

336. Our survey of minority-language schools would be incomplete without some reference to the experience of other countries. Canadians need to be reminded that many countries have large linguistic minorities and that minority-language schools are not a radical innovation. Many of these minorities have distinctive minority-language educational systems, with educational rights carefully defined by legislation. Our recommendations will seem less radical when it is realized that special schools for a linguistic minority are not unprecedented or even unusual.

337. The experience of other countries can also show what educational arrangements have been devised to meet the needs of these linguistic minorities. The problem in each country is unique. Existing arrangements have often evolved over many generations and have been affected by such factors as the history of relations between the major cultural groups within the country, the political and economic influence of the minority, and the relative prestige of the majority and minority languages both within the country and in the broader context of international affairs. Foreign experience, however, does reveal special problems posed by minority education and does suggest possible solutions. To this extent Canada can benefit from the experience of other countries.

338. The most difficult situation occurs where one language group has enough political or economic influence to demand certain language rights, but is insecure because its language has less prestige than that of the other group. Two examples are the Flemings in Belgium and the Afrikaners in South Africa. Each group has been apprehensive about the status of its language and has even feared that its language would disappear. Neither Dutch nor Afrikaans can be considered an

Foreign
experience
suggests solutions

Languages with
less prestige

international language and the second major language groups in both these countries—the Francophones in Belgium and the Anglophones in South Africa—have been reluctant to learn the majority language. The respective prestige of French in Belgium and English in South Africa was such that these tended to become the languages of communication in the two countries. The Flemings and the Afrikaners produced most of those who spoke both official languages, and in each case it seemed probable for a long time that the more prestigious language would gradually displace the other except in isolated communities or among the less educated classes.

Language use
in Belgium

339. In Belgium, however, the Flemish group constitutes a majority and in South Africa a majority of the white population speaks Afrikaans. Each group can thus influence national policies and, in each case, educational policy has been designed to compensate for the disadvantage of the less prestigious language.

340. In Belgium today the Flemish group forms about 60 per cent of the total population.¹ In the 19th century, French was the language of government and of higher education, and the prestige of the French language was so great that many residents of Flanders adopted it as their first language. Flemish nationalism led to the emergence of Dutch as an official language and to measures designed to protect it against the encroachments of the French language. The present pattern in education was established in 1932 when the principle of unilingual regions was adopted. In the Flemish areas, Dutch was to be the language of instruction in all elementary and secondary schools; in the Walloon region, the language of instruction was to be French. Brussels, the capital, predominantly French-speaking but with a large Flemish minority, was to become the centre of a bilingual region, with both French and Dutch schools. Recent legislation has not changed this basic pattern but has tended to make the linguistic divisions even more rigid.²

341. Two aspects of the Belgian language regulations are of special interest. The first concerns the teaching of a second language. At the elementary level in unilingual regions, school authorities are not compelled to include second-language teaching on the programme of studies, although when a second language is taught it is French in the Flemish region and Dutch in the French region. At the secondary level, instruction in a second language usually but not necessarily means instruction in the second official language of the country. In the Brus-

¹There are no accurate statistics by mother tongue. This approximation is based on regional figures, taken from the Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, "Le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme en Belgique," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 12-3.

²There are special regulations for communes on the linguistic frontier, and communes where German is the majority language.

sels area, however, the teaching of the second official language is mandatory and begins early in the elementary school.

342. The second and more controversial aspect of the Belgian system is the limitation on the right of parents to choose the language of instruction for their children. In the unilingual region there is no choice—all publicly-supported schools offer instruction in the official language of the region. Even in the Brussels region, where there are both French and Dutch schools, the parents still have no choice. The law states that the mother tongue or the ordinary language of the child will determine the school he will attend. To ensure that the law is enforced, the child must present a formal declaration of his language, certified by two inspectors, before he can enrol in a school. These regulations are designed to preserve the Dutch language by ending the not-unusual practice of Flemish parents sending their children to French schools.

343. In South Africa¹ the white population includes two major linguistic groups—the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking. The Afrikaners are the majority group, constituting some 60 per cent of the white population, but, like the Flemish, their language at one time seemed unlikely to survive. In the 19th century, both English and Dutch were used as languages of instruction in the schools of the political units that later united to form South Africa. Dutch, however, was not commonly spoken. Afrikaans had developed as a rural vernacular, derived from Dutch but so simplified and modified in its structure that it could be considered a distinct language. Although Afrikaans was in effect the mother tongue of most Afrikaners, Dutch was officially the language of instruction for many years. The result was that some Afrikaner parents, faced with a choice between English and Dutch as the language of instruction for their children, were inclined to opt for English rather than Dutch.

344. In 1910, when the Union of South Africa was founded, both English and Dutch were constitutionally established as official languages with equal status. In the discussions that followed, it was generally agreed that English- and Dutch-language schools should be provided, but the debate centred on the question of whether the parents should be free to choose between these schools or whether the language of instruction would be determined by the mother tongue of the child. A parliamentary select committee recommended to the provinces that education in the mother tongue should be compulsory, but the use of Dutch rather than Afrikaans in the schools meant that the regulations were often ignored. Afrikaners, as one of them com-

Language use
in South Africa

¹This and subsequent paragraphs on South Africa are based on W. G. McConkey, "The Bilingual and Bicultural Structure of the White South African Educational System," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

mented, were "the only nation on earth which asserts the lawful claims of its mother tongue while it does not know what its mother tongue is." It was not until 1925 that the constitutional references to Dutch were extended to include Afrikaans, and that Afrikaans almost completely replaced Dutch as the language of instruction. Today, three provinces out of four have adopted the principle that the language of instruction should be the mother tongue of the child; only Natal allows the parents to make a choice.

345. Parallel- and dual-medium schools continued to be contentious issues. Parallel-medium schools offer instruction in English to English-speaking children and in Afrikaans to Afrikaans-speaking children, but other school activities are conducted in either language or both. In dual-medium schools each student receives some of his instruction in English and some in Afrikaans. The advantage claimed for these schools was that they would foster better understanding between the English and Afrikaner students. A large-scale survey in 1938 provided some evidence to support these claims. On the other hand, it was argued that exposure to the second language should wait until the child had a secure grasp of his mother tongue, and that schools should support the cultural as well as the linguistic identity of the child. This meant separate, or single-medium, schools for each language group. The arguments for a distinctive cultural emphasis won out in South Africa and the present policy favours single-medium schools. In all schools, however, the teaching of the second official language is compulsory, beginning in the second or third year of elementary school.

Language use
in Switzerland

346. In the two countries we have discussed, the language spoken by the majority seemed threatened because the minority language had more prestige—so legal measures were introduced to protect the majority language. In Switzerland,¹ the official languages are German, French, and Italian. The German-speaking Swiss are the largest linguistic group but, with France and Italy as neighbours, the French-speaking and Italian-speaking Swiss have not feared the disappearance of their languages. Also, unlike the other countries we have discussed, Switzerland is a federation and the tradition of cantonal autonomy has supported minority-language rights. Thus the language policy for education in Switzerland differs considerably from our other examples.

347. The basic Swiss pattern is one of unilingual territories. Of the 25 Swiss cantonal units, 21 are officially unilingual and there the language of instruction in the schools is the language of the canton. The four remaining cantons include linguistic minorities of significant proportions. The territorial principle is still applied, however, so that

¹The information on Switzerland is based on Peter Welsh, "Plurilingualism in Switzerland," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

even the bilingual cantons are composed mainly of unilingual districts of one official language or another. Inevitably there are a few mixed communes and there, if two language groups are both significant in size or influence, the usual pattern is to have two distinct school systems. This compromise is unusual, however, and most Swiss parents must send their children to schools in which the language of instruction is the language of the majority in the community or canton. Even the universities, in conformity with the territorial principle, are predominantly unilingual—with the exception of Fribourg, situated in a bilingual canton. In the mixed cantons the study of a second official language is compulsory, beginning in or after the fifth year; in the unilingual cantons it may be optional at the elementary level, but is obligatory at the secondary level.

348. The apparent rigidity of the territorial principle is mitigated by special circumstances. Each language group tends to be concentrated geographically, so that minorities within a canton are usually small. Distances are not great and, if parents insist on having their children taught in their mother tongue, the appropriate schools are often within commuting distance. It may be surmised also that the reputation of each of the official languages is such that the parents belonging to a minority group do not find it difficult to accept the idea of having their children taught in the other language.

349. Finland¹ differs sharply from the other countries discussed because the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland constitutes less than 10 per cent of the total population. This minority was once powerful economically and politically, and the prestige of the Swedish language reflected this. Today, however, Finnish is the dominant language and a knowledge of Finnish is accepted by the minority as virtually essential for most occupations. Swedish-speaking Finns have thus accepted the necessity of learning Finnish, although at the same time they have made great efforts to preserve their mother tongue. The educational system in Finland reflects this situation: Swedish-language schools are provided for the minority, but the graduates of these schools are usually fluently bilingual.

350. At the elementary level, the right of the minority to Swedish-language schools is determined by the number of Swedish-speaking students in the school district. Elementary schools in Finland are often small schools. Communes must provide an elementary school when there are at least 27 pupils in a district and the school can only be closed if the number of pupils falls below 15 for three consecutive years. As a special consideration for the linguistic minority in any district, minority schools, whether Finnish or Swedish, must be pro-

Language use
in Finland

¹The material on Finland is based on T. Miljan, "Bilingualism in Finland," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

vided for a minimum of 18 pupils and the school must remain open unless the enrolment drops below 12. All elementary schools are controlled and supervised by the state but within the board of Education there are separate departments for Finnish and Swedish schools. In all schools, instruction in the second language is compulsory from the fifth grade.

351. There is more diversity at the secondary level, where there are different types of schools, but again there are Swedish-language schools for the minority, administered by the Swedish department. In these schools, Finnish is still included in the curriculum, although as many as three foreign languages may be introduced. Instruction in Swedish is also offered at the university level. There is a Swedish-language university at Åbo. At the State University of Helsinki, certain chairs are designated as Swedish chairs and the professors who hold these chairs teach in Swedish. Students cannot expect to take all their undergraduate courses in Swedish at this university, but they may write all tests and examinations in Swedish.

352. In conclusion, probably the most striking fact to many North American observers is the responsibility accepted by many governments of providing the minority with its own school system. The rights of the minority differ from one country to the next and the structures of the school systems vary, but the policy of two or more school systems is firmly established.

353. The basis on which minority-language schools are provided is of special relevance to the Canadian situation. In South Africa and Finland the two languages of instruction are provided wherever there are students of both language groups. In Switzerland the language of instruction is based on territoriality; the country is divided into a number of unilingual districts. Belgium has a combination of these two approaches. It has unilingual regions and it also has a bilingual region where both Dutch- and French-language schools exist. The territorial principle is less complicated; in each region there is only one public school system. It is a logical approach if each language group is concentrated in definable geographic areas. Where the population is mixed, or even where there are scattered enclaves of minority groups, it may be considered less satisfactory because some children will be forced to study in a language other than their mother tongue. The provision of minority-language schools where enrolment makes this feasible allows for greater flexibility in meeting the needs of a diverse population, although the administrative problems of two separate school systems in one community are more complex.

**Second-language
teaching**

354. Our examples also illustrate how some countries with more than one official language have dealt with the question of second-

language teaching. In South Africa, where bilingualism is accepted as a public policy, the teaching of the second language is compulsory and begins at an early age in the elementary school. In Switzerland, where citizens may be more conscious of the personal advantages of learning a second language, the teaching of a second official language is compulsory in secondary schools, but begins later in the elementary programme. In Belgium, where tension between the language groups is more pronounced, the second language taught in the unilingual areas is usually but not necessarily the second official language, but in the bilingual region it is a compulsory subject from the elementary level.

355. In Book I, we refused to recommend the wholesale adoption of either the territorial or personality principles for a Canadian linguistic régime; similarly, in this case, we would consider it undesirable to recommend the educational system that any of these countries employs for its official-language minority. It seems obvious to us that some of the practices of foreign countries just described—such as the legal restrictions on the right of Belgian parents to choose the language in which their children are to be taught, or the minute precision of Finland in setting up and maintaining minority schools—would be solutions that few Canadians would accept. Furthermore, while the Canadian official-language minority speaks a language of international stature, it is still not the common language of communication in North America. This is why, in Canada, the Anglophones have learned French much less often than the Francophones have learned English. At the same time, English has been seen by Canada's Francophones as a menace to their language. There is another factor to consider: in contradistinction to Belgium and South Africa, where the Flemings and the Afrikaners are majority groups, the French-language minority in Canada is strictly speaking a national minority—and has, in fact, a double minority status in the context of North America. Canada is a North American country with distinctive political traditions and political institutions. Its educational systems reflect social attitudes and aspirations which must be respected. We can learn much from the experience of these other countries, but inevitably our recommendations must be formulated in terms of the Canadian context. Minority-language schools in Canada must be appropriate to the Canadian situation.

Relevance
to the
Canadian
situation

356. In Chapter I we proposed broad objectives for schools for the Francophone and Anglophone minorities in Canada. The chief objective is to provide equal opportunities for both official-language groups to maintain and enjoy their language and their cultural heritage. At the same time, the education provided by these schools should ensure an adequate knowledge of the majority language and culture, with academic standards and educational opportunities equivalent to those of the majority-language schools in the same province. These objectives are not radical. Many of the briefs we received advocated similar objectives, and minority leaders as well as many educational authorities are generally agreed that policies should accord with these aims. Nonetheless, our description of minority education in the Canadian provinces today has shown that every province to some extent falls short of achieving these objectives. In the English-speaking provinces, the French-speaking minorities have been fitted into English-language school systems with too little regard for the preservation of the French mother tongue. Where French-language or "bilingual" schools have been permitted, the educational opportunities they provide are restricted. In Quebec, where the English-speaking minority has been free to develop its own system, the emphasis on the majority language of the province has been inadequate.

Objectives

357. It is obvious that major changes will be required if the gap between the objectives outlined above and the actual practice is to be bridged. Fundamentally, in the English-speaking provinces, the reluctance to accept the right of French-speaking Canadians to an education in the French language accounts for the present inadequacies of French-language education. In recent years there has been an increasing recognition of the need to provide greater opportunities

Major changes
required

for instruction in the French language, and many reforms have been proposed. In most cases these proposals will fall short of achieving the goal we have set—a balance between cultural and academic aims to which both the provincial authorities and the minority-language groups fully subscribe.

358. For the purpose of discussing education, the official-language minority groups in Canada can be classified in two broad categories. The first category includes the minority groups which form a significant proportion of the total population of a region. These groups are numerous enough to justify the full range of elementary and secondary schools, with programmes designed to meet their special needs. The bilingual districts recommended in Book I encompass these large blocs of the Anglophone minority in Quebec and the Francophone minorities in the other provinces. The second category includes the members of these minority groups who live outside the bilingual districts. These amount to less than 10 per cent of the official-language minorities, dispersed from Newfoundland to British Columbia. But they are not a negligible group, and the school can be a more important factor in preserving language for them than for members of the first category. Educational arrangements will of necessity be different for them than for residents of bilingual districts. Chapter VIII includes our recommendations concerning minority-language education outside bilingual districts.

Recommendation 1 359. In this chapter we are concerned with official-language minority schools in bilingual districts. Our first recommendation follows logically from the principle of the moral right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice and from the definition of the bilingual districts (which ensures that the number of students affected will justify the provision of minority-language schools). **We recommend that public education be provided in each of the official minority languages at both the elementary and secondary levels in the bilingual districts.**

360. This recommendation means that there will be education in the languages of both the minority and majority in the bilingual districts. In many cases there will be enough students to warrant separate school buildings, and transportation facilities will make it possible for each secondary school to serve a large area. In some communities it may be necessary to have minority- and majority-language classes in the same school, with both groups sharing such facilities as the auditorium, the laboratory, and the machine shop. Even in these cases, however, the students will attend separate classes, and the education provided will be no different from that in the schools attended only by the minority.

361. This recommendation will obviously require some changes in the administrative structures at both the departmental and local levels, as well as special arrangements for training teachers and providing special services. But before we can discuss the educational system as a whole we must first describe the minority-language schools as we envisage them. Only then can we discuss the structures and services such schools will require.

A. The Language of Instruction

362. The nature of the minority-language schools will be determined to a large degree by the language of instruction used in the classroom. As we have pointed out in Book I of the Commission's *Report*, language is more than a means of communication; it is also an essential form of cultural expression affecting the structure and quality of the various elements which characterize a cultural group. If minority-language schools are to promote the linguistic and cultural development of the minority, it is not enough to teach their language as a subject. To communicate effectively, students must learn to use their language in a variety of situations and for a variety of subjects. If they are to develop a capacity for sophisticated analysis and expression, they must develop the modes of thought to which the language gives form. The precise and sensitive command of his language is essential to the development of the child's intellect.

Importance of instruction in mother tongue

363. The emphasis on learning the mother tongue is important for any child, but it is even more important for members of a minority-language group. Almost by definition, these children will have many contacts with the majority language outside the home. Even in areas where the provincial minority may constitute a local majority, the other language is heard on the street, read in newspapers, and brought into the home by radio and television. Under these circumstances the school must compensate for the linguistic environment of the child. **We recommend that the normal language of instruction in schools for the official minority-language group in bilingual districts be the mother tongue.**

Recommendation 2

364. Instruction by means of the minority language is essential if the objectives of minority education are to be attained. This recommendation involves no change for the English-language schools in Quebec, or for the French-language schools in Ontario, following the recent legislation. It will increase the use of French at the secondary level in New Brunswick and, even at the elementary level, in the bilingual districts in Nova Scotia and Manitoba, for example. As we have seen, however, these provinces have all approved wider use of French

as a language of instruction in minority-language schools in recent years and this recommendation will involve no radical change of policy.

Teaching aids

365. The use of the minority language as the language of instruction involves more than speaking that language in the classroom. Textbooks and other teaching aids must be provided in the same language, and special care must be taken in the preparation of these aids. Wherever possible they should be written in the original language and from the point of view of the minority culture. In some cases they will have to be adapted from those used in the majority-language schools of the province, but it is important that they be carefully adapted. Translation is an art—a good translator must re-think the ideas in the second language in order to present them effectively. A literal translation would defeat the purpose of teaching the child to assimilate the modes of thought of the mother tongue.

366. This recommendation does not exclude some teaching in the majority language. A knowledge of the majority language is an asset and may even be a necessity for the graduates of the minority-language schools. The majority language will be taught as a subject and it may also be desirable to use it as a medium for teaching another subject. This would be justified only when the student's grasp of his mother tongue was secure. Such a situation may occur among Francophone students who live in communities where they have little contact with English in their daily life, and in parts of Quebec where Anglophone students may seldom come in contact with French. The decision to teach another subject in the majority language must be based on an assessment of the students' grasp of the mother tongue. It should be made by local authorities in consultation with minority-language school inspectors, and should require the consent of the parents.

B. The Teaching of the Official Minority Language as a Subject

Recommendation 3

367. The mother tongue will naturally have a prominent place in the curriculum of the minority-language schools. Indeed, English is already taught from the first grade in the minority-language schools of Quebec, just as French is taught from the first grade in the minority-language or "bilingual" schools of the other provinces. **We recommend that the mother tongue be taught as a subject in all grades and all programmes of the official-language minority schools.**

Planned sequence

368. However, we wish to draw attention to the need for a carefully planned and prepared course of study extending from the first grade to the end of secondary school. This development of a suitable sequence of courses requires the co-operation of linguists and teachers and involves the production of audio-visual aids as well as readers

and textbooks. It will not be possible for minority-language schools in English-speaking provinces to adapt the French-language programme in Quebec. This programme would be unsuitable because of the differences in curricula and because of the different needs of the Franco-phone minorities. Special programmes already introduced in Ontario and New Brunswick will require further development in such areas as the provision of audio-visual aids integrated into all levels of the programme. Available resources would likely be best utilized if the departments of Education of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and of Ontario and Manitoba co-operated in the development of suitable programmes, complete with audio-visual aids. The language research council proposed later in this Book will facilitate this co-operation, and will help to make such resources available to the other provinces. This council could also assist in preparing any changes which might be introduced in the course of study for English in the minority-language schools of Quebec.

369. The adequate teaching of the mother tongue in these minority-language schools involves much more than the teaching of the language itself. The reading of appropriate literature should also be included in the programme. Exposure to great literature is one means of developing a mastery of the language, and it is also the most effective way of acquainting children with their cultural heritage. The quality of the programme for teaching the maternal language in minority-language schools is thus of the utmost importance.

C. The Teaching of the Majority Language as a Subject

370. The need to teach the majority language in minority-language schools is recognized by provincial authorities and minority spokesmen alike. Most graduates of these schools will establish their homes within their own province, and a knowledge of the majority language of the province is an invaluable asset. In Quebec, French is already a compulsory subject from Grade III in the Protestant English-language schools and from Grade IV in the Roman Catholic English-language schools, and many school boards have exercised the option permitting them to introduce it in the first grade. In the minority-language schools of the other provinces, English is a compulsory subject starting in Grade I. The question, therefore, is not whether the majority language should be taught, but rather when the study of the majority language should begin.

371. Experts are not agreed on whether a second language should be introduced in the first grade of school. Some argue that an early beginning is desirable and that, for physiological and psychological

reasons, children in the early years of elementary school are ideally equipped for second-language learning. Other experts argue that there is a danger of language interference and that the child may confuse the structures and modes of thought of the two languages. Caution seems the course of wisdom when experts disagree. There can be little doubt that language interference, if it is a problem, will be more serious for children who do not have a sound grasp of their mother tongue when they arrive at school. This is more likely to be the case with children from the French-language group. Many factors, individual or environmental, might account for this linguistic weakness, but the environment of a bilingual community is likely to be one such factor. Since many students of the minority-language schools will be living in bilingual communities where the mother tongue is under stress, we do not insist on the necessity to begin the study of the second language in these schools in the first grade. The majority language might not be introduced until the third year in such areas. It should be taught in all years of the secondary programmes. **We recommend that the majority language be taught as a subject in all programmes offered in official-language minority schools.**

372. Special courses of study will again be required for the teaching of the majority language. Part 2 of this Book will deal with second-language teaching, but certain aspects of second-language teaching for the minority should be underlined here. In many provinces the Francophone students begin with conversational English in the first year but are soon following the course of study originally prepared for the teaching of English to Anglophones. This practice results in a definite hardship for these students. Special courses of study should be prepared, complete with textbooks and teaching aids, designed for the linguistic needs of the minority-language students. The aim should be a high level of achievement in the four language skills—listening, speaking, reading, and writing. One of the aims of teaching English to Anglophones and French to Francophones is to expose them to the literature in the language and so acquaint them with their cultural heritage. For the teaching of these languages to the minorities as a second language, less time should be spent on the literature and more time on the teaching of the language itself.

Contact with the majority language

373. It is legitimate to ask whether these recommendations will ensure that the students acquire an adequate knowledge of the majority language. We have proposed that the students' mother tongue will be the normal language of instruction and that the language of the majority will normally be taught only as a subject. Canadians who studied a second language in school, but now find themselves speechless and even wordless when they meet a compatriot for whom this language is the

mother tongue, are likely to be sceptical about a curriculum which devotes too little attention to the second language. This personal experience, however, is often based on teaching methods which emphasized reading and translation almost as if a dead language were being taught. The recent emphasis on oral expression and the use of audio-visual aids marks a definite improvement in language learning. Much more significant, however, is the fact that the minority-language students come from an unusual language environment. Successful language learning depends upon the desire to learn and the opportunity to practise. Minority-language students are more likely to recognize that the second language is useful, that it is more than a cultural acquisition, because they are likely to see it and hear it every day. They also have opportunities to use the language they are learning. The formal training in school is only one element in learning the majority language for most minority-language students.

374. This conclusion is supported to some extent by our research. Two tests of English comprehension—a listening test and a reading test—were administered to Ontario students who had taken all of their elementary and secondary education in French except for their study of English as a subject.¹ These students were tested shortly after registering in their first year at the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University. The same tests were given to a Grade XII class for which English was the mother tongue, a class which provincial tests had shown to be very close to the provincial norm in this subject. The average test scores of the Anglophones were slightly higher, but the difference was surprisingly small.² Other evidence suggests, however, that English-speaking students in Quebec were less successful in learning French when it was taught only as a subject.³ Since the learning situation was similar, it would appear that these students were less convinced of the importance of knowing the majority language. This attitude may be changing. In any case, the Commission believes that there should be the same incentive for English-speaking students in the minority-language schools in Quebec to learn the French language as for the French-speaking students in the other provinces to learn English. The English-speaking minority has little reason to be apprehensive about the retention of its mother tongue. The problem is rather to overcome the gap in communication which has developed

¹ Most of these students had attended "bilingual" schools to Grade X and had then continued their education in private schools.

² R. Sirkis, "How Well do French Canadian Students Know English?" a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 34. The results for the Anglophone and Francophone students on the listening test were 90.5 and 85.1 respectively; on the reading test, 79.9 and 76.0.

³ L.-P. Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 22.

between the two language communities. We suggest, therefore, that in the English-language minority schools the use of French might well be extended as a language of instruction for other subjects in addition to learning it directly as a second language.

D. Outline of the Curriculum in Official-language Minority Schools

Adapting the
teaching of
other subjects

375. The question of the teaching of the mother tongue and the other official language is, of course, of primary importance in the programmes of minority-language schools. However, there is also the question of how the teaching of other subjects needs to be adapted to meet the special requirements of the students in minority-language schools.

376. At present the minority-language schools generally follow the same curriculum as the majority-language schools in the province, apart from the special course of study for the maternal language. The English-language schools in Quebec are an exception to this rule, but even there the Parent Commission has recommended a similar curriculum for all provincial schools.

A common
provincial
curriculum

377. The major advantage of this arrangement is that it helps to ensure equivalent academic standards in all schools in the province and equivalent educational opportunities for all students in the province. Each province has developed courses of study which seem most appropriate for each grade, and there is nothing to suggest that Anglophone and Francophone students should learn mathematical or scientific principles at different ages or in a different sequence. The language of instruction should differ, but not the general content of the course. With all students following basically the same course of study, uniform academic objectives will be established for all schools in the province, and when courses are revised or innovations introduced, minority- as well as majority-language schools will benefit from the changes. At the secondary level, students of the minority-language group will have the same choice of programmes and the same options. A common curriculum is necessary if minority-language students are to receive an equivalent to the education provided for the provincial majority.

378. However, we could consider the possibility of a uniform curriculum for all French-language minority schools in Canada, with these schools organized on a national basis by the federal government instead of the provincial governments. Apart from the constitutional problems involved, such a system would likely be unsuccessful because it would not reflect Canadian regional diversity. Geography imposes special arrangements for consolidating schools. The provincial economy influences the technical and commercial programmes offered. A federal

system so centralized would inevitably duplicate the technical knowledge and local experience already developed, and the apparent advantages of uniformity would be lost.

379. Provincial departments of Education are well aware of the possible benefits of uniform curricula and uniform standards for English-language schools. The idea has long been discussed and a Canadian Council of Ministers of Education has recently been established to work towards greater co-ordination of provincial policies on a consultative basis. Past difficulties in achieving co-ordination reflect the regional diversities which provincial systems cannot ignore. At the same time, these present efforts at co-ordination should minimize the differences between provincial curricula, and this will affect minority- as well as majority-language schools.

380. Therefore, we have concluded that the objectives of high academic standards and broad educational opportunities in minority-language schools can best be achieved within a provincial context. These objectives depend on similar programmes in all the schools in the province, whatever the language of instruction may be. **We recommend that the curricula for the official-language minority schools follow the broad outlines of the curricula for the majority-language schools in each province.**

Recommendation 5

381. This recommendation does not mean that the course of study for each subject should always be the same. The cultural background of the minority is different, and this difference will have a bearing on the most effective way of teaching some subjects. Mathematics and science can be taught in the same way to all students. But we have already noted that special courses need to be developed for the teaching of the first and second languages, and that the teaching of the first language must develop the student's awareness of his cultural heritage.

382. Social studies present a different kind of problem. In broad outline there need be no distinction between minority- and majority-language schools—all students in the province can study geography or history in the same sequence. But the cultural differences of the students cannot be ignored. The courses in social studies will sometimes have to be adapted to meet the special circumstances of the minority-language students. Courses of study are usually designed in accordance with the principle that the student should proceed from the known to the unknown. In geography, for example, students usually begin by studying the geography of their own district and then expand their horizons. Social studies in general begin with a study of the students' own society and then broaden out to a study of other societies. Minority-language students belong to a separate cultural group and they must be introduced to their own society and its place within

Recommendation 6

the larger provincial and national structure. This approach is based on sound pedagogical principles and it is also consistent with the objective of making the minority-language students aware of their own cultural heritage. The adaptations which will be made from the social studies courses designed for the majority will thus be consistent with both the academic and cultural objectives of the minority-language schools. **We recommend that the provincial social studies programmes for official-language minority schools be suited to the special circumstances of students attending these schools.**

383. Less than 10 per cent of the Anglophone and Francophone minorities live outside the bilingual districts, but these people still have the moral right to have their children educated in their mother tongue. Where minority populations are small, the double objective of fostering the linguistic and cultural heritage of the minority and of ensuring equivalent academic standards and educational opportunities is still valid. But outside the bilingual districts, the means of achieving these objectives will depend largely on the number of students involved. The special educational facilities which can and should be provided will vary according to the local situation. It may not be possible to have separate schools at the elementary and secondary levels. It would not be feasible to provide even an academic secondary school programme for two or three students and, even if the numbers might justify one stream at this level, it would not be desirable if it meant that minority-language students would be prevented or hindered from choosing another stream more appropriate to their interests and abilities.

**Rights of small
minority groups**

384. The rights of the minority must nonetheless be clearly established. Local school boards have often been reluctant to provide special facilities for the minority. A school board may have little sympathy or little understanding of the linguistic and cultural concerns of the minority group, and it is not likely to welcome any disruption of the existing system. The minority, on the other hand, may not fully appreciate the difficulties involved in providing special facilities. Regulations are required which will state explicitly the conditions under which the minority-language group in any community is entitled to special educational facilities and which will ensure that local school

Recommendation 7

boards will provide these facilities. **We recommend that in each province the department of Education shall formally state the requirements and procedures by which an official-language minority living outside the bilingual districts can establish its right to special educational facilities.**

385. This will eliminate much of the confusion and even the controversy which can often develop at the local level because the rights of the minority have not been clearly defined. The detailed regulations can be drafted only by provincial officials. The elementary and secondary school systems vary from province to province and in each case the regulations must relate directly to the existing system—and must be subject to change when the system is modified. In every province, however, the purpose should be to fulfil the cultural and linguistic aspirations of the minority so far as is feasible, considering the number of children involved and the variety of educational opportunities they require. Given the same number of students, the same consideration should be possible, whether the students belong to the English-speaking minority in Quebec or to the French-speaking minorities in the other provinces. The following sections of this chapter will suggest what seem to us to be reasonable criteria on which to base the regulations in each province.

A. The Secondary Level

386. Whenever possible, secondary schools for the minority-language group outside the bilingual districts should be patterned on those proposed for the bilingual districts, where the normal language of instruction is the mother tongue. For children living in communities outside the bilingual districts, the majority language will likely be the normal language of communication in many situations. The school must compensate for this dominance of the competing language if these children are to develop the effective use of their mother tongue. A sound knowledge of the second language is clearly essential, but because of its dominance in the community it will not be necessary to devote any more time to it than in the schools of the bilingual districts.

Enrolment 387. When will separate secondary schools be feasible for the minorities living outside the bilingual districts? The optimum enrolment in a composite high school cannot be established. The average enrolment in urban secondary schools has steadily increased during the last decade and schools with 1,200 to 1,500 students are quite common. On the other hand, in spite of the consolidation of rural high schools, there are secondary schools in most provinces with fewer than 200 students. Thus, any figure we might suggest as the minimum

enrolment for a minority-language secondary school would be an arbitrary figure. In establishing this minimum enrolment, provincial authorities will need to be conscious of the extreme importance of such a school for the minority-language group. This should be a significant factor in arriving at a figure. Provided the school can offer the basic programmes, a figure considerably below what might normally be thought of as the optimum enrolment for a secondary school could be accepted. Although such a school would not be able to offer the same number of optional courses within the basic programmes, the advantages both in cultural and academic terms would more than compensate for this disadvantage.

388. In many communities there will not be enough students to warrant a separate high school but it will still be possible to provide some special facilities for the minority-language students. Even if the number of students falls below an established provincial minimum, they may be offered the full curriculum of a minority-language school by sharing the physical facilities of a school building with students following the majority curriculum.

Shared facilities

389. These schools with parallel curricula will require a bilingual principal and an administration that can maintain an equitable balance between the two language groups. Such schools operate in other countries and there is no reason to believe that they would pose excessive demands on the capacities of Canadian educators.

390. If there are too few students to justify a parallel-curriculum school, some teaching in the mother tongue will still be possible. Franco-phone students are already grouped together in the secondary schools in many English-speaking provinces where the *cours de français* can be substituted for the French course taught to Anglophone students. The same grouping will often be possible for other subjects, especially those subjects which most students must take. These students will thus follow what may be described as a bilingual programme, taking some courses in their mother tongue and others in their second language. It is likely that more and more of their courses will be offered only in the majority language as they reach the senior years of secondary school, because streaming will make it more difficult to group the minority-language students together.

Special classes

391. The provision of a wide range of facilities for the students of the minority-language group at the secondary level will be less complicated in practice than our description suggests. The Francophone and Anglophone minorities outside the bilingual districts are widely scattered in Canada, but most of them are concentrated in a few areas of each province. The total number of schools affected will be small. In most provinces the courses of study and teaching aids will already be

available because they will be in use in schools in bilingual districts. Some minor adaptations may be necessary for those provinces which have no bilingual districts. Teachers who speak the minority language will also be required, of course, and the problem of supplying teachers will be discussed in Chapter XI.

Need for definite
and generous
regulations

392. We have avoided making specific recommendations for the special educational facilities to be provided for minority-language students living outside the bilingual school districts. Conditions vary from one provincial school system to another, and local circumstances will inevitably affect policies. However, we believe that some instruction in the maternal tongue is possible even when there are only a few such students attending a secondary school. Two points must be emphasized. First, provincial regulations should establish the minimum requirements for minority-language education and the procedures to ensure that the appropriate facilities are provided. Unless these regulations are specific, the minority in some communities may receive too little consideration from the local authorities. Secondly, these regulations should be as generous as possible. As we said in Book I, equality for the two cultural groups requires the maximum rather than the minimum of instruction in the mother tongue of the minority group. It should be remembered that special consideration for its linguistic and cultural objectives will help to win the confidence of the minority in the provincial education system and will thus help to achieve the academic objectives of the system.

B. The Elementary Level

393. Elementary schools have smaller enrolments and less specialized programmes than the average secondary school. This makes it easier to make special arrangements for minority-language students. Exposure to the mother tongue is probably even more important for elementary school students because, for many of them, the pressure of the majority language will increase with age. Moreover, the language background of these children when they begin school makes it essential that their mother tongue should be used in school, especially in the early years. Again, however, we prefer to couch our suggestions in general terms, leaving it to the provincial authorities to transpose them into specific recommendations.

