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Ph.D - History	2003
TITRE DE LA THÈSE / TITLE OF THESIS:	
Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow: Canadian Federalism and the Development of the Offical Languages in Education Program, 1968-1984	

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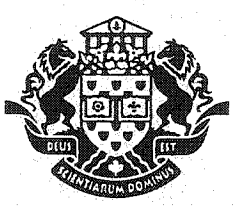

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GRADE - DEGREE

History

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TITRE DE LA THÈSE - TITLE OF THE THESIS

Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow: Canadian Federalism and the Development of the Official Languages in Education Program, 1968-1984

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Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow:

Canadian Federalism and the Development of the Official Languages in Education Program, 1968-1984

by

Matthew Hayday

Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Ph.D. degree in History.

Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT

BILINGUAL TODAY, UNITED TOMORROW:

CANADIAN FEDERALISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION PROGRAM, 1968-1984

Matthew Hayday
University of Ottawa, 2003

Supervisor:
Professor Michael Behiels

The language policies adopted by the government of Pierre Elliott Trudeau have been widely criticized within the political science community. This criticism is rooted in the failure of these policies to promote a Canadian identity rooted in a French Quebec-English Canada duality, as demanded by Quebec nationalists. A closer examination of the development of these language policies, particularly as they pertain to education programs, suggests a revised interpretation. Far from being a failure, the Canadian government's Official Languages in Education Program (OLEP), launched in 1970, threw a lifeline to French-Canadian and Acadian minority communities, developing their minority language education systems, and providing them with much-needed time and funds to regroup, after they lost the traditional supports of the Catholic Church and the Quebec government. To promote individual bilingualism, the OLEP's second language initiatives led to significant expansion of French second language instruction, and the proliferation of French immersion programs. Through its support to provincial education systems, the OLEP also laid the groundwork for section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which guaranteed minority official language education rights.

Drawing primarily on archival materials from six provinces (Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia), the federal government, and a host of lobby groups involved in the process, as well as interviews with a number of key civil servants, politicians and lobbyists, this thesis reconstructs Ottawa's strategy to promote official languages in education. It shows how the OLEP, a program designed primarily by the Canadian government and implemented by the provinces, was shaped by debates over the nature of the Canadian federal system. Initially designed as an intrastate program, a concerted drive for more provincial autonomy in the 1970s (and a concomitant interstate vision of Canadian federalism) threatened Ottawa's control over the direction of the OLEP. Through a combination of pressure applied by the embedded state, via supportive lobby groups and civil servants, and a concerted constitutional strategy, the Canadian government was able to rebalance the forces of intrastate and interstate federalism, defend its vision of a pan-Canadian English-French linguistic duality, combat Quebec separatism, and instil official bilingualism into the discourse of Canadian identity.

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the support and encouragement of a number of individuals and organisations. I am particularly indebted to my thesis director, Professor Michael Behiels, for his thoughtful comments, keen insights and prompt revisions. I have also had the good fortune to receive extensive amounts of financial support for this work. The first two years of my doctorate were funded by Ontario Graduate Scholarships, the second two by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Doctoral Grant, and top-up funding from the SSHRCC Federalism and Federations Program. Throughout my degree, the University of Ottawa has paid for my tuition, and the Department of History has granted me numerous teaching assistantships. My extensive travel and research costs were defrayed by the generous support of a Gaston Héon graduate scholarship, and the Fonds pour l'émergence des projets de recherche from the Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française.

My research entailed visits to the archives and departmental libraries of six provinces and the federal government, and the archives of many community associations, where I received much-needed help from many dedicated archivists and librarians. In particular, I am grateful to Mrs. Winifred Potter, who gave me access to the personal files that she accumulated while a trustee for the PSBGM. I would also like to thank the dozens of individuals who gave me their time and insights in our interviews, and who pointed me to new avenues for my research.

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List of Acronyms

ACA	Archives du centre acadien, Université Ste-Anne
ACELF	Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française
ACFA	Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta
ACFÉO	Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario
ACFO	Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario
AEBA	Association des éducateurs bilingues de l'Alberta
AÉCFM	Association des éducateurs canadiens français du Manitoba
AEFNB	Association des enseignants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick
AEFO	Association des enseignants francophones de l'Ontario
ASFO	Association des surintendants francophones de l'Ontario
ANQ	Archives nationales du Québec (Québec)
AO	Archives of Ontario
APEC	Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada
AQ	Alliance Quebec
BEF	Bureau de l'éducation française (Manitoba)
BEP	Bilingualism in Education Program *or* Federal-Provincial Programme of Cooperation for the Promotion of Bilingualism in Education
BNA Act	*British North America Act, 1867*
CEA	Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton
CHSPTF	Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation
CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education Canada
CNPF	Commission nationale des parents francophones
COL	Commissioner of Official Languages
CP	Centre du Patrimoine (Saint-Boniface)
CPF	Canadian Parents for French
CQM	Council of Quebec Minorities
CRCCF	Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française
CTF	Canadian Teachers Federation
CUSB	Collège universitaire de Saint-Boniface
CVF	Conseil de la Vie Française
ESL	English-as-a-second-language
FANE	Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse
FCFAC	Fédération des communautés francophones et acadienne du Canada
FCFO	Fédération canadienne-française de l'Ouest
FFNE	Fédération francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse
FFHQ	Fédération des francophones hors-Québec
FLIU	French-language instructional units
FLQ	Front de Libération du Québec
FML	French minority language
FPANE	Fédération des parents acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse
FPCP	Fédération provinciale des comités de parents
FSL	French-as-a-second-language
FTE	Full-time equivalent
MAIG	Ministère des affaires intergouvernementales

MIS	Mouvement pour l'intégration scolaire
MLE	Minority language education
MSA	Mouvement Souverainité-Association
NAC	National Archives of Canada
NBTA	New Brunswick Teachers' Association
NSARM	Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
OJC	l'Ordre de Jacques Cartier
OLEP	Official Languages in Education Program
OLMG	Official Language Minority Groups Program
PAA	Provincial Archives of Alberta
PAM	Provincial Archives of Manitoba
PANB	Provincial Archives of New Brunswick
PCH	Patrimoine canadienne / Canadian Heritage
PQ	Parti Québécois
PSBGM	Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal
QFHSA	Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations
RCBB	Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
RIN	Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale
RN	Ralliement National
SANB	Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick
SFM	Société franco-manitobaine
SLI	Second language instruction
SNA	Société nationale des Acadiens
SSJB	Sociéte St-Jean Baptiste
WNA	weighted national average

Chapter One:

Introduction: A Linguistic Divide, A Crisis of Canadian Unity

Introduction: *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow?* 1

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Introduction: *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow?*

Over the past one hundred and thirty-five years, Canadian politics have been profoundly shaped by tensions between the country's English-speaking majority and its sizeable French-speaking minority, which has accounted for between one-quarter and one-third of the total population. Unlike some countries with a multilingual population, such as Switzerland and Belgium, Canada's language communities do not live in completely separate geographic areas. Nor are the two groups evenly distributed throughout the country, as in Finland or South Africa. Rather, Canadian policy-makers have had to reckon with a distribution pattern which is an odd hybrid of the two. While there is a strong concentration of francophones in the province of Quebec, there are also smaller francophone populations scattered across the country. Some communities account for up to a third of the provincial population, as in New Brunswick, while others account for less than five percent of the population, as in many western Canadian provinces. Quebec is not a homogenous grouping either, as it contains a significant anglophone population. Canada also differs from other bilingual or multilingual states in that it borders on a single neighbour, the United States, which is overwhelmingly English-speaking, ten times the size of Canada, and exerts major economic, political and cultural pressures.

Canadian policy makers have experimented with a wide variety of responses to this linguistic make-up. These approaches have ranged from accommodation to assimilation to hostile repression. Despite the latter two responses, which predominated in English-speaking Canada until the 1960s,

francophone communities across the country managed to survive and protect their distinctive identities. While they were able to survive, they nevertheless had to assume a very defensive posture, and generally were denied government services in their own language that the anglophone majorities (and the anglophone minority in Quebec) were able to take for granted. However, due in no small part to the support of the Catholic Church and nationalist organizations, French-Canadian communities were able to maintain a certain degree of demographic, social and cultural vitality.

In the years following the Second World War, and particularly in the 1960s, a major change began to occur in how French-speaking communities perceived their role in Canada, and articulated their desire for change. Even in Quebec, francophones had long been excluded from management positions in the provincial labour force and from jobs in the federal government. Starting in the late 1940s and continuing throughout the 1950s, a cohort of middle-class, university-educated Quebeckers began to demand changes which would permit the French language to flourish as the working language of Quebec, and would allow French-Canadians to fully participate in the decision-making processes of the province.[1] Following the death of Premier Maurice Duplessis, these neo-nationalists had a major influence on the policies of the Liberal government of Jean Lesage, elected in 1960. The Lesage government began a series of wide-ranging reforms, collectively referred to as the Quiet Revolution, which modernized the Quebec state and transformed the participation of French-speaking Quebeckers in the provincial economy. These reforms ranged from the

establishment of a normal government bureaucracy, to the re-establishment of a department of education (which had been defunct since 1875), to major investment in the provincial economy, including the nationalization of Hydro-Québec.

These reforms paved the way for a greater articulation of francophone participation in Quebec's economy, and also spurred demands for change from the federal government. Many leaders of the Quiet Revolution believed that the Quebec government would need additional powers in order to implement the types of changes that were needed for the full actualization of the French-Canadian people. Moreover, bolstered by their success at the provincial level, they sought changes to the structure of the federal government, to give French-Canadians an active presence in this body as well.

The Liberal governments of Lester Pearson and Pierre Elliot Trudeau responded to these pressures with a policy of official bilingualism for Canada. Following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB), English and French were made the two official languages of the country. A wide variety of initiatives were introduced to support the official languages policy, including language training for civil servants, bilingual packaging laws, financial assistance for official language minority communities, and a widespread program of support for educational programs that promoted both second language learning and official minority language education. Under the Trudeau government, the Constitution was patriated and amended to include

the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which included protection for official minority language education rights.

The official languages policy was not without its critics. Organizations such as the Loyalist Associations of New Brunswick and Ontario, and the Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC), believed that the federal government was doing too much to promote the French language, and feared a government conspiracy to force all Canadians to become bilingual. This viewpoint is best exemplified in Lt. Commander Jock V. Andrew's *Bilingual Today, French Tomorrow: Trudeau's Master Plan And How It Can Be Stopped* (1977).[2] Andrew's polemic, which reads today as a paranoid delusional rant, saw the Trudeau language policies as an attempt to convert Canada into a French-speaking nation, with the nine English-speaking provinces colonized and controlled by French-Canadians. While Andrew's book is an extreme manifestation of the fears of a minority of English-Canadians, a more moderate version of these fears was expressed across English-speaking Canada, voiced by teacher's associations, provincial premiers and "average Canadians."

Since the 1970s, the Canadian government's official languages policy has also been widely criticized by Canadian political scientists, including Kenneth McRoberts, Guy Laforest and Léon Dion. Their critique begins with the RCBB, which they argue ended in failure. In particular, they cite the Commission's inability to produce a report on a political and constitutional solutions to Canada's fragmented nature as evidence of its failure to resolve the conflicts created by Canada's linguistic divide.[3] Their critique then turns to the policies adopted by

the government of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau in response to the Commission's reports. Trudeau's government, they argue, betrayed André Laurendeau's vision of Canada by adopting policies that were based on a fundamental misreading of Canada.[4] In essence, Laurendeau argued that Canadian bilingualism had to be rooted in two unilingualisms: an English unilingualism rooted in English-speaking Canada, and a French unilingualism rooted in a strong Quebec.[5] He believed that French Canada could only prosper if it was rooted in a strong Quebec, and thus a special status was needed for Quebec to protect the strength of its French character. According to McRoberts and his supporters, if the Trudeau government had followed Laurendeau's approach of decentralizing power to the provinces and granting special protections and powers to the province of Quebec, Canada's national unity crisis could have been resolved.

The Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau, however, adopted a language policy which was not rooted in the Canada-Quebec dualism proposed by Laurendeau, but in a pan-Canadian linguistic dualism based on Trudeau's philosophy of individualism and his desire to avoid narrow ethnic-based nationalisms.[6] The resulting policies stressed coast-to-coast institutional bilingualism and language rights, and a French Canada that stretched across the country, rather than being solely rooted in Quebec. At the same time, the Canadian government rejected biculturalism in favour of multiculturalism. Moreover, the Trudeau government fought the attempts by the Quebec government to attain additional powers and promote French unilingualism in the

province. The Trudeau approach, argue McRoberts, Laforest, Dion and their supporters, failed to respond to the needs of Québécois nationalists, strengthened the hand of Québécois separatists, and doomed Canada to a prolonged crisis of national unity. On the whole, they consider Trudeau's response to the RCBB to be an unmitigated failure that jeopardized the future of the country.

Re-evaluating the Trudeau Government's Response to the Language Divide

It is perhaps not surprising that the Trudeau government's response to Canadian language questions failed to satisfy its critics. In the short-term, the new policies did little to radically alter the dynamics of English-French conflict in Canada, or to strengthen the government of Quebec. Given the political socialization of the Canadian adult population, it is also not surprising that these policies met with firm resistance. Moreover, the promotion of official languages could do little in the short run to address the demographic trends that were decimating French-Canadian and Acadian minority communities outside of Quebec.

However, these criticisms fail to take into account the long-term impact of the Trudeau-era language policies. This thesis will argue that the language policies of this period held the potential to inculcate the next generation of Canadians with different conceptions about bilingualism, and the place of the English and French languages and their related communities in Canadian society. Moreover, through the use of the spending power, the cultivation of interest groups and constitutional reform, the federal government was able to lay the groundwork for a lasting language regime, which bound the provinces into a

commitment to official languages in education. Through an exploration of how the groundwork for this new language regime was laid during the period from 1968 to 1984, this thesis will argue for a more positive assessment of the impact of the Trudeau-era language policy and how it shaped Canadian identity politics.

The primary focus of this thesis will be the Trudeau government's language policies regarding education. These policies developed from the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The RCBB was co-chaired by André Laurendeau, an intellectual leader of the neo-nationalist movement and editor of *Le Devoir*, and Davidson Dunton, the president of Carleton University. The Commission was mandated to inquire into the state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada, and to propose ways whereby the federal and provincial governments could develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races. Conducting its work from 1963 to 1971, the Commission produced a preliminary report and a four-volume major report addressing official languages, education, the work world and the contribution of other ethnic communities. Drawing on recommendations contained in Volumes I and II of the Commission's report, the federal government and the provinces entered into a program to promote the official languages in education.

Education had long been seen as central to the survival of the French-Canadian cultural identity. Indeed, this was the primary reason why the province of Quebec had fought to keep education under the jurisdiction of the provinces in the *British North America Act, 1867*. The Commission dedicated its second of

four books to the subject of education. It made several key recommendations for the promotion of bilingualism in education, notably including federal assistance to the provinces to provide minority language education, and the promotion of second language teaching in schools.

In 1970, in accordance with these recommendations, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier announced the establishment of federal-provincial arrangements whereby the Canadian government would provide financial assistance to the provinces so that they would be able to fund minority language education for their official language minorities (English in Quebec, French in the other nine provinces), and second official language instruction for the children of the majority language communities. These arrangements were initially known as the Federal-Provincial Programme of Co-operation for the Promotion of Bilingualism in Education. This title being quite the mouthful, the program was more commonly known as the Bilingualism in Education Program (BEP) until its name was officially changed in 1979 to the Official Languages in Education Program (OLEP). The program continues to exist under the latter name, and several billions of dollars have been spent to promote its objectives. The original objectives of the program were:

> To ensure, insofar as it is feasible, Canadians have the opportunity to educate their children in the official language of their choice and that children have the opportunity to learn, as a second language, the other official language of their country.[7]

To accomplish these objectives, the Canadian government agreed to pay a percentage of the per-student costs for students enrolled in minority language education programs and second language instruction classes. In addition, the

federal government established programs of grants and bursaries for such related aspects of bilingualism in education as teacher training, student exchanges and language training centres.

Over the next decade and a half, the provinces implemented the OLEP. The manner in which this was done, however, differed markedly from one province to the next. While some provinces actively developed their second language and minority language programs, others took very little interest in them, while still others allowed these programs to continue to erode. Some provinces favoured one aspect of the program over the other. Others tried to completely rework their education systems in light of a new bilingual model. By 1984, as the provinces began a new series of multi-year agreements under the OLEP, although the state of minority language education and second language instruction had improved greatly since the 1960s, it was far from uniform across the country.

Crafting Canadian Language Policy – Major Considerations

This thesis aims to analyze and explain the development of language programs in education and language policy in Canada for the first fifteen years of federal government involvement in language planning. Moreover, it will explain how such a diverse patchwork of programs could still exist after almost fifteen years of a standard federal formula for funding official languages in education. To accomplish this, the evolution of official languages programs in education in six Canadian provinces – Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and

Nova Scotia – will be examined. These provinces were chosen in order to have a representative sample of the diversity of the Canadian language experience: two Western provinces, two Maritime provinces, and two Central Canadian provinces. This sample includes provinces with a francophone majority (Quebec), those with the largest francophone minorities (New Brunswick at around 33 per cent, and Ontario and Manitoba at around 6 per cent), and those with much smaller concentrations of francophones (Alberta and Nova Scotia at around 3 per cent). It also includes provinces that were very active in the development of French immersion and second language programs. Most importantly, it includes provinces that represent the spectrum of governmental opinions on the OLEP negotiations, and all of the key players in this process.

Federalism

An analysis of the dynamics of Canadian federalism will be crucial to our understanding of the development of Canadian language policy in education. Education is a provincial jurisdiction under the Canadian constitution, and thus the Canadian government, in developing a language policy targeted at this sector, had to rely on its ability to obtain provincial cooperation. Its success in this respect varied substantially. In order to explain this, several questions must be answered. What were the federal government's objectives in respect to the OLEP? What were the objectives of each province, and to what extent were the two compatible? What structures and programs already existed in each province, and how did they differ from each other? To what extent did the goals

of the OLEP coincide with provincial priorities in terms of development of their official languages programs? How did this program fit with the federal government's strategy to promote national unity?

To answer these questions, we will need to examine the evolution of Canadian federalism, and the tensions within that system. Two concepts will be particularly important for this analysis: the interstate/intrastate dynamic of Canadian federalism, and the role of the embedded state. Under interstate federalism, the collective interests of citizens in the regions are primarily represented by the governments of the constituent units of the federation; in the Canadian context, this role is played by the provincial governments. Intergovernmental conflict is pervasive in this system, and these conflicts are resolved through intergovernmental negotiations and bargaining. Moreover, the national government has very limited ability to impose policy in areas of provincial jurisdiction.[8] In the intrastate federalism model, these same regional interests and conflicts are represented and resolved in the national decision-making structures; in Canada, this role would be played by Parliament and the Supreme Court.[9]

Among Western democracies, intrastate federalism is typically associated with the United States and Germany. In the United States, representation of state interests in Congress (particularly the Senate), weak party discipline, an assertive series of presidents with civil rights agendas, and weak state governments combined to allow the federal government to largely dictate state policy using its spending power.[10] While there have been some moves towards

interstate federalism in the US, this has largely been attributable to decisions by Republican presidents (particularly Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan) who were ideologically opposed to large central government, and the subsequent decisions of a Supreme Court consisting of a majority of Reagan appointees, rather than to the rise of a strong "states' rights" movement.[11] In Germany, the combination of an electoral system based on proportional representation that encouraged coalition governments, coupled with a constitutional division of powers favouring the central government, has strengthened intrastate action.[12]

In contrast, the political systems of Canada and Australia in the 1970s and 1980s are generally seen as representative of interstate federalism. While each country's national government theoretically includes strong regional representation, particularly through the Senate, the upper house came to be increasingly seen as a body of patronage appointments, rather than of regional representatives. Moreover, strict party discipline in the elected lower house undermined the ability of Members of Parliament to effectively champion regional interests, as did the decline of strong regional ministers in the case of Canada.[13]

In the years immediately following the Second World War, Canadian federalism was described as co-operative federalism, which favoured the operation of intrastate federalism. Under co-operative (or administrative) federalism, the federal and provincial governments engaged in many collaborative ventures. Negotiations between the two levels were largely carried out by bureaucrats with the authority to negotiate agreements, and issues of jurisdiction were often blurred, to the benefit of pragmatism, compromise and

flexibility. In Canada, this led to the creation of a number of conditional grant or shared cost programs.[14]

In the late 1960s, a transition began towards executive federalism, which favours the operation of interstate federalism. Executive federalism is characterized by a concentration of authority in the upper levels of government, highly publicized federal-provincial conferences and strict attention paid to jurisdictional issues. This type of federalism began to emerge in Canada as a result of the Quiet Revolution, as it became evident that Quebec's grievances could not be addressed via the co-operative federalism which had predominated in the post-War era.[15] This shift polarized the governments, and made it difficult for the federal government to implement programs that involved provincial jurisdiction. The OLEP was developed at the height of the transition between these two phases in Canadian federalism.

In order for the Trudeau government to proceed with its national unity strategy of promoting bilingualism and protecting official language minority communities, it would need to exercise a fair deal of control over the development of the OLEP. The re-emergence of interstate federalism, coupled with Quebec nationalism, threatened its ability to direct the OLEP. Although a conjunction of forces conducive to provincial acceptance of an intrastate program existed at the outset of the OLEP, the rise of interstate federalism in the early 1970s threatened Ottawa's ability to direct the evolution of the program. In order to reassert control over the OLEP, the federal government had to bolster the operation of intrastate federalism. It had to confirm its role as an effective broker

of regional interests, and convince Canadians that it was the government best equipped to address the national unity file.

This thesis will analyse how the federal government set about accomplishing this task, and determine the extent to which it was able to assert intrastate federalism. Conversely, it will determine the extent to which the provinces were successful in advancing their interstate agenda.

This analysis of the impact of Canadian federalism on the development of language policy accepts the basic tenets of the neo-institutionalist theoretical approach to policy formation. This approach asserts that governments, bureaucracies and states have their own vested interests in the policy-making process, independent of those options put forth by interest groups, and that these interests exert a directing influence on policy formation.[16] According to this model, there will thus be jockeying on the part of the provincial and federal states to protect their agendas and interests.

In the Canadian context, governments have funded interest groups to advance and bolster their agendas, creating what has been dubbed the "embedded state."[17] In short, the embedded state consists of the citizenry, either individually or in groups, who are constituents of both the federal and provincial governments. Their allegiances and interests are the basis of legitimacy for action by either level of government.[18] Thus, if citizens attach their primary allegiance to the national community, they legitimize federal government action, and vice versa.

The embedded state concept has largely been used to analyse litigation stemming from the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.* However, it has also been effectively applied to the study of Canadian language policy, vividly demonstrated by Leslie Pal's study of the Official Language Minority Groups (OLMG) program. Created by the federal government in the 1970s, the OLMG supported these groups and created lobby groups that would reinforce its official languages agenda.[19] Pal demonstrates that the OLMG was initially formed with substantial input from the federal government and bureaucracy. The program was then largely allowed to drift, being shaped by external forces, including the lobby groups it helped to create and fund, which did not always operate in the manner intended by the federal government. Pal convincingly argues that government support for interest groups can and does help to reinforce the agendas of the governments that support them.

While in the case of the OLMG, the Fédération des francophones hors-Québec (FFHQ) often criticized specific actions of the federal government, it nevertheless served to reinforce the legitimacy of federal government action in the language policy sector. Thus, in order to understand the conflict over which model of federalism would predominate in the Trudeau era, interstate or intrastate, we will need to examine how the federal and provincial governments used the embedded state to further their own interests.

Social Action and Lobby Group Strategy

Beyond questions of intergovernmental relations, our understanding of language policy formation will also rely on a solid understanding of how interest groups were able to influence policy decisions. Several questions must be answered in this respect. Who were the key players in the development of the OLEP at the federal, provincial and local levels of government? What lobby groups were interested in the development of these programs? What was the response of the official language minority communities and their leaders to the new initiatives? How well did these programs sit with the majority language populations? To what extent were government approaches to the OLEP driven by public pressures versus their own ideologies? To what extent did the actions of lobby groups have an impact on government policy?

These constitutional and political debates took place over a period of dramatic transformation of the nature and orientation of Canada's largest linguistic communities. From the Second World War onwards, the federal and provincial states grew rapidly, assuming responsibility for a wide variety of new programs, ranging from health care to pensions to expanded involvement in education. This growth of the state had a major impact on the conception and delivery of the OLEP, and on how interest groups approached their lobbying efforts. Perhaps most importantly for francophone Canada, as the Quebec state grew, the Catholic Church, which had traditionally served as a vehicle for the transmission and promotion of French-Canadian cultural identity, declined sharply in influence. Consequently, the Catholic Church was no longer able to

provide the same level of financial and moral support to French-Canadian and Acadian communities outside of Quebec. Initially, the government of Quebec provided some aid to French-Canadian community associations through its Ministry of Cultural Affairs. However, this support would never be of the same magnitude as in the past. Moreover, neo-nationalist and separatist political leaders increasingly turned towards a conception of the Quebec state as the future of French Canada, and focused their efforts on promoting a French Quebec, rather than trying to foster smaller communities in the other provinces.

Consequently, the French-Canadian and Acadian communities of the nine English-speaking provinces were thrust into a new era of provincial orientations. Rather than being conceived of as French-Canadian, a linguistic community which encompassed the entire country, the new identities of Franco-Ontarian, Franco-Manitoban, Franco-Albertan and Acadian began to take shape as their primary points of reference.[20] The impact of these shifts on provincial minority language community strategies must be thoroughly considered. This was a key period for the regeneration of Canada's francophone minority communities, which had the potential to either lead to the complete dissolution of these communities, or to bring them new life as they adopted new identities. The response of English-speaking Canadians to these new orientations and to the French fact in their respective provinces would play a very important role in determining which of these two potentials would be realized. So too would be the response of the Canadian government to these communities, which had been cut off from their primary sources of support. Accordingly, the success of a policy

designed to bridge the interests of these various groups would be critical to the future of a new Canadian identity being formed at this juncture.

To understand the role played by these non-governmental actors in shaping the language policies of the 1970s and 1980s, one must consider the literature regarding the influence of lobby groups on public policy. A number of authors, including Brigitte Bureau, David Welch and Janet Poyen have looked at the success of various lobby groups in affecting provincial and federal language policies.[21] There has, however, been a certain amount of criticism, from authors such as Fernand Ouellet and Françoise Boudreault, that studies of French-Canadian community activism tend to be self-serving, and are written by members of the lobby groups or movements who need to demonstrate the efficacy of their respective movements.[22]

To counter these criticisms, a more systematic approach to determining the impact of political movements on social change has been developed by practitioners of social movement theory. Linda Cardinal, in her study of Franco-Ontarian relations with the Ontario government, adapted her model from sociologist Marco Guigni and political scientist Miriam Smith. This model breaks down as follows:

1. A study of the whole range of actors, not just the group in question;
2. A study of the structure of "political opportunities" of receptiveness to the group's agenda, as the political context can increase or decrease the chances of a movement's success;
3. A comparison of the success of the movement with other movements intervening in similar contexts;
4. A study of the process by which influence is possible, and identification of the mechanisms for change;
5. A study of the situations where the movements fail; and

6. A study of the perceptions of the structure of #2 by the actors in question – the subjective nature of these political opportunities.[23]

While it is not the intention of this thesis to provide a systematic study of the effectiveness of each of the pressure groups involved in the formation of the OLEP, this model provides several useful questions and considerations to judge the impact of these groups on the program's development. Not only will it allow for an assessment of the role of interest groups representing official language minority communities, but it will also permit an analysis of the roles played by other interest groups, such as immersion advocates, teachers' associations and "English rights" groups.

Additional Considerations in Language Policy Formulation

Although the primary focus of this thesis will be on the political aspects of creating a national language policy in education, we will also be examining some of the technical aspects that went into the creation of this policy. The development of official languages programs targeted at education did not occur in a policy vacuum restricted solely to national objectives of bilingualism. The manner in which these programs evolved was profoundly affected by a wide variety of other factors, including educational theory, financial constraints, other provincial and national programs, demographics and language planning theory. Each of these aspects must be examined to determine what role they played in shaping the OLEP.

Since the OLEP was concerned directly with education policy, a set of questions pertaining specifically to this field must be addressed. What were the

educational priorities of the various actors in terms of pedagogy? What new theories were being developed with regards to language learning? How did teachers and administrators respond to these programs? What were the structures of school governance in the provinces? To what extent did local authorities control language education, as opposed to the provincial Ministries of Education? Who were the client groups of the various school boards, and how much autonomy did these boards have? What did parents believe were the educational and instructional needs of their children, and how did language education fit into this mental model? Did these beliefs match the objectives of their communities or governments? Were these beliefs well-founded in pedagogical research?

The OLEP was not strictly limited to theoretical considerations of how to encourage provinces to provide second language instruction and minority language education. It came with a heavy price tag: close to one billion dollars over its first ten years. The willingness of the Canadian government to shoulder this burden must thus be set against economic trends in Canada throughout the period. Moreover, not all provinces had equal financial resources, and their ability to pay for a share of these new programs would affect their policy responses.

The impact of parallel policy initiatives at the federal and provincial levels must also be considered, as these would have an impact on the commitment and interest of provinces in these programs, and their financial implications. In the same period as a national program of official bilingualism was being

implemented, the Canadian government also developed a policy of multiculturalism: what type of impacts did this have on conceptions of the OLEP? How did the OLEP fit with other cost-shared programs such as health care and university education, and to what extent did concerns over other such programs affect the stances taken with regards to the OLEP? What provincial policies under development affected reception of the OLEP, such as New Brunswick's Equal Opportunities Program and Quebec's emerging language laws? All of these parallel developments must be borne in mind to gain a fuller picture of the other considerations that affected the approaches of the actors involved.

Many of the concepts that appear in the discourse on language policy in Canada emerged from the disciplines of demography, sociolingustics, and their sub-disciplines. Canadian demographics had a major impact on the OLEP, both in creating the need for it, and in shaping its development. The early research on bilingualism in Canada began with Richard Joy's *Languages in Conflict*, printed in 1967, which began the study of trends in Canada's linguistic make-up.[24] Joy identified a so-called "bilingual belt" from Sault Ste-Marie, Ontario to Western New Brunswick in which the French language was viable, and outside of which francophone populations were in precipitous decline. Subsequent authors, including Stanley Lieberson, Robert Maheu, Charles Castonguay, Raymond Breton, Muriel Roy, John De Vries and others have examined the various factors involved in linguistic transfer, the shift of individuals from one language group to another. They identified several factors at play in the Canadian context which influence these trends, including exogamy (marriage outside the linguistic

community), urbanization, industrialization and intergenerational transfer. A series of educational studies conducted since the 1970s and 1980s have also targeted so-called "bilingual programs" which offer education in two languages as contributing to the assimilation process, particularly when the students were members of a minority language community.[25]

Having identified the phenomena of francophone assimilation and language transfer, a second body of literature looks at methods of halting these processes. This literature looks at the process of *status planning*, which aims to increase the extent of the use of a language in a society. Angéline Martel summarizes the general approach to this planning process, breaking it down into three steps: (1) description of the initial situation; (2) description of changes to be made; and (3) choice of measures intended to remedy the situation.[26] There are two major principles that are used to guide language status planning efforts in the world, each with its own advocates: the personality principle and the territoriality principle.[27]

The personality principle takes as its organizing rule the application of language rules according to the linguistic status or affiliation of the individuals concerned.[28] As such, language services are offered in a uniform manner across a country, with access to services for all members of the official language groups. This model is most famously applied in South Africa, with its widely dispersed English-speaking minority, but is also used in Finland. With its emphasis on individual rights, it is the root of the model proposed by the RCBB, and adopted by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau for the language policies of the 1970s,

including the OLEP. In the Canadian context, this model has been defended by such academics as Donald Savoie and John de Vries as providing the broadest range of language rights for official language minority communities.[29]

The territorial principle, in contrast, applies language rules according to territorial unit.[30] This model is most strikingly seen in Belgium, where government services are provided in Flemish in the north, French in the south, and both in the capital city of Brussels. The same type of model is used in Switzerland, where language services vary by canton. Applied to the Canadian context, this model generally envisions a system of French services in Quebec, English services in the other provinces, with some small pockets of bilingual services in New Brunswick and Eastern Ontario. This model, which was not adopted in Canada, aside from some slight concessions to "sufficient numbers" for government services, has a vocal group of defenders in Canadian academia. These individuals, including Jean Laponce, Charles Castonguay, Eric Waddell, José Woehrling, Ronald Wardhaugh and Kenneth McRoberts[31] argue that this principle is more reflective of Canada's demographic situation, particularly given the decline of the francophone minority communities and their use of the French language outside of the bilingual belt, which had been the dominant trend up to the 1970s. They decry the personality model as costly, unrepresentative of Canadian demographic realities and harmful to the French language. As noted earlier, McRoberts is particularly critical of the failure of the Canadian government to adopt a territorial model based on a French Quebec/English rest of Canada duality, which he sees as the only method that would have contributed

to national unity.[32] It is notable, however, that most of these authors give little, if any consideration to the state of the official language minority communities. These communities are generally considered expendable in the "greater cause" of promoting national unity, which to them means promoting the French language in Quebec and a territorial conception of duality based on Quebec/Canada. Both of these concepts must be borne in mind when considering the development of language policy in this period.

One must also consider the broader demographics of the Canadian population. The overall impact of the boom-bust cycle of births had a major impact on the composition and size of school classes in this period, which would have an impact on how teachers and parents perceived the OLEP. Moreover, immigration trends affected the demographic composition of the country, and challenged the bicultural framework that had initially been posited by the RCBB.

Historiography

The only historical study to examine the Official Languages in Education Program directly is the journal article based on my Master's major research paper.[33] This study examined the development of the OLEP in the province of Ontario, and its approach will be the starting point for the present comparison of the development of the OLEP in six provinces. The OLEP also figures in a number of works from other disciplines. It appears peripherally in the political science literature on federal language policy of the 1970s,[34] as well as the literature addressing the success of lobby groups.[35] In a direct manner, the

OLEP is central to Janet McCrae Poyen's thesis on Canadian Parents for French, a national lobby group formed in the 1970s with the objective of furthering the success of the second language initiatives of the program.[36] The impact of "federal funding to language education" also figures in sociolinguistic and demographic studies of language trends in Canadian society.

Educational specialists have also taken an interest in some of the impacts of the program. In addition, a sizeable body of literature appeared during the OLEP's operation concerning the objectives of its target groups, and their impressions of its impacts. Typical of this type of literature is J. Charles Gaudet's thesis, which addresses the attitudes of Nova Scotia's Acadian community towards the new official languages programs in education.[37]

However, like most subjects in recent history, the language policies of the 1970s, and the development of educational programming related to languages, have yet to receive serious treatment by historians. While the historical profession has yet to advance chronologically to this period, there is nevertheless a body of historical literature on language conflict in Canada.

A great deal of historical research has been conducted on Regulation 17 in Ontario, and related efforts to restrict the use of the French language in the province, including seminal works by Robert Choquette and Chad Gaffield.[38] There has also been some research on more recent issues in Franco-Ontarian history, including Brigitte Bureau's overview of ACFO,[39] Fernan Carrière's examination of the Franco-Ontarian community,[40] David Welch's study of the social construction of educational interests[41] and Nadine Piret's look at the

bilingualism policy of the William Davis government.[42] A comparable body of literature exists regarding francophone minorities in the other predominantly English-speaking provinces. Significant research has been conducted on the Manitoba Schools Question of 1890s. More recent literature on the Franco-Manitobans has concentrated on the Franco-Manitoban quest to regain lost rights through legal challenges to the Manitoba Official Language Act, which culminated in the successful *Forest* and *Bilodeau* court challenges of the late 1970s, which have been studied by Jacqueline Blay,[43] and political scientist Raymond Hébert.[44]

For the province of New Brunswick, histories of Acadian education have been compiled by Alexandre Savoie and Gilberte Couturier Leblanc,[45] stretching from its origins to 1992. However, this treatment is very cursory, giving little explanation for the dynamics underpinning the source of the rapid changes to Acadian education in the 1970s and 1980s. George Rawlyk and Ruth Hafter, as part of their work for the RCBB, wrote a history of the Acadian education system in Nova Scotia up to 1965,[46] which was the primary reference for the Nova Scotia Acadians throughout the 1970s as they battled for improved schools. Sally Ross treated the topic of Acadian education in Nova Scotia in *Les écoles acadiennes en Nouvelle-Écosse, 1758-2000* (2001). This work is particularly useful as a study of the role of Acadian schools at the community level.[47] It is, however, predominantly a work of oral history, and focuses primarily on Acadian perceptions of, and experiences in, the Acadian schools, rather than government policy regarding these schools and community lobbying efforts.

There are several common threads in this historical literature, particularly when dealing with the period before 1960. In each case, the provincial governmental authorities are cast in the role of the agents of suppression and aggression, trying to eliminate or assimilate the French-Canadian and Acadian communities. The grand narrative of the French-Canadian community is one of *survivance*, valiantly resisting the provincial government. The federal government is virtually absent in this period, except perhaps as an abettor of the provinces, by refusing to intervene. There is also an emphasis on flashpoint crises, when language tensions flared up in highly visible manifestations, rather than on longer trends and developments affecting these communities. As is the case for most literature concerning francophone minorities in Canada, these studies are most often written by members of these same communities. Accordingly, there is a tendency in much of this literature to be highly critical of the provincial governments, even during periods of expansion of French language services, on the grounds that such change was not rapid enough.

There is very little comparable historical research on the anglophone community in Quebec during this period. As Garth Stevenson points out,[48] anglophone Quebeckers did not see themselves as a minority community until the late 1960s, but rather felt they were part of the anglophone majority in Canada. This perception would begin to change in the 1970s, particularly as restrictive legislation began to affect the anglophone education system in the province. A historical treatment of this shift is yet to come, although there is an extensive body of literature on Quebec and its language laws of the 1970s.

The other major historical dynamic of interest for this period is the shift of power from church to state, and the impact this had on French Canada. Quebec historians and political scientists, including Michael Behiels, Dale Thomson, Alain Gagnon, Kenneth McRoberts and Denis Monière identify the 1950s and 1960s as the pivotal turning point in modern Quebec's history.[49] They argue that during this period, the government of Quebec took on the trappings of the modern state, developing a comprehensive bureaucracy and assuming responsibility for education, displacing a Catholic Church devoid of resources. These changes, they argue, led to constitutional battles as the government of Quebec began to challenge the Canadian government's dominance in the arena of social and economic policy, and sought additional powers to promote its own agenda.

This shift of power from the Catholic Church to the state had a major impact on the minority French-Canadian communities in the other provinces. As Marcel Martel has aptly pointed out, it meant that these communities lost their most important ally in the defence of their social, health, educational, economic and cultural institutions.[50] Moreover, that power shifted from a nationally-oriented Catholic Church, which took a keen interest in the preservation of francophone minorities throughout the country, to anglophone-dominated provincial governments. In addition, the Quiet Revolution-era Quebec governments proved to be much more inward-looking than their predecessors in terms of supporting Canada's francophone minorities.

These changes are the focus of much current research on francophone Canada, as is illustrated by the work of Joseph Yvon Thériault and his

colleagues.[51] They have shown how the national identity of "French-Canadian" became the provincially-oriented identities of "Franco-Ontarian," "New Brunswick Acadian," "Franco-Manitoban," etc., as francophone community leaders were compelled to focus their attentions on their aggrandizing provincial governments. Several authors, including Danielle Juteau-Lee, have explored the impact that this has had community structure and organisation, as new secular and urban elites in the political arena began to supplant the traditional clerical elite.[52] As David Welch notes, this shift to a provincial orientation had major impacts on francophone minority community lobbying efforts in Ontario, which grew increasingly centred on their provincial government, which now controlled the services that would be needed for the survival of the Franco-Ontarian community.[53] Reflecting the increased importance of provincial governments for these communities, Robert Gill, an American political scientist at Radford University, conducted a very useful series of studies of provincial language policies to assess the state of language rights in Canada, and the implications for the future survival of francophone minorities.[54]

Language issues in Canada have also been the subject of some fairly extensive literature in other disciplines. Constitutional and legal experts have been particularly active in studying language rights in Canada. However, this pursuit has largely been confined to studies of post-Charter rights, and analysing the consequences of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms'* provisions. Educational specialists have also paid a great deal of attention to the pedagogical dimensions of language learning, and the best models to achieve

learning. In the context of this research, however, these studies are more properly considered as primary sources, since the researchers and the findings themselves played a major role in shaping Canadian language educational policies. As such, these studies will be addressed in their historical context, as they appeared.

Methodology and Major Research Questions

This thesis will examine the development of the Official Languages in Education Program at the national level and in the six provinces mentioned above from the recommendations of the RCBB in 1968 through to the conclusion of the protocol agreement and federal-provincial sub-agreements in 1984. In order to have a basis from which to discuss how the OLEP developed, it will be necessary to first reconstruct the history of language education programs in these provinces, so as to understand the concerns of the provincial governments and provincially-based lobby groups. This research is primarily based on archival holdings from the six provinces, the federal government and numerous lobby groups. These holdings include correspondence, briefing papers, proposals, reports, clipping files and published materials from the period. These are supplemented by the limited secondary literature available on the period, as well as demographic and educational studies, which in the context of this research are considered primary sources.

The archival materials available leave some gaps, resulting from archival policies and access provisions. To fill some of these holes, newspapers have

been consulted to obtain an overall context. There is also a significant component of oral history to this thesis. Several civil servants, lobbyists and senators who were intimately involved in the development of the OLEP and provincial language programs were interviewed to gain their perspectives on these events. While there are some limitations to oral history, including incomplete memories (as virtually all the research subjects hastened to caution me), these interviews nevertheless provide an important overall context to the research. Moreover, they supplement the textual sources, and often pointed the way to other avenues of research and different interpretations of the source documents.[55]

This thesis is intended to serve two major functions, the first descriptive, the second analytical. On a descriptive level, it will provide a chronicle of Canadian government efforts in language policy, and shifts in language planning philosophies throughout the governments of Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Joe Clark. It will also chronicle the development of provincial official language policies, particularly as they affected the sectors of minority language education, second language instruction, and French immersion for the period from 1968-1984. Developments in federal-provincial relations, official languages thought, and Canadian educational and language planning theory will also be chronicled to provide a context for these developments. It is hoped that this will serve as a useful reference for other scholars interested in the history of Canadian language policy. It was difficult to focus on a particular aspect of language policy, the OLEP, without the existence of a context in which to analyse it.

This thesis will analyze several aspects of Canadian language policy, dividing into roughly three major areas. A first set of questions examines the relationship between Canadian federalism and the crafting of official language policy. How did the federal government work within Canadian federalism to develop a language policy which would respond to the growth of Quebec nationalism, the decline of official language minorities and the national unity crisis of this period? How did the Trudeau government use the resources at its disposal to strengthen intrastate federalism so that Ottawa could control the direction of the OLEP, and to what extent was it hampered by the provinces' defence of interstate federalism? How successful was the provincial attempt to forge an interprovincial approach to official languages in education, and block Ottawa's efforts to carve out a niche for itself in this sector? To what extent was Ottawa able to circumvent provincial jurisdiction over education by using the embedded state and lobby groups to advance its agenda? To what extent were language policy decisions made by top governmental officials or bureaucrats, and how much was this tempered by external organisations such as minority language communities or the general public?

The second major group of questions looks at the OLEP at the provincial level. The OLEP evolved differently in each province, and its implementation was shaped by a variety of factors. These questions aim to establish an explanatory framework for those differences, and assess the roles played by lobby groups in influencing the directions taken by the provincial governments. What objectives did the provincial governments seek to achieve via their

language policies, and what was their underlying ideology? How much funding was available at the provincial level for these programs, and how developed were the official language programs at the outset of the OLEP? What were the objectives of the leaders of the minority language communities? To what extent were they supported by their communities? What strategies did these leaders employ to rally community support for their objectives, and how did they lobby their governments? How effective were these lobbying efforts? What was the response of the dominant language community in the provinces? How did political leaders balance the demands of the majority and minority language communities? What other organizations exerted pressure on the governments to sway the direction of provincial education policies?

Finally, the OLEP will be examined to determine how this program affected the national unity of Canada. How were Canada's official language minorities perceived by governments? What were their political and social roles in the Canadian federation, and how did this change as a result of the OLEP? How did these groups fit into a strategy of national unity, and the formation of both a revised Canadian identity and redefined francophone minority community identities: identities based not on a Quebec-Canada duality, but on their respective provincial realities and on pan-Canadian bilingualism that was responsive to the needs of both official language communities? How did second language instructional programming affect public opinion towards official languages, and the Canadian government's role in crafting language policy? What were the longer-term implications of youth-oriented programming for future

public attitudes towards language issues and Canadian identity? What does this say about the feasibility of the Trudeau government's strategy, and its potential for altering future Canadian identity politics?

This thesis is not intended to cover all aspects of language policy in Canada during the Trudeau era. There are other facets that need to be studied by historians, including the bilingual districts initiative, bilingualism in the civil service and the official language minority groups program. There is also a panoply of work to be done on the language policies of individual provinces, as well as the impact of these programs on local communities. My focus here is on the OLEP, primarily its formula payments and special projects components. While there were other elements to the OLEP, including bursary and exchange programs, which will be addressed briefly here, these initiatives received relatively little money, and were far less controversial.

The emphasis of this thesis will be on the politics of the OLEP, and the dynamics that shaped its formation and implementation. What must be stressed here is the need to consider Canadian language policies, and specifically the OLEP, as longitudinal processes. In this manner, it will be possible to examine how these language education programs affected young Canadians. The conceptions that this cohort, the OLEP's primary target, developed about Canada and the role of the two major language groups within it, is where the OLEP would make its impact on national unity and Canadian identity politics.

I intend to provide a thorough understanding of the manner in which language policy was developed in this period at both the Canadian and provincial

levels. I will also assess the extent to which the OLEP was successful in providing greater opportunities for minority language education, second language instruction and French immersion, and what impacts it had on provincial language policy in education. Finally, I will assess the types of impacts that the OLEP had on the national unity debate, and the extent to which this program was successful in altering how Canada would address the issue of linguistic duality in the future.

This thesis will be divided into nine chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis, and outlines the main questions, issues and limits of the research. It also provides an overview of pertinent secondary literature and establishes the terminology and concepts used throughout the thesis. Chapter 2 will examine the historical background to the OLEP, outlining developments in language policy, language conflict and educational policy at both the national and provincial levels up to 1968. Chapter 3 deals with the creation of the initial agreement of the OLEP from 1968 to 1970, and explains both Canadian and provincial government interests with regards to the policy, as well as outlining the main components of the program. Chapter 4 covers the period of the first agreement, from 1970 to 1974, and examines how the program developed in each province, the problems and concerns arose during this period, and how the federal government began to develop a consensus in support of the continuation of its bilingualism policy. Chapter 5 includes the negotiation of the second agreement, which included one small, but critical, change in objectives. It deals with the continuing development and evolution of language programs in the

provinces, particularly Quebec, as this province moved towards a nationalist orientation, concluding with the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976. It will also begin to address Ottawa's responses to these developments, and the increasing activity of interest groups. Chapter 6 examines the second half of the second agreement, from 1976 to 1979, a period in which major negotiations began between the provinces and federal government, as both sides tried to radically alter the structure of the program in light of new economic pressures and concerns about the program's effectiveness. The rise of important new national pressure groups, which bolstered intrastate federalism, and the new roles assigned to the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) to reinforce the provinces' interstate agenda will also be discussed. Chapters 7 and 8 encompass the period from 1979 to 1984, when the OLEP, hitherto administered under five-year agreements, had its funding capped, and was administered as a series of one-year interim agreements as negotiations for a new agreement dragged on. Chapter 7 will be primarily concerned with developments in official languages education in the provinces and constitutional debates at the national level during this period. It will examine how the Trudeau government set about constitutionally protecting minority language education rights in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and how it used the embedded state to build support for language rights at the provincial level. This will provide the necessary background for Chapter 8, which covers the critical issues of the negotiations, and explain how a new protocol agreement was reached, which more clearly defined the role of the federal government in promoting Canada's

two official languages. Finally, in Chapter 9, a conclusion to the thesis will be presented which will sum up the main issues and points raised throughout the thesis, resolving some of the questions raised in the introduction.

Chapter Two:

The Conundrum of Language Conflict in Canada

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Introduction

Canadian history is riddled with examples of conflict and controversy rooted in language questions. While a comprehensive examination of each of these crises lies outside of the scope of this thesis, a brief overview of these events will be useful for understanding the context within which the various actors – governments, lobby groups, communities – were operating as regards questions of education in Canada's two official languages. Accordingly, the first part of this chapter will be devoted to an overview of the history of language conflict and controversy in each of the six provinces examined in this thesis. This overview will also provide a chronology of the development of education rights for the official language minority communities in each of these provinces, from Confederation to 1967, when the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism submitted its first report. The parallel development of language policy at the federal level will also be discussed in this section.

The groups for whom the development of the Official Languages in Education Program would have the most substantial impacts were the official language minority communities. By the 1960s, there were a number of trends which were having significant impacts on the size, composition and orientation of these communities. These trends must be examined in order to situate the concerns of these communities at the outset of the OLEP. There were also a number of national trends in a wide variety of sectors, ranging from demographics, to education, to constitutional issues, which shaped how the majority populations and governments responded to issues related to the OLEP's

development. The second part of this chapter will examine these trends, and explain how these trends would be important in the formation and the future development of the OLEP.

French and English in the Canadas up to Confederation

Questions concerning the status of the English and French language in Canada existed long before Confederation. Following the British Conquest of 1760, the legal status of the French language in Canada underwent a succession of expansions and contractions. Initially quite restricted by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the French language was gradually accorded increased status through the *Quebec Act* of 1774 and the *Constitutional Act* of 1791. However, following the rebellions of 1837 and 1838, Lord Durham submitted his famous *Report on the Affairs of British North America.* He concluded that Canada's problems were rooted in the cleavage between the English and French races. To resolve these problems, Durham proposed the fusion of Upper and Lower Canada and the introduction of responsible government, which would have the effect of creating an English majority in the legislature. Through these measures, the French component of British North America was supposed to be assimilated to the English language and culture. English was to be the language of the legislative council and assembly.[1]

Although the intention of Durham's reforms was to assimilate the French population, this did not come to pass. The French language was rapidly accorded increased status in the legislature and courts, particularly those of

Canada East (Quebec). Indeed, for all intents and purposes, the United Province of Canada was officially bilingual by 1849, when Lord Elgin read the Speech from the Throne in both English and French.

The foundations of language rights in Canada for the first century of the post-Confederation era were laid out in Section 133 of the *British North America Act, 1867* (BNA Act), which reads:

> Either the English or the French language may be used by any Person in the Debates of the Houses of the Parliament of Canada and of the Houses of the Legislature of Quebec; and both those Languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those Languages may be used by any Person or in any Pleading or Process in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under this Act, and or from all or from any of the Courts of Quebec.
> The Acts of the Parliament of Canada and of the Legislature of Quebec shall be printed and published in both those Languages.

Although this provision of the BNA Act made provisions for the official languages of the legislatures and courts of Quebec and the federal government, it notably did not impose any such requirements upon the other provincial legislatures or courts. Nor did this section make any guarantees as to the language of government services.

One other important note must be made concerning the provisions of the *British North America Act, 1867*. Preservation of the French language and Catholic education were critically important for representatives of Canada East. Accordingly, under Section 93 of the Act, responsibility for education was given to the provinces. As a result of lobbying from Catholic Church leaders from outside Quebec and Protestant politicians from Quebec, provisions were made to guarantee confessional education rights in the Canadas; these provisions would

protect Catholic schools in Ontario, and Protestant schools in Quebec. These guarantees were on the basis of religion, *not* language. Although most Protestants in Quebec were English-speaking, and a large proportion of the Catholics in Ontario were francophones, it was not deemed necessary to enshrine language rights in education into the BNA Act, as these rights were assumed to flow from the religious orientation of the schools. As we shall see in our discussion of the provinces in the post-Confederation era, this omission would have far-reaching implications.

Ontario

In the province of Ontario, all publicly-funded schools were under the jurisdiction of the provincial authority. Although pockets of French-speakers could be found in several areas of the province, they were predominantly concentrated in the Eastern counties, from Ottawa east to the Quebec border. There was initially little effort expended to regulate the language of instruction in the schools of the province. Over time, however, efforts would be made to create a single, provincial standard for education in the province. It is when this process began that conflict arose.

The first regulation on language in Ontario's schools, issued in 1885, required that English be taught in all of the province's schools. Teachers' certificates were henceforth required, which in turn required a knowledge of English grammar. In 1890, the province further clarified its policy, stating that English was to be the language of instruction in the province, "except insofar as

this is impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English."[2] British-Canadian groups, particularly the Protestant Orange Order, demanded that more aggressive steps be taken to assimilate the French-Canadians. For the most part these regulations were not rigorously enforced. In the predominantly French-speaking counties of the province, instruction continued to be provided in French.

Over the following two decades, however, tensions began to arise in the province. Ontario's francophone population began to shift its children from the public schools into the separate school system. As Robert Choquette and others have noted, this created conflict within the Catholic Church in Eastern Ontario, as Irish Catholics and French Catholics jockeyed for their communities' interests.[3] By 1910, the French-Canadian élite of Eastern Ontario was convinced that the "bilingual" schools, many of which in fact functioned in French, were threatened by a movement to transform them into English-language schools. They began to push for recognition of French-language schooling, through the newly formed Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario (ACFÉO). This placed the community on a collision course with opponents of French-language schooling, particularly when an investigation by F.W. Merchant, the Inspector of Schools, showed that the "bilingual schools", rather than accelerating the transition from French to English, were in fact functioning largely in French and teaching the English language very poorly.[4]

In 1912, the provincial government responded to the Merchant report with the controversial and provocative Regulation 17. Under Regulation 17, English

was to become the sole language of instruction in the schools of the province after Grade 2. The study of French as a subject was limited to one hour per day for all subsequent grades. Moreover, this regulation was to be strictly monitored by the school inspectors, to ensure that the province's schools were indeed functioning in English. These restrictions caused an uproar, the legacy of which is still felt. Indeed, Regulation 17 is perhaps the most studied aspect of Franco-Ontarian history, and rare is the scholarly work on this community which does not mention it at all. Overturning Regulation 17, and reinstituting French-language education rights in the province would be the raison d'être of ACFÉO for the next fifty-six years. The reverberations of these restrictions would also have impacts at the national level. During the First World War, particularly during the conscription crisis, Regulation 17 further enflamed the existing tensions between English- and French-Canadians.

In 1927, the implementation of Regulation 17 was softened, and "bilingual" schools were once again allowed to function at the elementary level, at least in practice, although the regulation was not completely taken off the books.[5] However, for the next four decades, publicly-funded French-language secondary schools did not exist in the province, and ACFÉO had to continue its long battle. The election of John Robarts as Premier of Ontario would prove to be quite a favourable development for the Franco-Ontarian population. Aware of the English-French divide in Canada, which was beginning to have separatist overtones in Quebec, Robarts began his efforts as a statesman to try to bring the country together.[6] In November 1967, following a series of failed constitutional

reform efforts led by the federal government, Robarts brought the provincial governments together for the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference.

Beyond these diplomatic overtures, a major aspect of Robarts' efforts centred on his own province. He believed that improving the status of the Franco-Ontarians would demonstrate to Quebec's political class that English-Canada was serious about making an effort for the two dominant language communities to live together. Over the course of 1963 and 1964, some preliminary steps were taken in Ontario's public secondary schools, as the Department of Education authorized the teaching of History, Geography and Latin in the French language.[7] French was also authorized as an optional subject in the English-language elementary schools of the province in 1966, subject to departmental permission.[8]

These initial steps were but a precursor to Robarts' main legacy. On 24 August 1967, Robarts announced his intention to enact legislation providing full funding for public French-language secondary schools in the province.[9] Robarts proceeded to appoint the Committee on French Language Schools in Ontario, chaired by Roland Bériault of the Department of Education, to recommend legislation to make this a reality.[10] Following the interim report of the Bériault Committee in March 1968, the government introduced Bills 140 and 141, which were enacted in July of that year.[11] These bills guaranteed the right of Franco-Ontarians to publicly-funded French-language secondary schools, if a minimum number of students could be reached. The decision was made to fund public schools, because Catholic schools, both English- and French-language, only

received government funding up to Grade 10, a situation which would not change until the 1980s. Indeed, the issue of confessionality and language was one which the RCBB chose to avoid, citing the contentious nature of this debate in Canada.[12] The final report of the Bériault Commission, submitted in December 1968, also noted that while native-English speakers may wish to attend the French schools, their presence could in the long run have a detrimental impact on the progress of Franco-Ontarian students. To address this issue, it recommended that the province develop new programs targeted at English-speaking students who wished to improve their command of the French language.[13]

Based on this brief survey, it is clear that while French-language education in Ontario had gone through a long period of restrictions and struggles, improvements began to come in the early 1960s. By the time that the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism submitted its first report, Ontario's efforts to reverse the historic repression of the French language in its schools were already underway.

New Brunswick

In the Maritime provinces, confessional school rights had not been guaranteed under the BNA Act. Following the Acadian Deportation of 1755, French-speaking Acadians moved west into New Brunswick, and settled far up the Saint John River Valley, and around the Baie de Chaleur, in the northern parts of the colony. The Acadian proportion of the province would come to settle at between 35 and

40 per cent of the total population. Until the 1950s this population tended to be predominantly rural, as opposed to the urban concentrations of the anglophone population.

Prior to Confederation, both Catholic and Protestant schools existed in New Brunswick. However, the confessional schools were given no special legal status. In 1871, the provincial government passed the *Common Schools Act*, which declared that all publicly-funded schools must be non-denominational, and imposed regulations on teacher certification.[14] This Act hit at the Acadian population of the province, since most Acadian children were enrolled in Catholic schools which used French as the language of instruction. Conflict ensued, which lasted until an agreement was reached in 1875 that exempted members of religious orders from the new teachers' certificates, and allowed the teaching of religion after regular school hours. The language of instruction was never specified in the *Common Schools Act*. However, the provincial Department of Education functioned in English, and school manuals were provided in English only.[15]

By 1920, a dichotomy had evolved in the province of New Brunswick. The anglophone population of the province benefited from an education system that was reasonably well-funded by local property taxes. Moreover, they were well-supported by an English-language Department of Education. The Acadians, by contrast, were served by an odd network of "bilingual schools." New Brunswick's education funding system was based on local property taxes, which tended to handicap the poorer, rural areas where the Acadians lived. Moreover, schools

received funding on the basis of heads of households, rather than the number of children. This also worked against the Acadians, who on average had larger families. Within the schools, French was taught at the early elementary level, but English was progressively introduced in the later grades, with lessons being essentially English-only after Grade 4. The French counties also tended to have higher rates of illiteracy.[16] Private French-language secondary schools did exist, along the model of Quebec's *collèges classiques*, but these were not widely accessible.

