheless, the trade itself causes conflict and the dilution of the political and social motivation of some of the Warriors and in later years, the Longhouse and the Warriors disassociated themselves from it.

Kahnawà:ke is undoubtedly best known for the Oka protest of the 1990s, however, when a land dispute with a golf course exploded into armed conflict leading to the death of a federal agent and a blockade of one of Montréal's central bridges that lasted for over nine months. Tommy Deer, himself aged 12 at the height of the protest recalls taking turns on the barricades and the sense of pride and excitement that replaced the low self esteem and despondency of the Mohawk people of Kahnawà:ke during this time. The protest forced recognition of the conditions of the First Nations peoples and threw a spotlight on relations with the white community. When the protest finally came to an end and women and children returning to the reserve were stoned by white demonstrators burning effigies of First Nations peoples, however, it became clear that solutions were a long way off. The raised expectations of the Oka protest had both positive and negative effects, leading to a heightened profile for First Nations issues and an increase in self-confidence, but also to personal crises for much of the leadership of the Warrior movement of the barricades. With the Warriors in confusion, Mohawk society settled back into a longer-term view of building and rebuilding its structures.

To this day, however, Kahnawà:ke remains a divided community, with serious differences of opinion on the best way forward in social, religious and even linguistic and cultural terms. The community has 2 political councils, the Band Council, seen by some as a puppet, establishment body and the more traditional, radical Longhouse Council which is organised on traditional family lines, with different families performing different roles within the political organisation.

Language is so closely connected to pride and to identity and that's so healthy. That's what the language movements are promoting, good health. And if you have that, you are so lucky. But we have to start with our children when they are very young. Many of our young people want to be black. You see them wearing the clothes and listening to the music and they get involved in gang violence. Our youth are very disaffected. Reality is very hard.<sup>62</sup>

By the mid 90s, there was a language revival underway in the Mohawk community, led primarily by young people and the language began to be heard more frequently again and to be brought into the education system. 1999 saw the adoption by the Band Council of a Language law, giving official status to the language, although this appears to have been more of a symbolic action that has not been adequately resourced.

Nonetheless, it is estimated that 10% of the population have the language; with around 200 elders with very high fluency. Kahnawà:ke has two schools teaching entirely through the medium of the language, both using different teaching methods and perhaps reflecting the different social and political leanings of the community. In spite of this, they work together through one Combined School Board. There are also adult immersion classes that have sprung from the realisation that if there was to be no focus on language in the present, it would disappear forever.

There are clearly challenges for the language of the Mohawk as there are at all levels for this community. However, Tommy Deer notes,

...we are looking at this. We have to find the funds. We want to make this work. We have no time scale yet, but we want to have a university to teach cosmology, agriculture and the language and have some subjects integrated into the language when we have the capacity to do this.<sup>63</sup>

## Conclusions

Canada's experience shows the importance of language legislation, policy and provision in the building of a united and progressive society. The emergence of a self-confident province in Quebec with its

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<sup>62</sup> - Interview with Patricia Sky Bellefleur, July 2006 Montreal First Nations Friendship Centre

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Tommy Deer, Librarian, Kahnawà:ke Cultural Centre, (Kanien'kehaka Onkwawén:na Raotitiohkwa) July 2006

great expertise in language policy, in legal matters, in language services, education and training show the economic benefits that can accrue to bilingual societies once they free themselves of conflict. However, it is also clear that language protection relies upon ongoing and progressive development of policy support and services, grounded in strong, comprehensive legislation, both at federal and provincial levels.

Whilst Canada has many languages in addition to French and English, these are the languages that are afforded most extensive legislative protection. However, the awareness of language issues, and the detailed expertise that has been acquired through the outworkings of legislation and policy making for French and English, has created a knock-on effect for other languages, whereby they exist in a more open and receptive context to general language rights.

In terms of the north of Ireland, it is important to note that the consensus in Canada around the importance of language in society has been built from a position of some considerable conflict. Language legislation and progressive policy-making was part of the foundation of a new dispensation which has made Canada one of the richest nations on earth, and one which has a reputation for solid democratic practice and an outward-looking society.

To be effective and to bring best value, languages need to be protected in legislation and this legislation should be comprehensive and powerful enough to withstand pressures over a period of time to reduce or enfeeble it. Strong and independent mechanisms to monitor the implementation of legislation are required, either through a specialist board or body, or through a Commissioner. These institutions must be adequately resourced. Court remedy can also be a powerful instrument, creating a body of language law precedents that can play an important role in rights-based approaches.

Within government, policy-making must be led from the top in order that departments and public bodies can prioritise effectively, rather than paying lip service to legislative duties. Strategic leadership, cross-cutting thematic-based work and realistic approaches grounded in an understanding of the need to build on a continuing basis on gains made are all crucial in these areas.

The neglect of positive steps to protect languages can result in dramatic language shift which is difficult to reverse. Nova Scotia shows the disastrous effect that social pressure and a lack of awareness of the value of languages can bring about. However, the recent steps by government to work with communities to revive the

Gaidhlig language show that the lessons of the two Official Languages in Canada have had an influence on the development of general language policy and practice.

In the case of the aboriginal languages, it is clear that there is an increasing awareness of the role of language in self confidence and ownership of one's culture and history. The desire to revive and use one's own language is one that can have a unifying role even among those who speak different aboriginal or indigenous languages, providing common ground and a means of extending cultural transmission through generations. Where communities and indeed entire peoples have been devastated by war, disease and oppression, language cannot be the sole means to build a better future. It appears, however, that it is one of a number of complex elements that can increase a sense of self-worth and belonging, often vital components in a healthier and more vital community.