Separate
instruction

394. Whenever possible, minority-language students should attend separate elementary schools. If there are too few students for a separate school, a parallel-curriculum school might be feasible. If there are 20 or more minority-language students in one grade, pedagogical reasons alone suggest that they should be taught in a separate class, and since

the number of minority-language students is likely to be much the same in all elementary grades of the same school, students could follow the minority-language school curriculum throughout their elementary school. A kindergarten in the minority language should also be provided whenever feasible, because these students will benefit from any opportunity to strengthen their command of their first language.

395. The curriculum should be the curriculum of the minority-language schools in the bilingual districts of the province. The milieu itself—and often the necessity of studying some subjects in the majority language at the secondary level—will ensure exposure to the second language and the teaching of the second language in the classroom will supplement this exposure. These students will have to become competently bilingual but, to achieve this, the emphasis in the elementary school should be on the mother tongue.

Curriculum

C. Major Urban Centres

396. The number of minority-language students in a school will be determined to some extent by the size of the region served by the school. A consolidated rural school will not have a higher proportion of minority-language students than the schools which it superseded, but it will concentrate these students in one school and so make special facilities more feasible. In urban areas there may be enough minority-language students to justify special facilities, but they may be scattered among a number of schools of both the elementary and secondary levels. In some metropolitan areas special arrangements may be required to bring these students together in one or more schools, in order to provide them with minority-language education.

397. Minority-language schools have an important role to play in metropolitan areas. English-language schools exist in the major cities of Quebec but there are few cities in the other provinces with public French-language schools. Many of these cities have an appreciable number of Francophone citizens, and the movement of population to the cities suggests that the numbers will grow. Much of this migration is from the rural areas of the same province and at the moment Franco-Ontarians who move to Toronto, or Acadians in New Brunswick who move to Saint John, may be sacrificing the opportunity to have their children taught in French. Interprovincial migration is also an important factor. French-speaking Canadians who move from Quebec to another province are likely to move to a metropolitan area. There is little doubt that their mobility is reduced, because at present they cannot have their children educated in French. This is especially true of parents who might be transferred for only a few years for business

Importance of urban minority schools

reasons. French-language schools in urban centres in the English-speaking provinces would ease the difficulties of Francophones who move from a French-language milieu.

Recommendation 8

398. Minority-language schools are feasible in many metropolitan areas if these schools are allowed to serve a sufficiently large area. Whenever possible these should be separate elementary and secondary schools, although parallel-curriculum schools may be necessary in some cases. The students will often have to accept the inconvenience of travelling further to school, but they will at least have the opportunity to follow a curriculum designed for their special needs. The experience of the Edmonton Separate School Board suggests that transportation offers no real difficulty.¹ **We recommend that official-language minority schools be established in major urban centres whenever the number of minority-language students in the metropolitan area makes this practicable.**

D. Supplementary Educational Services

399. There will still be some isolated families or scattered communities without access to any formal instruction in their mother tongue. The number of children involved, whether Anglophone or Francophone, will be very small. Even in these exceptional cases, however, the right to some education in their first language should be respected.

400. Departments of Education now provide correspondence courses for children in remote areas who have no access to a school. It would not be difficult for these departments to administer correspondence courses in the minority-language to students who have no access to a minority-language school. Such courses have already been developed by some provincial departments and the same courses could likely be used in other provinces as well. These courses might be considered supplementary to attendance at the majority-language school, at least at the elementary level, but they would offer some support for the minority language and culture in these exceptional cases.

401. At the secondary level, residences offer another possibility. Residential public schools are not common in Canada, but they do exist where the population is widely scattered. These residences would be associated with a minority-language school already established within the province. Parents determined to have their children retain their mother tongue would then have this opportunity. The parents would be expected to meet the costs of the residence, but a transfer of school taxes would make non-resident school fees unnecessary.

¹ See § 301.

402. In the last two chapters we have indicated the kinds of education which should be available to the official-language minorities. We have stressed language as the significant factor in determining the character of this education, and the number of students involved as the major factor in deciding the extent to which the minority language could be the language of instruction. Two other factors must be considered before the outline of minority-language education becomes clear. What students will be admitted to minority-language schools or classrooms? Will this education be confessional or non-confessional? In this chapter we will deal with these two questions.

A. Enrolment

403. The education we have described has been designed to meet the essential needs of the official-language minorities. The objective is to ensure that students from these minorities will have educational opportunities equivalent to those of the majority-language students in each province while at the same time developing a command of their mother tongue and an appreciation of their cultural heritage.

404. No doubt most parents belonging to the official-language minorities will applaud these objectives and will want their children to be educated in minority schools. However, there should be no compulsion, and parents of the minority-language group who for some reason prefer to send their children to the majority-language schools in the province should be able to do so. The minority-language schools will help to preserve the cultural identity of the minority-language group, but they can only be effective if the families concerned value this identity.

Option of parents

Minority-language schools will therefore be attended by children whose parents have made a deliberate choice.

Recommendation 9

405. Parents belonging to the majority group who may wish to enrol their children in a minority-language school present a special problem. Some parents from this group will want their children to become bilingual and will see the minority-language school as an ideal way to achieve this. We want to encourage bilingualism and we believe that these schools can play a significant part in making more Canadians bilingual. In many communities they may be the only institutions where the minority language is used as a normal means of communication. Therefore we feel that majority-language parents should have the right to enrol their children in a minority-language school if there is such a school in the community. **We recommend that when both types of school exist in the community, the right of parents to send their children to either the majority-language school or the official-language minority school be recognized.** It will be noted that this applies to both minority- and majority-language parents. It also applies to families which use both—or neither—of the official languages at home.

Preserving the
character of
minority schools

406. This recommendation may create certain difficulties. Minority-language schools are intended to meet the needs of the minority by ensuring a milieu in which their language and culture will be fostered. The language environment of the school will be affected if too large a proportion of students enrolled in a minority-language school have not learned this language at home. In such a case the majority language could easily become the language of the playground and even of the classroom. Even if the teachers insist on using only the minority language in the classroom, the level of instruction will be affected because some of the students will have difficulty in understanding the lesson. This would defeat the purpose of the minority-language schools.

Recommendation

10

407. Certain precautions must be taken to prevent this. Majority-language students should normally attend a minority-language kindergarten before being enrolled in the elementary minority-language school, so that they will acquire some familiarity with the second language. Whenever the number of majority-language students makes it possible, these students should be grouped together for separate instruction. In this way they can receive special attention without disrupting the regular classes. In some large metropolitan areas it may even be possible to establish separate schools for the majority-language students who wish to be taught in the minority-language; some private schools of this type already exist. In isolated cases students who are transferred from majority-language schools may have to repeat a grade in order to learn the language before they can continue their studies effectively in the new school. If the number of majority-language students wishing to

attend the minority-language school becomes unwieldy, quotas may have to be established.¹ The essential point is that the linguistic and cultural character of the school must be protected. This fact must be accepted by those of the majority-language group who wish to have their children attend a minority-language school. **We recommend that the linguistic and cultural character of the official-language minority schools be preserved by limiting, where necessary, the numbers of majority-language students attending these schools.**

B. Confessionality.

408. The cultural function of the minority-language schools raises the question of whether or not these schools should be confessional. There is no necessary connection between language and religion—people who speak the same language may belong to different religious denominations and people of the same faith may speak different languages. If the minority-language schools were concerned only with ensuring a command of the minority language there would be no need to discuss the question of confessionality; the confessional character of the school would be irrelevant. But religious belief may be part of the cultural heritage of a society.

Religion and
culture

409. In regard to education, the Commission's aim, as prescribed by our terms of reference, is to ensure that the two official languages and cultures are respected. For the purposes of this *Report*, therefore, confessionality as such cannot be at issue. Nevertheless, it is a well-known fact that the great majority of French Canadians have traditionally been very much attached to the confessional school—so much so that many of them consider it to be an essential requirement for French Canadian culture. This position followed from the ties, so often proclaimed, between the French language and the Roman Catholic faith. The influence of the clergy, and the responsibilities which they quite naturally assumed in the minority schools, encouraged the widespread conception that a French Canadian school is first and foremost a confessional school.

410. It is not the task of this Commission to decide theoretically the respective values of public and confessional schools, or to make recommendations to the provinces concerning either the teaching of religion in the school or the way the various denominational groups are to be treated in the school system. Nevertheless, since language and religion have in fact been so closely linked in the realm of education,

¹ The admission policy at the Collège Militaire Royal de Saint-Jean, for example, is 60 per cent Francophone and 40 per cent Anglophone. See L. Painchaud, "Description du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme de trois universités," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 117.

it would hardly be satisfactory from a practical point of view to discuss language in complete isolation from religion. Therefore, we believe it our duty to set out certain principles and to apply them to some typical situations.

411. As we enter this field the Commission is fully conscious of the complex values involved, and of the variety of local situations to be met. We are also aware of the marked progress towards tolerance and agreement in recent years. We certainly do not want to inflame or to resurrect old quarrels but, at the same time, we believe that educational harmony can only be based on justice and that the more one is truly conscious of the various scales of value involved in the establishment of a school system, the better justice is served.

Priority to the
language

412. At the level of principle, our terms of reference require us to approach the question from the clearly delineated point of view of equal partnership between the French-speaking and English-speaking cultural groups. This equality must be achieved as far as possible in all Canadian institutions, and it seems clear that the first distinction to be recognized within these institutions is the one between the two cultures. This in no way precludes other distinctions, but in our concept of Canada it can be subordinate to none. The common good or practical impediments may frequently prevent cultural duality from being carried into our institutions but, in matters primarily subject to political authority, it is hardly conceivable that the claims of religious groups should take precedence over those of the French-speaking and English-speaking communities. This means that in any educational institutions supported by public funds, the needs of the Francophones and Anglophones must receive first consideration. This principle in no sense prejudices the question of whether schools should be confessional or non-confessional.

413. In the opinion of the Commission, the concept of Canada underlying our terms of reference implies in the field of education certain conclusions evident to anyone who examines the indissoluble link between language and the school. It is futile to claim that a culture can truly survive—let alone flourish—if it is not supported by a network of good schools, providing their own distinctive instruction up to an advanced level. On the other hand, we are not diminishing the importance of confessional education when we deny that the link between the school and religion is comparable to that between the school and language. For language, the school is a question of life or death; this is not so for religion. In any assessment of the concept of education, these simple truths are inescapable and are borne out by experience. Nevertheless, in this country they have been grossly misunderstood, to the detriment of French-language schools.

414. In effect, there are in Canada any number of situations where parents—simply because they did not formally raise the question of French schools as a matter of priority—have found it difficult or impossible to have their children educated in French. For example, in provinces where all subsidized schools were in principle both public and English, Francophones were led to demand that their schools be both confessional and French. They thus raised a double problem, and a government was more likely to attach greater importance to the confessional aspect because it affected a larger group—that is, all Roman Catholics in the province. In British Columbia, for instance, the dimension of the problem thereby assumed an entirely different importance. By aligning themselves in common cause with other Roman Catholics to obtain confessional schools, Francophones could not expect to obtain any linguistic guarantees. The experience of other provinces abundantly demonstrated that, although the French language was forever presented as the guardian of the faith, religious and educational authorities were much less disposed to use religion as the guardian of the language.

415. On the other hand the Acadians in New Brunswick have been remarkably successful in transforming a large number of public schools into French-language institutions, precisely because most Acadians, however reluctantly, accepted the public system. If they had raised the religious and the linguistic issues simultaneously, as was done elsewhere, the progress of recent years would probably not have been nearly as great nor the prospects for the French language in New Brunswick as viable as they are today.

New Brunswick

416. The Acadian experience in New Brunswick is valuable not only in concrete terms but also as a principle of action. It shows that the confessional school is not necessarily a matter of law or of legal definition. Beyond the formal point of view, the spirit of the school itself is in practice determined by the teachers and those directly in charge. A public school serving a religiously homogeneous population from which its entire staff is drawn will necessarily reflect the spirit of that group, at least in a democratic country such as Canada. In many ways, it will have the spirit of a confessional school without the external appearance. The substance rather than the letter will be evident, and this presence will be all the more authentic for having come about naturally, solely through the influence of real social conditions. Here, then, is the case where language may quite objectively be said to be the guardian of the faith. On the other hand, where the school is first and foremost confessional and then perhaps French-speaking up to a point, it is a simple historical fact that the confessional guarantee affords very little real protection to the language.

417. In reality and in spite of legal guarantees, a minority confessional group frequently runs into difficulties in establishing and, even more, in developing its own schools. It has every reason to gather its members together; above all, it cannot afford to divide them among separate institutions. In the Canadian situation these extremely powerful factors can only work to the advantage of the English language.

The double
minority

418. In other words, the Francophones have all too frequently found themselves doubly in the minority—that is, a linguistic minority within the larger religious minority. This is a great disadvantage because a minority naturally tends to assert itself in relation to the majority and therefore to disregard the smaller minority within its own ranks. It is thus not difficult to conclude that in raising the school question primarily on confessional grounds, many French-speaking groups have singularly complicated and aggravated their cultural situation. In fact, it would have been much easier for them to make the French school confessional than to make the confessional school French.

Quebec

419. Thus far we have discussed only the French-language school. We should also mention the case of the Roman Catholic English-language schools in Quebec. Here again we find a double minority group—the Anglophone Roman Catholics are a minority within the Anglophone minority of the province. Because of the strictly confessional character of the Quebec school system, this group is attached to the French-speaking majority. For historical and sociological reasons, this group has certainly been more favoured than its Francophone counterparts in the other provinces. Nevertheless, the lot of the English-speaking Roman Catholics in Quebec is becoming increasingly difficult because of the growing demands of educational development. There is a clearly discernible tendency on their part to cross the confessional barrier and to regroup within structures designed principally for the Anglophones. It seems clear that the minority in Quebec, like the Francophone minorities in the other provinces, will have more opportunities to retain its cultural influence if it does so on the basis of language.

Recommendation

11

420. We are not suggesting that the present provincial laws on denominational schools should be amended. In provinces where separate schools now exist by law, we believe that Francophone parents should have the same right to separate schools as any other group of Roman Catholic parents. In provinces where schools are non-denominational by law, we believe that the cultural objectives of the French-language schools can be achieved within the existing system. The essential step is the establishment of schools in which French is the language of in-

struction. We recommend that the right of the official-language minority to have its own schools be dissociated from any consideration of the confessional character of these schools.

421. This recommendation may pose a problem for some parents. In those provinces which now have separate schools, the minority in a small community may establish its right to a French-language school, but it may not have a choice as to whether the school will be public or separate. Whatever the decision of the majority of parents, there may be some who cannot accept the decision because of strong religious convictions. The only choice left open to them will be to send their children to a majority-language school in the community or to a private school. Such cases will be exceptional. The alternative, however, would be an unacceptable duplication of minority-language schools in small communities. Minority-language schools will therefore not always be able to satisfy parents who give a higher priority to the denominational character of the school than to the language of instruction. By thus assigning a priority to its objectives for either language or confessionality, each group must accept in all logic the disadvantages, if any, resulting for the secondary objective. Governments and the various authorities must also make the necessary distinction and, where it is considered impossible or undesirable to satisfy all demands, they must offer the minority group a clear choice. In particular, they must avoid rejecting or skirting linguistically based demands, founded on the very nature of the country, by invoking confessional considerations which are of an entirely different order.

422. Until now we have been describing the kind of schools which we believe would meet the cultural and academic needs of Anglophone and Francophone minorities in Canada. These schools, however, cannot exist as isolated institutions; they can only exist within the context of an educational system capable of providing a curriculum, preparing courses of study and teaching aids, and training the necessary teachers.

423. We have already recommended that the curricula for the minority schools should follow the same broad outlines as those of the majority schools in the same province. The same principle applies to other aspects of the minority-language schools: no distinction should be made between the buildings and equipment or the revenues of minority- and majority-language schools, if the aim is to achieve equivalent standards within the province.

Uniform
standards

424. All this implies that minority-language schools can be most effectively organized in a provincial framework. It also implies that the two streams must be closely associated. At the same time, minority-language schools cannot be treated exactly like other schools. The language difference alone means that they must receive special consideration for many services and, if the schools are to be part of a co-ordinated system, they will require special administrative arrangements. Overall planning for minority-language schools must therefore be designed to meet two objectives. The schools must be closely linked to the majority system in the same province in order to ensure equivalent standards, and they must have a special, identifiable organization to serve their special needs. The following sections will describe an appropriate administrative structure to attain these objectives.

A. *The Provincial Departments of Education*

Danger of an isolated system

425. The administration of minority-language schools at the level of the provincial department of Education must be differentiated from the administration of the majority schools, but it should not be completely separated. A completely separate department for the minority schools is conceivable, even to the extent of a separate cabinet minister. This would ensure that the minority-language schools would be administered as a co-ordinated system, with school planning, curriculum planning, and special services all directed towards the special educational needs of the minority. The grave danger of a separate department is that the minority schools would constitute an isolated system. Changes might be introduced into either of the two school systems in the province without reference to the other, and the two systems might eventually have little in common. Different policies might be adopted for school consolidation, for the curriculum, or for teaching methods, to the point where educational opportunities and academic standards differed. The minority-language system would not necessarily suffer by comparison as a result of this divergence; it might adopt wiser policies. In all provinces, however, the majority school system would have the advantage of size; it would be able to allocate more resources to planning and would be better able to test and adopt new policies. This is especially true outside Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick. In any case, advances in education should not be restricted to either system but should benefit all the students in the province.

Recommendation
12

426. Even within a single provincial department of Education, no distinction need be made in the administration of majority- and minority-language schools in some areas. Most departments have a division responsible for school buildings and equipment. In this area the same problems must be resolved, whether the language of instruction is French or English, and a separate division for minority-language schools would mean unnecessary duplication. The establishment of separate divisions would be wasteful and would also make it more difficult to ensure that all students in the province would have equivalent standards of school accommodation. Similarly, the accounting and financial divisions should not be divided into separate sections. Financial procedures should be the same for all schools. **We recommend that there be no division within provincial departments of Education for the administration of physical services and school finances for official-language minority schools.**

Liaison

427. There must be a differentiation when the language of instruction and the curriculum are involved, but even here there must be close collaboration. Let us consider, as an example, the revision of a

course of study in mathematics. If this revision were done first for the majority-language schools, the new course of study would not be available to the minority schools until the new textbooks and teaching aids had been translated and printed in the minority language. Unless the preparation of the two versions proceeded simultaneously, there would be a significant delay in introducing the new course in minority-language schools. Since new courses can only be introduced after careful planning, and may even require special training programmes for teachers, it is apparent that the special needs of the minority-language schools must be considered as soon as the decision is made to revise a course of study.

428. In the future, the planning of courses will be most effective if the administrators of the minority-language schools actively collaborate at every stage. The new courses of study will then be more likely to reflect the outlook of each cultural group. Collaboration will be essential for subjects such as history, where the broad outline of the course should be the same for all schools but where the interests of both cultural groups must be considered, and where the detailed courses of study may differ.

429. Collaboration will be particularly important in the planning of language courses. We can anticipate much more specialization in the preparation of the language programmes for the majority- and minority-language schools, for the teaching of both the mother tongue and the second official language. For each stream within the system special courses of study, appropriate to the language needs of the students, will have to be prepared. This means that for the minority-language schools the language programmes will be designed by people primarily concerned with these schools, but nonetheless in close contact with their counterparts for the majority schools, so that new approaches to language teaching and new methods will be developed in collaboration and introduced in all schools at the same time.

430. The need for a distinct administration responsible for minority schools is not restricted to the curriculum. There must also be some planning service for the provision of school facilities on a regional basis, especially for specialized programmes at the secondary level and for technological institutes. Teacher-training facilities must be provided to meet the demand for specialized teachers who can teach in the minority language. As with the curriculum, such services must reflect the special needs of the minority-language students and cannot be mere duplications of similar services provided for the majority-language schools. Close collaboration is needed to ensure as much uniformity as possible, bearing in mind the basic aims of the minority-language

schools. Therefore, we recommend that special divisions, sections, or individuals within provincial departments of Education be responsible for services in official-language minority schools which directly reflect language or cultural differences. The departments should be organized in such a way as to ensure collaboration in the development of comparable services for minority- and majority-language schools.

Structure at
departmental
level

431. Each provincial department of Education will have to decide on the most appropriate administrative arrangements to carry out this recommendation. In provinces where there will be few minority-language schools, one official within a division or section may be adequate, provided he is assured sufficient resources in staff and budget to fulfil his functions adequately. In such cases it would be advisable for him to keep in touch with his counterparts in other provinces, so that he can quickly adapt and introduce improvements appropriate to the minority schools in his province. The newly-formed Council of Education Ministers may provide a logical channel for communication between the administrators of minority-language schools in all the provinces.

Recommendation
14

432. In Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, where the number and the variety of minority schools will be large, more formal steps will be needed to ensure their co-ordination into a system. Parallel divisions may be required for some services, although for other services parallel sections within a division may be preferable. An official at the associate or assistant deputy minister level should be appointed to supervise all aspects of the minority-language schools. It is essential that the administration of the minority-language stream be conceived as an organic whole, with both the number and quality of personnel to supervise the various divisions of the curriculum and to provide supporting services; this administration should have a budget allowing for such things as travel and consultation. In other words, while the need for collaboration between the two administrations is unquestionable, the minority-language division must not be placed in the role of an adjunct to the majority-language administration, but must be a fully-developed, institutionalized service. In the beginning stages especially, budget allotments may need to be disproportionately high. **We recommend that in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick the administration of official-language minority schools be under the direction of an administrator at the associate or assistant deputy minister level, and that this administrator be provided with an adequate staff and budget.**

B. The Local School Authority

433. What local school authority should administer the minority-language schools? Should one school board be responsible for both the

majority-language and minority-language schools or should there be two distinct administrative structures at the local level? A separate school board for the minority-language schools offers greater assurance that these schools will reflect the linguistic and cultural interests of the minority. On the other hand, the existence of two school boards may lead to duplication of services or to disputes over shared services. Administrative problems can be resolved, but the division of administrative authority will make it more difficult to ensure equivalent educational services and opportunities for the two groups. It would be preferable to have a single authority, if adequate safeguards could be provided for the language and the cultural character of both majority- and minority-language schools in the school district.

434. Many of the complaints of the minority groups have been directed against the system of a single school authority. In provinces where some form of bilingual school is recognized, the decision to provide these schools has usually been left to the local school board. Where the minority-language group was a minority within the community, it has not been able to assert its right to such schools but has had to appeal to the good will of members of the school board. In many cases the school board has been reluctant to establish bilingual schools. We have recommended that minority-language schools should be established in the bilingual districts.¹ We have further recommended that the right to minority-language schools outside the bilingual districts should be based on objective criteria, such as the number of students involved, and that these criteria should be clearly established by provincial regulations. These regulations will be binding on local school boards and will thus eliminate one of the major areas of controversy at the local level.²

435. However, there may still be areas of controversy. Even if the majority on the board were not hostile, they might be more concerned with the majority-language schools and so might overlook or ignore the needs of the minority. The decision to construct a minority-language school in a growing suburb might be postponed until other needs were met. The dangers can easily be exaggerated. Local school boards administer both English-language and "bilingual" schools in New Brunswick, and separate school boards do the same at the elementary level in Ontario. These boards have had differences in the past, as have all school boards, but the disputes over the treatment of the minority have usually been resolved at the local level.

436. When the procedures for establishing minority-language schools are set out by regulation, it seems probable that serious disputes will be

Safeguards for
the minority

¹ See § 359.

² See § 384.

even less common. When school trustees are responsible for administering the two kinds of schools, they are not likely to sabotage the education provided for the minority, and in most cases they will respond to the needs of the minority when these needs are understood. The position of the minority in any school district will be relatively secure when the minority-language schools are considered as much a part of the provincial educational system as the majority-language schools. We will discuss later what safeguards may be introduced to prevent any injustice or to mediate disputes.

Recommendation
15

437. The advantages of a common authority are most obvious in the provision of physical services. A single transportation system is likely to be more efficient, particularly in rural areas. Special equipment, ranging from highly specialized scientific instruments to mobile classrooms, can be better utilized. School maintenance and repairs are not affected by the language used in the classroom. The advantages of a unified administration are even more obvious when school facilities must be shared. The sharing of gymnasias, laboratories, and classrooms always leads to some friction; if the facilities of one school board are to be shared with the students who are the administrative responsibility of a second school board, the difficulties are multiplied. Financial arrangements are also much simpler and more efficient if there is only one school board, especially for the collection of the local school tax. Equivalent services should be provided for majority- and minority-language students in the same community. A single school board is the surest way of achieving this objective. **We recommend that one school board be responsible for the administration of all schools at the elementary or secondary level in the school district.**

438. Our intention in this recommendation is that all schools at the same level, whether majority-language or minority-language schools, should come under the same local authority. This recommendation for a common school board can be adopted within the existing framework of local school administration in most provinces. Where today there is only one school board administering all the elementary or secondary schools in the district, there will only be one board after this recommendation is adopted. In those provinces which have separate schools, and in Quebec, where there are Protestant and Roman Catholic schools, there may be two school boards exercising responsibility for elementary or secondary schools over the same territory. We are not suggesting any basic change in this framework. The minority-language schools in these provinces can still be administered by one or other of the two school boards, just as are the schools in these provinces today.

Recommendation
16

439. There is one exception to this rule. In Ontario the elementary separate school boards administer some Grade IX and X classes in

some communities in the province.¹ Present trends in education are towards consolidated secondary schools which make possible a wide range of programmes—academic, technical, and commercial. The problem of grouping a large number of secondary students in the same school is already acute for minority-language students because they form only a part of the total student population in a region. The difficulty is increased if Franco-Ontarian students are divided for these two grades. These students must be grouped together in the same school if they are to benefit as much as possible from the facilities which large secondary schools can provide. Otherwise, they are isolated from the mainstream of secondary education in the province and thus do not benefit from educational advances. **We recommend that all official minority-language instruction at the secondary level be removed from the jurisdiction of elementary school boards in Ontario.**

440. The essential step in safeguarding the interests of the minority as far as the local school board is concerned is to make sure that their point of view is represented on this board. This means, obviously, that there must be representation from the minority-language group on the board. **We recommend that a school board shall include representatives of both majority-language and official minority-language schools whenever the board has both kinds of schools under its jurisdiction.**

Recommendation
17

441. The number of trustees for each group should normally reflect the size of the two language groups within the school district. However, this recommendation ensures that the minority-language group in the district will always have one trustee, even if their numbers do not warrant representation. The problem of the manner of ensuring such representation can be left to provincial authorities. This representation will ensure that the school board is made aware of the point of view of the minority and we are convinced that in most cases the board will give due weight to this point of view.

442. It will sometimes be possible to give even more weight to the minority on the board. When there are enough schools of each kind in a single district, the school board should divide into two committees, one for each kind of school. Each committee would make the administrative decisions relating specifically to the schools represented by the members of the committee. The two committees would meet together for decisions affecting all schools in the district.

443. Should the occasion arise when the minority on the board feels that there has been an injustice, an appeal to the provincial department of Education must be possible. The interests of both the minority and the majority on the board must be protected when an official complaint is made. The investigation by the department should therefore

Appeals to the
department of
Education

¹ See § 219ff.

be conducted by a team which includes an official intimately associated with minority-language schools as well as one associated with majority-language schools. It is unlikely that there would be many appeals to a department, but the possibility of an appeal will itself be an assurance that school boards will try to treat the minority in the school district with justice.

444. Teachers will be the primary agents for establishing the character of the minority-language schools. Without specially qualified teachers, these schools will not be able to achieve either the academic or the cultural objectives. These teachers should have the same academic qualifications as the teachers in majority-language schools and, in addition, they must know the minority language. Language competence is important for all teachers, whatever their subject, because all teachers influence the language habits of their students. This competence is of special importance for teachers in minority-language schools, because the classroom must often compensate for the confusing language milieu of the community.

445. The importance of the language qualification has sometimes led to the suggestion that teachers for the French-language minority schools might be recruited in the province of Quebec. The shortage of qualified teachers in Quebec makes this suggestion unrealistic, and even if Francophone teachers were prepared to leave their home province to teach in minority-language schools, they would require special training to prepare them for a different curriculum and a different system. There has always been some migration of teachers from one province to another, but most teachers remain in the province where they were trained. There is little doubt that each province will have to be responsible for training teachers for its minority-language schools.

A. Teacher Training

446. Training facilities for these teachers must be distinct from the facilities provided to staff the majority-language schools. The training institutions, even more than the schools, must provide an appropriate

cultural and language milieu. These institutions must also provide special training for the teaching of the mother tongue and the second official language and, at the same time, must ensure that teachers possess the necessary vocabulary for other subjects. It is illogical to train teachers in majority-language institutions for teaching in minority-language schools. **We recommend that the teachers destined for majority-language schools and official-language minority schools be trained in separate institutions.**

Quebec, Ontario,
and New
Brunswick

447. Each bilingual province will need its own minority-language teacher-training institutions. Training facilities for Anglophone teachers already exist in Quebec. A French-language teachers' college has recently been established at Moncton in New Brunswick. In Ontario, teachers for the "bilingual" elementary schools are trained at Ottawa and more recently at Sudbury. The Teachers' College at the University of Ottawa has been recognized as a normal school since 1927 and has provided close to 8,000 bilingual teachers for the primary schools of Ontario. Since 1955, degrees—including Bachelor of Education, Master of Education, and Doctor of Education—have been awarded to a total of 650 teachers to supply the need for bilingual secondary school teachers.

The other
provinces

448. Separate institutions in each of the other Atlantic provinces or in the four western provinces would not be practicable, the number of teachers required being too small to justify a teachers' college in each province. The college at Moncton can provide the special character as well as the academic training required for teachers in the minority-language schools of the Atlantic provinces. The provincial authorities in Nova Scotia are already considering the possibility of training teachers at Moncton. Arrangements to cover the cost of training students from the other Atlantic provinces should be made with the government of New Brunswick or with the Moncton Teachers' College.

Recommendation
19

449. There is no comparable institution in any of the four western provinces. There is no French-language university where a teachers' college could be located. Through the affiliation of the Collège Saint-Jean in Edmonton with the University of Alberta, prospective teachers in Alberta may receive two years of their training in French, and the Collège de Saint-Boniface has been considered as a possible source of teachers for the "bilingual" schools of Manitoba. Certainly a special training programme must be planned for teachers for minority-language schools. A French-language college affiliated with a provincial university would be the most appropriate site for a new institution which could serve minority-language schools of the four western provinces. **We recommend that the Teachers' College at Moncton become the training institution for teachers for official-language minority schools in the Atlantic**

provinces, and that one training institution be established to serve the needs of the four western provinces.

450. It is not possible to discuss the teacher-training programmes in detail. The existing programmes for the majority-language schools vary slightly in content from province to province, but the major differences are often between different programmes within the same province. There may be one-year programmes and five-year programmes; there may be different programmes for elementary and secondary teachers, or for general teachers and specialists. The essential principle is that the academic and professional requirements should be similar for teachers in majority- and minority-language schools in all provinces for each kind of teacher's certificate. Only in this way can equivalent academic standards be achieved. In addition, special measures must be taken to ensure that teachers in the minority-language schools have the required level of language competence.

Programmes

451. Until now we have made no distinction between the minority-language schools in Quebec and those of the other provinces. Our recommendations will affect the existing provincial educational systems in different ways because the present educational facilities for the minorities differ from province to province, but the minority-language schools we have recommended are based on the same principles, whatever the language of instruction. We do not believe, however, that the establishment of uniform regulations for all minorities is an objective in itself. The objectives are academic and cultural; when the situation of the minorities differs significantly, these objectives may require different policies. The language needs of teachers for French-language and English-language minority schools are different, and different kinds of training programmes will be required for the two groups.

452. English-language schools in Quebec have no special difficulty in finding teachers competent in English, or in graduating students with an adequate command of their mother tongue. It is true that many Anglophones deplore the inability of Canadian youth to use effective or even grammatical English, but this is not a problem peculiar to Anglophones who come into frequent contact with the French language. The French-speaking minorities face a different problem. One result of the pervasiveness of English in North America is that French-speaking Canadians often adapt English words or phrases, or use English constructions, without realizing that they are not speaking French. These anglicisms are not unknown in Quebec but they are much more common among the Francophone minorities, where contact with English is more frequent. Special efforts must be made to improve the knowledge of the students' mother tongue. Most of the teachers—on whom the success of these efforts depends—will

Recommendation
20

themselves be drawn from the provincial minority. Their own French may need to be improved before they can raise the standard of French in minority-language schools. Steps must be taken to compensate for this precarious position of French among the French-speaking minorities in Canada. **We recommend that the training programmes for teachers in French-language minority schools be extended in order to develop a higher competence in French.**

453. We hesitate to recommend a definite length of time for this purpose because there are so many training programmes. We are convinced, however, that the importance of this objective makes it appropriate that the training programme for teachers of these minority-language schools be extended by one year beyond the equivalent programme for teachers of the majority-language schools. The additional time would not be devoted entirely or even mainly to the study of French as a subject. Correct and precise expression in the mother tongue should be one of the aims of every course and not merely the courses devoted to French language and literature. The important thing is that these prospective teachers should prolong their studies in a French-language milieu. English should also be a compulsory subject for these students, since a knowledge of English is one way in which these teachers can learn to distinguish between good French and anglicized French.

454. The graduates of these teacher-training institutions should receive special teachers' certificates, since they would have the same academic and professional qualifications as their Anglophone counterparts, as well as special language qualifications and special training for language teaching. It is taken for granted that the salary scales for the teachers in these schools will reflect the required extra year of training.

B. Teacher Supply

455. Will there be enough teachers to staff the minority-language schools we have proposed? In Quebec there will not be many difficulties. The minority in this province already has English-language schools, both Protestant and Roman Catholic. Our recommendations will require some changes in the curricula, but the teachers in these schools will find it relatively easy to adapt to these changes.

456. Other provinces will find it more difficult to staff their minority-language schools. The "bilingual" schools now in existence are not minority-language schools such as we have recommended. The elementary "bilingual" schools in New Brunswick and in Ontario bear some resemblance. In the other English-speaking provinces, and at the secondary level in Ontario, there have been no schools which ap-

proximate minority-language schools. Teachers will have to be trained to staff the new minority-language schools.

457. This does not mean that the establishment of French-language schools must wait until a full complement of teachers is fully trained. Such a policy of perfection would mean that the schools would never open. Training institutions must be established as quickly as possible to prepare teachers for the new minority-language schools. Teachers now in the "bilingual" schools have academic and professional training and can speak French, so these teachers must be used to staff the minority-language schools in the beginning. They will be available since present "bilingual" schools will disappear. Many of these teachers are members of religious orders, but an ecclesiastical habit should be no barrier to the teaching of arithmetic. It would seem reasonable to allow these teachers to teach in minority-language schools as long as they are properly qualified to do so.

Interim supply

458. This is not the ideal solution. As we have seen, many of the "bilingual" school teachers are not adequately qualified academically or professionally and they are also not formally qualified in terms of the language needs of the minority-language schools. An active summer school programme will be required to improve their qualifications. Such teachers should have only temporary certificates until their qualifications have been raised. We further suggest that these temporary certificates be withdrawn after a few years in order to ensure that the retraining programme will be effective.

459. It is obvious that no province can create overnight the French-language schools we envisage, with the academic and cultural objectives we describe. There will inevitably be a period of transition from the "bilingual" schools of today. The transitional period may last for a generation, because the minority-language schools themselves will provide the best training for future teachers. Even during the transition, however, these schools will be superior to the present "bilingual" schools. The difficulties are no more than a measure of the inadequacies of the present system. The aim should be to make the period of transition as brief as possible.