A 1955 inquiry into the state of school funding in the province, conducted by the Mackenzie Commission, revealed the disparity of school funding between the urban (and English) and rural (normally Acadian) districts in the province. This revelation did not, however, lead to any immediate changes. Real change would not occur until after the 1960 election of Liberal Premier Louis Robichaud, the first francophone premier of a province other than Quebec. The translation of school manuals into French in the early 1960s marked the beginning of the improvements to French-language education programs that would occur over Robichaud's tenure. In 1964, a francophone Deputy Minister of Education was appointed, beginning a policy of having two deputy ministers, one from each language group. In 1965, second language requirements were imposed on the schools, with French-as-a-second-language (FSL) made mandatory in the English schools for Grades 5-10, and English-as-a-second-language (ESL) made mandatory for Grades 3-12 in the Acadian schools. A French-language consultant and curriculum subcommittee were also hired that year.[17]

A sea change in New Brunswick education would result from the 1963 Byrne Commission on Municipal Taxation. Noting the same disparities as in the MacKenzie Commission, the Byrne Commission recommended that the province assume responsibility for funding all schools in the province, replacing local taxation with provincially-determined funding levels for schools, drawn from the general revenues of the province. The Byrne Commission did not call for a dual language system, but did call for a consolidation of the province's school districts.[18]

In 1965, Louis Robichaud launched his government's ambitious Equal Opportunities Program. Following the recommendations of the Byrne Commission, the number of school divisions in the province was reduced to thirty-three, more-or-less along linguistic lines, with English-language, French-language and bilingual districts. One third of the seats on these school commissions were reserved for appointments by the Lieutenant Governor, to allow for ethnic and religious representation. Local school taxation was abolished, and was replaced by a uniform provincial taxation system.[19] A French-language normal school was also established at the Université de Moncton in 1967 to train teachers for the Acadian schools. The government also began to take steps to increase Acadian representation in the bureaucracy.

In this era of radical change to government policies, community activism increased as well. The 1955 deportation commemorations served as a rallying point for the New Brunswick Acadians. Community leaders revitalised the Société Nationale des Acadiens (SNA), a Maritimes-wide association, to lobby

the government on issues important to the community, including education.[20] This association would become increasingly activist and radical in its demands, particularly in the late 1960s, as a new wave of student activism arose, centred at the Université de Moncton.[21]

As we shall see in the next chapter, the Equal Opportunities Program was followed up by a move to declare the province of New Brunswick officially bilingual. Between these two initiatives, the province had taken great strides by 1967-68 to improve the status of its French-language education system. However, it would take time for the reforms of the Equal Opportunities Program to overcome a century of neglect of the French-language schools. It would also entail a great deal of additional money, which was scarce in this province.

Nova Scotia

After the 1755 Deportation, Acadians were not able to resettle in Nova Scotia until 1764. This resettlement was also contingent upon their willingness to swear an oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and to settle in the more remote parts of the colony.[22] Accordingly, the Acadians settled on the south-western tip of the colony, around Baie-Ste-Marie in the counties of Clare and Argyle, where they formed the majority of the population until the 1970s. The second major concentration of Acadians was on Cape Breton Island, in the counties of Richmond (centred around Chéticamp) and Inverness, where the Acadians made up about 50 per cent of the population by the 1970s.[23] After the Second World War, the provincial capital of Halifax became home to an increasing number of

Acadians from across the Maritimes, as well as francophones from other parts of the country who were drawn by government and military jobs. By 1971, the Acadian population was split close to evenly between the three regions, although the French-speaking population in the provincial capital did not form a significant proportion of the city's population.[24] Nova Scotia's resettlement pattern is thus significantly different from that of New Brunswick, as its Acadian population centres were geographically dispersed. As we shall see later, this would have a significant impact on the ability of the Nova Scotia Acadians to resist assimilation and to form strong community networks.

Moving forward to the Confederation era, Acadian schools, where some degree of French-language education was available, existed in a clandestine, and quasi-illegal, fashion in Nova Scotia from 1864 until 1902. Collège Ste-Anne, the only post-secondary French-language institution in the province, was founded by the Eudist Fathers in 1890 at Church Point, in Clare County. The Collège would come to serve as a major force behind Acadian education in the province throughout the 20th century.[25]

The first official policy on French-language education in Nova Scotia was announced by the Department of Education in 1902. It permitted the use of French as a language of instruction for Grades 1-3, after which point schools were to switch to English as the language of instruction. This policy was revised in 1939 to allow French as a language of instruction for the primary grades, switching to bilingual instruction for Grades 7 to 9, and then English-language instruction for Grades 10 to 12. Analysts of this type of French-language

education consider this system nonsensical. They have noted that this system only makes sense if its primary objective was to gradually assimilate the Acadian population.[26] Indeed, if this were the objective of the system, it had been functioning well through the mid-20th century. By the 1960s, more than half of the Acadians in Nova Scotia claimed English as their mother tongue.[27] The system also acted as a disincentive to higher education, as large numbers of Acadian adults were illiterate, and less than 50 per cent had completed Grade 8.[28]

Nova Scotia was slow to improve its French-language education system. French-language readers and grammar texts were not produced by the Department of Education until the 1950s. Other subjects received no departmental support at all until 1965 or later.[29] Indeed, the Department of Education only created a committee to advise it on matters pertaining to the Acadians in 1966. French-as-a-second-language instruction for the anglophone population of the province was little better. These programs did not exist at the elementary level. Although FSL was widespread at the secondary level, particularly for Grades 7 to 9, the quality of this instruction was suspect. 67 per cent of FSL teachers were unable of carrying on a conversation in French.[30] The Department of Education was slow to address these problems. The first consultant in modern languages was not hired until 1967. Even then, this individual had responsibility not only for Acadian schools and FSL, but for all modern languages programs in the province. Acadian schools continued to

operate on the fringes of legality, as they were not mentioned in the *Schools Act*, and existed at the sufferance of the Minister of Education and the Cabinet.

There had been little pressure on the Department of Education to act until this point. An Acadian Federation of Teachers had existed until 1968, but this organisation had not acted as an activist lobby group. Indeed, Nova Scotia would not see the creation of a province-wide lobby group for French-language issues until 1968, when the Fédération Francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse (renamed the Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE) in 1972), was created. This group had a major challenge to overcome in the following decades. French-language media in the province was practically non-existent, aside from *Le Petit Courrier*, a weekly paper whose circulation was restricted to the South-western counties. Also, the assimilative policies of the Department of Education had taken their toll on the Acadian population, which, as we shall see, had been dwindling in number over the decades. It would take a great deal of effort to institute effective French-language education in Nova Scotia, after so many decades of neglect.

Manitoba

The province of Manitoba was carved out of the Northwest Territories in 1870 as the fifth province to enter Confederation. Following agitation by Louis Riel and the Métis, and supported by Bishop Alexandre Taché of St. Boniface and Catholic clerical élites in Quebec, Manitoba entered Confederation as an officially bilingual province under Section 23 of the *Manitoba Act*.[31] The rights to pre-

existing denominational schools, including Catholic ones which served the francophone population, were also protected. Over the subsequent two decades, however, French-Canadian migration to the province did not occur in significant numbers. Large numbers of British-Canadians did migrate from Ontario, and wanted to make Manitoba into a British province.

In 1890, the official use of the French language in the legislature, courts and civil service was abolished in the province by the *Manitoba Official Language Act, 1890.*[32] At the same time, the dual system of education was replaced by a single, non-denominational education system by the *Act Respecting the Department of Education* and the *Act Respecting Public Schools.*[33] Controversies over this decision raged for the next six years, until Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier was able to reach a compromise with Manitoba Premier Thomas Greenway in 1897. Under this compromise, religious instruction would be permitted after regular school hours, and Roman Catholic teachers would be allowed to continue to teach. The compromise further allowed bilingual instruction where ten pupils in a class spoke a minority language. This applied not only to the French-Canadian population, but also to other immigrant groups such as the Ukrainians and Germans.[34]

This compromise permitted the continuation of both Catholic and French-language education in the province of Manitoba for the next two decades, and received official sanction from the pope in Rome. It did not, however, completely resolve the issue. In 1916, during the First World War, the T.C. Norris government, as part of a British-Canadian effort to anglicize foreigners,

eliminated the bilingual schools.[35] French-Canadians were caught up in this sweep, as the Laurier-Greenway compromise came to an end with this unilateral action by the provincial government.

Reacting to the legal abolition of French-Canadian Catholic schools by the Manitoba government, the Franco-Manitobans created the Association des éducateurs canadiens français du Manitoba (AÉCFM). The AÉCFM began several decades of agitation to try to re-institute French-language education rights in the province of Manitoba. Although French education was officially illegal in the province, several school districts in the province were still homogenous French-Canadian pockets. French-language education continued in these districts, thanks to covert cooperation between the AÉCFM and the Minister of Education, who turned a blind eye to the existence of these schools.[36] However, these schools relied on the independent resources of Franco-Manitoban community institutions and the Catholic church, and received no official support from the Department.

Some improvements to the status of the French language in Manitoba began to occur in the 1950s, under the Campbell government. In 1952, one hour of French was permitted for Grades 7 to 12. This was extended down to the Grade 4 as an optional course in 1955.[37] A blow was dealt to Franco-Manitoban education in 1959, when the McFarlane commission consolidated the province's school divisions. With this consolidation, small homogenous Franco-Manitoban school divisions were merged into larger school divisions, which also contained large numbers of anglophones or other language groups. As such, Franco-

Manitobans no longer completely controlled these school boards, and often found themselves in the minority.[38] Fortunately for Franco-Manitobans, the school districts were re-aligned again in 1967, by the Conservative government of Duff Roblin. Under this realignment, which tended to follow ethnic lines, five of the new districts – Seine, Red, St. Boniface, White Horse Plains and Mountain – placed Franco-Manitobans in the majority, or at least in a strong minority position.[39]

1967 was indeed a critical year for French-language education in Manitoba. The Roblin government introduced Bill 59, which permitted the use of French as a language of instruction for up to 50 per cent of the school day, overturning the 1916 restrictions. The Bill received unanimous consent in the legislature on 26 April 1967.[40] The AÉCFM dissolved in 1968, and was succeeded by the Société Franco-Manitobain (SFM), a provincial organisation with a broader mandate. The SFM would continue to fight for improved French-language education in the province, and would also press for a return to the bilingual status that the province had been accorded under the *Manitoba Act.* Thus, as Manitoba entered into negotiations to create the OLEP, some important first steps had been taken to restore the status of French-language education in the province. However, use of the French language in the province's schools was still restricted to 50 per cent of the school day.

Alberta

Like Manitoba, the province of Alberta was carved out of the Northwest Territories. Under the original *Northwest Territories Act* of 1875, religious minorities were permitted to establish their own separate schools. An 1877 amendment declared the territories to be officially bilingual. This was the high point for the legal status of French in the territory currently known as Alberta. In 1890, the Canadian Parliament transferred authority to the Territories to choose their language status. Shortly thereafter, English was made the official language of the Territories in 1892.[41] In 1901, education was centralized in the Territories under the Council of Public Instruction. English was made the obligatory language of instruction. Other languages, including French, were permitted for the first year of instruction, the cost of which was to be paid by the local ratepayers.[42]

In 1905, steps were taken to create the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. While Wilfrid Laurier, French-Canadian Members of Parliament and Roman Catholics hoped the province would adopt the bilingual status the region had enjoyed prior to 1892, they encountered fierce opposition in from Clifford Sifton and other anglophone MPs. When the provinces were created by the Autonomy Bills in 1905, despite Laurier's efforts, the pre-1905 language policy was left in place.[43] Moreover, the new provinces were divided by a line running North-South, which divided the francophone population, which lived predominantly in the northern halves of both new provinces.

French-language instruction in the province of Alberta was extremely limited for the next several decades. In 1925, a regulation entitled "Instructions concerning the Teaching of French in the Elementary Schools" was added to the *School Act* regarding French-language education. Under Section 385, all schooling was to be in the English language. Section 386 permitted the board of a district to allow French as a language of instruction (but not other languages), for Grades 1 and 2, provided that one hour per day of English instruction was provided. By Grade 3, French instruction was to be limited to one hour per day, and the same level was set for all subsequent grades in the elementary schools.[44] The Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA) was created in 1926 to work for the improvement of French-language education in the province. Together with the Catholic church, ACFA and other French-Canadian organisations worked to provide French-language instructional materials for the next several decades, although no provincial funds were provided for this, and the courses were not recognized by the provincial government. Private French-language schools established by these organisations were likewise not accorded any recognition or funds from a hostile Department of Education.[45] Some rural districts were small enough that French-Canadian parishes were able to elect francophone school commissioners to run the schools and hire teachers.[46] However, this type of arrangement only worked in small districts, and lacked official sanction. A post-secondary institution, the Collège St-Jean in Edmonton, offered courses leading to a B.A. in affiliation with the University of Ottawa, and

also trained bilingual teachers for the bilingual schools. The Convent l'Assomption provided similar training for women.

Scattered French-language schools would continue to operate in an unofficial capacity in Alberta until the 1960s. It would not be until after the RCBB began its hearings that any changes would be made to improve the status of French in Alberta's schools. These changes were nevertheless significant. In 1964, the *School Act* was amended to permit teaching in French from Grades 1 to 9. Grades 1 and 2 could be taught entirely in French (except for one hour of English per day); in Grade 3, there had to be two hours of instruction in English daily; and from Grade 4 on, instruction in French was limited to one hour per day. Under 1968 revisions, French-language instruction was permitted for Grades 9 through 12 for the first time. Moreover, the amount of time permitted for instruction in the French language was increased to 50 per cent of the day for Grades 4 through 12.[47] Decisions as to the amount of time that French would be taught were left up to local authorities.

Clearly, French-language education in Alberta lagged behind all of the other predominantly English-speaking provinces mentioned above. While other provinces did not officially support their French-language minorities, or extend curriculum support until the 1960s, a *modus vivendi* had been established which unofficially tolerated a substantial degree of bilingualism in the publicly-funded schools. In Alberta, in contrast, the provincial government had shown itself to be quite hostile to the use of other languages in the school system. While the changes of the 1960s were a watershed, Alberta lagged behind the other

provinces mentioned here, and there was a great deal of past damage which had to be undone, with little infrastructure to build upon.

Quebec

Development of official language minority education in the province of Quebec followed a completely different path from that of the other provinces. Confessional education in Quebec had been guaranteed under the *British North America Act*. Moreover, unlike other provinces, the legislature and courts of Quebec were officially bilingual. Accordingly, after Confederation, two education streams were established in the province along confessional lines: a Protestant stream which overwhelmingly catered to the English-speaking population, and a Catholic stream, which although it was majority French-language, also included English-language schools for the anglophone Catholic population.

For a brief period, from 1868 to 1875, Quebec had a Ministry of Public Instruction, headed by a Minister, to supervise education in the province. The Ministry oversaw the Council of Public Instruction, which was composed of two committees, one Catholic and one Protestant, which supervised the schools of the province.[48] This experiment with government control over education was short-lived, however, as Catholic bishops subscribing to the doctrine of ultramontanism wrested control from education away from the politicians.[49] The Ministry was disbanded in 1875, and was replaced by a Department of Public Instruction which nominally controlled education. The full Council of Public Instruction rarely met in the decades that followed, and Quebec's school system

was left to the jurisdiction of the Catholic Committee, run by the Catholic bishops of the province, and the Protestant Committee, run by elected representatives of the Protestant minority of the province.

Over the decades that followed, a nominal amount of funding for the education system was provided by the provincial government. However, the overwhelming majority of the school system was paid for by local property and corporate taxes. This worked heavily in favour of the Protestant school boards, which were able to draw on the substantial financial resources of Montreal's English-speaking business community. Local taxes paid for over 80 per cent of the costs of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal before the Second World War.[50] The Protestant school boards and the English sector of the Catholic School Commission of Montreal provided education for a large proportion of the allophone communities of Quebec who were made to feel unwelcome in the French schools.[51] The Jewish population of the province also attended the Protestant schools.[52] The management of the English-language schools was left to local authorities, without provincial interference. In this manner, a strong and well-financed English-language Protestant education system was permitted to thrive in the province of Quebec, extending from kindergarten up to the three English-language universities in the province.

Quebec also differed from other provinces in terms of the concentration and composition of its minority-language community. The British-Canadian community was heavily concentrated on the West island of Montreal, where it formed the majority. There were also sizeable communities in the Eastern

Townships and Western Quebec, thanks to settlement by the Loyalists.[53] Moreover, this community was financially well-off, with close ties to the English-speaking majority of the rest of North America. Indeed, until the late-1970s, British-Canadians in Quebec did not consider themselves to be a minority community at all, but rather as part of the British-Canadian majority of Canada.[54] As the economic elite in the province, the anglophone community also had a substantial assimilative capacity, absorbing significant portions of the immigrant communities, who sent their children to the Protestant and English-language Catholic schools.

In the decades following Confederation, very little was done to promote the status of the French language in Quebec, the only majority French-speaking province in the country. Before 1960, the only significant piece of language legislation was the 1910 Lavergne law which required public utilities to provide bilingual signs and communications.[55] A 1937 attempt by the Duplessis government to give supremacy to French-language texts of laws and regulations was repealed one year later under intense pressure from Montreal's British-Canadian community.[56] Major changes began to occur in Quebec after the 1960 election of the Liberal government of Jean Lesage. His election heralded the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, a period of intense modernisation and reform in the province of Quebec.

No new language laws were passed under the Lesage government. However, the Parent Commission on Education, which reported during Lesage's term in office, did point to education as the sector which must be targeted in

order to improve the status of the French language in the province, making specific reference to the assimilation of immigrant children. The government re-created the Ministry of Education in 1965, which had been moribund for the past ninety years. In doing so, it took an important step to re-asserting government control over the education system. The anglophone communities were not oblivious to the changes that were afoot in the province. Recognizing that the status of the French language was in the process of being reclaimed, school boards in Montreal and St. Lambert pioneered programs in French immersion for their anglophone populations, inspired by the model developed by American educator Wallace Lambert.[57]

In 1967 and 1968, under the Union Nationale governments of Daniel Johnson and Jean-Jacques Bertrand, issues of language policy came to a head in the Catholic school board of the town of St. Léonard, a suburb of Montreal. The school board voted to end its policy of providing bilingual classes, classes which were three-quarters English, which would force St. Leonard's large Italian community to attend French-language schools.[58] Italian parents who wanted the old system protected clashed with the Sociéte St-Jean Baptiste (SSJB) and the newly formed association of francophone parents, the Mouvement pour l'Intégration Scolaire (MIS). The clashes peaked in 1968, when the riot act was read to the conflicting groups.

The Bertrand government thus had to respond directly to this confrontation, and accommodate the conflicting interests of francophone neo-nationalists and the English-speaking population, as it entered into negotiations

for the OLEP. Quebec's system of mutual tolerance, which had allowed the English-language Protestant system and the English-language division of the Catholic School Commission of Montreal operate free of government control, was thus beginning to crumble as negotiations began to address the issue of bilingualism in education at the national level.

Official Languages at the National Level after the Second World War

Through most of the preceding discussion of the provinces, the federal government appears only sporadically, and did not exercise any significant control over the provincial language regimes. This is largely because most of the crucial questions of language rights were linked to educational issues, which constitutionally are the purview of the provinces. Although there were some instances of federal intervention, such as the Laurier-Greenway compromise, the federal government largely refrained from interfering with the provinces on questions of language, and left the official language minorities to their own devices.

Very little was done at the federal government level between Confederation and the Second World War to promote and recognize the use of two languages. Both English and French were permitted for use in the Canadian parliament and its bureaucracy, and within federal courts. A traditional practice of appointing a Quebec lieutenant under an English-speaking Prime Minister had also evolved. However, it would not be until after the Second World War that some initial, tentative steps would be taken to increase the visibility of the French

language at the national level. While both English and French were permitted for use in the House of Commons, it would not be until 1958 that simultaneous interpretation would be provided. Likewise, bilingual stamps and bilingual currency were only introduced in the post-War era.

While the federal civil service did have to serve both language groups, the status of French Canadians within the civil service was generally poor. They were numerically under-represented, particularly at the level of senior management. This situation did not sit well in Quebec, as neo-nationalism took hold of the collective imagination in the early 1960s. French-speaking Quebeckers increasingly decried their exclusion from positions of power and authority, particularly in the economy of the province, and resolved to change this state of affairs.

It is against this backdrop that Prime Minister Lester Pearson appointed the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Co-chaired by André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton, the commission was appointed in 1963 to:

> inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution[59]

In particular, the Commission was to look into the situation and practice of bilingualism within branches and agencies of the federal administration, and make recommendations to ensure that the federal government would have a bilingual and bicultural character. It was also to examine the role of public and private organisations in the promotion of bilingualism and better cultural relations,

and recommend what could be done to improve this. Perhaps most critical for the purposes of this thesis, the commissioners were to consult with provincial governments concerning the opportunities available for Canadians to learn the English and French languages and then recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.[60]

The Commission held public hearings and regional meetings throughout 1964 and 1965, received briefs from a wide variety of individuals and associations, and undertook a major series of research studies. Its first report (there would be five in total), was submitted on 8 October 1967. The second report, which dealt specifically with education, was submitted on 23 May 1968, shortly after the death of co-chair André Laurendeau. The conclusions and recommendations of the RCBB will be addressed in the next chapter. Suffice it to say that several of its major recommendations would form the basis for the next few decades of federal language policy, and would lead to both the *Official Languages Act* and the Official Languages in Education Program.

Two other events of national significance, which would have major repercussions for official languages, also occurred in the 1967 Centennial year, although neither involved the federal government directly. Ontario Premier John Robarts, in an attempt to initiate constitutional discussions at the provincial level, convened the Confederation for Tomorrow Conference in November, triggering another round of constitutional proposals. Significantly for education issues, the Conference proposed that the federal government provide financial and technical aid to allow minority language education, particularly in provinces where for a

variety of reasons, the provinces believed they could not afford to provide these programs.[61]

1967 also saw the birth of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC). The Council was formed in order for Ministers of Education to have a forum in which to discuss issues of mutual concern, and to co-ordinate cooperation and consultation among the provinces on educational matters.[62] More importantly, the CMEC was a plank in Ontario Premier John Robarts' strategy to reinforce interstate federalism, which would curb the Canadian government's use of the spending power. Robarts (and other like-minded premiers) hoped that the provincial governments could use these agencies of co-operation and coordination to address issues of national importance which fell under provincial jurisdiction. This would prevent the establishment of intrusive, federally-controlled, shared-cost programs, and the operation of intrastate federalism.[63] Indeed, the federal government was wary of the creation of the CMEC. Prime Minister Pearson expressed reservations concerning the desire of the Council to meet with the federal Minister of Manpower and Immigration, noting that the "creation of interprovincial councils could establish a pattern of 'ganging up' of provincial ministers to pressure the federal government."[64] The Cabinet agreed to avoid the "development of federal-provincial discussions of a policy nature at provincial initiative through such agencies."[65]

While the creation of the CMEC did not have immediate repercussions on language issues, the Council would rise to great importance in the mid-1970s as the forum in which the provinces discussed developments in the Official

Languages in Education Program, and would be an important component in the provinces' attempt to promote and expand their interstate vision of federalism. As we shall see, the provinces attempted to use interprovincial councils such as the CMEC to increase their bargaining strength, and thus counter the intrastate-based co-operative federalism of the post-war era, which had been characterized by Ottawa's central policy planning and use of the spending power, while the provinces administered the resulting programs.

National Trends of Importance

At the national level, a number of trends were underway by the 1960s which had an impact on how the OLEP was perceived and implemented. Before proceeding to our analysis of the OLEP, these trends must first be identified and considered.

In all provinces except for New Brunswick, francophone minority communities were facing a steady decline in their numerical weight relative to the total population. The proportion of francophones in Alberta, which had never been particularly high, dropped to 2.9 per cent of the population by 1971, lower than either the German or Ukrainian populations.[66] In Manitoba, this figure had slipped to 6.1 per cent of the population, slightly lower than the 6.3 per cent in Ontario.[67] New Brunswick's francophone population had reached 34 per cent of the population by 1971. Across the border, in Nova Scotia, this figure was only 5 per cent.[68]

One must note that these figures indicate the French mother tongue population in these provinces, as reported in the census. In many cases, the figures for those of French origin was significantly higher. This reflects the process of anglicization, which was having a significant impact on the size of the francophone populations. In 1982, University of Ottawa mathematician Charles Castonguay published a report on language transfer in the provinces. He based his figures on the home language spoken by age 35, which he took as a good indicator of what the language of the home was, and what language children would be raised in.[69] The results of his study are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Rates of Anglicisation and Exogamy in French Canada, 1971/1976

Province	***Rate of Anglicization - Castonguay (1971)***	***Rate of Anglicisation – Alternate (1971)***	***Rate of Exogamy (1976) 25-34 yr. age bracket***
Nova Scotia	42	30.8	45
New Brunswick	12	7.7	13
Ontario	38	N/A	37
Manitoba	45	34.6	45
Alberta	64	51.2	60

Castonguay's methodology has been contested by a number of demographers, and alternate figures on anglicisation, based on raw data comparing French mother tongue to French language of usage are given in Column 3.[70] However, it is nevertheless clear from both statistical sets that francophone communities were rapidly being assimilated in all of the provinces, except perhaps New Brunswick.

Many demolinguists identify exogamy as a crucial factor in the assimilation process, a practice which in the overwhelming number of cases leads to the use

of the majority language in the home.[71] As the figures in Table 2.1 demonstrate, exogamy was a significant phenomenon in these provinces, where these figures closely parallel the anglicization rates. Other measures and methodologies have been used by various demographers, which produce slightly different anglicization and exogamy rates, but their results do tend to closely parallel the above figures. Clearly, anglicization was a major force ravaging the francophone minority communities of Canada by the 1960s and 1970s.

At the same time as this process of anglicization was occurring, Canada's francophone minority communities were losing two of their main pillars of support. The Catholic Church in Quebec, once a moral and financial source of support for French-speaking communities across the country, was in a period of decline by the 1950s. Other organisations which had historically supported these communities, such as la Conseil de la Vie Française (CVF) and l'Ordre de Jacques Cartier (OJC), were faced with internal crises in the early 1960s, which led to the dissolution of the OJC, and a declining funding base for the CVF. This left many small and isolated French-speaking communities without their major sources of revenue and moral support.[72] At the same, time, the Quebec state was experiencing a period of reconceptualization and reorganisation. Francophone Quebeckers increasingly turned to their provincial government as a means for economic and social advancement, replacing the Catholic Church. A consequence of this was a more inward-looking orientation of francophone Quebeckers, who increasingly viewed themselves as *Québécois* rather than *Canadiens-français*. French-Canadian communities in the other provinces were

excluded from this new orientation, and were aware of their exclusion. In an attempt to rebuild their base of support and stem the decline, they increasingly adopted provincial orientations, and looked to their provincial governments for support and services.[73] As we shall see, community leaders also turned to the federal government for support. The RCBB in particular would receive several briefs urging increased federal intervention to support these communities. On the whole, however, by the mid-1960s the once united French-Canadian community was becoming fragmented, and forging new identities, based on their province of residence.

A serious language divide was also present in Canada by the 1960s. Table 2.2, compiled by demographer Richard Joy, shows the levels of bilingualism in Canadian regions for 1961 and 1971.

Table 2.2: Bilingualism in Canada, 1961 and 1971[74]

Region	***1961***	***1971***
Canada – nationally	12.2	13.4
Quebec	25.5	27.6
New Brunswick	19.0	21.5
Ontario	7.9	9.3
Elsewhere	4.6	5.3

These figures reveal a very low level of bilingualism nationally, at 13.4 per cent by 1971, and indicate self-reported bilingualism. Actual fluency in the two languages may have been lower than reported. What these basic figures also fail to indicate is the number of native French-speakers who fell into the bilingual category. Bilingualism among native English-speakers was significantly lower. These figures also indicate the very low levels of bilingualism outside of Central

Canada and New Brunswick. Creating a national experience of bilingualism would prove to be a major challenge indeed.

A number of other trends, external to the francophone communities, would also play a role in shaping the OLEP. The baby boom, which propelled a huge influx of students into the education system, and necessitated the hiring of significant numbers of new teachers and education administrators, had peaked in the 1950s. Birth rates in the 1960s were declining, and would bottom out in 1977.[75] As a result, elementary and secondary school enrolments steadily declined through the 1960s and 1970s. This would cause major financial pressures on the school boards, which had expanded to meet the needs of the baby boom generation. These boards were now stuck with more schools and teachers than were either necessary or affordable for a shrinking student population.

By the 1950s, several provinces had begun a phase of consolidating their school boards, eliminating small school boards in favour of larger regional boards. This occurred in Ontario, New Brunswick and Manitoba in the 1950s and 1960s, and would spread to Nova Scotia. The consequence of this consolidation is that small school districts, which once had contained a majority of francophones, were absorbed into larger school boards, where they were in a minority position.[76]

The impetus for English-speaking Canadians to study French was changing as well. Many Canadian universities had once required knowledge of a second language as a prerequisite for admission. However, throughout the

1960s, several major universities dropped this requirement. Accordingly, a major reason for students to continue with the study of French, the most widely available second language course, had disappeared by the late 1960s.[77]

However, all was not bleak in terms of the prospects for a new program to promote official languages. Major constitutional negotiations had begun between the federal and provincial governments in the 1960s, including the failed Fulton-Favreau formula, and the provincially-driven Confederation of Tomorrow Conference. This provided a convenient juncture for language issues to be introduced into the negotiations. Moreover, the Centennial celebrations of 1967 produced a boom of national optimism, and an openness to language questions which had not existed before.[78] More importantly, the national economic picture had been generally rosy since the early 1950s, and economic optimism reigned in the late 1960s. As such, the federal government was well-disposed to spend large sums of money to promote its agenda and areas of concern, including official languages.[79] This was particularly so in the late 1960s, when Canada elected a Prime Minister strongly committed to bilingualism, in the person of Pierre Elliot Trudeau.

Conclusion

To this point, the history of language issues in the six provinces under study and at the national level has been briefly chronicled. It is clear from this examination that a wide diversity of approaches to language and education had existed across the country. In general, a great deal of work needed to be done to

improve the status of official language minority education. Second language instruction was also clearly not at the point of producing bilingual Canadians either.

Several trends were also coursing through Canadian society by the late 1960s, which would be borne in mind by the Canadian and provincial governments and bureaucrats. Francophone minorities were indeed in dire straits by the late 1960s, and did not have any major allies in their fight for survival. All was not cause for despair though, as constitutional and economic trends in the country were pointing towards a greater openness to change, and a willingness to spend money to this effect. Although official language minority education systems in the provinces were still far from being well developed, they were generally in the process of improving. Moreover, the historic hostility to French-language education in most provinces was less intense than had been the case in prior decades. Even though provincial governments, particularly those of Ontario and Quebec, were increasingly militant about preventing further federal interventions into their jurisdiction and were leaning towards provincially-driven solutions to national questions, the overall atmosphere in the country seemed to indicate that federal involvement on the language dossier might not be rejected. As such, a critical juncture had been reached in language education in Canada, the future of which would largely be shaped by how the Canadian and provincial governments responded to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

Chapter Three:

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Introduction

As was discussed in Chapter Two, by the mid-1960s Canada was host to a diverse panoply of provincial language regimes. In no government, other than that of the province of Quebec, did anything resembling institutional bilingualism exist by 1967, the year of Canada's centennial. There was however, an overall trend towards increased governmental services in the English and French languages. Moreover, the federal government had struck the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. Some hints of the future outcomes of this commission were evident from its preliminary report, released in February 1965. However, the concrete recommendations which would influence the future directions of Canadian language policy would not appear until the Commission released Book I of its report in October 1967.

Book I of the RCBB's report, and Book II, released in May 1968, which specifically treated education, established the starting points for a new language policy for Canadian education. The recommendations of the Commission arrived at a propitious time. Canada was in the process of celebrating its hundredth birthday, creating a mood of optimism, a renewed sense of pan-Canadian nationalism and of looking to the future. Mega-constitutional negotiations had also recently begun, initiated by the assertion of provincial rights by increasingly assertive governments, led by Ontario, Quebec and Alberta. Although the Fulton-Favreau formula had been rejected, the provinces had not yet abandoned hope of constitutional renewal. On a more negative note, troubling signs concerning the state of Canadian unity had begun to surface in the only province

that recognized institutional bilingualism. The Mouvement Souverainité-Association (MSA) was formed in 1967, under the leadership of René Lévesque. In 1968, it merged with the Railliement National (RN) to form the Parti Québécois (PQ). More members would be attracted to the PQ from the remnants of the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN), which had become a political party in 1963, and had attracted 6 per cent of the popular vote in the 1966 election.[1] A more radical approach to Quebec separatism was espoused by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), which had taken to bombing symbols of English-speaking Canada in the 1960s. A Canadian government response to this separatist threat was thus required. Accordingly, both positive and threatening factors contributed to the pressures for new language policies for Canada.

The RCBB proposed that Canada have two official languages, and recommended a number of concrete measures designed to improve the standing of official language programs in education. The manner in which these recommendations were received, however, differed substantially between the governments at whom they were directed, each of whom had their own set of expectations and goals for language policies. This chapter will first outline the recommendations of the RCBB, and explain the reasoning behind these recommendations. It will then proceed to address the positions of the Canadian and provincial governments in response to these proposals, including an overview of further developments in their language policies from 1967 to 1970. It will then examine the process which led to compromise between these various

positions, leading to the first *Federal-Provincial Programme of Cooperation for the Promotion of Bilingualism in Education* in 1970.

Our examination of the process which led up to the creation of the BEP will demonstrate that although the provincial governments were increasingly resistant to the federal government's intrastate vision of Canadian federalism and to shared-cost programs, Ottawa was able to rally a sufficient amount of consensus to permit the creation of an administrative program based on the federal spending power which included some shared-cost components. The provinces' drive for interstate federalism had, however, reached a point whereby they were able to limit the federal government's control over both the objectives and the implementation of the BEP. An examination of the basic components of the program, as established in its initial text and format, will demonstrate the tensions both between the visions of the Canadian government and the provincial governments, and between those of the provinces. The compromises reached to accommodate these tensions would result in elements of the program which had the potential to create tensions and conflict in federal-provincial relations. From this chapter, one will gain a good sense of the initial positions of the actors involved in the program, and of the hazards which lay in wait from the uneasy compromises which were its foundation.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's Recommendations – Book One: The Official Languages

The first volume of the RCBB's report, entitled *Book I – The Official Languages*, was submitted on 1 October 1967. It provided a broad overview of the state of

the English and the French languages in Canada, as well as the communities associated with these languages. It was predominantly concerned with measures that could be taken by the central government to establish a framework for the future development of Canada in a bilingual and bicultural manner.

In Chapter One, we examined the two fundamental principles which generally apply to language planning: territoriality and personality. The Commissioners considered these two principles carefully, based on international models found in Finland, South Africa, Belgium and Switzerland. However, these national models posed difficulties when applied to the Canadian context. A nation-wide policy of providing a full range of governmental and educational services in both languages, in all provinces of the country, as was practised in South Africa, seemed unrealistic for Canada. Canadians had nowhere near the levels of individual bilingualism found in South Africa. Nor were the language populations dispersed evenly enough throughout the country to make a nation-wide policy of this type necessary.

Belgium and Switzerland, in contrast, strictly limited government services in their official languages by region. The Commissioners rejected this model too, on the basis that these territorial delimitations were based on long-standing historical frontiers which did not exist in Canada. The mobility of the North American population also made this model unworkable.[2] Moreover, they did not accept the redefining of Canadian duality from one based on language and culture to one based on a territorial division between Quebec and the rest of

Canada. Applying this type of principle along provincial lines in Canada, the commissioners argued, would lead to "the recognition of only the majority's rights and to oppression of the official language minorities... depriv[ing] minority groups *en bloc* of essential language rights."[3]

The Finnish model, which was based on a system of bilingual districts, at the local or community level, appealed to some of the commissioners. It provided a more comprehensive structure for the minority language community's rights. Accordingly, the commissioners decided to take this approach, which was more in tune with the realities of Canadian life. As they stated, their guiding principle was "the recognition of both official languages, in law and in practice, wherever the minority is numerous enough to be viable as a group."[4] The commissioners thus fell more towards the side of the personality principle of language planning. By protecting individual language rights, it would be possible to protect the survival of small minority language communities. The commissioners did, however, make some concessions to the territorial principle, so as to make official languages policy workable in a nation as geographically and linguistically diverse as Canada, as one can see in the provision that the minority must be "numerous enough to be viable as a group."[5]

The RCBB made a number of recommendations to put legal force behind official bilingualism in Canada. It recommended that the provinces of Ontario and New Brunswick become officially bilingual, and that they join with the federal government and the other provinces, including Quebec, to create a series of bilingual districts; in these districts, government services would be offered in both

official languages. The major focus of its efforts was on the establishment of Official Languages Acts, both federal and provincial. At the national level, the aims of this Act were:

> a) to ensure that Canadian citizens can deal with federal administrative and judicial bodies in the two official languages;
> b) to provide for the appointment of a high state official, independent of the government, with responsibility for inquiring into and reporting upon the implementation of the federal Official Languages Act;
> c) to give the Governor in Council the necessary authority for negotiating with the provincial and local authorities involved – in the latter case with the consent of province concerned – to widen the opportunities for Canadian citizens to deal with the branches of government in both official languages.[6]

Through this Act, the right of every Canadian citizen to deal with the central offices and regional offices of bilingual districts in the official language of their choice would be established. The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages would be created to oversee this process. The federal Act would also provide for bilingualism policies addressing such issues as government publications, federal statutes, and court proceedings. A similar set of provisions was envisioned for the provincial Acts.

Chapter VI of *Book I* gave a preliminary overview of the state of official languages in the sector of education. The RCBB's official recommendations for education were not released until *Book II*, which we shall examine shortly. One should note, however, that even in *Book I* the RCBB had begun its push for recognition of minority language education programs. Moreover, the Commission had already adopted the principle that it was "the responsibility of the federal government to contribute to the additional costs involved" in the provision of this education.[7]

A final observation must be noted with respect to the first volume of the Commission's report. While all of the commissioners approved of the Report, there were two separate statements attached by individual commissioners. The statement of Commissioner Rudnyckyj is of particular interest. While the Commissioner recognized the importance of a policy aimed at the two dominant language groups, he was concerned by the omission of regional bilingualisms; in particular, languages such as Ukrainian, German and Native languages received no recognition. Rudnyckyj argued that the government should recognize some additional privileges for the languages of ethnic groups in regions were they were significantly concentrated.[8] While his concerns would not translate into action in the federal government's language policies, they nevertheless represent an important current of thought on multilingualism, one which would become important in the 1970s, particularly in Western Canada and in the Trudeau government's Multiculturalism policy, which was announced in 1971.

The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism's Recommendations – Book Two: Education

The second volume of the RCBB's report followed within a year of its first book. In the intervening months, however, André Laurendeau, one of the two co-chairs of the commission, and the man widely considered the driving force behind its work, passed away. *Book II*, dealing with Education, was released on 23 May 1968.[9] Education was the first individual topic to be dealt with. As the commissioners noted in their foreword to *Book II*, "the future of language and culture, both French and English, depends upon an educational régime which

makes it possible for them to remain 'present and creative'."[10] In this respect, the Commissioners were undoubtedly influenced by the demands of official language minority community associations. French-Canadian and Acadian community organisations, including the Association acadienne d'éducation en Nouvelle-Écosse, the Société nationale des acadiens (SNA), the Association canadienne-française de l'education de l'Ontario (ACFÉO), the Association des éducateurs canadiens-français du Manitoba (AECFM), and the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA), among others, appeared at committee hearings and submitted detailed briefs to the Commission. Their submissions repeatedly stressed the need for official language minority education programs, if there were to be any hope of a future for their communities.[11] Moreover, several of these associations called specifically for Ottawa to get involved to protect their language rights. While the commissioners acknowledged that education was not a panacea to the survival of languages, it was the necessary first step.

The primary objective in *Book II* of the RCBB's report was to propose measures which could be taken in the sector of education to further to the concept of an equal partnership between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. Accordingly, its priority was on minority language educational programs, although it also made proposals for second language instruction, in order to allow Canadians to have the opportunity to become bilingual. The first section of the book was devoted to this question of minority language education. The commissioners established a fundamental principle which would guide its further recommendations: "Anglophone and Francophone parents should have

the right to have their children educated in their own language. To implement this principle, minority-language schools will have to be provided."[12]

The primary objective of this principle was the provision of minority language schools for the minority language populations. However, the commissioners agreed that it should be the parent's choice of whether or not their children would attend the minority language schools. They believed that attendance should not be made compulsory, as was the case in some countries with bilingual educational systems.[13] The inclusion of right to a freedom of choice was particularly sought by Commissioner Gertrude Laing. She stressed that parental values in this respect must be respected, and that parents from the minority language community should have the right to send their children to majority language schools, if they felt that this was in the child's best interest (for economic reasons, etc.)[14]

In a related vein, the commissioners acknowledged the possibility that parents from the majority language community may wish to send their children to the minority language schools. Their response to this contingency will become noteworthy in subsequent chapters, and thus it is appropriate to quote this *in extenso:* "Their right to do so must be respected, but special measures will be required to ensure that the language problems of their children do not interfere unduly with the education of the children whose mother tongue is the language of instruction."[15] This position represented a compromise within the Commission. While Commissioners Gertrude Laing and Frank Scott advocated freedom of choice, they recognized that the integrity of the French-language minority

educational system needed to be protected.[16] The solution of the commissioners thus did not stress cultural homogeneity of the minority language schools, but rather the ability of students to follow the curriculum without slowing down the other students.

The commissioners recognized that the establishment of minority language schools would not be accomplished by virtue of good wishes and legislation alone. The establishment and functioning of these schools would entail additional costs over and above the cost of a single language education system. A number of different cost factors were identified by the commissioners, ranging from simple economies of scale, to the purchasing of new textbooks and audiovisual materials, to the training and hiring of new teachers. While the commissioners recognized that education was a provincial jurisdiction, they believed that the confirmation of the bilingual and bicultural character of Canada required action by the federal government, a position which reinforced Ottawa's intrastate vision of Canadian federalism.[17]

In accordance with this hierarchy of responsibilities, the commissioners believed that although the provinces should be responsible for the basic costs of providing minority language education (i.e. those which would be entailed for educating students, regardless of the language of instruction), the federal government should reimburse the provinces for the additional costs involved. Recommendation 26 of *Book II* thus reads as follows: "We recommend that the federal government accept in principle the responsibility for the additional costs involved in providing education in the official minority language." The

commissioners were not entirely sure what these additional costs would be, and believed that it would be difficult to provide a precise measure of these costs. As such, Recommendation 27 reads: "We recommend that the federal grant to each province be based on the number of students attending official-language minority schools in the province, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the average cost of education per student within the province."[18] Other recommendations of the Commission pertained to specific aspects of enriching the minority language educational experience, including funding for minority language universities, teacher training institutions, and exchange programs.

This funding recommendation, whereby the federal government would help with paying for the provincial responsibility in education, also represented a hard-won compromise from within the Commission. Professor H.B. Neatby, the research director for the RCBB, supported by Commissioner Laing, the Chair of the RCBB's study group on Education, proposed this federal funding for official language programs in education.[19] The proposal emerged out of a desire to have the Commission put forth a concrete proposal to resolve the problem of minority language education. The other main alternative floated in Commission meetings was to propose constitutional changes which would make the provision of minority language education mandatory for the provinces. However, there were major concerns raised, particularly by Commissioners Royce Firth and Paul Lacoste, that such a proposal could provoke a worse crisis in federal-provincial relations, and that there was not enough public support for such a change at present.[20] Moreover, André Laurendeau noted that Quebec would not be likely

to accept a move towards a constitutional guarantee under section 93 of the *British North America Act*, which would force provinces to provide official minority language education, backed by federal coercive power, as was proposed by Commissioners Laing and Scott.[21] The commissioners thus accepted the administrative proposal, so as to give a more concrete solution to the Canadian government.

The modalities of this funding were the cause of great debate within the Commission. The model proposed by Neatby and Laing stressed a universal federal funding formula, applicable to all provinces. Other commissioners, notably Davidson Dunton, Paul Lacoste and Frank Scott, wanted the federal money to be targeted more specifically at minority language education in unilingual provinces (i.e. provinces other than Ontario, New Brunswick and Quebec) to enable them to catch up in terms of service provision, and let the bilingual provinces handle this issue on their own.[22] However, this position was rejected by the majority of the Commissioners, particularly given André Laurendeau's assertion that this type of proposal would be unacceptable in Quebec, which would get no funding.[23] H.B. Neatby and Commissioner Rudnyckyj also noted that it would be unwise to exclude the bilingual provinces from this program, as there would then be no incentive for them to improve their existing programs. Moreover, if the federal funding was merely rolled into an equalization grant, as had also been proposed, provinces such as Ontario could then use the funds for other provincial priorities, such as welfare.[24] As such, the

universal approach to official language minority education funding was the one put forward in the final recommendations.

The Commission did not limit itself to the question of minority language education. Second language instruction was also considered an important priority, especially given the higher receptivity of young children to language instruction. A national interest was also attached to knowledge of the second language, as the commissioners believed that this knowledge would develop into a greater degree of cultural understanding and familiarity with the way of life of the other cultural group.[25] Second language knowledge would also advance a more practical objective. The commissioners observed that an overwhelming proportion of the bilinguals in Canada had French as their mother tongue. As they noted:

> Official bilingualism in Ontario and New Brunswick, for instance, and in the federal Public Service, will not be a reality unless there are sufficient numbers of Anglophones capable of conducting business in French as well as in English.[26]

To accomplish the objective of a comprehensive second language instructional program, the commissioners made several recommendations related to this type of education. Most of these recommendations were practical ones concerning the level at which instruction should commence, the structure of a second language teaching program, and so forth. Most important for the future development of the Official Languages in Education Program, though, was Recommendation 31, which states: "We recommend that the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools."[27] The commissioners believed that this would not entail radical change to the

existing structure of provincial educational systems, as second language programs were already offered in most of these systems, albeit not always by all local school boards, and not at all grade levels. The RCBB notably did *not* make any recommendations about federal funding of second language instruction. Rather, it believed that these programs already existed, and should merely be broadened to include all students.

As the following sections of this chapter will indicate, the recommendations of the RCBB would have a profound impact on the shape of Canadian language policies, and on the structure that both the *Official Languages Act* and the OLEP would assume. Not all provinces, nor the Canadian government, would accept all of the Commision's recommendations. Moreover, the priorities of the commissioners and the priorities of the governments were not always in sync. We now turn to the manner in which these recommendations were received, and how they were transformed into meaningful governmental policy.

The Canadian Government's Interests

As we have seen, the national government had been increasingly challenged over the course of the 1960s by the growing strength of provincial governments, headed by Quebec and Ontario. Provincial governments, particularly those with strong economies, increasingly demanded the transfer of powers from the central government. Moreover, the rise of the neo-nationalist and separatist movements in Quebec constituted a direct challenge to Ottawa's authority and ability to

speak for French Canada. Armed with the recommendations of the RCBB, Ottawa politicians and bureaucrats saw an opportunity whereby they could begin to reassert the Canadian government's role as the representative of regional interests, particularly those of the beleaguered official language minority groups. At the same time, a national policy of two official languages, as envisioned by the RCBB, could serve as a tool of nation-building and national unity, strengthening the Canadian government's role as an arbiter of interests that transcended provincial boundaries, and countering the rising separatist movement in Quebec. The Trudeau government was thus quick to transform the recommendations of the Royal Commission into concrete action.

Prime Minister Trudeau's first policy response to the RCBB was the passage of the *Official Languages Act* in 1969. As recommended by the Commission, the Act made English and French the official languages of Canada. It further provided for bilingual government services at all central agencies, and within the federal courts. Bilingual districts were not immediately established, although steps were taken to begin negotiations for their creation. The government also began to establish language training programs for unilingual civil servants. The *Official Languages Act* did not, however, make any reference to education programs. Nor did it make any mention of a role for the Secretary of State in the promotion of minority language communities in Canada.[28] As such, the subsequent programs introduced by the federal government were not covered by any statutory authority.[29]

Although the *Official Languages Act* itself did not deal with the issue of education programs, the federal government did support the RCBB's recommendations for this sector. Earlier, when *Book I* of the RCBB's report was submitted, Prime Minister Pearson indicated that the federal government was "disposé à accorder de l'aide" for these programs.[30] At the 17 January 1968 Cabinet meeting, the Cabinet decided that:

> the [RCBB] recommendations relating to education are matters for the provincial governments, but that the federal government would be prepared to help provinces in an appropriate way in the implementation of these proposals, if desired.[31]

Steps were also taken to prepare the department of the Secretary of State to take on this responsibility. Prime Minister Trudeau, who succeeded Pearson in 1968, appointed his close friend and colleague Gérard Pelletier as Secretary of State. In 1969, the government's Secretariat on Bilingualism was transferred from the Privy Council Office to the Secretary of State.[32] The department would also receive responsibility for the *Official Languages Act*, the Commissioner of Official Languages and for official language programs. Four new branches were established in the department for this purpose.[33]

Mega-constitutional negotiations took place from 1968 to 1971. The Constitutional Conference of December 1968 was transformed into a continuing conference, and a continuing committee of officials was established to deal with issues of official languages.[34] Ottawa accorded a great deal of importance to this topic in both the subcommittee meetings and at the constitutional conferences, and this priority was reflected in meeting agendas. The February 1969 conference agenda dealt with language rights first, before such issues as

fundamental rights, power distribution and federalism.[35] Ottawa took steps to help the subcommittee on official languages prepare its reports and advance its progress. It funded half of the cost of provincial studies to determine the cost of implementing the RCBB's recommendations, an offer taken up by Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.[36] Prime Minister Trudeau also tried to calm fears regarding the various implications of the *Official Languages Act*. The pamphlet *Why are they forcing French down our throats?* was produced to better articulate the government's policy, which was to try to speak to both language groups throughout the country, and to defend the rights of these groups, rather than attempting to force individual Canadians to become bilingual.[37]

Over the summer of 1969, the subcommittee on official languages examined technical proposals for federal assistance and forms of guarantees for language education programs. Overall, the federal government's proposals were strongly rooted in the personal convictions of Pierre Elliot Trudeau, who had long believed in individual rights and personal bilingualism.[38] The structure of the BEP reflected Trudeau's personal ideology through its emphasis on individual choice, and its decision to fund the objective of second language instruction, which was not recommended by the RCBB. Although Trudeau was the driving force behind the federal government's decision to become involved in official languages education, this policy should not be interpreted as a unilateral action on his part. The official languages policy received support from a large cross-section of parliamentarians and civil servants. In particular, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier, his deputy minister Jules Léger, and his assistant deputy

minister Maxwell Yalden (who would later become the commissioner of official languages) were all firm supporters of federal government intervention.[39] Trudeau's official languages agenda also received support from a wide swath of Liberal MPs and Senators, particularly those from French-Canadian, Acadian and Quebec ridings, a substantial proportion of the Progressive Conservative caucus led by Robert Stanfield, and the New Democratic Party.[40]

The first public statement from the Trudeau government on the direction it intended to pursue with regards to official languages in education was tabled by Gérard Pelletier in the House of Commons on 6 November 1969, the same day as a Ministerial Committee on Official Languages meeting (which was called to discuss the recommendations of the subcommittee). Pelletier announced his government's commitment to provide $50 million for the first year of a program to fund the official languages in education. The exact structure of this program, he indicated, would be determined by discussions among the federal and provincial officials, as the federal government was not certain if applying the RCBB's recommended 10 per cent formula universally would be an effective use of its funds.[41] Indeed, earlier statements from the federal government indicated that it was more inclined to link its aid to new costs and programs, as opposed to spending them on long-term pre-existing costs in provinces with well-established programs, such as Quebec.[42]

The federal government also departed significantly from the RCBB's recommendations in another respect. Pelletier elevated second language instruction to a level of importance greater than had been accorded by the

Commission. The Canadian government took the view that this type of instruction needed increased promotion, and was worthy of federal government subsidization. As such, Pelletier revealed the government's willingness to financially support second language education.[43] The specifics of this funding were discussed in subsequent meetings of the Ministerial Committee. By April 1970, Ottawa specified that the level of this funding would be lower than that being considered for minority language education, because the extra costs were not as high. The Trudeau government also insisted on the right of parents to choose the language of instruction for their children. Although it was not pressed strongly, the issue of evaluation for the program was also raised, with Ottawa suggesting a joint committee to provide both a qualitative and quantitative evaluation of the official languages programs.[44] These proposals, however, would require provincial acquiescence in order for the Official Languages in Education Program to become a reality, and not all of the provinces were in accord with either the RCBB's recommendations or the proposals of the federal government.

Québec

The province of Quebec was in a unique position with regards to the RCBB's recommendations. It was the only province in which the anglophone community was in a minority situation. Although English-speakers were the minority in the province, they had a complete system of education in their mother tongue, with schools providing English-language instruction in both the Protestant and

Catholic school boards. Second language instruction in the province, both English and French, was also widespread. Accordingly, there was very little additional development which could occur in the province. As such, the main thrust of the Royal Commission's proposals would not have any significant impact on pedagogical development in Quebec.

The provincial government was, however, faced with a serious crisis on the language of instruction front. The St. Léonard crisis had erupted the year prior to the beginning of negotiations, and was splitting the population along language lines, with nationalist organisations such as the SSJB and the Mouvement pour l'intégration scolaire (MIS) calling on the Minister of Education to adopt a much stricter policy regarding French language education. The initial response of the Union Nationale government of Jean-Jacques Bertrand was Bill 85, introduced in the legislature in 1968, which would have guaranteed the right of all parents to choose the language of instruction for their children. Facing intense hostility from francophone nationalists, who considered this a wholly inadequate defence of the French language, Bill 85 was withdrawn.[45] Its replacement, Bill 63, introduced in the summer of 1969, once again affirmed the right of parents to choose the language of instruction for their children. However, trying to waylay the criticism of francophone nationalists, it also added a requirement that students graduating from English-language high schools in Quebec must demonstrate a minimum level of competence in French in order to qualify for their diploma. In addition, the Bertrand government created the Gendron Commission (Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French

Language Rights in Quebec) to examine the situation of the language of work in Quebec.

The drama engendered by the St. Léonard crisis had a significant impact on how the Bilingualism in Education Program proposals were received by the government of Quebec. The government's responses were further conditioned by its long-standing resistance to Ottawa's intrusion into provincial areas of constitutional jurisdiction, a resistance which had been re-affirmed during the Quiet Revolution. Indeed, in the late 1960s, Quebec had even been extending the assertion of its jurisdictional prerogatives into international forums.[46] Its initial responses to the BEP proposals reflect this. The province prepared a discussion paper responding to the RCBB's Volume II recommendations in the fall of 1969. Recommendation 9 had called for the right of parents to choose the language of instruction for their children if both majority and minority language schools existed in a district. In 1969, this recommendation was considered acceptable by the province, and in fact Bertrand had enshrined this principle in Bill 63. Future provincial governments would come to change their tune on this provision. Recommendation 11 called for the elimination of the traditional link between confessionality and language, which had hitherto been characteristic of minority language education. The government had no problems with this recommendation.[47] This, however, was as far as fundamental agreement extended.

Evaluation of the program would prove to be the first major sticking point for the Quebec government. The federal government had indicated its desire to

be involved in the evaluation of the BEP. Quebec was less sanguine about this prospect, indicating that the state of language education varied widely between the provinces, and thus a standard evaluation may not be appropriate. However, it was open to the possibility of a third party being involved in evaluation, such as the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC).[48] This approach would strengthen interstate federalism, and keep evaluation in the hands of a provincially-controlled body. Quebec also wanted to ensure that its own prerogatives and jurisdiction were respected, and insisted that its own statistics be used for the purposes of evaluation, rather than allowing federal officials to interfere.[49]

Quebec was also concerned about how federal funds would be distributed. With the most extensive and well-developed system of minority language education, the provincial government was aware that it was vulnerable to federal officials who wanted to funnel funds into the creation of new programs, a situation which would deprive Quebec of the bulk of funds under the proposed program. Quebec's officials pushed their case forcefully, arguing that it was unfair to penalise the province that had done the most for its minority, simply because they had acted first. Making this case was crucial for the province; if the program were to base its funding formulas on existing enrolments, Quebec stood to gain over half of the allotted funds.[50]

The priorities of the program were a third issue of contention for the provincial government. Its officials were sympathetic to the goal of promoting bilingualism on a national level, and indicated their willingness to cooperate with

other provinces to develop their minority language education programs (and indeed had begun to enter into bilateral agreements with other provinces, such as Ontario, for this purpose).[51] By the late 1960s, though, the government had become increasingly committed to making French the working language of the province, and promotion of the French language in Quebec had come to be the top priority of the Quebec government.[52] Moreover, at the Constitutional Conference of February 1969, Premier Bertrand insisted that his province must be granted the powers necessary to realize this objective.[53] He further stressed that under the proposed *Official Languages Act,* the provinces will be "perfectly free to deal with this language problem in a way which best suits their special circumstances,"[54] given that the bill was restricted to federal institutions only, reaffirming the division of jurisdictions between Quebec City and Ottawa. Bertrand did not, however, see his policy of promoting the French language in Quebec as conflicting with the federal objective of promoting bilingualism.

A final point of interest is how the government of Quebec intended to use the federal funds. While it was not explicit about its intentions, there were indications that Quebec considered these funds to be a repayment for past expenditures, rather than funds to be used for the development of new programs. Bill 63, which was passed in the midst of negotiations for the BEP, included provisions requiring English-speaking schools to spend additional time teaching the French language. In negotiations to establish the objectives of the BEP, Quebec's representatives inserted provisions that would allow the province to distance its funding system from the federal grants. The BEP was set up so that

French was treated as the minority language for the nine predominantly English-speaking provinces, and English as the minority language for Quebec. As such, FSL programs in Quebec's English language schools would not be explicitly eligible for funding. This allowed the province to include the following wording in the footnote to the preamble of Regulation Six of the Department of Education, which outlined the French-language requirement, which reads as follows:

> This regulation has no connection with the federal provincial programme of cooperation in matters of bilingualism in the field of education. Amounts recovered by the government of Quebec by virtue of the agreement between the government and the federal government are so recovered, in fact, for instruction to be given in the English language and for teaching of the English language as a second language, English being in Quebec the language of the official minority, as French is the language of the official minority in the other provinces.[55]

Indeed second language courses, both FSL for anglophones and ESL for francophones, were probably the only programs in need of further development in Quebec. However, the province of Quebec clearly did not intend to channel the additional federal funds to its minority language education system, despite the influx of new funds which were being proposed.

Alberta

In some respects, Alberta was the polar opposite of Quebec, while also being its close twin. Of the six provinces being studied here, Alberta's minority language and second language programs were the least developed, and had historically been subject to the most strict restrictions.[56] The positions that Alberta took on the proposed BEP, however, bore resemblance to those of Quebec, even if its reasons for assuming these positions stemmed from entirely different reasons.

Alberta had begun to take steps in the late 1960s to improve its French language programming, largely inspired by the report of the Royal Commission. Its more permissive regulations on French language instruction, allowing 50 per cent of the day in French, were intended to allow young Albertans to "play a role in their bilingual nation."[57] In 1968 the Department of Education hired an Associate Director of Curriculum to encourage the development of French programs. It also created ad hoc committees to develop new language arts programs.[58] French second language programs were extended down to Grades 7 and 8 in 1968, and down through the other elementary grades as optional course offerings by 1970. A lot of ground that needed to be covered to improve second language instruction. By the 1970-71 school year, only 25.3 per cent of Albertans were enrolled in French second language programs at the elementary level, and only 41.2 percent at the secondary level – the lowest rates of the provinces under study (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

Table 3.1 Participation Rates in FSL: Elementary School[59]

Province	***1970-71***	***1974-75***	***1977-78***	***1978-79***
Nova Scotia	10.4	22.3	29.9	37.4
New Brunswick	60.6	65.1	60.3	62.9
Ontario	37.5	46.0	53.3	55.5
Manitoba	29.6	39.8	38.4	40.5
Alberta	25.3	29.7	24.2	23.6

Table 3.2 Participation Rates in FSL: Secondary School[60]

Province	***1970-71***	***1974-75***	***1977-78***	***1978-79***
Nova Scotia	70.0	61.9	64.3	63.6
New Brunswick	79.5	72.3	66.6	69.5
Ontario	48.9	33.9	36.2	37.0
Manitoba	54.5	41.2	41.1	39.9
Alberta	41.2	30.1	27.3	28.3

Although Alberta was taking some steps to improve the status of French language education, it was not in favour of several aspects of the federal government's policy on official languages. J.J. Frawley, Alberta's representative on the Subcommittee on Official Languages, stated Alberta's opposition both to French as an official language in the province, and to the entire concept of bilingual districts. Alberta was of the view that statutes and legal mechanisms were not a useful means of achieving bilingualism and national unity. It preferred a permissive approach, such as the one it had followed in its revised *School Act*. Indeed, Premier Ernest Manning went so far as to question the constitutionality of the federal *Official Languages Act*, a document to which he was vehemently opposed.[61] His successor, H.E. Strom, recommended that the Act be referred to the Supreme Court, to test its constitutionality.[62]

Alberta's leaders took issue with some of the basic premises of the RCBB and its recommendations. Premier Manning rejected the two-nations theory of Confederation rooted in two founding races. He saw Confederation as a union of provinces: a position which ran fundamentally counter to the biculturalism aspect of the RCBB's mandate.[63] Moreover, as Premier Strom noted at the second meeting of the Constitutional Conference, only six per cent of Alberta's population was of French origin, and the province was made up of a "mosaic of many ethnic groups, all contributing to the richness of [the] nation. We want to provide opportunity for all groups to develop culturally and economically."[64] This theme of multiculturalism and multilingualism would oft be repeated in Alberta's discourse concerning the BEP over the next two decades.