Throughout Nova Scotia and Québec, the role of the community and other players in civil society, such as trade unions is a crucial one. Whilst partnership amongst these bodies is often mooted, there is limited evidence of true partnership, although Canada's emphasis on 'horizontal governance' shows a commitment to draw all key players into co-operative efforts to improve provision and understanding of the needs of society.

### **Recommendations**

- That comprehensive and effective legislation is enacted to protect the north's primary indigenous language, Irish, in line with practice throughout the UK and Ireland, and drawing upon the lessons to be learned from Canada
  - the need for a rights-based approach in the legislation
  - the need to create a range of rights in political institutions, public services, the courts, education, the media, the workplace etc
  - the need for an effective monitoring and implementation mechanism
- That strategic direction is given on policy making from the top of institutions down and must be pursued on an ongoing and continuous basis
- That in the north of Ireland, we note the commitment to excellence in the field of linguistic rights that is a feature of Canadian society.
- That progressive policies in respect of certain languages can lead to a greater understanding of the needs of other linguistic / cultural communities and this can, in turn, lead to an increase

- in services and provision appropriate to the level of development and particular circumstances of different groups
- That political players within the governmental system often play a key role in developing both legislation and policy but that the efforts of the community are also crucial and must be recognised
  - That the role of the community in assuring the vitality of language is one that cannot be underestimated. Strategies and resourcing to empower community and encourage them to play a pro-active role in developing and implementing language policy must be a priority
  - That international perspectives on language rights should be explored on a more systematic and thorough basis in the north of Ireland in recognition of its importance in building a forward-looking society

## **Appendix**

### **Research carried out during the Visit**

#### **Conferences attended**

1. AIDEQ

Association Internationale Des Études Québécoises  
Programme d'Études sur le Québec de l'Université de McGill  
'la Culture publique commune'  
The Common Public Culture  
16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> May  
McGill University, Montréal

2. Congres Annuel de l'ACFAS 2006

(ACFAS Association francophone pour le savoir)  
Langues Officielles et dualité linguistique: structuration de la recherche et  
patenariats: Official Languages and Linguistic Duality: structuring research and  
partnerships  
18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> May  
McGill University, Montréal

3. CAIS

Canadian Association for Irish Studies  
Urban Ireland  
14-17 June, Ottawa

#### **Events**

Document launch 'Une Vue plus Claire' (A Clearer View)  
by Dyane Adam, Official Languages Commissioner, Canada  
19<sup>th</sup> May, Montréal

#### **Kahnawake**

Pow Wow event on culture and rights  
7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> July,  
Kahnawake, Mohawk community

#### **Talks given**

10<sup>th</sup> July, McGill University, Montréal 'Developing the Irish Language in the  
north'  
23<sup>rd</sup> August, Highland Village, Iona, Cape Breton, 'Challenges in Developing  
Language Communities: the Experience of Irish speakers in the north'

### **Formal meetings on language rights and language planning**

#### **Federal government level**

Warren Allmand

Janet Muller

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Former Minister for Indian Affairs

President, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development

Jérôme Moisan

Chief Director, Official and Intergovernmental Languages, Privy Council

Andrée Duchesne

Avocate-conseil et gestionnaire

Justice en Langues Officielles

Senior Advisor and Manager: Justice in Official Languages

Dept of Justice, Canada

Marc Tremblay

Avocat général et Directeur

Groupe du droit des langues officielles

Director and Senior Advisor, Official languages and Law Group

Dept of Justice, Canada

### **Provincial Government, Québec**

Gisele Delage

Advisor

Secrétariat a la politique linguistique

Secretariat on Linguistic Policy

Normand Maillet

Advisor

Secrétariat a la politique linguistique

Secretariat on Linguistic Policy

Gérald Paquette

Director of Communications,

Office de la Langue Francaise

Office of the French Language, Montréal

### **Community workers and representatives**

Guy Boutillier

Former professor of Law at McGill, Montréal

Former President of Société Saint Jean Baptiste, primary NGO in Montréal

Jean Dorian

Current President,

Société Saint Jean de Baptiste, Montréal

Marielle Beaulieu

CEO,  
Jean-Guy Rioux,  
President  
Diane Côté  
Senior Executive Officer  
Fédération des Communautés Francophones et Acadienne, Ottawa  
Federation for Francophone and Acadian Communities, Ottawa

Patricia Sky Bellefleur  
Communications Officer,  
Management Team  
Native Friendship Centre, Montréal  
Centre d'Amitié autochtone de Montréal

Kahnawake Mohawk Independent Territory  
Tommy Deer  
Librarian and graphic designer  
Kanien'kehaka Onkwawén:na Raotitiohkwa

**Trade Unionists**

Manon Perron  
Treasurer  
Diane Lapointe  
Advisor  
Conseil Central du Montréal Métropolitain

**Academics**

Kevin Callahan  
Department Head, McGill University

Michelline Labelle  
Sociology Professor  
UQAM, University of Québec at Montréal

**Business**

Éric Poncet,  
President and Technical CEO  
Nunasoft  
Private Techonology Company

Janet Muller

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**Nova Scotia**

Lewis Mac Kinnon

Advisor

Office of Gaidhlig Affairs

Frances Mac Eachern

Development Officer

Department of Culture and Tourism

James Watson

Highland Village, Iona

Annette Boucher

Clerk of the Court

Supreme Court of Nova Scotia

Ina Amirault

Office for Acadian Affairs,

Nova Scotia

Janet Muller

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