Period of transition

460. The greatest expansion in education today is taking place at the post-secondary level. Not only is university enrolment spiralling, but most provinces are experimenting with technological institutes, community colleges, and other forms of post-secondary education. No complete educational system can end at the secondary level. Unless further educational opportunities are provided for the graduates of the minority-language schools we have recommended, their education will be inadequate. The academic and cultural objectives for minority-language education will determine the facilities required at the post-secondary level. Institutions should offer equivalent academic standards and educational opportunities while fostering the development of the language and cultural heritage of the minority-language student. For some institutions these objectives will present special problems, and in the case of universities they will require different approaches.

A. Post-secondary Institutions

461. Most types of post-secondary institutions are clearly an extension of the provincial school system. Examples are technological institutes, community colleges, and the new two-year general and vocational colleges (CEGEP) in Quebec. Such institutions come under provincial departments of Education in much the same way as public schools, and they are intended to meet the special educational needs of students within the province. Minority-language students should have access to such institutions on the same conditions that they have access to elementary and secondary education. The size of the minority-language student body will again determine whether a separate minority-language or a parallel-curriculum institution is feasible,

or whether only a few classes can be taught in the minority language. Again, provincial regulations should determine what educational facilities must be provided.

Regional
organization

462. One distinction must be made at the post-secondary level. Bilingual districts will have both majority-language and minority-language schools at the elementary and secondary levels. Post-secondary institutions, however, often serve a larger territory than that described in a bilingual district. It would not be logical to insist that each district with an English-language technological institute should also have a French-language institute or vice versa. One minority-language institute may serve two or three bilingual districts and it should be located at the most convenient centre. All students in bilingual districts should have access to post-secondary instruction in their own language, but they may not always be able to attend an institution in their own district. In exceptional cases, minority students from one province might enrol in institutions in a neighbouring province; Nova Scotian students might study in a French-language technological institute in New Brunswick, for example. In all cases, the provincial departments of Education should provide post-secondary education in the minority language whenever numbers make it feasible.

B. Universities

463. Universities are a special case. In many respects universities are also an extension of the provincial school system: this is why there is at least one university in each province and why all universities receive some financial support from provincial authorities. On the other hand, no province can afford to provide training in all the possible professional faculties or all the possible fields of graduate studies. Many post-graduate students must go to the other provinces or even to other countries. Some specialization is both necessary and desirable at the university level. For example, a nuclear reactor at every university in Canada would be absurd, because a few reactors can meet our research needs and provide adequate facilities for all the graduate students who will use this equipment. To the extent that universities do not meet all the needs of the students within the province, they do not complete the provincial educational system; to the extent that they serve students from other provinces, they are more than an extension of this system.

Specialization

464. Universities do not fit neatly into a provincial context. In some fields, especially in research, they serve a larger region. Cost is only one of the factors involved. Even if money were available, there would not be enough professors or students to offer all areas of specialized study at all universities. Such a dispersal of effort would only mean

that no school of Oriental studies or no department of low-temperature physics, for example, could be first-class. Students of all provinces benefit more from a few of these specialized faculties with a high reputation than from a larger number of mediocre faculties.

465. When we consider the special case of the French-language universities, the problems of specialization become even more complex. The equality of the two cultural groups in Canada requires that each group should have access as far as possible to educational opportunities in its own language. For the Francophone minorities, however, there are obvious limits to the opportunities which can be provided within a single province. Equivalent educational opportunities at the elementary and secondary levels can usually be arranged for the linguistic minority within the local community. Franco-Ontarians, however, cannot expect to have a French-language university in the province which is the exact counterpart of the University of Toronto. The Franco-Ontarian minority is large enough to justify undergraduate teaching and some professional training and research at a French-language university, but there are not enough Francophone professors or students for the more specialized areas of study or research. If exceptional minority-language students wish to continue certain studies within their own province, they may have to go to a majority-language institution. The alternative will be to enrol in a university outside the province.

466. Even within Quebec, equivalent opportunities at university level for the Anglophone minority do not mean an exact duplication of the higher education available in French. The three English-language universities in Quebec offer a wide range of undergraduate and graduate training. The basic fact of a larger Francophone population, however, means that higher education at the French-language universities will grow more rapidly and will offer some professional training or research facilities not offered at the English-language institutions. Anglophones wishing to specialize in these fields will either have to continue their studies in French or go out of the province.

467. The Francophone minorities are in a different situation. The opportunities for higher education in French within their own provinces are seriously restricted. Many factors account for this. The minorities are widely scattered and have no large metropolitan centres. In the past they have not had adequate elementary and secondary French-language schools. For socio-economic reasons, they have felt less need for the development of French-language universities. The causes, however, are now of little importance. The fact is that the opportunities for higher education for the Francophone minorities are inadequate—inadequate by comparison with the opportunities for

Anglophones within the same province, and inadequate even when the differences in numbers are taken into account.

Recommendation
21

468. This situation will not necessarily be remedied by creating more French-language universities. Universities established to serve small provincial minorities would be doomed to mediocrity or worse, and the apparent opportunities for higher education would be mirages. The effort should be concentrated on a relatively small number of institutions. In some cases these universities would serve Francophone communities located in neighbouring provinces. **We recommend that French-language education at the university level be provided for the Francophone minority whenever the potential enrolment makes it feasible to do so.**

Extension of
facilities for
French-speaking
minorities

469. This recommendation does not specify in what areas or at what level this education should be provided; nor does it suggest the criteria determining the feasibility of providing undergraduate or graduate instruction in French. No rules can be laid down. The number of Francophones now attending universities is not a satisfactory guide. Experience shows that new institutions always attract local students who would not otherwise have gone to university. In addition, the enrolment of Francophones would be encouraged by offering French as the language of instruction. On the other hand, universities cannot be created for students who never materialize.

470. The decision to offer university instruction in French will no doubt depend on the same kind of demographic data used when planning new English-language institutions—information such as population density and the proportion of secondary-school graduates who may be expected to attend university. We suggest, however, that this kind of data must be used with great care in the case of the French-speaking minorities. The criteria used for the English-speaking majority cannot be rigidly applied. The response of the minority cannot be gauged with assurance until there are actual opportunities to study in French and until the impact of schooling in French at the secondary level is felt.

471. Even the experience with bilingual universities may not be relevant. A bilingual university may be seen as a means of gradually introducing French as a language of instruction; as Francophone enrolment increases, more courses can be offered in French until eventually the university becomes a parallel-curriculum institution. The difficulty with this approach is that, in the early stages, students must be prepared to take the senior courses in English and will see little or no advantage in taking the introductory courses in French. A better plan would be to offer in French all the courses required for certain undergraduate degrees and then to broaden this degree programme as enrolment increased.

1. *Atlantic region*

472. Our recommendations, although stated in general terms, must be adapted to regional contexts. In the Atlantic region, for example, there is already a French-language university and, indeed, the only French-language university outside Quebec. The University of Moncton is the logical institution to serve the Francophone minority of New Brunswick and that of the entire Atlantic region. This is a new institution and it will be some years before it can offer the variety of courses and programmes already available to Anglophone students in the region, but its establishment and its accelerated development already represent a significant effort to redress the balance and offer equivalent opportunities to the Acadian minority. In some fields at least, this university can serve not only the Acadian population of the Atlantic provinces, but also students from the Gaspé region of Quebec. Provincial governments will have to accept some financial responsibility for their students who enrol at the University of Moncton. The size of the grant will be proportionate to the number of students involved, and will be determined by agreements with the government of New Brunswick. With the collaboration of the French-language universities of Quebec in such matters as student and professor exchanges and the use of library resources, the university could become a centre of French culture in eastern Canada.

2. *Ontario*

473. Francophones in Ontario are served by two institutions of higher learning—the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University—both of which are “bilingual.” In the General Introduction to the Commission’s *Report* we pointed out the ambiguity surrounding this term.¹ Bilingualism for the individual covers a wide range of skills. The “bilingual” schools for the Francophone minority range from schools in which everything but French is taught in English to those in which everything but English is taught in French. A similar ambiguity surrounds the term in its application to the institutions of higher learning.² In any discussion of the opportunities for higher education in the minority language, only the courses and programmes taught in French at these bilingual institutions are relevant. English-language universities in Ontario have been proliferating and expanding rapidly. It seems clear that an expansion in French-language training is also desirable.

Recommendation
22

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 25-34.

² See §§ 246-9 of this Book for the present situation at Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa.

We believe that more degree programmes in French at the undergraduate level would be justified and it seems probable that more programmes in French could also be introduced beyond the undergraduate level in some areas. There may be enough Francophone candidates to justify offering degrees in nursing and in medicine at the University of Ottawa, for example.¹ **We recommend that the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University give priority to increasing the number of degree programmes offered in French.**

474. In the case of Laurentian University, the present situation precludes a French-language university and even a vigorous French section within a bilingual university. The expansion of French instruction here will depend on the development of French-language secondary schools in Ontario and on a higher proportion of Francophone students going on to university.

475. On a regional basis, the University of Ottawa could serve part of Northern Ontario and both the Ontario and Quebec sides of the Ottawa River. This student constituency could very well justify the establishment of either a totally French-language university or at least considerable extension of the present range of educational opportunities available in the French language. At present, the University of Ottawa's lack of certain programmes in French hardly satisfies the population of Hull and vicinity, where creation of an independent centre of university studies is being considered. But would the French-speaking population on both sides of the Ottawa River best be served by having two institutions of French-language higher education with severely limited scope? There is at least room to imagine the vigorous development of a single institution serving both provinces.

476. The provinces of Ontario and Quebec could negotiate an agreement on the structure, the administration, and the financing of such an institution. This will be even more logical if the university is to be located in a city which has, to some degree at least, the status of a federal district. The federal government will also have a special interest in these arrangements, and the desirability of co-ordinated action on the part of all three governments thus appears obvious.

3. *The western provinces*

477. We have already pointed out that there is no French-language university to serve the four western provinces. Here the Francophone

¹The Royal Commission on Health Services recommended the establishment of at least 10 more university schools for nursing, and named the University of Moncton and Laurentian University among the universities where such schools might suitably be established. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Health Services, 1964* (Ottawa, 1964), I, 68, Recommendation 133.

population groupings are both small in size and widely scattered. The Collège de Saint-Boniface, dating back to the earliest days of the Manitoba settlement, is now affiliated with the University of Manitoba. The College offers in French the same programme in arts and science as the University offers in English, and a special course in French language and literature. The Collège Saint-Jean in Edmonton offers two years of the teacher-training course in French through affiliation with the University of Alberta, and academic courses leading to the *baccalauréat* in arts through affiliation with the University of Ottawa. Plans are well advanced to institute a programme of bilingual studies on the Regina campus of the University of Saskatchewan; Francophones will receive two-thirds of their instruction in French and one-third in English, and Anglophones will receive courses in the reverse proportion. These courses—leading to what is designated as a “bilingual B.A.”—will be of special interest to students of the Collège Mathieu at Gravelbourg.

478. We have already emphasized the urgency of a French-language teacher-training centre for the western provinces, and the general principle of developing a French-language college within an existing university; this would not exclude the possibility of a French-language university in western Canada whenever the potential enrolment makes it feasible. If we consider the western provinces as a single region, it seems apparent that a study of the need and resources for higher education for the Francophone minorities in western Canada should be undertaken, with emphasis on establishing first a school of pedagogy.

4. *Enrolment outside the student's province*

479. These proposals need to be supplemented by giving some special assistance to students so that they can attend other French-language universities in Canada. Our recommendation that university education be provided within a region for a Francophone minority whenever this is feasible will not meet the needs of all students.¹ French-speaking students in the western provinces may wish to take undergraduate degrees not offered in French in their provinces. In Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, there will be many graduate programmes not offered in French. It would be illogical for these provinces to try to provide these facilities, in view of the small number of students involved. Even if costs were a secondary consideration, these French-language universities could not hope to duplicate the staff and resources of the larger University of Montreal and Laval University; it would be more advantageous to send the students to universities in

Recommendation
23

¹ See § 468.

Quebec. The situation of the English-language minority is not an exact parallel, because English-language universities in Quebec offer a wide range of courses. There will nonetheless be occasions when it would be wiser to send English-speaking students outside the province than to provide the facilities within Quebec. **We recommend a federal grant to official minority-language students to enable them to study in their own language at a Canadian university outside their province, when courses are not available in their own language within the province.**

480. We are dealing here only with inequalities created by the lack of facilities in the minority language. Other problems arising through the lack of certain courses in the majority language are outside our terms of reference.

481. The grant we have recommended would not be considered a scholarship. It would be available to any student who met the above requirements and whose application had been accepted by the university of his choice. The grant would cover travelling expenses and would help to meet any extra cost of fees and accommodation incurred by attending a university in another province. The government of the student's home province should not be expected to provide these grants because they will represent an additional cost for education—a cost that is a direct result of the need to provide separate educational facilities for the minority-language group. In our view, such additional costs should be a federal responsibility.

Recommendation
24

482. The host university will also incur additional costs for these out-of-province students. The students will pay fees, but these will only cover a small proportion of the actual costs; the rest of the money comes from other sources, including provincial grants. Provincial governments, however, cannot be expected to finance the education of minority-language students from other provinces. These students will add a new dimension to the university as an educational institution but, if too many students come, the benefits may not be commensurate with the financial burden they impose. **We recommend for these out-of-province students that a federal grant, equivalent to the normal provincial grant to the university, be paid to the host university or to the provincial government concerned.**

483. These recommendations will go far towards providing Francophone minorities with educational opportunities equivalent to those available to the Anglophone minorities. Most of the Francophone students will be able to attend a regional university in which undergraduate and even some graduate training will be offered in French. For a programme not offered at the regional university, the student will be able to register at another French-language university where such a programme is available.

484. This still leaves unresolved, however, the thorny issue of the quality of higher education available to Francophones. Even if we assume that an equivalent range of programmes, undergraduate and graduate, will be available in the future, this apparent equality will still be illusory if the academic standards of the French-language institutions are inferior. There should be no need to emphasize the importance of this problem. The close connection between higher education and economic opportunity is generally recognized, and many of the studies undertaken by the Commission have confirmed this correlation.

The quality of
French-language
higher education

485. The problem should not be considered solely within a provincial context. The French-language universities in Canada must be seen as forming an integrated system of higher education. Students outside Quebec can only have access to a wide range of graduate instruction in French if they can attend one of the Quebec universities, and only then if the Quebec universities can offer the necessary range and quality at this level. Only Quebec offers the demographic conditions, the human resources and the cultural milieu required for the establishment of virtually complete instruction at the university level, as well as a reasonable number of genuine research centres. This is one of the areas in which Quebec does play a significant role for Francophones in all parts of Canada.

486. The need for "catching up" is especially acute at the graduate level and so will affect most directly the major French-language universities in Quebec. It is up to the government of Quebec to assume financial responsibility for speeding up the development of higher education in French in the province, while still guaranteeing the normal development of higher education in English. Outside Quebec, special assistance is needed to allow certain institutions to make up for their present retardation, in accordance with the principles discussed above. It is the proper responsibility of the provincial governments concerned to provide such supplementary aid; but if, for any reason, a province would not furnish such special help, we judge that the federal government should be able to take part in the venture, since it is that government's responsibility to protect official-language minorities throughout Canada. This principle would, of course, apply in the same way to the English-speaking minority in Quebec, should the higher education available to Quebec's Anglophones become inferior to that of the French-speaking majority.

487. We are aware of the constitutional problems involved and we hope they will eventually be resolved. The principle we have formulated must not allow the return of past difficulties concerning federal support of universities. **We recommend that, pending the resolution of the constitutional problems involved, agreements be concluded between**

Recommendation
25

the federal government and the provinces concerned in order that these provinces receive the help required to meet the special needs of their French-language universities.

C. Textbooks and Reference Books in French-language Universities

488. Special reference must be made to a problem common to all French-language universities in Canada but not shared by their Anglophone counterparts. In one sense, French-language universities even in Quebec are minority-language universities, for the pressure of the English language is a fact. Courses are given in French and examinations are written in French, but often the books assigned for reading are in English. A study prepared for the Commission shows that, at the University of Montreal, half of the books prescribed or recommended by the professors for purchase at the university bookstore in 1967-8 were in English. The proportion of English references varied among faculties and disciplines and was influenced by whether the professors were trained in French- or English-language universities, but some English books were recommended in almost all fields.¹

Reasons for use of
books in English

489. There are many reasons for this reliance on English reference books. French-language universities include many professional faculties and they organize the disciplines in the physical and social sciences along lines more similar to North American than to French universities. This often means that the most appropriate references available for a course are in English. There is a greater emphasis on the use of textbooks in North American universities, especially at the introductory level, and again this means that the most available textbook is in English rather than in French. Moreover, many aspects of recent technology, such as the use of computers in research, have been developed in the United States, and the standard references which apply this technology in many disciplines are in English. Some of these books may be translated into French and, in other cases, Francophone professors may write a reference book which is more appropriate for their students than an English book. But there are not always enough Quebec students to warrant the expense and time involved. Despite the natural preference of professors and students for books written in their own language, books written in English are widely used.

490. It is normal to expect that students in advanced courses should be able to read reference books in another language, and there are particular advantages for French-speaking Canadian students in being

¹ Jacques Brazeau, "L'utilisation de manuels de langue anglaise et de manuels de langue française à l'université de Montréal," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B. The study does not include the École des hautes études commerciales or the École polytechnique.

familiar with reference books in the English language. University graduates who intend to practise their profession in North America will benefit by a knowledge of the vocabulary as well as by contact with the writings familiar to English-speaking members of their profession. In any case, the most important criterion for selecting a reference book should be the quality of the book, and students who are directed to the best works on a topic, whether they are written in French or in English, will receive a better training.

491. This massive use of English references nonetheless involves grave risks, particularly at the introductory level where a student is making his first acquaintance with a subject. The possibility is that he will be so exposed at this early stage to English writings that he will develop only an English vocabulary and an English mode of expression in this particular field. All disciplines rely on special words and expressions which convey an accepted meaning concisely. Economists know what is meant by such phrases as "the gross national product," because a definite and specific meaning has been given to this phrase. Such expressions cannot be casually translated; to communicate in French, an economist must know the exact terminology used by French economists. Without the French equivalent he can only express his ideas accurately by using the English expression. Even books translated into French will be inadequate if the translation is not sophisticated in form as well as content.¹

492. For French-speaking students in North America, the use of French-language texts in the introductory courses in any discipline is vitally important for a reason which goes beyond the actual terminology. Language is more than a means of expression; it is linked to the process of thought, the manner of organizing one's ideas. If the Francophone student is introduced to a new area of learning in a language not his own, he runs the risk of being inhibited in the use of language and also in his ability to think according to his own cultural pattern.

493. For all French-language students, the ability to benefit from exposure to books written in English will depend on a thorough command of their maternal language and an adequate knowledge of the second language. Without the former, the danger of increased exposure to English is apparent; without the latter, they will not be able to profit adequately from their courses.

494. It is probable that suitable reference books in French will become more common in the future. Increased enrolment in French-language universities in Canada will provide a larger market and so encourage the writing of reference books in French or the translation of

Need for
textbooks
in French

¹ For an analysis of this problem, see Jacques Brazeau, "Language Differences and Occupational Experience," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, 24, No. 4, November 1958, 532-40.

books now available only in English. French-language universities can also benefit by closer co-operation with universities in France and other French-speaking countries, for the dependence on English references is not a problem peculiar to Francophones in North America. The predominance of American technology in many fields means that even students in France must be familiar with the literature in their discipline written in English. French-language universities throughout the world can avoid duplication of effort and can co-operate to have standard references translated or to produce and distribute references written in French.¹ This objective accounts in part for the closer liaison between educational authorities in Quebec and France. Nevertheless, the widespread use of English references will continue. Francophone students will have to have access to the best sources available, and many of these will continue to be in English. Students at French-language universities in North America will probably always be exposed to both the advantages and the risks of relying on books in both English and French.

Appropriate
measures

495. Some steps can be taken to minimize these risks, however. A special effort must be made to use French textbooks whenever suitable books are available in this language, especially at the introductory level. In some cases, references available only in English may be translated, great care being taken to ensure that the translation is French in style and form as well as vocabulary. When reference material must be read in English, French-language universities have a special obligation to ensure that their students can understand English well enough to comprehend the ideas presented. Professors who assign English textbooks must also attempt to instil in the students the equivalent specialized words and expressions of the discipline in French. With these safeguards, French-language universities, even in Quebec, will graduate students who adequately understand the books they read and who can adequately express their knowledge in their mother tongue.

496. We want to stress the importance of this language problem in all French-language universities in Canada. More research is needed to analyze the implications for the students and to mitigate the hazards. It may well be that the costs of translation and of special training in English are an inescapable burden for these universities. University authorities and provincial governments must both accept some responsibility for ascertaining the additional expenditures involved, if French-language universities are to meet this language problem. In provinces where there are French-language universities, the allocation of grants among provincial universities should then reflect this special need.

¹ A committee of AUPELF (Association des Universités partiellement ou entièrement de langue française) is now studying the problem of textbooks.

497. The costs of the official-language minority school system cannot be dissociated from the costs of an effective educational system. School attendance is already compulsory in every province to a certain age. Education in the minority language will not increase the number of students of this age group who will attend provincial schools. Classrooms must be built whether English or French is the language of instruction. Teachers must be hired and textbooks must be provided. We believe that more students than before from the French-language minority groups will continue their education beyond this compulsory age, but even this cannot be considered an additional cost. All provincial authorities encourage further education because they believe that this investment in human skills and talents is worthwhile. From this point of view, the real cost is incurred when these skills and talents are not developed. The increased enrolment of minority-language students at the secondary and post-secondary levels should therefore be seen as a social benefit and not as an additional cost.

498. This does not mean that there will be no extra costs. It will sometimes be more expensive to have the students divided into two streams, French and English, than it would be to have a single system. In some communities the division of the student body into two streams may mean that a secondary school will fall below the optimum size. If we assume, for example, that the optimum size of a secondary school is 1,000 students, the cost per student will be slightly higher if a school is built for only 700 students. When the cost per pupil is higher because of the division of the student body into two language streams, this additional cost can be attributed to the existence of minority-language schools.

Additional costs

499. The division of the student body into two streams will also affect the educational system of which the school is a part. At the administrative level there will be divisions or sections within the department of Education with a special responsibility for the minority-language schools, and the department will be accordingly larger because of this specialization. Some translation will also be necessary for departmental memoranda and regulations as well as for textbooks and teaching aids. There may be additional costs for teacher training if the minority-language training institution is smaller than the optimum size. Salaries will be slightly higher for teachers with special certificates to teach in minority-language schools.

500. These incremental costs will only be incurred when the division of the student body into two language streams prevents the economies possible when the numbers of students are large; thus they cannot be easily calculated. It would be possible to conduct a study, community by community, and calculate the respective costs of a single majority-language system and the dual-language system we have recommended, but this accounting procedure would not reflect the efficiency of the two systems in pedagogical terms. Even today, most provinces group Francophone and Anglophone students separately, at least in the first years of school. It would be a false economy to place them all in the same classroom because they would learn less. The extra costs cannot be attributed to the minority-language education we have recommended but to the fact that these minorities exist and cannot be effectively educated in any other way.

Extent of federal
responsibility

501. Who should pay for these additional expenditures? Provincial governments are responsible for the basic costs of education, and it can be argued that the cost of providing a suitable education for the provincial minority is included in this responsibility. It must be remembered, however, that provincial authorities cannot meet all demands for educational services simultaneously. They must establish priorities based on the needs of all students in the province. They may decide to give higher priority to the educational needs of underprivileged children in urban areas. From a national perspective, however, the minority-language students have a higher priority, because minority-language schools are essential if Canada's bilingual and bicultural character is to be confirmed.

Recommendation
26

502. The objective of a suitable education for the minority-language students is shared by both provincial and federal authorities, but the federal government has special reasons for having this education provided as soon as possible. This does not mean that the federal government should pay for minority-language schools; the basic costs of education must remain a provincial responsibility. But it is reason-

able to expect that the federal government should reimburse the provincial government for the *extra* costs involved. In this way the provincial authorities will be able to provide minority-language schools within the province as part of the normal programme of educational services. **We recommend that the federal government accept in principle the responsibility for the additional costs involved in providing education in the official minority language.**

503. This recommendation refers only to a responsibility in principle because, as we have suggested, there is no satisfactory way of establishing exactly the additional cost involved. At the same time, we wish to avoid the undesirable aspects of grants-in-aid. Education is a provincial responsibility and federal grants-in-aid could influence educational policies and thus encroach on provincial autonomy in this field. This would clearly be the case if the federal government defined the kinds of minority-language instruction eligible for federal assistance, with federal officials inspecting the schools before the grant was authorized. Our recommendation does not involve federal intervention. The federal grant will be designed to reimburse provincial governments for additional expenses incurred in providing minority-language education. There will be no supervision of provincial education by federal authorities, and there will be no strings attached to the grant received by provincial governments.

A. Elementary and Secondary Official-language Minority Schools

504. For each province, it is easy to ascertain the average cost per pupil at the elementary and secondary levels. Departments of Education publish these statistics annually. This average cost represents the basic expenditure, whether the language of instruction is French or English. As we have pointed out, it would be difficult to apply accounting procedures to establish precisely the extra costs involved when education is provided in the two languages. Since the estimate of the additional costs by any procedure will only be an approximation, we have adopted a single basis for calculating the federal grant. **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.**

505. There should be no difficulty in calculating this grant. Minority-language schools will be the schools in which the minority language is the chief language of instruction, and in the case of parallel-curriculum schools only the student being taught in the minority language will be

Recommendation
27

included. These schools will be classified separately for administrative reasons at the departmental level so that the provincial authorities will be able to supply the average daily attendance without any difficulty. The usual distinction will be made between elementary, secondary, and post-secondary students (excluding universities) and the grant will be based on the average cost per student at each level within the province. The figure of 10 per cent is admittedly an arbitrary figure. It is, however, a figure we arrived at after discussions with experts in educational finance and we are convinced that it is a close approximation.

506. We have recommended a percentage of the average cost per student within each province. It would have been possible to use the national rather than the provincial averages. This would have meant larger grants for the poorer provinces and smaller grants for the wealthier provinces and so would have incorporated a degree of equalization in the grant formula. Our aim, however, is to ensure equivalent educational facilities for all minority- and majority-language students within the present jurisdiction of educational responsibility, which is the province. It may be desirable to equalize educational opportunities for all students in all provinces, but this issue goes beyond our terms of reference. Our immediate concern is with minority-language students within the context of provincial educational systems.

B. Teacher Training

Recommendation 28

507. Teacher-training institutions are a special case. In Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick, the large number of teachers required for minority-language schools means that the facilities for training them would be required in any case, and the extra cost again becomes a small proportion of the total cost of these institutions. Capital costs, however, which for public schools are included in the average cost per student, may be kept separate in the financial statements for teacher-training institutions. Capital costs would include buildings, equipment, and special library purchases not included in the normal operating budget. **We recommend that the federal grant to Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick be based on the number of students attending official minority-language teacher-training institutions, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the cost per student, together with 10 per cent of the capital costs incurred for such institutions in the future.**

Provincial co-operation

508. In the other provinces the cost of training teachers for minority-language schools will be proportionately higher because the number of teachers involved would not normally justify a separate teacher-training institution. We have recommended that the Teachers' College at

Moncton should serve the Atlantic provinces and that a teachers' college attached to a French-language college affiliated to a western university should serve the four western provinces. The province in which the teachers' college is located will have a cost-sharing agreement with the other provinces concerned. The federal grant for these institutions will again be based on the principle of reimbursing the provinces for the additional costs involved.

509. Even when the French-language teacher-training candidates from the four western provinces are grouped together in one institution, the number involved will be small and the additional costs will be high. Even in the Atlantic provinces there will be extra costs for administration and for adapting the training programme of the Teachers' College; the teachers from the Atlantic provinces other than New Brunswick will have to be prepared for different educational systems and for teaching curricula which will not be identical. Because of these additional costs, the federal grant will have to cover a higher proportion of the total cost of training these students. Therefore, **we recommend that for students attending the French-language teacher-training institution for the western provinces and for Francophone students from Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia attending the Teachers' College at Moncton, the federal grant to the province be 25 per cent of the cost per student. We further recommend that, for the western provinces, the federal grant should cover 75 per cent of the capital costs of the training institution. For the Teachers' College at Moncton, the grant should cover 50 per cent of the capital costs which can be attributed to out-of-province students.**

Recommendation
29

C. Universities

510. The cost of minority-language universities—like those of the other educational institutions we have been discussing—cannot be considered an extra cost to the province. There would be costs even if these students were being educated in the majority language. The additional cost is again only the proportion of the total cost which can be attributed to the duplication made necessary by separating the students into two language streams at this level. **We recommend that for official minority-language universities the federal grant to the province be equal to 10 per cent of the provincial grants, whether operating or capital grants, made to these universities.** In the case of bilingual universities, the federal grant would be based on the proportion of the provincial grant which can be attributed to minority-language education.

Recommendation
30

D. Conclusion

511. It will be noted that so far in this Book we have been concerned with education for the minority-language group and have not proposed recommendations directed to majority-language education. It would have been possible to have approached the inquiry differently and to have made a study of the whole field of education insofar as the aims of bilingualism and biculturalism are concerned. This would have extended the Commission's work enormously, and would be a sufficiently large undertaking to justify a separate study. It seemed to us that we could more realistically circumscribe the inquiry and satisfy our terms of reference—equal partnership between the two language groups and opportunities for Canadians to become bilingual—by limiting ourselves to two precise areas of the question: education in the official minority language and second-language learning. The pages which follow will deal with the present situation in regard to opportunities for Canadians to become bilingual, and recommendations designed to extend these opportunities.

512. The good effect of the new course in French is very noticeable and the policy of requiring the students to become acquainted with French, a living tongue, and to use it in speech as well as for reading, has already been amply justified. It is safe to say that within a year or two high-school students on leaving school for business or the University will carry with them a real training in French which will prove vastly more useful to them than a mere grammar and reading course in that language could possibly be. Many teachers are making an effort to live up to the ideal of using French as the language of instruction during the teaching periods in that branch.

This optimistic statement could have appeared in the latest annual report of any provincial department of Education in Canada. The objective of all departments is to teach French as a living language, with an emphasis on oral skills rather than grammar and translation, and the new methods being introduced are intended to transform second-language teaching in the schools. In fact, this statement appeared in the annual report of the Manitoba department of Education in 1920, almost half a century ago. The objective—and the optimism—are not peculiar to our generation.

513. The sobering fact is that in the past the objective has not been attained and the optimism has not been justified. There was general agreement in the briefs presented to us that our English-language schools are not graduating students who can speak French. Most graduates of these schools would echo the dissatisfaction recently expressed by a teacher in an English Protestant school in Quebec:

Objectives
not achieved

Why is it that our pupils spend nine years, from Grade 3 to Grade 11, studying French, and when they come out of school most of them are afraid, unwilling or unable to use the language in practical situations? It seems a little strange to me: nine years of studying French and still no

fluency with the language even among academically-minded pupils! This in spite of the stated aims of the Department of Education. . . .¹

They might be reassured to some extent by the reply of an official to the effect that much had been done to improve the situation and that more reforms were planned.² Until now, however, there has been little justification for complacency.

514. The teaching of English as a second language to Francophones is also open to criticism. We received briefs deploring the fact that Francophones did not learn to speak English adequately. The *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*—the Parent report—supports this claim: “When one thinks that a normal *bachelier* from our classical colleges after eight years of English is often incapable of speaking or reading it . . . it seems urgent to look into the quality of the foreign-language teaching in our province.”³

515. These criticisms may be exaggerated. We may all be inclined to demand too much of our schools; the same people who are critical of second-language teaching would probably also criticize the teaching of the mother tongue or of other subjects. And these criticisms are not peculiar to Canada. The same criticisms have been levelled against second-language teaching in the United States and even a quotation from *Pravda* has a familiar ring: “In the main, graduates of general education schools and higher and specialized secondary institutions have a poor knowledge of foreign languages. Because of their limited vocabulary and a purely academic knowledge of grammar, they are unable to translate foreign language texts without dictionaries. They are particularly weak when it comes to speaking a foreign language.”⁴ It is difficult to acquire skill in speaking a second language, and it is not likely that many will ever be fully satisfied with the results of second-language teaching in the public schools.

New programmes

516. Behind all these comments, however, is the shared belief that a knowledge of a second language—and especially an ability to converse in a second language—is worth the effort. This is reflected in the enthusiasm of provincial authorities for new methods and new programmes. Indeed, one of the major difficulties we encountered in our survey of second-language teaching in the school systems across

¹ E. A. Thériault, “Let’s Take a Hard Look at our Teaching of French,” *The Teachers’ Magazine* (November, 1965), 11.

² B. N. Shaw in reply to Thériault; *Ibid.*, 11.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, III (Montreal, 1965), § 685. This is from the official English version of the Parent report; however, the original French refers to “...la qualité de cet enseignement de la langue seconde...” [Italics ours.]

⁴ Cited in E. Glynn Lewis, *Foreign and Second Language Teaching in the U.S.S.R.*, ETIC Occasional Paper, No. 1, 1962.

Canada was that in every province the programmes were undergoing major revisions. New curricula, new methods, and new equipment were being introduced, with a larger number of experimental projects being initiated by both provincial and local school authorities. A high priority is certainly being given to second-language teaching in the schools. At the same time, the criticisms reflect the increasing importance given to this teaching, for the critics began with the assumption that children ought to acquire second-language skills.

A. Attitudes towards Teaching the Second Language

517. The logical beginning of any discussion of second-language teaching in Canada is to note that most Canadians believe that a second language should be taught in the schools and that it should be the second official language of the country. A number of opinion surveys confirm this conclusion. Two surveys conducted by the Gallup Poll suggest not only that Canadians give great importance to the learning of the second official language—French or English—but also that this attitude has strengthened remarkably over the last few decades. In 1943 Canadians were asked: “Do you or do you not think that French should be a compulsory subject, like reading, writing and arithmetic, in all grades of public schools in English-speaking Canada?” This posed the question in its most direct form—those who merely thought French was desirable but did not think it should be compulsory for all grades would oppose such a policy. In this survey of more than 20 years ago, 36 per cent of those interviewed replied in the affirmative and 59 per cent in the negative. In 1965, however, in reply to the same question, 64 per cent answered “yes” and only 33 per cent answered “no.” To the related question in the same survey of whether English should be a compulsory subject in all grades of public schools in French-speaking Canada, the response was even more decisive, with 84 per cent in favour and only 13 per cent opposed. If we assume that this was a representative sample, we can conclude that most Canadians believe that students ought to study the second language of the country in all grades.