Alberta's primary concern with the proposed Bilingualism in Education Program, and indeed with any changes to language instruction, was the preservation of strong English-language skills for all of its population. Indeed, protection of its English-language students was its top priority. When the new regulations allowing French instruction were implemented, the province also created provisions to transport English-speaking students to other districts in cases where a French-language school was established; this provision was not reciprocated for French-speaking students in districts where no French-language school existed.[65] A key priority of the language arts programs being developed by the ad hoc committees was to ensure that students in the French-language schools would still receive a strong grounding in their English language skills, sufficient to allow them to transfer back into an English school should they so desire.[66]

As part of this protection of English-language skills, a 50 per cent ceiling remained in place for French-language instruction. Indeed, the proposed federal support programs rankled in Alberta for this particular reason. The federal proposals suggested that a minimum amount of time spent per day in the various forms of language instruction would be required to qualify for federal dollars: a minimum which was higher than the maximum allowed in Alberta. The province argued that provincial school organisation and administration preferences should not interfere with the right or entitlement of a province to federal support.[67] Indeed, concerns were raised in the *Edmonton Journal* that these federal formulas could be perceived as federal blackmail to alter provincial programs

against their best interests, and to spend money in sectors which were not a priority.[68] As was the case in Quebec, protection of provincial jurisdiction against an intrusive federal authority was of paramount importance in Alberta.

The Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta (ACFA) was sensitive to the provincial stance on French-language education, yet still had a mission to pursue with regards to its community. The ad hoc committees had identified 10,000 students who were eligible for French minority language classes, and another 10,000 of French origin who could eventually enter these programs with intensive French language training.[69] ACFA was careful, though, in its representations to the provincial government (and its own community members, who were aware of the need for English language skills in the province), to stress that these new programs would provide a means for all Albertan students (not just Franco-Albertans) to become bilingual.[70] ACFA pushed for a number of provisions to bolster French-language education in the province, including a minimum threshold number of students above which French programs would be guaranteed, transportation programs for remote students, and French-language teacher training at Collège St-Jean. The federal dollars were central to ACFA's lobbying efforts, and its leaders made a point of reminding the provincial government of this source of funding, which would be a means of offsetting the cost of these initiatives.[71] ACFA's strategy also targeted the federal government. Aware that Franco-Albertan students needed to improve their French, ACFA called on Gérard Pelletier to introduce a bursary program for francophones to study in other provinces. It also asked the federal government to provide core

funding to its organisation, to replace the funding that had previously come from Quebec.[72] If French-language programs were to take off in Alberta, federal funding and intensive lobbying would be required to bolster ACFA's stance vis-à-vis a very reluctant provincial government.

Manitoba

Manitoba did not adopt a strong position on either the *Official Languages Act* or the Bilingualism in Education Program, particularly in comparison to the two provinces described above. Yet, changes were afoot in this western province. Duff Roblin's Conservative government had recently passed new regulations allowing French for up to 50 per cent of the school day. In the 1969 elections, however, his government was ousted from power by Edward Schreyer's New Democratic Party. After the election results had been tabulated, the NDP was one seat short of forming a majority government. They were able, however, to convince Lionel Desjarlais, the Liberal MLA and Franco-Manitoban who represented the largely francophone riding of Saint-Boniface, to join their government, giving the NDP Premier the required votes in the legislature to pursue his party's agenda.

The election of the NDP was fortuitous for the Franco-Manitoban community, particularly given that it was indebted to a Franco-Manitoban for its hold on power. The government of Ed Schreyer was relatively young, and was strongly in favour of legislation to promote minority rights.[73] Improving the status of the Franco-Manitobans figured in the Premier's legislative program. On 6

December 1969, within his first year in office, Schreyer announced the intention of his government to provide facilities for Franco-Manitoban students to be educated in their mother tongue.[74] In addition, he hoped to produce a teacher training college which would rectify the province's severe shortage of French minority language teachers.[75]

Schreyer's proposed agenda was largely motivated by the federal *Official Languages Act, 1969*, which established English and French as the official languages of Canada.[76] The centrepiece of his program was Bill 113, which amended the *Manitoba Public Schools Act*. Section 258 of the *Public Schools Act* would be amended to permit French for 100 per cent of the day for Grades 1 to 3, and for all courses except for a mandatory English course for Grades 4 to 12. French- and English-language consultative committees were created to advise the government on the implementation of this bill in local contexts. Section 258 also provided a minimum threshold above which French-language classes were guaranteed: 28 students at the elementary level, and 23 at the secondary level. If the number of students was fewer, the Minister, in consultation with the advisory committee, could still make arrangements for the provision of French-language classes.[77] Bill 113 also made it possible to group students from across two school divisions to make up the minimum number for a class. Other languages were also permitted as accredited courses.[78] The Franco-Manitoban community was to participate actively in the development of Bill 113, with the advisory committees to be drawn from the associations of

francophone teachers and school commissioners, as well as from Collège St-Boniface. Bill 113 passed the legislature unanimously on 16 July 1970.

While the passage of Bill 113 augured well for Manitoba's position in the BEP, and indeed was at least partly motivated by a desire to reap maximum benefits from the program, there were nevertheless some shortcomings from the perspective of the Franco-Manitoban organisations. Once Bill 113 was passed, the Schreyer government believed that its work was done, and did not see any need to urge francophone parents to take advantage of the bill's provisions, nor to engage in any information campaigns.[79] Moreover, while Bill 113 permitted the use of French for up to 100 per cent of the day, it did not establish a minimum level of how much French was to be taught in the schools. This decision was to be left up to the local communities to decide by consensus.[80] As future experience with the development of French language education in the province would show, these were serious omissions.

Ontario

It should come as no surprise that Ontario, which initiated serious constitutional talks with the Confederation of Tomorrow conference, and had revamped its French language education programs in 1968, would be a very active participant in the negotiations leading up to the BEP agreement. Premier Robarts did not agree with Quebec's pretensions to speak for all French-Canadians, and believed that he had an obligation to speak for French-Canadians in his own province, and that other premiers had the same responsibility for their

communities.[81] Moreover, he believed that positive action on the language front would lead to a healthier atmosphere for discussions of Canadian federalism.[82] Indeed, the overall position of the Ontario government was that language rights could not be discussed in isolation from other constitutional issues.[83]

The major change in Ontario had been the extension of government funding to French-language public secondary schools, ending over fifty years of lobbying by ACFÉO, and prompting the organisation to adopt both a broader mandate and a new name, the Assocation canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO).[84] However, the Robarts government had also commissioned a series of provincial task forces on bilingualism in February 1968, and began a French-language training program for its civil service in April of that year.[85] Ontario seized upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission, and the federal government's apparent willingness to follow its recommendations regarding the funding of official language minority education.[86] It was one of the first provinces to take advantage of federal funding for cost studies of new French-language educational programs. The province had begun giving additional grants to its bilingual universities – Glendon College at York University, Laurentian University, and the University of Ottawa – in 1967.[87] The province also entered into an agreement with the province of Quebec in June 1969 for cooperation and exchange on cultural and educational matters.[88]

However, Ontario's participation in an agenda of national bilingualism would not be without serious financial costs for the province; costs that the province believed should be reimbursed by the federal government. Ontario's

approach to bilingualism was to pair French minority language education with French second language instruction. It considered this to be a unified approach to bilingualism, which best responded to parental demand.[89] Ontario therefore believed that the federal government, in addition to funding minority language education, should also fund second language instruction. The province was aware that funding for second language programs was not recommended by the commissioners, but believed that Ontario could make a good case for its inclusion, as long as minority language education was made the top priority.[90]

Ontario was also caught in the bind of agreeing with Ottawa's objectives for the BEP and wanting money for its programs, but being opposed to federal intervention in education. Moreover, Ontario had come out publicly in opposition to shared cost programs.[91] The dilemma for the province was to somehow reconcile this conundrum in a way that would maximize its share of the funding. Initially, the province wanted to ask for an unconditional federal transfer to the provinces to cover the cost of these programs. Officials soon realized that it was hard to estimate what these costs would be (as the RCBB had discovered), and thus decided that basing the transfers on a proportion of the average cost of education per student would be an acceptable method. Ontario's representatives, however, wanted to go beyond the basic proposals of the Commission, and add an incentive grant to cover additional development of language education programs. They even considered asking the federal government to cover the full cost of developing its French second language programs, but recognized that this may be stretching Ottawa's magnanimity.

Ontario's committee representatives thus recommended to the education minister that the 10 per cent formula be accepted for minority language education, but that the province ask for an additional 5 per cent formula payment for both minority- and second-language education to accelerate existing programs and develop new ones. This proposal was intended for the first five years of the program.[92]

Education Minister William Davis accepted some of the suggestions of his officials, but modified them somewhat in his letter to Gérard Pelletier of October 1969. Davis asked for a formula payment of 10 per cent for both FML and FSL programs, to allow for the development of new programs. Moreover, he argued that since Ontario had already begun developing its programs on the assumption of federal funding, this funding be made retroactive to January 1968![93] Moreover, he asked that this funding be in the form of a fiscal transfer, with no federal strings or objectives attached.

The question of the program objectives was a major area of concern for the province of Ontario. In other provinces, French-language programming was generally open to all students. Ontario, on the other hand, pressured by ACFO and other francophone associations, had taken steps to limit access to its French language schools to members of the francophone minority alone. This conflicted with Recommendation 9 of the RCBB's Book on Education, which argued that children should have the option of attending school in either official language.[94] Ontario wanted to ensure that its policy of separate streams would not be compromised by the federal-provincial agreements.

Clearly, Premier Robarts and his Ontario delegation were supportive of the broad objectives of the proposed BEP. However, his province had differing conceptions of the form and structure of minority language education than those which prevailed in the other provinces. Moreover, second language instruction was a cornerstone of his approach to national unity and bilingualism, and his delegation was determined to ensure that this facet be incorporated into the funding formulas. While Ontario was not hurting financially as some other provinces were, it was still determined to maximize its access to funding under this program, and to reap the maximum benefits possible for its residents.

New Brunswick

While Ontario did not accept the RCBB's recommendation that it become officially bilingual, New Brunswick, with its one-third francophone minority, was quick to take steps in this direction. At the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, Liberal Premier Louis Robichaud stated that his province gave provincial expression to a national English-French partnership.[95] The following March, his government introduced a motion to approve English and French as the official languages of the province, simultaneously announcing its intention to pass legislation to this effect. The official languages program was made the top priority for the province in the fall legislative session of 1968. A white paper followed in December outlining the steps required to implement this type of legislation.[96] The *New Brunswick Official Languages Act* was adopted in the spring of 1969, before the federal government enacted comparable legislation.

Given the size of New Brunswick's Acadian minority, and the sweeping changes that were part of Robichaud's Equal Opportunities Program, it is not surprising that New Brunswick was keen to enact legislation and develop programs that would establish parity between its language communities. Unlike some provinces, New Brunswick did not have the financial resources to support this type of development on its own. Accordingly, it was one of the most ardent advocates of a federally-funded initiative to support these programs, especially in education. This approach was evident as early as the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, where the Premier began to make statements about the national nature of this issue. Robichaud stressed that the object of the official languages agenda should be to make English- and French-speaking Canadians feel at home from coast to coast. He also called on all the ministers of education to review their minority language education programs in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission.[97]

New Brunswick was also willing to try to obtain funding for its agenda directly from the federal government. Appealing to Prime Minister Pearson's desire for national unity,[98] Premier Robichaud stressed that all of Canada had a financial stake in the success of New Brunswick's bilingualism programs, but that it was unable to support these programs on its own. The province approached the federal government to obtain assistance with the start-up costs associated with its educational programs. These costs were estimated to be significant in late 1968, including high per-capita costs of minority language education for both language groups, as well as the costs of bilingual schools and districts.[99] The

initial response from Prime Minister Trudeau in December 1968, who had succeeded Pearson, was that the federal government was willing to consider aid of this type, but that it was better for the province to pursue these issues through the forum of the Constitutional Conference.[100] Following this advice, Robichaud lobbied hard for a federally-funded program to promote bilingualism and biculturalism.[101] In this manner, the federal government was able to enlist New Brunswick as an ally in its objective of starting the Bilingualism in Education Program.

Over the course of 1969, with federal assistance, the province of New Brunswick was able to undertake cost studies for its proposed official language programs. The province determined that significantly increased numbers of teachers and schools would be required to accomplish its objectives of bringing the French-language education system up to parity with the English-language system, and completely revising its second language instruction programs. Transportation would also be required to allow English- and French-speaking children to attend separate schools.[102] Max Cohen, a McGill University law professor and New Brunswick's head representative at the Constitutional Conference, determined that New Brunswick's best approach would be to stress the federal government's right to use the spending power, which would allow it to provide funding to the provincial educational systems. Cohen also argued that New Brunswick should stress that the language issue was one of national concern which transcended the boundaries of individual provinces.[103] This argument gave credence to the Canadian government's intrastate approach to

federalism, granting legitimacy to its role as the government which could address issues that crossed provincial borders and were directly related to national unity.

New Brunswick submitted its cost estimates according to the formulas proposed by the RCBB in the fall of 1969. When presenting these estimates, the province's representatives argued that the proposed formulas should be considered the bare minimum for assistance. The province also argued that a distinction should be made between operational costs and institutional costs, to allow for more rapid development of its programs.[104] In this respect, New Brunswick supported the plans of Ontario for development costs. Indeed, the province would need all the money it could obtain. A 1970 study of the province's educational objectives, conducted by IRNES Consultants, determined that the amount of money that the province would receive under the formulas proposed by the RCBB would fall $3.2 million short per year for the expected expenditures necessary to establish parity.[105]

While New Brunswick did support Ontario on the issue of a developmental costs program on top of operational costs, it differed in a key respect. Ontario had pushed hard for second language instructional costs, which were a higher priority for the province, despite its lip service to minority language education. While New Brunswick did have an interest in second language expansion, its priority was development of its French-language minority language schools. Both Premier Robichaud and his successor Richard Hatfield were faced with a vigorous lobby from the Acadian communities, who had been campaigning throughout the 1960s for increased, and equitable, financing for the Acadian

schools. Satisfying this demand, and the ones which were certain to come with the advent of federal funding, would require a major commitment under the proposed Bilingualism in Education Program for official language minority education. The province was thus dismayed by proposals for formula payments which put an emphasis on second language instruction, to the detriment of minority language education. Such proposals would benefit provinces with small minority language populations the most. Moreover, it appeared that English second language programs in New Brunswick would not be covered by the BEP, as only one language group would be considered for second language costs in each province.[106]

Despite its apparent shortcomings, New Brunswick was optimistic about its potential to receive funds under the proposed BEP. It was a firm supporter of the recommendations of the RCBB, and advocated the entrenchment of language schooling rights in the constitution, as part of a bill of rights.[107] Indeed, given the financial straits of the province, and the planned development of its program, New Brunswick desperately needed this type of financial assistance, particularly if it were to diffuse the criticisms originating with the Loyalist Associations and the Orange Order, which were hostile to the entire bilingualism agenda.[108]

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's Acadian population was nowhere near as numerically significant as that of New Brunswick, and thus development of programs to meet the needs

of this minority were less of a concern for the provincial government. Nevertheless, Education Minister Gérard Doucet, of Acadian origin himself, indicated a desire at the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference to create Acadian schools where all subjects could be taught in French. However, he indicated that skilled teachers for these programs were scarce in the province, and English skills were still a paramount concern for Nova Scotians.[109]

Some steps were taken within the Department of Education to look into ways that Nova Scotia could accomplish some of the recommendations of the RCBB. Studies on the cost of bilingual education were conducted in 1968. These studies were based on a minimum 10 per cent population threshold for Acadian programs, which would entail programs in four districts of the province. The studies concluded that such a program would cost $1.75 million for the first year of the program, and $770,000 for each subsequent year.[110] The report further indicated that parents should be given the option of sending their children to the schools, and that it was likely that the federal government could be approached to help with the cost of these programs.[111]

While there were individuals within the Department of Education who lent a supportive ear to these proposals, these were by no means indicative of an overall commitment to Acadian education comparable to the situation in New Brunswick. Premier George Smith indicated his opposition to the compulsory teaching of all or most subjects in the French language, indicating that this was a matter that should be left to local choice, divesting his government of a responsibility for leadership in this matter. Moreover, on the broader issue of

official languages, he indicated that Nova Scotia's actions would be limited to the creation of a small translation bureau, and that the province rejected the notion of bilingual districts.[112] The province further indicated that it believed that changes towards attitudes in official languages must come from education, and not from statutes, echoing Alberta's position.[113] As such, Nova Scotia was unlikely to build in official recognition for Acadian education or guarantees to this type of instruction, as Manitoba had done.

Indeed, Premier Smith had other issues which he considered to be of greater importance at the constitutional bargaining table. The province was in financial straits similar to New Brunswick. Accordingly, H. Stevens, the head of federal-provincial fiscal relations, wanted the province to push for regional disparity compensation payments. Indeed, given the federal government's concern with the bilingualism issue, Nova Scotia's officials believed that provincial acquiescence to the Bilingualism in Education Program should be held as a bargaining chip to be played in exchange for these payments.[114] Indeed, these two issues were linked together by Nova Scotia's representatives at the Constitutional Conference.[115]

Despite this reluctance to forge boldly ahead with the development of French-language education programs, and the conditions that the province wanted to place on this program, Nova Scotia actively contemplated its participation in the BEP. Education officials believed that the federal government was likely to be more sympathetic to requests for start-up program costs than for long-term administrative costs.[116] The province thus prepared to couch its

proposals for funding in these terms. The government did not envision that it would assume an active role in guiding the development of new programs, preferring to rely on demands emanating from the community level.[117] However, by the time that final negotiations were occurring for the BEP, requests for such assistance to French programs had become an avalanche, which put pressure on the government to enter into an agreement for federal funding. Given the tightness of the provincial purse, any funding which could be secured from the federal government would be welcome indeed in Nova Scotia.

Premier Smith's representations at the Constitutional Conference reflected these financial straits. Like Premier Robichaud, he continually stressed the national dimensions of language issues, and the need for a strong central government to fund programs which would address these concerns (a position which, not coincidentally, would support a strong central government which could promote equalization to cope with regional diversity).[118] One thus notes a commonality in the positions of the Maritime provinces, who were willing to countenance federal participation in education if such participation would result both in funds for the provincial treasury, and in the strengthening of the Canadian government in order that Ottawa could defend their interests and participate in the resolution of their financial difficulties.

Negotiating the First Agreement

As the above sections have indicated, there were a wide variety of positions which had to be accommodated in order to reach a national agreement on the

promotion of bilingualism in education. There were also other vantage points on the program from the four provinces which were not discussed. However, these tended to be variants on the positions already described, or simple apathy towards the entire process. Twenty months passed from the beginning of negotiations to the announcement of the agreement. As the following discussion of the process which ultimately led to the first agreement will indicate, major compromises were needed in order to secure an agreement, and some issues were left unresolved in the final deal.

While the proposals of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism were the starting point for the Bilingualism in Education agreements, formal discussions on the subject did not formally begin until the Constitutional Conference of December 1968. It was at this conference that the decision was made to have continuing discussions in between first ministers meetings. A subcommittee of officials on official languages was established, where many of the technical aspects of the program would be worked out.[119] In February 1969, a Ministerial Committee on Language Rights was formed, along with four other ministerial committees to address other constitutional issues. This committee would be the forum for top-level discussions of the program.[120]

Initially, the work of both committees would focus on Ottawa's *Official Languages Act, 1969*. It would not be until May 1969 that the subcommittee turned its attentions to the recommendations of Volume II of the RCBB's report. The committee was instructed to prepare proposals on technical and financial aid from the federal government which could be agreed upon by the provinces. The

committee was also charged with the task of studying existing provincial policies and the cost of implementing the new proposals.[121]

While the committee prepared its reports, the federal government was also considering its position. On 6 November 1969, Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier announced the federal proposals for a Federal-Provincial Programme of Cooperation for the Promotion of Bilingualism in Education, with the intention that these proposals be discussed at the second Ministerial Committee Meeting on Official Languages, to be held on November 9th.[122] $50 million was initially flagged for this program by the federal government, although it did not attach itself to the 10 per cent formula proposed by the commission. It also indicated some initial openness to funding second language instruction, which was being strongly pushed by Ontario and the Western provinces.

Over the following months, provincial reactions to these proposals began to surface, and counter-proposals were floated. The Canadian, New Brunswick and Ontario governments were all pushing for a constitutional entrenchment of de facto language rights to accompany the financial aid, although there was resistance from the other provinces.[123] Quebec began to push for the funding of its existing English-language programs, so that it would not be financially penalized for having been a leader in official languages education.[124]

The proposals which emerged in 1970 diverged somewhat from the recommendations of the Royal Commission. The 10 per cent formula was dropped, in favour of a 9 per cent formula for minority language education, to be coupled with a 1.5 per cent formula for minority language education

administrative costs. This was intended to respond to pressures from the provinces for developmental costs. However, some provinces were concerned that this would not cover the cost of transportation, which was a key issue in the vast school districts of the Western provinces.[125] Also new was the addition of a 5 per cent formula for second language instruction, which had not been recommended by the RCBB. This was lower than the figure requested by Ontario and Alberta, but was nevertheless a significant new contribution. One must note, however, that the cost and details of this second language aspect were never considered by the subcommittee of officials on official languages. This formula was incorporated into the Bilingualism in Education Program as part of a package deal to secure provincial consent. The 1970 proposals also did not make specific reference to the RCBB.

Pelletier and his federal delegation entered the 25 May 1970 meeting of the ministerial committee with the intention of reaching provincial agreement on the program objectives. The Secretary of State also hoped to impose a time limit on the program: 4 to 5 years for second language programs and 10 to 15 years for minority language programs.[126] While the federal government had come to accept the concept of paying for existing costs, it wanted this to be linked to the concept of "extra costs," although it acknowledged that the definition of "extra" was likely to vary by province.[127] Moreover, by the May meeting, Ottawa was willing to proceed without the consent of all the provinces, although Pelletier hoped that unanimous consent could be reached.[128]

The Trudeau government also hoped to avoid the formalities of a signed agreement, pressing instead for an exchange of letters that would start the program. This was partly motivated by a desire for flexibility in the implementation of the program. This format was also preferred due to the negotiations which were continuing at the Constitutional Conference over the use of the federal spending power. The use of this spending power was being discussed at the conference, but Trudeau did not want action on the bilingualism and national unity file to be held up until all of the constitutional discussions were completed.[129] A more informal type of financial arrangement, it was thought, would permit concrete action using methods employed in the past for joint federal-provincial programs, without creating a new formal shared cost agreement of the type that several provinces hoped to eliminate through the constitutional negotiations.

An agreement on the basic principles of the program was reached at the May 1970 meeting, the exact wording of which will be discussed in the following section. The formulas were to be based on full-time equivalent students, based on a percentage of the day spent in minority- and second-language programs. This allowed the governments to skirt the issue created by provinces such as Alberta which had capped French-language programs at levels that were considered less than a full-time equivalent student. The program was initially to run for an 18-month period, after which the progress of the objectives would be evaluated. The term "opportunity" was also stressed in the wording of the objectives, reflective of the importance of individual choice to a number of

participants, including the Canadian government.[130] The objectives also made the point of stressing provincial jurisdiction in education, and respect for their prerogatives. The interim provisions of the program were agreed upon by the provinces in an exchange of letters over the course of the summer of 1970, paving the way for the announcement of the program in September.

The federal-provincial programme of cooperation for the promotion of bilingualism in education – The First Agreement of September 9, 1970

After months of negotiations, the federal-provincial program on bilingualism in education was officially announced on 9 September 1970. The agreement, although largely shaped by the Canadian government, incorporated a number of elements that had been demanded by various provinces and interest groups, and yet left several questions unresolved. Moreover, some of these unresolved questions were not ones which could be readily resolved outside of a formal agreement, and would cause no end of headaches for officials over the subsequent decades.

The federal-provincial program of bilingualism in education did not take the form of a formally signed agreement. Rather, it was based on the letters of understanding which had been reached over the summer months. The only formal documents which attested to its existence were a series of press releases jointly agreed to by the Secretary of State and the Premiers. The main press release outlining the details of the program was very brief at a mere three pages.[131] An examination of its contents is crucial to an understanding of what agreements were reached, and which questions were left in abeyance.

In terms of hard financial figures, Ottawa committed to spending $50 million for the first year of a four-year program, during which it intended to spend a total of $300 million. These funds were intended to pay for the supplementary costs incurred in providing minority language education and second language instruction. The manner in which these costs were to be calculated was based on the concept of a full-time equivalent (FTE) student. This was defined as a student who received 75 per cent of their instructional time in the minority language at the elementary level, and 60 per cent of their instructional time in the minority language at the secondary level. Accordingly, if three students received 50 per cent of their instructional time in the minority language at the elementary level, this would be counted as the same as two FTEs. Conversely, three students receiving 100 per cent of their instructional time in the minority language at the elementary level would be considered four FTEs. As such, the formulas paid more as instructional time increased.

The program would pay for a percentage of the average cost of instruction for a full-time student. There were three formulas established for the program. The first paid 9 per cent for FTEs enrolled in minority-language educational programs. On the assumption that costs of providing second-language instruction were "different and proportionately lower" than those for minority language education, this formula was set at 5 per cent. In recognition of the fact that provincial education departments would have increased administrative costs associated with expanding their bureaucracies to deal with minority language education, the formula provided 1.5 per cent of teaching costs based on the total

number of children in the minority language group. While this funding was not extended retroactively to the beginning of 1968, as Ontario had demanded, it did extend back to 1 January 1970.

While the formula payment structure did make reference to "supplementary costs," no mechanism was put in place to ensure that these funds would be used for increased development of the programs in question. A province could continue to operate its existing programs, with no additional development, and still receive the funds. There was, however, an avenue opened to development projects. The press release made reference to "special projects" for which federal funding would be made available to enable provinces with less-developed educational systems to catch up to the others, although the nature of these projects was not yet defined.

A number of provinces and francophone community organisations had made representations concerning the need for student exchanges and teacher training institutions in order to bolster the minority- and second-language education programs. These were supported by the RCBB's recommendations. Specific projects to address these issues were not dealt with in 1970, although provisions were made to continue discussions.

As was noted above, there had been a certain amount of debate about the objectives of the program, particularly regarding access to the minority-language education programs. In the text of the agreement, the objectives were defined as follows:

> to ensure that, insofar as it is feasible, Canadians have the opportunity to educate their children in the official language of their choice and that

> children have the opportunity to learn, as a second language, the other official language of their country.

While Ontario had protested against permitting open access to its French-language education programs, the wording of these objectives implied a right of all Canadians, regardless of mother tongue, to choose the language of instruction for their children. For most provinces, this implied access to minority language education schools, since French immersion programs, which had debuted in a few communities, were still considered to be highly experimental and were not mentioned at all in the build-up to this program.

Two more provisions of the initial agreement deserve special mention. The press release announcing the BEP specified that the arrangements were designed to make federal support of these objectives possible without infringing on provincial jurisdiction in the field of education. This provision was designed to appease provinces who were jealous of their prerogatives in this sector. The other point of note concerns evaluation of the program, which had been raised by a number of participants in the negotiation process. The only mention of evaluation is that the formulas would be re-examined after 18 months of operation. No mention was made of a formal evaluation mechanism, or indeed that any qualitative evaluation of how well the program was attaining its objectives would occur. Indeed, in the flush financial era of the late 1960s, program evaluation as it is known today was not a major concern, and the financial constraints which required accountability for expenditures had not yet arisen.[132] However, as these constraints closed in on the federal government in the late 1970s, there would be no evaluation mechanism to fall back upon.

Play in the Press

While no other aspects of the provisions of the Bilingualism in Education program were mentioned in the official text of the press release, there were other contextual aspects which can flesh out the details about the agreement's intended purposes. The announcement of the BEP attracted varying amounts of press coverage across the country. This coverage is informative both in terms of the additional context which was provided with the announcement, and for how the various regions and groups in the country perceived their interests being addressed in the program.

Virtually all newspapers which reported on the BEP announcement gave the basic details of the program, including total amounts allocated, formula percentages, provincial grants for the first year, and the duration of the first agreement. However, some other aspects were mentioned which are of great interest. The *Globe and Mail*, for example, noted that the minority-language education program was intended to be a program with indefinite length, whereas the second-language programs were only to last for five to ten years.[133] Both the *Globe* and *Le Droit* also stressed that the program was not intended to continue funding the status quo, but was meant to fund extra costs and additional development.[134] Some contextual information about the manner in which the formulas were reached was also provided. The *Montreal Star* and *Le Devoir* observed that the program was a compromise between Ottawa's desire to fund minority language education, and a strong push from the Western provinces for

second language instructional funds.[135] Newspapers from the minority language communities, such as *Le Droit* and *Évangeline*, also noted that part of the reason why the program took so long to establish was the difficulty in establishing a formula which would deal equitably with the diversity of minority language populations in the country.[136] While these various newspapers commented that the program's emphasis was on minority language education programs and additional development, and noted the fact that the program was to be of a limited duration, this was merely contextual information from the time of the agreement. Some of these "original intentions" would be conveniently forgotten by the participants as time wore on, and these provisions were not stated in black-and-white in the press release itself.

The manner in which the program's components were emphasized in various regions of the country can also give some clues as to how the program was likely to be perceived over time. In Alberta, the announcement of the program was buried deep within the newspapers, on page 19 of the *Edmonton Journal* and page 59 of the *Calgary Herald*.[137] In both cases, the headline concerned how much of the grants, over one-half, would go to Quebec. While the articles, both variants of a Southam story, also mentioned that Alberta would qualify for the grants, the overall tone of the articles, as well as their placement, indicate the disinterest with which the program was received.

Ontario's emphasis on second language instruction was also evident in the local play of the story. The headline in the *Toronto Star* emphasized how Ottawa would pay 5 per cent of the province's second language instructional

costs, indicative of the province's priority.[138] In Quebec, in contrast, the French-language dailies put emphasis on the amounts that the province would receive for its English second-language programs, downplaying the amount that would go to its English-language minority system.[139] Interestingly, the *Fredericton Gleaner*, in bilingual New Brunswick, failed to mention the program at all.

While the announcement of the BEP was buried in the *Toronto Star*, the *Montreal Star* and the Alberta newspapers, it is interesting to note where the program received front-cover play. The BEP was front-page news in the *Globe and Mail, Winnipeg Free Press, Évangeline, Le Droit, Le Devoir* and *La Presse*.[140] While a certain amount of this placement can be attributed to the ideology of the publishing houses involved, it is nevertheless interesting to note the significant importance of the program for the two major francophone minority papers, as well as the French-language Quebec dailies and the national newspaper.

Conclusion

The Bilingualism in Education Program was developed in the midst of a major transition period in Canadian federalism. While the era of mega-constitutional discussions of the late-1960s was indicative of a shift in federal-provincial relations towards executive federalism, and the tenor of the discussions was indicative of the increasing strength of the provincial governments, the preceding era of co-operative federalism and strong central government had clearly not yet ended. Although the Bilingualism in Education program did not take the form of a

formal, signed shared-cost agreement, the federal government was still able to use its spending power, even when this power was being challenged by the premiers of Ontario and Quebec. The intrastate vision of federalism also still held a good deal of influence, as many provincial premiers, including Premier Ed Schreyer of Manitoba, defended the Canadian government's use of the spending power on issues critical to national unity.[141] Moreover, the main provisions of the final agreement were primarily those proposed by Ottawa politicians and bureaucrats, drawing on the recommendations of the RCBB, while adding new components which they felt were needed.

There were, nevertheless, signs that Canadian federalism was in transition. Although the federal government was using its spending power, this was balanced by statements regarding provincial jurisdiction over education, and the informal nature of the agreement. While the main provisions of the BEP were based on federal priorities, the provinces had managed to secure a significant amount of funding for both second official language instruction and for the funding of pre-existing programs. Nor was Ottawa able to spell out in advance how the BEP would be evaluated. Although the provinces did not negotiate the BEP as a united block, the CMEC was formed in 1967, and a potential role for this interprovincial council had been floated in discussions concerning evaluation of the program. The fact that the CMEC did not play a major role in the negotiations indicates, however, that the provinces' interstate vision of Canadian federalism had not yet been fully developed. Thus, the BEP is best seen as a program which straddled the two conceptions of Canadian federalism. Its

evolution, as we shall see, would be largely shaped by efforts on the part of advocates of each vision of federalism to pull the program into their sphere of control.

A wide range of opinions and positions went into the formation of the first Bilingualism in Education Program. Moreover, the program aimed to address the official language concerns of a wide variety of communities. Not all governments or communities were satisfied with the provisions of the initial agreement, and would work to change its structure. Nor was it entirely clear how effective the formulas would be at meeting their objectives, and whether the provinces would all "buy-in" to the program. As we shall see, although it was a single agreement that bound the provinces together into the program, the program had to be implemented in a diversity of contexts, and serve many different objectives. Once the BEP came into effect, provincial interest groups and minority language communities would begin their efforts to mould the program to serve their interests. To see how this occurred, we must now turn to the manner in which the program evolved from these beginnings.

Chapter Four:

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Introduction

After two long years of wheeling and dealing to secure the consent of eleven governments for the Bilingualism in Education Program, a four-year agreement worth $300 million was in place to support the development of minority language education and second language instruction. As our examination of the negotiations leading up to this agreement has shown, it was based upon a great deal of guesswork and many assumptions. In addition, several aspects of the agreement, such as evaluation, justification of expenses, and manner of implementation, had been left deliberately vague to appease all of the parties concerned. As such, it was not completely clear to any of the participating governments, or the citizens they served, what the outcomes of this agreement would be in terms of concrete programs.

This chapter will analyze how the vague terms of the first agreement of the Bilingualism in Education Program were put into practice. It covers the period from 10 September 1970, the first day the agreement was in operation, to March 1974, when the program was up for renewal. It will begin with an examination, province-by-province, of how the program was put into operation across the country. This approach will reveal how the different conceptions of the program's objectives created some initial variations on how it was perceived and implemented. It will also show the beginnings of public interest in the program, particularly from the vantage point of minority language community groups. Our discussion will then turn to the Canadian government's reaction to the Bilingualism in Education Program's development, as well as to other related developments in the sphere of language issues in the country. Finally, the direct

interaction between the two levels of government will be addressed, to see what new initiatives were developed as part of the BEP, and what efforts were made by each level to try to alter the initial directions of the program. The 1974 renewal of the program will not be dealt with until the next chapter, but we will examine some of the factors which would shape the renewal process.

Alberta

At the outset of the first Bilingualism in Education agreement, Alberta's language programs were the least developed of the six provinces. The Social Credit government of Ernest Manning had demonstrated serious hostility to the *Official Languages Act, 1969*, and questioned its legality. However, some initial development had taken place, including the introduction of French language education for up to half of the school day, and the appointment of a coordinator of language education programs at the Department of Education. Alberta was not, however, about to make a 180 degree shift in its approach to the BEP, even with the advent of federal funding.

While the provincial government had agreed to participate in the BEP, it did not assume a particularly active role in directing its implementation. Its approach to the BEP was outlined in the brochure "Federal Assistance to French Education in Alberta."[1] It asserted that Alberta was fulfilling its obligation to the minority language objective of the BEP by permitting the 50/50 programs, and to the second language objective through any board that chose to offer French second language instructional programs. Federal dollars from the 9 per cent and 5 per cent formulas were to be passed directly along to the school boards on the

basis of FTEs. The Department of Education retained the 1.5 per cent formula payment to administer the programs. School boards were given the autonomy to decide both how they wanted to spend the additional federal dollars, and whether they wanted to introduce new programs.[2]

The overall lack of government leadership which characterized Alberta's BEP policy can be partly attributed to a lack of interest in bilingualism on the part of the government. However, this was not the only reason for this approach. In the 1970s, Alberta had a very decentralized funding system for its education system, and up to 40 per cent of educational costs were funded through local school board taxes.[3] Accordingly, a major tenet of Alberta's education system was the principle of local board autonomy. A policy of allowing school boards to make decisions over language policy was in line with this principle.

While many school boards in Alberta were slow to take advantage of the federal funds, others were less reticent. Responding to the wishes of parent groups, school boards in districts such as St. Paul, Bonnyville, Edmonton and Falher began offering French language instruction and French second language programs shortly after Alberta relaxed its restrictions on French programming in 1968.[4] Prior to this, privately run schools had existed in these districts, which relied on support from private funding, and curriculum direction from the Association des éducateurs bilingues de l'Alberta (AEBA).[5] The federal grants provided an immediate influx of funding to enable the survival of these schools, which had been in doubt given the declining funding base of the 1960s. The Edmonton Catholic School Board was among the first of the traditional boards to

begin to develop bilingual schools, drawing on the experience of private institutions such as l'Académie Assomption.[6] These bilingual schools offered an increased amount of French language instruction, some up to the 50 per cent maximum permitted under the *Public Schools Act.*

The development of French minority language schools in Alberta was not rapid however. Many Franco-Albertan parents, who had experienced the repressive policies of the past, were primarilly concerned with the enhancement of English skills for their children, and thus not all schools took full advantage of the 50 per cent maximum.[7] Another interesting dynamic in these programs was that no distinction was made between children with French as their mother tongue, and those with English as their mother tongue. While some districts were almost homogenous in this respect, the government policy was not to distinguish between the two, and thus both groups had full access to these programs at the outset of the program. This was useful in the Alberta context in some respects, given the high rates of assimilation of the French mother tongue population. However, it made it difficult to determine how much of the federal grants were going to minority language education for Franco-Albertans, and how much to French immersion for English-speaking Albertans.

French second language instruction also began to develop in Alberta in the early 1970s. The province used some of the administrative funds to hire second language consultants at the regional offices of the Department of Education.[8] Two new French language arts programs were also released in 1970. These programs were picked up by new districts as a result of the federal

grants, notably in Red Deer and Lethbridge.[9] Despite these gains, second language instruction was still not viewed as being particularly important for Albertans, and only attracted a minority of students. That being said, the number of students in these programs did increase, from 25.3 per cent to 36.5 per cent of elementary students from 1970 to 1971, and from 32.1 per cent to 39.2 per cent of secondary students, a significant jump for one year. Thus, there was some demographic expansion in the second language sector.

A number of different players began to weigh in with their opinions on the future direction of language education in the province. In 1972, ACFA called for the elimination of the 50 per cent restriction on minority language education.[10] Moreover, it began to stress the need for a francophone atmosphere in the schools, to promote French language learning. Franco-Albertan educational leaders, such as Joseph Moreau, the president of l'Académie Assomption's Advisory Board, and a member of ACFA's Edmonton branch, also stressed the positives of the BEP for all students in the province, including the need for second language skills for jobs. This strategy aimed at reducing the perception that the BEP was solely about the language rights of francophones, and in fact had benefits for broader segments of Alberta's student population.[11] The provincial government, for its part, took some of these issues to heart, and called on the federal government to provide a French-language television channel to supplement classroom teaching in the province. It was quite upset to have this request rejected.[12]

The other major development in language education in Alberta in this period was the report of the Worth Commission on Educational Planning. The Commission was established in June 1969, under the Chairmanship of Walter Worth, with a broad mandate to study virtually all aspects of education in Alberta, and to develop priorities for public education in Alberta for the next decade.[13] The nine-member commission, with its three task forces (each covering different levels of education) and research teams, examined all facets of education in the province. While the Commission was predominantly concerned with global changes to Alberta's educational priorities and financing structures, it nevertheless made some important recommendations for French-language teaching. In its 1972 report, it called for French minority language education to be bolstered so that Franco-Albertans could have a genuine choice between integration and assimilation.[14] Moreover, it called on the government to give French-language education a higher priority than other languages, because even though Alberta had a multicultural population, it was in a bicultural country. Stressing the multicultural nature of the province, the Commission also called for expanded second language instructional programs in languages other than French. On the whole, the Worth Commission called on the province to stop "playing around with language study and make it possible for children and adults to be come truly fluent in the language they wish to learn."[15]

While Alberta initially took a hands-off approach to the BEP, it was not widely criticized for its method of distributing the federal grants, and its tactic of sending funds directly to the boards meant that the federal government was not

seriously concerned about its accountability.[16] However, there was a lack of serious long-term planning for French-language education in the province. The provincial government also retained its cap on French minority language education, and did very little to encourage its school boards to develop their French language programming. By 1974, Alberta's French-language programming was a patchwork of isolated programs, lacking cohesion and a plan for the future. While the BEP was functioning, it was not heading in any clear direction.

Manitoba

Just prior to signing the BEP agreements, Manitoba had passed Bill 113, which guaranteed access to minority language education if minimum numbers of students could be gathered to form a class. There was a flurry of activity in Manitoba in the years following the passage of the BEP, which offered funds to transform these guarantees into realities. As had been the case in Alberta though, the government of Manitoba was not initially pro-active in its approach to French-language programming and implementation.

To a certain extent, the Schreyer government, having passed Bill 113, believed that its obligations to the Franco-Manitoban community were now fulfilled.[17] Having passed the necessary legislation, the government was content to let the programs evolve as they would. The Franco-Manitoban community was quick to indicate that this was not sufficient. The Société Franco-Manitobain published brochures on the details of Bill 113, including information on the federal grants. It also offered to organise meetings and local committees to

pressure school boards to implement the provisions of the amended *School Act*, and to fulfil the objectives of the BEP.[18] The SFM called on the Manitoba government to take an active role in preventing the further assimilation of the Franco-Manitobans, to direct federal funds into the *Français* programs, and to establish French-language administrative units within the Department of Education.[19] Moreover, the SFM called on the government to recognize it as the official representative of the Franco-Manitoban community, and demanded to be consulted on all issues related to the community, particularly education.[20]

The government of Manitoba was not unsympathetic to the concerns of the Franco-Manitobans, once it was made aware of the community's needs. A French section of the Department of Education was established to determine the best method of distributing the federal grants, and to develop programs to improve the quality of French teaching in the province, including an ambitious research program.[21] While the federal formulas specified a certain percentage of additional costs for minority language education and second language instruction, Manitoba's education officials did not believe that these formulas reflected the true costs. Second language instruction was not seen as needing major development, aside from in-service teacher training, whereas there were major additional costs associated with the French minority language program, from starting up classrooms, to hiring thirty new minority language teachers per year, to transportation of students to schools where French classes were offered.[22]

Accordingly, the Manitoba government quickly began experimenting with different ways of allocating its BEP grants to favour the development of the Français programs. Initially this was done on a per-student basis, with $2 per student in FSL programs, and $28 per student in FML programs, but this was quickly shifted to $25 per FTE in FSL programs and $75 per FTE in FML programs. This heavily weighted the allocation of funding towards the minority-language stream, which the province had identified as its top priority.[23] Initially, the province did not require rigorous accounting from school boards on how these grants were spent, and there were rumours of misallocation of funds.[24] However, the intention of the provincial government was to spend the bulk of the BEP resources on French minority language education.

The major decision which would alter the manner in which Manitoba proceeded with its approach to the BEP occurred in 1972. In May, a committee was struck to investigate the state of French education in the province. The resulting report, the *Rapport Frechette*, called for research into the achievement of students in the French schools. This research was also to determine how to best establish an administrative structure to implement Bill 113.[25] Under an agreement with Quebec, the province seconded Olivier Tremblay from the Quebec Department of Education to work with the Manitoba Department of Education on the best manner to proceed with developing its French language programs. When it hired Tremblay, the provincial government was aware that its French mother tongue programs had some major problems. These included the fact that 40 per cent of students who had French as their mother tongue did not

take any French courses.[26] The split between urban and rural access to the French programs offered under Bill 113 was also a major concern.[27]

Olivier Tremblay worked with the planning and research staff of the French section of the Department of Education from the fall of 1972 to June 1973 to assess the state of the province's French-language programs, and to make recommendations to improve these programs. The Tremblay report identified eight major issues that were hampering the development of these programs. The attitude of Franco-Manitoban parents was a key deterrent, as many were reluctant to enrol their children in FML programs. This reluctance was linked to their concerns about student achievement in these programs, which was perceived to be lower than in the English stream. The small size of schools in the province, particularly in rural areas, was seen as a limiting factor, especially when trying to organize multiple programs (FML and English) in the same school. Limited enrolments in the minority programs often meant that children did not receive instruction in the language of their choice. French-language students were seen as operating in cultural and intellectual isolation from the French-Canadian culture. The teachers in these schools often lacked the training needed to give them an adequate mastery of the French language and knowledge of the French culture. On a practical level, French-language teaching materials were proven to be in short supply. Finally, valid statistics on the different varieties of language instruction being offered in the province were hard to come by.[28]

Faced with this litany of problems, Tremblay recommended major changes to the operation of the French section of the Department of Education. First and foremost, he asserted that the French section of the Department was too small to deal with the responsibilities assigned to it. He argued that a clear administrative policy to put Bill 113 into effect was needed. In order to implement this policy, a separate francophone unit should be created, under a French-language coordinator with responsibility for the federal programs, policy development and budget preparation. The budget of this section needed to be heavily weighted towards the *Français* priority, and the funding from the federal government should only be seen as supplementary to a concentrated provincial funding program. Moreover, the province should work closely with the government of Quebec on the technical issues of developing these programs.[29]

The initial response of the Manitoba government to the Tremblay report was the passage of Bill 71, which allowed students to travel to other school divisions to receive French-language instruction. The government also began to look into the possibility of funding transportation for this purpose.[30] The planning for an expanded French-language division was also started, and this section would come into being in 1974, after the second renewal of the BEP. While the details of this process will be discussed in the following chapter, it is clear that the government of Manitoba was taking a very active interest in the development of the BEP, particularly its minority-language aspects. It was being forcefully spurred on by the Franco-Manitoban community leaders, who saw this program

as a form of salvation for their community and for French-language education in the province.

Ontario

The government of Ontario had been one of the most active participants in the negotiations of the BEP, and it is thus not surprising that the province was quick to develop its own approach to the use of these funds, and to target them to specific areas of interest. In 1971, William Davis, who had been the Education Minister during these negotiations, took over as Premier. Davis did not break with the policies of John Robarts on French-language services, and was committed to continuing the expansion of French-language government services in areas where this was feasible. Davis' policy fell short of a complete guarantee, but it was a practical approach nevertheless.[31]

The main legacy of the Robarts' government for the Franco-Ontarian community was its legislation to fund French-language public secondary schools. A fair amount of progress was made in this respect in the first years following the passage of Bills 140 and 141, which amended the *Education Act* to include government funding for French-language public high schools. By 1972, 28,000 Franco-Ontarian students were enrolled in publicly funded French-language high schools, a threefold increase over a period of three years.[32] Of these students, 17,600 were in French-only schools, twenty of which were in operation across the province. The remaining Franco-Ontarian students were enrolled in so-called "bilingual" schools; these schools either offered a portion of the school day in each official language, or operated both an English-language and a French-

language program in the same facility. Franco-Ontarian community leaders, particularly those of ACFO,[33] were quite critical of the bilingual schools. The administration and general atmosphere of these mixed schools tended to be English. The English language also predominated on the playground. This was a major concern for ACFO, which was fighting for separate (in the physical, not confessional sense) schools for Franco-Ontarian students.

The Davis government took ACFO's concerns seriously, and appointed a Ministerial Commission on French-language Secondary Education, headed by T.H.B. Symons, to investigate the issue of bilingual schools. The Commission held its hearings in the midst of a crisis in the northern Ontario community of Sturgeon Falls, where the school board refused to open a separate French-language high school, even though 87 per cent of the community was French-speaking.[34] Although the local community was predominantly Franco-Ontarian, the school board was centred in North Bay, and most of the school commissioners were anglophones. Submitting its report in February 1972, the Commission came down on the side of the Franco-Ontarian leaders, arguing that the "mixed or so-called bilingual school is a one-way street to assimilation for the French-speaking student."[35] The Commission recommended that the bilingual schools be phased out. It further recommended that a senior francophone officer, with the rank of an assistant deputy minister, be appointed to chair a permanent committee on French-language schools.[36] The Department of Education complied with this latter recommendation, creating the Council on

French Language Schools under the chairmanship of Dr. Laurier Carrière. The Council was established:

> to advise the Minister and Deputy Minister of Education in respect of the interpretation of existing policy pertaining to French-language schools; to examine new policies being considered by the Ministry insofar as they affect the needs of French-language students; and to make recommendations concerning any aspect of education of French language students in Ontario.[37]

The other recommendation of the Commission, the phasing out of bilingual schools, was not adopted immediately as departmental policy, but was dealt with on a case-by-case basis. Failure to adopt this policy, as we shall see, would plunge the province into a long series of battles with the Franco-Ontarian leadership over separate facilities for French minority language education.

Although Ontario kept to its commitment on French minority language education, the main priority it identified during in the negotiation phase of the BEP was the expansion of its French second language programs, programs which were seen as directly benefiting a broader portion of the electorate. Since the elimination of the university requirement for FSL, enrolment in secondary school FSL programs had had fallen sharply, dropping from 45 per cent to 37 per cent between 1970 and 1972.[38] The provincial government wanted to increase this participation and offer a wider range of FSL programs with the federal funding. This was not easy to accomplish since it had imposed spending caps on educational programs in the early 1970s, and BEP grants flowing through to the school boards were in many cases insufficient to begin new programs.[39] Nevertheless, there was some expansion of FSL programs, facilitated by the granting formula developed by the province in 1972. This formula was based on

a weighting formula under which elementary schools received an additional 5 per cent of their per student costs for FSL, and secondary schools were eligible for a range of additional supports, ranging from 2 per cent to 10 per cent of per student costs, depending on the number of courses students took in the French language.[40]

The 1972 formulas were neither internally consistent in their application, nor consistent with the federal formulas. *Le Droit*, the major French-language newspaper in the province, conducted a study of the use of federal funds by the Carleton Catholic School Board in 1973. According to this investigation, the board received only the 5 per cent formula payment for its minority language students. This translated into a $164,000 shortfall for the board, which would translate into a $4 million shortfall if repeated across the province.[41] Probing a little deeper, the Franco-Ontarian associations determined that of the $47.5 million received by the province by 1973, $36.4 million was earmarked under the federal formulas for French minority language education, and yet only $17 million was sent to the school boards for this purpose.[42] A further study conducted in Carleton in 1974 determined that the board was receiving a standard grant for all of its students, on a per student basis, for French-language education, rather than being pro-rated on a 15:1 basis for the FSL programs.[43] This outraged ACFO and the other Franco-Ontarian education associations, who demanded an explanation from the provincial government.

To the credit of the Ontario government, it did not try to dissemble on this issue. Thomas Wells, the Minister of Education, admitted that the province was

not strictly abiding by the federal formulas. He asserted that the major additional costs for the province under the BEP stemmed from itinerant teachers who taught FSL courses at the elementary level, and thus the province was channelling its funds towards this purpose.[44] Wells viewed the grants as broadly intended to encourage French-language education, and pointed out that all the federal funding was being used for this purpose.[45] Indeed, as he pointed out, the total additional cost of FSL and FML programs in 1972 was $17 million dollars, while the province only received $15 million from the federal government.[46]

The other major recommendation from the Symons Commission was for an investigation of ways to meet the English-speaking population's desire for bilingual education. Indeed, one of the main reasons why the mixed schools had been maintained, aside from costs, was that English-speaking parents saw this as a good method of teaching their children French. Ontario was thus fertile ground for the French immersion programs that had been pioneered in Quebec's Protestant school boards. By 1972, some form of immersion was offered in 15 Ontario school boards. However, these programs were often quite small and rudimentary. One board in particular which wanted to develop its French immersion program was the Ottawa Public School Board. It would take a substantial investment to accomplish this, far above the current granting levels. The federal government took a keen interest in Ottawa's French immersion programs as a test drive for the "Special Projects" it was launching under the BEP. While the province was reluctant to give additional funding to only one board, it was persuaded to participate in a pilot project for the school boards of

the National Capital Region. In the end, all the boards in the region, public and separate, on both sides of the Quebec-Ontario border, participated in a special immersion project, which would result in a lasting French immersion system in the Ottawa region.[47] Significantly, the province was also able to secure agreement from the federal government to treat its French immersion programs as equivalent to the French minority language programs for formula purposes, which thus became eligible for the 9 per cent grant.[48]

Quebec

For the first few months of its operation in Quebec, the BEP was the furthest thing from the mind of the newly-elected Liberal government of Robert Bourassa. In October 1970, the FLQ kidnapped the British Trade Commissioner and the Quebec Labour Minister, plunging the province into chaos. While this incident is not directly connected with the beginnings of the BEP, it nevertheless made the provincial government very sensitive to the separatist threat, and to the charges of federal interference which erupted as a result of the Trudeau government's response to the October Crisis.

Of all the provinces, Quebec had the most developed system of both minority language and second language education. The official provincial position was that the federal grants were meant to reimburse the province for the work it had already done, as a form of "thank-you" for its good work. For ideological reasons, it refused to make any linkage between these funds and a federal role in the management of the provincial education system. Accordingly, the province put the federal grants into its consolidated funds, to help pay for all

of its educational costs.[49] In no way did the province make any direct connection between the federal grants and any new developments in the realm of minority language education or second language instruction, nor were provincial grants increased to school boards that offered these programs. As officials in the Department of Education stated, "Le Québec veut tout simplement plus d'argent à ce titre et que les subventions fédérales à cet effet continuent d'être les plus inconditionelles possible."[50]

One might be tempted to assume, given this standpoint, that the government was justified in this approach because the school boards were not trying to develop any new programs, and thus there was no reason to expect that their costs would be any higher than before. This was not, strictly speaking, the case. Bill 69, passed by the Union Nationale government, required additional French-language capacities of all graduates of the English-language school boards, and French-as-a-second-language was now required from Grade 1 until the end of secondary school.[51] No additional funding from the province was granted to cover the costs of these changes, and the regulation governing this requirement specifically denied the boards federal funds for this purpose. Quebec's English-language school boards had also begun to pilot French immersion programs, starting with the South Shore Board in 1965, and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM) in 1967. By 1972, three different streams of immersion programs (early-, mid- and late-immersion) were being offered by the Protestant school boards, and these programs were all expanding rapidly.[52] In 1973, the Conseil des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal

was also looking into developing French immersion programs for its English-language schools.[53]

All of these new language education programs required the expenditure of additional funds for textbooks, audio-visual materials, and the hiring of new teachers. However, the Quebec government did not give the school boards additional funding for these programs. This was a great concern to anglophone parents, who saw the new French-language provisions of Bill 69 as taking financial resources away from other programs.[54] Accordingly, the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations (QFHSA) began to take action to pressure the federal and provincial governments to pass the BEP grants along to the school boards. A series of three notable resolutions were passed at the 1973 Annual General Meeting of the QFHSA. Resolution 6, regarding the use of federal grants for the promotion of bilingualism in Quebec, read as follows:

> Be it resolved that the Federal Government be requested to modify the conditions under which these grants are made so that they may be available to both English- and French-speaking sectors for the teaching of English and French respectively.[55]

Resolution 7 called on the Commissioner of Official Languages to use his offices to get the terms and conditions of the grants changed. Resolution 8 read as follows:

> Be it resolved that the funds made available by the Federal Government to the Department of Education in Quebec for the promotion of bilingualism be allocated and applied, at least in part, to the creation of those conditions in our English language schools favourable to the improvement of the teaching of French language so that obstacles such as the presently existing teacher-pupil ratio of 27 to 1 may be eased in favour of a ratio of 15 to 1.[56]

The proposed ratio was in line with Department of Education regulations for the teaching of foreign languages, although this was not applied at that time for FSL courses.

The QFHSA's actions were not limited to passing resolutions. Representatives of the QFHSA met with officials of the Department of Education, only to be told that there was no relationship between the federal grants and the provincial formula for school board grants,[57] an explicit refusal of intrastate federalism and a federal role in education. The QFHSA kept up a steady information flow to its membership on this issue via its regular newsletter. The association also approached federal Members of Parliament for assistance in its quest for provincial accountability. MPs from Quebec were approached in the hopes that they would bring the issue of accountability to the House of Commons. They achieved some success in convincing MPs, particularly those from the opposition parties, to raise these issues during Question Period.[58]

Additional funding for English-language Protestant and Catholic schools was not, however, a major concern of the Quebec government. It was content with the extensive provisions it made for its anglophone students, which even extended to transportation arrangements for students who did not live in districts where English-language schools existed.[59] As regards the federal program, Quebec was more interested in collaboration with the other provinces to strengthen *their* minority- and second-language programs, through teacher training, development of instructional materials, and exchange programs.[60] The province did, however, indicate an interest in the new special projects annex

being developed, and tried to get the terms of reference changed so that it could submit FSL projects for funding.[61]

The major priority of the Quebec government was not connected with the federal government, or with promoting a stronger English-language program. The Gendron Commission (Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language Rights in Quebec), which had been commissioned in 1969, finally submitted its report in 1972. The report noted the predominance of the English language in the Quebec economy, and the clustering of francophones in lower-level jobs. The Gendron Commission considered the promotion of the French language in the economy as the key to improving the status of francophones, and to attracting immigrants to use the French language. Its members reasoned that educational choices were being made to prepare workers for the economy, thus a French-speaking economy would provide the incentive for immigrants to send their children to French schools. Gendron further recommended that French be declared the official language of Quebec.[62]

The Bertrand government's response to the French-language issue, Bill 69, had not been popular in francophone Quebec. Robert Bourassa's Liberal government thus had to develop an appropriate response to the Gendron Commission's report; one which would transform the operating language of the province, particularly its economy, to French. Part of this response would entail crafting the education system of the province to build and serve a French-language economy.[63] As we shall see in the next chapter, this partly took the form of legislation to limit access to English-language education and push

allophones (those who have a mother tongue which is neither English nor French) into the French-language schools. While this legislation would not be passed until 1974, its provisions were already being considered by the government of Quebec when it was negotiating the renewal of the BEP.

New Brunswick

As in Ontario, the implementation of the BEP in New Brunswick was be carried out under the auspices of a different government than had negotiated it. The Progressive Conservative government of Richard Hatfield replaced the Liberal government of Louis Robichaud in 1970. However, Hatfield was strongly committed to the idea of a fully bilingual province and a full range of services in French for the Acadian population, and thus continued the bilingualism agenda begun by his predecessor. As the following discussion of the early years of the BEP in New Brunswick will show, there were a number of commonalities with Ontario's early development, and yet some key differences as well.

The main way in which New Brunswick differed from Ontario is the manner in which it administered the formula grants. By 1970, New Brunswick was still in the process of implementing the Equal Opportunities Program. This entailed a major revamping of the province's administration and funding of its school boards, the primary focus of which was bringing the French-language school boards up to parity with the English-language ones. Funding for the school boards had recently been transferred from local property taxes to a provincial taxation formula. Since the province was paying the full cost of the public school boards, English and French, the federal formula payments were

deposited into the consolidated funds of the province, from which all departments, including Education, received their funding.[64] Accordingly, while the province was spending money to improve the Acadian school boards and schools, the BEP grants were not earmarked in such a way as to be seen to be flowing directly to the boards.