Public support
increasing

518. Surveys conducted by our own research staff led to a similar conclusion. In a national survey¹ we asked: “Do you think that in Canada, English-speaking children should learn French in primary school?” This question elicited an even more positive response than the question posed by the Gallup Poll, possibly because in our sur-

¹ Social Research Group, “A Study of Interethnic Relations in Canada,” a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, footnote to § 279.

vey French was not explicitly referred to as a compulsory subject although the implication was clear. In any case, 79 per cent of the sample replied affirmatively and only 15 per cent were definitely opposed. For the question as to whether Francophones should learn English in primary school, 92 per cent were in favour and only 5 per cent opposed.¹

519. It could be argued that adults would be more inclined to favour the compulsory teaching of the second language in the schools because they no longer go to school. It is easy to suggest that children should learn things that parents never had to learn, but this may be doing the parents an injustice. Again from our national survey, 61 per cent of the English-speaking Canadians said they would like to learn to speak French or to improve their French, and 78 per cent of the French-speaking Canadians wanted to learn or to improve their English. In a national survey of young people between the ages of 13 and 20, 65 per cent of the Anglophones and 86 per cent of the Francophones thought that both English and French should be required subjects in all schools.²

520. A further analysis of these results shows that this positive attitude towards second-language learning is shared by Canadians with widely differing backgrounds. A breakdown of our national sample showed a slightly higher support for the teaching of the second language from people under the age of 50, from people with higher income, and from people with more education. More than 90 per cent of the Francophones in the sample favoured the teaching of the second official language, whether the students involved were Anglophones or Francophones. Among the non-Francophones in the sample, 90 per cent favoured the teaching of English to Francophone children, and more than 70 per cent favoured the teaching of French to Anglophone children. The regional breakdown showed greater differences, with Canadians from the western provinces showing less interest in the teaching of French as a second language. Even there, however, 66 per cent were in favour, and only 25 per cent were opposed. The differences revealed by these breakdowns on the national sample are differences of degree; in every case, a sizable majority believed that students ought to study the second Canadian language.

**Advantages of
learning a second
language**

521. There are many advantages to learning a second language. A second language has been described as another window on the world, because it gives access to a different culture and a different way of

¹ In this survey, the breakdown of the sample by mother tongue showed that among French-speaking respondents, 94 per cent answered affirmatively to the first question and 95 per cent to the second. Of the respondents whose mother tongue was English, 73 per cent responded affirmatively to the first and 90 per cent to the second. The comparable percentages for those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English were 64 per cent and 90 per cent respectively.

² John C. Johnstone, "Young People's Images of Canadian society," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

looking at life. Indeed, in many eras and many countries the knowledge of a second language was the mark of an educated man, and in wealthy households there might be a foreign slave or, later, a foreign tutor or governess to teach the language. Today we believe that all children should be educated and should have the opportunity to broaden their cultural horizons.

522. Second-language learning also has more utilitarian benefits. There is a growing demand for bilingual citizens in every country because of increasing commercial and diplomatic contacts with other countries. Improved methods of transportation and higher standards of living have made it easier for individuals to visit foreign countries. When few people travelled and when commercial transactions were conducted by correspondence, a reading knowledge of a language was sufficient. The conversational skills have become more useful in the age of the communications satellites and jetliners. Whether the emphasis is literary or oral, however, foreign languages have always had a prominent place in school curricula in most countries. Today, on all continents with the possible exception of North America, the study of a second language is as much taken for granted as the study of geography or mathematics.

523. It is fortunate, if fortuitous, that the two official languages of Canada are at the same time two of the most important international languages. If all Canadians were Francophones, most of them would still choose English as the most useful second language to learn. It is equally true that if all Canadians were Anglophones, most of them would choose French as the most useful second language; French has retained its popularity as a second language in the United States in spite of the close links with Spanish-speaking countries in the western hemisphere.¹ Not only are there powerful pressures for learning a second language—pressures unconnected with the language situation within Canada—but these pressures favour the learning of French or English as second languages.

524. In Canada, of course, these pressures are reinforced by the existence of the two major language groups. Every time members of the two groups meet one another, the advantages of knowing the second language are abundantly apparent. These contacts are becoming more frequent as individuals become more mobile and as our social institutions change. The growth of government activities, the expansion

¹ Between 1959 and 1963, 15,617 teachers were enrolled in the language institutes administered under the U.S. National Defense Education Act. Of these teachers, 6,399 studied French, 6,275 studied Spanish, 1,842 studied German, 827 studied Russian, and the remaining 274 were divided among the four other languages offered. See John S. Diekhoff, *NDEA and Modern Foreign Languages* (New York, 1965), 86.

of business corporations, and the concentration of people in metropolitan areas are all likely to increase the contacts between members of the two language groups.

525. The need or the opportunity for individuals to use the second language in Canada will vary greatly. A secretary in British Columbia is not likely to feel the need or have the opportunity to use French. In Montreal a teacher may not need to speak the second language, although he would have the opportunity. Even in these cases, however, a lack of knowledge of the second language may impose certain restrictions. The secretary would not have the same mobility as her bilingual counterpart because she would not be eligible for many secretarial positions in bilingual areas or in the federal Public Service. The unilingual teacher will be excluded from many aspects of social life in Montreal, and he may lose career opportunities in school administration. For many individuals, these disadvantages are not significant. For some Canadians, to be bilingual is a necessity; for others it is a significant asset. It is still true, however, that many Canadians can live the kind of life they prefer without using the second language.

526. For the average Canadian child the advantages of learning the second language are more obvious. Today's child will live in a mobile and highly competitive society. What parent in 1968 can know with any certainty where his child will live in the year 2000, or even what career opportunities his child will have? It is apparent, however, that the child who learns French or English as a second language will have career opportunities that other children will not have. Learning a second language is also a valuable educational experience because it brings the child into contact with a different culture. In Canada, such contact can provide our children with knowledge and appreciation of the culture of many other Canadians. Another great advantage of second-language learning in schools is that languages are more easily learned at an early age, and language skills acquired young may be regained with greater ease after a long period of disuse. Indeed, there are many arguments for teaching the second language to all Canadian children in school. Taken together they appear irrefutable.

B. Second-language Teaching and the National Interest

527. The most cogent arguments in favour of teaching French and English as second languages are the benefits to the individual. There are, however, other broader arguments which are also important in Canada. Language learning can increase the number of bilingual Canadians and so reduce the language barrier in our country. It can also

play a significant role in increasing the mutual understanding of the attitudes and aspirations of the two cultural groups.

528. The need for bilingual Canadians is apparent, and this results in increasing pressures on individuals to learn the second language. But bilingualism is a complex phenomenon. Bilingualism in the sense of having an equal command of two languages is exceptional, if not practically impossible. Some people may acquire only the receptive skills of understanding the written or spoken language. This form of receptive bilingualism, limited though it may be, nonetheless gives access to ideas expressed in the second language and may be sufficient on many occasions. Even the bilingual person who can also write and speak the second language may not be as fluent or as sophisticated in that language as in his own. Individual bilingualism is not an absolute. It is and must be a relative concept.¹ The need for bilingual Canadians, therefore, does not imply that these Canadians should always aspire to an equal command of the two languages. For some, receptive bilingualism will be adequate. Others will need the ability to communicate in the second language but they need not become as proficient as they are in their first language.

Need for bilingual
Canadians

529. In the past, a large proportion of bilingual Canadians have been Francophones who have learned English. As members of a minority group they have been more likely to come into contact with English, and the economic and cultural predominance of English has given many of them more incentive to learn the second language. This does not mean that they can learn English effortlessly, but it does mean that they have had more opportunities to learn it and may have taken more advantage of their opportunities. The pervasiveness of English is not an unmixed blessing. The advantage of a greater opportunity to learn English may be counterbalanced by the danger of losing the full use of the French mother tongue. English words, English phrases, and English grammatical construction may become so much a part of the normal speech of a Francophone that the standard of his French deteriorates. Bilingualism for French-speaking Canadians demands an effort to learn the second language but it also demands an effort to preserve the mother tongue.

Francophones
and bilingualism

530. Bilingualism also involves hidden costs for individuals who act as intermediaries between the two language groups. If bilingual Francophones are expected to provide the links between these groups, their own careers may be affected. A Francophone employee often faces a personal dilemma. He may be asked to interpret or translate something from French or to draft a French translation of a letter

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, §§ 4-16.

Anglophones
and bilingualism

or document; because his Anglophone colleagues are not bilingual he may end up by constantly translating the ideas of others rather than contributing his own. His other talents will not be developed because somebody must play the role of intermediary.

531. The loss is not confined to the individual. As long as most bilingual Canadians are of French mother tongue, many members of this group will be absorbed in interpreting their society to English-speaking Canadians and interpreting English-speaking Canada to their compatriots. The potential benefits of their other talents will be lost and Canadian society will be the poorer as a result. The skills of interpretation and translation are an asset in Canada, but the principle of equal partnership implies that the intermediaries will be drawn from both groups. More Anglophones must become bilingual if French-speaking Canadians are to play a more creative role in Canadian society. 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.¹

532. The study of the second language also offers indirect benefits for our society. Not all Canadians can be bilingual even in a limited sense, but we are all citizens of a country with two major cultural groups. Political decisions in Canada must be made in the context of our cultural dualism, and each Canadian must be able to assess the implications of these decisions if he is to play a responsible role as a citizen. A person who studies the second language will have some contact with the modes of thought and expression of the other linguistic group and he will learn something of its cultural heritage and way of life. The awareness of the other society will survive even if the language skills are lost.

C. Conclusion

533. The need for second-language teaching cannot be seriously questioned. The majority of Canadians are aware of this need and feel that all children should study either French or English as a second language in school. The national interest also underlines the need for Canadian children to study the second official language. The question, therefore, is not so much whether it should be taught but rather how it can be better taught.

¹ In a sample survey of federal public servants between 25 and 45 years of age and earning more than \$6,200 per year—a group which might be called the middle level of administration—18 per cent of the Francophones but only 1.8 per cent of the Anglophones in the survey were translators. The contrast at the informal level of translation is doubtless even greater.

534. The importance of teaching the second official language has long been recognized by Canadian educational authorities. This language has a prominent place in every provincial curriculum, and in each province the second-language programme has undergone major revisions in recent years. The new methods, new techniques, and new teaching aids have undoubtedly improved second-language teaching, but the rate of change has created many problems. A student may encounter a variety of approaches to the subject in his school career. A teacher may have to adapt to a new concept of language teaching every few years. Even more seriously during this period of change, the aims, methods, and teaching aids may not be integrated into a unified programme. Aims may even be inconsistent with methods, and approved aims and methods may be no more than pious aspirations if the necessary teaching aids are not available.

535. A survey of the teaching of French and English as second languages in Canadian schools will show how much has been accomplished in recent years. Similar developments are taking place in all provinces, despite the many differences in detail and emphasis.¹

A. Second-language Programmes

1. The teaching of French

536. French as a subject of study in the English-language schools of Canada is compulsory only in certain provinces and in certain

French as a
compulsory
second language

¹The material on which this survey is based was largely supplied by the provincial departments of Education. We wish to express our gratitude for their generous co-operation. Appendix III contains a separate and more detailed description of the second-language teaching programme of each province.

grades. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island require French in the high school years but only in the matriculation course. In New Brunswick it is part of the course of study for all students in Grades v to x, and in Quebec it is compulsory in all branches from Grade III in the English Protestant schools and Grade IV in the English Roman Catholic schools to the end of high school, usually Grade XI. In the remaining provinces French is not a required subject, except in Grade VIII in British Columbia.

537. At the post-secondary level, a number of universities and colleges require a second language for admission to some faculties, but only a handful specify French for this purpose. Similarly, where there is a second-language requirement for graduation, French is usually just one of a number of language electives.

French as an
optional subject

538. French as an optional subject is by far the main second language taught in English-language schools in Canada. It is usually begun earlier than other second languages such as German, Ukrainian, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and Russian. It is studied in virtually all the academic high schools of English-speaking Canada.¹ In vocational and technical courses French is not usually offered, which means that large numbers of young Anglophones do not have even the opportunity to learn the other official language.

At the elementary
level

539. In recent years there has been a significant extension of second-language instruction downwards to the elementary grades. This trend is most marked in urban school systems, where necessary funds and qualified personnel are most likely to be available. As a result, there is often considerable variation within a single province in the grade level at which language instruction may begin in the elementary schools.

540. The situation in Alberta will serve to illustrate the generally permissive nature of second-language programmes and the heterogeneous results they may produce. In Calgary and Edmonton there is a nine-year training sequence beginning in Grade IV. In other urban centres, French is usually begun as an exploratory option in Grade VII, but in the counties and divisions it may not be begun until Grade IX. It is still possible, however, for a student to begin French in Grade X and obtain matriculation standing in the subject after three years of study.

541. In Manitoba, French has been authorized as an elective subject from the very first grade, but only one year of French is required

¹ In some provinces, there are still hundreds of students in rural schools following French courses by correspondence.

as a prerequisite for senior French starting in Grade x. The situation is no less fluid in other provinces.

542. The following table shows the percentage enrolment by province for the year 1966-7 in matriculation French classes between Grades ix and xii. The figures shown are based on data provided by provincial departments of Education and in some cases are rough but realistic estimates. The table does not justify interprovincial comparisons—Grade xii is not the final year of secondary school in all provinces—but the figures do suggest a broad pattern for the country as a whole.

Enrolment

	Grade ix	Grade x	Grade xi	Grade xii
British Columbia	72%	65%	55%	25%
Alberta	—	64	51	38
Saskatchewan	75	70	60	60
Manitoba	78	63	65	72
Ontario	—	—	—	86
Quebec (Protestant)	C	C	C	63
Quebec (Roman Catholic)	C	C	C	—
New Brunswick (English)	C	C	Most	—
Nova Scotia	97	82	88	69
Prince Edward Island	—	—	—	—
Newfoundland	C	C	C	—

The following points about the table should be noted:

- (a) A dash indicates that no statistics are available.
- (b) A "C" indicates that the study of the second language is compulsory.
- (c) Most students in Newfoundland and Quebec finish high school in Grade xi. Anglophone students in New Brunswick write their matriculation French examinations in Grade xi.

543. The remarkable fact underlined by these statistics is that a high proportion of Anglophone students are studying French as a second language, even in provinces and grades where it is not compulsory.

2. The teaching of English

544. English is a compulsory subject in all French-language schools in Canada. In Quebec, the teaching of English usually begins in Grade vi, although the starting grade may be advanced to Grade iv or retarded to Grade viii with ministerial approval. It is taught in all subsequent grades and in all streams until the end of high school. In the minority-language schools of New Brunswick, and in "bilingual" schools in the other provinces, English is usually introduced in the

second semester of Grade I and is a compulsory subject from then until graduation from high school.

3. *Time allotment*

545. In the case of both French and English as second languages, our discussion has been restricted to the grades in which the subject is taught. This is imprecise and may even be misleading because the amount of time devoted to language study may vary widely from province to province and from grade to grade. A more reliable indicator would be the amount of exposure to the second language in terms of instructional hours. Unfortunately it is difficult to be precise. The actual timetable is often the responsibility of the local school principal. Elementary classes may meet for 20 or 30 minutes from two to five times a week. In the early years of high school a daily period of 30 to 40 minutes is common, and there may be additional periods in higher grades. The longest compulsory programme of second-language instruction is found in the Protestant schools of Quebec, where the average student receives a total of 975 hours of instruction during his school career.

4. *Aims*

Increasing
emphasis on
oral skills

546. In the past, the objectives of provincial programmes for the teaching of modern languages have been stated in very general terms, such as the ability to understand, speak, read, and write the target language. In many provinces today, however, the programme lays special emphasis on the spoken language. In Ontario, for example, the course of study for the elementary level stresses "the ability to understand spoken French and to express one's ideas in this language." Courses of study often also include developing an acquaintance with and an appreciation of the culture of Canadians who speak the second language as their mother tongue.

547. It has not been easy to achieve these aims. The traditional emphasis on grammar and translation cannot be modified by a mere statement of objectives. Until teachers have special training in the methodology of language instruction and some fluency in the language they are teaching, much of the classroom time will still be spent in talking about the second language rather than talking in it. The new emphasis on oral-aural skills is likely to be ignored in any case as long as provincial examinations continue to be based on knowledge of grammar and translation. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is the departmental examination rather than the official statement of aims which determines, in practice, the goals of instruction.

548. A very profound change is taking place, however. This change has so far been confined mainly to elementary schools and in many cases it has been due to local initiative rather than to departmental prescription. This change is now spreading into the junior high schools and its impact is even being felt in senior grades. The new audio-lingual and audio-visual courses have arrived, and with them has come a restatement of objectives giving priority to the teaching of language for purposes of oral communication.

549. The study guide for the new Grade VII and VIII French programme in Ontario reflects this trend towards an almost exclusively oral approach in the early stages of language study. It is only in the second year of instruction that any written work is begun, and even here it is confined to the repetition of what has been previously heard and said. The linguistic aims are stated with precision, appropriate methods and procedures are designated, and the vocabulary and structures to be taught are listed. The importance of developing favourable attitudes in the pupils towards the language and culture of French Canada is stressed. The new French programme in Alberta follows a similar design, recommending that the grammatical patterns and vocabulary presented throughout the elementary and high school courses be limited to those contained in *Le français fondamental*.¹ The Alberta programme also suggests that the course in French can be of value to any student interested in a second language, and that it should therefore be open to all students regardless of academic ability.

550. For some 25 years, the stated aim of the French study programme in Quebec Protestant schools has been to develop oral skills so that students will be able to communicate readily with their Francophone compatriots. To further develop oral facility, the present official *Handbook for Teachers* recommends that such subjects as geography, history, and health be taught in French where competent teachers are available. Unfortunately, this is rarely done because so few teachers of these subjects are able or willing to teach in French.

551. It is now generally realized that the widespread adoption of oral-aural courses in the elementary and junior high school grades will require a re-examination of objectives in senior high school classes. Because of limited teaching and practice time, grammar and translation must receive less emphasis if the oral skills are to be maintained and nurtured. The tendency so far at the senior secondary level has been to retain the requirement for detailed knowledge of the written

Need for revision
of programmes

¹ France, Ministère de l'éducation nationale, *Le français fondamental, (1^{er} degré)* (2nd ed., Paris, 1959), a list of frequently occurring words and expressions derived from a survey of everyday speech and based on hundreds of conversations with French people in various walks of life.

language while attempting at the same time to satisfy the relatively new requirement for proficiency in listening and speaking. More and more, however, it is realized that the new objectives cannot be grafted on to the existing courses of study. A complete revision of the second-language programme is required.

5. *Curricula, texts, methods*

552. In describing the methods and textbooks in use across Canada for second-language teaching, we will begin with the traditional courses that are authorized in the vast majority of schools. The newer audio-lingual courses whose use is still permissive will be treated separately. We will examine the role of technological aids in Canadian language classrooms and review the current methods of evaluation in provincial examinations. Finally, to complete the survey of second-language programmes, we will discuss the changes contemplated by provincial authorities.

Textbooks

553. The French textbook is the main—almost the only—contact with the French language for the great majority of English-speaking students. The type of text used is, therefore, of prime importance in determining the attitudes that students develop towards the language and the people who speak it. For some years now the French textbook used in Canadian schools has had a certain shape with which the reader will be familiar. Each lesson begins with a reading selection and is followed by a grammar section in which structure is explained by rule and example. Vocabulary is presented in bilingual word lists. Substitution and completion exercises are provided and there are a number of detached sentences for translation, each one containing one or two grammatical chestnuts. The preponderant emphasis in such a format is on the written aspects of language. This leads to the false notion that French is something found mainly in books. Such texts have not produced bilingual students in the past; they cannot be expected to do so in the future.

Cultural content

554. Nearly all of the second-language texts, both French and English, in current use in Canada are of British, American, or French origin. Some have been adapted—often very inadequately—to Canadian needs. Many French-language textbooks refer only to France. The pictures and illustrations, stories and reading selections, geographical and historical references all refer to another country and to a remote society. When there are references to Quebec, the image presented is usually based on folklore or rural life. Rarely will English-speaking students learn of modern Quebec, and they will almost never hear of French-speaking communities within their own province. In

Quebec, the textbooks used until quite recently to teach English in the first three years of high school were designed in the late 1930's to teach English to tribal natives in Africa. They have since been replaced by American texts which, although not Canadian in content, are based on recent linguistic research.

555. In the French-language schools of New Brunswick, the English texts used are those designed for Anglophones at an earlier grade level—Grade I books for Grade III, and so on. This makeshift arrangement is not satisfactory, especially in rural areas where students often live in a completely French-language milieu. A programme designed for Anglophones is not appropriate for students who will be learning English as a second language.

556. The supplementary readers and authors texts used in second-language courses are also far from ideal. Stories from Maupassant and other 19th-century writers still form the bulk of many anthologies for teaching French literature in the senior high school grades. These stories are excellent as literature and, as such, are appreciated by the best pupils. But intensive study of such authors neither provides the pupils with the up-to-date vocabulary they require, nor fosters the rapid reading skills they need at this stage of their language development. This is the more lamentable because the volume of outside reading accomplished by most students is slight, and hence they do not develop the ability to read rapidly for comprehension in the second language. Fortunately, more modern reading material, expository as well as narrative, is beginning to appear in the new reading texts. The inclusion of French Canadian authors is also becoming more frequent. The English reading material used in the French-language schools of Quebec is also drawn from the 19th century, with abridged versions of stories by such authors as Mark Twain and Louisa May Alcott.

Supplementary
readings

557. The methods employed in Canadian second-language classes are the product of many variables. These include the aims of the course, the competence and training of the teacher, the time available for lesson preparation, the materials to be taught, the teaching aids available, and—by no means least—the nature of the departmental examination. Many of our language teachers lack the desired fluency, and have had no training in the various techniques. For them the problem of methods does not arise: they simply “follow the book” and “do the best they can,” and spend most of their time teaching in the vernacular. In any case, the time that can be devoted to oral practice—course aims notwithstanding—is limited. This is particularly true at the senior high school level where the grammar prescription remains heavy, despite the increased emphasis on listening and speaking. In

Methods

such circumstances it is not surprising that the harassed teacher is inclined to stress those skills normally tested by examinations.

558. This cursory concern for the oral skills is inadequate because the audio-lingual method assumes that the logical sequence of language learning is to begin with these skills, and that subsequent learning should be built on the knowledge acquired in this way. Robert Lado in *Language Teaching* states that the audio-lingual (or aural-oral) method "considers listening and speaking the first and central task in learning a language, and reading and writing as skills that follow listening and speaking."¹ He describes the new linguistic approach as: "characterized by imitation and memorization of basic conversational sentences as spoken by native speakers; description of the distinctive elements of intonation, pronunciation, morphology, and syntax on the basis of the sentences memorized; and massive practice in speaking and listening rather than in translation."²

Audio-lingual
approach

559. The textbooks designed for audio-lingually based courses are very different from traditional texts. Instead of bilingual word lists, vocabulary is learned in the context of whole utterances in the second language. There are basic sentences and phrases to be learned by heart and to be recombined later into new groupings; there are sections for structure drills, for laboratory work, for class work, for reading and writing, and for tests. There are wordbooks and records for individual home study. The teacher's manual is usually a ponderous volume providing detailed information on techniques of presentation, correction, and reinforcement. Separate texts for cultural studies are also available—either in the vernacular or in the target language. The literature readings for the senior classes are found in various forms. Edited texts have visible vocabularies in the margins or at the foot of the page (sometimes bilingual, sometimes with explanations in the second language only). Bilingual books in which there is a full translation on each facing page are also becoming common, though there is still controversy about their use.

560. Two important American audio-lingual courses that are used fairly widely in Canada are AUDIO-LINGUAL MATERIALS (ALM)³ and the (HRW) AURAL-ORAL FRENCH SERIES.⁴ The former, a four-level sequential course, was made possible by funds provided through the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) in the United States between 1959 and 1964. The materials have been thoroughly field tested and the course is now widely used in the United States. In 1966 it was intro-

¹ Robert Lado, *Language Teaching* (Toronto, 1964), 214.

² *Ibid.*, 218.

³ Published by Longmans Canada Ltd.

⁴ Published by Holt, Rinehart, Winston of Canada Ltd.

duced into the Toronto public schools and it is now used in many centres across the country.

561. The HRW three-course sequence originated in the intensive language courses developed for the United States Army in World War II. The first-level course of the series was published in Canada in 1966, but only the song section was revised to include some Canadian material. Future Canadian editions are being planned. All Manitoba junior high schools that offer French are now using the HRW materials. They are also being used with special permission at certain points in Ontario and elsewhere.

562. A third course widely used in Canada is VOIX ET IMAGES DE FRANCE (VIF), first and second phases.¹ This approach is audio-visual, involving the use of filmstrips synchronized with spoken material on tape. It is audio-lingual as well, since the early part of the course is confined strictly to listening and speaking. The advantage of the simultaneous presentation of pictures and sound is that the former keep the learner aware of the meaning of what he is hearing and repeating. Without such visual props there is the danger in aural-oral work that the learner will merely parrot what he hears without thinking of its semantic content.

563. The course is well provided with supports. For the student in the first phase there are a book of pictures (without printed text) and home study records; in the second phase there are a number of selected readers. Teaching materials include manuals detailing the procedures to be followed and a number of teaching films. A further significant feature of the VIF programme is that its grammatical patterns and vocabulary of approximately 3,000 words are those of *Le français fondamental*.²

564. Most schools have found that VIF is best begun at about the Grade VII level. For those who wish to begin French instruction in the primary grades, CRÉDIF has prepared a course of similar format entitled BONJOUR LINE.

565. The cultural content of the three new courses just described derives almost exclusively from France. This objection does not apply to LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL, a structural course developed by a group of specialists at the University of Montreal to meet the needs of Canadian students. It resembles the CRÉDIF courses in making use of synchronized tapes and filmstrips, but it differs from them in one important respect: it is designed for Anglophone students and is based on a comparative analysis of the differences in the sound, structure,

¹ Produced in France by the Centre de recherche et d'étude pour la diffusion du français (CRÉDIF), École normale supérieure de Saint-Cloud.

² See footnote to § 549.

and vocabulary systems of French and English. Special exercises are included which counteract the tendency to carry characteristics of the English language over into French.¹ The materials for *LE FRANÇAIS INTERNATIONAL* also include laboratory drills not found in *VIF*.

566. Two other "new key" French courses are in preparation in Canada. The first is *LE FRANÇAIS PARTOUT*, an adaptation of an American method, *INTRODUCING FRENCH*, a preliminary course to the *HRW AURAL-ORAL SERIES* mentioned previously. The second is an all-Canadian production, *ICI ON PARLE FRANÇAIS*,² a four-level course, two levels of which have already been completed. The first volumes follow closely the topics of the new Ontario French programme for Grades VII and VIII.

567. Efforts have been made to bring traditional language courses up to date by developing supplementary tapes. These attempts at adaptation have not proved successful because of the wide disparity in aims and methods between traditional and audio-lingual courses. This was why language educators in the United States, in setting up the *NDEA* language institutes in 1959, recommended that new instructional materials be developed immediately.

568. A number of American audio-lingual courses (for teaching English as a second language) have been approved for both elementary schools and high schools in Quebec. One series, *ENGLISH THIS WAY*, consists of 12 volumes that provide a completely integrated programme to the end of Grade XII. Only one course, *LIVING ENGLISH FOR FRENCH CANADIAN STUDENTS*, is of Canadian origin. Unfortunately, the lack of qualified teachers with sufficient fluency in English, especially at the elementary level, has seriously compromised the effectiveness of these aural-oral programmes. A pilot project involving the use of *ENGLISH THIS WAY* in New Brunswick has met with similar difficulties in rural areas.

6. An articulated sequence of second-language programmes

569. As the teaching of the second language moves down into the elementary school, a serious problem arises in co-ordinating the language work done at that level with the high school course of study. Ideally, the two programmes should form an integrated whole in which the student moves forward in well-graded steps towards an ever-increasing mastery of the four language skills. Although there should be ample provision for review, there should be no useless duplication of effort, no unnecessary repetition.

¹ By contrast, the *VIF* course is a universal method; that is, it is not addressed to any particular language group.

² Published by Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd.

570. Unfortunately, such an orderly sequence of instruction is still rare in Canadian language classes. Each year children with different backgrounds in second-language learning are entering our high schools and are being grouped together in language classes without regard to the amount of previous training. In the interests of "efficiency" and with alleged justice towards all, instruction begins from scratch. Thus it is not uncommon for a child to "begin" his second-language course two or three years in succession. This series of false starts is economically indefensible and pedagogically unsound. It can only produce frustration and negative attitudes towards language learning. Even within the high school programme, the basic texts used in the first two years are sometimes poorly integrated with the advanced texts. Loss of time and wasted effort are the inevitable results.

571. A further problem involves co-ordination of high school and university language programmes; and here too we are only beginning to make progress. Liaison visits to college language classes by high school groups are becoming more common. University and high school teachers are coming together more frequently in the meetings of provincial language councils. Moreover, first-year French courses offered at English-language universities often present the freshman with a choice between a course in French civilization taught in English and a language course taught entirely in French. The latter type of instruction takes account of the fact that more and more of our students are reaching university with considerable aural-oral facility.

7. *Teaching aids*

572. A wide variety of training aids is now readily available in many provinces for the teaching of the second language. The provincial audio-visual bureaux and the instructional materials centres found in the larger school systems provide such items as 16mm. films, filmstrips, slides, film loops, disc and tape recordings, overhead projectors, and a variety of pictorial aids including wall charts, graphics, flashcards, components for flannel and magnetic boards, models, mock-ups, and so on. In some cases they also provide tape recorders and various types of projectors on loan.

573. The potential value of broadcasts and telecasts is obvious for any second-language programme which stresses the spoken language. To date, however, only limited use has been made of these educational aids. Only three provinces—Nova Scotia, Alberta, and Quebec on an experimental basis—are using television for regular classroom instruction. Nova Scotia has carefully developed and prepared a course for use in Grades VII, VIII, and IX, but it is heavily slanted towards the

Use of radio
and television

culture of France.¹ An American television course, "Parlons français," has been increasingly used in Grades IV, V, and VI in the Calgary area and is now viewed regularly by more than 30,000 children. The same course is used at the same grade levels in the separate schools of Edmonton, but it is presented through films because the privilege of using local television facilities has been withdrawn. Elsewhere, television broadcasts are provided as enrichment for the regular classroom teaching. The Metropolitan Educational Television Association in Toronto, for example, has been providing regular television classes since 1963 in many subjects, including French. Radio broadcasts have been used for enrichment purposes since the first such Canadian venture in Nova Scotia in 1928. A well-known series of Manitoba broadcasts, "Le quart d'heure français," has been in operation since 1945.

574. One of the reasons for the limited use of such television and radio broadcasts, even for enrichment, is the difficulty of integrating them with the course of study. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, for example, has programmes such as "French for Love" and "Chez Hélène" for the teaching of French to Anglophone listeners. These programmes often exploit the advantages of the medium most effectively; they are entertaining, lively, and spontaneous, and they use visual aids and introduce repetition with ingenuity. They are highly professional productions. Unfortunately, they are not suitable for the classroom because they are not co-ordinated with any course of study and they do not provide a graduated sequence of lessons.

575. School broadcasts and telecasts commissioned by provincial departments of Education or by metropolitan school boards vary greatly in aim and execution. Some are designed primarily as enrichment programmes and so are not an essential part of the course of study; others are designed almost as a substitute for the classroom teacher and so do not allow the teacher and other teaching aids to contribute adequately to the learning process. The scripts also suggest that the programmes have not always been carefully planned or designed; the actors do not always speak the second language fluently or correctly; occasionally there are surprising errors in the language used. For example, one English lesson for Francophones included the following conversation: "Where are none of your stones? None are in my left hand." This programme is now, fortunately, off the air. Other programmes may be imported from other countries and so teach the language as a foreign language; thus one programme for Anglophone students suggested that the teacher ". . . use names of cities such as New York, Boston, Washington, which the players are likely

¹It is more widely used in country schools than in the towns, where qualified French teachers are more likely to be available.

to know, and others such as London, Ottawa, and Moscow, which they are not likely to know.”¹

576. The lack of flexibility in school timetables is also an obstacle to the use of broadcasts and telecasts. A teacher responsible for three classes at the same grade level can rarely combine these classes at telecast time for their language lesson. Video-tapes or some other means of reproducing telecasts may provide the answer. In a few larger centres video-tape recorders are already being used. In Ontario, the department of Education has explained that it will not provide a central library of video-tapes once it launches into full-scale educational television broadcasting. Such a step is not considered feasible in view of the large number of programmes planned. School boards are therefore being urged to prepare for their own recording and distribution and the department has already formed a mobile unit to demonstrate the operation and use of video-tape recording equipment.

577. Language laboratories offer a different kind of assistance to the teacher. They facilitate the repetition of the spoken language and may be used outside classroom hours. The use of these laboratories has increased rapidly in the United States since 1960 because funds were made available to schools to purchase such equipment under the National Defense Education Act. They are now found in some of the larger secondary schools in Canada and are becoming more common, although few teachers as yet have received any special training in the use of this teaching aid.

Language
laboratories

578. All teaching aids when properly used can do much to make classroom presentation more effective, but the course of study must be designed from the beginning to use each aid to its best advantage. Even after the course of study has been designed and the aids provided, the classroom teacher must take the time to plan the classroom work in order to use these aids to full advantage. No province has yet achieved such effective utilization of teaching aids for second-language teaching.

8. Provincial examinations

579. Despite recent emphasis on the speaking and listening skills, matriculation examinations in French as a second language still place a heavy premium on grammar and translation in most provinces. This is particularly true in the Atlantic provinces and in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. This emphasis is no doubt in accordance with the wishes

¹L. G. Kelly, "Teaching the Other Language by Television and Radio," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., discusses these and other programmes.

of the university authorities, many of whom feel that such knowledge is necessary as a foundation for college work. In many provinces, however, the second-language matriculation examination is changing. The examinations prepared in British Columbia, Alberta, and the English Roman Catholic schools of Quebec are now presented entirely in French, with no translation from or into English. All three use the most modern techniques for testing vocabulary, syntax, reading comprehension, and controlled composition by objective methods. The same is true of the almost completely objective English examination administered to Francophone students in Quebec.

Oral testing

580. Most matriculation examinations in language now include listening comprehension and dictation tests presented either on a record or a tape. The marks allotted to this aural component are between 10 and 25 per cent of the paper. In the Protestant schools of Quebec, the testing of oral expression has long been a feature of the high school leaving examination in French. This test is administered individually to candidates by selected oral examiners, and the mark obtained counts for 50 per cent of the final mark. In Ontario, where matriculation examinations have been discontinued, oral expression tests based on pictures have been developed for use by teachers in Grades XII and XIII.

9. Trends and proposed changes

**New programmes
planned**

581. There is a general trend across Canada towards longer training sequences, beginning in the elementary grades, for French-language teaching. There is also a trend towards greater use of audio-visual and audio-lingual materials, at least in the early stages of instruction. In all provinces French revision committees are at work studying new programmes with a view to updating existing courses. Pilot projects using the new courses described above are in operation in selected classrooms throughout Canada. In most cases, a six-year sequence terminating in the last year of high school is being planned. In Ontario, long-range plans call for a nine-year sequence. The Protestant and English Roman Catholic schools of Quebec are still thinking in terms of a nine- or 10-year programme, but there is a strong feeling that the present approach is obsolescent and must be replaced. Alberta and Saskatchewan have already produced new courses for teaching French, and most other provinces will have prepared such courses by 1970. This does not mean that by 1970 all traditional courses will have been abandoned; the necessity for continuing the older courses will remain until suitably fluent teachers are available in the numbers required.