This lack of clear visibility in the transfer of federal funds to the school boards led to the first major commonality between Ontario and New Brunswick. Even before ACFO and *Le Droit* were investigating the use of federal funds in Ontario, the Société Nationale des Acadiens (SNA) and the French-language newspaper *Évangeline* were conducting an inquiry into New Brunswick's use of the federal BEP grants.[65] These inquiries began in March 1971, and Acadian leaders and journalists would continue to badger the government on this issue over the course of the subsequent years. The SNA went so far as to lodge an official complaint with the Commissioner of Official Languages over the use of the federal grants.[66] The Commissioner was unable to intervene, as education is a provincial matter not under its jurisdiction, but this episode is nevertheless indicative of the levels to which the SNA would go to fight for Acadian education rights.[67]

The SNA had hoped, and was supported by a number of English-language boards in this respect, that the province would transfer the federal grants directly to school boards, which would then decide how to allocate the funds.[68] Provincial authorities, for their part, considered bilingualism as something which could be best accomplished through a system-wide approach,

rather than piecemeal through individual boards.[69] Indeed, this approach parallels Ottawa's approach to language policy at the national level. However, inquiries by the SNA, and its successor organisation, the Société des Acadiens du Nouveau Brunswick (SANB),[70] did manage to get the province to better demonstrate its use of the BEP funds; soon after, the government began providing figures about its spending on minority and second language education in the province. Over time, the provincial government would also develop better accountability procedures to satisfy both the Acadian organisations and the federal government.[71]

The SNA and then the SANB were not only concerned with the administration of federal funds. There were a number of other goals within the Department of Education that they were trying to accomplish. In 1971, the SNA called for the Department to be reorganised into two sections, divided on a linguistic basis, to counter the under-representation of Acadians in the Department.[72] While there was an Acadian Deputy Minister, the level of services for the French-language school boards were still not on par with the English-language boards, and only 20 per cent of department staff were French-speaking, many of whom were clustered in the lower levels of the administration.[73] By 1973, the province would begin to respond to these demands, appointing the McLeod-Pinet Commission to propose methods of reorganizing the Department of Education.[74]

Recognizing that this commission's recommendations (which would be responded to in 1974) could have long-lasting effects on Acadian education in

New Brunswick, the SNA submitted numerous briefs calling for a complete reorganisation of the educational system. At issue was not only the question of duality within the Department of Education, but, as in Ontario, the elimination of the detested bilingual schools. These schools had been viciously attacked in an editorial in *Évangeline*, as the following extract shows:

> Un système scolaire bilingue est une utopie et un instrument d'assimilation. Sciemment ou non, c'est fonder une génération de jeunes qui ne seront ni francophones ni anglophones. Bravo, diront certaines personnes bien pensantes, enfin nous aurons des Canadiens. N'allons-nous pas plutôt former des monstres qui n'auront plus d'attache avec leur héritage culturel dans le sens large du mot.[75]

By the 1960s, the Acadian leadership of New Brunswick had begun to adopt a much more assertive position. New and younger leaders, committed to the full participation of Acadians in the political, social and economic life of the province, came to the forefront of the Acadian associations. After decades of bilingual public schools which led more to assimilation and weak French-language skills than to bilingualism and a strong Acadian culture, unilingual French-language schools were seen as essential to the preservation of the French language and Acadian culture in New Brunswick. While the Acadian leaders recognized that English-speakers in New Brunswick may want their children to become bilingual, they did not believe that putting English-speaking children into Acadian schools would be the best way to accomplish this, particularly given the detrimental impacts this would have on Acadian children.

Unlike the situation in Ontario, and more comparable to Manitoba, second language instruction took a back seat in New Brunswick's approach to the BEP. A fairly comprehensive mandatory second language program was built in to the

education curriculum, but the implementation of this had been very uneven. A study conducted in February 1974 found that FSL teaching in the province varied widely across the province, ranging from 40 to 150 minutes per week, depending on the school, and there was a major shortage of qualified teachers.[76] Of the teachers currently working in the FSL programs, 40 per cent lacked a university degree, 50 per cent had never taken a theoretical course on second language teaching, 74 per cent had never taken a methodological course on second language teaching, and 30 per cent had not spent any time in a francophone milieu.[77] The province used some of the federal grants to experiment with French immersion, but no concrete policy on this had yet been developed, nor had much been done to improve the core FSL programs.[78]

Second language instruction was even worse on the French side. The programs had operated on the assumption that Acadian students would merely "pick up" English through cultural influences, but as evaluation proceeded, the major weaknesses of this approach became abundantly clear.[79] The province was not, however, receiving any federal funding to deal with the ESL issue. Thus, while New Brunswick had been directing federal monies into improving its French-language education programs, it still had some major hurdles to overcome to standardize and improve its second language programs, and to move towards a fuller expression of duality at the departmental and school board levels.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia lagged far behind its Maritime neighbour of New Brunswick in all aspects of its official language education programs. By 1970 Nova Scotia had practically no FSL programs at the elementary school level, and French minority language education existed in a quasi-legal manner in isolated pockets of the province. There was a single person at the Department of Education responsible for all language education, and the Acadian committee, formed in the late 1960s, was strictly a consultative body without decision-making powers. In many respects, Nova Scotia was unlike its Acadian neighbour New Brunswick, or Manitoba, which had a comparably-sized francophone population, and it bore a closer resemblance to the Western province of Alberta.

Nova Scotia's initial distribution of formula funding bears out this comparison to Alberta. The Department of Education had indicated prior to 1970 that it was inclined to let local school board initiatives drive its participation in the BEP, and it was true to its word. The formula grants were transferred, almost in their entirety, to the school boards on the basis of FTEs.[80] This would prove to be beneficial for regions such as Clare county, with large concentrations of Acadians, which were thus able to develop new programs and develop libraries for their existing Acadian schools. The system was not as favourable, however, for areas where francophones in a minority position wanted to develop brand new programs.

Such was the case in Halifax, where a group of francophone and Acadian parents wanted to start French-language classes and a school. This initiative began in 1969 while negotiations for the BEP were underway. These parents

worked together with English-speaking parents who wanted to develop a French immersion program. Initially, the new school was supposed to serve both purposes: French minority language education, and French immersion.[81] The committee lobbying for this proposal ran into numerous roadblocks. The program was turned down by the Halifax School Board in 1970, citing lack of available space for the program, as expanding music and art programs were occupying the needed classrooms. The program was also rejected for a lack of federal funds in 1970 (the BEP not yet being approved), and because the commissioners believed that the school should be for FML only, as the objectives of this program and immersion were quite different.[82] Not deterred by this initial rejection, the project was re-submitted in 1971. This time, the program was initially approved, if only by a 4-3 vote. The dissenting commissioners believed that there was no need for FML programs, since the province was not officially bilingual. Ironically, given the reasons for the rejection of the 1970 proposal, they also raised the issues of the rights of anglophones who wanted to learn French but could not get into this program. They also criticized the extra costs involved and the separatist overtones of such an initiative.[83] This "separatist" theme was taken up by the local press, which denounced the program in at least six editorials.[84] In the end, the board caved to public pressure on this issue, failed to promote the new program in the community, and cancelled it within six weeks, citing a lack of interest. A French-language school for Halifax would have to wait.

Minority language education in Nova Scotia had an uphill battle to fight, and not only with the provincial government and the anglophone population. The

Acadians themselves were leery of a homogenous French-language school system. A position taken by the Fédération Francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FFNE) in favour of unilingual schools in 1970 "n'a fait que provoqué chez la population une méfiance et de nombreuses inquiétudes".[85] Thus, the first priority for the Nova Scotia Acadian leaders was to begin at home with an information campaign targeting Acadian parents and children about the need to preserve and develop the Acadian culture in Nova Scotia.[86] They also had to overcome parental discomfort with these programs.[87] The first step of the FFNE's campaign was to promote a vision of Acadian schools as a tool to advance bilingualism in Nova Scotia.[88] They were supported by the Acadian committee at the Department of Education, which called for the Acadian schools to adopt a policy of all-French teaching for the first three grades, a French atmosphere in the classes, and 50 per cent of the school textbooks in French.[89]

The other major front for the Acadian leaders was at the departmental level. A steady lobbying effort was maintained to have a departmental official named exclusively responsible for Acadian schools. The legal recognition of Acadian schools under the *Education Act* was also a major priority.[90] They were successful in sparking the creation of a special consultative committee on French language instruction, curriculum and community interests, which was formed in 1973. The committee was largely composed of representatives from Acadian regions and institutions, and worked in consultation with the Committee on Acadian Studies to make recommendations to the Department of Education, including all issues related to the BEP.[91]

On other aspects of the Bilingualism in Education Program, progress in Nova Scotia was uneven. While predominantly Acadian boards did invest the funds from the grants program into new books and teachers for the extended French program, the predominantly English-speaking boards tended to concentrate their use of funds on audio-visual materials.[92] While some of these purchases could be linked directly to the French programs, such as audiocassettes and filmstrips, others, such as tape recorders and film projectors, had a more tenuous connection. Some English-speaking boards did make good use of these funds, however. In the 1973-74 school year, the Department of Education approved FSL as an optional course at the elementary school level.[93] Five school boards exercised this option and used BEP funds to hire FSL specialists.[94] As a result, enrolment in FSL at the elementary level increased from 7,000 students to 23,000 students over the span of one year.

Between 1971 and 1974, another player was involved in the education sector in Nova Scotia. The Graham Commission, a Royal Commission on Education, Public Services, and Provincial-Municipal Relations, held its inquiries during this period. The Acadian associations were optimistic that this commission might hold the key to achieving a number of their goals. As a result, the various associations submitted briefs to the Graham Commission, outlining their concerns, including the French school in Halifax, the deteriorating state of Collège Ste-Anne, the anglicization of the Acadian population, and the lack of policy direction on French-language education.[95] While the Commission would not produce its report until 1974, after the BEP renewal, it was certainly well-

briefed on the Acadian issues, and thus held the potential to make important recommendations for the future.

The Federal Government – More than a Passive Observer

The Bilingualism in Education Program was not the final response of the federal government to the reports of the RCBB. In 1971, the Secretary of State launched its Official Language Minority Groups Program, which funded minority language community and pressure groups in the various provinces. Through this program, the Canadian federal government was both stepping in to fill the gap left by the withdrawal of the Catholic Church and the Quebec government from this sector. At the same time, it was funding organisations which would work to support its agenda in other aspects of its bilingualism programs, including the BEP.[96] The federal government did not intend for the OLMG to be a cure-all, however, and encouraged these groups to continue to engage in community mobilization and fundraising, so that they would not become completely dependent on the federal government.[97] However, through this program, Ottawa was again asserting a new role as defender of group interests that were being overlooked by the provinces, and thus bolstering its defence of intrastate federalism.

The other major initiative of the federal government was the Multiculturalism Directorate established over the course of 1970 and 1971. The federal government actively rejected the biculturalism premise of the RCBB's mandate and reports, and chose instead to stress the concept of a multicultural Canada with two official languages; a Canada in which the citizenry, rather than

the state, would determine the nation's culture.[98] In this respect the federal government was supported by representatives from numerous multicultural groups, who had perceived the work of the RCBB as marginalizing them, and relegating their communities to third-class status. This initiative was also favourably received in the Western provinces, where multiculturalism, not biculturalism, was the provincial reality. The Multiculturalism program was less enthusiastically (to put it mildly) received in French-speaking Canada, especially in Francophone Quebec. French-Canadians saw this program as weakening their status in the country, and believed that it would threaten their quest for language rights, because it undermined the concept of a pan-Canadian cultural and linguistic duality.[99] However, as government action over the next decade would prove, Ottawa's main priority lay with bilingualism, and backed this up with substantially more financial resources than it allocated to multiculturalism.

The federal government was also actively monitoring the manner in which the BEP was unfolding. Concerns had been raised by organisations such as the SNA and the Fédération canadienne-française de l'Ouest (FCFO) over the manner in which the grants were being used by the provinces. In the Western provinces, there were concerns that too much of the money was going to English-speaking students, and that the grants were being used to lower local tax rates.[100] Accordingly, the federal government began to step up efforts to gain accountability for the use of BEP funds, and made public its concerns over the possibility that these funds were being diverted to other purposes.[101] Over the next few years, concerns would be raised both in the newspapers and in the

House of Commons over how the provinces were using the federal government's money.[102]

Ottawa's take on the evolution of the BEP was not altogether negative, however. Public speeches by Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner stressed how this program was beginning to open lines of communication between English- and French-Canada: "malgré le chemin qu'il nous reste à parcourir, il y avait au moins lieu de se réjouir du fait que les communications avaient été rétablies, et de ressentir à juste titre une certaine fierté devant le progrès déjà accomplis."[103] The federal government was, however, aware of the need to clarify the program's objectives to the public, and to make its objectives clear. The public had to be made aware that basic FSL programs would not produce fully bilingual children in the span of five to ten years, but that these programs could provide the foundation for those who chose to become bilingual.[104] The federal officials also wanted to increase the visibility of the program, particularly the federal role in funding the program, which had been somewhat lacking.[105]

Overall, federal officials were fairly pleased with the initial progress of the BEP, although additional accountability and evaluation were desired and stressed in the Cabinet decision to extend the program for an additional five years.[106] This decision was strongly supported by MPs and Senators representing French-Canadian, Acadian and Quebec ridings, including Jean-Robert Gauthier and Roméo Leblanc, who pressed the government to maintain its involvement in the defence of minority language education.[107] The BEP was also perceived to be a more likely candidate for long-term success than the

Bilingualism in the Public Service approach had been. Programs in the schools were seen as more effective as a long-term approach to bilingualism in the country, than the eleventh-hour approach with middle-aged civil servants.[108] As such, at the end of the first stage, the federal government was willing to proceed without any major alterations to the program.

National developments in the Bilingualism in Education Program

When the initial arrangements were made for the Bilingualism in Education Program, a number of specific details were left unaddressed, including the nebulous concept of catch-up programs. The RCBB had also made a number of other recommendations concerning minority and second language education which had not been incorporated into the September 1970 agreements. To address these recommendations, the Sub-committee on Official Languages held a final meeting in 1971 to consider ways in which additional financial assistance could be channelled to these purposes.

On 20 January 1972, additional arrangements were announced which addressed some of these other recommendations. The 1972 arrangements were hitherto referred to as the annex programs. Annex A was targeted at university education, and provided between $7 and $8 million per year to universities offering minority language education programs, particularly for those with minority-language teacher training facilities. Annex B provided minority language students with travel bursaries to allow them to study in their own language at post-secondary institutions elsewhere in Canada. This was of particular importance for students in the Western provinces, who did not live in close

proximity to French-language universities. Annex C provided grants of $100,000 per province for the construction or improvement of language training centres. Annex D provided 5,000 bursaries per year for short-term training programs for second language teachers. Annex E established 300 fellowships, worth $2,000 each, for students specializing in their second official language who wanted to undergo special immersion sessions.[109] Finally, Annex F dealt with the "catch-up" programs concept by creating the "Special Projects" grants. These grants were intended for short-term programs (one to three years), targeted at very specific objectives related to the development of bilingualism in education. Provinces could propose programs, which if accepted by the federal government, would be paid for on a shared-cost basis: 50 per cent from the federal government, and 50 per cent from the province. Examples of the special projects included the immersion pilot program in Ottawa-Hull, and curriculum development projects. Most of these annex programs, with the exception of the special projects, would not be contentious over subsequent years, but nevertheless played important roles in fostering the expansion of minority- and second-language instruction in Canada.

In addition, the federal government launched two other programs related to official languages in education which existed outside of the BEP umbrella. In 1971, it launched the Summer Language Bursary Program, a scholarship program which provided grants to post-secondary students who wanted to undergo a short-term intensive training program in their second language during the summer months. In 1973, this was followed up with the Official Language

Monitors Program, where students from either official language would work together with a teacher in a school where their language was the minority language. Both of these programs were funded completely by the federal government, and administered by the Council of Ministers of Education Canada.[110]

The BEP was supposed to be subject to an evaluation after a period of 18 months. The results of this evaluation, which was conducted individually by the provinces, were not available until 1973. Table 4.1 indicates the aggregate data collected on the development of minority and second language instruction over the span of the program to 1972/3.

Table 4.1 Student Participation in Minority-Language Education and Second-Language Instruction, 1970-1973[111]

	Atlantic	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies
Elementary MLE	95.41	105.32	97.05	132.90
Secondary MLE	104.69	124.46	105.15	115.60
Elementary SLI	93.85	95.16	107.53	105.30
Secondary SLI	93.85	108.46	96.74	102.14

The above table uses 1970 as the baseline (100) for the calculation of the level of student participation in these programs. A number of trends are already evident, even after a period of three years, some positive and some negative. All programs in the Western provinces experienced growth over the period, particularly minority language education programs. Enrolment in minority language programs also tended to increase at the secondary level across the country, although there was uneven development at the elementary level. Second language instruction also was beginning to grow at the elementary level

in Ontario and the West, reflecting the emphasis placed on this by those governments. On the whole, however, secondary participation in second language instruction was falling off. Part of this could be attributed to the change in university requirements, but other factors were also playing a role, including a continuing shortage of second language teachers, and a wider range of options for students to choose from.

A number of other trends were beginning to develop across the board. Minority language education programs were discovered to cost more than the formulas provided, largely because of the geographic distribution of the minority language communities, which led to either high transportation costs, or schools with below-average enrolment.[112] An awareness was also developing, with regards to the second-language instruction sector, that the twenty minute per day core French programs in existence in most provinces were not very effective, if not counter-productive.[113] Consequently, a new approach to core French was needed, and the provinces set up a joint task force under the CMEC to share second language teaching learnings and to develop more effective French-language textbooks.[114] Immersion programs were also starting to attract increasing interest from English-speaking parents, and provinces were tending to introduce FSL programs at an earlier stage of the child's education.

Following the introduction of the Multiculturalism program by the Canadian government, this initiative attracted increased attention from the Western provinces, who began to discuss the possibility of broadening the BEP to include funding for multilingual programming.[115] Demographic shifts were also beginning

to act as a major constraint on all of the provinces. School enrolments had begun to drop off, making it more difficult to afford new programs. As such, the Special Projects, which offered 50 per cent federal funding for small initiatives, looked increasingly attractive to the provinces with less-developed programs, who began to take a more active interest in this aspect of the program, as can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Federal Grants under the Bilingualism in Education Program, 1970-1974[116]

Program	1970-71	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74
Alberta:				
MLE	131,983	178,634	175,658	131,757
SLI	579,653	680,007	578,196	410,827
Special Projects	-	-	-	49,770
Manitoba:				
MLE	236,057	356,309	392,309	304,147
SLI	354,959	465,742	408,601	288,114
Special Projects	-	-	-	2,130
Ontario:				
MLE	7,127,873	11,315,267	9,849,543	10,733,459
SLI	3,061,979	4,674,307	3,971,881	4,229,429
Special Projects	-	-	-	2,101,000
Quebec:				
MLE	21,299,852	23,798,306	19,827,598	31,823,646
SLI	5,635,954	6,644,155	5,860,155	8,731,620
Special Projects	-	-	-	459,012
New Brunswick:				
MLE	2,816,979	4,057,212	3,678,871	3,939,255
SLI	218,585	320,759	289,475	291,886
Special Projects	-	-	21,775	197,478
Nova Scotia:				
MLE	344,598	324,787	341,593	250,987
SLI	310,323	349,733	347,621	296,889
Special Projects	-	-	-	7,035

Conclusions from the First Agreement

As the Bilingualism in Education Program came up to its first renewal period, scheduled for March 1974, it was difficult to come to any firm conclusions about the success of the program, pedagogical or otherwise. The renewal period itself was not one of any vigorous discussions or fights over contentious issues. This fact largely reflects the era of flux which the targeted programs were experiencing. As one may have noted from the preceding discussion, changes were afoot in most of the provinces, but the results of these changes were not yet clear. The Maritime provinces were still awaiting and considering the implications of the reports of their Education commissions, and thus any major change in direction was still on hold. Quebec was developing the legislation that would become Bill 22, but this too had not yet crystallised. Manitoba had received the Tremblay report, and was in the process of creating a formal structure to respond to the needs of the Franco-Manitoban community, but this was not yet in operation in early 1974. Accordingly, most of the provinces were in a holding pattern with their official language programs, awaiting the results of commissions or legislation in progress, and thus were not inclined to take any decisive new stances on the BEP's direction.

Even in provinces and sectors where there were no major reports or legislation in preparation, it was still considered too early to make any major judgements on the success of the current direction of the program. The targeted granting formulas established in Manitoba and Ontario were still in their infancy. Likewise, the structures established for French-language education, such as Ontario's Council on French Language Schools, Nova Scotia's Acadian

Committee, and Manitoba's French Education section, were still trying to establish their footing. No province had yet established a concrete evaluation and accountability mechanism to track the federal funding, and thus this period was rife with accusations of misdirection of funds, allegations which were difficult to prove, but nevertheless quite believable.

Francophone minority language associations had taken an active interest in the new programs available through the BEP, and had begun to devote increasing amounts of their resources to ensuring that these programs were expanded and developed. Their capacity to engage in this lobbying had been strengthened by the advent of the OLMG, which gave them a more stable funding base for their activities, and one thus notes that the federal government was already beginning to use the embedded state to advance its agenda. However, in many provinces, particularly those in the West and the Maritimes, these associations were still fighting against long-held internal concerns of their own communities, which had to be overcome in order to build support for homogenous minority-language education, including classes and schools. For the most part, these associations had to focus on small, incremental gains that could be made in FML programming.

Second-language instruction was also unstable in this period. While these programs were being expanded to additional grade levels, there was more freedom of choice in the educational systems of the country, and many students were opting to drop FSL in secondary school. Although the press releases that accompanied the 1970 launch of the BEP had mentioned limiting second

language funding to only five-to-ten years, nobody was mentioning the possibility of ending this funding at the 1974 renewal. Immersion, on the other hand, was proving to be a very popular experiment, as the initial studies of these programs showed that they were producing significantly higher levels of French-language fluency than the core FSL programs.[117] In 1974 though, the programs that did exist were still in their infancy, and had yet to produce their first graduating classes.

Overall, as the March 1974 renewal loomed closer, most of the new language programs in the country were still in their early stages of development, and the governments were trying to solidify the gains which had occurred to date. Some ambitious new programs were in the works in some provinces, but these were either brand new, or were not scheduled to begin until after the renewal. As such, the status quo was satisfactory for most of the provinces, at least until the longer-term consequences of their current initiatives could be assessed. The main exception to this rule was the province of Quebec, which had not done anything differently over the span of the first agreement. Quebec, in contrast to the other provinces, was beginning to try to shore up the status of its majority language, French. This development which would have subtle, but important consequences for the 1974 renewal.

Chapter Five:

Tensions Rising – The 1974 Renewal to the Election of the Parti Québécois, November 1976

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Introduction

In 1974, less than four full years after the Bilingualism in Education Program was formally announced, the agreements came up for renewal. As the previous chapter demonstrated, neither the federal government nor the provinces were prepared to undertake major negotiations to change the format of the program at this juncture. The impact of the BEP was only beginning to be noticeable, and many provinces were still deciding on the directions that they wished to follow regarding their minority and second language instructional programs. This relatively tranquil state of affairs would change rapidly in the latter half of the decade, but this was not yet the case at the time of the Winter 1974 renewal process.

Despite the relatively calm atmosphere which prevailed while the provisions of the renewal were determined, a few substantial changes were enacted. This chapter will begin by examining the changes which were written into the BEP in March 1974. The bulk of this chapter will then be devoted to an analysis of the continued impact and evolution of the program until the fall of 1976. After this point, the approaches of the Canadian and provincial governments to issues of language policy and English-French relations would be forever changed. The election of the Parti Québécois to a majority government in November 1976 brought home to English Canada the seriousness of the secessionist threat. It polarized debates over issues of language in Canada, thoroughly destabilizing the relatively calm atmosphere in which Ottawa's programs to promote bilingualism had been developing. Moreover, it severely

threatened Ottawa's attempts to promote intrastate federalism, and would force the Canadian government to rethink its approach to official languages policy.

The 1974 Renewal

The decision to renew the BEP on the basis of its existing structure had been granted federal cabinet approval in January 1974.[1] Shortly afterwards, provincial representatives and the Secretary of State met in Halifax for their annual meeting to discuss the provisions of the BEP, and gave general assent to renewing the program for a second period of five years. The program had changed somewhat since its inception in 1970, most notably with the addition of the annex programs. For the second renewal period, the program was expanding to include the Yukon and Northwest Territories as participants. Some of the players in the negotiations had also changed. Hugh Faulkner replaced Gérard Pelletier as Secretary of State in late 1972, and Jules Léger was no longer undersecretary of State. For the most part, however, the governments involved in the program at the provincial level (in fact, all of the ones being studied in detail here) had not changed in political stripe, although there were some new ministers at the table.

In large measure, the BEP renewal maintained of the status quo. The program was renewed for a period of an additional five years, commencing on 1 April 1974. The formula payments were largely left untouched, as were the annex programs. There were some minor modifications: provinces were allowed a greater flexibility in their use of annex program funding, and the 9 per cent formula was expanded to cover French immersion programs in some cases.[2] The Canadian government (and the provincial bureaucrats) assumed that the

amount to be spent on the program would remain fairly constant, at an average of $70 million per year. While there had been some rumblings in Ottawa about a need for greater evaluation and accountability provisions, these had not crystallized into concrete action, and no new provisions to this effect were included in the renewal.

Change did occur at the level of the program objectives. The objectives of the second agreement read as follows:

> To ensure that, insofar as it is feasible, Canadians of either official language have the opportunity to educate their children in their own language, and that Canadian students have the opportunity to learn, as a second language, the other official language of Canada.[3]

The original objectives of the first BEP agreement had used slightly different terminology, as follows:

> To ensure that, insofar as it is feasible, Canadians have the opportunity to educated their children in the official language of their choice and that children have the opportunity to learn, as a second language, the other official language of their country.[4]

While at first glance these objectives seem to be fundamentally similar, if worded slightly differently, the reality was quite otherwise. Although federal officials would later claim that the change in wording was simply for the sake of clarity, the reality is that the target groups of the program had been modified. The replacement of "Canadians" with "Canadians of either official language," and "official language of their choice" with "their own language," restricted access to the benefits of the program quite markedly. Through this re-wording of the program objectives, Canadians whose mother tongue was other than English or French were not covered in the program objectives. Thus, a provincial decision

to deny them access to minority language schools would not contravene the new BEP objectives. Under these changes, similar restrictions could also be applied to members of the majority language community, such as English-speaking Ontarians or French-speaking Quebeckers, who wished to send their children to the minority language schools of their province.

While newspapers did report the fact that the BEP had been renewed, and even included the text of the new objectives, no comment was made about the fact that the wording of the program objectives had, in fact, been modified. For the most part, officials involved in administering the program tried to dismiss this change as being one that was made for the sake of clarity. There were, however, pressures which lay behind this change. Jane Dobell, the Director-general of the Language Programs Branch of the Secretary of State from 1975 to 1977, noted that there had been complaints from French-speaking parents who believed that their children's progress in French was hampered by the presence of English-speaking students in the classroom.[5] As we shall see in our discussion of Quebec during this period, the Bourassa government was also crafting legislation to restrict access to its English-language schools, and would thus have favoured the wording of the revised objectives.

The press coverage of the 1974 renewal was less prominent than that which had accompanied the initial agreement; articles concerning the renewal of 27 March 1974 tended to be relegated to the middle of the news sections. Many papers, including the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald, Toronto Star* and *Winnipeg Free Press*, passed on the news item altogether. The changed objectives did not

appear as an item of note in any of the major daily newspapers. Instead, the hook for the newspapers which did mention the renewal were the statements made by René Matte, Social Credit MP for Champlain, decrying the fact that anglophone Quebeckers were eligible for the grants under the program. For Matte, this was a waste of funds, as this community was already well-established and funded, and was not fighting a battle for survival, as was the case for francophone minorities in the other provinces.[6] Interestingly, Matte must have been oblivious to the manner in which the BEP funds were used in his home province: to pad the provincial treasury. The remainder of the coverage centred on the general consensus of support for the program which was expressed by Conservative and NDP Members of Parliament, who saw this program as promoting a bilingual Canada, and as being a more effective means of reaching bilingualism than language training for MPs and civil servants.[7] Indeed, this consensus was critical, as the 1974 renewal occurred during the brief Liberal minority government. Thus, while the objectives of the BEP had changed, this initially passed without notice. The provinces could now begin their planning for the second five-year phase of the program.

Quebec

Although the Gendron Commission had focused its attentions on the economy, rather than education, as the sector most likely to bring about a revitalisation of the status of the French language in Quebec, the government of Robert Bourassa did not take this completely to heart. Bill 22, *The Official Language Act*, was introduced in the provincial legislature in 1974. Its main provisions did,

in fact, stress the role of French in the economy of Quebec, employing a number of incentives to encourage businesses to undergo a process of francisation.[8] It also made French the only official language of the province, although it did not abrogate rights to the use of English in the courts and the legislature, which were protected under section 133 of the *British North America Act, 1867.* In the education sector, the legislation went significantly beyond the Gendron Commission's recommendations. Bill 22 decreed that admission to English-language schools would be limited to children who had a "sufficient knowledge" of English.[9] The manner in which this would be determined was on the basis of language tests.

In effect, the provisions of Bill 22 were intended to limit access to the English-language schools to children of the anglophone minority in the province, and to coerce allophone parents into sending their children to the French-language schools. Supporters of Bill 22 hoped this would stem the tide of allophone assimilation into the anglophone community. Bill 22 pleased nobody, even the Québécois nationalists it was intended to appease. They argued that the provisions of the bill were too vague, and easily circumvented by tutoring or by non-compliant school board officials. Indeed, experience would prove the nationalists correct, as allophone Quebeckers who wanted their children educated in English found numerous ways to circumvent the legislation and its complex regulations.

The coincidence of Bill 22's introduction with the modified objectives of the Bilingualism in Education Program was not lost on supporters of the English-

language school boards of Quebec. The Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations, which had long been opposed to the BEP's provisions which treated Quebec as a unilingual French monolith,[10] was quick to realize the implications of the new objectives for Quebec. While the QFHSA was told by the Secretary of State that the change in wording was merely for the sake of clarification,[11] the fact that the objectives no longer implied any support for non-anglophone students in the English-language schools of Quebec was clear to its leaders.[12] The QFHSA joined the multitude of organisations decrying the language tests of Bill 22, and urged the federal government to disallow the legislation. In this respect, it was disappointed. The Trudeau government announced in October of 1974 that it would not challenge the bill.[13]

While their quest to overturn Bill 22 had ended in disappointment, the QFHSA continued to lead the fight for changes to the application of the BEP in Quebec. At the root of its concern was the fact that the government did not transfer any of the additional grants to the school boards, while at the same time it was imposing new requirements on the boards for the expanded provision of FSL, and language tests at graduation. No such expansion of ESL was required of the French boards, and indeed this expansion had been resisted by francophones on the grounds that it would harm programs such as Art and Physical Education, precisely the impact that the FSL requirements were having in the English schools.[14] At a minimum, if the province was not going to pass along additional funds for the English language program, the QFHSA hoped to at least secure funding for the new FSL programs.

The QFHSA adopted a multi-pronged strategy. Its leaders met with senior officials of the Department of Education, demanding that the English-language boards receive a share of the BEP grants, particularly if they were to be forced to provide more FSL.[15] They also began a letter-writing campaign to federal MPs in the winter of 1975, outlining their concerns about the use of the federal grants.[16] In April 1976, the QFHSA passed another series of resolutions aimed at gaining accountability for the BEP grants:

> Resolution 76/10 – Use of Federal Grants for Minority Language Schools in Quebec. BIRT a brief be submitted to the Department of Education to Quebec to: 1) demonstrate the need for these funds now being received by Quebec under the 9% formula and 2) demand that these funds be passed on in the form of supplementary grants to minority language boards.
>
> Resolution 76/12 – Renewal of Federal/Provincial Agreement on Grants for Bilingualism –1979. "BIRT that our federation prepare a submission to the Federal government to demand that any new agreement (or renewal) will include the following: a) Clear guidelines for the provinces as to the application of these funds; b) Require proof or demonstration (by audit) that the application conformed to these guidelines; c) Acceptance of the above principles shall be a prerequisite for the granting of funds.[17]

To put these, and related resolutions, into action, the Federation produced a brief for the federal and provincial governments outlining the manner in which the BEP had been implemented in the province.[18] The brief stressed the decline in funding and falling enrolment in the Protestant Boards, and how the new FSL programs were leading to a decline in their ability to hire specialists for programs such as Art, Music and Physical Education.

The QFHSA's actions soon attracted the attention of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM). The PSBGM commissioners were upset about the fact that the Ottawa-Hull district boards were receiving French

immersion funding, while their board was not eligible this type of funding. Nor were the school boards permitted to submit special project proposals directly to the Secretary of State, since federal guidelines stipulated that these proposals must go through provincial channels.[19] Use of these channels was unlikely to be successful, given the resistance of the Department of Education to provide additional funds for FSL. Led by trustee Winifred Potter, the past editor of the QFHSA News, the PSBGM decided to support the efforts of the QFHSA to get accountability for the BEP grants, and passed a unanimous motion in July 1976 in support of the QFHSA resolutions.[20] The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards also noted this work, and supported these efforts.[21]

The QFHSA campaign had mixed results during the Liberal regime of Robert Bourassa. The letter-writing campaign aimed at federal MPs did attract some response. Ian Watson, MP for Laprairie, was one of the first MPs to respond to the campaign, and asked questions in the House about the use of the bilingual grants.[22] Conservative MPs from outside of Quebec also took an interest in the QFHSA's concerns. Harvie André, MP for Calgary Centre, noted that "there appears to be a great injustice perpetrated on the English speaking students of Quebec through the implementation of this programme in the province of Quebec and I will bring your view to the attention of the Commission of Official Languages."[23] Joe Clark, MP for Rocky Mountain, indicated that he "had not appreciated the discrimination against English-speaking students in Quebec who wish to have help in learning French."[24] While the federal government did not actively press the government of Quebec to provide FSL

funding directly to the English-language boards, it did indicate that the government was free to spend the grants on this purpose if it so chose, and was not bound by the agreement to only spend funds on ESL and EML programs. This effectively put the ball back in Quebec's court.[25] The campaign also raised increased awareness and concern in the federal government about how Quebec was using the grants. Officials from the Secretary of State noted that Quebec was not sufficiently acknowledging the grants, and called for an evaluation of how Quebec was using these funds.[26] If nothing else, the campaign put the BEP into the public eye, and exposed it to greater scrutiny by politicians.

While the QFHSA campaign did lead to more visibility and questioning of the program, its main objectives were left unattained. The federal government refused to provide the Federation with copies of the provincial accountability reports tabled in the House of Commons. It was told that this would require the consent of all ten provinces.[27] The federal government might have been willing to use the QFHSA concerns as leverage with the Quebec government, but it was unwilling to be completely open with a lobby group. Indeed, by the mid-1970s, the Quebec government had adopted a very hard-line approach to the Bilingualism in Education Program. In meetings with the QFHSA, ADM Claude Beauregard claimed that the provision of English education was all that was required of the province.[28] Regarding the FSL provisions, he argued that this was a priority set by the "collectivity," and that additional funding did not always follow new educational priorities. Furthermore, according to Beauregard, it did not cost the province more to provide English-language schools, and thus it

should not provide them with more funding. If the anglophone community of Quebec wanted to have education in the English language, they must be prepared to make sacrifices in order to have this.[29] In the view of the Quebec government, the education was being provided, so the QFHSA had nothing to complain about.

This hardline approach was taken vis-à-vis the federal government as well. Strategy documents produced by the Quebec government stressed the unconditional nature of the payments, and stated that the province should resist any initiative that would reduce payments to the province.[30] The province also wanted to push for greater flexibility in the special projects annex. Officials proposed a set envelope of money for each province to spend as it pleased: a proposal which would have significantly weakened Ottawa's control in the one part of the BEP over which it had significant priority-setting control.[31] Quebec was resistant to federal overtures for evaluation, outright rejecting any initiative entailing pedagogical evaluation.[32] Department of Education officials were wary of the federal government using proposed evaluation mechanisms as a means of controlling the special projects.[33] The province also rejected the federal premise that the BEP was intended to cover additional costs, which it believed did not exist in the province. Moreover, Quebec began to take a very legalistic approach to the BEP agreement, noting the fact that nowhere in the 1970 or 1974 objectives were the words "extra costs" or "supplementary costs" used.[34] Although this was technically true, a study of the context in which the BEP was created clearly indicates that the program was intended for these purposes.

By the end of 1976, the government of Quebec, under the leadership of Robert Bourassa, had staked out a very obstinate position of resisting any federal intervention via the BEP into Quebec's educational system. The QFHSA's resistance to Bill 22, and its awareness campaign aimed at the BEP had served to politicize the BEP, and English-language education in the province more broadly. The tension between the Ottawa and Quebec governments on issues of education and the nature of Canadian federalism was already palpable. In this sector, as in so many others, the situation would go from bad to worse with the election of the secessionist Parti Québécois in November 1976.

Alberta

Whereas Quebec was a flurry of activity in language legislation in the mid-1970s, some of which pertained to education, Alberta was relatively quiescent. French instructional programs were slowly expanded in various parts of the province over these years. The government also began to take advantage of the special projects, including a bilingual education research project at Collège St-Jean,[35] and the development of immersion programs in Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge.[36] The province continued to rely on a decentralized approach to the BEP, and grants to school boards were accompanied by a letter reading:

> It should be noted that the Department of Education is simply acting as an agency for transferring Federal funds to schools in which the French language is taught. Should the Federal Government decide at any time to terminate these funds for the teaching of French, such support will not be replaced by amounts from the Alberta Provincial Treasury.[37]

Some concerns had been raised by the federal government about irregularities in the province's reporting of educational statistics, such as 40-minute programs

qualifying for the 9 per cent formula and merging of second language and minority language reporting.[38] However, the province quickly took steps to clarify its reporting to the federal government, and was cited as one of the most clearly accountable provinces.[39] Alberta was also starting to reconsider its position on language education. Reacting to pressure from other ethno-cultural communities, a 1976 re-examination report argued that the province should give consideration to other programs which recognized the multilingual and multicultural nature of the province.[40]

One might argue that it was easy for the province to be accountable for its use of the funds, as French-language programming in Alberta was still fairly sparse, and limited to a half-day program. At the outset of the second agreement, ACFA was still fairly cautious in its approach to demanding further change from the government. The Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française (ACELF) noted that in Alberta, parents "manifestent un peu de lassitude. Les luttes incessantes les ont affaiblis."[41] While ACFA may have borne this in mind, it did nevertheless continue its campaign for expanded French-language programming. It called on the University of Alberta to purchase Collège St-Jean with the federal funds and make it a public institution.[42] It also called on the province join with the other Western provinces to create a collaborative Office in French Education, along the lines of the Quebec-Manitoba venture already in place. Moreover, ACFA continued to work to gain acceptance of a right to French language education in the province, and for the elimination of

the bilingual program's 50 per cent ceiling, as had been recommended by the Worth report.[43]

This campaign, conducted over the course of 1974 and 1975, was laying the groundwork for the Association's 50th anniversary conference, scheduled to be held in October 1976. This conference kick-started changes to French-language education in Alberta in multiple ways. At the conference, Julian Koziak, the Minister of Education, announced that his government was going to overturn the 50 per cent cap on French language education. His government raised the upper limit to 80 per cent under Regulation 250/76.[44]

While this change was a major step towards expanded French-language instruction in Alberta, the Manitoba experience had proven that the simple passage of permissive legislation did not necessarily lead to rapid expansion of programs. At the conference, ACFA moved to adopt a plan of action on education and to hire a coordinator for this initiative. ACFA resolved to make education its top priority for the next three years, and to adopt a persuasive political approach to secure government support for French language education.[45] The plan of action had three main objectives. The first was to seek provincial recognition of the legal right to French education, which would require concrete non-confrontational political action, in order to avoid stirring up the latent hostility to French education in Alberta. The second was aimed at the Franco-Albertan community, which had to be convinced to accept the 80 per cent program, which had been cause for great anxiety both in other provinces and in Alberta itself. The third targeted teacher training, to ensure that there were

sufficient numbers of qualified teachers for the 80 per cent program, and that these teachers had the necessary supports for their task.

Thus, as Alberta entered the post-conference period, ACFA was faced with an enormous task. It had been given provincial sanction to pursue 80 per cent French programs. However, the Department of Education was unlikely to take a leading role in developing these programs, given its past performance with the Bilingualism in Education Program. The three-pronged task for the Education Coordinator of ACFA, who was expected to marshal this plan into action, was a daunting one indeed. Careful manoeuvring would be needed to convert this plan into a reality, and allies would be needed to make this possible.

Manitoba

On 11 April 1974, shortly after the BEP was renewed, Olivier Tremblay, author of the plan to revitalize Manitoba's French-language schools, was appointed as head of the French Language Education section of the Department of Education, to head the implementation of his plan.[46] Under Tremblay's guidance, French-language education in Manitoba would be turned on its ear, as a period of incredible expansion began. Tremblay was firmly committed to the expansion of French minority language education in Manitoba, to the maximum level permitted by law. In this he was supported by his Deputy Minister, Lionel Orlikow. In June of 1974, Orlikow recommended to his minister, Ben Hanuschak, that a Bureau de l'Éducation Française (BEF) be created in the Department.[47] The BEF would be responsible for addressing declining *Français* enrolments, and to provide technical and financial support to French-language education programs. It would

also conduct research studies to support the expansion of these programs, and to develop services, prepare budgets and support services related to FML programs. Hanuschak accepted the proposal.

The secondment agreement with Quebec for Olivier Tremblay's services only ran until June 1975, and thus his team had to move quickly to solidify the BEF. To achieve its aims, the BEF needed a supplementary budget from the Department, which was granted in August 1974.[48] That same month, the BEF worked out its action plan. The plan noted that 40 per cent of Franco-Manitobans were not in any Français programs, and 82.9 per cent of those in Français programs followed them for less than 50 per cent of the day.[49] A solid bilingual formation for francophone students, at the maximum level of 80 per cent was made the top priority of the BEF, above FSL programs for anglophones.

To accomplish its objectives, the BEF took some important initial steps. Drawing on the federal funds, it commissioned studies at the Collège universitaire de St-Boniface (CUSB) on the performance of students in French programs.[50] As had been the case in other provinces, the study demonstrated that students in 80 per cent French programs did not lag behind their peers in core subjects such as mathematics and English, and had superior French language capacities.[51] It was hoped that these studies could be used to overcome parental fears about student progress in the French programs.

The BEF also began to reconsider Manitoba's use of the BEP grants. Under the first agreement, these grants had been administered in a rather disjointed fashion, and about 35 per cent of the funds under the program had not

been passed along to school districts.[52] The grants had largely been used to fund the status quo, rather than to incite development. The Department thus began to seriously look into how the BEP grants could be used to encourage innovation. A new system was developed by May 1975, under which the base grants (i.e. the $846,000 amount received annually prior to this point) would continue to be passed along to boards for the maintenance of existing programs. Any additional funds, which in 1975 amounted to $438,000, would be diverted into developmental grants.[53] These were set up as $10,000 unit grants for schools, to be spent on textbooks, library and reference works, teacher training and transportation costs. These block grants were only for a one-year period,[54] and were to be used only for new expenses, not pre-existing ones, and strict accounting was required on their use.[55] Additional tinkering was conducted in 1976. The new grant formula, which also hoped to spur French immersion development, gave $190 per FTE for students in FML and French immersion programs. Out of a federal grant of $1,565,000, only $300,000 was spent on FSL programs, clearly indicating the emphasis of the Bureau on FML programs.[56] Moreover, the BEF entered into a 5-year special project agreement with the federal government to develop *Français* education.[57]

The development of the grant formula and funding of research projects which supported French minority language education both fed into the third, and perhaps most dynamic, part of Manitoba's approach to French education. Olivier Tremblay created an "équipe d'interlocuteurs," a team of about five community development officers under the jurisdiction of the BEF.[58] The team divided the

province into five groupings, each containing a predominantly Franco-Manitoban school district and a number of other districts. The officers were assigned the task of going into these communities to rally support for French-language education. They worked with parents in the community to pressure school boards to pass motions in favour of French classes and then French schools.[59] The research studies from the CUSB, in addition to those produced at OISE by Professor Stacy Churchill, were used to convince parents that these programs would not harm their children's education or English-language skills. The grant formulas were used as "la carotte" to convince school boards and sympathetic trustees that there was a financial benefit to introducing the programs. This approach was highly unconventional for a standard government department, and not entirely trusted by the civil service, but was vigorously defended by Orlikow and Tremblay. However, even defenders of this approach generally accepted that this type of activity could not go on indefinitely. Thus the community development officers also worked to create a parents' group, the Fédération Provinciale des Comités de Parents (FPCP), to continue its work in conjunction with other Franco-Manitoban organisations, such as the SFM.[60]

The early actions of the BEF and its community development team led to significant increases in FML registrations, which were up 14 per cent in 1976.[61] However, if long term progress was to be made, the BEF would need a more formal, and permanent, status in the Department. This formalization was supported by a network of Franco-Manitoban superintendents, teachers and community activists, who together produced "Pour un réseau d'écoles françaises

au Manitoba" in November 1975.[62] This coalition wanted the unilingual French schools to continue to develop, and for the BEF to assume a permanent status in the Department of Education. Under pressure from organisations such as the SFM, and guided by the work of Tremblay, the Bureau was given a formal Cabinet mandate in June 1976.[63] Tremblay, whose term had been extended for a year by the Quebec Department of Education, was replaced by the first Assistant Deputy Minister of the BEF, Raymond Hébert. Over the remaining months of 1976, and into early 1977, Hébert worked to normalize the operations of his section, transforming contract positions and secondments into full-time positions, and streamlining the functioning of the BEF.[64] Part of this normalisation entailed the phasing out of the community development program, but by this point the FPCP had been established to continue this important work.

By the end of 1976, the Bureau de l'Éducation Française had taken over all responsibility for Manitoba's participation in the Bilingualism in Education Program. The prior three years had borne witness to a remarkable development in Manitoba's commitment to French-language education programs. The grant formulas used in the province were held up as a model by federal civil servants.[65] Overall, the community development model used by the BEF had proven to be quite effective. Despite its successes (or perhaps because of them), the BEF under Olivier Tremblay had ruffled a number of feathers with its unconventional approach, and was not well liked by the Conservative opposition in the province. However, by the end of 1976, Tremblay and Hébert had pushed through a

number of important changes to the manner in which Franco-Manitoban education was administered, and had secured permanent status for the BEF.

Ontario

The years immediately following the 1974 renewal were fairly quiet ones for Ontario where the BEP was concerned. In the years leading up to the renewal, the provincial government had been viciously attacked by ACFO and other provincial francophone education associations over the manner in which it spent the federal grants. Thomas Wells, the Minister of Education, had justified the province's allocation of the funds at the time as being up to the discretion of the province. All of the funds, according to Wells, were being spent on bilingualism in education, although not necessarily in the proportions envisioned by the federal government. Moreover, he stressed that the federal grants were not covering all of Ontario's additional expenditures on French-language education. In fact, by 1975, the province estimated that it spent $500,000 per year in excess of the federal grants.[66]

However, the rebukes from Franco-Ontarian groups had found their mark. The provincial government responded in two different ways. The first was to secure Ottawa's agreement on the principle that the distribution of federal grants between the two main priorities was a matter for provincial decision.[67] This freed the province to spend more of the federal grants on FSL than was specifically earmarked under the 5 per cent formula. However, the province was sensitive to the Franco-Ontarian community leaders' claims that they were being short-changed. Thus, in 1975 the province established a new grant formula for

distribution of BEP funds to the school boards. Elementary schools would be eligible for a grant of $50 multiplied by their board's grant rate for each pupil (not FTE) in FSL and FML classes. Secondary schools would be eligible for $18 per student in FSL courses, and $36 per credit (to a maximum of five) for students in FML courses. Establishment grants were also established for new elementary French-language classes: $5,000 for the first class, $3,000 for the second, and $2,000 for the third.[68] This grant structure reflected the province's emphasis on French minority language education at the secondary level, and French second language courses at the elementary level. It was also designed to devote an increasing proportion of the federal grants to the FML stream, although the additional expenditures from the province's own coffers were almost entirely allocated to FSL projects.

Ontario also expressed interest in some other components of the BEP, and proposed possible modifications to the program's structure. Having introduced compulsory English-as-a-second-language courses in Grades 5 to 12 of its French schools under 1974 revisions to the *Education Act*, Ministry of Education officials expressed interest in receiving federal grants for this type of education.[69] The federal government rejected this overture; a rejection motivated at least somewhat by the fall-out this would have in Quebec. Secretary of State officials argued that the main intent of the BEP was not to subsidize programs in Ontario and Quebec. These provinces were fit into a program designed primarily to spur development of French-language programs in the Western and Atlantic provinces. Perhaps concerned that the federal government believed that Ontario

did not need these grants, Wells was quick to assure federal government representatives that the BEP was in fact having a significant impact in Ontario. The province was also willing to demonstrate this fact. Lifting a moratorium on research projects in 1975, the Ministry of Education accepted special project funding to conduct a study on the supplementary costs entailed in Ontario for bilingualism in education.[70]

Overall, the Bilingualism in Education Program was not the main concern of either the provincial government or the Franco-Ontarian associations. The battle over separate facilities for French-language secondary schools was continuing to rage across the province. The Sturgeon Falls crisis had been resolved in 1972, and the debate shifted in 1974 to Essex county. The debate over the establishment of a separate French high school was particularly vicious, and it was this confrontation which attracted most of the public attention given to French-language education.[71] Essex county Franco-Ontarians would eventually be successful in their quest for their own school, when the province agreed to pay for construction costs. Nevertheless, it was a highly contentious issue, and one which overshadowed issues of federal-provincial relations on Bilingualism in Education.

New Brunswick

In New Brunswick, the McLeod-Pinet Commission submitted its report "Education of Tomorrow" in late 1973. The Commission had called for an end to the system of two Deputy Ministers of Education, and wanted this replaced with a single, bilingual Deputy Minister. This provoked outrage and concern in the Acadian

community, which pushed hard for the separate francophone deputy minister to be retained.[72] The Hatfield government did not reply to the Commission's recommendations until the spring of 1974. The Premier's response was greeted favourably by the Acadian population. Far from eliminating the two Deputy Ministers, Premier Hatfield announced a major reorganisation of the Department of Education. It would be henceforth divided into three major sections. The first would deal with the English-language schools in terms of curriculum, teachers and related issues; the second with the same issues, but for the French-language schools; the third with finance and administration common to both languages.[73] The dual Deputy Minister structure was also maintained.

The move to duality in the structure in the Department of Education was a major change along the lines demanded by the Acadian leaders. However, there were many more aspects to this duality that were sought by the leaders of the SANB. The SANB vision for New Brunswick centred on collective dualism, rooted in the two official language communities, with autonomous institutions for each language community, rather than mere bilingualism.[74] By the mid-1970s, there were still numerous bilingual school boards and bilingual schools scattered across the province. While the Acadians recognized the usefulness of knowing two languages, they no longer wanted their schools to be bilingual. As an editorial in *Évangéline* put it aptly:

> Les francophones ne veulent pas répéter l'erreur de beaucoup d'anglophones en se bornant à apprendre une seule langue. Ils voient la nécessité et la valeur du bilinguisme mais ne veulent pas pour autant se noyer dans les écoles d'assimilation.[75]

This opposition to bilingual schools and school districts resulted in serious conflict in the districts of Campbellton, Bathurst and Dalhousie, among others, as the SANB lobbied for unilingual schools and school boards.[76] The SANB also pushed hard for the increased hiring of francophone Acadians at the departmental level, and urged the government to proclaim the remaining sections of New Brunswick's *Official Languages Act*, particularly those dealing with technical education.[77]

Until the mid-1970s, the overwhelming focus of the New Brunswick Department of Education had been on bringing Acadian schools up to parity with the English-language schools, and on trying to rectify the past neglect of French-language curriculum and teacher training. In the intervening years, French second language programs had largely taken a back seat. French immersion had been developed on an experimental basis, and 2,000 children were enrolled in these programs by 1976, but there was as yet no departmental policy to guide their future development.[78]

By 1976, however, Acadian schools had caught up to a sufficient extent for the Department to take stock of the situation in FSL programs. A new coordinator was hired to administer all of the second language programs in the province.[79] This signalled the beginning of another phase in New Brunswick's language education development, as a new emphasis on French courses for English-speakers was about to emerge. Thus, while by 1976 the Department still had to contend with a need to complete the process of dualization, the major

building blocks for Acadian education were in place, and more attention could be paid to the other priority of the Bilingualism in Education Program.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's experience with bilingualism in education under the second agreement kicked off with the release of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Education, Public Services and Provincial-Municipal Relations* (the Graham Commission) in the spring of 1974. The Acadian organisations of Nova Scotia had pinned many of their hopes on the recommendations that this Commission would make. In terms of the recommendations themselves, they were pleased with the results.

A chapter of the Commission's report on Education was devoted to Acadian and Second Language Education in Nova Scotia. The Graham Commission sympathized with the desire of Acadians to preserve their language, culture and identity, and expressed the opinion that Acadians should enjoy full recognition of their linguistic rights.[80] The Commission did stress that fluent bilingualism and full competency in English were essential for the Acadian population. In this context though, the commissioners argued that the right of Acadians to be educated in their own language should be recognized in law.[81]

Some of the specific recommendations of the Graham Commission bear specific note, as they would provide the basis for the Acadian drive for additional language rights over the remainder of the decade, and onwards. The first two recommendations are particularly important:

> Recommendation 53-1: The Education Act should provide that French speaking children residing in communities in which 10 per cent or more of the inhabitants are French-speaking have the right to receive from the time of their commencement of school, school programmes and instruction in the French language, such programmes being designed to provide them with a firm basis for mastery of communication and conceptualization in French.
>
> Recommendation 53-2: The Education Act should also provide that these children have a right to receive, throughout their school careers, programmes and instruction in the French language designed to provide them, to the extent of their capabilities, with mastery of the skills of communication in French.

Other recommendations of this section called for the appointment of a director of Acadian education, the creation of an Acadian education task force, additional funds for staff and learning materials for French-language education, and for the province to push for additional federal funds for research, experimentation and pilot projects.[82] The Commission also believed that second language learning should be further developed, but noted that vague concepts of national unity were poor motivations for this.[83] Instead of aiming for universal mastery of French, the commissioners believed that the emphasis of the second language program should be on providing outstanding opportunities for those who wished to learn this language.[84]

The reaction to the Graham Commission's report was mixed in the Acadian Community. FANE saw these recommendations as a useful start. Its 1976 action plan placed a great deal of emphasis on the need to push for government implementation of the Graham Commission's recommendations, particularly those calling for legal status for the Acadian schools.[85] The Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française was generally positive about the recommendations, although it considered the 10 per cent threshold of

recommendation 52-1 to be too low for metropolitan areas such as Halifax. Moreover, ACELF was concerned about shared facilities for the English and French streams.[86] The most negative reaction came not from within Nova Scotia, but from neighbouring New Brunswick. *Évangéline*'s editors believed that the proposed changes were more of a step towards assimilation than towards better protection the French language. The proposals were qualified as "minces droits," and they wondered why the Commission would not propose full duality in the education system, as had recently been implemented in New Brunswick.[87] However, these "minces droits" were a major advance from the status quo in Nova Scotia, which was nowhere near as advanced as its neighbour in matters of minority language education, and Acadian leaders were determined to fight for them.

The response of the Nova Scotia government to these proposals was, however, rather muted. In 1975 a new assistant director of curriculum for languages was hired, who would primarily deal with French-language education programs. This brought the number of Department of Education staff responsible for French-language programming up to two.[88] The Department also began to develop curriculum plans for the Acadian schools, working on French language arts, grammar, and social science in 1975 and 1976.[89] Nothing was done, however, to bring about legal recognition for the Acadian schools of Nova Scotia.

While the provincial government was generally lax in its response to the Graham Commission, work was done in the local boards to try to develop their French education programs with the help of the federal grants. The Richmond

County board worked on developing qualified French teachers by creating a French-language resource centre, and used the federal funds to hire new French-language teachers, and buy new texts and materials. It also began work on promoting a positive attitude towards French education among both anglophones and Acadians.[90] The Inverness board, home to the Acadian community of Chéticamp and a sizeable French mother tongue population, worked on expanding its French-language stream, creating a French-only program for Grades P-6.[91]

Inverness also moved to make FSL a compulsory course all the way to Grade 12,[92] and to expand teaching of the humanities in French at the high school level. Schools in the Kings County board experimented with introducing FSL courses at the elementary level. However, this scattered approach resulted in an overly wide range of language skills at the Grade 7 level, which led to great frustration for both teachers and students. Lacking provincial direction on a common starting point for FSL, the program was disjointed and in disarray.[93]

The complaint of the King's County board was echoed strongly by FANE and Acadian teachers. The government of Nova Scotia had done little in the prior six years to provide direction to the development of French-language education, and had done nothing to provide it with legal status. While special projects had made sporadic development possible, a full network of legally-recognized Acadian schools was still needed for the Acadians,[94] and a more structured FSL program was sought for the anglophones. By 1976, there was still no French immersion for anglophones in the province. While the situation of

French-language education in Nova Scotia had improved since 1970, the government had done little by the end of 1976 to satisfy Acadian leaders by implementing the recommendations of the Graham Commission.

Further Developments at the National Level

On top of the divergent approaches to the BEP that were emerging at the provincial level, a number of developments were also occurring at the national level. Some were linked to how the Trudeau government was revising its view of the direction that the BEP should take, while others arose from the reactions of the provinces to this emerging vision. Although federal-provincial relations would not come to a crisis point between 1974 and 1976, these years lay the foundation for the troubles to come in subsequent years.

Throughout the early 1970s, a wide range of French-Canadian and Acadian minority community groups had received grants from the Canadian government to support their core operations, under the Official Language Minority Groups Program of the Social Action Branch of the Secretary of State.[95] These funds helped to rescue a number of these associations from becoming moribund without the support of Quebec or other benevolent organisations. A number of new provincial organisations were also formed in response to the OLMG's granting formula, such as the Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Part of the reason for the reorganisation of the SNA and the creation of the SANB, had been to make it possible for these organisations to receive the federal grants. Until 1975, the OLMG had been largely targeted at provincially-based organisations, such as those that we have discussed to this point.

In 1975, however, the major provincial francophone associations of the provinces joined together to create the Fédération des Francophones hors-Québec (FFHQ).[96] This federation was intended to serve as a nation-wide umbrella group through which minority francophone communities could lobby for the establishment of language rights as fundamental rights in Canada.[97] It would also coordinate the activities of the provincial francophone organisations, and facilitate the transfer of information between these groups.

The FFHQ was quick to begin an investigation of how the Canadian government treated francophone minority communities, and began to inquire into the means whereby the federal government exercised control and evaluation over its grants to the provinces.[98] At the provincial level, the lack of administrative structures for French-language education, separate French-language school classes, schools and boards, bilingual schools, and diversion of federal funds to other purposes by the provinces all came under attack by the FFHQ.[99] These attacks were not only expressed in the form of internal correspondence. Hubert Gauthier, the executive director of the FFHQ, lashed out in the media at provinces such as Alberta and Ontario for misallocation of the federal grants.[100] The FFHQ also coordinated the major provincial associations – ACFA, SFM, ACFO, SANB, FANE etc. – in the creation of the strategy document entitled *Les Héritiers du Lord Durham* (The Heirs of Lord Durham). This document laid out the strategy of the FFHQ and its member associations for developing francophone rights at the provincial and national level, a strategy in which greater control of the federal BEP grants was a key element.[101] Over the

following years, the FFHQ, which received a portion of its funding from the Secretary of State, would become a major player in the debates over the renegotiations of the BEP.