**Testing
procedures**

582. Changes in materials and methods will require corresponding changes in techniques of measurement. With so many different courses

in operation in the same province (and the pluralistic approach seems likely to continue), a single provincial examination will no longer be adequate for assessing individual achievement in language programmes. The Ontario solution to this problem has consisted of doing away with the matriculation examinations and returning the task of evaluation to the individual teacher. In British Columbia, only students who are not recommended by their schools are required to write the Grade XII examinations. In Montreal, teachers in the Protestant schools are accredited as oral examiners, and such accreditation has been under consideration elsewhere. But there is a need for standardized language tests to measure the four skills as a check on the validity of local evaluation of language achievement. American tests will have to be adapted or Canadian tests developed to measure proficiency in the two official languages.

B. Second-language Teacher Supply and Training

1. Teacher supply and qualifications

583. If the courses of instruction just described are to produce good results, they must be in the hands of capable teachers. Provincial reports will make it clear that there is a serious lack of well-qualified language teachers from coast to coast in Canada.¹ There are many reasons for this. The number of bilingual teachers with the necessary professional training and with a desire to teach the second language is strictly limited. The extension of second-language teaching to the elementary grades has greatly intensified the teacher scarcity.² Many other factors adversely affect the supply of teachers, including teachers of language. The student population explosion, falling drop-out rates, and the competitive bidding of business and industry for personnel suited to teaching—all these have contributed to the increased demand for teachers. Low pay scales, particularly in the Atlantic provinces, have led to the granting of letters of permission and "local licences" to individuals with very rudimentary qualifications for teaching. In some areas, almost any candidate who presents himself as a language instructor is hired with no questions asked.

584. Surveys in Nova Scotia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta show that well over half the teachers of French in these provinces have only

¹ See review of Section 10 of the individual provincial reports contained in Appendix III.

² To take one example, when French was introduced into Grade VIII in British Columbia, every available language teacher was hired, but a number of unfilled positions remained in the rural schools.

limited fluency. Moreover, the Alberta study showed that out of 321 non-Francophone teachers of French who responded, 250 or 78 per cent estimated that they were using English as the language of instruction more than half the time.¹ This percentage is not out of line even on a national basis. A survey conducted by the Commission at 25 English-language universities involved more than 3,000 freshmen enrolled in first-year courses. One question asked of candidates was "Did you ever have a teacher who spoke only or primarily French in class?" In seven of the nine provinces the proportion of candidates answering negatively varied between 74 and 89 per cent.²

585. There are similar staffing difficulties relating to the teaching of English as a second language in the French-language elementary schools in Quebec. Class teachers are required to teach their own English course, regardless of their competence in the spoken language. As a result, the language work done is almost exclusively written, in spite of the fact that the textbooks are based on an oral approach.

Special
recruitment
measures

586. Some school boards have adopted special measures to obtain qualified language teachers. Each year a recruiting team from the Montreal Protestant system goes to Europe to engage certified teachers of French. It may seem odd that such a step is necessary in the world's second largest French-speaking city, but it must be remembered that it has been very difficult for a Roman Catholic to teach in a Protestant school in Quebec or vice versa. Moreover, there is a serious shortage of teachers in both the French and the English systems. The Protestant Board of Montreal has a French specialist in each of its 80 elementary schools, although most of the workload is still handled by classroom teachers of varying fluency. In Ontario, as an emergency measure, the department has recently selected bilingual persons outside the teaching profession and trained them in summer courses to assume duties as French teachers in the elementary schools.

2. *Teacher preparation*

Academic
qualifications

587. The basic requirement for the elementary teacher's diploma in all provinces of Canada is two years of professional and academic training beyond junior matriculation, or one year of mainly professional training beyond senior matriculation. Some provinces, notably British Columbia and Alberta, offer specially designed courses for elementary teachers leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education. It is now

¹ George H. Desson, "A Study of the Academic Preparation and Fluency of Alberta High School Teachers of French" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta at Calgary, 1967), 78.

² L.-P. Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

becoming usual in many provinces to offer an optional French course to selected student teachers who expect to teach French on graduation.

588. Many secondary school teachers are still teaching without university degrees but the trend is towards four-year undergraduate programmes combining content and methodology courses or, as an alternative, one-year professional training programmes for holders of bachelor degrees in arts, science, or commerce. Most of these courses are now being offered in a university setting in the various faculties of education. The one-year programmes do not usually lead to the degree of Bachelor of Education but only to a secondary school teaching diploma. The University of Ottawa and St. Dunstan's University in Prince Edward Island are exceptions.

589. In British Columbia the Bachelor of Education programme for secondary school teachers is of five years' duration, while there is a four-year programme for elementary school teachers. In Alberta a four-year programme is authorized for both categories.

590. It is important to note that, almost without exception across Canada, the teaching certificates issued by provincial authorities do not indicate the subjects in which the teacher is especially competent. In other words, certification is general, and not by subject; the candidate on graduation may go out and teach any high school subject, depending on the demands of the moment. Specialist certificates for teachers of French are issued in only two provinces, Quebec and Ontario. In Quebec this certificate may be obtained through summer courses by selected teachers with at least one year's experience and demonstrated proficiency in speaking and writing. It entitles the holder to teach French in both elementary and secondary schools, whether he has a degree or not. It is unusual, however, to find a French specialist without a university degree teaching high school classes.

Specialist
certification

591. In Ontario the requirements are more formal. The Type A or specialist's certificate is open only to graduates of university honours courses or of other advanced courses of study. Candidates for this certificate are processed differently from Type B (non-specialist) candidates during their year of professional training.

592. The teacher-training programmes for French-speaking teachers in New Brunswick and Quebec have similar requirements. Most teachers employed in New Brunswick have been trained at the New Brunswick Teachers' College in Fredericton. Separate programmes, each of two years' duration, are provided for Francophones and Anglophones. An optional course in the teaching of English as a second language is now being offered.

593. The French-language teachers' colleges in Quebec offer both two-year diploma programmes leading to the Type B certificate and

four-year degree courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education. In the two-year course, the study of English (both language and methodology) is obligatory in both years. In the degree course it is compulsory in the first and last years.

3. In-service training

594. There are now many opportunities for language teachers in Canada to improve their qualifications and to modernize their methods of instruction. Universities and departments of Education, provincial teachers' associations and their language councils, school boards, publishers, and voluntary groups provide a variety of summer and extension courses as well as training sessions in the form of workshops, seminars, and regional conferences.

595. One training project that is particularly worth noting, since it perhaps foreshadows the shape of things to come, is the six-week "immersion" course for developing French fluency that was offered at the Ontario Centre for Continuing Education at Elliot Lake in the summers of 1966 and 1967. The same course was held in 1968 at Sainte-Thérèse-de-Blainville, near Montreal. In each session, 150 elementary and secondary teachers underwent intensive training in French conversation and the methodology of second-language teaching. As an integral part of the course a recreation programme consisting of film showings, music and songs, land and water sports, and field trips was conducted almost entirely in French. Participants were enthusiastic about these courses.

596. In-service training conducted during the school year may take the form of night classes and Saturday morning workshops, or of short meetings held during class hours, especially at examination time. The opportunities for such training sessions are generally greater in the larger centres, though many provincial language teacher councils and departments of Education arrange regional conferences concerning new courses of study and recent developments in language training.

4. Supervision and guidance

Guidance for
language teachers
in Ontario

597. The supervision and counselling of classroom teachers is a special form of in-service training. In Ontario there has been an increasing emphasis on this activity. The Ontario department of Education has appointed a number of modern-language inspectors—or programme consultants, as they are now called—who visit schools, observe language classes, and provide much useful advice regarding the most effective way of presenting instruction.

598. In the larger Ontario cities the school board usually appoints a language supervisor who may have one or more consultants to assist him. The duties of the supervisor include setting up in-service training programmes. He provides information and advice on the availability, purchase, and use of laboratory and other equipment. He visits schools to check the quality of language instruction, and he arranges inter-school visits between language teaching staffs to promote a fruitful exchange of ideas and the development of effective teaching procedures.

599. Finally, in the high schools of Ontario there is often a department head who gives supervision to his less experienced colleagues and provides them with the opportunity of observing classes that are well taught. He also helps his staff organize the work of each term into teachable units, and so ensures effective instruction in all classes under his jurisdiction.

600. The amount of supervision that language teachers receive in the other provinces varies widely. The Protestant system of Quebec has modern language inspectors or consultants as in Ontario, and the larger regional and urban school boards usually have one or more language consultants. The appointment of department heads for modern languages is still a new idea in most provinces. In the larger schools we find chairmen for the core subjects but not always for the smaller language sections. Generally speaking, second-language teachers across Canada receive little personal guidance on the job.

Guidance in
other provinces

C. Student Attitudes

601. Student attitudes towards learning a second language are difficult to assess and even more difficult to explain, but it is obvious that these attitudes are an important factor in determining the effectiveness of second-language teaching. Unless the student attaches some importance to second-language learning, curriculum planners and teachers are likely to be disappointed by the results of their efforts. It is true that the curriculum itself and the individual teachers will affect the attitude of the students, that a well-articulated programme, using a variety of teaching aids and taught by a proficient and enthusiastic teacher, can create a genuine interest in any school subject.

602. The attitude of a student, however, will also reflect community attitudes, and the value which parents and other students in the class give to the learning of the second language. If the student gains the impression that French or English is an artificial acquisition or an unnecessary frill, even the best programme taught by the best teacher will have little impact.

Attitudes towards
French as a
second language

603. In general, English-speaking students appear uncertain as to why they are studying French. The responses of some freshmen students at Canadian universities suggest that for many of them French is a "foreign" language, offering abstract cultural or academic benefits but having little relevance to their careers or to their lives as citizens of a bicultural country. Questions on attitudes were administered to students enrolled in first-year French courses at 25 English-language universities. This was not a representative sample of all university students—because a second language may or may not be required for a university degree, depending on the faculty or the university—but the number of students was large enough to warrant some inferences.¹ Few of these students had had any significant contact with French as a living language, either by meeting French-speaking Canadians or by watching French television, listening to French radio, or reading French newspapers. Even in the classroom they might not have much contact with French; most students reported that they had never had a teacher who spoke mainly French during French periods. In Ontario and Quebec, two out of three students had had this experience, but in the other provinces the proportion ranged from one in four to one in 10. Student attitudes towards French may reflect this lack of contact.

604. The students were presented with nine possible reasons for studying French and asked to check the reasons which applied in their case. The responses suggest varied and possibly even confused motives. A majority replied affirmatively to most of the suggested reasons. French seemed useful for travel abroad or for reading French literature; it seemed useful for travel in Quebec or for reading newspapers and listening to French-language radio and television; it would be useful in the student's future career; as a Canadian, the student felt he should know French. Only a minority, however, saw it as useful for speaking to Francophone friends or as essential for their careers. In each case, the students who responded affirmatively received higher marks on achievement tests in listening and reading in French than the students who did not feel that this reason applied to them. The one exception was the suggested reason that the student was studying French because it was necessary for a university degree. A majority gave an affirmative response, but the test marks of this majority were much below the test marks of those who rejected this reason. The connection between attitude and achievement is apparent.

605. Probably more revealing, however, was the subsequent question, which asked the student to select the most important reason from those

¹ Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," Chapter IV, 20. Some 8,000 students were involved, although the basic group—students who were born in Canada of Anglophone parents and who had received all of their education within a single province—consisted of 4,500 students.

he had checked. Slightly more than one-quarter of the group chose the need for a university credit in a second language. The remaining students distributed their choices among the other eight reasons. It seems clear that the results of French teaching in the schools would be improved if more students were convinced that a knowledge of French would be a valuable acquisition rather than an academic hurdle.

606. French-speaking students react differently to learning English. When a similar questionnaire was administered to some 2,000 students at French-language universities or classical colleges, a much higher proportion replied affirmatively to the positive reasons and four out of five rejected academic credits as a reason for studying the second language. Just over half of these students gave as the most important reason that English would be necessary or useful for their career. A further question suggested disadvantages to learning English, such as the danger of becoming anglicized, or impoverishing their French, that English was not necessary for a career, that the time could be better spent on other subjects, or that Anglophones should first give greater importance to learning French. When asked which of these was the most relevant for them, almost half the students rejected them all. It is clear that most French-speaking students believe that a knowledge of English is a valuable acquisition.

Attitudes towards
English as a
second language

607. These students took achievement tests in listening and reading the second language as well as completing the questionnaires. The English and the French tests were not comparable. Even within the two groups, the students could not be considered a representative sample from each province. Therefore, no attempt was made to draw any conclusions about the relative competence in the second language of Anglophone and Francophone students, or of students from the different provinces. Nonetheless, the test results provide valuable information about the teaching of second languages in Canada.

Achievement
tests

608. For the Anglophones there was a positive correlation between results of the tests and the number of years of studying the second language. The same positive correlation appears between test results and contact with spoken French in or out of the classroom. We have already noted the correlation between attitude and achievement. Probably more revealing is the fact that for all provinces, with the exception of Quebec, the average marks on the listening test were lower than the average marks on the reading test, although the norms based on four-year high school programmes in the United States were slightly higher for the listening tests. No dogmatic conclusions can be drawn from these test results or from the various correlations. In general, however, the test results suggest that there is some validity in the widespread criticism

of the teaching of French in Canadian schools. They also suggest where improvements in second-language teaching are possible.

609. Similar correlations appeared among the Francophones. The more years of studying English, the higher the achievement on both listening and reading tests; the more contact with spoken English in or out of the classroom, the better the test results. Francophones, however, usually scored higher on the listening than on the reading test. Again the marks suggest that there is room for improvement, especially for students who have little contact with English outside the school, although in some cases the achievement in the second language approached the fluency of students for whom English is the mother tongue. For both Francophones and Anglophones, it is apparent that more hours of study and more contact with the spoken language would improve both the listening and reading skills.

610. Fifty years ago an English commentator wrote that "Languages are learned for necessity, profit or intellectual satisfaction. Our necessity was not apparent, our profit was sufficient, and most of us found in other ways such modest intellectual satisfaction as we craved." The same comment would aptly describe the traditional attitude of many Canadians towards the second official language. There is no royal road to language learning, and no panacea will make people bilingual without personal effort. In the past many have not seen necessity, profit, or adequate satisfaction in developing second-language skills.

611. Today, for Canadians, the situation is especially favourable for learning the second official language. The importance of the second language is widely recognized among both Anglophones and Francophones. The audio-lingual method is generally accepted as the most appropriate learning method and in most provinces the courses of study are being revised, teachers are being trained in the new approach, and audio-visual aids are being developed and used in the classroom. Our recommendations are intended to accelerate the improvement of second-language teaching in Canada, building on this favourable climate of opinion and on the curriculum changes already being introduced.

A. The Extent of Instruction in the Second Official Language

612. From the beginning, the Commission has emphasized that not all Canadians would or should become fluently bilingual. There may be advantages to the individual in acquiring one or more of the language skills, but every adult citizen should have the right to decide for himself whether these advantages justify the time and effort which second-

Opportunity to
learn the second
language

language learning involves. We have already referred to the benefits of learning the second official language.¹ Although not all Canadians need to be bilingual, we repeat, it is nevertheless true that most Canadians would benefit from some contact with the second official language. The opportunity to study the second language should be provided for adults who are interested, but it is up to the adults themselves to decide whether they wish to take advantage of these opportunities.

Early introduction of the second language

613. Children of school age are in a different situation. Children cannot judge the future utility of the second language; their careers and their way of life have not yet been decided. Yet it is while they are young that they can most easily learn a second language. The child who does not study the second official language in school will be at a disadvantage if he needs to learn it in later life. He will be like a man who did not learn to skate when he was a boy; he may acquire the skill when he is older but it will require greater effort and concentration. Many who do not study the second language in school will never learn it at all. For some this will limit career opportunities; for all it will mean the loss of the other benefits which come from the study of the second language.

Recommendation
31

614. It is necessary, therefore, to ensure that all children have the opportunity to study the second official language. If the second language is included in the school curriculum but is classified as an optional subject, the implication is that this introduction to the second language is not important. Not all students or parents will realize that, if the second language is not begun at a particular level, future opportunities to learn it will be restricted. The opportunity to learn depends not only on the availability of facilities, but also on their use. The second official language should not be an optional subject but rather an integral part of the school curriculum. **We recommend that the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools.**

615. This recommendation does not involve radical changes in the present curricula of our provincial school systems. As we have seen, most students already study French or English as the second language. Our recommendation, therefore, will affect only a minority. Present requirements for a second language for Anglophone students do not always specify French, but in practice French is usually the choice—either because it is the only second language offered in the school or because most students choose French when they have the choice. Our recommendation would make French the second language for all Anglophone students, although they could study additional languages if they wished to, and if courses were offered.

¹ See §§ 521-2.

616. This recommendation goes further, however, by making the second language a subject for all students, whether they are in the academic, commercial, or technical stream. A second language is usually included in the academic programme, but it is often not included in other programmes. A knowledge of French or English as a second language is equally valuable, however, to all students.

617. Indeed, participants at a UNESCO conference on second-language teaching in 1962 "were convinced that teaching young children a second language was practicable and educationally valuable for all children and not only for the specially gifted, provided full use was made of the recent advances in the methodology of modern language teaching."¹ We see no reason to make any distinction between the various streams as far as the study of a second language is concerned. The course of study and the methods may vary between streams, with vocabulary and subject matter reflecting the specialized interests of the student, but the second official language should be taught to all students.

B. The Aims of Second-language Training

618. Aims in education can never be rigidly defined. Students vary widely in capacity and interest so that any precise statement about levels of achievement is impossible. Broader objectives usually refer to qualities or attitudes which cannot be accurately measured. Every subject on the school curriculum should increase the student's knowledge, understanding, and intellectual capacities. It is nevertheless essential to begin with the aims, because they provide the criteria by which methods and subject matter should be determined. No logical programme is possible unless its objectives are clear.

619. The immediate aim of second-language teaching is concerned with the four basic skills—understanding the spoken language and the ability to speak, read, and write it. These skills are interrelated but each could be taught separately. The precise aims of second-language teaching will influence the sequence in which these skills are introduced, the emphasis given to each skill, and the level of competence to be achieved in each. A broader objective is concerned with expanding the child's knowledge and understanding of the culture expressed through the language and his understanding of the people who speak it. Cultural material should not be included at the expense of the immediate aims of second-language teaching, but any second language must be taught in a cultural context. In Canada, this context should enhance the awareness and increase the knowledge of the other official-language group in the country. There are, of course, other objectives, such as

Language skills
and cultural
objectives

¹ Conference Bulletin, UNESCO Institute of Education (Hamburg, April 17, 1962), 2.

the development of clarity in thought and expression, the indirect benefit to the grasp of the mother tongue, and the self-knowledge which comes from understanding another society. These objectives, however, are common to the teaching of any second language and so are not our immediate concern.

1. The language skills

620. The aim of second-language teaching is not to produce a generation of completely bilingual Canadians, any more than the aim of physical education is to produce a nation of gymnasts. The extent to which the school can develop the four language skills will vary with the community; obviously an English-speaking child has a better chance of learning French in Ottawa than in Calgary because of the environment, and the same is true for a French-speaking child learning English in Montreal as compared with Chicoutimi. The degree of skill acquired will vary from one community to the next, but the basic aim should be the same in all cases. Second-language teaching should lay a solid foundation so that after graduation the student may develop, retain, or re-acquire the skills he needs. The school should not be expected to perfect these language skills but it should enable graduates to become bilingual if they have the desire and the opportunity to do so.

Emphasis on
different language
skills

621. In practice it is not quite so simple. Bilingualism, as we have already noted, is a complex concept and bilingual persons may be bilingual in different ways.¹ If second-language teaching is to achieve its aim it must prepare students for a wide range of possible language situations. Which of the language skills should be given priority in the classroom? In which sequence should they be taught? These basic skills are obviously interrelated, since there is a common vocabulary and sentence structure, but it is possible to speak a second language without being able to write it, and it is possible to understand the written language without understanding the spoken word. The decision as to which skill should be taught first and which skill should be emphasized cannot be an arbitrary one. In part this decision will depend on which of the language skills will be the most useful.

622. In the 19th century the emphasis was on the reading and writing skills, and grammar and translation dominated the second-language curriculum. The teaching of modern languages was greatly influenced by the prestige of the classical languages and the aim was to develop analytical skills and a sense of literary style. A student might learn to translate or even imitate Addison or Fénelon, but he might never learn to converse in the language. The introduction of the so-

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, §§ 4-16.

called direct method was a reaction against treating modern languages as "dead" languages. With this method, the emphasis is on conversation, and the written word is almost hidden from the student until he can understand the spoken word and can speak the language with confidence. The emphasis on oral methods was a response to the increasing international contacts in the 20th century for diplomats, businessmen, and tourists. The new methods first gained popularity in Europe, where the advantages of the oral skills were more obvious, but two world wars drew more attention to the value of oral methods in North America, and the strained relations between the two major language groups have strengthened the support for these methods in Canada.¹

623. We strongly support the teaching of oral skills to Canadian students. Both French and English are living languages in this country and whenever Francophone and Anglophone Canadians meet, communication is possible only if at least one person can understand and speak the other's language. We believe that this priority of oral skills is accepted by most Canadians. The criticisms we heard of second-language teaching were centred on the complaint that, after years of study, students still could not communicate with their compatriots.

Priority of oral
skills

624. As we have seen, our own research gives further support to this conclusion. When first-year students taking a course in French at English-language universities were asked the most important reason for studying French, many of them thought French would be essential or at least useful for their work; others felt that it was their duty as Canadians; others that a knowledge of French would be useful for travel abroad. Only a few felt that it would be important to read French literature.² First-year students taking a course in English at French-language universities also stressed the value of the second language for situations where conversation would be the usual means of communication. They tended to choose English as essential or useful in their work, as necessary for a citizen of Canada, or in order to communicate with English-speaking friends.³ So much importance was given to the oral skills by these Francophones that just over half of them minimized the value of second-language teaching in the classroom and felt that they had learned more English outside school. To them, knowledge of English meant a knowledge of spoken English.⁴ It seems clear, therefore, that second-language teaching should give priority to the oral skills.

¹L. G. Kelly, "Ideas on Language Teaching, Their Origin and Development in the West" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Laval University, 1966).

²L.-P. Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 56-62.

³R. Sirkis, "How Well Do French Canadian Students Know English?" a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 21.

⁴*Ibid.*, 133.

Reading and
writing skills

625. This does not mean, however, that the skills of reading and writing can be neglected. Even Canadians who have daily contact with members of the other language group will not be able to communicate effectively unless they read the newspapers, periodicals, and novels which their compatriots are reading. The ability to speak a second language is of little use if there is no common frame of reference for conversation. For Canadians who have little or no contact with those of the other language group, reading may be the only way to keep in touch with the interests and attitudes of their compatriots. Second-language teaching in Canada should give priority to the oral skill without neglecting the teaching of the reading skill.

626. Second-language teaching programmes cannot be designed solely in terms of the probable future needs of the students. They must also be based on sound pedagogical principles. Fortunately there is no contradiction between the priorities established by assessing the usefulness to Canadians of these various skills and the priorities established by language teachers concerned with teaching all the skills. Experts are now generally agreed that languages are learned by acquiring behaviour patterns rather than by analysis. "*The single paramount fact about language learning,*" writes one specialist, "*is that it concerns, not problem solving, but the formation and performance of habits.*"¹ These habits are best acquired by beginning with oral communication—first by becoming familiar with phrases and sentences and then by learning to use them. After this introduction to the language the student will proceed more effectively to acquire the reading and writing skills.

627. There is disagreement among the experts about the timing of the introduction of these language skills. Should students acquire a high proficiency in the oral skills before they are exposed to the written language, or should the skills be developed in tandem? There is no need to become involved in this debate at the moment. It is enough to point out that the most effective way to develop even the reading skill is to begin with the oral skills, because in this way one acquires those habits which are the basis of language learning. Thus, for pedagogical as well as for pragmatic reasons, second-language teaching in Canadian schools should begin with the spoken language.

2. *The cultural aims*

628. The other broad aim of second-language teaching is related to cultural objectives rather than language skills, but the two objectives are closely linked. Language is never taught in a cultural vacuum and

¹ Nelson Brooks, *Language and Language Learning, Theory and Practice* (2nd ed., New York, 1964), 40. [Italicized in the original.]

it has even been argued that, in learning a language well, a student will actually identify himself with the cultural values associated with this language group, at least during the learning period.¹ Even if this is exceptional, it is obvious that the incentive to learn any language will be enhanced by an interest in the people who speak the language, in their cultural heritage, and in their way of life. In Canada, second-language teachers have the great advantage that they do not have to teach French or English in the context of a remote European society. The interest in the language can be more easily stimulated because it is the language of many Canadians. Students should find the second language more pertinent and more relevant, and hence easier to learn, if it is presented in the context of a Canadian society.

629. This emphasis on the Canadian context of English or French is justified by this pedagogical advantage, but it has the supplementary advantage that it will teach Canadian students a great deal about the other language group in Canada. Instead of living his French lessons in Paris, the English-speaking student could talk or read about life in Quebec, while the French-speaking student could learn English in the context of Toronto rather than of London or New York.

Emphasis on
Canadian milieu

630. This approach will do more than increase the relevance of second-language learning for Canadian students. It will also provide them with a great deal of information about the other cultural group. For many this knowledge will survive long after the language skills have been forgotten. The stereotypes of the simple habitant or the puritanical Anglo-Saxon can only be replaced by an awareness of the complexity of our two societies. If we can even introduce students to the idea that their compatriots cannot be fitted into stereotyped categories it will be a significant achievement, because eventually these students will be involved in political decisions which affect both cultural groups. A secondary aim of second-language teaching should be to give students some understanding of the other official-language group in Canada.

C. The Second-language Curricula in the Schools

631. We do not intend to suggest a detailed blueprint for second-language curricula in Canadian schools. No single programme for French- or English-language teaching would be suitable for all parts of the country. In any case, the details must be the responsibility of

¹R. C. Gardner and W. E. Lambert, "Motivational Variables in Second-language Acquisition," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, XIII, 1959, 266-72.

professional linguists, of educational experts, and of language teachers. Our concern is to discuss the main characteristics of the curricula and the courses of study which stem from these aims. After a discussion of the second-language programme in the schools we can then proceed to a discussion of the preparation of teachers and teaching aids which this programme will require.

1. An articulated second-language programme

632. The recommendation that all students should study the second official language does not imply that all students should study it in every grade. What is important is a continuous and integrated sequence maintained over a number of years.

633. Skills can be developed only by practice, and the rather unnatural skills involved in speaking or reading a strange language cannot be acquired quickly. Habits must become ingrained and, as with piano playing, some responses must become almost instinctive. But time can easily be wasted, and unless these students follow a carefully articulated sequence they will not use their time effectively. Practice may make perfect but it is not constant practice of the scale of c which makes a pianist. Second-language students must advance from the easy to the difficult, from the simple to the complex, if they are to develop language skills.

Length of
programme

634. The first question is how many years of studying the second language are necessary to provide a foundation for the student to develop, retain, or re-acquire these skills after leaving school. American experience suggests that the minimum should be four years. Two-year programmes are now viewed with considerable scepticism because they do not achieve a reasonable language competence. Provincial departments of Education in Canada seem to have arrived at the same conclusion. In almost every province the second-language programme, either French or English, extends over at least four or five years of secondary school, and even in provinces where the second language is not introduced as a compulsory subject at the elementary level, local school boards are permitted to begin teaching the second language at this level. In 1964, of some 8,000 first-year university students involved in a Commission study of proficiency in French, fewer than one in six had studied French in school for less than four years and the median period was five years.¹ Of the Francophone students included in a study of proficiency in English, more than half had studied English for seven

¹The results of this project are analyzed in Valiquet, "French-language Proficiency at University Entrance."

or eight years.¹ From this, as well as from the present provincial programmes, it is clear that a four-year sequence is already accepted as a minimum, and that most programmes exceed this minimum.

635. The problem in most provinces is not one of introducing a minimum programme but of creating an articulated sequence. Most second-language programmes are a continuous sequence through the high school years but there is an amazing variety of second-language instruction in every province at the elementary level. Local schools usually have the authority to introduce the second language in the elementary grades but there is no consistent pattern. Within the same province students may begin studying the second language at any level from Grade I on, or they may not encounter the second language until secondary school. This means that, at the secondary level, the course of study for the second language cannot build effectively on the elementary school background of the student. If we take a province in which Grade VIII is the first year of secondary school, a teacher in this grade may have to teach the second language to a class which varies from seven years of training to no training at all. Inevitably, this means that the teacher must begin with the fundamentals. For the student who is already well advanced, the situation is comparable to that of an advanced student of the piano forced to go back to practising elementary scales. He may be required to endure the boredom of unnecessary repetition for two or three years until his classmates have acquired comparable skills. The same problem of articulation arises in the first years of university where once again the variation in backgrounds of language training means that many students may be enrolled in classes which are inappropriate because they do not build on the skills already developed.

636. A great deal of attention has been given in recent years to the possible advantages of introducing children to the second language at an early age. This discussion, however, has tended to overshadow an equally vital question—the necessity of a continuous language programme to consolidate and develop the skills acquired in the elementary grades. **We recommend that second-language courses be planned in a continuous sequential programme.**

637. If secondary school language programmes do not build on the foundations established at the elementary level, the early beginning is a waste of time. This explains why in 1961 an advisory committee of the Modern Language Association of America was critical of many "Foreign Language in Elementary School" (FLES) programmes. The committee was strongly in favour of introducing second languages at

Linking elementary and secondary programmes

Recommendation
32

¹ Sirkis, "How Well Do French Canadian Students Know English?" 41.

the elementary level, but it pointed out that this early introduction to a second language is not an end in itself, but the elementary school part of a language learning programme that should extend unbroken through Grade XII. "Unless there is a solid junior and senior high school programme of foreign language learning with due stress on the listening and speaking skills, FLES learnings wither on the vine."¹

**Recommendation
33**

638. The year in which second-language teaching ends is thus in many ways more important than the year of school in which it begins. If skills acquired at the elementary level lie fallow at the secondary level, many of the advantages of an early beginning will be lost. For the student, however, the knowledge of the second language is more likely to be useful after graduating from secondary school. He may be expected to speak or at least to read the second language, whether he takes a job or goes on to university. For this reason, **we recommend that all programmes for the teaching of the second official language should extend to the terminal year of secondary school.**

639. This recommendation does not propose any radical innovation in existing programmes. In almost all provinces the existing programmes continue to the end of high school. The recommendation does stress, however, the importance of continuing second-language instruction to the terminal year of all secondary school streams—academic, commercial, and technical.

2. The introduction of second-language teaching

**Advantage of
early introduction**

640. This is not to suggest that there are not real advantages in early contact with the second language. With respect to the actual learning process, no child is ever too young to start learning a second language, provided that the method is suitable. Young children are skilful imitators and have fewer inhibitions and so can acquire the oral skills with much less effort; they can reproduce the strange sounds and rhythms more easily and the necessary repetition becomes part of a game, a form of play-acting. Dr. Wilder Penfield has also argued from neurological evidence that new speech mechanisms can be acquired more easily at an early age. These special advantages do not imply that second languages cannot be learned by adolescents or adults. Second languages can be learned at any age if there is sufficient opportunity and the motivation is strong. At an early age, however, certain aspects of the learning process, such as memorization and repetition, are less laborious, and satisfactory accent, intonation, and speech rhythms are more easily acquired.

¹ Cited in Donald D. Walsh, "Articulation in the Teaching of Foreign Languages," *Curriculum Changes in the Foreign Languages* (1963), 63.

641. It is sometimes argued, however, that learning a second language at an early age will interfere with the grasp of the first language. Francophone Canadians are especially apprehensive of the encroachment of English words and structures on their mother tongue, and fear that linguistic confusion may inhibit intellectual clarity in either language. Linguists differ over the danger of language interference, although it is generally agreed that individuals are better able to keep the sounds and structures of the two languages distinct under certain conditions. An ideal learning situation, for example, is for the child to communicate with an individual in the same language at all times—the principle of one person, one language. Recent research gives little support to the apprehension that learning a second language interferes with general intellectual growth. The problems of maintaining high standards of French in North America cannot, however, be ignored. Even if there is no evidence that learning a second language inhibits the full development of the mother tongue, it may be desirable to delay the introduction of English in the French-language schools in order to concentrate first on the fundamentals of the mother tongue. The Parent Commission on Education recommended in 1964 that the study of English as a second language should begin in the second or third year of elementary school if highly qualified teachers were available; otherwise it suggested that it might be delayed until the fifth year, as in the present Quebec curriculum. For Anglophone Canadians, the mother tongue is not menaced in the same way, and French as a second language can be introduced early in the elementary curriculum with little risk of language interference.

Language
interference

642. No uniform recommendation on the beginning age is possible, given the different linguistic milieus to which Canadian children are exposed. Even among Francophones, the ideal beginning age may not be the same for a child living in Ottawa as for a child in Quebec City. More research is required on this subject. Even if careful research could increase our knowledge of the capacity of children to learn and of the significance of the language milieu, the problem would still not be solved. Any decision about the beginning age also depends on whether the appropriate learning situation can be provided in the classroom. The child cannot begin to study the second language unless suitable teachers and courses of study, complete with teaching aids, are available. It would be a mistake to introduce the second language in the early years of elementary school before a continuous and sequential programme of second-language teaching from this point could be assured. Because of the different linguistic milieus, the lack of teachers, and the need to develop programmes, it is not possible to

Recommendation
34

make a specific recommendation at this time. Nonetheless, the desirability of an early beginning must be stressed. **We recommend as a desirable objective the introduction of the second official language in Grade I in English-language schools and in Grade III in French-language schools.**

Kindergarten

643. The possibility of introducing the second official language in kindergarten should not be overlooked. Although we do not intend to make any formal recommendation, we are convinced that the kindergarten offers many advantages for the introduction of a second language. The kindergarten atmosphere is usually informal and the activities relatively unstructured. The time spent on learning a new medium of communication does not encroach on the time which in later years must be devoted to reading and arithmetic. Children of kindergarten age also appear to enjoy the simple game of learning responses and songs in a different language. We believe that, whenever a suitable teacher is available, the second official language can most easily be introduced in kindergarten.

644. The ideal second-language programme is therefore one beginning in early grades of the elementary school and continuing to the end of secondary school. Such a programme will be a continuous sequence, carefully designed to develop the language skills in a logical and consistent pattern. The progression from one year to the next will require changes in methods to suit the ages and skills of the learner. More formal methods will be appropriate as the student matures, just as the learning of the mother tongue passes from the informal and unstructured learning in the home to the highly organized learning of grammar, literature, and literary criticism. Unstructured learning continues after childhood even in the mother tongue, however, and in the second language it should never be entirely displaced even if its importance diminishes.

645. Such a programme cannot be achieved by *ad hoc* changes in provincial regulations. Articulation requires the planning of the entire language programme, with the course of study for each year building on the work of the previous year. Each course of study in turn will require a wide range of teaching aids—textbooks, tapes, filmstrips, radio and television programmes—all carefully planned as integral parts of the course. These aids must be produced before a new language programme can be offered. Even more difficult is the problem of supplying the teachers. We will be discussing the training of language teachers in section D of this chapter, but already it is obvious that these teachers will require special training. They themselves must acquire the language skills before they can teach them to their students, and they must be familiar with the methods and the teaching aids of

the language programme adopted. No ideal language programme can be introduced until qualified teachers are trained.