At the same time as the FFHQ and the provincial associations were questioning the manner in which the federal government administered the BEP, officials from the Secretary of State were also contemplating new structures for the program. Early in 1975, Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner indicated that the current format of the Bilingualism in Education Program was not sacred, only the principle of the equality of the two language groups was. He mused publicly about the possibility of spending more money on special projects rather than continuing to fund the status quo.[102] Indeed, the federal government was concerned about the extent to which the current structure of the BEP provided an incentive for real developments in provincial language programs. While Jane Dobell, the Director-General of the Language Programs Branch, believed that in some provinces, particularly Manitoba, the formula payments did have an incentive effect, and that the special projects certainly did, the federal government wanted to move to a system that played the role of an incentive rather than one of ongoing funding of established programs.[103]

The federal government also expressed a preference towards shifting to bilateral negotiations on the program with individual provinces, rather than continuing with multilateral negotiations.[104] Studies conducted under the auspices of the Secretary of State pointed out new directions that could be considered for the BEP. Most notably, a study by Brock Rideout indicated that

the federal government would be more effective if it concentrated its efforts on French-language education, both as a second language and a minority language, in *all* provinces, including Quebec, as there was no real need for incentives to provide English language education anywhere in the country. On the contrary, FSL and French Immersion programs in Quebec were in stages of significant development and could benefit more from this assistance.[105]

A major driving force behind these above considerations stemmed from the fact that the federal government had guessed at the cost of the BEP at the outset, and had not initially tried to track expenditures on the program.[106] By the mid-70s, as expenditures on the program began to rise (see Table 5.1), the federal government began to take an interest in what these monies were being used for by the provinces.

Table 5.1 – Federal Contributions to the Bilingualism in Education Program[107]

Year	*Formula Programs*	*Non-Formula Programs*	*Total*
1970-71	49,950,000	558,933	50,508,933
1971-72	73,257,873	1,350,417	74,608,290
1972-73	64,527,152	3,055,623	67,582,775
1973-74	80,741,361	9,273,313	90,014,674
1974-75	78,873,637	11,880,201	90,653,838
1975-76	97,421,639	14,072,668	111,494,307

The federal government also wished to test its estimates of the additional costs against practical experience. In order to do this, bureaucrats from the Secretary of State were sent on a cross-country tour in 1975 to try to determine what the additional costs were.[108] This was followed up by a letter from the Undersecretary of State to the provincial Departments of Education to determine

both their conceptions of the supplementary costs, and how they made use of the BEP funds.[109] Politicians, too, began to take an interest in issues of the program's accountability. The BEP came under government scrutiny in an April 1976 meeting of the Canadian Government Committee on Broadcasting, Film and the Arts. Questions from MP Serge Joyal to the Secretary of State and his officials revealed that although accounting from the West had generally been clear, Quebec provided no data, data from the Maritimes was fuzzy, and Ontario had been spending the funds on its own priorities.[110] Federal politicians, and indeed the civil servants, were thus beginning to note the need for more accountability for the program.

Closely tied to the issue of accountability was the issue of evaluation. Not only did the federal government want to know how its money had been spent, it wanted to know how effective the program had been, so that future renewals could be based on actual experience.[111] Provincial response to this was mixed. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario all indicated their support for cost-effectiveness studies. Manitoba, on the other hand, believed that these studies suffered from investigator bias, and that their conclusions reflected preconceptions, and thus preferred to rely on community consultation. The entire concept of supplementary costs and evaluation was challenged by Quebec, which resisted any notion that "supplementary costs" were involved, as this was not in the text of the agreement.[112] Moreover, all of the provinces resisted any attempts by the federal government to impose its own priorities or direct

involvement on the evaluation process, although those provinces who intended to conduct evaluations were willing to share their results.

This created frustration for the Canadian government. As long as the BEP continued to operate as a predominantly interstate program, with the federal government acting as merely a funder of provincial programs, the provinces would retain the control needed to dictate the terms of both accountability and evaluation. It was thus becoming clear that in order to have significant input into a substantive evaluation of the BEP, the Canadian government would need to take steps to re-orient the program along intrastate lines. If the program could be re-crafted in this manner, the federal government would have additional leverage to dictate the terms of the BEP's evaluation, and could also demand greater accountability.

Through all of these issues over program renegotiation and operations ran an important thread: that of the differences between bureaucratic and political conceptions of the Bilingualism in Education Program. Civil servants involved in the program described it as creating feelings of close collegiality across federal-provincial boundaries, inspired by their work on a common objective, a sentiment which would augur well for increased intrastate functioning of the BEP.[113] However, by the mid-1970s, the program was exposed to a great deal more political scrutiny. Resistance to evaluation and accountability, for instance, was rooted in political conceptions of constitutional jurisdiction and models of Canadian federalism. By the mid-1970s, federal civil servants committed to the program, and to the formula payments in particular, were expressing their

concerns to provincial officials about the fact that they could not defend the BEP to federal politicians without solid data. They feared that without this cooperation and accountability, the decision of whether to continue the program would become a political one.[114]

By the mid-1970s, a divergence in how the provinces favoured certain BEP objectives over others was also becoming clear. A strong indicator of where provincial priorities lay can be discerned from which special projects, which entailed cost-matching, were agreed to by the provinces. Table 5.2 outlines these figures for the period from 1972/73 to 1975/76.

Table 5.2 – Provincial Spending on Special Projects, 1972/73 to 1975/76[115]

Province	***Minority language***	***Second language***	***Joint programs[116]***	***Total***
Nova Scotia	$343K	$73K	$6K	$421K
New Brunswick	$825K	$12K	$0	$834K
Ontario	$636K	$5,217K	$0	$5,854K
Manitoba	$462K	$98K	$242K	$804K
Alberta	$0	$75K	$159K[117]	$234K
Quebec	$457K	$0	$2,027K	$2,484K
Total (All Provinces)	*$3,215K*	*$7,296K*	*$2,753K*	*$13,271K*

As this table clearly shows, the Maritime provinces and Manitoba concentrated their efforts on minority language education, which put them more-or-less in sync with the Canadian government's priorities. Ontario, on the other hand, had invested heavily in second language programs. For its part, Alberta had spent very little on special projects, and what had been spent was split about evenly. Quebec too, despite the booming French immersion programs in the English school boards, had not allocated any special project funding to this purpose, other than the National Capital Region project. Clearly, the provinces had started

to diverge in their priorities, and this was being reflected by where they were investing their own money.

Conclusions

At the outset of the second agreement, a major shift had occurred in terms of the wording of the objectives of the BEP agreement. Although the primary objective of the federal government had been the promotion of minority language education for the minority language communities, this had not initially been defined in a restrictive manner. Owing to pressure originating particularly in Quebec and Ontario, the 1974 renewal restricted the definition of this priority. Unfortunately for Quebec's anglophone leaders, who protested vigorously against this change, no other major political force seemed to care that the objectives had been changed. English-language Protestant schools still existed in Quebec and the change of objectives did nothing to detract from their constitutional right to exist. However, the symbolic federal support for open access to the English-language schools had disappeared, and fears of what this meant were confirmed when the Trudeau government did not challenge Bill 22 directly. Instead, it provided funds for Quebec organisations to challenge the Bill.

In other provinces, the period following the second renewal was one during which structures to support second language and minority language education were more fully established. Alberta had finally fallen into step with the other provinces in permitting full-day French-language education, while New Brunswick, Manitoba and Ontario were actively working on ways to institutionalize access to minority language education, and make these programs

fully operational, rather than merely permitting them. Manitoba, in particular, was a major leader in this period, with its combination of incentive grants, formal structures and community activism to promote Franco-Manitoban schools. Other provinces, such as Ontario and New Brunswick, learned from this experience in establishing their French-language education structures and grant formulas.

At the community level, Acadian and French-Canadian associations were adjusting to the new developments of the Graham Commission in Nova Scotia, the 1974 departmental restructuring in New Brunswick, and the establishment of the BEF in Manitoba. These shifts held major implications for the future of minority language education rights in the provinces, and the community groups, funded by the federal government, began to devise strategies to push for further elaboration of these rights. In this respect, they were joined at the national level by the FFHQ, which was better positioned to deal with the federal government, and other national organisations on a peer-to-peer basis. Thus, by the mid-1970s, the foundations of the Canadian government's embedded state to defend a national language policy were largely in place.

Despite the progress that had been made in specific sectors, the Canadian government was aware of the amount of ambiguity surrounding the BEP. It had been very difficult to get concrete information from the provinces on how the federal grants were used. Moreover, nobody seemed to be entirely sure whether the BEP was in fact having the desired impacts. Nor was the program a small one which could be hidden away from the politicians. Millions of dollars were being spent on it every year, and the total expenditures were rising

annually. Moreover, the actions of lobby groups such as the FFHQ and the QFHSA, with their allegations of misallocation of funds, had pushed the program into the public eye and put pressure on the politicians. Thus, by 1976, the program was becoming increasingly drawn out of the closed realm of the bureaucrats, and more into the sphere of interstate negotiations, as politicians on both sides, federal and provincial, began to stake out their positions on the program.

None of this might have been particularly problematic, or unresolvable, had this been a simple issue of interstate federalism as it had existed in the past. However, in November 1976, Quebec voters elected the Parti Québécois (PQ), a secessionist party with no inclination to compromise with the Canadian government on jurisdictional issues. This would make clashes between the Canadian and provincial governments on issues of accountability, costs and evaluation more politicized and subject to increasing amounts of interstate conflict and government intransigence. The difficulties that the Trudeau government would encounter in advancing its official languages agenda over the years following the election of the PQ would convince Trudeau that a new approach was needed. As we shall see, this would initially take the form of trying to increase the intrastate components of the BEP. However, should this incremental approach fail, the Trudeau government was also heading towards a wholesale shift in its approach to Canadian federalism: a move towards intrastate federalism via a national, constitutionally entrenched *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* with guarantees for official minority language education.

Chapter Six:

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Introduction: The Rise of Polarization

The months between the November 1976 election of the Parti Québécois, and the March 1979 expiration date of the second five-year Bilingualism in Education Program agreements marked a crucial turning point in governmental discourse concerning language policy in education. The provincial governments, which since the late 1960s had been moving gradually towards interstate solutions to official language issues, were thrust towards a much more aggressive stance of this nature by the secessionist government of René Lévesque: a government which lacked any inclination to compromise with Ottawa, *especially* on language issues. The Trudeau government, for its part, was also seriously reconsidering the nature of its language programs. Its policy of sinking millions of dollars into provincial education programs, largely to finance the status quo, was frustrating for Secretary of State officials who wanted to develop new programs with their dollars. The Canadian government began to seek an increased role both in setting the objectives of the BEP and in evaluating its outcomes. This was particularly important for the Trudeau government, as the BEP was increasingly the centrepiece of the federal government's language policy. In the late 1970s, the Secretary of State ended the Bilingualism in Public Administration program, believing that the best way to promote official languages was through the education of children, rather than re-training middle-aged civil servants. The "youth option" of the BEP, as it came to be dubbed, was thus central to the Trudeau government's strategy on official languages in the latter half of his third term of office.

Given this polarization, how then could the Bilingualism in Education Program be expected to survive the next renewal process? Indeed, this question weighed heavily on many French-Canadian and Acadian community groups who had benefited greatly from federal aid to French-language educational programming. While significant strides had been made, the new programs were still largely dependent to the presence of federal dollars, and much work remained to be done to create a full network of viable schools for these communities. These community groups stepped up their lobbying efforts in the late-1970s, aware of the threat that the gulf between the Canadian and provincial governments on the nature of the next renewal posed to the future of the BEP. Supporters of the French second language programs, who would rally together as Canadian Parents for French, would join in this lobbying effort. Together, these two groups of lobbyists, both of which received federal funding, formed a key plank in the federal strategy of increasing the intrastate nature of language policy in Canada. These groups represented interests which the federal government could claim to represent, and thus justify its involvement in programs designed to meet their needs. The strength of the federal government's arguments in this respect would be bolstered by the degree to which these groups were able to convince the Canadian population of the need for Ottawa's programs.

As we shall see, this polarization between the Quebec-led provincial governments and the Trudeau government in Ottawa, although it prevented the conclusion of a new five-year agreement before the March 1979 deadline, was

not so extreme as to block all dialogue. While there were heated discussions between representatives of the federal and provincial governments over the future direction of the BEP, with each side attempting to steer the program towards its conception of Canadian federalism, these talks never broke down completely. This chapter will demonstrate that the continuance of these talks reflects a certain degree of the success both of the BEP and of the federal government's official languages policy. While the premiers of the nine predominantly English-speaking provinces supported many of Quebec's demands for increased powers from Ottawa, and its interstate stance on education programs, they were also faced with a rising tide of public demand, from both their English-speaking populations and their minority francophone or Acadian communities, for official language educational programs, a demand which would be difficult to meet without federal financial aid.

The other premiers were also very uncomfortable with Quebec's talk of secession. To address this discomfort, they would attempt to carve their own path in language policy to meet their objective of greater provincial autonomy from Ottawa, while still expressing support for language rights in education. Thus, in the late-1970s, the English-speaking premiers would be responsible for a fundamental shift in the discourse of Canadian language policy, one which moved from the provision of educational services into the realm of educational rights guarantees. In the 1980s, this shift would make possible the next plank of the federal government's intrastate strategy: the creation of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms,* complete with official language minority rights in

education, and a role for the Supreme Court of Canada in enforcing these rights. To understand how this shift occurred, we now return to the initial impacts of the election of the Parti Québécois in November 1976.

The Election of the Parti Québécois and The Charter of the French Language

The election of the Parti Québécois on 16 November 1976 shook the Canadian political establishment to its core. Nationalist propaganda and splinter parties had long been a part of Quebec's political culture, and even mainstream political parties such as the Liberals were ardent defenders of provincial rights. Yet never before had a political party been elected on a platform linked to separatism, albeit in the form of sovereignty-association. The simple fact of the election alone did not bode well for a closer relationship between Quebec City and Ottawa. The policies that were introduced by the PQ government would drive an even wider wedge between the two governments.

One of the earliest pieces of legislation to emerge from the PQ government was the symbolically titled Bill 1. This bill, introduced in March 1977 and eventually retitled Bill 101 for procedural reasons, was entitled the *Charter of the French Language*. Picking up where Bill 22 had left off, Bill 101 introduced even stricter provisions to promote French as the working language of the province of Quebec. Among these provisions were requirements for the francisation of businesses, language requirements for medical personnel, and of course, its famous French-only sign provisions. Of greater interest for the purposes of this study, however, were its education provisions. Whereas Bill 22

had taken a fairly lax approach to restricting access to its English-language schools – a testing approach that many Québécois nationalists derided as easy to circumvent with the hiring of a good tutor – Bill 101 was positively draconian. Access to the English-language minority education system was strictly restricted under Articles 72 and 73 of Chapter 8 of the legislation. These articles restricted access to English-language education to:

> a) a child whose mother or father received elementary instruction in English in Quebec; b) a child whose mother or father lived in Quebec before the law came into force, who received elementary instruction in English outside of Quebec; c) children already legally enrolled in the English language system; and d) younger siblings of c.[1]

In effect, the provisions of Bill 101 were such as to exclude any new immigrants to the province of Quebec from educating their children in English. This included individuals immigrating from English-speaking countries, such as the United Kingdom and the United States. Even more significantly, Bill 101 took Quebec, not Canada, as its geographical reference for parental English-language instruction. Accordingly, children whose parents had been educated in English elsewhere in Canada, or who themselves had attended in English-language schools in other provinces, were not eligible to attend the English-language schools of Quebec.[2] This was a highly controversial provision, which was pushed by Dr. Camille Laurin, the architect of the legislation, and was viewed with misgivings by a large number of francophone Quebeckers, reportedly including the Premier himself.[3]

The Reciprocal Agreements – Responses from outside Quebec

While Bill 101 did not initially include any provisions for children coming from other provinces, there was a section of the *Charter of the French Language* which foresaw the expansion of access to English-language schools. Section 86 of Bill 101 provided that "the Government may make regulations extending the scope of section 73 to include such persons as may be contemplated by any reciprocity agreement that may be concluded between the Government of Quebec and another province."[4] Accordingly, if another province were willing to enter into an agreement with the province of Quebec whereby it would guarantee the provision of French-language education to migrants coming from the province of Quebec, section 73 would be extended to grant children from that province access to the English-language education system in Quebec. These provisions fell nicely in line with Quebec's interstate approach to Canadian federalism, as well as its pretensions to act as an independent state. Not only did Quebec wish to deal with Ottawa on a state-to-state basis, but it also sought to craft agreements with other individual provinces on a similar basis.

On 21 July 1977, Premier Lévesque wrote to the nine other premiers, proposing the aforementioned reciprocal agreements.[5] The offer, which was reprinted in the *Globe & Mail*, attracted a fair bit of public attention and kicked off a flurry of press coverage concerning the responses of the nine premiers.[6] The *Globe*'s Quebec columnist, William Johnson, predicted that the response from the other premiers would probably be negative, particularly given the reluctance in Quebec itself to enforce this provision, which extended up to the Premier's

Office.[7] Indeed, René Lévesque was not expecting to gain support from more than two provinces at most. Prime Minister Trudeau weighed in early with his position, urging the other premiers to reject Lévesque's offer. He argued that minority language education rights should not be considered a bargaining chip, and that in fact these rights should be enshrined in the Constitution, an early indication that renewed efforts were being contemplated by the federal government for minority language education rights.[8]

Not all of the provinces decided right away about their response to the proposal. Alberta's Peter Lougheed was initially close-mouthed on the subject, Saskatchewan Premier Allan Blakeney appeared moderately favourable, but did not make any public statement on the subject, while Manitoba's Ed Schreyer indicated that he would only consider the proposal if all of the other provinces went along with the agreements.[9] However, some key provinces who were leaders in the provision of minority language education were quick to reject the reciprocal agreements. Ontario's William Davis responded on 27 July 1977, stressing the fact that his province already provided a full range of French-language education programs, and that his government had no intention of preventing Quebeckers from attending these schools. While his province would immediately have qualified for the reciprocal agreements, he did not, however, opt for this. Davis argued that the motivation for Ontario to provide this education stemmed not from inter-provincial negotiations – which he believed was a dangerous jurisdictional precedent in terms of Quebec's move towards sovereignty-association – but from the provincial government's recognition that

access to educational programs in their own language for Ontario's francophones was right and just. As he wrote in his letter:

> I feel, however, that an issue as fundamental as language rights in education is not something that can be negotiated on a bilateral basis between provinces. Such rights should be accepted as a matter of fundamental principle and not be the subject of quid pro quo arrangements.[10]

Given Ontario's position, the federal government had cause to hope that other provinces would follow Davis' lead, and reject the inter-provincial approach to minority language education rights proposed by Quebec. New Brunswick Premier Richard Hatfield supported the Ontario position, and went even further, supporting the federal call for constitutional entrenchment of minority language education rights, a position he had held since 1971.[11] Nova Scotia's Premier Gerald Regan also rejected the Quebec proposal, arguing that issues of minority language education rights were better suited to federal-provincial arrangements.[12] Thus, rather than serving to coax other provinces towards interprovincial approaches to education, as Quebec had intended, the reciprocal agreements were having the opposite effect. Given the choice between appearing to support sovereignty-association, and accepting Ottawa's financial aid and minority language rights proposals, the premiers found themselves increasingly leaning towards Trudeau's side.

Indeed, New Brunswick's government would take steps to circumvent Quebec's proposals on the subject of minority language education. Premier Hatfield was aware that no province wanted to play Quebec's game with the reciprocal agreements. But neither did the premiers want to appear publicly as if

they were not doing anything to improve the state of their minority language education programs.[13] Accordingly, Hatfield, who was due to host a Premiers' summit at St. Andrews-by-the-Sea on August 18th and 19th, began to draft a resolution for the nine premiers concerning minority language education. His resolution called for all of the provinces to make their "best efforts" in providing these programs, and for the CMEC to conduct a review of the state of minority language education in each province.[14]

The weeks between Quebec's proposal and the St. Andrew's conference were filled with activity. The FFHQ obtained Quebec's agreement that no reciprocal agreement would be permitted without first obtaining the consent of the minority language community in the province concerned.[15] Many of these communities were wary of Lévesque's proposals, which seemed to do more for migrant Quebeckers than for their own community members.[16] In the end, the Federation would oppose the proposed agreements, preferring to have minority language education be subject to constitutional provisions, rather than interprovincial bargaining.[17] The proposed St. Andrew's declaration, as it came to be known, grew in popularity among the premiers, who one-by-one rejected Lévesque's proposals. Saskatchewan's Allan Blakeney became the final premier to publicly reject the reciprocal agreements on August 19th, the day the St. Andrew's declaration was signed by the nine premiers. The final wording of the declaration emerging from the conference stated that the provinces would "make their best efforts to provide instruction in English and French wherever numbers warrant."[18] All of the premiers except René Lévesque signed this declaration,

and the CMEC Secretariat was given a mandate to prepare a report on the state of minority language education in the provinces.[19]

The St. Andrew's declaration was an unintended major catalyst in the development of minority language education rights in Canada. The main motivation of the premiers was, as Nova Scotia Premier Gerald Regan put it, to go over the head of Lévesque to publicly declare their commitment to minority language education so as to undermine the separatist cause.[20] Lévesque's efforts to secure the agreement of the other premiers for reciprocal agreements and reduce Ottawa's role in language policy matters had backfired. Rather than solidifying his alliance with the other premiers, he forced them closer to Trudeau's camp. The St. Andrew's declaration was the first time that the nine premiers had come together to publicly declare support for minority language education rights; this declaration would provide the basis for further development towards constitutional recognition of these rights.[21] Moreover, it marked a significant step for the CMEC in terms of its involvement in the official languages in education debate, since it was to be an additional focal point for the joint study of these programs.

On 26 August 1977, Bill 101 was formally adopted by the government of Quebec, but without any other province agreeing to the provisions of Section 86. In making the St. Andrew's declaration, the premiers had come up with what they thought was a provincial solution to the minority language education question which would strengthen interstate federalism. While the nine premiers were opposed to Lévesque's proposal, many of them nevertheless were not keen to

enshrine language rights into the constitution, and wanted to forestall federal efforts in this respect. However, in making their support for minority language education public, the premiers had taken an important step in Trudeau's direction, away from the path proposed by Lévesque, and had thus weakened their bargaining position.

The Quebec government was disappointed over the rejection of the reciprocal accords, and did not subscribe to the St. Andrew's declaration. It was also upset over the fact that the other provinces had rejected an interprovincial approach to minority language education, which it believed stemmed from provincial misapprehensions that these agreements would be interpreted as support for Bill 101.[22] It did not, however, give up hope that some type of agreement could be reached to satisfy Article 86's requirement. Jacques-Yvan Morin, the education minister, hoped that the CMEC meeting in Montreal, scheduled for February 1978, would produce better results, under the assumption that education ministers might be able to agree to proposals that the premiers, for political reasons, could not.[23]

The Montreal conference, held on 24 February 1978, did lead to a statement which all of the education ministers could agree to. The Montreal declaration stated that:

> Each child of the French-speaking and English-speaking minority is entitled to an education in his or her language in the primary or the secondary schools in each province wherever numbers warrant. The implementation of this principle will be as defined by each province.[24]

This declaration was more restrictive than St. Andrews, limiting language rights to the official language minority population, and leaving its interpretation and

implementation up to individual provinces. Premier Lévesque hoped that provincial consensus on the Montreal declaration would stem federal government involvement in arena of minority language rights.[25] While Jacques-Yvan Morin believed that the declaration was a step in the direction of a multilateral accord, and this might suffice for the purposes of Article 86,[26] his colleague Claude Morin, the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, disagreed. While Claude Morin maintained that progress had been made, this was not enough to qualify as a reciprocal agreement. He urged the education minister to continue to press for the reciprocal accords through the CMEC. He believed that this issue must be resolved through the CMEC, at the provincial level. Quebec must not be seen, he argued, as failing in its attempt to secure the consent of the other provinces on an issue this important.[27]

Given Claude Morin's rejection of the sufficiency of the Montreal declaration, Quebec's English-language schools remained closed to migrants from other provinces (except for exceptions for short-term stays in the province). For its part, while the federal government did not support Bill 101, it did not disallow the legislation, although it supported efforts by groups such as the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal that were challenging the legislation in court. Furthermore, Ottawa indicated that it believed that there were other methods of attracting students to the French-language educational system that did not involve coercion, and that these avenues would have been preferable.[28] In terms of the Canadian government's approach to minority language rights, Prime Minister Trudeau was committed to a constitutional solution. Writing to the

premiers in September 1977, he proposed: "to inscribe in the Constitution a right in relation to language of education based on the declaration of principle and your own stated objectives that emerged from St. Andrew's."[29] The preference of the federal government was:

> to have the constitutional right established in terms of the official language of choice. This could be done by inscribing in the Constitution a provision recognizing and declaring that, in Canada, every Canadian parent has the right to have his or her children receive their schooling in the official language of the parent's choice, wherever the numbers of children for whom one or the other official language is chosen warrant the provision of the necessary facilities.[30]

This would be the cornerstone of the Liberal government's approach to minority language education rights for the next five years. Suggestions that these rights be left to the discretion of the provinces, such as those from the Pepin-Robarts Task Force on Canadian Unity, were vehemently rejected, citing in particular the failure of Quebec to defend the rights of its anglophone minority.[31]

The debates during the summer of 1977 over the best way to guarantee minority language education brought this conflict into the open. The competing approaches over how best to deal with educational issues in the Canadian federal system were now evident for all to see, ranging from the strict vision of classical federalism espoused by Quebec to the intrastate model advocated by the Trudeau government. Most of the nine premiers found themselves somewhere between these two extremes, and the St. Andrew's declaration was an attempt to stake out an independent position which preserved provincial autonomy over language. However, through this episode, they were forced to go public with a vague declaration of support for minority language education rights,

a declaration to which they could be held to account by the Trudeau government and the minority language communities. This would constrain their room for maneuvering in the future when responding to Ottawa's proposals for guaranteed minority language education rights: rights which in principle they supposedly agreed with.

The Youth Option – New Directions in Federal Funding of Bilingualism

While Pierre Trudeau was committed to a constitutional solution to the official languages dilemma in education, this was not the only avenue that his government was pursuing. The Bilingualism in Education Program had led to increased opportunities for minority language education and second language instruction in the provinces, and this program was increasingly seen as the best way to promote bilingualism in the country. The BEP was not the only initiative that had followed from the Official Languages Act to promote bilingualism in the country, but it certainly seemed to be the most productive venture. Accordingly in the fall of 1976 and winter of 1977 the federal government began to turn towards a "youth option" for bilingualism.

The youth option first appeared as government policy in the Speech from the Throne of October 1976, and stood in sharp contrast to the civil service route to bilingualism that had been concurrently pursued by the government to this point. The Speech called for "a better balance [to] be established between the money spent to introduce bilingualism in the public service and the money spent to enable more Canadians, particularly young people, to learn to communicate in

both official languages."[32] This youth option would be repeated regularly in speeches throughout the early months of 1977, including a speech from the Prime Minister to the Canadian Association of Broadcasters indicating a desire to shift to "greater support for teaching French in the schools – where it should be taught – rather than in crash programs for public servants."[33] The same sentiments would be echoed in the June 1977 policy paper "A National Understanding."[34]

The civil service language training program had largely been a disappointment for the Trudeau government, and a costly one at that. In a period when the costs of bilingualism programs were escalating rapidly, it was necessary that federal funds be channelled to more effective initiatives. In this spirit, Commissioner of Official Languages Keith Spicer pushed the "youth option" approach, both in his Fifth Annual report, and in his representations to Treasury Board President Jean Chrétien and Prime Minister Trudeau over the summer of 1976.[35] Indeed, Spicer had long been an advocate of the youth approach to bilingualism, and his annual reports routinely stressed the greater effectiveness of language training for children.[36] With the poor results of the civil service programs, the Spicer proposals eventually found a receptive ear in the Trudeau government.

While both by Spicer and the Canadian government recognized that the BEP programs did not lead to fluent bilingualism in all cases, the Canadian government believed that they did provide opportunities for those students who wished to become bilingual to do so. The programs also offered education for

official language minorities in their mother tongue. Moreover, Ottawa hoped that its language programs "will result in a healthy attitude towards that language and a sympathetic understanding of the people who speak that language."[37] Thus, not only was the youth option supposed to be more effective as a language training mechanism, but also a tool for fostering national unity.

Although the federal government was moving towards an increased stress on the youth option, it was not, as we have noted, entirely satisfied with the current arrangements of the Bilingualism in Education Program. The federal government expressed a desire to see a cultural enrichment component added to the language education programs, perhaps included in the objectives of the BEP.[38] Other aspects of the program were negatively perceived in Ottawa, and the Secretary of State Department wished to rectify this. Chief among these concerns was the issue of accountability. Given that certain provinces, particularly Quebec, did not subscribe to the principle that there were additional costs entailed in the provision of minority language education, it was difficult to justify the federal role. John Roberts, the new Secretary of State, mused that perhaps it would be advisable for the federal government to put an end to its financial involvement in permanent educational programs. He further wondered if there was a state of dependence being created that ran counter to the spirit of the Constitution.[39]

Conforming to this desire to restructure the format of the BEP, the federal government indicated a desire in the spring of 1977 to move from the open-ended formulas to a series of bilateral agreements under an accord cadre.[40] This

arrangement which would also permit Ottawa to deal with the provinces one-on-one, rather than as a united front. The Secretary of State circulated a number of options over the following year. These included continuation of the existing formula payments with more accountability and evaluation, and an increased emphasis on development; complete termination of the formulas, and expansion of developmental activities; a shift to fiscal transfers for maintenance of existing programs, and expansion of developmental activities; and linking federal contributions to provincial performance, rather than costs.[41]

As the federal proposals evolved over the course of the following two years, they increasingly included an emphasis on shifting the federal role into funding development of new programs, rather than maintaining existing programs through the formula payments.[42] In addition, the federal government capped the funding of the BEP at $170M per year in September 1978, in an effort to control the spiralling cost of the program, which had cost over $222M in 1977-78, up from $50M in 1970-71 (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Federal Contributions for Bilingualism in Education, 1970-1983[43]

Year	Formula	Non-Formula	Total
1970-71	49,950,000	558,933	50,508,933
1971-72	73,257,873	1,350,417	74,608,290
1972-73	64,527,152	3,055,623	67,582,775
1973-74	80,741,361	9,273,313	90,014,674
1974-75	78,973,637	11,880,201	90,853,838
1975-76	97,421,639	14,072,668	111,494,307
1976-77	142,848,870	19,960,600	162,809,470
1977-78	195,077,445	27,442,327	222,519,772
1978-79	178,113,302	31,670,046	209,783,349
1979-80	145,515,826	29,861,642	175,377,468
1980-81	141,951,109	29,819,035	171,770,144
1981-82	141,748,213	31,776,451	173,524,664
1982-83	140,000,000	36,276,619	176,276,619
Total	**1,530,126,427**	**247,009,251**	**1,777,135,678**

By December 1978, the federal government had elaborated a plan to phase its involvement completely into developmental projects, shifting 20 per cent of its contributions each year for five years.[44] This move would allow the federal government more control over the programs, provide a more demonstrable link to new developments, and permit greater evaluation of the program's results. It would also satisfy the concerns of the FFHQ and Quebec's anglophones about the lack of incentives for development, and the need for accountability. The provincial rhetoric concerning their jurisdiction over minority language education, so touted by Lévesque in Montreal, was thrown back in their faces by the Canadian government, which argued that ultimately the responsibility for education was a provincial one![45] To secure continuation of the federal grants, there would have to be compromise on the part of the provinces.

Provincial Reaction to the New Federal Directions

The switch to the youth option from the civil service approach to bilingualism did not meet with a great deal of hostility from the provinces. A notable exception to this was Quebec, whose Education Minister noted that the Trudeau government was advocating a "concept of federalism that has led the government to interfere more and more in areas having to deal directly with education."[46] New Brunswick was the only province to actively lament the end of the civil service training program, largely because its efforts to move towards full bilingual services had depended heavily on federal financial assistance.[47]

Like the federal government, the provinces had developed ideas about how the BEP should change. They wanted a long-term commitment from the federal government to the BEP to allow for greater stability, and wanted more flexibility in how they could implement the program.[48] Moreover, they sought an increased financial commitment from the federal government to the formula payment programs. Ontario had proposed a 15.8 per cent formula payment for second language instruction, based on its additional costs, which the other provinces initially leaped on as a means to gain more money (even if their costs were not this high).[49] Quebec pushed for a fiscal transfer option for provinces that did not want to be bound by the formulas.[50]

The federal proposals that emerged over the course of 1977 and 1978 met with mixed, although mostly negative, reactions. Ontario and New Brunswick expressed sympathy for the federal government's desire for evaluation, although they preferred to carry out their own evaluations, funded by the federal government, and then share the results.[51] Manitoba, which had made great progress in recent years, indicated some support for increased linkages between dollars and developments, provided that the provinces were involved in the setting of priorities. New Brunswick, for its part, indicated that it would be amenable to a more global approach to bilingualism, with increased attention paid to complementary enrichment activities, such as cultural initiatives.[52]

Those qualified positives aside, there were also many criticisms. The federal government appeared to be moving away from the "where possible" approach minority language education, towards a rights-based model, which was

decried as meddling.[53] Several provinces, led by Quebec, stressed the need to maintain the unconditional nature of the payments, to protect provincial jurisdiction and priority-setting. The shift from maintenance to development was also widely criticized, as the new programs would create public expectations, and the provinces would have to shoulder the added financial burden without additional federal money to maintain existing programs.[54]

When the federal government announced that it was going to cap the BEP, this was also widely denounced by the provinces as the "old federal trick" of getting the provinces to commit to programs, and then pulling the financial rug out from under them.[55] They argued that since they had participated in a program that was in the national interest, the Canadian government should continue its support for this program.[56] Quebec in particular was concerned about the cutbacks, as it stood to lose between $350M and $380M over the next five years. Feeling specifically targeted by the federal government, Quebec refused to commit to the Summer Language Bursary and Official Language Monitors programs, which were normally negotiated separately, until the BEP issue was settled. This effectively froze these two programs, which could not survive without the participation of Quebec. Further details about developments in individual provincial approaches to the BEP will be discussed later in this chapter. In general, by late 1978, a highly polarized situation had developed between the provinces and the federal government, and there were no immediate signs that the deadlock would be broken.

Pressure Groups at the National Level

Although negotiations concerning the future of the Bilingualism in Education Program were primarily conducted between the federal government and the provinces, a number of third parties had taken an interest in these proceedings. Some of these organisations operated at the provincial level, and largely predated the existence of the BEP, although many were now receiving federal funds. Others were formed at the national level, received federal funding, and had a direct interest in the development of minority language education and second language instruction. The FFHQ took on an increasingly vocal and activist role in this period. The period from 1977 to 1979 also saw the emergence of another new organisation, Canadian Parents for French (CPF), and increasing involvement by other national organisations.

The first noteworthy third party that became increasingly involved in the development of the BEP was the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Keith Spicer, the first Commissioner, had long been extremely critical of the manner in which the federal government and the provinces were developing their official language programs, and routinely used blistering language in his *Annual Reports* concerning the state of the development of the BEP. His successor, Maxwell Yalden (who began his seven-year term in 1977), was somewhat more reserved than his predecessor at the outset of his term, but was still vocal in his criticism of the cutbacks to the BEP that were announced by the federal government in 1978.[57] Of greater significance than the words of the Commissioners though, was the role that their office played in the formation of a

new pressure group. Under the guidance of Keith Spicer, at a conference hosted by the Commissioner in March 1977, Canadian Parents for French was born.[58]

Canadian Parents for French was initially a very small organisation, formed by parents committed to second language learning. However, with federal funding from the Secretary of State under the Promotion of Official Languages program,[59] CPF quickly attracted more members and developed into a nation-wide organisation, with chapters in each province and a regular newsletter. The primary objective of the organisation was to urge the federal and provincial governments to devote money and effort into providing opportunities for Canadian children to become proficient in their second language. As a secondary objective, it wanted these programs to promote the French language and culture. The group was also intended to act as an information liaison, informing parents and schools about available programs in their province.[60]

Given its focus on second language instruction, Canadian Parents for French was keenly interested in the Bilingualism in Education Program, and wanted to ensure that its funds were used to maximum advantage in the provinces. The group quickly became an advocate for provincial accountability, and demanded answers from the provincial governments in a way that Ottawa could not. CPF called on the Council of Ministers of Education Canada to clarify the grant structures of the BEP in the provinces, and to institute legislation for the mandatory teaching of French as a second language. It believed that by clarifying the nature of the grants available, parents could more effectively lobby individual school boards for change. As it noted: "too often local school boards

use lack of money as an excuse for not offering more or better French programs. Parents who can produce accurate figures will have a better chance of countering this herring."[61] The federal government was very pleased with the campaigns of CPF, and urged it to continue looking into accountability at the community level, which was something that even provincial governments had been reluctant to do.[62] CPF followed this advice, and in 1979 called for concentrated action at the local level to prevent provincial and local governments from using confusion over the BEP as a smokescreen for not expanding their programs.[63] In addition, the newsletters of CPF routinely updated its membership about language education rights in their province, and the state of development of second language instruction.

While Canadian Parents for French was targeting the provinces on second language instruction issues, another federally-funded organisation, the Fédération des francophones hors-Québec, was taking the provinces to task on the issue of minority language education. In its November 1977 missive, "Les gouvernements jouent avec les minorités," the FFHQ lambasted the provinces for their proposal to raise the second language formula to 15.8 per cent, while not doing anything to increase funding for minority language programs. As it pointed out: "À quoi va servir la connaissance du français comme langue seconde aux anglophones au Canada, si les francophones hors Québec continuent de s'assimiler?"[64] The FFHQ continued to demand the establishment of minority language education rights by the provinces, and called on the provinces to pay more attention to their francophone minorities. The CMEC's report on minority

language education, released in January 1978, was also the object of vivid criticism. In "De l'action, s.v.p.," the FFHQ criticized the CMEC's report *The State of Minority Language in the Ten Provinces of Canada*, as a waste of time which failed to develop any recommendations or action plans, and which was prepared without consulting the minorities that it purported to be investigating.[65]

This lack of consultation by the CMEC would become an increasingly sore spot for the FFHQ. In its September 1978 press release, "Premiers concernés, derniers consultés," the Federation decried its continued exclusion from the CMEC meetings that were being held to discuss the future of the BEP.[66] This time the provincial governments were not the only ones criticized by the FFHQ; the federal government's cuts to the program were also attacked. This frustration with the CMEC had been building for quite some time. The FFHQ had first attempted to meet with the CMEC in March 1978. Repeated overtures were met with the same response: the CMEC refused to meet peer-to-peer with the leaders of the FFHQ and told them that their provincial component organisations should instead meet with provincial ministries of education.[67] The CMEC claimed that it would be pointless for the FFHQ to meet with them, as the CMEC did not have the ultimate decision-making power; the provinces did.[68] To accede to the FFHQ's demands for a peer-to-peer meeting would be tantamount to conceding the national, pan-Canadian nature of official languages in education, and would undermine the provincial position that these issues could be regulated at the provincial level.

However, the FFHQ was aware that although final decisions were made at the provincial level, the forum for discussions was the CMEC, and it recognized the importance of participation in this discussion process. Indeed, a primary reason why the FFHQ was created was to have a national organisation to deal with other interprovincial and national bodies, such as the CMEC and the federal government.[69] However, the CMEC continued to refuse to meet with the FFHQ, and thus its lobbying efforts continued to be restricted to outside the official forums of the federal-provincial discussions.

A more minor player was the Canadian School Trustees Association (CSTA). While this organisation would not be a major player in the debates around the BEP, its leaders nevertheless made an important point in its representations to the federal government. The CSTA called on the government to conclude agreements of a duration of ten to fifteen years, a period that it argued was necessary for long-term planning and teacher training.[70] More critical than this was its comment that there was not nearly enough participation in the discussions by representatives of the local level of government. It was this level that ultimately was responsible for the implementation of the BEP, and yet its representatives were rarely brought into discussions.

Developments in the Provinces

Beyond the joint provincial responses to developments in the BEP, there were numerous other factors shaping individual provincial stances on the program. Some provincial governments changed, which led to major policy shifts in

education. Others were contending with new lobbying strategies from their minority language communities. Still others were contending with the basic evolution of the BEP-funded programs, which increasingly had an impact on how these provinces conceived of their interests. Bearing this in mind, we now return to the six provinces to determine what was shaping their approach to the BEP between November 1976 and March 1979.

Quebec

Of all the provincial governments, Quebec's was certainly the one most changed since November 1976. The Parti Québécois quickly set about implementing its agenda, including the language legislation discussed above. The shift in government also had implications for the future participation of Quebec in the Bilingualism in Education Program and other national programs. The government was immediately confronted with this issue in the form of the CMEC. Jean Bienvenue, the Liberal Education Minister in 1976, had been elected to the position of Vice-president of the CMEC. Following the provincial election, Jacques-Yvan Morin was expected to take his place, a position which would, by tradition, lead to the Quebec presidency of the CMEC in the following September. Initially, there was uncertainty as to whether Morin should assume this position, given the eventual intention of the PQ to either have Quebec secede from Confederation, or at a minimum sever its close ties with the other provinces on matters of education and other federal-provincial arrangements. For the interim, it was decided that it was better to participate in the CMEC, as

this would give Quebec a strong position from which to defend its position on the formula payment programs.[71]

The issue of Quebec's participation in the CMEC would surface again in September 1977, following the failure of the reciprocal accords, and the start of the CMEC study on minority language education. This study provoked a schism in the government between the Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs, which wanted to refuse participation and relaunch its bilateral accords proposal, and the Ministry of Education, which successfully argued that participation would highlight the strong record of Quebec in minority language education programs and enable the province to help guide the study's structure.[72] The Minister of Education hoped that this participation might revitalise talks for an inter-provincial arrangement on minority language education, and would let the CMEC be a forum for preventing the Trudeau government's intervention in this sector. Indeed, by participating in the CMEC study, Quebec was able to guide the report towards a bland statistical format, rather than one filled with concrete recommendations for new programs.[73] However, the Parti Québécois' attitude towards the CMEC continued to be an ambivalent one, with conflicting opinions within the government as to the preferred extent of its participation in this body. Indeed, the participation of Quebec in the BEP as a whole was qualified in the following manner: "tous nouveaux arrangements ... sont nécessairement fonction pour le Québec de son évolution politique et que de ce fait, de tels arrangements devraient être considérés comme provisoires."[74]

By 1977-78, the CMEC was taking on increased importance as the forum for interprovincial discussions on the future direction of the Bilingualism in Education Program. Recognizing this, Quebec realized that it would have to participate in this body if it were to shape the CMEC's stance on the BEP. Moreover, Quebec wanted to push for a united front in negotiations with the federal government, fearing that a series of ten bilaterally negotiated agreements with each province – the route preferred by the Trudeau government – would both allow the federal government to intrude more significantly into education, and reduce the amount of money that would flow to Quebec under future arrangements.[75]

Several of the new directions proposed by the Trudeau government were potentially damaging to the province, and in direct conflict with the direction that the PQ was heading with its language policy. The federal government was pushing for a definition of the BEP program objectives which would entail open access to minority language education, while the province wanted to make sure that this was limited to current citizens and members of the official language minority group, in conformity with Bill 101.[76] The Secretary of State's thrust towards a developmental angle was likewise considered jurisdictional interference in education. The constitutional justification offered for this by the federal government was likewise seen in Quebec as an arbitrary one, without any basis in an agreement with the provinces.[77] Indeed, Quebec reminded Ottawa that the decision to fund existing programs was a federal one, initiated as part of

its language policy, and was only acceptable insofar as it did not interfere with provincial priorities.[78]

In a similar vein, Ottawa's insistence on linking the BEP payments to additional costs was rejected by Quebec. Over the previous years, Quebec had been distancing itself from this concept, which although part of the intentions of the BEP did not find its way into the written objectives of the program.[79] The province maintained that these costs were so integral to the province's education system that an analysis of which costs were "additional" would be impossible. However, in 1979, the province did attempt such a study, which tried to prove that minority and second language programs cost the province $117M, which would be eliminated by phasing out these programs.[80] Oddly, this report was based on the assumption that the per-student cost of the Protestant school boards was $117 higher than the Catholic boards. This was curious given that provincial grants to the PSBGM were lower than those to any other Catholic school board on Montreal island, and that the province had long maintained that there was no reason to provide additional funding to the English-language boards, as they did not cost any more than their Catholic counterparts![81] Ottawa's accountability provisions for these additional costs were also viewed with suspicion. The term used for accountability in the French versions of these proposals was "responsabilité," which implied a greater federal role in education than the province believed was acceptable.[82]

Over time, the Parti Québécois became increasingly conscious of the fact that the federal government had never wanted to fund Quebec's fully developed

programs, and that the other provinces were similarly upset at the fact that Quebec received the lion's share of the grants. Any shift of the program away from the present arrangements would cost the province money. Indeed, its formula payments were going to decline anyway as Bill 101's provisions began to kick in, and English-language education enrolments declined.[83] Thus, the province began to push for a new arrangements, first for a fiscal transfer, and then for an opting-out provision in the BEP which would allow Quebec to receive financial compensation.[84]

In addition to the multi-front battles that Quebec was waging to preserve the existing arrangements of the BEP, Quebec was also faced with Prime Minister Trudeau's attempt to parlay the St. Andrew's agreement into constitutional entrenchment of minority language education rights. The Parti Québécois was extremely distraught with this development and fought against it, as this entrenchment would further enshrine Ottawa's role in the defence of official language minority communities.[85] Indeed, the anglophone community in Quebec was calling on the federal government to assume an increased role in the defence of bilingualism and the rights of minorities. Both the QFHSA and the PSBGM, vehemently opposed to Bill 101, called for a constitutional entrenchment of the right to freedom of choice in the language of education.[86] Any federal document which appeared soft on Bill 101 was roundly criticized by these groups, who wanted to ensure that Ottawa was not sliding away from its commitment to freedom of choice.[87] They also continued to lobby the federal government so as to ensure that accountability remained high on the agenda.

This campaign included briefs, letters, and targeted action aimed at cabinet ministers from Quebec.[88]

A brief respite for the Quebec government was provided by the founding of the Council of Quebec Minorities (CQM)[89] in November 1978, which seemed more amenable to finding a way for Quebec's non-francophone population to make the best of Bill 101, and to ensure that the diversity of minority life in the province was protected.[90] Indeed, the Council was careful to completely avoid the use of the word "English" anywhere in its constitution. However, the CQM was not nearly as activist or vocal as the QFHSA and PSBGM, which continued to occupy the spotlight on the question of education rights in Quebec.

Clearly, Quebec was a critical player in the debates swirling around issues of bilingualism in the late 1970s. Between its language laws, its preparation for a referendum on sovereignty-association, and its central position in the debates on the BEP, it was at the centre of all debates on issues of language rights. By early 1979, it was not at all clear what role Quebec would have in the future of the BEP. Yet, it was obvious that any solution to the controversies surrounding the program's future would need to accommodate its interests, in one form or another.

Alberta

While Quebec was pushing for preservation of provincial jurisdiction in education, and leading the resistance to federal "intrusions" in education, the province of Alberta found itself sympathetic to these objectives. Indeed, when considering

their response to various proposals emanating from both the federal government and the CMEC, Alberta's officials noted that their position was often similar to that of Quebec.[91] Alberta was equally concerned about federal intervention in its jurisdiction, and strongly resisted attempts by the federal government to impose federal priorities on evaluation and to shift funds from maintenance to development, both of which were considered to have an unacceptable steering effect on provincial programs.[92] Education was not the only jurisdiction where Ottawa's meddling was viewed with hostility in Alberta. Indeed, federal energy and resource policy were the primary focus of Alberta's attentions, and conflict over this sector was likely the prime motivation for Edmonton's obstinate position on educational matters.

While Alberta did share jurisdictional objections with Quebec, in many other respects it was not in accord with *la belle province*. Alberta did want to move towards a bilateral approach to the BEP, as this would permit changes to better reflect provincial needs.[93] Moreover, it advocated adjusting the formulas so as to more accurately reflect the additional costs of the bilingual programs. Education Minister Julian Koziak called for the minority language education formula to be increased to a level whereby the federal government would be paying for between one- to two-thirds of the cost of these programs.[94] Education officials did not, however, support Ontario's proposed 15.8 per cent formula for second language instruction programs, as this was seen as exceeding the province's needs. Apart from these positions, Alberta's officials were tempted by a number of other proposals that were floated during this period. While

education officials did not want to permit the interference that a shift of Ottawa's funding completely towards developmental projects would entail, they did recognize that this would mean additional funding for Alberta.[95] A proposal from Manitoba to move to a per-capita funding model would also greatly advantage Alberta, from a self-centred perspective; it would increase their annual grant by $12M.[96] Alberta's officials did not, however, come out strongly in favour of either of these proposals, as they believed that these proposals would not meet with approval from other provinces, and voicing support for them would be likely to undermine Alberta's negotiating position.

The main thrust of Alberta's participation in the BEP in the late 1970s was to present its distinctive agenda on language education. English-French bilingualism in Alberta had never been a major priority for the provincial government. Rather, Alberta had much larger German and Ukrainian populations that it wished to serve. In accordance with this, the province had developed a number of language education programs to serve other language communities. For example, the Edmonton Public School Board offered programs in Cree, French, Hebrew and Ukrainian.[97] Enrolment in the multilingual second language programs lagged far behind French: 1976-77 enrolment in the German programs was 1,255 students, with another 1,378 in the Ukrainian programs, compared to 115,472 in the French programs. However, the provincial government decided to make its call for federal support of multilingual programs its main contribution to the BEP debate. These proposals were presented regularly throughout 1977 both to the federal government and to the CMEC.[98]

The province did not, however, make its participation in the BEP contingent on support for this agenda, which is fortunate, given that most other provinces did not support this initiative.[99]

While the Alberta government may have been interested in multilingual programs, it was faced with a constant barrage of lobbying efforts to keep official bilingualism on its agenda. The founding of Canadian Parents for French had a major impact on Alberta; membership in CPF was particularly high in Western Canada. The Alberta chapter of CPF engaged in a major push for the development of French immersion programs, and for the development of opportunities for children to become bilingual.[100] This drive proved to be very successful, as pilot immersion programs in Calgary and Edmonton proved to be very popular, and made the national news.[101]

CPF also proved to be a useful ally for the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta. The two organisations frequently pooled their efforts to work for French language schools, both minority language and immersion.[102] In much of the province, particularly in the south, Franco-Albertans were numerically insufficient to warrant the creation of French-language educational programs. The support of anglophones who wanted French immersion often created enough demand to warrant the establishment of French instructional programs, albeit not necessarily as French in character as some Franco-Albertans may have wished.

The period from 1977 onwards was a particularly important time for ACFA. Having adopted a new action plan at the 1976 congress, its education

coordinator, Alain Nogue, began work in August 1977 to lobby the government and school boards for increased French minority language programming. In preparing for this task, the model of the Manitoba BEF proved to be very useful. In addition to standard lobbying efforts on a personal level with the Minister and Deputy Minister of Education, a substantial community mobilization effort was undertaken.[103] As had been the case in Manitoba, research studies, including those by Jim Cummins and Bruce Bain, were used to demonstrate the efficacy of French-language education to the Franco-Albertan communities.[104] Nogue worked with local parent committees to lobby school boards, and held community forums which debated the merits of minority language education programs. In addition, the financial carrot of the BEP grants was regularly used as an inducement for the school boards.[105]

In addition to pressing for the establishment of French schools, ACFA continued to lobby for a constitutional right to French-language education.[106] In this respect, it argued that the St. Andrew's promise of a "best efforts" approach to minority language education should include this right.[107] The Association urged school boards to move towards the 80 per cent French programs, and to create a French atmosphere in these schools. Moreover, it called on the government to intervene in cases of school jurisdictions that were blocking transportation arrangements which would permit students to travel to districts where French-language education was offered.[108] It also wanted to convince the province to provide transportation grants to facilitate access to these programs. ACFA used arguments which were designed to appeal to the self-interested

perspective of English-speakers in Alberta to support its position. In defending the need for both minority and second language education programs, ACFA and CPF noted the increasing need for bilingual applicants for new jobs that were being created in the federal government and elsewhere.[109] In this manner, they were able to argue in favour of bilingualism from a functional as well as a rights perspective. Moreover, ACFA noted that support for French minority language education, in light of the Péquiste election, could be viewed as a key indication of support for national unity.[110]

The campaign by ACFA and the CPF had a significant impact on Alberta's French programs in this period. The province, which claimed as late as February 1977 that its role in the BEP was one in which: "The Student Finance Board considers that it is only providing a service for the federal government by administering the programs. [It] does not consider that they are involved in a joint venture with the federal government,"[111] moved the following year to announce that it was going to chip in $2.5M of its own funding to expand its French programs, tripling the support staff at the departmental level.[112] The following month, Julian Koziak announced the intention of his department to top up the federal grants with its own money.[113] This undertaking was fulfilled in November 1978 with the announcement of additional provincial grants to small schools in rural areas to offset the additional cost of running these programs.[114] Going even further, the province gave a grant to ACFA in 1978 to permit the hiring of a support person to the educational co-ordinator who would work with local and regional French education committees.[115] Thus, while Alberta was still defending

its provincial jurisdiction in matters of French language education, and was resisting the constitutional option proposed by the federal government, by 1979 it was increasingly expanding its support for official language programs in education, and was finally beginning to commit some of its own funds to these programs.

Manitoba

Of all of the provinces, Manitoba was by far the most advanced in terms of its grant structure under the Bilingualism in Education Program in the mid-1970s. On top of maintenance grants for French minority language programs of $190/FTE, and grants for French second language conversational courses of $47.50/FTE, the province also offered short-term developmental grants for minority language education that were worth an additional $357/FTE at the elementary level, and $438/FTE at the secondary level.[116] In addition, Manitoba was the only province to require strict accounting from school boards for the use of these funds.[117] Overall, it was moving towards putting an increased share of its federal grants into developmental programs, particularly those aimed at the Franco-Manitoban minority population. In 1977-78, $1,327K was spent on the maintenance of existing programs, but $733K was spent on the development of new programs: a fairly substantial share, and one that progressively increased with passing years.[118] The BEF had also entered into an agreement with the government of Quebec in 1977 to help with its pedagogical development programs, and to assist in the recruitment of new French teachers.[119]

By 1977, the BEF had begun the process of withdrawing from community mobilization initiatives, the model that was now proving so useful in Alberta. Education Minister Ian Turnbull noted that it was not the intention of the Bureau to promote one type of French language program over another, and that it was not the role of the government to assume an advocacy role in this sector.[120] The BEF, once a temporary section of the department, was moving towards a more standard bureaucratic model in 1976-77, and was aware that its survival depended on its ability to function as a normal division of the civil service. Moreover, its senior civil servants were aware of the direction that the political winds were blowing in the province.[121] Senior bureaucrats in the Department of Education had been uncomfortable with the community mobilization activities from the start, and the Conservative party was downright hostile to them. Indeed, the entire push for 80 per cent French programming had created some significant unrest at the local level; a French-only school in St. Vital was called an example of "separatism" when it opened in April 1977.[122] Fortunately for the BEF's survival, this process of normalisation had been completed by October 1977, when the Conservative party under Sterling Lyon came to power in Manitoba.

The election of the Lyon government was not a positive development for French-language education in the province of Manitoba. While it did not lead to a reduction in the programs being offered, or any major alterations to program or grant structures, there was no major additional growth under this government either. Within the first month of his election, Sterling Lyon called Ottawa's policy

on bilingualism a failure, and noted that Western Canadians did not share the Ottawa's "overwhelming preoccupation with linguistic and cultural affairs."[123] Lionel Orlikow, the Deputy Minister who had shepherded so much of the early development of the BEF, was fired almost immediately. The Lyon government adopted a policy direction towards increased local governance in educational matters. A proposed revision of Bill 113, dubbed Bill 22, would have restricted the pool of children that could be drawn upon to create a French-language school to the school level, rather than an entire district, which would have had a chilling effect on the creation of these programs.[124] The Lyon government era was also overshadowed by constitutional challenges to Manitoba's *Official Language Act*, in a court case brought by Georges Forest.[125] Throughout this period, the Forest case was winding its way through the Manitoba court system, and had the effect of increasingly politicizing the debates over French-language rights in the province and polarizing the population.

While the provincial government was going through a period of retrenchment in terms of its approach to French-language schools, this did not mean that the Franco-Manitoban community had eased off in its demands for improved programming. A great deal of progress had been made in the community mobilization era. In 1974, 47 per cent of French minority language students had been in programs that offered less than 40 per cent of daily instruction in French, and only 28 per cent were in programs offering 70 per cent French instruction or more. By 1978 these figures were reversed.[126] The BEF now had fifteen full time staff, compared to two in Nova Scotia, and three in

Alberta, which had comparably-sized francophone populations. The Franco-Manitoban community continued its push for improved programs, calling for a cultural aspect to the French schools, and the elimination of mixed schools, which were called "un système bâtard" which led to anglicization.[127] The community wanted a greater distinction between French minority language schools and French immersion programs, and the development of separate pedagogical models for these two different objectives. In this respect, they were joined by Canadian Parents for French, which supported the community in its drive for French minority language education, and for separate facilities for immersion programs.[128] Both CPF and the Franco-Manitoban organisations also called on the government to improve its transportation funding so that students could in fact get to the French-language schools.[129]

While the provincial government had reined in its support for bilingualism in the late 1970s, there were still many sympathetic individuals in the BEF who supported the aspirations of the Franco-Manitoban community. This was reflected in the BEF's proposals for the BEP that emerged in this period. The BEF supported Ottawa's demands for accountability, and for a move away from formula payments towards bilateral agreements that more effectively met community needs.[130] Manitoba also opposed the 15.8 per cent formula proposed by Ontario, on the grounds that it did not meet standards of equity for the minority language programs which cost more than the second language ones.[131] The province was also concerned that the current structure of the formula payments was very unfavourable to Manitoba: a province with 4.5 per cent of Canada's

population, 3.2 per cent of the official language minority population, and 4.2 per cent of the majority language population, and yet received only 2 per cent of BEP formula funding.[132] If formula payments were to be continued, Manitoba wanted them re-oriented in such a way to be more reflective of the ratio of the province's population to that of the rest of Canada. Moreover, the province supported linking federal funds to the progress that had been made since the inception of the BEP, an area where Manitoba had clearly been a leader.[133] On a note indirectly related to the BEP, in 1979 the BEF also came out in favour of enshrining Franco-Manitoban educational rights in the constitution, demonstrating that it was still committed to the Franco-Manitoban community, even if Premier Lyon was opposed to this and to Trudeau's proposal for a *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*.[134]

Ontario

Throughout the first six years of the BEP, the Franco-Ontarian community had been critical of the manner in which the provincial government of Ontario had used the federal grants. A *Toronto Star* report claimed that 65 per cent of the federal grants received for minority language education were in fact being spent on second language instruction programs.[135] While the provincial government had secured agreement from the federal government that it was free to set its priorities, and had chosen to spend the grants in a manner which reflected its additional costs – which it calculated at $525/FTE for second language programs, significantly more than the $274/FTE in minority language programs[136]

– it was aware that this decision was causing political turmoil. Accordingly, in April 1977, Education Minister Thomas Wells introduced a new grant structure for use of the BEP funds. Under the new plan, all grants had to be clearly linked to program spending, and boards had to submit their plans for use of the grants in advance in order to receive funding.[137] FML grants were increased from $50/FTE at the elementary level to $150/FTE, and secondary grants were increased from $36/credit to between $45 and $50/credit.[138] The shift in the formula also paid for performance: second language grants were increased as time spent in the programs increased, which would provide an incentive for immersion-style programs.[139] Wells hoped this would ensure that all federal grants for minority language education were indeed spent for this purpose.

The grant structure changes also expanded to cover capital costs. 95 per cent of the cost of constructing new French-language instructional units at the secondary level was covered by the province, and the French-language learning material fund was increased from $250,000 in 1975 to $2.5M in 1978.[140] Combined with the new grant formulas, this had the cumulative effect of increasing minority language education grants to school boards significantly, from $5.8M in 1973-74, to $8.8M in 1976-77, to $17.1M in 1977-78.[141] While these increases did respond somewhat to the demands emanating from the Franco-Ontarian community, there were still problems. There was conflict at the local level over who was responsible, the school board or the French Language Advisory Committee, for the distribution and management of the funds, and there were allegations of abuse of power on both sides.[142] There was also concern

about the accountability provisions built into the grants, which permitted up to 35 per cent of the grants to be used on indirect costs, which were defined vaguely;[143] the defined categories also appeared open to abuse.[144] In the Carleton Catholic School Board, inquiries into the use of the provincial grants were beginning to turn up some disturbing revelations about the actual (not reported) use of the grants, controversies over which would come to a head in 1979-80.[145]

The province's administration of the grants was not the only concern of the Franco-Ontarian community. The proposed 15.8 per cent formula for second language instruction angered them greatly. ACFO saw this as denying the importance of minority language education, which it argued should receive at least as much funding.[146] The issue of school management was also beginning to increase in importance, as a consortium of Franco-Ontarian organisations (ACFO, and the Franco-Ontarian associations of educators, school commissioners, parents, and superintendents) called for a homogenous French-language school board for the Ottawa-Carleton region in 1978.[147] The persistence of mixed schools continued to preoccupy the community. Their concerns were supported by education experts. A study conducted by Stacy Churchill at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) denounced the mixed schools as "an almost total denial of basic educational needs on a massive scale,"[148] and a means of transferring students between languages. The community was also not satisfied with the overall French-language services policy of the government, which employed a slow-and-steady approach. A bill to

guarantee French-language services, introduced by Liberal MLA Albert Roy, was killed by the government because it was seen as going too far given the current state of development of these services.[149] The government received 3,000 letters between April 1978 and February 1979 from members of ACFO, all denouncing this decision.[150]

While Franco-Ontarian community leaders were making strong representations to the government, the Davis government also had to contend with the English-speaking community, various elements of which were not always supportive of the government's initiatives. The Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada (APEC) had formed in 1977 in reaction to the PQ's election, and organised 2,000 letters in opposition to any French-language services, over the same period as mentioned above in regards to ACFO.[151] Moreover, the government had to make sure that its English-speaking majority saw the bilingualism grants as being of benefit to them as well. The approach it took in negotiations with the federal government reflected this balancing act. Ontario's main contribution was the 15.8 per cent proposal for second language instruction, which was very expensive for the province.[152] Second language instruction was a major priority of Ontario's education policy in this period, and one in need of more funds, particularly given that inflation and dropping enrolments were threatening the FSL programs.[153] Ideally, Ontario wanted the formula payments to continue to be unconditional, although it was willing to provide additional accountability and the results of its evaluations.[154]

Ontario needed to avoid the outright cancellation of the BEP. In 1978, the Department of Education realized that it had no contingency plan for funding French-language programs without federal money, and that local expectations had risen to the point that cutting off these programs was not a viable option.[155] In this vein, Bette Stephenson, the new Minister of Education, advised Jacques-Yvan Morin, who succeeded her as president of the CMEC, to tone down his rhetoric concerning federal intervention in education, since this might give the Canadian government further excuses to withdraw from maintenance of existing programs.[156] Ontario's officials were aware that the public did not know which level of government was funding the various programs, and thus decided to support increased visibility for the federal government. This would enable the province to point fingers if funding were cut off; as it currently stood, programs begun with federal seed money had to be funded by the province when this money dried up.[157] Thus, as BEP negotiations were reaching a critical point in 1979, Ontario played a strategic balancing game. It tried to satisfy both the Franco-Ontarian minority community and the English-speaking majority. It also attempted to increase federal funding, preferably with a minimum of additional reporting and federal interference, while at the same time trying to avoid the complete cessation of federal grants.

New Brunswick

As New Brunswick headed into the late-1970s, the overall tenor of its programs remained fundamentally the same. In January of 1977, the Department of Education rolled out its new policy on French immersion programs. The

programs became eligible for increased provincial grants, provided that 40 per cent of their instructional time was in French.[158] In July 1977, responding to a long-held demand of the SANB, the province proclaimed the remaining sections of the *Official Languages Act*, including the provisions for vocational and technical education.[159] Increased grants were allocated to minority language schools and bilingual districts in 1978.[160] The French second language program was also increased, as the province moved towards a 1200-hour program in October 1978, up from the 750-hour program in effect before.[161] The establishment of a dual structure in the Department of Education also proceeded apace, aided largely by the federal grants.

Pressure groups in New Brunswick also continued to present their demands to the provincial government. SANB leaders continued their campaign for a dual school board structure in the province, whereby a network of school boards, one French and one English, would completely cover the provincial map. They also pressed for a reorganisation of the use of BEP funds.[162] Their campaign had some success, as Bathurst moved to two unilingual school boards in 1978. The AEFNB also joined the SANB in calling for the acceleration of the move towards a policy of homogenous school districts.[163] On a more radical level, the secessionist Parti Acadien, which called for an autonomous Acadian province, ran candidates in the 1978 election, and won 12 per cent of the vote.[164] By the late-1970s, the word "bilingual" was also beginning to take on negative connotations in Acadian New Brunswick, where it was increasingly being seen as code for assimilation, and led to emotional outbursts.[165]

Pressures were also levied on the province from the other side of the debate. The New Brunswick Teachers' Association (NBTA) expressed concern over the perceived neglect of FSL programs to the benefit of French immersion. It was concerned that anglophones were not being considered for the new jobs created in the immersion programs, which led to concerns over redundancy in their ranks.[166] The NBTA called for an increase in the attention paid to the core FSL programs and improved teacher recruitment policies. Radicalism also existed in the English-speaking communities of New Brunswick. Anglophone militants organised a mail-in campaign to the government in the winter of 1978, with cards reading:

> "I STRONGLY OBJECT TO MY TAX DOLLARS BEING USED TO PROMOTE ENFORCED BILINGUALISM IN THIS PROVINCE BY MEANS OF FRENCH SCHOOLS AND IMMERSION CLASSES. *What can YOU do to have english declared the official language of this province?*[167]

Clearly, there was a wide range in opinion in the province over how best to address issues of official languages in education.

To cope with the growing tensions over community duality, New Brunswick increasingly pressed for a more global approach to bilingualism in the federal programs.[168] The province wanted to make sure that programs to promote bilingualism increased understanding between the two linguistic groups, and believed that this could be better achieved through a more holistic funding approach. Indeed, the government was very concerned about the imminent demise of the Bilingualism in Public Administration program, which had funded the translation of many provincial laws and the training of its civil servants.[169] Thus, in addition to diplomatic initiatives spearheaded by Premier Hatfield to

foster understanding between language groups, such as the St. Andrew's and Montreal declarations,[170] New Brunswick also pushed for less rigid approaches to federal-provincial relations in the BEP negotiations. Deputy Ministers Harvey Malmberg and Armand Saintonge proposed a funding model to address the systemic costs of bilingualism rather than per-student costs,[171] and supported both the developmental thrust proposed by the federal government, as well as the increased accountability provisions.[172]

Through these proposals, New Brunswick hoped to receive increased funding to deal with the all-encompassing costs of making all levels of the provincial administration officially bilingual, and it was willing to bend jurisdictional prerogatives in order to do so. In these respects, New Brunswick was the polar opposite of Quebec and Alberta, as it moved decisively towards official bilingualism, and was willing to cozy up to the federal government, even in matters of provincial jurisdiction, in order to accomplish this objective. Given these divergent needs and interests, coming to a provincial consensus on a negotiating stance would prove difficult indeed.

Nova Scotia

Nova Scotia's reaction to the new proposals emanating from the federal government was not particularly strong. Following the Banff conference in May 1977, the government noted that it had generally been pleased with the progress made to date on both Acadian and French second language programming, particularly those programs in the Acadian regions. The proposed cultural component was welcomed as well.[173] Officials did take issue with some of the

proposals. Any attempt to reduce funding was opposed, as they believed that the next phase of FSL development, penetrating elementary schools, would require an influx of new funding. Federal attempts to link funding to performance were also resisted, as these were seen as overly open to subjectivity. Nova Scotia was not fond of the fiscal transfer option being proposed by Quebec, citing past difficulties with this type of funding arrangement.[174] On the whole, Nova Scotia took a middle of the road approach to the negotiations, and was not particularly adamant about any topic, aside from increased funding levels, which were seen as quite important in a province without a particularly strong tax base.

While the Liberal government of Premier Gerald Regan and Education Minister George Mitchell was not particularly activist in its approach to the BEP, the FANE continued to press its agenda. The reciprocal agreements proposed by Quebec were soundly denounced by FANE, which argued that it was nonsensical to make guarantees to a Quebec migrant population that were not yet in place for Acadians.[175] Indeed, FANE was still trying to bring its own population around to the notion of increased French educational programming. The Federation was not entirely trusted by Acadian parents, who have been described as rather conservative in this period.[176] Indeed, given Nova Scotia's historic treatment of French-language education, it is understandable why there was reluctance among Acadian parents towards enrolling their children in increased French programming. Even school commissions in largely Acadian regions, such as Argyle, were not in favour of homogenous French-only schools, preferring bilingual programs.[177] Parents believed that if their children were to

become bilingual, they would be better able to compete for jobs. Moreover, they feared a backlash from the province's English-speaking majority which might result from linguistically segregated schooling. In the St. Andrew's declaration, FANE hoped to exploit an opening to French-language education rights, and wanted to leverage Nova Scotia's support of this declaration into more concrete action.[178]

The Acadian leaders were quite concerned about the deteriorating state of their community. Assimilation was continuing to increase, as was inter-marriage with members of the anglophone communities, and the Acadian schools were taking on an increasingly English character as the assimilated student population increased in number.[179] To counter these trends, FANE targeted three main priorities: "l'égalité de la langue française comme instrument d'éducation; la sauvegarde du caractère francophone des communautés acadiennes; le contrôle d'institutions acadiens."[180] The federal programs seemed to be the best route to achieving these objectives, and FANE increasingly turned its attentions to the BEP in the late 1970s. FANE was made aware of a number of local complaints about misallocation of BEP funds, including expenditures on audio-visual equipment and sewing machines, and began to demand explanations from the provincial government.[181] It called for accountability for the use of the funds, and for more publicity about the programs to bring them into the public eye.[182] As efforts by FANE continued, increasing numbers of special projects were targeted at the Acadian population. The organisation pushed to have these projects advertised in *Le Courrier,* to further raise their visibility.[183] In the view of some

Acadians, including Charles Gaudet of Université Ste-Anne, without the federal government, "many of our rights would be forgotten or ignored," and thus these programs were seen as critically important in the communities.[184]

Under the Liberal government, some changes did come about as a result of the BEP funds and FANE's pressure. Cost-sharing arrangements were worked out between school districts to enable students to travel for French programs,[185] and additional staff were hired to work with the Assistant Director of Youth Education responsible for French education.[186] Moreover, in September 1977, the first total immersion classes were opened in Halifax: eight years after the first such proposals were killed at the board level.[187] In October 1978, following the provincial election, a new premier, Conservative John Buchanan, was sworn in. Under Buchanan's government, the Acadian leaders began to make progress which had not been possible under the Liberals. Indeed, the government asked for the input of FANE into the BEP negotiations in February 1979.[188] In its first head-to-head meeting with the Premier and Education Minister Terence Donahoe, held in March 1979, FANE won acceptance of the principle that French education was a necessity for the Acadian population, and recognition that existing structures provided for this purpose were not sufficient to meet Acadian needs.[189]

The new education minister seemed open to real change for the Acadian population, and FANE seized on this opportunity to entrench French language education in the province. While meeting with the minister, the Federation pushed for legal recognition for French education, the establishment of

mechanisms for anglophones to participate fully in the Acadian programs, and the development of more French immersion programs. As a first major step, they wanted a curriculum that would be 100 per cent French for Grades K-6, and then at least 50 per cent French for Grades 7-12, along with the establishment of an Acadian section in the Department of Education to provide curriculum direction.[190] The initial signs from the newly elected government were positive ones, and there was a certain optimism among the Acadian leaders that the objectives they had been fighting for since the beginning of BEP and the foundation of FANE might in fact be realized in the near future.

Conclusion: March 1979 – the Hail Mary Pass into Limbo

As the second Bilingualism in Education Program agreements wound down to their close in the winter of 1979, little had been agreed upon. The federal government, faced with a mounting deficit and rising costs, slashed its funding for bilingualism programs. In February, it announced its intention to cut bilingualism funding by a third. Rather than increasing spending from $455M to $500M, as had been predicted the previous year, funding would be cut down to $349M.[191]

The Bilingualism in Education Program was not exempt from these cuts. The program, which had cost a whopping $209M in 1978-79, far higher than the average $70M per year of the early 1970s, was cut back to a maximum of $170M.[192] Out of this total, only $140M was to be made available for formula payments, and the rest was to be spend on the annex programs. Moreover, the federal government decided on this funding level in the absence of an agreement; the BEP agreements were not renewed by the end of March, and the

aforementioned arrangement was intended as a temporary one to last for one year.

Indeed, the entire future of Ottawa's approach to bilingualism was quite doubtful in March 1979. The Trudeau government had been steadily slipping in popularity, and its future was far from secure. On 26 March 1979, an election was called for 22 May 1979: an election that the government was not certain of winning, given the rising popularity of Joe Clark's Conservatives.[193] Moreover, the province of Quebec was heading towards the announcement of a referendum date. The referendum had been promised to come before the end of the Parti Québécois' term, and Lévesque had now been in office for almost three and a half years.

The other provinces were badly split on their approach to official bilingualism. New Brunswick was firmly committed to becoming officially bilingual, and stood alone among the provinces in this respect. Other provinces, such as Ontario and Manitoba, had made great strides towards increased French language services, but were not in favour of locking their governments into an obligation to official bilingualism. Still others, such as Alberta and Nova Scotia, had made gains in their French-language services, but lagged behind in their willingness to guarantee these services, or even to take leadership in their expansion. Quebec was most adamant in its rejection of official bilingualism, and indeed had been moving towards French unilingualism, and a rejection of all federal intervention in its jurisdiction over language and education. Moreover, the Parti Québécois had been trying to expand provincial jurisdiction at the

expense of the federal government, and had attempted to circumvent the federal efforts to guarantee official language minority education rights. Quebec thus stood as a major roadblock in the federal government's efforts to steer the provinces towards an intrastate approach to minority language education rights.

Despite these factors, not all signs pointed to the death of the Canadian government's official languages programs. While the federal government was cutting back on the amount of funding it was willing to devote to the BEP, it had not cancelled the program outright. An increasingly wide network of organisations, including CPF, the FFHQ, ACELF and a wide variety of provincial groups committed to minority and second language education, were all working to ensure the preservation of these programs, and were strongly in support of continued federal involvement in this sector. Moreover, in many provinces, the question was no longer whether such services would be provided, but in what form: an important shift in the discourse. Finally, through the St. Andrew's and Montreal declarations, the nine anglophone premiers had all publicly committed themselves to the continuance and expansion of minority language education programs. These governments had thus taken a key public step towards acceptance of minority language education rights:, a step which would play into the federal government's strategy for constitutional change.

Thus in the 1970s, the Trudeau government could cite some important successes in advancing its intrastate approach to official languages. While the provinces were still resistant to allowing the federal government to dictate the form of language education programs and their evaluation, a decade of federal

funding had locked the provinces into providing these programs for their citizens. Moreover, the PQ's language policy had forced the other provinces closer to the Canadian government's conception of language rights in education. It remained to be seen, however, whether the federal government could capitalise on these gains, increase its role in the crafting of language programs in education, and perhaps secure provincial consent to establish official language minority education rights in a reformed constitution. To accomplish this, the Trudeau government would need to retain its hold on office, defeat the Péquiste referendum on sovereignty-association for Quebec, and somehow convince the strong advocates of interstate federalism, led by Quebec and Alberta, that Ottawa's approach to language policy was necessary. These tasks would pre-occupy the federal government for the next four years, and it is to this that we now turn our analysis.

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Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow:

Canadian Federalism and the Development of the Official Languages in Education Program, 1968-1984

by

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Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Ph.D. degree in History.

Université d'Ottawa/University of Ottawa

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Chapter Seven:

The Language Rights Drive: Provincial Education Programs and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1979-1983

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Introduction

Heading into the spring of 1979, the Bilingualism in Education Program agreements had lapsed, and the federal government imposed a cap on the total funding that would be made available to the provinces under an interim one-year arrangement. The newly re-christened Official Languages in Education Program (OLEP) had a budget of only $140M for formula payments. In concrete terms, once the provinces distributed these funds, the formula levels were significantly decreased: the 9 per cent formula was paid out at a rate of 6.65 per cent, the 5 percent formula at 3.7 per cent, and the 1.5 per cent formula at 1.11 per cent for the 1979/80 fiscal year.[1] Over the next three years, this cap remained unchanged, and the real percentages continued to fall, as enrolments and costs escalated.

A new multi-year protocol agreement for the OLEP was not approved by the provinces until December 1983. In the interim, the OLEP proceeded by means of a series of one-year interim agreements, with federally-capped funding levels, which functioned essentially the same manner as the multi-year programs. A wide gulf separated Ottawa from the provinces, and the provinces from each other, on the issues to be resolved in order to reach an agreement. Moreover, the rise of the PQ lent additional strength to the provincial lobby for interstate federalism, a lobby which threatened Ottawa's role in language policy. To reassert its control over official languages in education, Ottawa proceeded on two fronts, both of which were aimed at increasing the strength of intrastate federalism. The first consisted of its efforts to reassert the legitimacy of its

involvement in the OLEP itself, which included a campaign to have the provinces officially recognize Ottawa's right to be involved in the official languages sector. The manner in which this campaign affected the negotiations for the OLEP protocol agreement will be examined in detail in Chapter Eight.

While the OLEP negotiations dragged on, the Trudeau government proceeded with the second front of its campaign to solidify official bilingualism in Canada, and the role of the federal government in promoting this. With these objectives in mind, Ottawa moved on the legal/constitutional front to enshrine the constitutional rights of official language minorities to education in their mother tongue. Thus, should the financial carrot of the OLEP fail to develop minority language education programs, the legal stick of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* would be at the disposal of the minority language communities, who would have the Supreme Court of Canada to defend their rights.

As we shall see in this chapter, this campaign was a successful one. With the support of the embedded state, which continued its active lobbying, and the financial incentives of the OLEP, Ottawa was able to convince the provinces to support the inclusion of minority language education rights in the *Charter*. In many respects, the groundwork for this success had been laid throughout the 1970s, when the provincial governments drew on BEP funds to expand their minority language education programs, and their discourse increasingly reflected a commitment to language education rights. Moreover, Trudeau was able to co-opt the interprovincial declaration at St. Andrew's in favour of minority language education rights, and transform this into a commitment to the *Charter*. To

understand how this process unfolded, we will first examine the development of official language programs in each of the six provinces for the period from March 1979 to December 1983, which will show how the English-speaking provinces moved towards an increased commitment to the language rights of their official minorities. This will be followed by an examination of the major constitutional battles of the late 1970s and early 1980s, how these led to the *Charter,* and how they set the tone for the debates over the future of the OLEP.

Alberta

As Alberta headed into the interim agreements, Education Minister Julian Koziak was replaced by David King. For advocates of official language programs in education, this was a positive development. Many Albertans committed to these programs would come to view the new, young minister as quite committed to both official languages education and national unity. Indeed, as the provinces of Manitoba and New Brunswick had already discovered, a supportive minister or senior bureaucrat could make all the difference in the development of new language programs in education. During King's tenure, the Department of Education adopted policies that on the whole were quite favourable to official languages initiatives.[2]

In July 1979, King requested a review of all programs that were designed to encourage accessibility to French-language education. This review covered freedom of choice provisions, transportation, grant structures and policy statements, to determine the extent of Alberta's support for these programs and

to explore ways in which they could be improved.[3] Alberta also had to determine how to cope with the federal cutbacks that had recently been imposed; besides having to adjust to the reduced formula payment levels, it would also no longer be possible to accept all of the special project proposals received by the Department, as had been the case in the past.[4] In earlier years, Alberta's officials had taken the view that they were merely acting as a disbursement agent for the federal government. Alberta did not top up the federal grants, nor did it take much interest in elaborating an independent language policy for education. Under David King, a different approach was taken. In May 1980, his department indicated that the province would top up the federal grants for minority language education to the 9 per cent level for all French-language programs covering at least 25 per cent of instructional time. As letters to the school boards indicated:

> Your Government, having regard for the progress that has been made for providing educational services in the French language, has decided to make up the difference between the present federal contributions and that expected on a 9% Formula plan on an ongoing basis or until a new Federal-Provincial agreement can be reached regarding assistance for French language education services. ... I trust that this information will encourage all jurisdictions to continue in their endeavours to provide and improve French language services throughout the province.[5]

In the short term, the government also agreed to top up the second language instructional grants to the 5 per cent level until 31 December 1981.

It is interesting to note that Alberta, once the bastion of anti-French sentiment, was now placing a higher priority on funding for its immersion and minority language programs than on core FSL. This decision to cease topping up the second language instruction funding after 1981 was in fact maintained.[6] However, by September 1980 the government had conducted an evaluation of

the additional costs per FTE of the various forms of French language instruction, the results of which are shown in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 – Additional Costs of French Language Instruction in Alberta[7]

	Additional FTE Cost	*Grant Paid*	*Difference*
Elementary FSL	- 85.23	87.17	172.50
Secondary FSL	133.85	113.57	-20.28
Elementary FML	335.81	156.90	-178.91
Secondary FML	351.47	204.43	-147.04

The 1980 study demonstrated that although the federal grants were only covering 74 per cent of Alberta's total additional costs, they were paying for 574 per cent of FSL additional costs (a gross overpayment), and only 51 per cent of FML costs. This had the effect of encouraging second language programs to the detriment of minority language ones. As such, King was bringing the province's funding structure in line with the realities of the additional cost to the boards, while also expressing a firmer commitment to the development of its French first language programming (both immersion and minority language programs). It is noteworthy that once agreements were concluded with the federal government in 1984, Alberta continued to top up grants to the school boards for French first language programming in order to meet additional costs, whereas it merely passed along the second language grants.[8] By this point, however, the passage of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* obliged the province to provide its Franco-Albertan community with French-language education.

In addition to topping up the formula grants to school boards, Alberta took additional steps to support French-language education programs. Transportation grants to school boards offering French-language or immersion programs were

increased from $121/pupil to $300/pupil in September 1980.[9] In the same legislative session, Section 142 of the *School Act* was modified to allow children to attend school in another jurisdiction where French-language instruction was offered.[10] Although this change was not immediately proclaimed, King indicated that this measure would be taken if individual jurisdictions were unable to solve their issues locally. Moreover, the province took steps to ensure that the federal government was still satisfied on issues of Alberta's accountability, and was assured that they were not in fact considered a problem.[11]

While there were significant steps taken on a practical level to improve the status of French-language education in this period, there was nevertheless some disappointment in terms of results, and resistance at a philosophical level to the French-language programs. Despite the efforts of the Collège Universitaire St-Jean, there was still a major shortfall of qualified French teachers,[12] and the Alberta government was not willing to spend additional funds to recruit teachers from other provinces for this purpose.[13] FSL enrolment had also continued to fall throughout the decade, from 28.9 per cent to 22.7 per cent at the elementary level and from 43.4 per cent to 28.3 per cent at the secondary level from 1972-73 to 1978-79, and the government was taking no major steps to reverse this trend.[14] Moreover, in the years leading up to the adoption of the *Charter*, Alberta reiterated its opposition to the constitutional entrenchment of language rights in education,[15] and to language rights in the *School Act*.[16] Thus, while the province was willing to take some practical steps to provide French-language education, it was still resistant to entrenching these services as rights. When compelled to do

so by the *Charter*, Alberta still emphasized the need to maintain access for English-speaking children to these French-language programs.[17]

The debate over who should have access to French first language programs was a particularly important one in Alberta during this period. ACFA had been fighting a difficult internal battle throughout the 1970s on the issue of the homogeneity of the French language schools. Unable to come to consensus, the Association had largely left this issue to decisions at the local level.[18] However, led by some of its pro-homogeneity chapters, as well as the FFHQ, ACFA began to push more strongly in 1980 for separate facilities for immersion programs and French first language programs.[19] In addition, the FFHQ had been leading a national campaign to have all of the funds under the 9 per cent formula spent on programs for francophones, rather than immersion. This line of attack posed a problem for ACFA. Immersion programs had proven to be quite popular in the province among English-speaking parents – both those eager to improve their children's job prospects and those who saw bilingualism as key to national unity – and received rather favourable press coverage.[20] Moreover, Canadian Parents for French was becoming quite influential in the province, and had proven a valuable ally for the Association.[21] Given the fact that 70 per cent of students in Alberta's French-language programs had English as their mother tongue, the FFHQ's attack on immersion programs was ill-suited to ACFA's lobbying efforts of the early 1980s.

Indeed, CPF was among the most important organisations in the province for the promotion of French-language education. On a practical level, the

children of these parents furnished the necessary numbers to open French-language schools in many jurisdictions.[22] CPF was quite vigorous in advocating of the right of parents to have their children educated in either official language, and repeated this message regularly to the Lougheed government.[23] Moreover, CPF was increasingly pushing the province to translate the St. Andrew's declaration, which supported minority language education "where numbers warrant," into concrete guarantees for French-language education, like those which existed in Manitoba and Ontario. Over the course of the 1970s, a number of different organisations had come around to favour a right to choice in the language of education. Among these organisations were the Alberta Teachers' Association, the Alberta Cultural Heritage Council, and the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews,[24] in addition to the various Franco-Albertan associations. Indeed, by the early 1980s, middle-class urban anglophones were proving to be a very important ally in the Franco-Albertan quest for French-language rights, and were beginning to have a moderating effect on the government's position. In this respect, the Bilingualism in Education Program had significantly impacted the political culture of Alberta, as the province's leaders moved from rigid unilingualism towards greater openness to bilingualism and French-language educational programming.

Manitoba

By the late 1970s, the Bilingualism in Education Program had slid into the background as far as most Manitobans concerned with official languages were

concerned. The Forrest case had made it all the way to the Supreme Court, and on 13 December 1979, the 1890 *Official Language Act* was declared invalid.[25] This forced the government of Sterling Lyon, which was never overly friendly to the Franco-Manitoban community, to develop a policy on bilingualism that would satisfy the requirements of the *Manitoba Act, 1870*. As political scientist Raymond Hébert, who has extensively studied this issue in Manitoban history,[26] describes this period: "From the beginning, it is obvious that the Lyon government was to be as miserly as legally possible in the recognition of French-language rights in Manitoba."[27] The Lyon government was also deeply opposed to the Trudeau government's attempts to enshrine the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in the Constitution. Thus, until the Conservative government was defeated by the NDP of Howard Pawley in November 1981, a rather tense atmosphere reigned in Manitoba politics where issues of bilingualism were concerned. Following the election of Pawley, the government began to make proposals to strengthen Franco-Manitoban rights and to expand the government's French-language services, particularly in education.[28]

While the Lyon government may not have been overly favourable to expanding French language services, the Bureau de l'éducation française was sufficiently ensconced by 1979 to operate without excessive governmental interference. Even during this period, the behaviour of BEF officials was still described as being co-operative, professional and efficient by their federal counterparts.[29] Indeed, like other provincial government sections responsible for French-language education, the BEF acted as part of the embedded state,

working in tandem with its federal counterparts to expand official languages education. Under the guidance of Ronald Duhamel, who was appointed ADM in 1979, the BEF continued its work to complete curriculum plans for the French minority language programs, and began to devote more attention to the implications of immersion and core French.[30] The BEF was supportive of Ottawa's youth option, and continued its development of new programs. One such program was a pilot project in core French, begun in 1980, which increased daily French instruction to 40 minutes per day (up from 20), and was accompanied by an incentive grant of $190/FTE, up from the normal grant of $50/FTE for conversational French.[31]

Immersion programs continued to grow rapidly in Manitoba: from 5 schools in 1974-75, to 19 schools in 1978-79.[32] Enrolment in these programs grew to the point where it exceeded that of the French minority language programs. In 1983, there were 9,100 students in French immersion, compared to 6,100 in the minority language programs, and the gap continued to widen. The BEF also continued to support the development of new programs in both French minority language education and French immersion. By 1981-82, the province was spending $1M more on these programs than it received from the federal grants, which only covered 70 per cent of program costs.[33] Clearly, the BEF was maintaining its focus on French education throughout this period. Under the Pawley government, Ronald Duhamel was promoted to become the first Franco-Manitoban Deputy Minister of Education, which sent a strong signal about the government's commitment to its French-language programs.[34]

While the main focus of the Société Franco-Manitobain was on the legal challenges to the *Official Language Act*, it still paid some attention to educational issues. Aware of the potential support available from organisations such as CPF, the SFM promoted not only the *écoles françaises* but also immersion schools. Both of these types of schools, the SFM argued, should be guaranteed by law rather than merely permitted.[35] However, conforming to the FFHQ's 1980 document, "À la recherche du millard," it called on the BEF to establish separate granting structures for French immersion and *Français* programs.[36] The SFM also wanted to ensure that funding levels would not slip, given the federal cutbacks. In this, they were reassured by Duhamel. However, in an interesting shift of the federal government's game, Duhamel suggested that the SFM divert more of its efforts into lobbying the federal government to restore the pre-1979 funding levels.[37] The embedded state method could thus work both ways. The SFM also kept up some of its traditional lobbying: for increased grant formula levels, for transportation funding, and for the government to cover boarding costs. Given the strides that had been made in the 1970s, the education situation in Manitoba in the early 1980s was less desperate than it had been in the past. This was the result of the continued commitment of the BEF to the development of French-language programming, regardless of the battles over official bilingualism at the upper levels of government.

Ontario

Franco-Ontarian criticism of how the Ontario government handled its implementation of French-language programming had been escalating over the course of the 1970s. By 1979, the now-routine battles over French-language secondary schools had made their way to the community of Penetanguishene, on the Bruce Peninsula (a largely English-speaking region of Southwestern Ontario), where Franco-Ontarians were pushing for the construction of a separate French-language secondary school. Franco-Ontarian leaders had become increasingly frustrated with the piecemeal approach to minority language education taken by the Davis government, and were upset over the province's lack of control over local school boards that were supposed to implement provincial policy. Since 1977, the province had taken steps to ensure that the amounts transferred from the federal government equalled the province's French minority language grants to the school boards for this purpose. However, the amount granted out of the province's own coffers to FSL continued to exceed the federal grants, which was a sore spot for the Franco-Ontarians.[38]

Moreover, the boards did not always spend these grants as they were supposed to. In 1977, trustee Jacques Aubé had begun inquiring into how the Carleton Catholic School Board used its FML grants. Reporting back in 1978, he discovered that the board was submitting the required plans to the ministry for its use of the BEP grants. However, the board's actual implementation of these plans siphoned off money for other purposes: fewer teachers were hired than predicted, monies were spent on items unrelated to FML programming, and

funds were diverted into the English-language programming.[39] His inquiries, which were supported by the Association des enseignants franco-ontariens (AEFO), continued until 1980, continually discovering additional discrepancies. Concerned about the possible implications of Aubé's findings for other boards, AEFO called on its membership to investigate the use of French-language grants at the local level, and presented the findings to the provincial government.[40]

The Franco-Ontarian investigations and pressures did not go unnoticed by the province. However, the government also had to contend with francophobic pressures emanating from APEC: an organisation that believed that any concessions to the French language were unnecessary, and feared that Quebeckers were taking over Ontario's municipalities.[41] While most Ontarians were not this extreme, the province was concerned about a possible backlash amongst those whose support for French programming was less than firm. Thus, while the province moved in October 1979 towards increased incentive funding to help create more French language instructional units (FLIUs) at the secondary school level, it did not accept the suggestion that all such units required separate facilities. In particular, it did not accept the necessity of building a separate French-language secondary school in Penetanguishene.[42]

In support of the October 1979 policy statement, Ontario established new formulas to facilitate the reorganisation of secondary schools. Supplementary grants were provided to small French-language schools that served a large geographical area. Additional funds were also provided to mixed schools to enlarge their French-language sections, with restrictions to prevent a mixed

school from supplanting a French-language one.[43] Thomas Wells, who was now Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs and responsible for Francophone affairs, noted in May 1981 that the province's reputation among francophones was still negative, and that its commitment to French-language services was still viewed with suspicion.[44] To combat this, he believed that the province needed to move towards a legislative framework that would guarantee French services in key functional areas. In addition, Ontario was also moving on the national front to support Prime Minister Trudeau's drive to enshrine minority language education rights in the Constitution.

The new grant structures developed by the government met with a certain satisfaction in the Franco-Ontarian community. However, like their counterparts in other provinces, Franco-Ontarian leaders continued to call for greater publicity of these programs, greater provincial controls on the school boards, and an escalator built into the grant structure to cope with inflation.[45] While they appreciated the moves that had been made to support the establishment of larger FLIUs and separate facilities at the secondary level, they were still concerned about the persistence of mixed schools at the elementary level, and wanted provincial action to address this.

By the early 1980s, the Franco-Ontarian leadership was also beginning to look more seriously at the immersion phenomenon. AEFO noted that these programs had attracted a great deal of interest from anglophone parents, and were often used by francophone parents in other provinces. AEFO wanted to make sure that these classes did not become the easy answer for francophone

parents who wanted French-language education for their children.[46] It was aware that it could not oppose the growth of immersion, but AEFO did decide to study the programs further to determine what benefits could be gained from them, how much federal money was spent on them, and what impact they were having on their clientele. AEFO realized that immersion students would eventually (10-30 years down the road) have an important say in the running of the country, and it was thus thought prudent to learn more about these programs.

Quebec

While the referendum on sovereignty-association occupied most of the attentions of Quebec's Parti Québécois government during this period, the Department of Education did continue to participate in the negotiations for the OLEP, in case the referendum failed. Two cabinet directives governed the negotiating stance adopted by the province: directives 78-409 and 79-88. They called for a continuation of unconditional payments, maintained at a minimum base level, with a provision that Quebec should negotiate a means of opting-out should this approach fail.[47] Faced with a new Conservative government under Joe Clark, who had won the 1979 election, Quebec's officials believed that the time was right to push the opting-out option, as the BEP had not been designed with Quebec in mind; this was the crux of the difficulties surrounding the program.[48] Around the same time, in November 1979, the Lévesque government presented its white paper on sovereignty-association, outlining its vision for the future of Quebec. Indeed, Lévesque had been waiting for Trudeau to leave the office of

Prime Minister, so as to be free from his challenges during the referendum campaign. However, the Clark government fell on a budget vote in December 1979, and went down to defeat to the Liberals in the February election. Thus, once again the Trudeau government was in office, opposing Lévesque's referendum.

While Lévesque proceeded with planning for the referendum, debating the question in the National Assembly in March, Quebec continued to work with the federal government on the OLEP. The Department of Education signed interim agreements for annual federal contributions, while continuing to push for an opting out clause in future agreements.[49] Upon the appointment of a new Secretary of State, Francis Fox, Quebec once again announced its intention to opt-out of the OLEP. It continued to be a member of the CMEC working group on the OLEP though, so as to ensure that it would still have a say in shaping the agreement from which it would be opting out.[50] This strategy of maintaining ties with the CMEC during the referendum campaign was a wise one, as the referendum went down to defeat on 20 May 1980. Moreover, it meant that Quebec had maintained ties with the other provinces, which would be needed to battle the new constitutional proposals emanating from the Trudeau government that followed in the wake of this defeat (and which will be discussed below).

Quebec's continued insistence on minimal accountability and its move to opt-out of the OLEP continued to aggravate leaders in the Quebec anglophone community. Winifred Potter, a PSBGM trustee, called on the federal government to come up with an imaginative way of getting these funds into the hands of

parents so that the money could be put to good use.[51] Marcel Fox, the Executive Director of the PSBGM, suggested that the federal government refuse to pass along the grants until the province agreed to be accountable, and that it make public the reasons for this course of action.[52] MP Warren Allmand, a champion of the Montreal anglophone community and ally of the PSBGM, made a motion in the House of Commons on 31 October 1979:

> that this house require the secretary of state to delay the implementation of the new federal agreements on minority and second language education until there has been a complete examination of the manner in which former agreements were carried out and how the money was spent,[53]

although his motion failed to gain unanimous consent. Indeed, despite the best efforts of the anglophone community, grants continued to flow to Quebec through the interim agreements, without trickling down to the boards in the form of additional funds.

Even though the Protestant boards were not receiving additional grants, they were faced with increased programming demands and constraints on their actions. Recognizing that its current FSL programs were not sufficiently effective to meet the demands of Bill 101, the PSBGM moved in 1980 to increase its FSL time allotments at the elementary level, and to hire more specialist teachers for this purpose.[54] However, the board had to accomplish this in the face of declining enrolment: between 1977 and 1980, its enrolment had fallen by 17 per cent due to Bill 101.[55] The board also had to develop a new ESL program for its francophone schools beginning in 1981. In that year, the Department of Education's new *régime pédagogique* called for the elimination of ESL classes in French-language schools for Grades 1-3. The Department rejected the

PSBGM's attempt to preserve these classes, citing political, social and cultural reasons for the change, and called on the Board to develop a new quality ESL program based on their years of second language expertise.[56]

In one respect, the anglophone community did receive a small reprieve. Supported by the federal government, it won a significant modification of Bill 101. Although the Quebec government opposed the *Charter* and Trudeau's constitutional renewal process, it modified Bill 101 in accordance with section 23 to grant English-language education rights to children whose parents were educated in English elsewhere in Canada, thus ending the struggle over reciprocal arrangements.[57] Also, in a parallel of the situation that had existed in the other nine provinces for the past decade, the Official Language Minority Groups program gave funding to Alliance Quebec, an association linking Quebec's anglophone groups (which had hitherto functioned in a rather scattered manne) and which was lobbying for the right of the English-speaking community to manage its own schools, and to have open access to these schools.[58] While Alliance Quebec would not initially deal with the OLEP agreements, it would come to serve that role in Quebec over the course of the following decades, echoing the role of its francophone counterparts elsewhere in the country.

New Brunswick

As had been the case throughout the 1970s, New Brunswick remained thoroughly committed to the cause of official bilingualism. OLEP negotiations were handled by the Premier's office, which took a keen interest in the

developments, including its plans to try to negotiate a separate agreement with the federal government.[59] Following the defeat of the Quebec referendum, cooperation with the federal government would extend to New Brunswick's efforts (ultimately successful) to be declared officially bilingual under the Constitution. Over the course of the late 1970s and early 1980s, New Brunswick continued to move towards increased duality in education and expansion of its language education programs. Following the 1979 report of the Finn-Elliott Commission,[60] which had been mandated to study the organisation and borders of school commissions and make recommendations on how to modify them, the province moved solidly towards the creation of dual unilingual school boards across the province, and the organisation of all schools on the basis of mother tongue.[61] This policy was supported by Bill 88, *An Act Recognizing the Equality of the Two Linguistic Communities*, which passed in 1981. This Act recognized the collective rights of the two language communities, and gave each community its own institutions, including school boards.[62]

In addition to these legislative changes, the province did its utmost to maintain funding to the OLEP programs. The 1979 cutbacks had cost the province $827,000 in 1980, funds which had to be diverted from the provincial treasury in order to maintain the progress that had been made under the program. New Brunswick was very concerned that the federal government might withdraw altogether from the OLEP, and wanted to avoid the costs that this would entail for the province.[63] The province was still launching new programs that would entail increased costs over the coming decade, and wanted to ensure

that funds still flowed in to support these programs. In addition to the duality thrust, the Department of Education had moved towards the 1200-hour program in FSL, which it was spreading throughout the province. In 1980, it hired its first immersion consultant, to direct the growth of this burgeoning program.[64]

French immersion would be a major problem for New Brunswick in the early 1980s. The SANB had long been calling for a complete separation of the English and French sides of the Department of Education, going so far as to demand separate ministers in 1980.[65] French immersion posed a problem for the model of independent Acadian education being proposed by the SANB. The immersion programs had proven very popular: to the extent that in Sackville, parents complained that the programs did not have sufficient capacity, and needed to be expanded to a mandatory option in all the school boards, much as French-language schools were in Ontario.[66] By 1982/83, over 15 per cent of all anglophone children in the province were enrolled in these programs, with even higher rates in Fredericton and Moncton.[67] However, French immersion was not only popular with anglophones. In some smaller communities with mixed populations, including Grand Falls, French-speaking children were being admitted to the immersion schools run by the English-language boards. Often these children were the offspring of mixed marriages, whose parents wanted them to grow up speaking both languages.[68] The SANB and local Acadian elites were aghast at this phenomenon, which they saw as both undermining the spirit of Bill 88, which was supposed to protect the Acadian collective identity, and on a

more basic level as siphoning children away from the French-language schools, along with the accompanying government funding.

The SANB took the provincial government to court over the Grand Falls case, and its approach – dual unilingualism – defeated the local proponents of bilingualism.[69] Justice Richard ruled that although parents could choose to send their children to either the English system or the French system, children with a basic knowledge of French could not attend the French immersion schools.[70] The Richard decision provoked quite an uproar, and was decried by Canadian Parents for French.[71] CPF also was quite critical of the language tests that the provincial government imposed to determine the mother tongue of students applying to French immersion programs, and appealed the decision.[72] While its appeal failed, there was some solace for the CPF in the early 1980s. In 1982, New Brunswick introduced a policy stipulating that immersion programs had to be offered by school boards when requested by a minimum number of parents.[73] Moreover, under the revised Constitution, the province was indeed declared officially bilingual.

Nova Scotia

A fair number of initiatives had been introduced in Nova Scotia over the course of the 1970s, thanks largely to the Bilingualism in Education Program. An assessment of the results obtained over the course of the decade noted that since the start of the BEP, the Department of Education had hired a new assistant director responsible for French-language education, programming

consultants at the departmental level, and educational consultants for each of the four Acadian regions. The department had established the Consultative Committee on Acadian schools, developed teaching guides and audio-visual materials for French programs, and sponsored in-service teacher training and bursary programs.[74] However, Nova Scotia's legislation was still silent on the status of French-language programming; by 1980, it was alone with Newfoundland in this respect.[75]

FANE was hopeful that this nebulous status of French-language education would be changed under the new Conservative government. At a colloquium on French education held in November 1979, the assembly passed a resolution calling on the government to enshrine the right to French education in the *Education Act,* which would permit school boards to establish French-language programs, supported by funding from the province.[76] Early indications from the Education Minister, Terence Donahoe, were quite supportive. Donahoe himself was personally committed to the creation of Acadian schools as legal entities, and announced in November 1979 that the province was now

> attempting to develop appropriate regulatory authority to enshrine the concept that there will first of all be established ground rules for the maintenance for those that exist and the establishment, in areas where appropriate, of Acadian schools.[77]

He noted that discussions had begun with FANE on the definition of these schools, and where they should be established. Donahoe further observed that while it would be some time before a province-wide French school system could be established,

> it's a realistic expectation of the Acadian community and a right to come to this Provincial Government or any future government and say: You have a regulation which says that this is what an Acadian school is and the kind of area and community in which it should be established, so make sure that you fund it and have it built properly.[78]

Thus, while funding was not presently available to make this possible, the province was actively pursuing increased funding from the federal government to make this a reality in the future.

The following March, FANE met with Donahoe to discuss the resolutions from their November conference, as well as to discuss the Minister's implications that he was considering legislation on Acadian education. A key outcome of the meeting was the establishment of a series of studies to be conducted by the Department to look at the conference resolutions.[79] Crafting legislation which would meet with popular acceptance would be difficult for the government. Studies of the use of BEP funds discovered that Acadian parents were still largely opposed to the concept of unilingual French schools, even in 1980.[80] A productive new system would also be impossible without an infusion of additional cash. The main reason why reforms of the 1970s had been possible was due to the federal BEP. Given the cutbacks of the 1980s, boards were having difficulty maintaining the programs that they had developed; additional program development was out of the question with the existing funds.[81]

Given these realities, Acadian leaders were careful with the message that they crafted for the government in 1980. Meetings with the Minister stressed the need to increase funding to allow boards to hire new teachers, particularly for immersion programs.[82] A particular emphasis was placed on the need for the

Acadian schools to provide a bilingual formation for students, with a strong grounding in their mother tongue.[83] They also obtained some support from Canadian Parents for French, which was working for improved immersion and second language learning programs. CPF supported FANE's proposals for Acadian school legislation, and wanted the province to move towards enshrining choice of the language of education.[84] The immersion issue was particularly important in Nova Scotia, as FSL programs were so sporadic, and elementary school programs of dubious quality where they even existed.[85]

In January 1981, the Department of Education had completed its study, and moved towards the preparation of legislation for Acadian schools. Bill 65 was introduced in the legislature in April 1981. Its most important provisions were as follows: 1) Acadian schools were mentioned in the legislation for the first time; 2) A school could be designated as an Acadian school, at the request of a school board, and where there were a sufficient number of students whose first language learned and still understood was French; 3) The department would determine the ratio of instructional time in French to that in English, prescribe courses of study in French, and authorize French-language textbooks and related materials; 4) The principle language of administration of the Acadian school, and of communication with the community, would be French.[86] Essentially, the bill would make the status quo legal and official. The Bill was introduced in the legislature on 16 May 1981, and passed with the support of all three parties on 24 June 1981.[87]

Bill 65 did not completely satisfy everybody. The NDP had wanted the bill to make Acadian schools a mandatory program where demanded by parents.[88] FANE was concerned about the provision requiring that all students be of French mother tongue, which made no allowances for assimilated children. It was also concerned about the financial provisions for these schools.[89] Although there was a provision for an additional 5 per cent funding for school boards with Acadian schools, it was uncertain whether this was to be spent in the Acadian schools themselves. Moreover, the territory to be served by the Acadian school was limited to one school district, which caused problems for those students living in adjacent districts with lower numbers of Acadians; provinces such as Manitoba and Alberta made transportation arrangements for minority language students in similar situations. A Ministerial Advisory Committee was established to study these concerns, and to make recommendations for the implementation of Bill 65.[90]

In response to FANE's concerns, the boundaries for an Acadian school's catchment area were widened in 1982 to cover two adjacent school districts.[91] However, other implementation protocols were delayed somewhat by the release of the *Report of the Commission on Public Education Finance*, also known as the Walker report, which appeared in 1981.[92] The Walker report recommended the merging of several school districts across the province, including the majority Acadian boards of Clare and Argyle.[93] The government decided that the ultimate recommendations about the implementation of Bill 65 should include input from the newly merged districts. In the meantime, a controversy flared in Clare-

Argyle, where the 70 per cent Acadian board of Argyle wanted the language of the merged board to be English, a proposal which the 90 per cent Acadian board of Clare found unacceptable.[94] This debate strung out for months, until it was finally referred to the Minister, who ruled in favour of French.[95]

The new guidelines for the Acadian schools were released in 1983. Minister Donahoe expressed support for allowing assimilated children to qualify under the "where numbers warrant" provision of the legislation, and thus this was permitted.[96] The Acadian schools were to have 100 per cent French instruction for Grades P to 6, except for an English course introduced in Grade 3, a minimum of 10 credits in French (and at least 3 per year) for Grades 7 to 9, and a minimum of 8 credits in French (and at least 2 per year) for Grades 10 to 12.[97] It is worth noting that these provisions did not provide for more than 50 per cent French instruction as the base level for the Acadian high schools.

Even this level of French instruction caused problems in the Acadian communities. Fierce battles erupted in Chéticamp in the mid-1980s over the designation of an Acadian school. Acadian and English-speaking parents alike reacted with hostility towards any indication that the Acadian school would operate entirely in French.[98] Parents were concerned that their children would not receive a proper grounding in the English language, and thus be at a disadvantage in the Nova Scotian economy. Thus, while the government had introduced legislation for Acadian schools, these schools were far from firmly entrenched in the mid-1980s.

A new organisation, the Fédération des parents acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FPANE), was formed in 1984 to work towards implementation of Bill 65, to fight for school management rights, and to overcome the reluctance of the Acadian community vis-à-vis homogenous schools.[99] Indeed, this battle to overcome concerns about homogenous schools would prove to be a very long one, involving many court challenges under Section 23 of the *Charter*, and an arduous public education campaign. In 2000, FPANE was still fighting court battles for homogenous French secondary schools, and parental opposition to these schools had still not been completely extinguished.[100]

National Developments – The Path to Language Rights

National Pressure Groups

While provincially-based pressure groups (and provincial chapters of national organisations) were active at the local and provincial level over the course of the OLEP negotiations, their national counterparts were also actively trying to lobby the federal government and the CMEC. While many of their interventions will be discussed in the following chapter, a few notable aspects of their involvement should be mentioned here to better situate these organisations in the pantheon of actors involved in negotiating the 1983 protocol, as well as to establish the role that they played in the campaign for language rights in education .

Lobby groups representing francophones had a particularly difficult time during this period getting access to government representatives. Organisations such as the FFHQ had become particularly aggressive with their demands by this

point, particularly given the potential held by the *Charter* for minority language education rights.[101] Their rhetoric was increasingly virulent during this period. In September 1981, following yet another rejection by the CMEC for a head-to-head meeting, the federation accused the CMEC of covering up weaknesses in francophone minority language education, and accused the council of indifference towards the issue of educational services for francophones.[102] Their harsh rhetoric was often echoed by the ACELF,[103] as well as the Commission nationale des parents francophones (CNPF), a national lobby group of parents, modelled after the Franco-Manitoban Féderation provinciale des comités de parents, which received federal government funds beginning in 1980.[104] All of these groups, with their rights-based agendas, were highly critical of the provincial governments. They received a fair bit of media attention, but were generally excluded from interprovincial meetings, although they were occasionally fed inside information from sympathetic provincial delegations.

In contrast to the FFHQ, which was excluded from the CMEC deliberations, Canadian Parents for French developed a closer relationship with the Council, and played an important role in bringing the CMEC and the federal government together. CPF got wind that Ottawa was considering linking discussions on established program financing – medicare, post-secondary education – with the OLEP funding.[105] Federal officials were frustrated with having built up Canadian post-secondary education in the post-war period, spending hundreds of millions of dollars for this on a cost-shared basis, and yet having to basically beg for the provinces to provide minority and second

language education: education which they believed should have been part of basic provincial programming.[106] Some officials believed that Ottawa's transfers for post-secondary education should be linked to providing minority language education in some way, perhaps making second language knowledge a pre-requisite for university admission, or obliging the provinces to guarantee minority language education in exchange for university funding. CPF argued against making this type of linkage, an argument which ultimately was successful.[107]

Although the CPF originally been formed to act as an advocacy and information forum, not as a pressure group, the OLEP negotiations threatened immersion and FSL programs, thrusting the organisation into a lobbying position. It tried to act as an intermediary between the two levels of government, conveying information to the federal government on how the provinces were spending the OLEP grants, and in return lobbying the federal government to retain maintenance funding, raise the amount of funding available to the program, and ease off on some of its accountability demands. At the same time, it urged the provinces to make the OLEP programs more visible, and to provide some increased degree of accountability, not only to the federal government, but to taxpayers and parents.[108]

The CPF was more warmly received by the provinces, and ultimately was successful in getting invited to a meeting with four CMEC ministers in June 1981, where it raised a number of its concerns.[109] In many ways, the CPF was less threatening to the CMEC since it was generally not demanding rights for its constituents (although it had pushed for a right to choice in language of

education and had supported francophone associations at the provincial level), and in public took a much less confrontational approach to the CMEC, acting more as a mediator than as an adversary.[110] As a result of this difference in approach, the CPF's proposals, which will be discussed in the following chapter, often fell on more receptive ears than did those of the FFHQ. Moreover, it was able to present these proposals in person, rather than watching and criticizing from the sidelines.

A Conservative Interlude

Following the Liberal defeat in May 1979, Joe Clark's Conservatives assumed power with a minority government. David Macdonald was appointed as Secretary of State, and the provinces were not certain what to expect from the new minister in terms of developments in the OLEP. In the run-up to the election, Clark had emphasized his concept of Canada being a "community of communities," and seemed much more open to decentralized federalism. For this reason, provincial education ministers were not certain whether the Conservatives would implement the Liberal plan to shift the OLEP's funding from maintenance of existing programs to development of new ones.[111]

Early indications from the Clark government did seem to signal that the Conservatives would continue to fund the OLEP. The government expressed support for the youth option that had been announced by its Liberal predecessor, and did not give any suggestion that it wanted to cancel the bilingualism agenda.[112] From the provinces' perspective, there were also some hints that

Macdonald might be more open to their point-of-view on the future direction of the Official Languages in Education Program. The Conservatives appeared to be open to continuing to use Statistics Canada figures to satisfy Ottawa's need for provincial accountability, rather than insisting on more stringent reporting requirements. They also indicated that they were willing to permit more flexibility to allow the provinces to determine their own objectives, and that they wanted to focus the OLEP on maintaining the progress made to date, rather than embarking on ambitious new projects.[113] It was also reported in the *Montreal Gazette* that the Clark government was not planning on insisting too heavily on provincial accountability for the OLEP funds, despite the lobbying of official language minority groups and various MPs, asserting that it did not want the federal government to become a shadow minister of education.[114]

However, the Clark government did not have a long enough term in office to have a significant impact on the OLEP. While civil servants from this period indicated that Macdonald was committed to bilingualism and fought for the continuation of the OLEP, the defeat of his government on a budget vote precluded any major policy shifts to the program.[115] Thus, while there were some indications that the Conservatives may have been more amenable to provincial demands, this path was cut short in December 1979, and the February 1980 election of the Liberals returned the negotiations to their prior incarnation.

Quebec Referendum

The first major challenge of the Trudeau government, upon its return to office, was to address the referendum on sovereignty association scheduled for May 1980. While this was largely addressed in our discussion of Quebec, some additional points bear mention. Some of the official language minority groups, including ACFA, the SFM and the SANB expressed a certain sympathy for the "oui" side in the referendum.[116] While none wanted Quebec to separate, there was nevertheless sympathy expressed for Quebec's desire to secure additional powers and protections for its language and culture. Moreover, the official language minorities wanted to increase their bargaining strength, and hoped that the provincial governments would speed up the expansion of French-language services as a provincial response to Quebec separatism.

It is the reaction to this stance which is of most interest here. Many of the provincial ministers had believed that their efforts on minority language education and second language instruction were in fact ammunition in the battle against separation. This thrust had been noted in a speech by Terence Donahoe concerning the need for Acadian education,[117] and had figured in remarks by other premiers and ministers.[118] Dick Johnson, Alberta's Minister for Foreign and Inter-governmental Affairs, was quite upset at the unwillingness of ACFA to campaign for the "No" side.[119] He had assumed that the association would be willing to attest to the improvements made in his province under its "best efforts" approach, even if the changes were not as rapid as may have been desired. It is indeed notable how efforts targeting official language minorities in many

provinces were conceived as efforts to win over Quebec, rather than for their own sake.

Come referendum day, the "No" side won by a margin of 59 per cent to 41 percent. Pierre Trudeau, who in speeches leading up to the referendum had promised constitutional change, rather than a preservation of the status quo, immediately began his drive to patriate the constitution. This effort, which was accompanied by a push for a *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* including minority language education, heralded the next major stage in the federal government's move towards official bilingualism and minority language education rights. What had begun with financial carrots under the Bilingualism in Education Program would now move towards the legal stick of the *Charter*.

Patriation of the Constitution and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*

While the process which led to the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and to the patriation of the Constitution has been extensively studied,[120] little has been written on how this process related to the federal programs that already existed to promote the official languages in education. The desire of the federal government, and more particularly Prime Minister Trudeau, to enshrine the rights of official language minorities to education in their mother tongue pre-dated the creation of the Bilingualism in Education Program. However, the difficulties that Ottawa faced in cajoling the provinces to expand their minority language education programs served to highlight the need for a constitutional solution to the official languages issue.

In the early 1980s, it was far from clear how the *Charter* would operate in practice. As such, the linkages between the Charter and the OLEP are not obvious or straight-forward. Indeed, the impending passage of Section 23 of the *Charter* did not figure largely in the discussions on the OLEP's renewal.[121] However, there were statements made by several key individuals which indicated that the two were linked in the minds of decision-makers. Moreover, the *Charter* would reinforce intrastate federalism in practice, making minority language rights applicable to citizens in all provinces, and enforceable by the federal Supreme Court. Thus, while there was not a direct relationship between the OLEP negotiations and the patriation process, the linkages that do exist deserve further exploration here.

Of the ten provinces, eight initially opposed the federal government's efforts to patriate the Constitution. This opposition stemmed from a variety of reasons, many of which were entirely unrelated to the *Charter* and official languages. Some, however, including Manitoba's Sterling Lyon, who was fighting a domestic battle over bilingualism, were vehemently opposed to the constitutional reform, particularly to its provisions for a *Charter of Rights* including official language education rights. In the view of Premier Lyon, language rights should not be extended beyond national institutions, and the federal government should not be preoccupied with such issues.[122] Quebec, still stinging from the defeat of the referendum, was firmly opposed to the language education rights being proposed for Section 23 of the *Charter*, rights which if left unrestricted would run completely counter to Bill 101.

Language rights were particularly important for Trudeau and the federal government. A decade of providing funding to the provinces for official languages in education had improved access to programs, but produced very limited results in terms of language rights in this sector. By 1981, only New Brunswick offered unrestricted rights to minority language education. Quebec, although offering widespread English language rights to its anglophone minority, was restricting these rights from new immigrants to the province. Apart from these two, only Manitoba and Ontario had provisions whereby programs had to be offered if requested by a minimum number of parents. In the other provinces, legislation was permissive at best (although this was a major improvement over the 1950s). The incentives of the OLEP had resulted in changes, but only to a limited extent, and were often less focused on the sector – minority language education – which mattered most to the federal government, and more on the politically popular immersion and second language programs.

Two provinces, Ontario and New Brunswick, did support the federal constitutional initiatives. Ontario supported both the enshrining of two official languages into the constitution, and to the right to an education in either official language, where warranted by numbers. As Premier Davis noted, "In the interest of our future together, it is time to ensure that, anywhere in Canada parents of the official language minority can have their children educated in the English or the French language, as the case may be."[123] However, the Ontario premier was resistant to imposing official bilingualism on a provincial government, including his own, and defended Ontario's incremental approach to bilingualism, and to

offering minority language services on the basis of expressed demand.[124] The Premier continued to reject demands that Ontario be made officially bilingual, proposals that had been circulating since the time of the RCBB.