646. Our recommendation on the levels at which second-language teaching should begin is therefore qualified by the need to prepare course material and to train teachers. No province has the resources to implement this recommendation at this time. Thus it represents an objective for second-language education in Canada.

647. This does not mean that the extension of language teaching at the elementary level should be delayed until all the prerequisites for an ideal programme are available. Rather it means that long-range plans are needed for extending second-language teaching and that changes in existing programmes should be based on these plans. Each province will face special problems in moving towards the objective in our recommendation. What may be feasible in one province may not be possible until some years later in another province.

Period of
transition

648. During the period of transition, priority must be given to the need for an articulated programme. If the responsibility for deciding the beginning age is left entirely to the local or regional school authorities, then the variety of programmes within the province will be even more confusing than it is today, and much of the effort expended by teachers and students at the elementary level may be wasted. If the compulsory study of the second official language begins only at the secondary level, the programme at this level must inevitably be adjusted to the lowest common denominator. Instead of a logical extension of a single elementary programme, it will begin once again at the introductory level. A carefully articulated sequence linking elementary and secondary programmes is only possible if the elementary programme begins at the same grade in all of the elementary schools of the province. The objective we have recommended should be reached as soon as possible, but it should be achieved by gradually lowering the grade at which the provincial programme is introduced. This grade in any given year will depend upon the available supply of language teachers and the preparation of a suitable course of study. **We recommend that the provincial second-language programmes in the elementary schools be extended downward by stages until the provinces reach the objective of introducing French in Grade I in the English-language schools and English in Grade III in the French-language schools.**

Recommendation
35

649. This recommendation does not mean that local school authorities would not be able to introduce the second official language before the grade at which the language becomes part of the regular provincial curriculum. They would have the same authority as they now have to enrich the curriculum at an earlier level. This local initiative should still be encouraged; our recommendation is intended to

ensure that the energies which have gone into the many elementary school programmes already in existence will not be dissipated for lack of an articulated sequence.

3. *The language to be taught*

650. Since one of the purposes of second-language teaching in Canada is to facilitate communication between members of the two language groups, it is obviously necessary to teach the language which the other group will understand. This creates special problems in Canada, however, because there are regional variations in pronunciation and vocabulary for both French and English, and none of these variants is identical with the language spoken in France or in England. Should we teach one of the versions of the language as it is spoken in Europe or should we teach one of the Canadian variants?

Variants of spoken French

651. The French which is to be taught has provoked considerable controversy. Many Anglophone Canadians have had the experience of studying French for years only to find that the French spoken on the streets of Montreal was incomprehensible to them and that their French was not understood in the shops. Some Anglophones conclude from this that the French spoken in Canada is a patois and that an educated person should learn "Parisian" French. Only "Parisian" French, it is argued, gives access to French literature and to Francophones outside North America. Other Anglophones are critical of the French they have learned in school because they want to communicate with their compatriots and would prefer to speak "French Canadian French" even if it is a patois.

652. These attitudes are based on a misconception of the French spoken in Canada. There are many variants of French even in Quebec; there are regional variants, but differences attributable to educational or socio-economic status are more significant. Francophones themselves are very conscious of the differences and many of them are more critical of *joual* than are Anglophones.¹ Indeed, *Les insolences du Frère Untel*,² a best-seller which helped to spark the "quiet revolution" in Quebec, was primarily concerned with the need to eliminate *joual*. The Parent Commission in turn gave a high priority to the teaching of the mother tongue in the schools, with special emphasis on the need to improve the quality of oral French in Quebec: "In certain cases the school must counteract the language level of the

¹ *Joual* is the name given to the variant of French spoken by the less educated or less sophisticated French Canadians. The name is derived from the pronunciation of *cheval*.

² Jean-Paul Desbiens (Montreal, 1960).

area from which the children come."¹ Many French-speaking Canadians already speak a cultivated French, and the quality of written French in some Quebec newspapers and certain literary works has been recognized by international awards. The widespread concern for improving the French used in Quebec, the concerted efforts in the schools, and the example of newspapers and television may well relegate *joual* to isolated communities in a generation or two. It will remain a subject of interest to linguists and anthropologists but not to people who wish to converse with French-speaking Canadians.

653. Our conclusion is that the French to be taught in English-language schools does not present a serious problem. French is a more standardized language than English and there is a version of French recognized and accepted by Francophones throughout the world; this "international French" is already spoken by well-educated French Canadians. To teach anything else to English-speaking Canadians would be absurd. The vocabularies could be expanded to include commonly used words unique to French Canada, but the basic vocabulary would differ little from *Le français fondamental*.²

*Le français
fondamental*

654. The variant of English to be taught to French-speaking Canadians is less easily described. English is far less standardized and, although Anglophone Canadians may be concerned about imprecision in the expression of ideas, they are much less concerned with differences in pronunciation; even the choice between English or American spelling is often arbitrary. This more permissive attitude means that there is no accepted "English Canadian English." The English now taught as a second language in French-language schools in Canada may vary from one region to another. In general the variant taught accepts North American rather than British pronunciation. Unless Canadian English becomes more standardized, a more rigid uniformity is impossible. Fortunately, the permissive attitude towards variants of English means that any of these forms is accepted as a suitable medium of communication in Canada.

Variants of
English

4. The cultural orientation

655. Language cannot be taught in a cultural vacuum. The interest of the student and his success in grasping the structure of the language depend in part on his ability to associate the language with a human society. Language teachers have long recognized the need to teach the second language within a cultural context, and textbooks and

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, III (Montreal, 1965), § 611.

² See footnote to § 549.

teaching aids have always been based on material dealing with the history, the cultural heritage, or the contemporary life of the society in which the language is spoken.

656. In Canada, French and English, as second languages, are taught within a cultural context, but our investigation of the textbooks being used has shown that they are presented primarily as foreign languages. This is deplorable for two reasons. First, since a language must be taught in a cultural context, it is regrettable that language teachers have chosen to deal with taxis, museums, and historical events in foreign capitals and have their students go to the Seine—or to the Thames or the Hudson—rather than to the St. Lawrence. It is not the primary function of second-language teaching to inform students about Canada but, for the students, an awareness of the historical traditions or the contemporary life of their compatriots would be relevant and useful.

Recommendation
36

657. Second—and even more important—are the pedagogical advantages of using the Canadian scene for the teaching of the second languages. Motivation is the key to successful language learning. This is why the language is always associated with a society—the interest of the student in the society gives him a motive for learning the language. In Canada students already have an interest in their compatriots. They learn about them in history and geography, they read about them in the daily newspapers, they hear about them on television or in casual conversation. The interest is there and language teachers should take advantage of it. Textbooks, filmstrips, tapes, magazines, and radio and television programmes should all reflect the fact that the second language is the language of other Canadians. **We recommend that French and English as second languages should be taught not as foreign languages but with an emphasis on the Canadian milieu in which these languages are used.**

Language
teaching at
university

658. The focus on the Canadian milieu should also be continued at the university level. The majority of university students take only introductory courses in the second language and our research has shown that they are principally concerned with improving their language skills. These students are not primarily interested in reading novels, poems, or plays—French or English; they are interested in the contemporary world. Students may gain a deeper appreciation of the language by reading literary masterpieces but, for university introductory classes, good prose on subjects relevant to their experiences will certainly sustain a higher level of student interest. The ideas expressed in essays on social life and politics in Canada and even in some political speeches would attract the attention of the student and so accelerate the learning

of the language. Many students who specialize in the second language at university will become teachers of this language in the schools. Such students will benefit directly from greater emphasis on the Canadian context, even in senior classes.

659. We do not mean to imply that French or English should be taught as if they were Canadian languages only. It is essential to include the broader French and English cultures for which these languages are the medium, and students should be aware of the best writing in these languages. In our opinion, however, too much emphasis has been given to European literature and to the European milieu. We believe the balance should be redressed. **We recommend that more emphasis be given to Canadian authors and to the Canadian milieu in the teaching of French and English as second languages at universities and colleges, especially in introductory courses.**

Recommendation
37

D. Providing Second-language Teachers

660. The improvement of second-language teaching in Canada depends on teachers. Our recommendations for an articulated programme beginning in the elementary school with a focus on the Canadian milieu are important, but no programme can be effective without properly trained teachers. This is true for any subject, but the teacher is of special importance in second-language teaching. He must understand the subject and be trained in the methods of teaching it, and he must also be able to converse in the second language. It was possible with the grammar-translation method for a teacher to teach from a book, explaining the rules, and drilling the students in vocabulary and grammar without ever actually speaking the language. Students taught in this way could pass the required examinations, as many Canadians can confirm. They can also affirm with regret that passing the examination did not mean that they could use the language. The oral method implies contact with the spoken language from the beginning, but this contact depends to a large extent on the teacher. A variety of teaching aids can supplement the work of the teacher in the classroom, but unless the teacher has acquired the conversational skills the oral method cannot be taught effectively.

661. There is no quick and simple way of meeting the demand for second-language teachers with language skills. An effective language-teaching programme from elementary school to university would produce these teachers, but such a programme is itself dependent on having trained teachers in the classroom. The immediate need for

Secondary level

trained teachers is less acute at the secondary and university levels than at the elementary level. Teachers in the secondary schools and universities are usually specialists, so most second-language teachers will have studied the language at the university level and will have acquired some competence in the language skills. At the same time, the students should have had some practice in the oral skills before reaching secondary school, so they should be able to spend more time on the reading and writing skills which require less immediate supervision.

Elementary level

662. Second-language teaching at the elementary level means primarily teaching the oral skills, so the teacher must be able to converse in the second language. At this level, however, the regular classroom teacher may teach all subjects on the curriculum. The advantage of a single classroom teacher is that the teacher develops a special understanding of each pupil and the pupil in turn develops confidence in his teacher; the problem from the point of view of second-language teaching is that few elementary teachers have the necessary oral skills. Until these skills can be effectively taught at the elementary level, however, reforms in second-language teaching remain visionary.

663. The problem of teaching second-language oral skills can be approached in three ways. First, it is apparent that more elementary school teachers must acquire the oral skills. Second, the students can be taught the second language by individuals who have these skills even though the regular classroom teacher does not. Third, a variety of teaching aids can relieve the teacher of some responsibilities and can bring the student into direct contact with the spoken language. Taken singly, none of these procedures offers an effective solution; together they can transform the teaching of second languages in Canada.

1. *Specialists in the classroom*

Finding teachers with language skills

664. Many people have suggested that there is an untapped resource of people already fluent in the second language although they have no professional qualifications. These individuals are seen as substitutes for the regular classroom teacher for the teaching of this language. The major objection is that it is not enough for a teacher to have the language skills; he must also be able to teach them, and this requires special talent and special training. On the other hand, we are faced with an emergency situation. Language teachers, especially at the elementary level, are needed *now* and we cannot wait until regular classroom teachers have acquired the language skills. There are many people who speak the second official language who could be used to

improve second-language teaching.¹ The problem is how to make the best use of this resource.

665. Anglophones have sometimes suggested that the demand for teachers of French could be met by hiring Francophone teachers from Quebec. These teachers would have the language skills as well as professional qualifications and teaching experience. Unfortunately there is already a shortage of teachers in the French-language schools, and in any case few such teachers are willing to move to an English-speaking community or to make a career of teaching French as a second language.

666. Teacher exchanges would meet some of these objections, but efforts to arrange such exchanges have been disappointing. In spite of the interest and the efforts of various organizations, there have been very few exchanges of Francophone and Anglophone teachers over the last decade. The interprovincial exchange programme administered by the Canadian Education Association has never involved more than six teachers in any single year since 1958, and nearly all of these have been exchanges between English-speaking provinces. Some exchanges have been arranged without using the facilities provided by the Canadian Education Association, but again the number is very small.² It is probable that most teachers prefer to visit other parts of the country during their holidays rather than face the disruption of moving their families for a year, even when no adjustment to a different linguistic and cultural milieu is involved.

Teacher
exchanges

667. Teacher exchanges between French and English school boards do offer many advantages. The teachers involved can bring vitality to the language classroom, not merely because they speak the second language fluently but also because they represent a different culture. Their impact will be felt by colleagues as well as students. Financial incentives, special arrangements for housing, and more publicity for exchange programmes would doubtless make such programmes more popular. It must be realized, however, that such exchanges can never become an integrated part of a language-teaching programme. Even the teachers who do move are not trained to teach their language as a second language. Teacher exchanges can provide valuable enrichment

¹ On the basis of a survey conducted by the Canadian Federation of University Women in 1966 it was estimated that among Anglophone women university graduates not now employed but who expressed some interest in becoming teachers, some 1,000 to 1,500 had a reasonable command of French and so might be considered potential teachers of French. See Patricia Cockburn, *Women University Graduates in Continuing Education and Employment* (Toronto, 1967), 98.

² A Stinson, "Travel and Exchange: An Examination of the Use of Travel and Exchange Programmes for the Development of 'Better Understanding' between Peoples in Canada," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

for students, but they can never do much more than that. An articulated language programme cannot be built on one-year appointments of teachers from other parts of the country.

**Classroom
visitors**

668. Classroom visitors for the second-language period are another possibility. In most communities there are some people who speak the second language and who are available to assist the teacher. These visitors can contribute a great deal, especially in the first years of second-language teaching, because they can at least convince the students that they are dealing with a living language. Knowledge of the language is not enough, however, and without some training the classroom visitor may be little more than a diversion for the students.

669. In 1965 the province of Ontario initiated a five-week summer school course for Francophones who wished to teach French in the provincial schools. The candidates had to be fluent in French and to have at least the equivalent of senior matriculation. They were then given some instruction in methodology and child psychology. The successful candidates were given a temporary but renewable teacher's certificate. Some 540 candidates have completed this summer course and the department of Education is so satisfied with the results that it intends to continue the programme.

**Itinerant lan-
guage teachers**

670. Itinerant language teachers have also been employed by some school boards. These specialists replace the regular teachers in the classroom for the language periods and teach in a number of classrooms in different schools. They have special qualifications and often special aptitudes for language teaching. Experience suggests that they can improve the standards of second-language teaching. The best results, however, depend on the ability of the regular classroom teacher to consolidate the gains. The itinerant teacher is an invaluable aid but should not be considered as a complete substitute for the regular teacher.

Team teaching

671. Team teaching is probably the most satisfactory way of getting qualified second-language teachers into the elementary classroom. By having two or more teachers responsible for a class of students, some specialization is possible without losing the advantages of teachers having daily contact with the students. The need for specialization at the elementary level is not peculiar to the teaching of second languages, and it seems probable that team teaching will become more common in the future. In schools where team teaching can be introduced, only some teachers will need to know the second language and eventually the supply and the demand for such teachers will be brought into closer balance.

2. *Training the regular classroom teacher*

672. People already fluent in the second language cannot replace the regular classroom teacher, even if they are given some teacher training. The simple fact is that there are not enough potential specialists of this kind who will undertake the work. Not all regular classroom teachers can be expected to become fluent in the second language, but in many cases their language skills can be improved and they can be taught to use audio-visual aids to compensate for their limitations. Even so, many teachers now in the classroom will have to improve their language skills if the second-language programmes are to be effective.

673. Summer courses are the most obvious way to raise the competence of second-language teachers. Summer school is already part of the professional tradition for teachers in Canada. The Canadian university campus is often almost as crowded in July and August as it is during the regular term, and a large proportion of these summer students are teachers improving their professional qualifications. Local school boards and provincial authorities encourage teachers by salary schedules which reflect academic qualifications, and universities have responded to the demand. Summer courses are not a panacea—two months is little time and teachers must sacrifice their vacation to attend—but for second-language teachers they do offer opportunities to develop language skills and teaching methods.

674. Existing programmes for second-language teachers are inadequate for a number of reasons. Summer school credits towards university degrees or higher certification have usually been given for traditional academic courses or for methods courses in which fluency in a second language is at best an incidental benefit. There is no professional recognition for oral competence. Teachers may study conversational French but this is usually a non-credit extension course, not specifically designed for teachers. A recent study shows that the summer school enrolment in oral French in Canada in 1965 was about 1,930 students, about 900 of whom were from the United States; enrolment in oral English was about 480. It is estimated that existing facilities could absorb an additional 800 and 240 students respectively.¹ These programmes should be encouraged for the benefit of any adults who wish to improve their fluency in the second language, but they do not meet the needs of teachers who want to teach the second language. For these people, special programmes are required.

675. The shortage of adequately prepared second-language teachers is not peculiar to Canada. In the United States the need for such

Language institutes
in the United States

¹C. E. Parent and J. P. Harney, "Report on University Summer Schools of Oral French and English" to the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada Committee on the Centennial (mimeographed, no date), 13.

teachers was so acute that the National Defense Education Act of 1958 was seen as an emergency measure. The Canadian situation differs in many respects but much can be learned from the NDEA experiment. Under NDEA, a wide variety of language institutes has been organized for the training of language teachers. In 1958, 36 summer institutes were established; in 1965, there were over 80 in operation and some 20,000 teachers had been enrolled over these years.¹ These institutes differ from the usual summer school courses in two ways. First, the participants are isolated in the second-language milieu for six to eight weeks—in class, in language laboratories, at meals, and during recreation. Second, the programme is designed for teachers, with training in applied linguistics and teaching methods, and with attention to the cultural background of the society using the second language. The institutes are classified according to the language proficiency of the teachers or prospective teachers who attend them, and the more advanced institutes may be held in a foreign country. A university or college is authorized to conduct an institute only after it has shown that its facilities and equipment and the summer staff meet the required standards; the institutes are also inspected and appraised during the summer.

676. How successful have these institutes been? A careful study has led to the conclusion that they have been most effective in improving listening comprehension and speaking ability; no assessment of the improvement in teaching techniques or cultural knowledge has been made, but it can be assumed that the effect in thousands of classrooms has been significant. There is no doubt that the institutes have raised the level of second-language teaching in the United States.

Recommendation
38 677. We do not suggest that these institutes should be duplicated in Canada. The United States is concerned with foreign-language teaching, whereas in Canada priority must be given to teaching English and French as second official languages. Here both our resources and our needs are different. The basic problems of second-language teaching are universal, however, and the NDEA institutes can serve as useful guides. French- and English-language training centres can play an important role in the training of language teachers for Canadian elementary schools. **We recommend the establishment by provincial authorities of French- and English-language centres for the training of second-language teachers for elementary and secondary schools.**

678. These training centres would not replace existing summer language schools, which are already fulfilling a widely felt need; and it would not be enough to expand the present summer school arrange-

¹For a description of these institutes, see R. Whalen, "The National Defense Education Act and Second-language Instruction: an American Model for Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

ments. The centres would be new institutions designed specifically for the training of language teachers and prospective language teachers. Most of them would operate during the summer to coincide with the teachers' vacations. A programme extending for the full academic year offers many advantages, however, and we would hope that this longer programme would also be offered. Normally the learning centres would be located on a university or college campus, where physical facilities such as residences, classrooms, and language laboratories are available. We envisage an increasing degree of specialization as the programme develops, with separate centres for elementary and secondary school teachers, and with centres at different levels, depending on the language competence of the teachers enrolled at the centre. At the more elementary level, the teachers would attend centres in their own province. Those with more proficiency in the language would go to training centres in an area where this language is the normal medium of communication. Teachers might attend centres at different levels in successive years in order to improve their qualifications.

679. This is not the place to suggest in detail the curricula of such centres. The objective will be to train teachers to teach the second language. The development of the four language skills will be emphasized and it is assumed that both in and out of the classroom the second language will be used. Films, speakers, and special projects will supplement the formal classroom work. In addition to this, however, there will be instruction in teaching methods and the use of tests, there will be demonstration classes, and there will be information about the cultural heritage and the way of life of the people whose language is being studied. These will be professional training centres, concerned with the profession of second-language teaching. The curricula will be planned by experts and developed with experience.

680. The individual centres will be provincial institutions to the extent that they will be training teachers to teach the second language in the provincial schools. Provincial authorities will be responsible for assessing the desired annual enrolment from their province, and will also want to ensure that the programme of the centres attended by their teachers will be appropriate for their provincial second-language curriculum. It will also be the responsibility of the provincial governments to pay the basic cost for each provincial teacher attending a training centre.

681. These centres will not be provincial institutions in any narrow sense, and the more advanced centres, at least, will be located outside the province from which the teachers will come. For accounting purposes, therefore, we suggest that the operating cost per student

Provincial
responsibility

Recommendation
39

should be calculated for each centre and that each provincial government should pay the basic operating cost for the teachers from that province. This cost would include the proportionate share of the expense of the administrative and teaching staff, the rental of the teaching facilities, and the travelling expenses, as well as cost of the board and lodging, of the teachers attending the centre. The provincial authorities may, of course, impose a fee on the teachers who attend a centre, although it is hoped that any such fee would be nominal. **We recommend that the basic operating cost of the second-language training centres be paid by the respective provincial governments.**

682. The first step in the development of centres will be the creation of a small central bureau to co-ordinate the programme. This bureau will arrange for the accreditation and supervision of individual centres. It will establish the physical facilities and the staff requirements for each type of centre, authorize the establishment of all centres, and inspect and assess each centre while it is in operation. The bureau will not need a large permanent staff because its duties will be restricted to planning, advising, and supervising and will not include the administration of the centres themselves. Initially it would include two co-directors, one for French- and one for English-language centres, and a small staff. We would suggest that the bureau first study the experience of the NDEA administration in the United States and then begin its operations on a relatively small scale. For the first year it might be enough to accredit first-level French-language centres in the Atlantic provinces, Ontario, and the western provinces, and an English-language centre in Quebec, and one advanced French-language centre in Quebec and one advanced English-language centre in English-speaking Canada.

Recommendation 40 683. **We recommend the establishment of an interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to co-ordinate the training programmes.** Since this bureau will be in some respects a central agency for the provincial departments of Education, we propose that it be attached to the recently established Canadian Council of Ministers of Education.

Recommendation 41 684. The federal government also has an interest in the development of an adequate programme for training second-language teachers. This interest is less obvious because the federal government has no direct responsibility for education. It is nonetheless a real interest because of the importance of improving second-language teaching in Canada. **We recommend a federal grant to the interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to assist in the operating costs of the centres.** We believe that this grant should cover at least the salaries,

travel, and office expenses of the bureau as initially constituted in order to facilitate its establishment as quickly as possible. We also suggest that the grant should include funds to enable the bureau to appoint some special lecturers each summer to visit a number of institutes and so supplement the regular programme.

685. The federal government can also co-operate in another way. At present too few universities and colleges have the specialized teaching facilities, such as language laboratories, which they will require to be eligible as the site for a training centre. These facilities are a prerequisite for the training programme. They could also be used by the universities and colleges during the regular academic year. **We recommend that the capital costs of required specialized teaching facilities for second-language training centres be shared by the federal government and the government of the province in which these facilities are constructed, with the federal government paying at least 50 per cent of the capital costs.**

Recommendation
42

686. The training programmes will be primarily designed for teachers who wish to improve their qualifications as language teachers, although prospective teachers who have completed the academic requirements for a teacher's certificate should also be admitted. As an encouragement we strongly urge that credit towards a professional degree or a specialist certificate be given to teachers who have attended a training centre and have successfully completed the programme. The training these teachers receive will be as valuable professionally as other courses for which credits are now given. It is most important that provincial departments of Education give formal recognition to this fact.

687. The importance of in-service training should not be overshadowed by these special training centres. Even teachers who have the language skills and are trained in methods of language teaching and the use of teaching aids will often benefit from brief periods of in-service training and from professional guidance. No new course of study should ever be introduced without some discussion with the teachers to acquaint them with the reasons for adopting the new approach and to explain the implications of the new methods and teaching aids which will be part of this course. There should also be provincial supervisors with a specific responsibility for the second-language programmes in the provincial schools. These supervisors would visit language teachers, learn their reaction to existing courses of study, and give counsel and guidance on classroom procedures. These suggestions would be equally valid for other subjects on the curriculum; they deserve special mention in connection with second-language teaching because

In-service
training and
guidance

the courses of study for the subject are so frequently changed and because more changes can be expected in every province during the next few years.

3. *Teacher-training institutions*

688. The second-language training centres will be designed for teachers who wish to refresh or improve their language skills and to study language-teaching methods. Special consideration, however, must be given to the training of prospective teachers. It is difficult to make specific recommendations for the training of second-language teachers, because the existing training programmes vary so widely from province to province. In Quebec alone there were more than 100 teacher-training institutions before the changes introduced following the Parent report. There are far fewer in the other provinces, but a study prepared for the Commission listed 36 without attempting to be exhaustive. These institutions may train elementary or secondary school teachers or both; they may be separate colleges or they may be faculties or departments of a university; the programme may vary from one year to five years. Given this diversity, our recommendations must necessarily be guidelines rather than specific proposals.

Neglect of
the second
language

689. The striking fact about most of these institutions is the neglect of the second official language. Few of the English-language institutions, for example, require secondary school French for admission. French is seldom a compulsory subject of study at the institution, and rarely is there a course in language-teaching methods. There is no concerted effort to inform teachers about French Canadian society. Such information as may be provided comes indirectly from literature or Canadian history courses.¹ English as a subject is given more importance in French-language teacher-training institutions, but again there is little emphasis on language-teaching methods or the cultural background of English-speaking Canada. This indifference towards the second official language is all the more surprising when it is remembered that at the elementary level especially, more and more teachers are expected to teach the second language. Teacher-training institutions are not usually responsible for specialized training in any academic subject. For the elementary school teacher, however, some acquaintance with the second language and with language-teaching methods should be mandatory. Even at the secondary level, teachers with little training in the subject may find themselves teaching the second language.

Recommendation
43

690. The requirements for teachers vary between provinces and between institutions, and no recommendation will be equally applicable

¹ R. W. Torrens, "Teacher-training Institutions in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

in all cases. It is possible, however, to suggest minimum levels of achievement in the second language and training in the methodology of language teaching, even though we realize that some provinces have already adopted these requirements. For most language teachers the minimum requirements will fall far short of what is desirable. **We recommend that the equivalent of university entrance in the second official language should be a minimum requirement in all provinces for graduates of a teacher-training institution. We further recommend that all elementary and secondary school teachers who may teach the second official language should complete a course in second-language teaching methods.**

4. The role of the university in training second-language teachers

691. The language departments of universities and colleges also play a significant role in the training of language teachers and this role will become even more important as a university degree becomes a common requirement for a teacher's certificate. University language departments in the past have not been primarily concerned with language skills; they have been more concerned with literature or linguistics. It is obvious, however, that these skills are essential tools for any linguist or for any student of the literature written in a second language. It is also important to remember that a large proportion of the students who major or honour in the second language intend to become language teachers and for them these skills are essential. Such skills can most effectively be learned by concentrated practice and drill. Language departments, however, cannot monopolize the time of the student, who must study other subjects as well, and these departments are reluctant to use the available time to teach the language skills at the expense of literature or linguistics.

692. The dilemma of language departments will be resolved to some extent when students arrive at university with more highly developed language skills. Nonetheless, language departments must accept greater responsibility for students who plan to teach the second language as a subject in the schools, or who wish to learn the second official language without intending to become specialists in its literature. In each case there should be an emphasis on the oral skills and on contemporary society, with less attention given to great authors and to literary criticism. At a certain stage, however, language departments should be relieved of the burden of teaching these skills because such skills can be learned more effectively if the student is moved to the other language milieu.

Language teaching
at university

Transfer to
another university

693. This dilemma can be resolved. If students specializing in French (or English) as a second language could spend one academic year at a French- (or English-)language university, they would find themselves in a milieu in which it is easier to acquire the language skills. All their courses would be taught in the second language and all their extra-curricular activities would also bring them into contact with it.¹ The students would derive the most benefit from this year if they arrived with reasonable competence in oral skills. For this reason, this academic year should be the second or third year of undergraduate work. It is assumed that the student would take not only language and literature courses in this year but also at least one course outside his specialized field. Some students will absorb less from the lectures because of language difficulties; as compensation they will improve their language skills. The student should return to his own university for his final undergraduate year at least. In this way, each language department will be able to ensure that its graduates have achieved required academic standards.

694. At English-language universities, this special year should be mandatory for all honours students and optional for all students majoring in French. At French-language institutions this special year would be mandatory for graduate students specializing in English and optional for undergraduates with a concentration in English. Eventually it might also be extended to students in other disciplines who wish to improve their skills in the second language.

Cost of transfer

695. Some funds must be provided for the students to compensate them for the additional expenses involved in this year. The grant to each student should cover travelling expenses and living expenses for a month of orientation in the new milieu before the university term begins. It might also include a small amount to compensate for the additional cost of living which a student often incurs by attending a more remote university. The programme we are proposing would not reduce the cost of university attendance. Indeed, a transfer could mean a financial sacrifice for students entitled to scholarships tenable only at their university or within their own province. We would hope that at least the provincial scholarships for these students would be made tenable for the exchange year.

Recommendation
44

696. The host university will also incur extra expenses, because fees paid by any student usually cover less than half the cost of his training.

¹ For many years the Canadian Union of Students has administered a student transfer programme—the Interregional Scholarship Exchange Plan—with the financial assistance of the Canada Council and more recently of the Centennial Commission. This plan offers a useful guide for developing such a programme, although most transfers were interregional and few occurred between French- and English-language universities.

These transfer students will also impose special burdens on universities; at least some literature and language courses will have to be designed to meet their special needs, and universities will have to accept some responsibility for the accommodation and extra-curricular life of these students—if only to ensure that they associate with the regular students and with people in the community. There is always the danger that the exchange students will become a separate clique and lose the advantages of living in a different language milieu. We suggest that a reasonable grant to the host university for these students would be equal to the normal provincial grant to the university for a student at this level. Most universities are provincial institutions and, apart from student fees, the costs of university education are largely financed by provincial grants. The provinces, however, cannot be expected to subsidize the training of large numbers of students who come from other provinces and will be returning to them. The financial burden would be especially great on the French-language universities which would have to absorb all the Anglophone students. The grants to the students will make it possible for them to spend a year in a different region of Canada and in a different cultural milieu. The benefits of this transfer programme, apart from the advantages to the individual student, will accrue to the country as a whole and not to any specific province. The federal government should provide the grants to the students and to the host universities because it has a special interest in promoting the acquisition of the second official language. The federal government has already subsidized the various travel and exchange programmes of the Centennial Commission and the apparent success of these programmes justifies the application of the same principle to student transfers. **We recommend that the federal government meet the cost of a one-year transfer programme for university students specializing in the second official language.**

697. The administration of this programme will require close liaison between universities and more particularly between language departments. It would be undesirable, for example, to have all the French-language students sent to Toronto. Some sensible distribution among the available universities must be arranged. Language departments must know what courses will be available to their students during their exchange year and must be assured that suitable academic standards will be maintained. The host universities will have to be sure that the visiting students will be able to benefit from courses taught in their second language. The transfer programme can be administered only by an organization closely associated with Canadian universities. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada is the appropriate

Recommendation
45

institution because it is an administrative body responsible to the universities and colleges. It should also be noted that the AUCC has already shown an active interest in the problems of second-language teaching at the university level. **We recommend that the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada administer the transfer programme for students specializing in the second official language.** We would expect that the AUCC would invite the cooperation of the Canadian Union of Students and the Union générale des étudiants du Québec in establishing the exchange students in their new milieus.

698. We have restricted our recommendations to students specializing in the second official language. Many of these students will become second-language teachers and so merit special concern. Students in other fields, however, would also benefit from living for a year in the other society, and the country in turn would benefit from such transfers. It seems wise to begin this transfer programme with language students, but after a few years of experience the AUCC should seriously consider the possibility of expanding it to include students in other disciplines. Careful evaluation of the programme at regular intervals would provide a basis for any recommended changes.

699. In concluding this section on the provision of second-language teachers, we wish to repeat what was said at the beginning: the improvement of second-language teaching in Canada depends on the teachers. There is already a shortage of teachers who can teach the second languages, especially with the oral method being introduced at the elementary level. We have discussed the use of specialists, the provision of institutes for those now teaching, and a university transfer programme for prospective language teachers. All of these approaches are necessary if the teachers are to be provided.

700. We wish to emphasize the extreme importance of our recommendations concerning adequately trained language teachers. Without these teachers, the objectives of the second-language programmes will not be achieved. This will inevitably mean delays in implementing many Commission recommendations that depend on increased bilingualism in Canada.

E. Teaching Aids

Audio-visual aids

701. Classroom teachers have always used teaching aids; even one-room schools had blackboards and textbooks. The electronic marvels of the 20th century have added new dimensions to teaching aids. Radio, records, and tapes can now preserve and reproduce the spoken word in the classroom, and television and films combine both visual and

aural features. These modern teaching aids have a special importance in language teaching because the teaching of a language depends so heavily on oral presentation. Audio-visual aids enable students to hear the second language spoken and to see it presented in its normal cultural context. These new aids offer so many advantages that they could be called the wonder-drugs of second-language teaching; they have been heralded as the painless and almost effortless cure for all who suffer from unilingualism.

702. Experience has tempered this enthusiasm. From a technical point of view, these aids can transmit and reproduce speech with remarkable fidelity—an important point for a classroom in which neither students nor teacher may be sure of pronunciation or speech rhythms. The programmes also have the advantage that they can be carefully planned and edited; vocabulary and language structures can be introduced at appropriate times in the language-learning sequence, and repetition and review can be unobtrusively integrated with new material. Audio-visual aids have the further advantage that they can be filmed in a studio or on location, and can link the language with actions and with physical surroundings which could not be duplicated in the classroom. Nonetheless, they are only aids. They are projected to an audience and, despite possible audience participation in songs and responses, the listeners are primarily passive and receptive. Something more is needed if students are to acquire the active skills of speaking or writing the second language. Electronic aids should be an important part of any second-language teaching programme but they are a supplement and not a substitute for the classroom teacher.

703. The language laboratory, for example, is becoming fairly common as a tool to facilitate repetition, or to give an oral component to work set for time outside the classroom. But after several years of almost uncritical enthusiasm from the teaching profession, many former assumptions about language laboratories are now the subject of widespread controversy. The first such assumption is that a pupil can accurately analyze for himself the special characteristics of a foreign sound. This is questionable, for the training we undergo in learning our own language teaches us to assimilate strange sounds to their nearest native equivalent, and so what we think we hear is often a "translation" of what is really said. If a pupil cannot hear a foreign sound accurately, he will certainly not be able to judge his imitation of it without special training. The second assumption is that practice, tirelessly directed by the machine, makes perfect. Recent experimentation by Jakobovits and Lambert at McGill shows that repetition of the same sequence over and over again can, if taken too far, induce

Use of language
laboratory

“satiation,” a type of mental indigestion that causes rejection of what was meant to be learned.¹

704. The answer to this dilemma is not the wholesale rejection of language laboratories, but care in the training of those who use them. Every training college or university should have a language laboratory, both to teach the language skills and to teach the limitations of such aids, even if the teachers it trains might not have access to language laboratories in the schools. Few people have so far grasped the fact that if a language laboratory is to do any good, a pupil must be trained to use it and so conditioned that the experience in the laboratory will be beneficial.

705. A laboratory should be considered part of the resources at the disposal of both teacher and pupil and it should play a constant functional role in the course. Installation of a laboratory demands a complete reorganization of the language course. Readers will note that this sentence puts the cart before the horse, but unfortunately this is often the progression of events. As it is, we do not yet know all the capabilities—or all the pitfalls—of language laboratories.

706. With this in mind we would recommend further research into the best format of language laboratories and the best ways of utilizing them. We certainly feel that every training college in the country should have a language laboratory to teach both content and method, but practical difficulties preclude anything more sweeping. Where regional school boards think that use of laboratories would justify the expense in initial outlay and maintenance, they might consider mobile laboratories such as are used in parts of Germany. Factors like distances from school to school, the type and state of roads, and the terrain would have to be considered. If an experienced specialist were hired to use such a laboratory, skilled teaching could be made available to large numbers of students.

Aids must be
integral part of
programme

707. One of the limitations of teaching aids has been that they have not always been used as an integral part of the course of study. We have already stressed the importance of an articulated sequence for a second-language programme, with each year building on the skills and knowledge already acquired. This means that the course of study for each year must be carefully planned and the ascribed aims—in terms of language skills, vocabulary and language structure, and cultural content—must then be given specific form within the classroom. All aspects of classroom activity, including teaching aids, must be designed in terms of these aims, and must be co-ordinated with each other. If the student

¹L. Jakobovits and W. E. Lambert, “Verbal Satiation and Changes in the Intensity of Meaning,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 60, No. 6 (1960), 376-83.

is being introduced to a new grammatical structure, for example, it could be presented in different ways by the teacher, the textbook, by tape and by film, and the special characteristics of each medium of instruction might be used to advantage to complete the lesson. The course of study must not be rigid, needless to say. No two classes of students are identical and the teacher must decide when new concepts are to be introduced and when review is required. But the sequence in which concepts are introduced must be planned in advance, and all the appropriate teaching aids should be available when the teacher needs them.

708. Too little attention has been given in the past to the co-ordination of all aspects of classroom teaching, with the courses of study for each year in turn being integrated into an articulated second-language sequence to the end of secondary school. The major obstacles have been time and money. Provincial departments of Education cannot wait until an elaborate course of study has been designed and tested; they have students already in the classroom waiting to be taught the second language. At the same time, no provincial government has felt able to invest the large sums of money required for the preliminary research and the production of such courses of study. The result has been that, although audio-visual teaching aids have been produced, they have rarely been part of a co-ordinated language-teaching programme.

709. Radio and television programmes are good examples. While a teacher is restricted in his classroom by the facilities of demonstration he can get into the room, television and radio have no such limitations. They can give a language lesson the reality that classroom presentation lacks by placing the material in its cultural context and, indeed, by making the pupils forget that they are being taught. Because of the extra dimension of sight, television achieves this more effectively than radio. All types of lessons are possible, from those patterned on the classroom to lessons in which no teacher appears and the situation represented does its own teaching. The technical resources of broadcasting studios run to aids like puppetry, film clips, and an astonishing range of stage properties. In this society, where children are accustomed to slickly produced programmes, school broadcasts must be well prepared or they might as well not exist. This is a matter for very close collaboration between broadcasting and educational experts. An educational programme can only gain from having many of the characteristics of good entertainment.

Use of radio
and television

710. The class teacher plays a critical role in the utilization of radio and television programmes. Though the programme lessons may be complete in themselves, it is the class teacher's responsibility to make sure that his pupils learn from them. This entails preparation and

follow-up. Ultimately it means that the programmes must fit into the scheme of work the teacher has to follow. This may or may not be the responsibility of the teacher, but he is the one who has to do the work. It is important for him to regard the television programme as an aid and not a rival, an assistant that can give students something no class teacher, no matter how competent, could give. At the same time the teacher must be prepared to help his class participate, and to supply the active component which will be lacking in the programme. Television teaching is one form of team teaching that could become vitally important to language learning in Canada.

711. One cannot improvise the production of suitable radio and television programmes together with the textbooks, records, tapes, slides, and all the other audio-visual aids required for a co-ordinated programme. Provincial departments of Education must know what they want, which means that they must have a detailed plan of an articulated language programme into which these aids will fit. Such a programme must be based on a sophisticated knowledge of research in the area of language teaching. This in itself is a major undertaking. So much research is being done in related fields of linguistics that no single scholar can keep up with the articles appearing every year in scholarly journals, published in a number of languages. If one adds to this the research in audio-visual techniques and audio-visual equipment, the problem becomes staggering.

Recommendation
46

712. No single province, however rich or ambitious, can casually undertake the planning and preparation of an articulated second-language programme. The cost will be even greater if the grade at which the programme is introduced is gradually lowered. With each shift the existing aids will have to be modified or changed to fit into the new sequence. Regional co-operation is possible where the second-language programmes are similar, and the Atlantic and Prairie provinces already have some experience in common programmes and shared broadcasts. Even if second-language programmes are planned at a regional level, however, there will be some duplication of costs, because the fundamental problems of research and production will be the same for all regions. But in Canada at the moment, word of mouth is the only way of finding out what teaching methods are being used in other provinces or what teaching aids have been produced. In some cases, teaching aids for the same grade have been independently prepared for two metropolitan school boards within the same province. Waste and duplication are inevitable without some central clearing house for information on developments in second-language teaching,

at home and abroad. **We recommend the establishment by the federal government of a language research council concerned with research and development related to second-language teaching in Canada.**

713. This council would be an independent body not unlike the National Research Council. Close liaison with the provincial departments of Education would be essential because of its responsibilities. For the purpose of reporting to Parliament, however, it could come under the authority of the Secretary of State. One of the first duties of the language research council would be the development of a comprehensive library on all aspects of language teaching. The holdings of this library would be open to scholars and curriculum planners. At the same time the council would prepare regular digests of research developments in areas of language teaching. No individual can read all the research material which may be relevant, and these digests would provide summary descriptions and assessments and so make research findings accessible.

714. It is assumed that the council would not attempt to duplicate the work now being done by language research centres with international reputations or by linguistics departments in Canada. It would be primarily concerned with the research and the developments especially relevant for second-language teaching in Canada. It would also keep up with changes in second-language teaching programmes in Canada and act as a clearing house for this kind of information.

715. The need for a central clearing house for information on existing provincial programmes and proposed changes has become obvious to us. In discussions with provincial officials we have learned that they are often unaware of research or of special programmes in other provinces which were of special interest to them. The language research council would do much to foster interprovincial co-operation, merely by keeping the provinces better informed on the programmes and plans of other provinces.

716. The council could also play a more positive role. It would be more than a reference library because it would be staffed by experts with an extensive knowledge of second-language teaching. Provincial authorities would be able to refer to it for more than information. The council would be in a position to offer advice and even to appraise proposed provincial programmes.

Advisory role

717. Cost is one of the major obstacles to curriculum reform today. Provincial departments are eager to plan new language-teaching programmes and to design and produce the various teaching aids which must be integral parts of these programmes. Because of costs, however, most provincial departments of Education have had to adapt tapes and films and other aids which were available, even though they might

not be completely suitable and could not be easily integrated with the course of study. Some provincial departments, alone or in collaboration with departments of adjoining provinces, have produced their own aids, but even these departments would admit that they have not had the resources to undertake the desirable research and experimentation.

**Interprovincial
co-operation**

718. Co-ordinated programmes, complete with appropriate teaching aids, would be more feasible if the costs of design and development could be shared. Interprovincial co-operation in this field is not easy because co-operation in design and development would mean that the second-language curricula would be the same in each co-operating province. This is probably feasible for regions such as the Atlantic or the western provinces, and the former have already collaborated in the production of radio and television broadcasts. Between regions, the differences in language experience and language attitude are probably too great to make common curricula possible or desirable. Even here, however, some costs could be shared. Teaching aids could be designed which might need only minor adaptations to be appropriate for use in the schools of a number of provinces. This can only be done, however, if representatives of the respective departments of Education participate at the planning and design stage. Close collaboration between provincial officials responsible for second-language curricula can also reduce the costs because some of the costs of research and development can be shared.

719. The language research council can play an important role in this interprovincial collaboration. It is intended that it should have funds to conduct research in fields which are clearly of national concern. Language aptitude tests and language achievement tests are an obvious example. If reliable tests could be developed they would be invaluable not only to provincial education authorities but also to the federal Public Service. These tests, however, require elaborate and sophisticated techniques for their design and appraisal. Such tests have been developed in the United States for aptitude and achievement in French as a second language. They are not considered entirely suitable for Anglophone students in Canada, although these were the tests we had to use in our project to test the achievement of Anglophone university freshmen. There are no sophisticated instruments to test Francophone students' knowledge of English.

720. The resources of the language research council will also permit collaboration with the provinces on a wider scale. Provincial authorities may hesitate to create a provincial research section which could plan and develop suitable courses of study for its second-language programme. They might prefer to have the council design provincial

courses of study, or courses of study suitable to a group of provinces, together with all the relevant teaching aids. The provinces would be responsible for the additional costs incurred by the council in such a project but at least the wasteful expenditures on duplicated research and production at the provincial level would be avoided.

721. The language research council would not only be concerned with second-language teaching and research at the elementary or secondary school levels. The federal government is already involved in a second-language teaching programme of its own. The Language Bureau of the Public Service Commission now offers second-language training in either French or English to civil servants. This programme has expanded rapidly since the first students were enrolled in 1964 and now operates on an annual budget of more than \$4,000,000. The Language Bureau has not only established training schools; it has also found it necessary to modify and revise the courses it has adopted in order to develop courses more suited to the background and the special needs of civil servants. The result is the Curriculum and Test Development Division of the Bureau's Language Training Directorate, which has conducted research programmes in linguistics and curricula and has developed courses and special methodologies as well as various batteries of tests. The language research council would clearly benefit from close contact with the language-teaching programme within the Public Service, and, at the same time, the research being undertaken by the Language Bureau should be closely associated with the language research council.¹

Federal
government's
programme

722. The federal government also has a direct concern in the training of translators and interpreters because of the growing demands within the Public Service. It does not seem appropriate to recommend a federal school for translators and interpreters, but the language research council could give special attention to research on translation and interpretation and might also provide financial assistance and advice to any school which would train the specialists which the Public Service requires.

F. Conclusion

723. Our terms of reference specifically asked us "to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual." Our recommendations on second-language teaching follow directly from this injunction. We have repeatedly explained that we do not expect all

¹ A more detailed study of the Language Training Directorate, with recommendations on its organization, will appear in the Book of our *Report* dealing with the Public Service.

Canadians to become bilingual. We believe, however, that all Canadians should have the opportunity to learn the second official language if they wish to do so.

724. Bilingualism, in the sense of the alternate use of the two languages by an individual, is a broad and imprecise concept. As we have seen, there are four basic language skills—understanding the spoken language, and speaking, reading, and writing the language. A person who has acquired one of these skills may be considered bilingual; under other circumstances all four skills may be required if the individual is to operate in the second language. The degree of perfection in one or all of these skills may also vary widely among people who are considered bilingual. Our concern, therefore, has not been to provide the opportunity to become highly proficient in all skills of the second official language. Rather, we wanted to ensure that all children should have an introduction to the language which would make it possible for them to further develop or re-acquire the skills after leaving school. The school is the place where the capacity for bilingualism can be established. After graduation the individual will have the choice of which skills, if any, he wishes to develop and the degree of perfection he wishes to acquire.

725. The aims of second-language teaching are relatively uncontroversial. Most Canadians agree that a knowledge of the second official language is desirable. The problem is not one of aims but of means, not whether the second language should be taught, but how it can be most effectively taught. If all Canadians are to have the opportunity to become bilingual, all students now entering school must study the second official language. With this principle established it is only a question of how to provide the resources which the language-teaching programmes will require. Our recommendations suggest that priority be given to the training of teachers and to the development of an articulated sequence of courses of study, together with the necessary teaching aids. Taken separately, none of the recommendations is startling or radical; taken together, they will make effective second-language teaching possible. This in itself will be revolutionary.

A. Introduction

726. Cultural duality in Canada depends upon the coexistence of the two major cultures and on co-operation between them. Education is of vital importance because it can help create the conditions which will allow each culture to survive and flourish. Thus, an adequate education in the mother tongue is one of the prerequisites for cultural development. We have therefore dealt specifically with the problem of schools for the official-language minorities across the country.

727. Education can also make a major contribution to fostering co-operation between the two cultures. Contacts are inevitable between institutions and individuals, and these will become more frequent and more profound as our cultural duality is more adequately reflected in our national institutions and our national character. This interaction will depend on effective communication between the two linguistic and cultural communities. We have therefore been concerned with improving the teaching of the second language in order to facilitate this communication.

728. Effective communication between the two groups, however, depends on more than the ability to translate the written or spoken word. One does not need to be an expert in semantics to realize that words can be misunderstood if they are torn from their cultural context. In attempting to express our ideas we all rely on metaphors and similes, quotations drawn from our literary heritage, and references to a shared tradition. Within the two cultural groups not everybody will understand some regional or local terms, but the difficulty of effective communication is obviously greater where there are different literary and historical traditions. Here it is not a simple question of vocabulary,

Co-operation
requires
communication

but one of meaning and nuance. Indeed, the difficulty of communication becomes itself a confirmation of the existence not merely of two linguistic groups, but of two cultural groups.

729. This difficulty can be suggested by a few random examples. The unwary Anglophone, confident in his grasp of French grammar and vocabulary, may still be confused by the comment that "c'est pas la tête à Papineau," and may not appreciate the distinction between "les rongeurs de balustres" and "les mangeurs de curés." Among Anglophones, many of the traditional sayings or phrases have regional origins and may not be widely known; Maritime expressions, for example, may puzzle some Anglophones on the Prairies. Some expressions, however, will have a richer meaning for most Anglophones than for Francophones who hear them used in conversation. A Francophone may not sense the social context implied by references to "beer parlours" and "pool halls," and may not be fully aware of the long traditions implied when someone is described as "coming of old Loyalist stock."

730. Not only the words and phrases but even the usual topics of conversation may differ from one group to the other. Everybody has had the experience of missing a popular television programme and so finding himself almost left out of conversations the next day. It is easy to imagine the isolation when an individual doesn't even know the names of the programmes or artists. Effective communication may not depend on familiarity with certain phrases or with popular entertainment. The problem becomes more serious, however, when words have an apparent equivalent in the other language but when important nuances may be lost in translation. Institutions such as the family or the church, co-operatives, and corporations have subtly different meanings for Anglophones and Francophones, and the distinctions will be lost if the cultural context is not appreciated. This explains why the recent efforts to distinguish between "nation" and "*la nation*" led to discussions of the context in which Francophones and Anglophones use the word. A knowledge of the second language is only a beginning; some knowledge of the other society is required before ideas and attitudes can be shared.

The cultural
question affects
all Canadians

731. We have already referred to the importance of the cultural context in our discussion of the curricula of the minority-language schools and in the teaching of the second official language.¹ But the problem of effective communication between the two cultural groups is too important to be treated indirectly. It is not peculiar to the linguistic minorities or even to those who come into direct contact with the second language. It is a problem concerning all Canadians, because all of us

¹ See §§ 381-2, 628-30, 655-9.

are affected in some way by our cultural duality. Political decisions at the federal, provincial, and even municipal levels will often affect citizens belonging to each cultural group; so will the decisions of administrators, businessmen, and private individuals. Unless the decisions take cultural differences into consideration, there may be resentment and the good intentions of the decision-makers may even be nullified. Cultural duality and partnership affect us all.

732. Education in Canada must pay some attention to our cultural duality and to the implications of partnership. Students will remain ignorant of the nature of Canada if these aspects are ignored. Indeed, the existence of two cultural groups and their interaction is of such fundamental importance that it is not really an exaggeration to say that any judgements about Canada will be inadequate if these factors are ignored. This is true for any courses which deal with Canada at school or at university; it is also true for less formal instruction. Education does not stop at the school door. Youth organizations and adult education agencies, both public and private, develop programmes designed to continue the individual's learning opportunities and increase his understanding of himself and his society. Many of these agencies have rendered conspicuous public service over the past few years in providing opportunities for open discussion on cultural problems. They too have an important role to play in continuing the dialogue and the search for understanding between the two cultural communities.

733. Part 3 of Book II will, therefore, be concerned with this awareness of our cultural duality and with the means by which a better understanding of the nature of Canada can be developed. We recognize that any reference to the nature of Canada is hazardous. National identity is always an elusive concept and it is even more so when the national boundaries include two major cultural communities. Scholars disagree over the traditions, the characteristics, and the aspirations of each of these groups when studied separately, and are likely to disagree even more vehemently over the relationship between them in the past, present, and future. We want to make clear from the beginning our belief that such disagreement and debate are both natural and salutary. The fact that two versions of Canadian history exist is merely evidence of the fact that two societies exist in Canada. It is certainly not our intention to suggest an authorized version of Canadian duality. Our research has taught us much about the complexity of the problem, but it could not provide us with universally accepted value judgements upon which such an interpretation would be based.

734. It should also be stressed that we do not believe Canadian scholars and students should concentrate all their attention on aspects

**Towards a better
understanding of
the nature of
Canada**

of our cultural duality. Many fruitful fields of study and research are remote from this problem and the idea of a Canadian approach to science or mathematics is obviously repugnant. Even for those who choose some subject dealing with Canada, the emphasis need not be on the relations between the two main cultural groups. Any aspect of one of these groups, studied in isolation, is a legitimate area of research and may, in the long run, contribute more to the understanding of Canada as a whole than the study of a broader topic.

735. In spite of the hazards, however, the topic is too important to be ignored. Any subject broadly classified as social studies will give the student some impression of the nature of the society referred to. Whenever the course deals with Canada, whether it is entitled history, geography, political science, sociology, economics, civics, or social studies, it will be shaped by value judgements about the nature of Canada. These judgements may be explicit or implicit, but in either case they will determine the selection and the presentation of the material. The student's impression of both the major cultural communities and of the relations between them may well be determined by interpretations based on these judgements. His awareness of the other group and of its outlook will in turn affect his capacity to understand its point of view or to communicate his own point of view effectively.

736. It is important to know the value judgements encountered by the student. If textbooks and teachers all start from different premises and offer differing interpretations, the student may find it confusing but he will not unwittingly accept one point of view as the truth. If, on the other hand, each cultural group has a conventional interpretation of our cultural relations, and this conventional approach pervades all the courses which refer to Canada, the student will almost certainly adopt this version as his own. In the long run, conventional attitudes determine the relations between the two cultures. The nature of the Canadian partnership depends on what one group believes about the other.

B. Cultural Duality and Canadian History

Opinions on the
teaching of
Canadian history

737. During our public hearings we were often reminded of the importance of Canadian history, and this concern was also reflected in many of the briefs. One brief stated explicitly, "We believe the subject of history to be of extreme importance in education, for it is partially through it that attitudes towards one's country and others are formed."¹ This widespread belief that a study of the past affects present

¹ Brief presented by the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 36.

attitudes was expressed frequently and forcefully, because there was general agreement that Canadian history as it is taught today tends to maintain and even strengthen cultural antagonisms. The history taught to English-speaking Canadians was criticized for paying only cursory attention to the pre-Conquest era. The history taught to French-speaking Canadians was criticized for ignoring more recent events outside Quebec. The writers of the briefs were concerned because the interpretations of past events were so different that there seemed to be not one but two versions of Canadian history. The criticisms were not confined to references to the major cultural groups. In the schools, it was claimed, Indians are indelibly associated with tomahawks and firewater in the early days and then forgotten, while central Europeans appear as peasant immigrants in sheepskin coats and then vanish forever. The consensus of the briefs was that by omissions and—more seriously—by cultural biases, we are fostering cultural divisions and animosities in Canada.

738. The briefs were in general agreement on the remedy as well as the faults. Canadian history, according to one brief, should transmit “the positive values of each of the two main groups, while at the same time implanting in their minds an objective picture of Canada’s past—recognizable to both as the same history—as well as a sense of loyalty to their country which includes good-will towards all of its many groupings.”¹ A stress on objectivity and lack of bias led to the suggestion in many briefs that a common version of Canadian history should be agreed upon and taught in all Canadian schools. Others warned that complete objectivity was impossible but believed that sharp contradictions in facts and interpretations could and should be eliminated. All of them would at least agree that “in the life of this country, there was never more urgent need for the teaching of our past with imagination and sympathy.”²

C.A. Study of Canadian History Textbooks

739. An exhaustive study of how Canadian history is taught would have required an analysis of the history curriculum in each province, a careful examination of the textbooks, an assessment of teachers’ qualifications, teaching methods, and the teachers’ biases, a study of examinations and the marking of examinations, and even a careful survey of student attitudes attributable to the study of history. Such

Limitations
of the study

¹ Brief presented by the Alumnae Society of McGill University, Study 4, 9.

² Brief presented by the Canada Council, 12.

an extensive research programme was out of the question. It was decided to limit the study to a comparison of Canadian history textbooks in use in the schools. A selection was made of widely used textbooks in English and French from both the elementary and secondary levels and an analysis was made of the versions of Canadian history presented in these books.¹

The importance
of the textbook

740. We are aware of the theoretical risks involved in this restricted approach. History teachers may present an interpretation not found in the textbook, and examination marks may reward students who disagree with the textbook version. Observation, however, suggests that this rarely happens. The textbook tends to become the *official* version of Canadian history even for the teacher, who wants his students to pass the examination. In any case, teachers will rarely have the confidence or the knowledge to contradict the "expert" testimony of an approved textbook. A UNESCO report concluded that "the trend is towards diminishing exclusive reliance on the textbook in classroom instruction, but the textbook remains the staple in the educational diet."² As for the students, the printed word is likely to be accepted without question. There is likely to be a close correlation between the points of view printed in the textbook and the interpretation accepted by the student.³

Two versions of
Canadian history

741. A study of these textbooks shows that there are two versions of Canadian history—an English version and a French version. Inevitably there were differences and disagreements between individual authors. History is an attempt to interpret past events, to explain them in terms of cause and effect, and to fit them into a sequence or pattern revealing their significance. Historians, therefore, constantly pass judgements on the past and their judgements are naturally influenced by their views on human nature and the appropriate roles of human institutions. Some differences between textbooks could be explained by the age or the religious affiliation of the students for whom they were written. It was nonetheless striking that the English-language textbooks, written by different authors and for different grades, interpreted the past in much the same way; the French-language textbooks, again written by

¹ M. Trudel and G. Jain, "Étude de la conception de l'histoire canadienne," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

² H. J. Abraham, "The Improvement of History Textbooks in the Interests of International Understanding," *UNESCO Chronicle* (January, 1956), II, No. 1.

³ A study entitled the National History Project was initiated by the Governing Board of Trinity College School, Port Hope, Ontario, in 1965. This project included student and teacher questionnaires and interviews, classroom observation, and a study of textbooks and courses of study. The analysis of the data is not yet complete, but the preliminary findings corroborate our impression that the textbook versions of Canadian history are still dominant in the classroom. We are grateful to A. B. Hodgetts of Trinity College School for bringing these preliminary findings to our attention.

different authors and for different grades, also shared a common view of the past, but one which differed markedly from that of the English textbooks.

742. The existence of two versions of Canadian history is not surprising. The textbook authors, whether Francophone or Anglophone, are not only historians. They are also members of a cultural group, influenced by the traditions and aspirations of the group. Their interpretations and judgements reflect the values their society respects and fosters. The comparison between French and English textbooks merely illustrates the existence of two societies in Canada, with each society primarily concerned with its own goals and the values associated with these goals.

Two societies

743. In the French-language textbooks the dominant theme is the development and survival of French Canadian society. The selection of historical incidents and their interpretation are determined by this theme. Men and events are judged by their contribution to *la survivance*. In English-language textbooks the central theme is the establishment and survival of Canada as a political entity in North America. This theme is less obvious than the theme of the French textbooks, but it is nonetheless pervasive. For every period in our history the underlying theme determines what events are considered historically significant. With two such different themes it is not surprising that we have two very different versions of Canadian history.

Two main themes

744. The space devoted to different historical periods reflects these two interpretations. French-language textbooks dwell at great length on the study of New France, dividing it into the period of the establishment of the French colony before 1663, followed by the period of royal government lasting until the Conquest. Usually half the textbook is devoted to these two eras when French Canadian society was established and took shape. The Conquest is usually seen as “une véritable catastrophe pour notre peuple” and the authors seem to leave the French régime with regret. English-language textbooks, on the other hand, gloss quickly over the years before 1663, although they do deal more fully with the immediate pre-Conquest years. For them, however, the Conquest is not the end but the beginning. “New France had fallen at last,” writes one author with an almost audible sigh of relief, while another writes that “the day of New France was over. A new age had begun in Canada’s history, the age of British North America.” Inevitably, English-language textbooks devote more space to this new age, usually dividing it into two periods, with Confederation marking the transition.

745. The importance given by the respective authors to the different periods of Canadian history is an obvious illustration of their dif-

ferent perspectives, but the contrasts of interpretation within these periods are even more revealing. Facts which seem significant to Francophone authors are often omitted by Anglophone authors. When all agree to include the same event, they often give divergent interpretations of the historical implications of the incident or of the contributions and motives of the men involved. There is no reason to suppose that the authors have a conscious bias or that they are deliberately writing propaganda rather than history. The selection and the interpretation of historical events when an author is describing the survival of French Canada inevitably differ from the selection and interpretation of events when an author is describing the survival of British North America.

746. A few examples will serve to illustrate the differences.¹ English-language textbooks, which quickly pass over the early years of discovery, nonetheless find space for John Cabot's voyage to the New World, whereas most French-language textbooks ignore it. Anglophone authors, who see Canada as British North America, are naturally impressed by the fact that Cabot claimed part of the New World for England before Jacques Cartier planted the fleur-de-lys, whereas Francophone authors, with French Canada as their focus, find this isolated incident irrelevant. The institutions of New France also receive much different treatment. French authors stress the growing autonomy of the colony in its relations with France; English authors stress the authoritarian structure of the colonial institutions in contrast with the representative assemblies and the individualism of the English colonies to the south. It is not surprising that Vaudreuil, the first Canadian-born governor of New France, is given a place of importance in French-language textbooks but is almost overlooked in English-language textbooks.

The divergence
increases

747. The differences become even more marked after the Conquest. For Francophone authors, the significant incidents are those which involve the survival of French Canadian society. The role of the Roman Catholic church in French Canada is stressed—Mgr. Briand and Mgr. Bourget are given an important place because they founded new parishes, reformed the organization of the church, and stressed the moral reform of the society. The external threats to French Canadian society receive even more attention. The Durham Report, Confederation, Louis Riel, the separate schools crises, and conscription in two wars are all described in the context of a beleaguered minority resisting the efforts of the English majority to destroy its society. The heroes are men like Papineau and Bourassa who defended French Canada against *les Anglais*; Cartier and Laurier receive faint praise

¹ A detailed analysis of selected textbooks is included in Trudel and Jain, "Étude de la conception de l'histoire canadienne."

at best because they agreed to compromise with English Canadians; Macdonald and Mackenzie King are pictured as able but unprincipled tacticians; men like Joseph Howe and George Brown are scarcely mentioned. The development of Canadian autonomy is seen as part of the struggle for French Canadian survival, with the ties of Empire and Commonwealth as a continuing menace to French Canadian identity. In short, to the authors of French-language textbooks, Canadian history since the Conquest is seen primarily as the story of the French Canadian people in Canada.

748. This is in stark contrast to the Anglophone version of our history since the Conquest. Roman Catholic bishops such as Briand and Bourget are mentioned only because of their relations with the political authorities, if they are mentioned at all. The threats to the survival of Canada in North America are the major preoccupation. At some periods the major threat is from the United States; at times it is the geographic barriers which must be overcome; at other times it is the emphasis on provincial autonomy and the controversy between the two cultural groups within the country. Surprisingly, the British connection is not seen as a threat. Canadian autonomy is usually seen as the result of co-operation between colonial and British politicians, and in the major wars of the 20th century it is assumed that British and Canadian interests are identical. The heroes are men like Robert Baldwin and Joseph Howe who fought for Canadian autonomy within the British Empire, rather than William Lyon Mackenzie and Papineau who turned to the United States; Macdonald and, to a lesser extent, Laurier, who fostered economic nationalism and blurred the geographical regionalism of Canada, in contrast to Mitchell Hepburn or the Progressives who championed regional interests; or Laurier and Mackenzie King who worked for a partnership of the two major cultural groups rather than Mercier and Duplessis and the leaders of the Orange Order, who appear as spokesmen for one group only. In short, to the authors of English-language textbooks, Canadian history since the Conquest is seen as the survival of Canada as a political entity in North America.

749. The two versions presented by Canadian history textbooks are both valid interpretations of our past. The establishment and survival of French Canada is a theme in Canadian history, and so is the establishment and survival of Canada in North America. In stressing only one of these themes, the authors have merely focussed their attention on the theme most directly reflecting the aspirations of the society to which they belong.

750. Canadian history, however, is more than the history of one of the two main cultural groups in Canada. These two groups have had

Both versions
are valid

close relations for at least 200 years and now form a political nation. No textbook purporting to be a history of Canada can ignore this cultural duality. The two societies have had disputes in the past, often with expressions of bitterness and hostility on both sides. French Canadian survival has not always seemed to be compatible with the survival of Canada; the emphasis on Canadian survival has not always seemed compatible with the preservation of French Canadian society. The interpretation of these past conflicts involves value judgements about both societies. Textbooks must give explanations for the different attitudes of the two groups and must analyze the consequences of the disputes. In so doing, the authors explicitly or implicitly judge each society in terms of the social values they themselves accept. The students' attitudes towards the other cultural group will be coloured by these judgements.

Images of the
other cultural
group

751. The treatment of still-controversial events clearly reveals the extent to which Canadian history textbooks are dominated by the point of view of the society to which the author belongs. As a Commission we are not primarily concerned with the historical accuracy of the textbooks selected, nor are we suggesting, where historical interpretations differ, that one is preferable to the other. Our objective is to see the images of the two cultural groups as they are mirrored in the school textbooks—the images or stereotypes which may have a lasting impression on students. The quotations selected are not intended to single out specific textbooks; they are intended only to illustrate the point of view common to most textbooks written in each language.

English-language
textbooks

752. English-language textbooks find little space for the concern of French Canadians about their cultural survival. National development is seen in a predominantly English Canadian context. The establishment of a continental Canadian economy, for example, is pictured as the most significant step in fostering Canadian unity, but little attention is paid to the special implications of railway and immigration policies for French Canada. One English-language textbook in use states simply that:

The next task was to create a true national feeling in the face of the strong sectional sentiments that still survived and to develop a sense of common interests that would outweigh local or provincial attachments. . . .

This meant first of all the building of a national economy. . . . If [this] could be realized, Canadians would more and more think of themselves as citizens of a single national community in whose fortunes every individual Canadian had a stake.

Most Francophones would resent the implication that strong sectional sentiments are incompatible with a “true” national feeling. For them the sense of common interests with other Canadians is not to be

achieved by outweighing local interests but must be compatible with their continuing attachment to French Canadian society. The author is certainly entitled to express his own opinion but he does not make it clear that this opinion would be challenged by many of his compatriots. If the Anglophone students are to appreciate the difficulties of the task of creating a national feeling, the attitude of the other cultural group cannot be ignored.

753. The view that national unity is almost synonymous with a single national community is sometimes presented even more directly. One text almost expresses regret that French Canadian society has survived, although conceding that this survival was probably inevitable:

The Quebec Act meant that the province of Quebec had been put on a special basis by an imperial act of parliament. This would complicate the future development of Canadian government. The chance to fit Quebec from the beginning into the ordinary pattern of British institutions had been lost. No doubt there was never any likelihood of completely assimilating (which, after all, meant swallowing) the French Canadians in an English-speaking Canada. But in some ways the future co-operation between the two language groups in Canada was made more difficult by this measure which increased the French feeling of separateness.

754. In discussing Bourassa, one English-language textbook is more openly critical of French Canadian efforts to maintain their cultural identity:

A grandson of Papineau, he made himself the champion of the fullest preservation of French cultural separation and French racial and religious privileges. Once again, as earlier under Mercier, there evolved in Quebec a narrow and tenacious nationalism whose concern was with French Canada and which showed indifference to the wider national interests of the Dominion.

Anglophone students who read such paragraphs doubtless draw the inference that the "wider national interests of the Dominion" do not include the cultural survival of French Canada.

755. Turning to the French-language textbooks, the focus on the point of view of only one cultural group is even more striking. Events that have no direct relevance to the theme of French Canadian survival are ignored to such an extent that what remains is almost the history of French Canada rather than the history of Canada. Anglophones appear only when they are associated with events central to the story of French Canadian society; often they appear in the role of the villain who seeks to destroy this society.

French-language
textbooks

756. Speaking of the Conquest, one textbook says: "From that moment our people had to face the domination of a powerful nation, an ancient enemy, inspired by vigorous anti-Catholic feelings and whose commercial policies hardly favoured French Canadian revival. Oppos-

ing ideas, emotions, and interests put our survival in extreme danger.”¹ It comes as no surprise that, later in the same book, the menace is seen as an unchanging and permanent factor in Canadian history: “Resistance to assimilation is the hardest battle of our history, and the most exhausting because it goes on without end. Even in the periods of calm, the surrounding Anglo-Saxon milieu maintains its relentless pressure and requires our constant vigilance.”

757. For another textbook, the Durham Report illustrates this same theme of a culture under siege:

The Durham Report is said to have initiated the Union of 1840, responsible government in 1848, Confederation in 1867 and the legislative union which is the aim today. All of these forms of government favour the expansion of Anglo-Canadian nationalism to the detriment of the French Canadian identity.

758. French-language textbooks such as the following thus find little space for the Anglophone theme of the establishment and survival of Canada in North America. Where English textbooks stress the development of political and economic unity, French textbooks see little vitality in the federal union.

... the Canadian people have neither the homogeneity nor the culture to resist successfully partial absorption (by Americanization). The gamut of opinions and emotions runs all the way from English imperialism to French Canadian nationalism. Vast gulfs separate the groups from each other—Catholics and Protestants, the English of Ontario, the French Canadians of Quebec, New Canadians in the West. Confederation is nothing but a cold legal concept and most [Canadians] display no real attachment to it.

This may be a valid conclusion, but for many Anglophones at least it gives too little weight to the sense of shared experiences and to the attachment which exists for the federal union. Francophone students may agree with the point of view of the textbook but, if they are to understand Canadian history, they must also realize that the other cultural group may view the federal union from a different perspective.

759. Historical interpretations are not confined to the written text. A wide variety of illustrations is now used to present ideas more graphically. A striking example of this use of illustrations is to be found by comparing two textbooks, one in English and the other a French translation. In the original, the story of the fall of New France is accompanied by a picture of a British redcoat welcoming the arrival of the British fleet at Quebec in the spring of 1760. In the French

¹This and the following three quotations are translations from history textbooks by French Canadian authors. See Appendix IV for original French versions.

translation another picture has been substituted, showing General Murray setting fire to a peaceful French Canadian village.

760. The history textbooks now in use in Canadian schools are not inflammatory or even consciously unfair. But they are demonstrably one-sided in their interpretation of events involving the two societies. They may adequately explain the past from the point of view of one cultural group, but little effort is made to give any understanding of the point of view of the other cultural group. The result is that these textbooks present their readers with an uncomplimentary stereotype of the other society. Francophones appear as a threat to national unity because of their cultural loyalties; Anglophones appear as a menace to French Canadian survival.

A one-sided view

761. Some of these textbooks have already been criticized and are being revised or replaced. The need has been recognized for a more rigorous application of the historical method and for greater historical accuracy, or for a more attractive presentation of historical material. Eventually, advances in the discipline or in pedagogy make any textbook obsolete. Less attention has been paid to the treatment of our cultural duality, however, and there is no assurance that new textbooks will give a more adequate understanding of the point of view of the other culture in Canada. No change can be expected until it is clearly recognized that the emphasis on the aims of only one of the cultural groups is a one-sided approach to Canadian history.