New Brunswick, for its part, was even more welcoming of the federal proposals. As noted above, New Brunswick was angling to be designated as officially bilingual under the constitution, and Premier Hatfield was a vigorous advocate of the constitutional entrenchment of minority language education rights. Hatfield was not in favour of limiting these services to "where numbers warrant" as this implied that the right would be abused.[125] Rather, he argued that "We must... continue to move forward the rights of Canadians to have, to be taught, to express, and to work in either of the two languages, and to do this by consent."[126]

Numerous lobby groups, including many which had been funded under the OLMG program, and which had been frustrated by the relatively slow progress achieved to date under the OLEP, lined up to express support for the federal government's constitutional proposals on minority language education rights. Indeed, many of these associations called for the rights to be extended further than was being proposed by Ottawa. The PSBGM and the QFHSA both called for the right of all parents to have the right to choose the language of instruction for their children, be it the majority or the minority language.[127] In their view, the right to choice of language of education was as important as the language of a trial for the individual. These organisations believed that these rights should be based on the right of an individual to free choice, rather than on the collective

right of a language group. Canadian Parents for French, for its part, supported this type of initiative, as it believed that this would provide legislative support for French immersion programs as well.[128]

Francophone organisations too, including ACFA and FANE, also called for a wider interpretation of the proposed Section 23. The "where numbers warrant" clause was seen as tailored for the Ontario and Quebec governments, to the detriment of francophone minority communities elsewhere.[129] ACFA, which had been closely working with CPF, noted that in Alberta, access to French-language education programs was seen as a right by anglophone parents, who wanted French immersion programs defended by the Charter. Indeed, in Alberta and other provinces, anglophones were often relied upon to make up the minimum numbers for French-language programs, and the restrictions of Section 23 on the basis of mother tongue would negate this strategy. Furthermore, ACFA argued that "the two official languages of Canada must belong by right to all Canadians."[130] However, the demands of these groups came to naught, as the final agreement of 5 November 1981, in an effort to appease Quebec, continued to insist on the restriction of Section 23 rights to Canadian citizens whose mother tongue was that of the official language minority.[131] Section 59 of the *Constitution Act, 1982* established that Section 23(1) (a) of the *Charter*, which reads:

> 23. (1) Citizens of Canada
> (a) whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French linguistic minority population of the province in which they reside...
> have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language in that province.

would only come into effect in Quebec if and when it was authorized by the legislative assembly or government of Quebec. In the interim, Section 23 would only apply in Quebec to those citizens who had been educated in English in Canada, or had children that had been educated in English elsewhere in Canada.[132] However, if and when the government of Quebec felt French was firmly enough entrenched in the province, it could choose to accept Section 23(1)(a).[133]

An important thread ran through these discussions over the implications of Section 23 rights. A *Globe & Mail* editorial argued that entrenchment of these language rights could be achieved with less divisiveness if the federal spending power, and not the constitution, were used. The editorialist, Geoffrey Stevens (a Joe Clark supporter), suggested that if the government was serious about these rights, then it should shape the constitutional provision with an opt-in clause, which would increase the federal contributions to minority language education to the full cost of these programs, if the provinces agreed to sign on.[134] While this was unlikely to be adopted by the federal government, given the incredible cost of this proposal, and the lack of control which could be exercised, it raised the theme of the relationship between constitutional rights and federal funding.

While the federal government did have its supporters for Section 23, even these supporters were wary of the implications of Section 23 for the OLEP. New Brunswick noted that there had to be a linkage between enshrining language rights in the constitution and the provision of sufficient funds to make these programs real and meaningful.[135] The Hatfield government was concerned that

the constitutional entrenchment would shift federal responsibility for minority language education from the executive branch of the federal government to the judicial branch, allowing the executive branch to withdraw from its use of the spending power.[136] This would be a disaster for New Brunswick, which therefore took the approach of arguing that the pace of progress of minority language education would be much slower if its progress were left to the courts.

Ontario, too, noted that it would be a funny time to chop the OLEP, which had been considered expendable in budget discussions, at the same time that the federal government wanted to entrench minority language education rights. For this reason, it argued against discontinuing the OLEP.[137] Minority language education lobby groups, such as the PSBGM, also argued that the federal government should continue to play a role in subsidizing a minimum level of minority language education across the country. In the case of Quebec, these groups wanted the funding to be diverted directly to the school boards, but the fundamental principle of maintaining the OLEP remained the same. Clearly, although there were supporters for Section 23, this support was qualified on the understanding that the federal government would continue to play a financial role in support of this education. Federal officials were aware of these concerns, and did use the financial "carotte" of the OLEP to make minority language education rights more palatable to the reluctant provinces.[138]

The Quebec government, strenuously opposed to Section 23, did not consent to the constitutional agreement reached between the federal government and the other nine provinces, despite the inclusion of provisions that were built

into the renewal package (including a subsection of Section 23 of the *Charter)* to appease it. Lévesque found these concessions insufficient. Moreover, the Parti Québécois, which wanted sovereignty-association and was firmly opposed to Trudeau's constitutional changes, was upset by the Canadian government's decision to proceed with the new constitutional package despite Quebec's opposition. Accordingly, in November 1981, Quebec withdrew its participation from all inter-provincial meetings. This would make negotiating a new agreement at the CMEC level difficult, as Quebec was no longer at the discussion table, but its consent was crucial to a new OLEP agreement. The manner in which this would be resolved would require sensitive negotiations, given Quebec's bruised feelings.

Conclusion

A great disparity separated the provinces from each other as negotiations proceeded towards the protocol agreement reached in 1983. A wide gap existed between the intensive development plans of New Brunswick, the incremental steps occurring in Nova Scotia and Alberta, and the regressive policies of Quebec. These different approaches to official languages in education shaped the willingness of these governments to agree to various proposals from both the federal government and their provincial counterparts. It would end up taking four years from the failed attempts to re-sign an agreement in 1979 to the eventual conclusion of a protocol agreement, as the provinces wrestled with each other over issues of jurisdiction, financing, visibility, evaluation and accountability.

The context in which the provinces fought these battles was not a static one either; if anything, it was one of the most tumultuous in Canadian constitutional history. Two federal elections were held, as was a failed referendum on sovereignty-association. By the summer of 1980, the provinces were faced not with a weary and defeated federal government, but one fresh from a series of victories, and re-energized with its constitutional agenda. This agenda proved to be at least partly successful. The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was born in April 1982, guaranteeing official minority language education rights where numbers warranted. However, the machinations leading up to the patriation of the Constitution and the passage of the Charter had alienated the government of Quebec, which at least for a brief period refused to attend inter-provincial meetings. All of these factors combined to shape the lengthy negotiation process that led to the protocol of the Official Languages in Education Program reached in 1983.

As we shall see in the following chapter, an examination of the issues that had to be resolved to reach this agreement reveals the extent to which the concept of official languages in education had become part of the fabric of Canadian life, binding the provinces into a commitment to this program. The passage of Section 23 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982 (which owed much to the foundations of minority language education that were developed over the past decade) and the establishment of a provincial consensus on minority language education rights in the wake of the election of the PQ, both served to strengthen the federal government's hand in the OLEP

negotiations. With Section 23, a key intrastate plank had been laid in Canadian language policy, one which legally obliged the provinces to provide minority language education, and which provided Ottawa with a fall-back position, should the OLEP negotiations fail. The *Charter* would also strengthen the hand of official language minority communities seeking to develop their education programs in the following decades.

However, despite the gains by the Canadian government, the provinces still retained jurisdictional authority over education, including the power to determine which priorities they would emphasize, and the extent to which they would facilitate the development of new programs in this sector. Thus, while the federal government had managed to secure its primary objective – minority language education – it was limited in the amount control it could exercise over the pace of development of new programs. Moreover, the *Charter* did nothing to change the situation of immersion and second language programs, which were also seen as important, if secondary, objectives for the Trudeau government. Accordingly, while these latter programs had gained a substantial foothold in Canadian education since the inception of the OLEP, they were still subject to interstate negotiations.

As we have seen in this chapter, it would be very difficult for a provincial government to turn the tide in official language rights after the adoption of the *Charter*. The combination of programs such as the OLEP and the OLMG had effectively built up the embedded state. Not only were French-Canadian and Acadian minorities active in their campaign for language rights, but these

communities were increasingly supported by other associations, such as Canadian Parents for French, and ever-wider segments of the English-speaking population, who had come to support the official languages policy. Moreover, the civil servants who worked in the administrative structures that had been established within provincial Departments of Education to run French-language programs served as a fifth column for the federal government, convincing their superiors to support the official languages policy. As we have seen, a number of key individuals, including Alberta's David King, Manitoba's Lionel Orlikow and Olivier Tremblay, Ontario's Bill Davis and Thomas Wells, New Brunswick's Richard Hatfield, and Nova Scotia's Terence Donahoe, had all played major roles in convincing their respective governments and education departments to support Ottawa's official languages agenda, and to develop their minority and second language education programs. Given the historical development of official language programs, and the patterns of development in each individual province, it is hard to deny the impact that these individuals had on speeding along their provinces' development in this respect.

Through this combination of the embedded state, the actions of key civil servants and politicians, and the newly enshrined constitutional provisions for minority language education, a strong base of support existed for the future development of the OLEP, and for this development to have a strong intrastate component. However, it would take the entire period from the lapsing of the second BEP agreement to the *Charter*, plus an additional year and a half of

negotiations, before a workable agreement could be reached, and it is to these negotiations that we now turn.

Chapter Eight:

From Conflict to Compromise, Protracted and Painful Negotiations, 1979-1983

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Introduction

The four years leading up to the signing of a new protocol agreement for the Official Languages in Education Program were, as we have seen, politically charged ones in terms of language policy and English-French relations in Canada. By the time the protocol was signed, a referendum on sovereignty negotiation had been defeated, the Constitution had been patriated, and a constitutional right to minority language education had been established. In addition to these political developments, several contentious issues had to be resolved in order to move the OLEP forward into the 1980s.

A revolving series of federal governments and cabinet ministers provided the backdrop for these years of conflict. Accordingly, most of the discussions took place among senior civil servants, who nevertheless had an interest in defending the interests and programs of their governments. Over the 1979-1983 period, these officials were responsible for negotiating an acceptable compromise on a wide-range of issues ranging from financing to evaluation, from objectives to public visibility. This chapter will examine each of the issues in turn, and the process whereby the federal and provincial governments, and a variety of interest groups, resolved them, eventually reaching a protocol agreement in December 1983. Inevitably, there will be some overlap here with issues raised in the preceding two chapters, which established the starting points for these negotiations, although the main emphasis here will be on the post-1979 period. In order to separate out the issues of contention, our discussion here will cover each subject in turn, moving back-and-forth chronologically, concluding with the

ultimate resolution process of the final two years of negotiations, which covers all of these issues together. Our discussion will begin with the various aspects of the financing of the program, then proceed to the objectives of the new agreements, and finally the implementation and structural aspects of the new protocol. Through this analysis, it will be possible to see how a deal was struck which satisfied both levels of government, incorporating elements of both interstate and intrastate federalism, and more firmly establishing bilingualism in practice as well as in the official discourse of Canadian identity.

The Funding Conundrum

At its core, the OLEP was a financial arrangement between the federal government and individual provinces, whereby Ottawa contributed funds to programs it designed, but which were administered by the provinces. Thus, from the perspective of the provinces, the most critical issue was the amount of funding which would be made available under each new agreement.[1] The cap imposed on the OLEP had reduced overall funding to the provinces by 20 per cent, in a period when most provinces wanted even more funding. Indeed, while some provinces, such as Quebec and Alberta, were concerned about some of the more technical aspects of the program, including accountability and guiding principles, others with less lucrative treasuries, Nova Scotia for example, argued that they were "too poor" to have principles, and basically were interested in increased funding.[2]

From Ottawa's perspective, all federally-funded programs needed to be re-examined in light of its spiralling deficit. The free-spending era of the late-1960s which had spawned the open-ended BEP agreements had come to a close, and thus financing arrangements which were not subject to controls had to be reigned in, and preferably submitted to increased federal management.[3] From its point-of-view, a commitment to the OLEP was expressed by the fact that only 20 per cent had been cut from this particular program, versus the 34 per cent that had been chopped from programs for bilingualism in the civil service.[4] The provinces, on the other hand, believed that the funding cut from the civil service programs should be redirected into the OLEP if the federal government was truly serious about its youth option. If there absolutely had to be a cap, the provinces argued, it should at least be indexed to inflation rates.[5]

Following the defeat of the Liberals in 1979, the provinces pressed their case for increased OLEP funding to the new Secretary of State, David Macdonald. Macdonald proved to be a sympathetic ear to their request, and worked within the Cabinet to try to increase the federal government's commitment to the OLEP. He argued that an increase in the OLEP's funding would go a long way to improving strained federal-provincial relations, and that therefore the government should divert dollars from the inner cabinet fund, a special reserve fund created by the Conservative government, to replace the funding cut by the Liberals.[6]

However, Macdonald did not find sympathy within the rest of the government. Prime Minister Clark argued that this suggestion went completely

counter to his policy of dividing the government's budget into funding envelopes, and that if Macdonald wanted to find more money for the OLEP, it would have to be found within his own department.[7] Finance Minister John Crosbie backed up Clark, arguing that the request was completely incongruent with the entire exercise of having a "social policy" envelope.[8] While these two turned down Macdonald's request on financial grounds, Treasury Board President Sinclair Stevens was more blunt. Stevens, a right-wing businessman and former leadership contender who was considered responsible for swinging the 1976 leadership convention to Clark, a Red Tory,[9] cited the "unevaluated and doubtful effectiveness of the program" as the reason not to increase funding. He particularly stressed that there was no real sense of whether the program's objectives had been achieved, and no clear reason to believe that this program would facilitate smoother federal-provincial relations. Moreover, he questioned the appropriateness of any federal involvement in education funding.[10]

Despite this stern rebuke, Macdonald attempted to argue his case again in January 1980, citing the progress that had been made in minority and second language education as a result of the weight that the OLEP gave to demands from the minority language communities and Canadian Parents for French. He claimed that his request would not in fact be increasing the program's funding, but merely restoring it to the levels which existed before the program was slashed by the Trudeau government.[11] However, the Clark government went down to defeat the following month in the federal election, and these arguments came to naught. The only major accomplishment of Macdonald's tenure as

Secretary of State was the signing of a second interim agreement in February 1980.[12]

The re-election of the Liberal government in 1980 meant a return to the stalemate on the OLEP funding levels. Following the CMEC meeting in September 1980, the provinces, frustrated over the lack of progress on this issue, stated that "clearly, bilingualism is no longer a federal priority."[13] Calls for increased overall funding continued throughout 1981 and into early 1982, including interventions from Canadian Parents for French[14] and the ACELF.[15] However, from the federal government's perspective, the financial constraints of the late 1970s had not lifted, and it was unwilling to increase funding without increased accountability from the provinces. It would not be until early 1982, when the provinces had conceded to some of the federal government's requests for visibility and accountability, that the Trudeau government agreed to make its "best efforts" to increase the funding levels.[16] The new Secretary of State, Serge Joyal, a maverick who had taken his own government to court over the 1976 Bilingual Air Traffic Controllers dispute,[17] and who had been co-chairman of the Special Joint Committee on the Constitution,[18] was committed to the OLEP's success, and pushed within the federal government for an increased envelope of funding. Joyal managed to secure an increase to $190M in March 1983, with the promise of an additional 5 per cent (or $15M) per year.[19] While this was a marked improvement over the interim agreements, which remained constant around $170M, it still fell well short of the high point of the BEP in 1977-78 when the federal government spent $222M. Nevertheless, the provinces recognized

that this was an improvement and that they were unlikely to secure more money than this, and consequently accepted the federal government's offer.

Allocation of the OLEP Funds

The desire for an increased pool of funds upon which to draw was easily agreed upon by all provinces. Agreeing on how to divvy these funds up was a significantly more difficult proposition. Lobby groups such as CPF and the FFHQ had long criticized the formula payments as being clumsy and providing little incentive for development,[20] since they gave the most money to provinces with the best-established and most costly programs, while doing little to help the poorer provinces in need of the most development.[21] However, as a national program, any OLEP agreement would somehow have to satisfy all of the provinces, including Quebec, which had benefited enormously from the existing arrangements and resisted any attempt to reduce its share of the funding. Indeed, Quebec wanted to leave the program altogether in 1980 with financial compensation, claiming that the OLEP upset the province's linguistic balance.[22]

A wide variety of proposals were floated by individual provinces to determine how the OLEP funding should be allocated. While most of the community organisations wanted to scrap the formula payments altogether, most of the provinces found them acceptable, if in need of re-alignment. The first challenge was to come to agreement on the starting point for funding allocation. In the past, the formulas had been based on the average cost per student in each province, multiplied by the number of FTEs in existing programs. Some

provinces, favouring a developmental thrust, wanted to do away with this reliance on current enrolments. As was noted earlier, Manitoba had proposed a redistribution of funds on a per capita basis, with the size of the minority language community factored in, a methodology which it argued would lead to a more equitable sharing of the funds, and more simple calculations.[23] However, in two of the three methods proposed by Manitoba, New Brunswick stood to lose money, and Quebec would lose significantly under all three, and thus this proposal did not meet with any great success.[24]

Taking a different approach, New Brunswick proposed a system of block grants based on real additional costs, which would be increased according to inflation.[25] This was further elaborated in May 1981 to what it dubbed the Bilingualism in Education Support Transfer (or BEST) Program, which would fold the OLEP into a program along the lines of other established program financing arrangements, whereby each province would receive a block of funding for specifically targeted purposes: one grant for second language instruction programs, and another for minority language education.[26] This proposal too, met with little support from the other provinces, particularly given the lack of flexibility to redistribute funding between the two objectives.

A more successful proposal came from Alberta in July 1980, which proposal suggested changing the formula for OLEP funding from one tied directly to provincial costs to one based on a weighted national average cost.[27] Under this proposal, the formula payments would be based on the average cost of education per student *in Canada*, rather than in individual provinces.

Table 8.1 Average cost of education per student per year, 1977-78[28]

Province	***Elementary***	***Secondary***
Alberta	$1,567.92	$2,064.90
Manitoba	$1,547.33	$2,039.37
Ontario	$1,678.05	$2,425.82
Quebec	$1,590.00	$2,728.92
New Brunswick	$1,242.44	$1,617.98
Nova Scotia	$1,315.55	$1,705.49
National Provincial Average	***$1,473.18***	***$2,011.07***

As can be seen from Table 8.1, the smaller provinces with the least developed programs would benefit greatly from the Alberta proposal. The Maritime provinces were already below the national average education cost, even before this average was weighted for provincial populations. Once this adjustment was made, the Western provinces would also benefit from this proposal. Alberta was savvy enough to make the proposal palatable to Quebec, which could lose under this formula, by arguing that a floor should be established at level of the 1980-81 payments, which would prevent Quebec's share from slipping further.

The Alberta proposal was greeted with a fair bit of enthusiasm. Canadian Parents for French developed a similar proposal in March 1981, and argued for its merits in terms of helping provinces that needed additional development.[29] Indeed, Janet Poyen, the past president of CPF, commenting somewhat later on the negotiations, claimed credit for this solution, clearly not having viewed the Alberta proposal.[30] The CMEC incorporated the floor into its basic position in March 1981, calling for no province to receive less under new arrangements than it currently did.[31] The weighted national average would also enter into CMEC deliberations in the summer of 1981, with the proviso that the floor be in place for

a limited duration while the new arrangement was phased in.[32] The federal government did not object to the weighted national average suggestion. Indeed, this proposal favoured the additional program development sought by Secretary of State officials. Moreover, it favoured Ottawa's intrastate position, since it took all of Canada, not individual provinces, as its frame of reference, and seemed to implicitly accept the need for a national solution to language questions. The WNA was thus included in the protocol of 1983. Nor did Ottawa have a major problem with the idea of a floor, although the exact level and year of this floor would prove problematic, as we shall see in our discussion below of the final phases of the protocol negotiations in 1983.

While the provinces did come to accept both the concept of continued formula payments and a weighted national average, there had been some resistance to this. Manitoba had been pushing for a block formula on a per capita basis, and was not entirely satisfied with the formula payments.[33] New Brunswick, too, had some reservations about the weighted national average, as this did not take into account some of the systemic costs of bilingualism in the provinces, as well as their language profiles.[34] These two provinces, as we shall see, ended up opting for a different arrangement than the others, and their concerns were accommodated in this way. Greater divisions though, arose on the question of the percentage levels of the various formulas. As was noted in Chapter Six, Ontario had proposed a substantial increase in the second language formula to the level of 15.8 per cent. Other provinces, eyeing a cash grab, had leapt on the bandwagon for this percentage, regardless of their own

additional costs. Not all provinces supported this though; Alberta rejected this level as unjustifiable in May 1980.[35] Indeed, Ontario's own officials had begun to back down from this position the previous fall, citing criticism from the Franco-Ontarian community, and the inapplicability of this figure for other provinces.[36]

Other proposals for adjusting the formulas were floated in this period as well. Alberta proposed a significant increase to the minority language formula in July 1980, which would raise this figure to 15 per cent.[37] However, the federal government was resistant to any major increase in funding during this period. Moreover, by this point, most provinces were of the opinion that any increases to the formulas were unlikely to meet with federal approval, and thus focused on defining what types of programs would be eligible for formula funding.[38]

The crux of these discussions on program eligibility was the immersion question. Immersion programs had not even been considered at the outset of the BEP, and had been built into the program haphazardly over the course of the decade. They had proceeded to attract significant support and led to the creation of CPF, which lobbied vigorously and effectively for their growth. However, not everyone was pleased with this development. The Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) called for an increased emphasis on the Core French programs, which it believed had been ignored due to the immersion boom.[39] The FFHQ was also very concerned about the growth of immersion programs. These programs were funded out of the same pool of money, and at the same level, as the minority language programs. The FFHQ argued that French immersion risked becoming the catch-all response of anglophones to demands for French

minority language education, and wanted to ensure that immersion did not overshadow minority language programming.[40] It was also very concerned, particularly once the cap was imposed, that the immersion programs were draining money that should be going to francophones, and wanted separate pots of money established for French immersion and French minority language education.[41] Moreover, it called on all governments to refocus their attentions on minority language education, which the FFHQ believed had been completely overshadowed by FSL and French immersion.[42]

A more precise definition of the role of immersion also suited the needs of a number of the provincial governments. Separate reporting of French minority language and immersion programs had been a major priority of many lobby groups, including CPF, ACELF and the provincial affiliates of the FFHQ. Agreeing to this demand would allow the provinces to satisfy these groups.[43] In some provinces, the lack of a set definition of what constituted immersion had cost them financially in the past. Ontario, for instance, noted that some provinces claimed the 9 per cent formula for programs with 25 per cent French instruction, while many of Ontario's programs with 40-50 per cent French instruction had been claimed only under the 5 per cent formula.[44] This would also allow for clarifying the situation in Quebec, where immersion was only offered in French, and thus had a rather nebulous status, as a second language program aimed at the minority language population.[45]

In the final agreements, while the formula for minority language education did not increase, as had been demanded by the FFHQ, nor did the second

language formulas. However, in satisfaction of the FFHQ's demands, French immersion was reported and classified separately in the protocol agreements.[46] Thus, while CPF was satisfied with the institutionalisation of immersion and continuation of its higher levels of funding, the francophone community organisations would now be able to have access to more accurate figures concerning how the provinces were prioritizing immersion and FML programming. This would enable them to lobby the provinces more effectively, and to have a better sense of how the federal dollars were being spent.

Duration of the Agreement

Past agreements of the Bilingualism in Education Program had been for a fixed length, four and five years respectively. The length of the new OLEP agreement proved another contentious issue. In the years leading up to the end of the second agreement, the CSTA had called for even longer agreements, of ten to fifteen years, to allow for better curriculum planning. Other lobby groups called for a more restricted period ; Canadian Parents for French asked for a five-year agreement, out of a program that would be expected to last at least another ten years.[47] The provinces, for their part, asked for an agreement of at least another five years in duration.[48]

The federal government wanted even shorter agreements, preferably of three years, although it were willing to consider an extension period of an additional two years.[49] The federal government was concerned, as it had been with the overall level of financing, about the agreements being too open-ended.

The issue of the duration of the OLEP agreements is a particularly intriguing one, despite its innocuous appearance. At the outset, the BEP was not supposed to last nearly this long. Second language instruction was only intended to receive five years of federal funding, and minority language education was only supposed to last for ten to fifteen years. However, by the early 1980s, the OLEP, and the programs it funded, had become so woven into the fabric of federal-provincial relations, that nobody was seriously considering cancelling the program. With the *Charter* now obligating provinces to provide minority language education, the provinces were eager to have federal funds to pay for this. For its part, Ottawa realized that continued OLEP funding would help to speed up the implementation of section 23. The only question was over the details of the program, and how often these provisions could be altered by the participants. An essential element of the agreements is that although there were quibbles over the length of the protocol, it was expected by all parties that this would be followed by yet another agreement. This demonstrates the extent to which official languages in education programs and a federal funding role in them had become accepted as a fact of Canadian federalism.

Program Objectives

Parallel to the disputes over funding arrangements ran discussions concerning the stated objectives of the OLEP, and how these were to be worded. It was this section which was the most politically delicate, as the language used had the potential to firm up either provincial or federal claims to jurisdiction in the official

languages sector, and both sides were aware of the power that precise wording could have to solidify their respective claims. The wording of this section also had the potential to advance their competing visions of what type of language policy Canada should have, who this policy should serve, and what kind of Canada they wanted to build.

Not all of the disputes over the objectives of the OLEP were difficult ones to resolve. The federal government had advanced the notion that a cultural component should be built into both the minority and second language programs, so that Canadians of the minority language community would have a better sense of their own culture, and those of the majority language community would better understand the culture whose language they were learning. Francophone minority communities had lobbied hard for this provision, as they believed that language was an essential vehicle for the preservation and transmission of their culture, a premise which had been advanced by the RCBB.[50] For the federal government, the cultural component was intended to reinforce national unity and understanding. Several other lobby groups, including the CPF and the CTF, had come out in support of this objective.[51] While some provinces had waffled on this proposition in the late 1970s, arguing that it would cost additional money that had been recently cut back, they had moved past this position by 1979, reaching general agreement on the principle that the program should provide "opportunities for cultural enrichment though knowledge of the language and culture of the other language group."[52] The CMEC adopted this principle formally

by April 1981, and it was a variant of this wording which appeared in the final agreement.[53]

While including a cultural element in the OLEP was a fairly simple matter, most other elements of the objectives were significantly more complex. The governments returned to the highly contentious issue of who should be covered as the target groups of the OLEP-funded programs. In 1974, the shift in objectives to aim minority language education solely at members of the minority language community had passed largely without notice, aside from the protests of Quebec's anglophone community. By 1979, however, and increasingly as negotiations on the *Charter* progressed, other organisations and governments took a greater interest in these definitions. Canadian Parents for French lobbied strongly for a right to a choice of either official language for education for all Canadian children.[54] The QFHSA did not want to even restrict this right to citizens alone, as a more expansive definition would allow for a broader catchment pool for the English-language school boards of Quebec. These organisations had some governmental allies. In March 1980, Alberta called for a return to the 1970 wording of the agreement.[55] The Canadian government too wanted to stress the access of "Canadians" to minority language education, rather than restricting this to the minority language community, as many provinces, led by Quebec, were demanding.[56]

Although there were some supporters of a broader definition of the target groups of the OLEP, the Quebec government proved to be a formidable adversary. The PQ believed that a broader definition of the program objectives

would threaten its linguistic balance, which it was trying to solidify with Bill 101.[57] In the long run, satisfying Quebec proved to be more important than the principle of freedom of choice to the governmental actors, as it was with the *Charter*. While the federal government did believe that French Canada extended from coast-to-coast, it could not deny the importance of Quebec's francophone population in this equation, and recognized that Quebec's participation in the OLEP was essential. This was thus the key limiting factor in Ottawa's efforts to devise intrastate solutions to Canada's language issues. As such, in the later proposals of the CMEC and the final agreement, the target group for minority language education was limited to members of the minority language community. However, this was modified in one important way: both the anglophone and francophone regional minorities in New Brunswick were specifically included, whereas prior agreements only named the francophone minority.[58]

Both the federal and provincial governments were increasingly sensitive to questions of jurisdiction by the late-1970s, particularly given in the atmosphere of the constitutional discussions. The provincial governments wanted to restrict the federal government's role in education, while the federal government wanted to reinforce its justification for involvement in this sector. From the outset, the provinces declared that education, covering both minority language education and second language instruction, was their exclusive jurisdiction, and wanted wording to this effect included in the OLEP agreement.[59] They stressed the need to be able to set their own objectives and timetables in this sector, and to be free from federal control. Quebec in particular was concerned that the federal

government was trying to establish a beachhead in the control of educational programs via the OLEP.[60]

While the federal government did recognize that education itself was a provincial responsibility (and in fact had used this as justification for pulling out of the maintenance of existing programs), it argued that official languages and minority language community rights were a national priority, which had to be supported with federal funds, an assertion which was supported by the Commissioner of Official Languages.[61] The federal claims were premised on the notion that these issues of official languages in education were linked with issues of national interest such as the respect of fundamental rights and the "rapprochement entre les différentes régions du pays."[62] For its part, the federal government wanted mention of its program objectives, contents and priorities in the OLEP agreement.[63] In its drive for recognition of a federal role in education, Ottawa was supported by the government of New Brunswick. Charles Gallagher, New Brunswick's Education Minister, stated that the constitutional entrenchment of language rights must be linked to the continued provision of federal funding, arguing that provincial efforts in education contributed to national official language objectives. Moreover, the minority language schools contributed to geographic mobility within the country, and the development of an equal partnership between the two linguistic societies, both of which were issues of national interest and linked to national objectives.[64]

The CMEC recognized that it would not be possible to secure continued federal funding of the OLEP if the provinces did not recognize a federal interest

and role in this sector. In fact, this had been recognized as early as 1978, when Bette Stephenson, Ontario's Education Minister, urged Jacques-Yvan Morin, then president of the CMEC, to tone down his rhetoric opposing federal interference for fear that this would endanger continued support of the programs.[65] The two parties came to a compromise solution in the objectives section of the OLEP protocol. The federal government recognized that the provinces were responsible for education. In return, the provinces recognized that the official languages policy and funding of the federal government made contributions to Canadian goals and objectives, and for this reason permitted the federal government to contribute to the costs of providing minority language education and second language instruction. Thus, while the federal government did not establish a firm beachhead in education in terms of the language of the OLEP agreement, it did secure provincial recognition of the importance of the federal language policy, and that funding of language education could be accepted as part of Ottawa's role in promoting the official languages and official language minority communities.

The other major battle on the objectives front, and the one which was most difficult to resolve, concerned the exact nature of Ottawa's future role in the OLEP. The federal government, dissatisfied with its role in funding the maintenance of basic education programs in the provinces, wanted to shift all of its funding into the development of new programs. This proposed shift had gained support from most of the minority language community organisations and other lobby groups. The FFHQ believed that this would give Ottawa greater clout

to push the provinces to expand their minority language education programs,[66] while the CPF also believed that this would provide the necessary incentive to spur the provinces to develop more second language programs.[67]

The provinces, in contrast, were almost universally opposed to the developmental thrust. New Brunswick noted that a switch to too much of an emphasis on development would threaten the continuation of its existing programs.[68] In addition, the three largest providers of minority language education (Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick) all argued that this shift would unfairly penalise provinces with well-developed systems, and cause a chilling effect on the development of new programs, since these programs would have their federal funding pulled after a few years.[69] The notion of federal funding being intended to "increase opportunities" for language education was particularly problematic. These provinces preferred that the role of the federal government be limited to "assist[ing] in providing" opportunities.[70] Quebec believed that the agreements should be structured so that there was a pot of money for the maintenance of existing projects, and another for the development of new projects, each of which should be guaranteed a minimum level of funding not less than that which had been allocated under the current agreements.[71] Quebec further believed that the special projects should be reserved for those provinces most in need of additional development: a proposition which would exempt it from further development of its official language programs given its highly developed minority and second language education programs.

On the issue of maintenance-versus-development, the provinces were largely able to wear down the federal government. The federal government steadily pulled back from its plan to phase out funding for the maintenance of existing programs. The one victory that it did gain in this respect was the breaking down of the funding by categories in the protocol agreement. Beginning with the 1983 protocol, federal funding was categorized into four sections: Infrastructure Support; Program Expansion and Development; Teacher Training and Development; and Student Support.[72] Thus, while the federal government was not able to shift its funding as it had wanted, it was able to indicate more precisely what its funding was for, which in turn would be visible to any organisation or individual who wished to examine federal spending.

Additional Costs and Accountability

Having largely abandoned the developmental thrust for the OLEP, aside from securing provincial agreement to try to develop new programs where possible, the federal government had to come up with a way to justify its involvement in provincial education programs. The initial justification for federal involvement in official languages in education had been based on the premise, advanced by the RCBB, that there were extra costs involved in the provision of minority language education and second language instruction. This concept of additional costs had not, however, been included in the official wording of the BEP objectives, and Quebec vigorously denied that this was the intention of the program. For the

federal government, however, this qualifier was an important one which justified its use of the spending power.[73]

Pinning down the nature of these additional costs had long been problematic, even when the provinces accepted that these costs existed (which Quebec did not). The RCBB had guessed at its figure of 10 per cent for minority language education, and the framers of the BEP had estimated the figures for second language instruction. An attempt by the provinces via the CMEC to pin down the extra costs in 1979 had led to a very wide variation between their estimates, and the exercise was deemed fruitless.[74] For Ottawa, the developmental thrust of their 1977 plan would have clearly identified the additional costs: they would stem directly from new programs being introduced. However, having abandoned this plan, a new model for determining additional costs had to be developed. By early 1981 the federal government defined these costs as those which would not exist if minority language education and second language instruction were not provided; these could result from economies of scale, special grants and additional structures.[75] The federal government was prepared to be flexible in its interpretation of what costs could be accepted under this rubric, but it did demand that the provinces accept this concept. Otherwise, it would be unable to justify its involvement in this sector to Members of Parliament and the general public.[76]

Acceptance of the concept that federal grants were premised on the basis of the existence of additional costs was a very problematic one. Most notably, in Quebec, English-language education had been provided for so long that the

provincial government did not believe that these costs were additional ones; they were rather part and parcel of providing education to its citizens. Other provinces, such as New Brunswick and Manitoba, had no problem with the concept of additional costs, and were able to cost out the different programs that the federal funds were spent on.[77] The compromise reached on this issue once again hinged on the specific wording of the protocol agreement; the provinces agreed to accept wording that the federal contributions "related" to the additional costs entailed by these programs.[78] The word "relate" was key to the agreement. The federal government had wanted the word "used" instead, which implied a more direct relationship between their contributions and provincial costs, a linkage which was unacceptable to Quebec.[79]

The reason why the concept of additional costs was so contentious is linked in with another hot-button issue for the federal government, that of accountability. A direct relationship between the federal OLEP funds and additional costs in the provinces would have entailed a rigid reporting structure from the provinces of how they spent the OLEP monies, and a justification of their expenditures. Indeed, the federal government did want much greater accountability from the provinces as to their use of the funds. Thus far, accountability had been sparse, particularly where Quebec and the Maritime provinces were concerned.[80] Demands had poured in from MPs, citizens, and lobby groups from across the country, calling on the federal government to demonstrate how the OLEP funding was spent.[81] Ottawa was particularly concerned that it was spending taxpayers dollars, but could not account for how

these dollars were then used by the provinces. In many cases it seemed as if the money was being poured into a black hole. This was particularly the case with Quebec, the recipient of half of the OLEP funds. This was a sore spot both for Liberal MPs in the province and for organisations such as the QFHSA and the PSBGM.[82]

A wide gulf separated the provinces from each other on the issue of accountability. New Brunswick, desperate for additional funding for its official languages programs, was willing to completely open its books to the federal government, seeing this as the only way to defend the OLEP's integrity and protect it from arbitrary shifts in federal policy.[83] Manitoba, which had the most rigorous system of accountability in the country, buttressed by a granting formula that required accountability from the school boards receiving the grants, was also completely open to accountability, which would be simple to provide.[84] Ontario, which had been moving in the direction of a Manitoba-style accounting and grants procedure, also conceded that a measure of accountability was in the national interest.[85] Other provinces were less amenable to detailed accountability. Alberta, which could have provided these reports, long having had transparent accounting practices, opposed the federal demands as jurisdictional interference and an attempt to impose its own priorities on the provinces.[86] Quebec too, was violently opposed to more accountability, as it even challenged the federal assertion that there were additional costs to be accounted for! These two, and Saskatchewan, wanted accountability restricted

to simple statistical reporting, as had been the practice under previous agreements.

Many actors weighed in on how to solve the accountability problem. The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation (CHSPTF) argued for strict accountability from the provincial governments to Ottawa, to end what it termed "misappropriation" of the OLEP grants.[87] Canadian Parents for French took a more moderate stance, arguing that the provinces and boards should at least be accountable to the general public, if not directly to the federal government.[88] They suggested that a year-end statement should be furnished by each province to the federal government about how the federal grants were used, and that provinces should make greater efforts to cost their programs.[89] CMEC officials proposed a joint provincial cost study, to demonstrate to the federal government the types of costs involved in the OLEP programs.[90] They further suggested that the federal government should be involved in the planning of this type of study, if the provinces expected it to accept the results of the study.[91] This was, however, rejected by Quebec as well as other provinces wary of the federal government questioning their expenditures

The accountability question remained thorny through to 1982, as a major gulf continued to separate Quebec, which opposed any additional accountability, and New Brunswick, which was willing to provide full accountability, with the other provinces scattered between. A breakthrough on this issue would not be possible until the structure of the protocol was determined, which would provide for varying degrees of accountability among the provinces. This compromise

solution will be clarified below in the analysis of the structure of the protocol agreement, with its two-option approach to the OLEP.

Visibility

Not only did the federal government want to be able to account for how the provinces were using its money, it also wanted to make sure that it got due credit for these expenditures. Ottawa saw its programs as an important means of promoting national unity, and wanted the public to be aware of how it was contributing to these programs. Moreover, this would ensure that the public was aware that the federal government was playing a role in funding these educational programs, rather than allowing the provinces to take all of the credit for the new developments. Concerns over visibility stretched back to the mid-1970s, when the federal government began to ask the provinces to note the Secretary of State's contributions in press releases related to the grants.[92]

To a certain extent, the federal government had been able to circumvent provincial reluctance to provide visibility via its funding of the Official Language Minority Groups Program. The various French-Canadian and Acadian associations routinely publicized the important role being played by the federal government in funding minority language education, and decried the lack of a comparable provincial commitment. Canadian Parents for French went even further in the level of detail about the OLEP that they distributed in its newsletter and press releases. As Secretary of State officials noted when considering funding applications from CPF:

> A non-governmental body of concerned parents constitutes an effective means of promoting the realization of federal language policies, and of pointing out to the community at large what the federal government is doing for second-language instruction throughout the country.[93]

Moreover, organisations such as CPF could also be counted on to pressure the provinces to give credit to the federal government for their contributions.[94]

However, this indirect campaign for visibility could only go so far. The federal government wanted the public kept informed about progress being made in the official languages, and the federal government's role in funding this through the OLEP. Ottawa particularly wanted more credit for the formula payments, where visibility was at its worst.[95] There initially was some resistance to this demand, particularly from Quebec, which was loath to publicize Ottawa's contributions to education.[96] However, the federal government won out on this issue, as it was unwilling to make contributions for which it did not receive acknowledgement. The CMEC proposed that visibility be provided through an annual CMEC publication on the provinces' provision of minority language education and second language instruction, joint press releases with the federal government, and an annual issue of its newsletter devoted to the OLEP.[97] While Quebec was not happy with the visibility provisions, it noted that this credit was necessary for the federal government to demonstrate the necessity of its payments to the Canadian taxpayers.[98] Overall, the debate over visibility was resolved without undue difficulty, and the federal government was able to gain public recognition from the provinces of the role it was playing in official languages in education, further solidifying its claim to play a role in this sector.

Evaluation

One might suspect that a detailed evaluation of the success of the Bilingualism in Education Program would have been a major aspect of the negotiations leading up to a renewal of the program. Indeed, one of the primary reasons why the Clark government turned down requests from David Macdonald to increase the funding given to the OLEP was because the links between the program and progress made in attaining its objectives were considered to be dubious. Moreover, education experts and the Commissioner of Official Languages had cast doubts on the pedagogical merits of the 20-minute per day second language programs that were funded by the OLEP, and had indeed suggested that these programs created more hostility to the second language than they contributed to actual learning.

The federal government had initially requested a role in evaluation as part of its 1977 reforms package. Initially, this met with some limited provincial support, primarily from New Brunswick and Manitoba.[99] However, over the course of the negotiations, the provinces formed a common front opposing a federal role in evaluation. While the more moderate provinces on this front, such as Manitoba and Ontario, accepted that evaluations should be conducted as part of the program, they believed that this should be strictly a provincial matter, and that the object of the evaluations should be to determine how well the programs were meeting provincial priorities, rather than whether the programs were meeting federal objectives.[100] The provinces were unwilling to make any major concessions on this issue as pedagogical evaluation was, they argued, firmly

within provincial jurisdiction. The federal government did try to conduct an evaluation of the BEP, based on the 1970-1979 period, using its own limited data. The results of this evaluation were inconclusive as to the effectiveness of the BEP. The investigators argued that progress in minority language education and second language instruction, as well as immersion, was probably accelerated by the BEP, and that the funds certainly gave the official language minorities more clout in their demands. However, it was difficult to tie the federal program directly to other positive developments in the provinces, such as the legal recognition of minority language education in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.[101] Thus, while there were definitely developments in this sector that occurred during the operation of the BEP, the federal evaluation was unable to produce a causal link to improved language learning in the provinces or to provincial policy changes in this field.

Despite the provincial reluctance to allow the federal government a role in evaluation, Ottawa proceeded to sign an agreement with the provinces. The provinces agreed to share their evaluations with the federal government, but conducting such evaluations was not a requirement of the protocol, except in the case of special projects. This lack of insistence on determining if the OLEP was really contributing to useful language learning in the provinces points to its highly politicized nature. While the federal government would obviously be pleased to know that Canadians were becoming more bilingual, and getting a solid education in their mother tongue, this was not its top priority. Rather, given the jurisdictional restrictions inherent in Canadian federalism, the Trudeau

government's main emphasis had to be on ensuring that the OLEP was leading to greater opportunities for official languages education, and that the federal government be seen to be contributing to this. Whether or not the programs were in fact pedagogically sound was left to the provinces to determine.

Consultation with Third Parties

For the most part, the OLEP negotiations were conducted behind closed doors, and only involved federal and provincial representatives. This created a great deal of frustration for the panoply of organisations that were affected by the outcome of these negotiations. Those on the delivery end, such as the Canadian School Trustees Association and the Canadian Teachers Federation, believed that they should be involved in the negotiation process, as it would be ultimately up to them to provide instruction to students. They believed that they were better positioned to understand the demands on local education systems, both pedagogical and financial, that the OLEP would entail. The minority language community associations and CPF, with their community mobilization efforts, felt that they should be consulted on what directions the program should take, since they were more intimately acquainted with the needs of their communities. The fact that the CMEC had conducted its survey of minority language education needs without consulting the FFHQ had enraged the organisation in 1977.

To rectify their exclusion from the OLEP decision making process, some specific proposals emerged from these organisations. The FFHQ asked for a seat at the decision-making table, as well as an institutionalized consultation role,

and wanted the federal government to convince the provinces to accept this.[102] This demand was rejected by the federal government, although it did approach the CMEC to suggest that the Council meet with the FFHQ. Canadian Parents for French presented a related demand, asking that the CMEC invite interested organisations to make their views on the OLEP and related issues known.[103] While the CMEC never engaged in an open consultation process such as this, it did meet with CPF leaders for discussions: a courtesy it was not willing to extend to the more radical FFHQ until after the *Charter* had been passed and the provincial governments were considering how to implement section 23.[104]

The minority language community organisations had also been upset throughout the 1970s concerning the manner in which the OLEP funds were distributed by the provinces. In Quebec, the QFHSA and the PSBGM had long encouraged the federal government to bypass the province, and directly grant funds to school boards or parents. Moreover, they wanted the right to present special projects directly to the federal government. By the 1980s, the FFHQ was advocating a similar bypassing of the provincial governments. It suggested that mechanisms be established to permit official language minorities to suggest special projects.[105] It also proposed that the provinces create specific organisations responsible for receiving and distributing OLEP funds, organisations which would be external to the education departments.[106] These demands were ultimately unsuccessful. Jealous of their constitutional prerogatives, and wishing to keep negotiations within the sphere of federal-provincial relations, rather than opening the process to wide community

consultation, the provinces never seriously considered these proposals. The lobby groups were left on the outside, restricting the OLEP negotiations to the realm of intergovernmental relations.

Administration of the Protocol – Whither the CMEC?

When it formed in 1967, the CMEC was an association of the provincial ministries of education forged for the purpose of sharing information and coordinating joint efforts in education. The organisation played a very minor role in the BEP at the outset, and only became actively involved in issues of official languages in the aftermath of the election of the PQ and the St. Andrew's Conference. In subsequent years, the CMEC secretariat wrote the provincial report on minority language education, and its bi-annual meetings were the forum for interprovincial discussions on the OLEP negotiations. Beginning in October 1979, a task force of representatives from Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick, supported by the staff of the CMEC secretariat, was responsible for compiling provincial responses to federal proposals and preparing draft provincial responses for comment. The CMEC had also administered the Official Language Monitors and Summer Language Bursary programs since the early 1970s, programs that Quebec now wanted negotiated as part of the OLEP package.

Given the expanding role being assumed by the CMEC and its secretariat, the role that the organisation was to play in the future of the OLEP was uncertain, and subject to some strong opinions among the provinces. Manitoba expressed

support for having the master agreement of the OLEP negotiated and developed by the CMEC. Quebec and other provinces also liked having the provinces negotiate as a common front with the federal government via the CMEC. The united front gave them added clout, and prevented the federal government from driving a wedge between them with bilateral agreements.[107] Some organisations, such as the CPF, wanted the CMEC Secretariat to become a more independent organisation, which could make recommendations on funding arrangements and program implementation, independent of political machinations.[108] Alternatively, they proposed that a new organisation be created for this purpose.

It was exactly this type of proposal that worried the provinces. Alberta, while supporting the use of the CMEC in its current form as a funnel for provincial messages to the federal government and a forum for discussions, did not want the CMEC meddling in provincial modalities of providing minority language education, or interfering in funding arrangements, which it believed should be kept with individual provinces.[109] Quebec also noted the expanded role that had been taken on by the CMEC in the negotiation of arrangements as well as its administration, and in 1983 decided that this expanded role was in need of review. While it considered the CMEC a useful forum for discussions, Quebec did not want to lose sovereignty over education to this organisation any more than it wanted to lose it to the federal government.[110] There were thus limits to how far the provinces could go in terms of an interprovincial cooperation approach to official languages in education. However, Quebec recognized that

the CMEC had to remain functional. Its decision to return as a fully participating member of this forum in September 1983 was motivated by a need to prove that the provinces could work together on issues in the national interest, to prevent the federal government from having justification for increased interventions.[111] Given these considerations, the CMEC did retain the increased prominence it had assumed in the late-1970s as a forum for discussion, and as a formulator of proposals, but ultimately any decision on the OLEP negotiated through the CMEC had to be acceptable to all ten provinces, which retained the ultimate say on all decisions.

The Structure of the Protocol

The first two agreements of the OLEP had been relatively straightforward arrangements, offering a standard percentage payment to each province, regardless of the individual circumstances prevailing in that province, whether it be demographic composition or program development plans. The federal government had not been overly satisfied with this arrangement, as it entailed paying large sums of money with uneven results. Some provinces, with ambitious development plans and greater need for the funds, also wanted to alter the program in a way that would allow them to make greater progress. As the above sections have demonstrated, this created a chasm between the provinces, and made it very difficult to sustain the common front of the CMEC in its negotiations with the federal government. As early as 1977, the CMEC had indicated the need for increased flexibility in the agreements to better meet

individual provincial circumstances.[112] Accomplishing this in such a way as to preserve provincial harmony would be a difficult task. In 1979, Manitoba proposed that the CMEC negotiate a master agreement covering the basic principles and arrangements of a new OLEP agreement, and then allow provinces to sign bilateral agreements with the federal government which permitted greater flexibility.[113] Little came of this initially, as the change-over in federal governments precluded any real progress on the OLEP. The issue was back in play in the spring of 1980, as the ministers returned to the negotiating table. By this point, there was a certain degree of pessimism that this type of agreement could be reached. Alberta, noting Quebec's desire to withdraw from the OLEP, doubted that agreement on even basic principles would be possible.[114]

Despite this pessimism, attempts were made to explore this potential avenue. In May 1980, Ontario's officials liked the idea of a negotiated plan, but noted that this would place provinces in competition with each other for federal dollars, placing the federal government in a very strong position.[115] New Brunswick, as might be expected, was very keen on this option, believing that it was in a strong position to negotiate for additional funds, although it stressed that there should be a guaranteed minimum payment for each province and a built-in escalator to cover inflation and rising costs.[116] Quebec was opposed to the idea of independently negotiated options, as this could weaken the common front and thus Quebec's defence of the status quo, but its officials recognized that other provinces were keen on this option and that some concessions would have to be

made.[117] In this vein, the CMEC attempted to develop a master agreement that would cover all of the provinces, including objectives, types of payments and criteria for funding distribution. Its proposal was presented for discussion in April 1981.[118]

The April proposal did not sufficiently address the concerns of provinces such as New Brunswick, which were willing to be much more accountable to the federal government in exchange for a drastically different program implementation.[119] To break the deadlock and satisfy advocates of both interstate and intrastate federalism, Ontario proposed a two-option approach for a new protocol: one, an entitlement option, and two, a negotiation option. The entitlement option would function largely as the BEP had in the past, although the formula payments would be based on a weighted national average (WNA) per-student cost. This would permit redistribution of funds from provinces with higher costs (Ontario, Quebec) and more-developed programs, to those with lower per-student costs and greater need for the programs. The entitlement option would require minimal accountability based on statistical data from the provinces, and would incorporate a three-year floor for the minimum payment that each province would receive. Those provinces choosing the negotiation option would be able to enter into a bilateral agreement with the federal government, presumably with the aim of getting additional funding, and would negotiate issues such as evaluation and accountability independently.[120] Any province opting for the negotiation option would retain the right to switch back to the entitlement option. This option met the demands of New Brunswick, which was the main force pushing for more

freedom to negotiate with the federal government, and whose Cabinet had approved independent negotiations with the Secretary of State in the event of a CMEC failure to reach consensus.[121] The CMEC Secretariat formally adopted this format as a basis for discussions in September of 1981, and presented it to the Ministers of Education.[122]

Reaction to the two-option proposal varied across the country. British Columbia had serious reservations about the proposal, and doubted that the federal government would accept the program without first knowing the details of the negotiated plans. Alberta indicated that it would only accept the proposal if additional funds for the negotiated plans came from a separate funding pool, a sentiment echoed in Saskatchewan. Manitoba was generally favourable, although it wanted additional detail on the non-formula funds, which were very important in that province. Ontario and New Brunswick both expressed support for the two-option plan. Quebec, however, was opposed to its WNA component, which it believed went against the fundamental principle that no province should receive less money under the proposed accords. PEI noted that with the new constitutional proposals moving forward, it was absolutely critical that a deal be struck to ensure funding for minority language education, while Newfoundland expressed no opinion.[123] The objections to the two-option approach were, however, ones that could be addressed with further negotiations, and the plan was not abandoned. New Brunswick, assuming that the plan would prove fruitful, began discussions with the federal government the following January for a negotiated agreement.[124]

Back-and-Forth – Reaching a Final Deal

A great deal of finesse was required to first resolve internal disputes among the provinces, and to then develop proposals which would then be acceptable to the federal government. Most of these issues were negotiated by a CMEC task force of ministers and officials which was formed in October 1979 by representatives from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick, supported by the staff of the CMEC secretariat.[125] Quebec described this task force as the provinces' attempt to re-assert their right to set the rules of the game, rather than merely responding to federal proposals.[126] While there are clearly indications from this process that interstate federalism was still having an impact on the OLEP, the final agreement which was reached indicates that the Canadian government's strategy of reasserting intrastate federalism had also been rather successful. By October 1981, most of the key pieces of the final agreement had been tentatively reached. However, there remained some important issues that needed to be resolved, the resolution of which required trade-offs among the provinces and the federal government.

Shortly after the two-option approach was proposed at the CMEC, the nine English-speaking provincial premiers came to agreement with the federal government on the patriation of the Constitution. Quebec, angered by this turn of affairs, pulled its representation from all inter-provincial meetings in November 1981, including the CMEC.[127] The CMEC's response to this was to strike a special committee to work on the protocol agreement, co-chaired by Education

Ministers Charles Gallagher of New Brunswick and David King of Alberta, with representatives from Manitoba and Ontario, which also conducted informal consultations with Quebec.[128] Shortly afterwards, Quebec partially returned to the CMEC, with special authorization to work on the OLEP negotiations. Its representatives assumed a position on this committee in April. Quebec did not, however, return to the executive of the CMEC, although it was technically its turn in the rotation. Although New Brunswick was part of this committee, its representatives nevertheless proceeded with independent negotiations with the federal government to come to a mutually agreeable solution.[129]

The negotiation process from January to March 1982 centred on three outstanding issues among the provinces. The issue of additional costs continued to be problematic for Alberta and Quebec. This was resolved by the use of the term "relate" in the proposed CMEC protocol of March 1982, and the understanding that provinces choosing the entitlement option, or Basic Program Option, as it came to be known, could determine for themselves what type of information would be provided to satisfy the federal need for accountability. The four funding categories proposed by the federal government were accepted by the provinces, provided that the Negotiation Option was not locked into these categories, and sufficient flexibility was preserved for provinces choosing this option. The other critical issue for Quebec was the weighted national average, which had the potential to cost the province significantly. This was resolved within the CMEC by embedding a floor whereby no province would receive less money during any year of the next agreement that was less than it had during the

interim agreement preceding the signing of a new protocol, or the 1981-82 year.[130] These issues resolved internally, the CMEC presented this two-option proposal, with its included caveats, to Secretary of State Gerald Regan and the federal government in March 1982.[131]

The federal government was slow to respond to the provincial proposal. The *Constitution Act, 1982* was formally signed on 17 April 1982, occupying most of the federal government's attention. A tentative agreement had been reached with Regan's officials in July, but by September there had still been no official response, the result of a series of delays in the federal Cabinet.[132] Then, Secretary of State Gerald Regan was replaced by Serge Joyal in September, the fifth person to occupy that position in four years, further delaying the approval process. With still no response in early January 1983, Quebec began to be concerned that the reference year for the basic payment would be pushed forward: a possibility which would cost the province even more money, as its enrolments in English-language programs slipped further.[133] Serge Joyal, discussing the proposed protocol with CMEC president David King later that month, indicated a general acceptance of the protocol, although he wanted the 1982-83 year used as the base reference point, not 1981-82. This change was not, however, communicated to the other provinces, including Quebec where it was likely to have the most serious impact. In March 1983, the Secretary of State issued a press release indicating that a protocol agreement had been reached, including two changes made by his officials: the 1982-83 year was to be used as the base year, and the agreement was for three years, not five.[134]

The March announcement turned out to be premature. Quebec was unwilling to accept the change in base year, as this change would cost the province $15M over the three years of the agreement. This necessitated a return to the bargaining table, with Quebec proposing that an average of the 1981-82 and 1982-83 figures be used for all three years,[135] and the federal government starting from an acceptance of the average for the first year of the agreement. Quebec argued that it was uniquely penalized by the changed base year, and wanted compensation for what it would otherwise lose.[136] These discussions dragged on through the summer, but by September 1983, Quebec was inclined to accept Joyal's proposal, which would only cost the province $10M over the three years. As Quebec's officials noted, pushing off the protocol by one year had already cost the province $12M, as the federal increases had not yet kicked in. Pushing the start date further into the future could potentially move the base year forward yet again, resulting in additional losses.[137] By this point, Quebec had also moderated its stance to the CMEC significantly, and Minister of Education Camille Laurin argued in favour of a return to full participation in the CMEC. Only this, he argued, would permit the CMEC to continue to exist as a viable organisation. Without the CMEC functioning effectively as a counterweight, the federal government would have ample excuses to intervene on any educational issues of national importance.[138]

After months of delays, the provinces accepted the compromise proposed by Serge Joyal. The protocol was finally agreed to on 20 December 1983, and would entail federal expenditures at the level of $600M over the next three

years.[139] Given the length of the negotiation process and the demands that had been coming from the pressure groups, one might have expected some significant press coverage of the fact that a deal had finally been reached. The coverage that did emerge was more of a quiet footnote to the process. Several newspapers – the *Edmonton Journal, Toronto Star, Winnipeg Free Press, Fredericton Gleaner*, and *La Presse* – did not mention the agreement at all. Those papers which did mention the agreement – such as the *Globe and Mail, Halifax Chronicle Herald, Montreal Gazette,* and *Le Droit* – merely noted the level of funding, the increased provisions for accountability and manner in which the funds would be allocated between the different aspects of the OLEP. In none of these papers was this considered to be front-page news, nor worthy of much detailed analysis. However, by this point, official languages in education was not the innovative new program it once had been. Rather, such programs had become routine and institutionalized administrative agreements between Ottawa and the provinces. The more interesting questions surrounded how and when the provinces would implement Section 23 of the *Charter*.

Federal-Provincial Agreements

In the months following the conclusion of the protocol agreement, it was left to the provinces to determine which option they would choose, and to negotiate their individual agreements with the federal government. The choices made by the provinces demonstrate the extent to which the state of development of official languages in education still differed across the country, and the manner in which

government policies and official language minority community demands had shaped provincial approaches to their education programs. Moreover, these choices show how the advocates of interstate and intrastate federalism had reached a workable compromise, one which permitted the co-existence of both versions.

In total, seven provinces opted for the basic program option, and three the negotiation option: Saskatchewan, Manitoba and New Brunswick. Alberta signed its bilateral agreement with the federal government on 23 July 1984. The agreement provided for a basic contribution rising from $3,544,000 in 1983-84 to $4,239,000 in 1985-86, and a minimum complementary contribution (for annex programs) of $1,590,000 per year. The separate reporting of immersion and minority language education, which formerly were not distinguished between in Alberta, highlighted the gap between the province's commitment to the two programs. Of the infrastructure payments, $165,000 was committed to MLE, and $1,725,429 for immersion, a division which also highlights the parental interest in immersion in the province. Alberta also received funding for special projects including the development of new francophone schools in Edmonton and Calgary, resource material development for French-language education programs, French immersion libraries, and new learning resources for second language programs.[140]

Ontario had waffled on its decision between the negotiation and basic program options. Given the province's size and demographic composition, it stood to break even on practically every plan that had been proposed over the

past four years. Its accountability procedures were such that the province would be able to easily meet the federal requirements under a negotiated option, had it so chosen.[141] In the end, Ontario chose the simpler route of the basic program option, signing an agreement with the federal government on 6 June 1984. The minimum basic contributions from the federal government were set to rise from $38,531,000 in 1983-84 to $41,238,000 in 1985-86, and the province was guaranteed an additional $5,711,000 annually under the complementary contributions. Of the basic contributions, $16.7M was targeted for minority language education, $4.7M for French immersion and $10.3M for French second language courses. In addition, the province entered into special projects which followed the provincial approach of not assigning these projects to individual regions. These projects included development of minority language educational resources, TVOntario programming, computer learning materials, curriculum development and grants for expanded FSL programs.[142]

Further east, in Nova Scotia, the Canada-Nova Scotia Agreement on Official Languages in Education was signed on 2 April 1984. The annual basic contributions remained fairly static: at $2,220,000 in 1983-84 and $2,224,000 in 1985-86, with a complementary contribution of $1,217,000 per year. The bulk of this basic contribution went to FSL programs, at $1,130,271, with $656,220 earmarked for Acadian education, and $116,995 for French immersion. The special projects begun by the province were mostly local initiatives: completion or development of Acadian, French immersion or Core French programs in

individual schools or boards. A limited amount of money was also dedicated to curriculum development and teacher resource centres.[143]

Quebec, too, opted for the basic program option. The language used in this agreement is noteworthy; where other agreements make references to the "official languages in education," Quebec's agreement was entitled the "Canada-Quebec agreement for minority language education and second-language instruction."[144] The agreement itself had some important differences from the other provinces. The basic contributions, which fell from $80,855,00 in 1983-84 to $77,063,000 in 1985-86, were for each FTE in English-language educational programs, including *French* immersion, as well as each FTE in English-second language instructional programs. The long-standing demand from the QFHSA and the PSBGM for FSL funding was not, however, realized. Quebec was also eligible for a $4,367,000 complementary contribution for the annex programs. Quebec was permitted, as other provinces were, to determine the manner in which it justified the basic contributions. Unlike other provinces, Quebec did not break this down by grants to school boards, and central administrative costs. Rather, the province presented a hypothetical cost model, which assumed the replacement of the existing system with a unilingual French-language system, with no allowances for confessional school boards, or English-language universities or CÉGEPs. The province did not enter into many special projects, other than an intensive French program for non-francophones to facilitate their entry into French schools, and adult education courses in French as a second language.

While New Brunswick had been the primary agitator in favour of having a negotiation option, it was not, as had initially been suspected, the only province to opt for this route. Once it was clear that this option would be available, Manitoba expressed an interest in a negotiated agreement. Although the additional funds that would be available for provinces choosing this route were limited, Manitoba's officials believed that they would be in a good position to claim a sizeable share of this money, given the high visibility of the BEF and the Collège Universitaire St-Boniface (CUSB), and Manitoba's significant grants to French-language education. Moreover, the word on the grapevine was that Ottawa's officials were well-disposed to be generous to Manitoba given the creativity and initiative it had shown in this sector.[145] Indications were that Ottawa was most interested in focusing on minority language education opportunities in the wake of the *Charter*, and thus Manitoba focused its proposals in this sector, including further development in MLE at the elementary and secondary level, and new programs for the CUSB. In the lead-up to the protocol agreement, Serge Joyal had commented on the strong progress made by Manitoba when compared to the other provinces, and thus Manitoba was confident of its ability to do well under the negotiation option.[146]

The agreement signed by Manitoba and Ottawa on 28 May 1984 did end up including significantly increased funds for the province's French education programs. On top of the basic contribution to Manitoba, which rose from $3,461,000 in 1983-84 to $4,004,000 in 1985-86, the federal government committed an additional $203,000 towards the administrative costs of the BEF.[147]

Moreover, in addition to the $1,701,000 per year that Manitoba was guaranteed as a basic complementary contribution, the province received an additional $657,342 for 1983-84 for special projects agreed upon by the province and the federal government. These included such initiatives as cultural resource staff people, computer courses, financial assistance for the Collège Communautaire St-Boniface, regional education counsellors, and program development at the BEF. Overall, this raised Ottawa's overall contributions to special projects in Manitoba from the normal rate of 50 per cent to the level of 60.8 per cent.[148]

New Brunswick had been the major advocate of the Negotiation Option, and it was indeed this option that it chose. The New Brunswick agreement, signed on 30 March 1984, included contributions for both English and French second language instruction programs. The New Brunswick approach to the new agreements was not broken down in an itemized fashion the same way as Manitoba's had been. Rather, New Brunswick argued that its costs at both the school board and board level were systemically higher than those in other provinces. Under the agreement, New Brunswick received a minimum basic contribution of $17,969,000 for 1983-84, set to rise to $18,631,000 by 1985-86: a figure which was little more in actual dollars than Manitoba's projected increase, out of a total contribution that was four times as much. In addition, the province received an increased contribution towards its special projects.[149] Overall, though, New Brunswick did not find that the negotiation option turned out as well as it had hoped. Only an additional $5M per year had been earmarked for the negotiated plans, which meant that the additional benefits that the province had

hoped would flow from this option never materialized, and the province had to contend with significant federal intervention in exchange for the minimal additional funds.[150]

The CMEC too, would fulfil its obligations under the protocol agreement, producing an annual report on the provinces' use of the additional funds received under the OLEP.[151] Statistics Canada, too, would produce routine reports on the enrolment figures in the various programs, providing a benchmark for comparison of the programs, an example of which can be seen in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2 Enrolment in Immersion and Minority Language Education Programs, 1984-85[152]

Province	ML Population Aged 5-19	Percent of 5-19 population	Total Enrolment in ML Education	French Immersion Enrolment
Alberta	10 050	1.8	1 033	16 637
Manitoba	9 950	3.9	5 838	9 004
Ontario	102 640	4.9	92 025	19 810
Quebec	172 365	14.8	127 603	15 216
New Brunswick	63 640	33.0	47 755	11 009
Nova Scotia	6 070	2.7	4 760	604

One cannot help but be struck by the phenomenal growth of immersion programs over the course of the first fifteen years of the OLEP. Enrolment in these programs had come to outstrip enrolment in the minority language education programs by ever-increasing margins in many provinces (i.e. in Alberta, where French immersion enrolment was sixteen times that of the MLE enrolment), and was continuing to grow at a rapid pace. As Table 8.2 shows, there still remained significant challenges in many provinces, particularly Alberta, Manitoba and Nova Scotia, in convincing parents to send their children to minority language education programs, and in cajoling the provinces into providing these programs,

a task which would be facilitated by section 23 of the *Charter*. While the CMEC did have this important role to play in terms of accountability, and had been so crucial in the development of the protocol agreement, the bilateral agreements were negotiated separately, indicating the limits of the coordinated provincial approach to negotiations with Ottawa, and its associated interstate version of federalism. Indeed, in the negotiated agreements, intrastate federalism was predominant, as those provinces hoping for additional federal dollars had to couch their proposals in terms of Ottawa's priorities, and had to submit to extensive federal accountability provisions.

All of the development of the OLEP that had been accomplished over the years covered by this thesis did so in the absence of specific legislative authority, and relied on vague interpretations of the *Official Languages Act, 1969*, which gave the federal government a role in promoting the two official languages, combined with the federal spending power. In 1988, the Treasury Board initiated a revision of the *Official Languages Act*, which finally gave the OLEP and the OLMG statutory authority.[153] This was incorporated through additions to the Act, in Part 7. The pertinent new sections read as follows:

> Section 41. The Government of Canada is committed to enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and to supporting their development and to fostering the full recognition and use of English and French in Canadian society.
>
> Section 42. The Secretary of State, in consultation with other Ministers, is to promote a coordinated approach to the implementation by federal institutions of these commitments.
>
> Section 43. Statutory authority is provided to the Secretary of State for programs aimed at: enhancing the vitality of the English and French linguistic minority communities in Canada and supporting their

> development; encouraging and supporting the learning and appreciation of English and French; encouraging and assisting the provinces to support the development of English and French linguistic minorities generally and in particular to offer provincial and municipal service in both official languages, and give English and French linguistic minorities opportunities to be educated in their own language; encouraging and assisting the provinces to give Canadians opportunities to learn both official languages; encouraging private and voluntary organisations to provide services in both official languages; encouraging and assisting organisations to project Canada's bilingual character in the country and abroad. The Act allows the Secretary of State to consult the public in the development of policies and the review of programs relating to the advancement and use of the official languages in Canadian society.[154]

With these revisions to the *Official Languages Act*, the Official Languages in Education Program was conferred with an official status in federal legislation which had been lacking throughout the years of its early development. These revisions preserve the balance between interstate and intrastate federalism which was established with the 1983 protocol agreements. For intrastate advocates, section 43 officially sanctions federal intervention in language education programs and in the support of minority language communities; for interstate advocates, section 42 requires that this action be coordinated with provincial ministers. The OLEP continues to exist through to the present day, and has been subject to several renewal processes, and the signing of new protocol agreements. Since the passage of the *Charter*, the OLEP has provided an important financial incentive to help speed along implementation of Section 23. Thus, the OLEP, far from being a short-term initiative of a decade, has in fact endured for over 30 years, and become a permanent fixture of federal-provincial relations in education.

Conclusion

With the conclusion of the 1983 protocol agreements, and the subsequent retirement of Pierre Elliot Trudeau from politics, another chapter in English-French relations, which had begun with the RCBB, drew to a close. Although it would take several more years before French-Canadian and Acadian minorities would win school management rights, the period from 1963 to 1984 had been one of intense federal involvement in the defence of these communities. Between the funding arrangements of the OLEP (and OLMG) and the constitutional protection of minority language education afforded under the *Charter*, the rapid downslide of French-Canadian and Acadian communities had been slowed dramatically. Moreover, Ottawa, which prior to the 1960s had treated French Canada with benign neglect at best, had transformed itself into a vigourous defender of the rights of both of Canada's official language populations. With its defeat of the 1980 referendum on sovereignty-association, the separatist threat to Canadian unity, although not completely defeated, had at least been contained for the time being.

The final resolution of the lengthy OLEP negotiations with the 1983 protocol agreements had important ramifications for the state of Canadian federalism. Neither the federal vision of the OLEP as an operation of intrastate federalism, nor the provincial preference for interstate federalism emerged as the clear victor through these negotiations. The federal government's attempts to secure a clear role in evaluation and to only fund developmental programs were largely circumvented or vetoed by the provinces, which insisted on their

jurisdiction over education, and their right to set priorities in this sector. Moreover, the limits of intrastate federalism were made clear by the realization that Ottawa's official language programs did require the participation and consent of Quebec, the only majority francophone province; Quebec had the power to scuttle such initiatives as the Official Language Monitors Programs, and without its involvement, the OLEP would lack a certain legitimacy.

However, more than a decade of federal funding for bilingual programs in education, combined with active lobbying by federally-funded organisations, had created a great deal of public expectation that the official languages programs would continue, and thus the provinces were largely caught in the position of being unable to cancel them. Moreover, the provinces were dependent on the federal funds to continue providing minority language education and second language instruction, and obliged by the *Charter* to furnish the former service. The provinces thus could not risk a complete federal withdrawal from this sector, and did make concessions, admitting that Ottawa did have a role to play in the promotion of the official languages of the country, and in creating a national language policy. The interstate federalism advocated by provinces such as Alberta and Quebec also relied in part on their ability to sustain a common provincial front. As this negotiation process clearly demonstrated, several provinces did not have the financial luxury of being able to turn down Ottawa's offer of increased funds, or were ideologically averse to the stance adopted by the majority of the provinces. Thus, there were serious limitations to the provinces' ability to dictate official language policy. Moreover, the provinces that

opted for the negotiation option allowed the federal government an increased role in shaping their education programs, and their policies were at least partly shaped by a desire to conform to federal objectives in minority language education.

The protocol agreements, and the bilateral sub-agreements, also demonstrate the efficacy of the strategies adopted by a number of the lobby groups. While the aggressive stance adopted by the FFHQ did not succeed in gaining the Federation a consultative role in the OLEP, or the immediate establishment of school management rights, it could count some impressive victories. Its lobby for accountability succeeded in obtaining the separate reporting and funding of minority language education and French immersion. Moreover, it was minority language education rights, not second language or immersion, which were protected under the *Charter.*

CPF had cause to be pleased as well. The original BEP agreements made no mention of French immersion at all, and immersion had largely been funded on an ad hoc basis throughout the first few agreements. Under the 1983 protocol, immersion was specifically named, and funded at the same level as minority language education. Moreover, by not tying itself too closely to either level of government, CPF had played a key role in bringing about the new multi-year agreements.

A number of the provincial minority language groups had reason to be satisfied as well, as we noted in Chapter Seven. Their respective provincial governments had signed on to the *Charter*, and had not backed out of the OLEP.

Moreover, in the English-speaking provinces, the state of both language rights and language education was much improved from the pre-OLEP days. The same could not be said for the anglophone associations of Quebec. Appeasing the Quebec government had taken precedence over addressing the concerns of the QFHSA and the PSBGM. The basic program option protected Quebec's right to minimal accountability, and there was no promise of additional funding to the English-language school boards. Moreover, Quebec did not enter into any significant special projects of benefit to the English-speaking minority of the province.

The battles between the federal and provincial governments, and concomitant jockeying for position was almost exclusively limited to administrative and jurisdictional elements of the OLEP: finance, accountability, visibility and objectives. In this process, the pedagogical worthiness of the program, and its success in meeting the stated objectives were rarely considered. Although education specialists had criticized the 20-minute per day French second language programs, the minimum threshold required for the federal grants, as too low to produce effective learning,[155] these concerns were largely overlooked in the negotiation process. As a result, official language programs in education were not always designed with current pedagogical theory in mind. While one may conjecture that federal contributions to these programs were likely motivated more by political reasons (including the need for a nation-wide program including all the provinces) than educational ones (such as funding the best possible types of language programs), the impact of the BEP/OLEP on

official languages in education cannot be dismissed. The types of disputes that the provinces, federal government, and community organisations were engaged in by the early 1980s demonstrated that the necessity and validity of providing these services and providing funding to these programs was no longer in question: a situation which had not been the case in the late 1960s. If one had to choose the primary accomplishment of the BEP/OLEP, it would be that it had promoted its target programs – minority language education and second language instruction – to a status whereby they were no longer questioned by political authorities, and were increasingly considered to be part-and-parcel of the educational options available to Canadian children. This was a major discourse shift, and one which had important ramifications for the construction of Canadian identity.

Chapter 9:

Conclusion – The Impact of the Official Languages in Education Program on Canadian Society

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Introduction

The Official Languages in Education Program continues to exist at the time of writing, almost two decades after the protocol agreements were reached, and over thirty years since the program began in 1970.[1] A recent round of protocol agreements was signed with the provinces in 2001, continuing federal support to the provinces for their minority language education programs, second language instruction programs, and immersion programs. The years following the signing of the 1983 protocol agreement and the passage of the *Charter* have been extremely active ones in the field of official languages. In this period, controversies over official languages have taken on a judicial aspect. Section 23 has proven an extremely potent weapon for official language minority communities not only in their quest for the establishment of educational programs, but also for the right to govern these schools.[2] A series of Supreme Court decisions between 1984 and 2003 helped implement minority language education rights across the country. Combined with aggressive political action from the minority language communities and financial aid from Ottawa, these decisions have firmly institutionalized these programs. Immersion programs, too, have not faded out, although enrolment in these programs topped out in the mid-1980s, and thus core second language programs continue to predominate as the main method of second language learning in Canada.

The early years of the Official Languages in Education Program played a very significant role in transforming the language landscape of Canadian society. Not all provinces implemented the agreements in the same way, or with the

same speed and commitment, yet none backed out of the agreements, and all have stayed involved with the program to the present day. In concluding this thesis, we will return to our explanatory framework – a combination of interstate/intrastate dynamics, the embedded state, and social action theory – to demonstrate how the Trudeau government was able to accomplish its goals of preventing the disappearance of official language minority communities, halting the rise of separatist aspirations in Quebec, and refashioning Canadian identity so that Canadians would accept the necessity of an officially bilingual country, with government services in English and French.

Canadian Federalism and the OLEP

When the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism conducted its studies, the state of Canadian federalism was in flux. Ottawa's post-war cooperative federalism faced a vigorous challenge from the interstate federalism promoted by Ontario and Quebec. Born into this shifting political climate, the Bilingualism in Education Program faced an uphill battle, as the federal government was attempting intrastate action in yet another area of provincial jurisdiction: language education. The Trudeau government argued that questions of minority language education rights, and language policy as a whole, were issues of national importance. Thus, they were better suited to solutions rooted in intrastate federalism, whereby the federal government would fashion national policies and use its spending power to persuade provincial governments to establish and administer these new policies. The provinces, for their part,

although eager for an influx of federal government cash, were not enthused at the prospect of Ottawa meddling in primary and secondary education, and took steps to limit the Canadian government's claim to an active role in this sector. The informality of the initial BEP agreement of 1970 is testament to this provincial effort, with its minimal provisions for accountability and evaluation, and nebulous definitions of jurisdiction.

The initial agreements of 1970 were but the starting point for a long struggle between the provinces and the federal government over whose vision of Canadian federalism would prevail in this sector. The provinces pushed an interstate model, whereby the federal government and the provinces would meet as equals to discuss arrangements which would strictly respect provincial jurisdiction. Once Ottawa's efforts to increase its control over the BEP became apparent in the mid-1970s, the provinces adopted a two-pronged strategy. The first was to increase the role of the Council of Ministers of Education Canada, which became the visible face of the common front of the provinces. Throughout the negotiation phase from 1977-1983, it was the CMEC which provided the forum for interprovincial discussions, drafted texts for the provinces to consider, and served as the intermediary between provincial ministries of education and the federal government. In this manner, the provinces pushed for an interstate arrangement, where the CMEC and the federal government would meet as equals, in a one-to-one relationship, rather than permitting the federal government to play a game of divide-and-conquer with the provinces.

The second prong of the provincial approach was to design a made-in-the-provinces solution to the minority language education question. Through the St. Andrew's and Montreal declarations of 1977 and 1978, the provinces attempted to define how the expansion of minority language education rights would proceed. They committed to a "best efforts" approach, whereby each province would take the steps that it considered appropriate to develop these programs, rather than allowing the federal government to dictate this schedule. These declarations were coupled with an unequivocal declaration of support for the principle that children of the minority language community had the right to receive an education in their mother tongue, where such education was feasible.

The provincial effort to advance interstate federalism and curtail the Canadian government's attempt to expand its sphere of influence was somewhat successful. The provinces successfully blocked Ottawa's attempts to gain a federal role in program evaluation, and to steer the OLEP completely towards the development of new programs. Moreover, the protocol agreements clearly stated the provincial supremacy in matters of education.

However, the Trudeau government scored a number of important victories, victories which kept interstate and intrastate federalism in balance. Like the provinces, Ottawa also had a two-pronged strategy for developing the official languages regime that it wanted. The OLEP was part of the financial/administrative strategy. After thirteen years of receiving federal grants for their official languages programs in education, the provinces were not in a strong position to withdraw from the OLEP. Many provinces, particularly those in

the Maritimes and the Prairies, did not have the economic infrastructure to cope with a complete cessation of federal payments, while the others simply did not relish the prospect of losing these substantial grants. Thus, they made concessions to the federal demands. While not conceding a federal role in education per se, the provinces did acknowledge the federal government's role in crafting a national language policy, and that educational programs played a role in this. As such, they conceded that the federal government had a legitimate role in funding education programs as part of its efforts in language policy. Moreover, provinces which chose the Negotiation Option, with its increased funding levels and more substantial developmental thrust, were exposed to a greater degree of federal intrusion in education, ranging from the setting of priorities to the structure of evaluations. Over subsequent decades, the Negotiation Option would not prove to be as lucrative as hoped, and provinces such as New Brunswick would revert to the Basic Program. The Negotiation Option nevertheless was a federal victory in terms of securing an increased presence for Ottawa in provincial education programs from which it could promote its agenda of minority language education rights.

The second part of Ottawa's strategy was its constitutional gambit, to add clout to federal institutions which would defend minority language rights. Using the provinces' own declarations from St. Andrew's and Montreal as leverage, Ottawa moved from 1977-1982 to enshrine minority language education rights in the constitution. With these rights protected by the *Charter*, and enforceable by the Supreme Court, a federal institution, Ottawa now had a legal stick at its

disposal to protect its official languages policy, should the carrot approach of financial aid fail.

A Changed Discourse on Official Languages

The Canadian government's programs to promote bilingualism in Canada, and the concept of two official languages, have been the objects of widespread criticism in the thirty-odd years of their existence. On the national unity front, they have been criticized for having failed to stem the tide of Quebec separatism, as well as for their inability to create substantial growth in the size of official language minority communities elsewhere in the country.[3] The OLEP in particular has been attacked for failing to produce a nation of fluently bilingual citizens. These criticisms have been levied since the late-1970s, and have continued to the present day. On the surface, these criticisms may seem well-founded. However, a more thorough analysis shows that these criticisms are in some cases premature, in some instances pointing the finger of blame at the wrong target, in others evaluating the federal efforts by a very narrow band of criteria, and still other cases oblivious to some very tangible benefits. While the OLEP did not provide a cure-all for the language conflicts in Canadian society, it is nevertheless responsible for substantial changes in government policy at both the national and provincial levels, and for shifts in Canadian identity politics.

For the official language minority communities, a decade of federal funding to official language programs in education had a dramatic impact on their demographic trends, and increased both the quality and the availability of

minority language education in the country. While assimilation trends in the English-majority provinces were not reversed, they slowed significantly in this period. Moreover, the new education programs and official language minority group funding threw a life preserver to these communities, which allowed them to regroup and plan their future strategies.

Between 1967 and 1982, most provincial governments took concrete steps to increase their French-language program offerings, either by recognizing these programs in the appropriate legislation, as was done in Alberta and Nova Scotia, or by making these programs obligatory where sufficient demand existed, as in Manitoba, Ontario and New Brunswick. Federal funding for these programs played a major role in overcoming provincial reluctance to accepting and expanding these programs. This in turn made possible a shift in the discourse on minority language education.

By 1977, the provincial premiers were no longer questioning whether minority language education should be provided, but instead debated the modalities of its provision. In this respect, the OLEP laid the groundwork for section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which guaranteed access to minority language education to members of the official language minority community, where numbers warranted. The OLEP also gave additional clout to the demands of French-Canadian and Acadian community associations for French-language education, since they could point to the financial resources available from Ottawa for these programs. Thus, the impact of the OLEP on access to minority language education programs is undeniable.

The success of the OLEP in attaining its second objective, second language acquisition, has been hotly contested. Many have pointed to the facts that secondary school enrolments in FSL fell throughout the 1970s, and that students following the core second language program largely failed to reach a basic level of French comprehension. While these enrolments did decline, this can more properly be attributed to changing university entry requirements. Furthermore, while the basic twenty-minute per day programs which were funded by the OLEP generally did not produce fluency in the second language, the OLEP was never intended to make all Canadians fluently bilingual. It did attain its objective of providing vastly increased opportunities for interested children to learn the second official language. Moreover, with its sliding funding scale, provincial education departments were given a strong incentive to develop more intense FSL programs, including French immersion.

French immersion programs spread rapidly throughout the provinces over the course of the 1970s, offering those children who wanted to become fluent in their second language the opportunity to do so. Moreover, studies of English-speaking children in the French immersion programs demonstrated that they displayed a more favourable disposition to French-Canadian culture and expanded rights for official language minorities communities than control groups.[4] The long-term impacts of this generation of immersion children on national unity and public policy are only beginning to be felt now, but one suspects that these "children of Trudeau"[5] are likely to be well-disposed to expanding and continuing a strong official languages policy for Canada, and to

building bridges between the two official language groups. What is clear is that since 1984, official languages programs in education have proven to be an enduring phenomenon. French immersion continues to thrive, and French minority language education rights continue to expand across the country. Moreover, the country has not been faced with any major or sustained effort to repeal the *Official Languages Act* (indeed, the Act was revised and expanded in 1988), or to cancel the OLEP. In these respects, the efforts of the federal government should not be considered to have failed with respect to official bilingualism.

The OLEP clearly altered Canadian discourse about bilingualism and official languages. Language programs which were hotly contested in the 1960s were generally accepted by the 1980s. Through the carrot approach of funding minority language education and second language instruction, the federal government helped to make these programs commonplace and part-and-parcel of Canadian education, and official bilingualism became part of the Canadian national identity and its Constitution. Even if Canadian schoolchildren did not become fluent in their second language, they grew up aware of, and directly experiencing a country which had two official languages. For children of the official language minority communities, the change was even more dramatic. By the time of the protocol agreements of 1983-84, most of these children had increased access to education in their own language, and the right to this education enshrined in the *Charter*, which provided the support needed for

further expansion of classes, schools and school boards. Thus, they were no longer obliged to assimilate to the majority language by default.

Social Action and the Embedded State

Minority and second language education programs would not have evolved as they did under the Official Languages in Education Program without the concerted action of a network of key politicians, civil servants and lobby groups at both the national and provincial levels. This network played a very important role in driving the OLEP forward, crafting provincial education policy, and maintaining dialogue between the Canadian government and the provinces. It was through the actions of these individuals and organisations that other factors which might have inhibited the development of the OLEP – including demographics, financial constraints, and ideological opposition – were overcome to allow the programs to flourish.

The embedded state helped to develop the commitment of the provinces to the OLEP on two levels: first, within the government itself, and second, through the action of lobby groups. As we have seen, language policy throughout this period was shaped by key individuals within both the federal and provincial governments, including civil servants, deputy ministers, Cabinet ministers, and even Premiers and the Prime Minister. The personal ideologies of these individuals meant that certain priorities were stressed over others: French immersion was pushed very strongly by Raymond Hébert in Manitoba, for example, while Ontario's Premier Davis was more concerned with FSL programs,

and Terence Donahoe's priority for Nova Scotia was Acadian education. In all cases, however, it was the commitment of these individuals to various aspects of the OLEP which kept these programs moving forward, despite opposition from various sources, often including other members of their own governments. Moreover, these individuals could often facilitate the positive reception of a lobby group.

Sympathetic governments and bureaucracies could facilitate the positive reception of the demands of a lobby group. The strategies employed by lobby groups were a particularly important factor in the success that they achieved. Most of the lobby groups who took an interest in the OLEP achieved notable victories (with the exception of the Quebec anglophone groups), and a number of common elements can be discerned from their successes. In most cases, these groups were at their most successful when they were able to demonstrate the broad-based benefits of official languages programs in education. This tactic was taken most notably by CPF, which touted the functional benefits of individual bilingualism for employment opportunities. This type of message was also used by a number of provincial francophone associations, including ACFA, SFM and FANE, which were reaching out to their English-speaking governments.

Avoiding the appearance of being too overtly attached to one level of government was also a key tactic for these lobby groups. Although they were operating as agents of the embedded state, and often were most sympathetic to Canadian government objectives, associations such as the CPF, ACFA, and even the FFHQ made sure to criticize both levels of government, so as to protect

a position of independence. CPF went furthest in this respect, offering its services as an intermediary between Ottawa and the provincial governments.

In some provinces, such as New Brunswick and Ontario, the French minority population was strong enough, both in terms of population size and community coherency, that lobby groups representing these communities (ACFO, AEFO, SNA, SANB, etc.) were able to take strong, aggressive positions vis-à-vis their provincial government, and succeed in winning concessions. In other provinces, where the minority population was less significant, lobby groups tended to adopt a more conciliatory approach to their governments, a strategy which won small, incremental gains. An intriguing aspect of the francophone lobbying strategy in respect to education rights was the "good cop/bad cop" routine that these groups employed in the provinces. The FFHQ, which was basically a national umbrella organisation of the provincial associations, engaged in many hostile attacks on both the provincial and Canadian governments, and regularly released polemics filled with invective. At the national level, this was a fairly safe strategy: the Trudeau government supported minority language education rights, and was unlikely to change this position. At the provincial level, however, the confrontational stance of the FFHQ, which kept minority language education rights in the press and the public eye, made the proposals being advanced by moderate organisations such as ACFA, the SFM and FANE seem much more reasonable in the eyes of the provincial governments, which then adopted the moderate proposals. It is through this strategy, in combination with

the other tactics described above, that the social action groups which constituted the embedded state were able to promote the OLEP so effectively.

Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow? – OLEP and Canadian National Unity

Political scientist Kenneth McRoberts, in his recent work *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity*, was extremely critical of the Trudeau government's efforts to address Quebec nationalism, and its policies of bilingualism and multiculturalism. His criticism, which has been supported by a number of other academics, is rooted in the belief that the federal government should have concentrated its efforts on promoting the French language and culture in the province of Quebec, rather than on promoting a vision of national bilingualism and multiculturalism in English-speaking Canada which was fundamentally unacceptable in francophone Quebec. The Official Languages in Education Program is thus considered by McRoberts and his supporters as ultimately being a failure.

My analysis of the Official Languages in Education Program reveals that another interpretation is more accurate. The vision of Canada promoted by McRoberts is rooted in a French Quebec-English Canada duality, which rejects any chance for the survival for French-Canadian and Acadian minorities outside Quebec, or for cooperation between Canada's English- and French-speaking communities. His argument that a federal policy promoting French in Quebec would lead to a peaceful co-existence in Canada is wishful thinking and conjecture. Indeed, had the Trudeau government followed this policy,

abandoning any hope of cooperation and communication between Canada's two official language communities, this would likely have alienated Western Canada, and reinforced the case for Quebec separatism. Ties between the two main language groups would be increasingly severed, and the minority communities in each province would have been allowed to disappear. Moreover, the Quebec government's actions in the field of language policy during the 1970s amply prove that the province was well-equipped within the confines of Canadian federalism to promote the French language within its borders.

The outcomes of the OLEP, a program which aimed to promote a pan-Canadian, English-French conception of duality, suggest that McRoberts' fatalistic vision need not be the inevitable outcome of a Canadian language policy. Over the course of the OLEP's development, the French-Canadian and Acadian minorities that had been in dire straits, facing high assimilation rates and a dearth of French-language government services, were given the supports needed to ensure that they would have the time and funds to re-group, despite an increasingly isolationist Quebec. At the same time, the federal language policy successfully encouraged the provinces to expand their minority language education services. This financial aid in turn laid the groundwork that made possible section 23 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, a provision which has since led to major victories in French minority language education rights. While the progress made in revitalising these communities has not been overly rapid, substantial gains have been made, and these communities have not completely died out, as many were predicting thirty-odd years ago.

Second language instructional programs also received a major boost from the OLEP-funded programs. While the federal programs of the 1970s to promote two official languages in Canada have not produced a situation wherein all Canadians are fluently bilingual, a francophone feels as much at home in Calgary as in Rimouski, and an anglophone as comfortable in Chicoutimi as in Toronto, to criticize the OLEP on this basis would be to have idealistic and unrealistic expectations of what type of change could be effected given the demographic composition of Canada. OLEP funding did keep FSL programs active and led to the expansion of provincial course offerings. The cultural components of these programs exposed children to their country's other official language communities, and fostered an awareness of the larger reality in Canada which existed beyond their provincial borders. More successful still were the French immersion programs, which grew from pilot projects in a few provinces to a thriving nation-wide initiative. The full impact of the second language programs on Canadian unity is difficult to measure by 1984. However, one may conjecture that a Canada which fosters the ability of its citizens to communicate in both official languages stands a greater chance of fostering national unity than one where bilingualism is the burden of discontented francophones who were forced to assimilate to the English language.

The question of the ultimate success of the Official Languages in Education Program must to a certain extent remain open. Too often, educational initiatives are judged on the basis of short-term results, before programs have had time to mature and their full impacts are visible. Canada is now beginning to

feel the impact of the OLEP's political socialization efforts, as the children who were educated in its programs are reaching voting age and positions of influence. The full ramifications of the OLEP on Canadian identity will continue to evolve over the next few decades. The OLEP has clearly proven to be a durable initiative, however, and the programs it sponsored – minority language education, French immersion, and second language instruction – have become institutionalized and continue to grow and develop today, a good indication of the continued support in Canadian society for the vision that underlies them. Moreover, despite tensions in Canadian federalism, co-operation between the Canadian and provincial governments, based on a mutual recognition of jurisdictions over education and language policy, has continued to be possible, as the OLEP regularly passes through successive renewals. There is thus reason to believe that the ongoing objective of continually renewing and reinforcing Canadian national unity, a clear goal of the Official Languages in Education Program, was enhanced by this imaginative, if somewhat complicated program.

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[60] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 175.

[61] Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management (NSARM), RG 100, Office of the Premier, Volume 103, File: Confederation of Tomorrow – Proceedings, Background paper on the Role of the English and French Languages in Canada, 16 Nov 1967.

[62] *Canadian Parents for French Newsletter* 12 (January 1981).

[63] NAC, RG 47-10 Privy Council Office, Federal-Provincial Relations Office, Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conferences 1969-1971, Vol 83, File: The Ontario Position on the Spending Power, p.4-5.

[64] NAC, RG 2, Series A-5-a Privy Council Office, Vol 6323, Cabinet Conclusions of July 18 1967 meeting, pp.7-8.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Edmund Aunger, "Les communautés francophones de l'Ouest: la survivance d'une minorité dispersée," in *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada: l'état des lieux*, ed. Joseph Yvon Thériault (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1999), 285. Figures are based on French mother tongue figures. As we shall see, those of French origin is substantially higher in some provinces.

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[68] M. Roy, "Settlement and Population Growth," 178.

[69] Charles Castonguay, "The Decline of French as a Home Language in the Quebec and Acadian Diaspora of Canada and the United States," in *The Quebec and Acadian Diaspora in North America*, ed. Raymond Breton and Pierre Savard (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1982), 93.

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[72] Marcel Martel, *Le Deuil d'un pays imaginé: Rêves, luttes et déroute du Canada français* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa).

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[78] D. Welch, "Social Construction", 206.

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[2] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (RCBB), *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism - Book I: The Official Languages* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), 84.

[3] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 86.

[4] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 86.

[5] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 86.

[6] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 138-39.

[7] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 126.

[8] RCBB, *Official Languages*, 158.

[9] There would eventually be five volumes in the RCBB's report, each dealing with various aspects of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. Education was the first specific topic to be addressed.

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[12] RCBB, *Education*, 20.

[13] RCBB, *Education*, 19.

[14] NAC, RG 33, Series 80, RCBB, Vol. 221, Binder: Meetings 51-54, Minutes of Meeting #51, 2-4 February 1967, p.41.

[15] RCBB, *Education*, 20.

[16] NAC, RG 33, Series 80, RCBB, Vol. 221, Binder: Meetings 51-54, Minutes of Meeting #51, 2-4 February 1967, pp.41, 46.

[17] RCBB, *Education*, 191-92.

[18] RCBB, *Education*, 193.

[19] NAC, RG 33, Series 80, RCBB, Vol. 221, Binder: Meetings 39-44, Minutes of Meeting #43, 18-20 May 1966, p.7-8.

[20] NAC, RG 33, Series 80, RCBB, Vol. 221, Binder: Meetings 39-44, Minutes of Meeting #43, 18-20 May 1966, p.7-8.

[21] NAC, RG 33, Series 80, RCBB, Vol. 221, Binder: Meetings 45-50, Minutes of Meeting #46, 20-21 July 1966, pp. 18-19.

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[23] NAC, RG 33, Series 80, RCBB, Vol. 221, Binder: Meetings 55-60, Minutes of Meeting #57, 31 May-2 June 1967, p. 20.

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[26] RCBB, *Education*, 206.

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[32] RG 2 Privy Council Office, Series A-5-a, Vol. 6340 Cabinet Conclusions, Conclusions from the 3 January 1969 Cabinet Meeting, p. 6.

[33] Leslie Pal, *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 103.

[34] PANB. RS 416 Louis Robichaud, 1968, File 146: Constitutional Conference, Address of Premier Robichaud to the Constitutional conference, 12 Dec 1968.

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[38] For example, see Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "A Constitutional Declaration of Rights" in *Federalism and the French Canadians* (Toronto: Macmillian, 1968), 54-55. Interview with Senator Pierre De Bané, 13 February 2003.

[39] Interview with Sen. De Bané.

[40] Interviews with Sen. De Bané, and Sen. Jean-Robert Gauthier, 17 February 2003.

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[47] Archives nationales du Québec (ANQ), E42 Ministère des affaires intergouvernementales (MAIG) 1993-08-002 /5 File: Commission Laurendeau-Dunton, Quebec's response to volume 2 of the RCBB report – education, October 1969.

[48] Archives of Ontario (AO), RG 77-3, Correspondance of the Executive Secretary to the Office of the Governmentt Coordinator On Bilingualism, TR 83-1201, T. Box 8, File: Constitutional Conferences on Official Languages, Secretariat Report on the Proceedings of the 3rd meeting of the Ministerial Committee on Official Languages, 8 June 1970.

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Languages, Secretariat Report on the Proceedings of the 3rd meeting of the Ministerial Committee on Official Languages, 8 June 1970.

[53] *Constitutional Conference Proceedings, Second Meeting, 10-12 February 1969* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 29.

[54] *Constitutional Conference Proceedings, Second Meeting, 10-12 February 1969* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 224.

[55] Quoted in Quebec Federation of Home and School Association - News Archives, *QFHSA News* Vol 10 (3), November 1972.

[56] Arguably, the provinces of British Columbia and Newfoundland were less developed than Alberta. These provinces, however had much smaller Francophone populations, and their legislation was silent on the topic of minority language instruction, rather than being restrictive, as was the case in Alberta.

[57] OCOL, Ousmane Silla. *École Bilingue ou Unilingue pour les Franco-Albertains.* 1974, p.46.

[58] PAA, 88.88, Advanced Education - Program Support Branch, Box 5, File: Regina Conference April 1973, 1972 Re-examination of the program of cooperation for bilingualism in education at the pre-university levels, December 1972.

[59] New Brunswick Department of Education Library (NBED), Statistics Canada. *Minority and second language education, elementary and secondary levels, 1978-79.* (1979).

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] PAA, 76.422, Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Box 3, File: Constitutional Conference, subcommittee on official languages 1969-71, Memorandum of telephone conversation between J.J. Frawley and Premier Manning, 4 June 1968.

[62] *Constitutional Conference Proceedings, Second Meeting, 10-12 February 1969* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 253.

[63] *Constitutional Conference Proceedings, First Meeting, 5-7 February 1968* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), 161.

[64] NAC, RG 47-10 Privy Council Office, Federal-Provincial Relations Office, Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conferences 1969-1971, Box 82, File: Verbatim Reports 10-12 Feb 1969, p.171.

[65] PAA, 76.422, Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, Box 4, File: Constitutional Conference, subcommittee on official languages 1969-71, Memo from P. Lamoureux to T. Byrne re: French Instruction, in response to a request for a full statement of Alberta policy, 3 Jan 1969.

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[72] PAA, 80.226, ACFA provinciale, Box 2, File: ACFA Assemblée générale annuelle 12 avril 1969, Mémoire présenté a l'hon G. Pelletier par ACFA re: RCBB, 12 April 1969.

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[76] Centre du patrimoine (CP), S1 - Fonds Société franco-manitobaine (SFM), 44/8 Éducation française 1970-74, Manitoba Press Release - French Instruction Provided in Measure , 26 June 1970.

[77] Raymond Hébert, "Historique de la législation scolaire au Manitoba," *Revue de l'Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française,* 6(2) (1976), 11.

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[82] *Constitutional Conference Proceedings, First Meeting, 5-7 February 1968* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), 27.

[83] *Constitutional Conference Proceedings, Second Meeting, 10-12 February 1969* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), 16.

[84] Brigitte Bureau, *Mêlez-vous de vos affaires: 20 ans de luttes franco-ontariennes* (Ottawa: l'Association canadienne française de l'Ontario, 1989).

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[97] PANB, RS 416 Louis Robichaud, 1967, File 109: Conference of Tomorrow 1967, Opening Statement of Louis Robichaud at the Confederation of Tomorrow Conference, 25 Nov 1967. NB145, and Final Statement of Premier Robichaud at the Conference, 1 Dec 1967.

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[134] "Ottawa grants $50 million aid for bilingualism in schools" *Globe & Mail*, 10 Sept 1970, p.1, "9% pour l'enseignement de la minorité, 5% pour la langue seconde – Modalités de l'accord au sujet des langues officielles" *Le Droit* 10 Sept 1970 p.1.

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[45] AO, RG 2-200, Council on French-Language Schools, Acc. 17986, Box 4, File: Federal-Provincial General 1973, Letter from Thomas Wells to Omer Deslauriers re: *Le Droit* article, 1 June 1973.

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[47] Interviews with J. Dobell and Senator Jean-Robert Gauthier, 17 February 2003.

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[61] ANQ, E42 MAIG 1994-03-001 /69 File: Entente Fédérale-Provinciale sur le bilinguisme en éducation, avant 1981, Letter from François Cloutier, Minister of Education, to Hugh Faulkner, Secretary of State re: BEP, 27 March 1974.

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[64] CEA, Fonds 41 Société nationale de l'Acadie (SNA), Fiche 41-17-15 Correspondance, Letter from Lorne McGuigan, Minister of Education, to Hector Cormier, SNA, 30 September 1971.

[65] CEA, Fonds 41 SNA, Fiche 41-17-15 Correspondance, Letter from Hector Cormier, secretaire administratif of SNA, to Lorne McGuigan, Minister of Education, 23 September 1971.

[66] CEA, Fonds 41 SNA, Fiche 41-18-2 Correspondance, Letter from Hector Cormier to Keith Spicer, Commisioner of Official Languages, 29 February 1972. NB21. "Octrois fédéraus pour les langues officielles – La province accusé de détournement de fonds" *Évangeline,* 3 March 1972. p.1.

[67] CEA, Fonds 41 SNA, Fiche 41-18-3 Correspondance, Letter from Marcel Blais, Directeur du service des plaintes, Commisioner of Official Languages, to Hector Cormier, 9 March 1972. Other individuals and organisations followed the lead of the SNA. In his 1972/73 report, the Commissioner of Official Languages noted that complaints had also been registered in Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Commissioner of Official Languages, *1972/73 Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974), 493.

[68] Fonds 41 SNA, Fiche 41-18-3 Correspondance, Letter from Hector Cormier to Gerard Pelletier, 9 March 1972.

[69] Interviews with Armand Saintonge, Former Deputy Minister of Education of New Brunswick, 14 March 2002 and Harvey Malmberg, Former Deputy Minister of Education of New Brunswick, 7 March 2002.

[70] The SNA changed its structure in 1973 in order to respond better to federal granting requirements under the Official Language Minority Groups Program. It continued to exist to address pan-Maritime issues, and the SANB took over responsibility for New Brunswick issues.

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[74] PANB, RS 924, Education - Deputy Minister Armand Saintonge, Box 2-1-5-5 File: The Second Language Renewal Project, 1974.

[75] "Un problème épineux." *Évangeline*, 26 May 72, p.6.

[76] PANB, RS 924, Education - Deputy Minister Armand Saintonge, Box 2-1-5-5 File: Projet 74 Langues Secondes, A Proposal for Effective Changes in Second Language Teaching, 20 February 1974.

[77] PANB, RS 924, Education - Deputy Minister Armand Saintonge, Box 2-1-5-5 File: Langues Secondes, Propositions pour un plan de renovation de l'enseignement des langues au Nouveau-Brunswick, March 1974.

[78] PANB, RS 924 Education - Deputy Minister Armand Saintonge, Box 2-11-6-2, File: Secrétariat d'État, Federal-Provincial Programme of Cooperation for the Development of Bilingualism in education at the pre-university levels. New Brunswick Report, May 1973.

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[82] ACA, MG8 Fonds FANE, Vol 16, B. 3, Fiche 20: Écoles français de Halifax, Letter from Arthur Conrad, Director of Instruction, to Dr. M.E. Keating, Superintendent of Schools, Halifax, 9 June 1970.

[83] "Des écoles françaises à Halifax, enfin!" *Évangeline*, 5 April 71, p.4.

[84] ACA, MG8 Fonds FANE, Vol 16, B. 7, Fiche 44: Mémoire présenté à la commission royale sur l'éducation, Mémoire présenté à la commission royale d'enquete sur l'éducation, les services publiques et les relations provinciales-municipales, par la Fédération francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse, 1 December 1971. ACA, MG8 Fonds FANE, Vol 16, B. 3, Fiche 20: Écoles français de Halifax Le comité de l'école française - mémoire soumis au commission Graham , 1 December 1971.

[85] ACA, MG8 Fonds FANE, Vol 16, B. 3, Fiche 16a: Foyer Écoles, Communiqué de presse. "Nous voulons des etudiants bilingues", n.d.

[86] ACA, MG8 Fonds FANE, Vol 16, B. 4, Fiche 21b: L'école acadienne et la loi 65, Letter from FANE to Allan Sullivan, Minister of Education, and Harold Nason, Deputy Minister re: Acadian education, 1 October 1972.

[87] ACA, MG8 Fonds FANE, Vol 16, B. 7, Fiche 53: Correspondance - Premier Ministre de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, Letter from the Federation Francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse to the Premier of Nova Scotia, n.d. (1972?).

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[93] Nova Scotia Department of Education Library, *Nova Scotia Department of Education Annual Report 1973/4.*

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[96] Leslie Pal, *Interests of State: The Politics of Language, Multiculturalism and Feminism in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

[97] CEA, Fonds 41 SNA, Fiche 41-17-13 Correspondance, Letter from Gerard Pelletier, SecState, to Roger Lalonde, President of Fédération canadienne-française de l'Ouest (FCFO), 22 June 1971.

[98] Interview with Senator Pierre De Bané, 13 February 2003.

[99] Stella Hryniuk, *20 Years of Multiculturalism: Successes and Failures.* (Winnipeg: St. John's College Press, 1992), 3.

[100] AO, RG 2-200, Council on French-Language Schools, Acc. 17986, Box 4, File: Conférence à Regina - Bilinguisme 1973, L'aide federale a l'enseignement des langues officielles, 18 December 1972.

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[106] PAA, 88.88, Advanced Education - Program Support Branch, Box 3, File: Halifax Conference 1974, Summary: Federal-Provincial Conference on BEP, Halifax, 24 January 1974.

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[117] Merrill Swain, ed. *Bilingual schooling; some experiences in Canada and the United States. A report on the Bilingual Education Conference, Toronto, March 11-13, 1971.* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for studies in Education, 1972). Wallace Lambert and G. Richard Tucker. *Bilingual education of children; the St. Lambert experiment* (Rowley: Newbury House publishers, 1972).

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[3] *Ibid.*

[4] AO, RG 2-200, Council on French-Language Schools, Acc. 17121, Box 2, File: Fed/Prov - Bilinguisme 1972, Secretary of State News Release. "Federal-Provincial Program on Bilingualism in Education Agreement Reached with Provinces Concerning Financial Assistance", 9 September 1970.

[5] CRCCF, Fonds AEFO, Canadian Teachers Federation, C11-6/4/5, Canadian Teachers Federation Conference Report - Development of Bilingualism in Education, 23 January 1976.

[6] "Matte: Ottawa subventionne une minorité nantie et dominante", *Le Droit,* 28 March 1974, p.11. "No bilingual program for English, MP says" *Edmonton Journal*, 28 March 1974, p.17.

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[9] William Coleman, "From Bill 22 to Bill 101: The Politics of Language under the Parti Québécois," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 14(3) (September 1981), 467.

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[1] Indeed, on 13 March 2003, the *Globe and Mail* announced that the federal government was expanding its financial commitment to the OLEP. "PM unveils $750 million plan to boost bilingualism," *Globe and Mail*, 13 March 2003, p.A1. The text of the renewed official languages plan can be found in: Canada. Privy Council Office, *The Next Act: New Momentum for Canada's Linguistic Duality. The Action Plan for Official Languages* (March 2003).

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[5] Catherine Annau, director, *Just Watch Me: Trudeau and the 70s Generation* (Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada, 1999).

Appendix A:
Contributions under the Elementary and Secondary Levels Minority Official Language Education Formula

Year	AB	MB	ON	QC	NB	NS	Total (CA)
1970-71	131,983	236,057	7,127,873	21,299,852	2,816,979	344,598	32,032,439
1971-72	178,634	356,309	11,315,267	23,798,306	4,057,212	324,787	40,121,015
1972-73	175,658	392,549	9,849,543	19,827,598	3,678,871	341,593	34,373,026
1973-74	131,757	304,147	10,733,459	31,823,646	3,939,255	250,987	47,293,235
1974-75	216,155	553,002	10,500,853	25,217,298	3,201,210	381,353	40,227,293
1975-76	316,347	710,465	15,376,659	27,831,084	3,516,344	486,145	48,524,203
1976-77	405,311	869,240	16,909,655	43,078,698	8,384,478	638,301	70,728,553
1977-78	578,520	1,026,317	18,951,122	75,956,277	7,524,897	720,934	105,348,635
1978-79	827,965	1,349,114	22,986,005	56,842,171	7,232,687	740,218	90,850,581
1979-80	972,972	1,050,531	17,355,593	42,500,136	6,145,643	481,817	69,353,132
1980-81	1,135,555	1,224,583	17,456,552	41,809,837	6,829,546	495,958	70,005,517
1981-82	1,434,200	1,412,049	17,931,724	37,637,042	8,209,420	539,954	68,514,703
1982-83	2,139,921	1,961,004	24,297,934	32,182,941	8,153,534	664,337	71,180,534
Total	***8,644,938***	***11,445,367***	***200,792,239***	***479,804,886***	***73,690,076***	***6,410,982***	***788,552,866***

Source: Canada, Secretary of State, Language Programmes Directorate, Education Support Programmes Branch, *Federal-Provincial Programmes for the Official Languages in Education - Supplementary Tables 1970-71 to 1982-83* (1983), 14-16.

Appendix B:
Contributions under the Elementary and Secondary Levels Second Official Language Instruction Formula

Year	AB	MB	ON	QC	NB	NS	Total (CA)
1970-71	579,653	354,959	3,061,979	5,635,954	218,585	310,223	11,605,987
1971-72	680,007	465,742	4,674,307	6,644,155	320,759	349,733	14,634,191
1972-73	587,196	408,601	3,971,881	5,860,970	289,475	347,621	12,793,682
1973-74	410,827	288,114	4,229,429	8,731,620	291,886	296,889	15,500,170
1974-75	625,501	444,972	3,722,576	7,560,566	253,447	458,441	14,536,471
1975-76	756,655	573,768	5,871,482	9,351,686	284,951	564,029	19,623,447
1976-77	832,021	736,535	7,022,852	14,777,074	648,798	705,653	27,252,506
1977-78	936,368	708,888	8,743,949	20,908,996	550,560	783,747	35,415,387
1978-79	990,264	733,856	11,284,890	16,842,912	560,727	791,923	33,792,644
1979-80	926,642	558,068	8,755,844	17,250,650	498,650	590,182	30,829,223
1980-81	911,962	588,768	8,967,322	14,891,215	528,315	630,489	29,200,164
1981-82	1,042,821	663,396	10,048,499	13,886,989	618,035	709,052	29,537,331
1982-83	1,181,661	805,078	10,044,326	12,807,653	628,976	891,435	28,975,201
Total	***10,452,468***	***7,330,745***	***90,399,336***	***155,150,440***	***5,693,073***	***7,429,417***	***303,696,404***

Source: Canada, Secretary of State, Language Programmes Directorate, Education Support Programmes Branch, *Federal-Provincial Programmes for the Official Languages in Education - Supplementary Tables 1970-71 to 1982-83.* (1983), 26-28.

Appendix C:
Contributions under the Special Projects Program

Year	AB	MB	ON	QC	NB	NS	Total (CA)
1970-71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1971-72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972-73	-	-	-	-	21,755	-	169,566
1973-74	49,770	2,130	2,101,000	459,012	197,478	7,035	2,844,991
1974-75	112,015	221,695	2,191,004	714,994	520,058	178,110	4,747,767
1975-76	72,190	554,739	1,562,282	1,310,241	98,297	215,917	5,307,943
1976-77	1,413,187	846,919	1,880,786	2,319,876	1,636,981	503,561	10,192,956
1977-78	815,299	1,037,691	2,913,544	3,227,761	1,078,346	765,346	12,616,167
1978-79	904,645	1,221,670	3,860,319	1,928,817	1,606,425	1,220,339	14,311,975
1979-80	795,853	1,199,213	3,488,783	2,693,416	1,963,051	844,764	13,890,324
1980-81	642,484	1,248,862	3,413,900	2,368,704	1,875,029	832,928	13,830,240
1981-82	578,528	1,413,425	3,737,076	1,580,625	2,294,525	988,968	14,766,604
1982-83	598,089	1,751,168	4,055,481	3,151,200	3,187,502	1,101,491	18,185,995
Total	***5,982,060***	***9,497,512***	***29,204,175***	***19,754,646***	***14,479,467***	***6,659,070***	***110,864,528***

Source: Canada, Secretary of State, Language Programmes Directorate, Education Support Programmes Branch, *Federal-Provincial Programmes for the Official Languages in Education - Supplementary Tables 1970-71 to 1982-83.* (1983), 32-35.

Appendix D:
Total Contributions under all Official Languages in Education Programs

Year	AB	MB	ON	QC	NB	NS	Total (CA)
1970-71	872,375	806,357	12,271,065	30,294,019	3,275,176	3,725,176	50,508,933
1971-72	1,163,938	1,188,315	21,830,903	40,760,496	6,740,472	905,915	74,608,290
1972-73	1,214,058	1,260,411	18,734,768	37,053,653	5,900,481	1,018,528	67,582,775
1973-74	1,095,168	2,152,659	22,941,084	52,905,402	6,710,314	892,369	90,014,674
1974-75	1,552,712	1,896,368	22,656,080	51,762,076	6,736,885	1,561,542	90,853,838
1975-76	2,026,428	2,585,920	31,281,350	59,844,603	6,615,365	1,893,664	111,494,307
1976-77	3,623,248	3,471,576	34,904,630	95,196,839	14,623,572	2,560,308	162,809,470
1977-78	3,458,942	4,019,494	40,510,808	145,910,086	13,901,113	3,042,762	222,519,772
1978-79	3,979,490	4,663,165	49,236,126	120,256,215	14,382,901	3,655,310	209,783,349
1979-80	3,795,291	3,898,142	39,051,321	101,165,160	12,643,926	2,605,993	175,377,468
1980-81	4,084,923	4,221,372	38,956,557	95,357,972	13,130,402	2,797,137	171,781,519
1981-82	4,541,756	4,709,203	41,512,055	89,494,315	15,402,414	3,084,332	173,524,664
1982-83	5,666,952	5,836,609	48,583,894	80,622,125	16,193,312	3,650,416	176,276,619
Total	***37,076,281***	***40,709,591***	***422,470,641***	***1,000,622,966***	***136,346,333***	***28,401,891***	***1,777,135,678***

Source: Canada, Secretary of State, Language Programmes Directorate, Education Support Programmes Branch, *Federal-Provincial Programmes for the Official Languages in Education - Supplementary Tables 1970-71 to 1982-83.* (1983), 64-68.

Appendix E – Research Ethics Documents for Oral History Interviews

The following documents pertain to the oral history component of this thesis. Included are copies of the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board Certification of Ethical Approval, Sample Consent Form for Interviewees, and a List of Interview Questions posed during the interviews. The list of questions is not exhaustive – additional questions were added pertaining to the specific areas of expertise and experience of the person in question.

Université d'Ottawa · University of Ottawa

Cabinet du vice-recteur à la recherche
Office of the Vice-Rector, Research

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that the University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board has examined the application for ethical approval for the research project *Forging a language policy for Canada's youth: Federalism, bilingualism and the development of the official languages in education program, 1969-1984 (File 06-01-01)* submitted by Matthew Charles Hayday and supervised by Michael Behiels of the Department of History. The Research Ethics Board found that the research proposal met appropriate ethical standards as outlined in the Tri-Council Policy Statement and in the Procedures of the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Boards, and accordingly gave it a Category Ia (Approval). This certification is valid for one year from the date indicated below.

Lise Frigault
Protocol officer for ethics in research
For Tim Aubry,
Chair of the Social Sciences and Humanities REB

July 12, 2001
Date

FILE 06-01-01

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Consent Form :
Forging a Language Policy for Canada's Youth: Federalism, Bilingualism and the Development of the Official Languages in Education Program, 1969-1984

Investigator: Matthew Hayday
Supervisor: Dr. Michael Behiels
Institution: University of Ottawa, Department of History
Phone: (613) 237-6314
Email: mhayday@rogers.com

I, _____, am interested in collaborating in the research conducted by Matthew Hayday of the History Department at the University of Ottawa. This research is being conducted for Matthew's doctoral thesis of under the supervision of Dr. Michael Behiels, and is funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) Doctoral Fellowship. The purpose of the research is to determine how and why the Official Languages in Education Program developed in a given manner over the period of 1969-1984, and to examine the roles played by the federal and provincial governments, official language minority communities, lobby groups, and the general public in influencing this development.

My involvement will consist of participation in a minimum of one audio-taped interview with Matthew. I may choose the time, place, and number of interviews. Each interview will last approximately one hour, but no longer than one-and-a-half hours unless I choose to continue longer. I will be asked about my work and volunteer involvement with both the Official Languages in Education Program, and about issues related to the development of education and language policies. I understand that transcripts of the tapes will be made for study purposes, and that I may review and correct my transcript if I wish. I understand that specific parts of the interview may be removed upon my request. These tapes and transcripts will be retained by Matthew in a locked file in his office, accessible only to him and his supervisor for five years following the completion of the project. Following this period, the tapes will be destroyed, and the transcripts retained in Matthew's private research files.

I have been assured by the investigator that at any time during the interviews, I may decline to answer a question, change the subject matter, or request the tape recorder to be turned off. I understand that participation is voluntary and at any time during the research, I may withdraw my consent without penalty of any kind.

I understand that reports, presentations, and publications may result from the research and that my name will be used in quotes attributed to me. I am aware that my anonymity can not be guaranteed if I am quoted.

One copy of this signed consent will be provided to me and one copy will be kept by Matthew. I may address any complaints about the ethical conduct of this project to the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, 30 Stewart Street, Room 301 of the University of Ottawa or (613) 562-5800, extension 1787. If I have questions about the

conduct of the research project, I may contact Matthew or his supervisor at the phone numbers or addresses given below.

Investigator's signature: _____

Date: _____

Participant's signature: _____

Date: _____

Contacts:

Matthew Hayday, PhD candidate
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K1N 7X4
(613) 237-6314

Dr. Michael Behiels
Department of History
University of Ottawa
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Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5
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For Ethical questions only:
Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research
30 Stewart St., Room 301
University of Ottawa
(613) 562-5800, ext. 1787

Questionnaire – Forging a Language Policy for Canada's Youth

Note: Questions with be posed in either English or French, depending on the first language of the individual being interviewed.

1. Where were you working during the period 1969-1984? To what extent were you involved in the development of the OLEP?

2. How would you characterize the relations between the federal and provincial governments, and the official minority language community in your province during the period in question?

3. In your opinion, how much of an impact did federal funding via the OLEP have on provincial language policy and the provision of minority language, second language, and immersion programs?

4. If significant language policies in the realm of education were introduced in your province in the years covered by this study, what factors led to their introduction? Was it a top-down process, a response to public pressures, or the result of other factors?

5. Are you aware of how OLEP funds were allocated in your province? Do you happen to know if this was done in accordance with federal objectives and guidelines?

6. Did the provincial government make significant efforts to evaluate the impact of its language education programs? How was this done?

7. (If participant is a lobby group representative) Which groups/segments of the population did your organization serve? Was there a consensus in the population behind your group's position? If not, why?

8. (If participant is a civil servant) Which lobby groups did you come into contact with regarding the functioning of the OLEP? Which ones were well received, and what impact did they have on policy development?

9. What level of support was forthcoming from the general population of your province with respect to a) minority language education; b) immersion programs; and c) second language instruction?

10. Who in your province was involved in the negotiation process of the OLEP agreements? Who had the most impact on policy direction?

11. Were there any significant divisions in the minority language community with regards to minority language education?

12. What other groups/actors do you think were critical to the development of the OLEP and language education in your province?

13. What distinctive features about your province's history, demography, culture, can you identify as being significant in how the OLEP was received?

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RG 2-40 Education, Council of Ministers of Education, Canada
RG 2-185 Education, Assistant Deputy Minister, Franco-Ontarian Education, 1981-1983
RG 2-200 Education, Council on French-Language Schools, 1972-1975
RG 2-200 Education, Council for Franco-Ontarian Education, 1976-1980
RG 18-519 Royal Commission on Bilingualism in the Ontario Public Service
RG 58-9-1 Ministry of Intergovernmental Affairs
RG 77-1 Correspondance of the Government Coordinator of French Language services
RG 77-3 Correspondance of the Executive Secretary to the Office of the Government Coordinator On Bilingualism

Archives of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM)
Board Meeting Minutes of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal

Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française (CRCCF)
C2 Fonds Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario
C6 Fonds La Chasse-Galerie
C11 Fonds Association française des conseils scolaires de l'Ontario
C50 Fonds Association des enseignants franco-ontariens
C84 Fonds Fédération des francophones hors-Québec

Centre des Études Acadiennes, Université de Moncton (CEA)
Fonds 41 Société nationale de l'Acadie
Fonds 42 Société des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick
Fonds 146 Armand-Saintonge

Centre du patrimoine, St. Boniface (CP)
S1 Fonds Société franco-manitobaine

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RG 2 Series A-5-a, Privy Council Office
RG 6 Secretary of State
RG 33 Series 80, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism

RG 47-10 Privy Council Office, Federal-Provincial Relations Office, Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conferences 1969-1971
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89.159 Education, Information Services
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