762. There is nothing to suggest that the resulting stereotypes are intentional. The authors who write them and the departments of Education which approve them for use in the schools are not consciously trying to depreciate the values or motivations of their compatriots. But unconscious or conscious, implicit or overt, the consequences are the same. To quote from a UNESCO study entitled *History Textbooks and International Understanding*:

The danger of stereotypes

The formation of stereotypes is a necessary stage in mental growth: the danger, however, is that if untrue or distorted national stereotypes are accepted as correct pictures of reality, then the harmonization of the national groups is made difficult or impossible. For instance, if one national group thinks another typically treacherous and unreliable, what degree of support will be granted to statesmen who endeavour to make agreements with that group? Let us remember that atavistic traits of human nature lead us easily to attach denigrating, insulting, derogatory attributes to groups other than our own. The fact that the resulting stereotype is an evil caricature of reality in no way guards us against its pernicious effects.¹

This danger is certainly no less grave when two cultural groups are politically united in a federal union. It is not an exaggeration to say that

¹ J. A. Lauwerys (Paris, 1953), 59-60.

Canadian history textbooks confirm the traditional stereotypes of the other cultural group and so inhibit a more adequate understanding of the attitudes and aspirations of the other society.

Canadians of
other origins

763. With the two dominant themes of French Canadian survival and the survival of Canada as a political union, it comes as no surprise that Canadians of ethnic origins other than French or British are almost ignored.¹ Their presence in Canada is usually overlooked and the scattered references to them suggest that they will become good Canadians when they have submerged their ethnic identity. As one textbook says of Ivan, who is presented as the archetype, "His greatest satisfaction was to see his children go off to school where they could mix with Canadians and learn to speak their language." Although Ivan is pictured as being proud of his folk traditions, "Before long, Ivan lost a little of his funny accent and a great deal of his loneliness." There is little here to suggest that immigrants were welcomed by Canadian authorities because these immigrants had talents and qualities which the country needed. Another group, the Indians, disappear from history with the Conquest, may reappear fleetingly beside Louis Riel, and then are forgotten once more. After studying Canadian history from a textbook, a student may well conclude that only French- and English-speaking Canadians count for anything—and that only the attitudes and actions of his own language group can be justified.

D. The Teaching of Canadian History in the Context of Two Cultures

764. An emphasis on the different interpretations of Canadian history could lead to a hazardous over-simplification of the difficulties involved in the teaching of history. History can be taught as a discipline. University students and even senior high school students can read and assess the available historical evidence relating to a past event, can compare ways in which authors select and interpret this evidence, and can come to conclusions not only about the past but also about interpretations of the past. History at this level, like such other disciplines as economics and sociology, is to a large extent an academic training in methodology. The student may study Canadian, Chinese, or Roman history, and although the amount and the kind of historical evidence will differ, the student will still learn to be an historian.

The social
purpose of history

765. But the primary purpose of teaching history is not always the training of historians. History as taught in our elementary schools obvi-

¹The place of these Canadians will be discussed more fully in a later Book of the Commission's *Report*.

ously has little in common with history as a discipline except its concern with past events. History is placed on the curriculum because it serves a social purpose. This purpose should be consonant with a liberal education, teaching the student about human nature and human society by drawing from experience in the past. The study of the past goes beyond the abstraction of a liberal education, however. Students are taught history because societies believe that it provides a desirable and necessary training for future citizens.

766. This social purpose determines what kind of history is included in the curriculum. Learning from past experience is too broad an objective; students must learn from experience directly relevant to an understanding of their own society. History, it is assumed, can convey this knowledge by showing the problems and the challenges our predecessors faced, by showing the origins and development of our social institutions, by instilling a respect for our heritage. This social purpose explains why national history has a prominent place in school curricula in all countries. Canada is no exception. Canadian students are exposed to the history of Europe and possibly of the United States, but special emphasis is given to the history of Canada.

767. The Canadian situation, however, is complicated by the different concepts of Canada. When the history of Canada is narrowed to the history of French Canadian society, the past which is directly relevant is also narrowed; and the social purpose of history becomes understanding French Canadian institutions such as the Roman Catholic church in French Canada or minority-language schools outside Quebec. When the history of Canada is similarly narrowed to the concept of people united in a federal union, the social purpose is restricted by the emphasis on the parliamentary institutions and the development of a national economy. These two versions of Canadian history are different because they represent different cultural preoccupations.¹

The social
purposes of
Canadian history

768. The teaching of history cannot and should not attempt to exorcise these cultural differences. The two versions of Canadian history have not created the cultural division; they merely reflect the fact that there are two major cultural groups in Canada. At the same time, the study of our history should also make students aware of the positive values of the other culture and of our common cultural heritage. The briefs that argued for an official version of Canadian history to be taught in all Canadian schools were obviously concerned with this aim. Understanding must, however, begin with the under-

¹ Nor should it be assumed that the divergence in interpretation lessens at the more senior levels. With one exception, all the citations in this section were taken from secondary school textbooks.

standing of one's own society and its institutions. Only then is a child able to appreciate the different institutions and values of another society. In Canada this means that Canadian history should not be taught in the same way to all students. The textbook should build on the cultural experience the student brings to school.

The need to
present both
themes

769. The social purpose of history, however, is not to be confused with propaganda. An understanding of contemporary society is inadequate if it is based on narrow exclusiveness. Even if one thinks solely in terms of French Canadian or English Canadian society, the social purpose of history is best achieved by a conscious effort to explain the different values and aspirations of the two societies when controversies arise. But if any textbook lays claim to being a history of Canada, it must go much further. It must be the history of both societies to the extent that the histories are distinct, and it must also present the history of Canada as a country in such a way as to make the points of view of both groups appear logical and comprehensible. The establishment and survival of French Canada is a significant aspect of Canadian history and so is the establishment and survival of Canada as a political union in North America. Any Canadian history textbook should present both these themes. The result will be a history which may still reflect the unconscious cultural point of view of the author, but it will at least have the merit of trying to explain rather than ignore or even deplore our cultural duality.

Not necessarily
a joint effort

770. Such a textbook need not necessarily be a co-operative effort of French- and English-speaking scholars. A textbook should have a distinctive character, with qualities of style which may be more easily achieved by a single author. The essential requirements are scholarly competence and an ever-present awareness of the probability of a restricted point of view. With these requirements in mind, many Canadian historians could write textbooks varying in emphasis and interpretation but which would at least be recognizable to both Anglophones and Francophones as histories of their country. Consultation with a scholar from the other linguistic group might be a wise precaution against unconscious bias, but it is neither a prerequisite nor a guarantee of a good textbook.

The need to
re-examine the
teaching of
history

771. We have no intention of suggesting any specific reforms in the teaching of Canadian history. The problems of curriculum and methodology are too complex to be resolved by *obiter dicta*. But we are directly concerned with the image one cultural group has of the other, because stereotypes can inhibit effective communication and so muddy the relations between the two groups. Our research on Canadian history textbooks has shown the need for revising the versions of Canadian history now taught in the schools. We do not believe that the restricted

perspectives we have found are conscious or deliberate. No provincial authorities, textbook authors, or teachers would intentionally denigrate one of the cultural groups in Canada. The first step is to become aware of the points of view that are unwittingly being fostered in the students now in the classrooms. Precautions can then be taken to eliminate prejudicial attitudes and to foster an awareness of the distinctive characteristics of each cultural community as well as an appreciation of our common cultural heritage.

772. It is possible to suggest criteria which might be used to assess the Canadian history taught in our schools. Obviously, disparaging and prejudicial epithets should be avoided. More positively, an adequate history of Canada would include the most important and the most characteristic developments of each society. Events should not be excluded because they are controversial. Such events should be discussed within an adequate historical context so that the attitudes and actions of both societies become comprehensible even if they are not necessarily portrayed as desirable. An historian must offer his interpretation of the past, but if historians from the other cultural group have a different interpretation, some reference should be made to this other explanation of events. In this way, Canadian history may at least help to give students a better understanding of our cultural duality and its contemporary implications.

Suggested criteria

773. History is not the only school subject which deals with Canada. Other subjects—such as geography, civics, and social studies—will also make references to the two societies in Canada. Here, as in history, the student will encounter attitudes and value judgements which may have a formative influence. We have not investigated the courses of study in these areas, but it is likely that they enshrine the same conventional attitudes encouraged in Canadian history textbooks, and that they present Canada largely from the point of view of one of its cultural groups. The criteria suggested for Canadian history courses will be equally applicable in these subjects. It is important that any study of the Canadian people should have as one of its aims the fostering of an awareness of the existence and the nature of our two societies.

Applications of these criteria

774. Aristotle wrote that the best laws, though sanctioned by every citizen of the state, will be of no avail unless the young are trained by habit and education in the spirit of the constitution. Since that time, conservatives and reformers alike have seen education as the means by which their vision of the ideal society could be assured. Differences have arisen over ends rather than means. Full agreement on the spirit of the constitution is only possible in a stable society in which traditions are never challenged; disagreement is inherent in change.

775. In Canada today, fundamental changes are occurring. Our society is becoming more urban and more dependent on technology. Social institutions such as the family and the church are being transformed. International developments affect us directly. For Canadians, however, one of the major changes is the changing place of French Canada within our country. The crisis in the relations between our two societies is a symptom of this change, and all other changes are affected to some extent by this development. Our cultural duality is more and more widely recognized as a distinctive and significant feature of Canadian identity. This recognition is not yet firmly grafted onto traditional ways of thinking. Specific problems may still be analyzed without weighing the implications of cultural duality, and decisions may thus ignore the interests or sensitivities of one of the cultural groups. Habit and education are needed to train us to take this duality into account.

Social changes

776. Our survey of Canadian history textbooks illustrates the need for modifying traditional assumptions. Neither the past nor the present can be adequately understood if attention is focussed on the interests of only one cultural group. The social context is a pervasive influence and

**A changed
perspective on
education**

adults as well as students are likely to assume that their own society is the norm. A conscious effort is needed before they can conceive of another society in which subtly different social values and assumptions are taken for granted. We try to teach respect for remote societies and civilizations, stressing human dignity regardless of race, creed, or colour. It is not inconsistent to teach respect for the other cultural group in Canada.

777. The conventional attitudes of our two societies are reflected in the two versions of our history. These same attitudes have permeated most aspects of Canadian life and thought in the past. Neither habit nor education has made us intuitively conscious of the outlook of the other cultural group, and even where there has been respect it has not always been based on an adequate understanding of the differences that do exist.

Accepting the
premise of equal
partnership

778. If the crisis in Canada is to be resolved and if a satisfactory partnership is to develop in the future, the conventional attitudes of Canadians must be changed. We must become as sensitive to the meaning and implications of cultural duality as we are to the meaning and implications of democracy or the rights of individuals. Sensitivity will not necessarily mean agreement. People will still differ over the principles underlying cultural duality, over what is necessary and what is peripheral, as well as over the policies and practical decisions which will be judged in the light of these principles. The aim is not immediate agreement but a discussion in which all start from the same premise. In Canada the premise must be that we are a partnership of two societies. Education must help to establish this premise as part of the conventional outlook of all Canadians.

Information, not
indoctrination

779. A distinction must be made between education and indoctrination. We are not suggesting that partnership should be taught as an article of faith. Cultural duality is not necessarily right or inevitable. An informed Canadian will be aware of the fact that there are two major linguistic groups and two societies in Canada, however, and will understand and appreciate something of the differences between the traditions and aspirations of the two societies. He may disagree with the outlook of the other group and he may even regret its existence, but he will know its point of view and he will not forget that it is there. An education which does not inform Canadians about our cultural duality is both biased and inadequate.

A. The Universities

780. Canadian universities are the key institutions in analyzing and informing us about the nature of our society. Faculty members in the

social sciences and humanities especially, but also those in many departments oriented towards professional careers, are deeply involved in research on Canadian topics. Their knowledge is imparted to students, many of whom will become teachers, professors, or members of liberal professions. Whatever their careers, it can be taken for granted that a large number of these students will become community leaders; they will be responsible for working out or implementing the partnership of our two societies. Faculty members have even a wider impact on our concepts of Canada. Some of them write textbooks and so introduce their point of view directly into the school classrooms. More and more, professors are relied on as consultants by government and business and as experts whose opinions are expressed at conferences, in newspapers, and on radio and television. The attitudes of academics today will influence the public opinion of tomorrow.

781. Universities are already conscious of their role in informing Canadians about their society. There has never been a suggestion that the study of other societies or of the natural sciences should be neglected in favour of Canadian studies; chauvinism is incompatible with higher learning. Nor is it argued that Canadian studies should always include the study of both societies and the relations between them. A sociologist may be primarily concerned with an aspect of French society in Quebec, just as an economist may concentrate on an aspect of the economy of British Columbia. Canadian universities nonetheless admit a responsibility for studying the Canadian context. The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada stated in its brief to the Commission, "It is an obvious duty of institutions of higher learning in any society to study the nature of the society of which they are a part."¹ More recently, at its 1967 annual meeting, the Association defined this role more explicitly when it resolved that it "shall seek to encourage research, teaching, publications and student-teacher exchanges, all with a view to achieving a deeper awareness and acceptance of Canada's two official languages and cultures and those fundamental values held in common by all Canadians."²

782. We share with the universities the concern for achieving a deeper awareness and acceptance of our cultural duality. We are also aware of the advances made in recent years: more research is being done on the nature of the two main cultural groups and the relations between them; there is more contact between members of the two groups at the university level; there has been an impressive number of student conferences to bring representatives of both societies to-

The responsibility
of the universities

¹ Brief of the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Canadian Universities and Colleges (now the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada), 3.

² AUCC, *Proceedings: Annual Meeting 1967*, I (Ottawa, 1968), 8.

gether. These developments can only be considered a beginning, however. Our own experience has made us painfully aware of how little research on Canadian topics has included ethnic, linguistic, or cultural components. In spite of the growing concern about the relations between our two societies, the implications of cultural duality are still not an integral part of scholars' approaches to Canadian problems.

783. Attitudes and perspectives cannot be changed by legislation. Each institution of higher learning has the ultimate responsibility for its course offerings and for the areas of teaching and research in which it chooses to specialize; each professor must be responsible for his approach to the course he teaches. Any attempt to dictate to universities or to faculty members would be unwarranted and irresponsible. In the final analysis, our cultural duality will be given the emphasis it deserves when these institutions and individuals appreciate its fundamental importance to an understanding of Canada.

Suggested steps

784. We do, however, wish to draw attention to possible changes which would accelerate this transformation. We have already recommended the inclusion of more Canadian content in the teaching of French and English as second languages at the university level.¹ This is intended to make second-language teaching more effective, but it will also increase the understanding of the other linguistic group. More significant is the expansion of library resources, because this is a prerequisite to increased understanding in all disciplines. Many university libraries now have inadequate collections in the history, the literature, and the writings in the social sciences of the other cultural community. Until universities acquire the necessary published works and periodicals, their students will be deprived of the opportunity to learn the points of view of their compatriots at first hand. More attention could also be given to the desirability of introducing courses in various disciplines which concentrate directly on the other cultural group. French Canadian and English Canadian studies programmes might go far to counteract the natural preoccupation with the social milieu in which the university operates and so compensate for the unconscious cultural bias most students have already acquired. Increased knowledge of the second language among faculty members would make communication between scholars in the two linguistic groups more productive.

B. Adult Education

785. It would be shortsighted, however, to focus attention only on universities, important as they may be. Every Canadian must become

¹ See §§ 658-9.

conscious of our cultural duality and of the relevance of this duality in his daily life. The introduction to the other society should come throughout the formal years of schooling.

786. There is, however, a great and growing interest in education among adults who have left school or university; the benefits of study for work or leisure are widely acknowledged. The changing concept of Canadian cultural duality must also find a place in any studies of Canada at this level. In the words of the brief submitted to the Commission by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, "In this crisis, as in any future ones that we can imagine, it will be the existing adults who will make the crucial decisions. They will make them on conditions that could not have been anticipated in their childhood education."¹

787. Adult education has already experienced some impact from this growing awareness of our cultural duality. An increasing number of Anglophones and Francophones have decided to learn the second language in recent years. In many cases the decision was divorced from any immediate necessity to learn the language and testified simply to their desire as Canadians to speak the two official languages. In far too many cases, however, this effort was doomed to disappointment because the agencies for teaching second languages to adults were equipped only for the traditional grammar-translation approach. Canadians who wanted to learn to converse in the second language were often frustrated. It is not enough to encourage interest in the second language; facilities must be available to permit an emphasis on conversational skills. Instruction in the second official language should be available to all citizens through the school systems and university extension departments in the same way that it is now offered to new Canadians.

Learning the
other language

788. It must be stressed once again, however, that teaching the second language is only one of the responsibilities of educational institutions. Partnership also depends on citizens with an awareness of the nature of our two societies. Adult education must also make a conscious effort to help citizens understand our two societies and to concern themselves with the implications of cultural duality.

Second-language
learning not
enough

789. The public dialogue on the Canadian cultural problem, stimulated by various agencies of adult education in recent years, has significantly increased understanding and changed attitudes. In the years ahead there will be no less need for study and debate in these areas. There are ways in which these agencies could be helped to fulfil this continuing responsibility more effectively—such as more stable financing, an increased number of trained personnel, and a central

The need for
a continuing
dialogue

¹ Brief presented by Canadian Association for Adult Education, 6.

organization to act as a resource for information and programme planning. The term "continuing education" at the present time is poorly defined, encompassing as it does a complex and widely differing range of agencies and programmes. It is apparent that a thorough study of the desirable organization and structures required to encourage discussion and further study among adults on Canadian affairs is indicated.

790. Until now we have been discussing how courses and formal studies can help develop a sensitivity to the nature of the other society in Canada. "Books," said R. L. Stevenson, "are a mighty bloodless substitute for life," and it is possible that direct contact with the other society would have a greater impact.

C. Travel Exchange Programmes

791. Probably no specific plan for lessening tensions between Francophones and Anglophones has received more widespread public approval than the interchange of youth groups. In briefs to the Commission, many Canadians identified the source of our present problems as a lack of knowledge and understanding of the other cultural community. They were convinced that this lack of a common meeting ground could be overcome by face-to-face encounters. Programmes of travel and exchange were seen as instruments contributing to national unity through appreciation and acceptance of cultural differences.

Efforts of the
Centennial
Commission

792. Certain voluntary agencies have undertaken such programmes for several years. Between 1964 and the end of 1967 the scope and effectiveness of these programmes were greatly expanded through the Centennial Commission, which promoted interprovincial exchanges on a national scale. By agreement between the federal government and the 10 provinces and two territories, senior high school students in groups of 24, with two adult escorts, travelled to other regions in the country during the summer holidays. Federal funds were used for travel and administration expenses, and provincial committees were responsible for the operation of the programme. Two hundred such units travelled in 1967. The Centennial Commission also helped voluntary organizations to expand programmes which they had already initiated, and encouraged the development of others in areas that were not covered. Grants were allocated to cover part of the transportation costs. The sponsoring group paid the other costs. During 1967, some 150 organizations took part in this scheme, from which approximately 40,000 young Canadians benefited.

Efforts of the
Citizenship
Branch

793. Although centennial year is over, the exchange programme will be continued and expanded by a new division of travel and exchange in the Citizenship Branch of the federal department of the Secretary of

State. The new division contains three main sections—federal-provincial youth travel programmes, voluntary agencies' programmes, and an education and information section, which includes research.

794. In creating a permanent structure to support these programmes, the federal government has testified to its belief in the efficacy of this means of fostering national understanding. The provinces, by their continued co-operation in the plan, have shown that they too believe in the worth of the scheme. Voluntary groups will have the advantage of a more stable basis of financial aid and increased professional and technical assistance. At the same time they will be able to continue to engage in a wide diversity of activities.

795. In a sense, exchange programmes are education classes similar to the seminars, lectures, and study courses developed by adult education groups. The major difference is that in exchange programmes, information is acquired by direct experience. It is obvious, however, that to be truly educational such programmes must produce more than a superficial acquaintance with the other milieu. Travel may be broadening but it does little for tourists whose only contact with the other society is through the lens of a camera. Pains must be taken to ensure that the exchange programmes bring individuals from both societies into personal contact.

The educational objective

796. It cannot be assumed that first-hand knowledge of a different milieu or face-to-face encounters with members of the other linguistic community will automatically create sympathetic interest and understanding. Careful evaluation will be needed to ensure that programme objectives are being achieved, and that long-term results justify the large expenditures involved. For this reason, the Commission welcomes the action of the federal government in formally accepting financial and administrative responsibility for this endeavour through the Citizenship Branch. In this way the knowledge gained by the Centennial Commission in developing techniques of selection, assessment, and supervision will not be lost. It is hoped that a sufficiently large budget will be available to take care of the necessary research. Some of this is already under way, but only continuous analysis and testing will permit these programmes to yield their full return. A study of the travel and exchange programme reported that "Research should be accepted as a regular and expected part of all such projects. . . . If a sizable budget is to be spent for travel and exchange, it is only practical to urge that we become much more knowledgeable about the human phenomena involved and the circumstances which contribute to the desired result."¹

The need for evaluation and research

¹ A. Stinson, "Travel and Exchange," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 97.

An extension
of service

797. Two groups to date have not benefited from travel and exchange programmes. The first group is composed of young people who have moved out of the academic stream, either by dropping out of school or by entering technical and vocational schools. The programme will need to be extended to provide opportunities for these young people, and for others in farm and labour groups.

798. The second group includes Canadian adults. In its brief to the Commission, the Canadian Association for Adult Education pointed to the need in Canada for planned educational travel for adults, both through adequately organized study tours and through the provision of properly edited cultural and historical information for more casual travellers.¹ The problem of developing planned travel programmes for adult groups is complicated. To date little has been attempted in this area, but it is a designated section in the division's programme and it may be anticipated that there will be experimentation in this direction.

799. Cultural duality requires an effort on the part of members of both cultures to understand and appreciate the point of view of the other cultural community. A knowledge of the second language is often important, but there must also be an awareness of and a sensitivity to the traditions and aspirations of the other group. Education must help to shape our conventional attitudes so that the implications of our cultural duality are not ignored and that this factor is almost automatically included in our thinking about Canada. Our study of Canadian history textbooks suggests that our present attitudes tend to reflect the point of view of only one culture and that this one-sided point of view is still being taught in our schools. A deliberate effort is required to make us more conscious of Canada's cultural duality, both in formal education for school children, university students, and adults, and in increased opportunities for personal contact with the other culture. This change in attitude cannot be imposed, but it can and must be an objective if the two cultures are to collaborate effectively in a Canadian partnership.

¹ Brief presented by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, 13-4.

800. This Book, which bears the broad title of "Education," is obviously concerned only with those aspects of education which come within the compass of the Commission's terms of reference. In the General Introduction to our *Report* we said that "in our view, the term 'biculturalism' covers two main realities. The first is the state of the two cultures and the opportunity of each to exist and flourish. The second is the coexistence and collaboration of these two cultures within our country; that is to say, the set of conditions which will enable members of these two cultures to co-operate effectively."¹ Since language is the basic ingredient of culture, our major concern in this Book has been the opportunities for each of the two main linguistic groups in Canada to have access to an education which would allow the fullest expression and development of the mother tongue, and at the same time ensure an adequate communication between the two societies. The two general principles stemming immediately from this premise, in our view, are the right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice, and the opportunity to learn the second language.

801. It is readily apparent that a majority can assure for itself the kind of education appropriate to its social values and aspirations. Except for purposes of illustration, therefore, we have not discussed education for either linguistic group when it was in a majority situation. If the concept of a bicultural country is to be maintained, however, the language must remain strong wherever Francophones and Anglophones are located in Canada, which implies a special responsibility for the minority groups. We found that the right of the

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 46.

English-speaking minority has been fully recognized in Quebec—the only province where it is the minority. Part I of this Book described, therefore, the formal education of the French-speaking minorities outside Quebec, and proposed recommendations designed to make available to them similar opportunities to retain their language and culture. Our aim was to propose an educational system which would provide an appropriate linguistic and cultural milieu without sacrificing the educational opportunities offered by the majority-language schools of the province. We may draw two general conclusions: first, that the extent and conditions of minority education are linked to the concentration of French-language population; second, if the milieu is predominantly Anglophone, the education will need to be predominantly in French. In other words, the language milieu must be considered a vital element influencing language retention, and there will be situations where an education wholly in the minority language will be required even to satisfy the limited objective of graduating bilingual students.

802. Citizens of a country with two official languages should be provided with an education which allows them to participate in either society. At the same time, communication between the two cultural groups implies the existence of an adequate number of bilingual individuals. We have stated that our interpretation of bilingualism in Canada means that the major social and political institutions will function in the two languages, but that individual Canadians will not be required to know the second language. It is nevertheless true that effective co-operation between the two linguistic groups depends on the willingness of individual Canadians to become bilingual. Part 2 of this Book deals, therefore, with the opportunities available to all Canadians to learn English or French as a second language. Our recommendations, besides being designed to improve the effectiveness of second-language programmes, emphasize the fact that in order to have a true opportunity of decision, all children must be given an introduction to the second language through the school system. Our aim here is that all Canadian children should study the second official language in order to develop one or more of the language skills when this seems necessary or desirable.

803. In Parts 1 and 2 of this Book we have limited our study to formal schooling. A study of education has no clear limits, however, even within the restricted context of our mandate, because the subject itself has no boundaries. Formal education, even for a child, accounts for only a small portion of his activities, and outside the classroom every experience should be considered educational. Part 3 of the Book presents certain illustrations of those more intangible aspects of education which nevertheless exercise a significant influence on all Canadians, young

and old. We have pointed out that learning the second language, for instance, does not ensure awareness, understanding, and sensitivity to the traditions and aspirations of the second culture. In order to achieve understanding and effective communication between the two cultures, attention must be drawn not only to the language but to the society itself. The aim here is to make Canadians so conscious of our cultural duality that they will be accustomed to think of cultural partnership as one of the factors to be weighed when decisions are made. We have made no specific recommendations in these areas because attitudes cannot be imposed. We are convinced, however, that this third component is as vital to the realization of the true potentialities of Canadian duality as are mother-tongue schooling and second-language learning.

804. It is necessary to add one further observation. This Book is not an isolated study, but is a segment of the total *Commission Report*. It is intended to contribute a certain documentation and offer certain recommendations in one area of the investigation. It will supplement the other Books, and be supplemented by them. Education in itself should not be seen as offering the only, or even the major, solution to the present problem of the relationships between our two main linguistic and cultural groups. Language rights and the institutions of education are nevertheless essential elements in the concept of equal partnership, and reforms in these areas will facilitate improved relationships between the two societies.

- 1. We recommend that public education be provided in each of the official minority languages at both the elementary and secondary levels in the bilingual districts. (§ 359.)**
- 2. We recommend that the normal language of instruction in schools for the official minority-language group in bilingual districts be the mother tongue. (§ 363.)**
- 3. We recommend that the mother tongue be taught as a subject in all grades and all programmes of the official-language minority schools. (§ 367.)**
- 4. We recommend that the majority language be taught as a subject in all programmes offered in official-language minority schools. (§ 371.)**
- 5. We recommend that the curricula for the official-language minority schools follow the broad outlines of the curricula for the majority-language schools in each province. (§ 380.)**
- 6. We recommend that the provincial social studies programmes for official-language minority schools be suited to the special circumstances of students attending these schools. (§ 382.)**
- 7. We recommend that in each province the department of Education shall formally state the requirements and procedures by**

which an official-language minority living outside the bilingual districts can establish its right to special educational facilities. (§ 384.)

8. We recommend that official-language minority schools be established in major urban centres whenever the number of minority-language students in the metropolitan area makes this practicable. (§ 398.)
9. We recommend that when both types of school exist in the community, the right of parents to send their children to either the majority-language school or the official-language minority school be recognized. (§ 405.)
10. We recommend that the linguistic and cultural character of the official-language minority schools be preserved by limiting, where necessary, the numbers of majority-language students attending these schools. (§ 407.)
11. We recommend that the right of the official-language minority to have its own schools be dissociated from any consideration of the confessional character of these schools. (§ 420.)
12. We recommend that there be no division within provincial departments of Education for the administration of physical services and school finances for official-language minority schools. (§ 426.)
13. We recommend that special divisions, sections, or individuals within provincial departments of Education be responsible for services in official-language minority schools which directly reflect language or cultural differences. The departments should be organized in such a way as to ensure collaboration in the development of comparable services for minority- and majority-language schools. (§ 430.)
14. We recommend that in Quebec, Ontario, and New Brunswick the administration of official-language minority schools be under the direction of an administrator at the associate or assistant deputy minister level, and that this administrator be provided with an adequate staff and budget. (§ 432.)
15. We recommend that one school board be responsible for the administration of all schools at the elementary or secondary level in the school district. (§ 437.)

16. We recommend that all official minority-language instruction at the secondary level be removed from the jurisdiction of elementary school boards in Ontario. (§ 439.)
17. We recommend that a school board shall include representatives of both majority-language and official minority-language schools whenever the board has both kinds of schools under its jurisdiction. (§ 440.)
18. We recommend that the teachers destined for majority-language schools and for official-language minority schools be trained in separate institutions. (§ 446.)
19. We recommend that the Teachers' College at Moncton become the training institution for teachers for official-language minority schools in the Atlantic provinces, and that one training institution be established to serve the needs of the four western provinces. (§ 449.)
20. We recommend that the training programmes for teachers in French-language minority schools be extended in order to develop a higher competence in French. (§ 452.)
21. We recommend that French-language education at the university level be provided for the Francophone minority whenever the potential enrolment makes it feasible to do so. (§ 468.)
22. We recommend that the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University give priority to increasing the number of degree programmes offered in French. (§ 473.)
23. We recommend a federal grant to official minority-language students to enable them to study in their own language at a Canadian university outside their province, when courses are not available in their own language within the province. (§ 479.)
24. We recommend for these out-of-province students that a federal grant, equivalent to the normal provincial grant to the university, be paid to the host university or to the provincial government concerned. (§ 482.)
25. We recommend that, pending the resolution of the constitutional problems involved, agreements be concluded between the federal government and the provinces concerned in order that these prov-

inces receive the help required to meet the special needs of their French-language universities. (§ 487.)

26. We recommend that the federal government accept in principle the responsibility for the additional costs involved in providing education in the official minority language. (§ 502.)
27. 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. (§ 504.)
28. We recommend that the federal grant to Quebec, Ontario and New Brunswick be based on the number of students attending official minority-language teacher-training institutions, and that the grant be 10 per cent of the cost per student, together with 10 per cent of the capital costs for such institutions in the future. (§ 507.)
29. We recommend that for students attending the French-language teacher-training institution for the western provinces and for Francophone students from Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia attending the Teachers' College at Moncton, the federal grant to the province be 25 per cent of the cost per student. We further recommend that, for the western provinces, the federal grant should cover 75 per cent of the capital costs of the training institution. For the Teachers' College at Moncton, the grant should cover 50 per cent of the capital costs which can be attributed to out-of-province students. (§ 509.)
30. We recommend that for official minority-language universities the federal grant to the province be equal to 10 per cent of the provincial grants, whether operating or capital grants, made to these universities. (§ 510.)
31. We recommend that the study of the second official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools. (§ 614.)
32. We recommend that second-language courses be planned in a continuous sequential programme. (§ 636.)
33. We recommend that all programmes for the teaching of the second official language should extend to the terminal year of secondary school. (§ 638.)

34. We recommend as a desirable objective the introduction of the second official language in Grade I in English-language schools and in Grade III in French-language schools. (§ 642.)
35. We recommend that the provincial second-language programmes in the elementary schools be extended downward by stages until the provinces reach the objective of introducing French in Grade I in the English-language schools and English in Grade III in the French-language schools. (§ 648.)
36. We recommend that French and English as second languages should be taught not as foreign languages but with an emphasis on the Canadian milieu in which these languages are used. (§ 657.)
37. We recommend that more emphasis be given to Canadian authors and to the Canadian milieu in the teaching of French and English as second languages at universities and colleges, especially in introductory courses. (§ 659.)
38. We recommend the establishment by provincial authorities of French- and English-language centres for the training of second-language teachers for elementary and secondary schools. (§ 677.)
39. We recommend that the basic operating costs of the second-language training centres be paid by the respective provincial governments. (§ 681.)
40. We recommend the establishment of an interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to co-ordinate the training programmes. (§ 683.)
41. We recommend a federal grant to the interprovincial bureau of second-language training centres to assist in the operating costs of the centres. (§ 684.)
42. We recommend that the capital costs of required specialized teaching facilities for second-language training centres be shared by the federal government and the government of the province in which these facilities are constructed, with the federal government paying at least 50 per cent of the capital costs. (§ 685.)
43. We recommend that the equivalent of university entrance in the second official language should be a minimum requirement in all provinces for graduates of a teacher-training institution. We further

recommend that all elementary and secondary school teachers who may teach the second official language should complete a course in second-language teaching methods. (§ 690.)

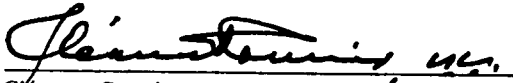
- 44. We recommend that the federal government meet the cost of a one-year transfer programme for university students specializing in the second official language. (§ 696.)**
- 45. We recommend that the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada administer the transfer programme for students specializing in the second official language. (§ 697.)**
- 46. We recommend the establishment by the federal government of a language research council concerned with research and development related to second-language teaching in Canada. (§ 713.)**

ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION

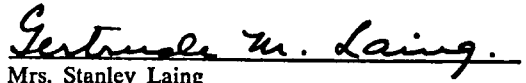
André Laurendeau*



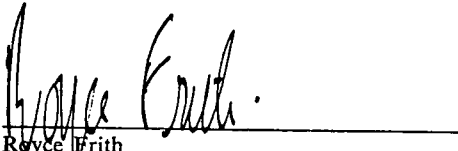
A. Davidson Dunton



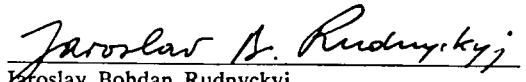
Clément Cormier, c.s.c.



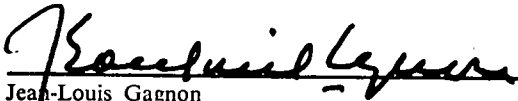
Mrs. Stanley Laing




Royce Frith



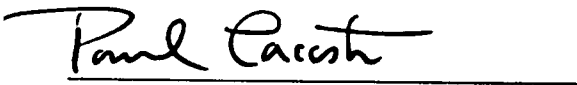
Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnycky



Jean-Louis Gagnon



F. R. Scott



Paul Lacoste



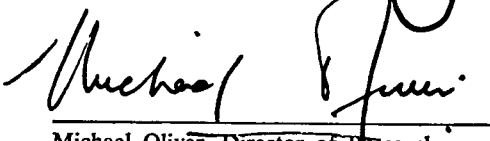
Paul Wyczynski



Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary



Gilles Lalonde, Co-Secretary



Michael Oliver, Director of Research



Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

May 23, 1968

*André Laurendeau, as Co-Chairman, was actively engaged in the preparation of this Book, but was unable to participate in the Commission's final approval of the text.