THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PART VII

COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL STAKEHOLDERS' PERSPECTIVES

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES OF QUEBEC

Reports submitted to the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages

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October 2009

NOTE

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THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PART VII: COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL STAKEHOLDERS' PERSPECTIVES

During the summer of 2009, OCOL commissioned a team of independent researchers to report on the implementation of Part VII by consulting community and social stakeholders. The goal was to sound out their perception of community vitality, along with their take on the way in which federal institutions fulfill their obligations.

More than 175 persons were interviewed and expressed their views across Canada. A report was written for each of the following regions: 1) Atlantic Region; 2) Quebec; 3) Ontario; 4) Manitoba and Saskatchewan; and 5) Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, Northwest Territories and Nunavut. Another researcher wrote a report after having consulted key stakeholders who promote linguistic duality and second official language learning.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past thirty years, the English-speaking community of Quebec ("ESCQ") has gone through a transformation. Contrary to the outdated conception of the community as a homogenous and privileged elite, it is made up of a diverse set of "pockets" that, to varying degrees, find it challenging to maintain a level of vitality. The very survival of some local communities is at stake; in fact, for several English-speaking communities that have already disappeared - such as Montreal East, Trois-Rivieres, and to some extent, Lac St-Jean – it is already too late.

The conceptual shift accompanying this transformation is lagging somewhat behind; the ESCQ is only now beginning to define itself as a linguistic minority in need of support, and one that is entitled to it. This shift is beleaguered by the highly complex context of Quebec – where the majority are themselves a minority within Canada, where language laws protect this majority/minority, and where several hundred years of difficult politics and relations continue to affect the role and acceptance of the English-speaking community. This conceptual shift is not limited to the ESCQ seeing itself (and others seeing it) as a linguistic minority; it also includes a transformation in cultural identity, which we are still in the midst of, and is strikingly different across generations. Obviously, within this context, contributing to the health and well-being of the ESCQ is rather complicated.

This report examines the perspectives of this province's official language minority community ("OLMC") on the processes contributing to its community vitality. It also examines the perceptions of the ways in which key players – in particular federal government departments – are perceived to be working together effectively to this end. It provides an answer from community members to the question, *what is the community sector's perspective on the way the federal government is contributing to enhancing community vitality of Quebec's OLMC?* In particular, the efficacy of the implementation of the Official Languages Act, Part VII, is examined. It provides an account of a variety of voices, from general directors of large umbrella organizations, to knowledgeable staff of small English-speaking community centres. Through all of these voices, some recurring perspectives have emerged, and these perspectives can serve to orient the federal government on their future programs and policies.

Commissioned by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages ("OCOL"), this report was created through two months of consultation with over forty individuals representing more than thirty-five organizations. Two research consultants worked independently, but collaboratively, in order to reach as wide of a cross-section of community sectors as possible – from health, to employment, to the arts – from the Magdalen Islands to the Outaouais. Greater Montreal was examined with special care due to its concentration of English-speakers and

English-language institutions. Through semi-structured interviews and opportunities for data validation, it is believed that this report accurately represents those consulted. As will become evident through reading this report, it is impossible to speak for "the English-speaking community" as a whole.

Nevertheless, "community leaders" from the following types of organizations were consulted:
- Regional organizations
- Cultural groups
- Sectoral groups and networks
- Cross-sectoral groups and networks
- Cultural institutions
- Educational institutions

Efforts were made to consult both groups that are in close contact with OCOL, such as *Community Table* and *the Quebec Community Groups Network*, and those not in the "official languages loop" but that nevertheless focus on community development within the ESCQ. Please see the appendix for a complete list of those interviewed, and the methodology section for a more detailed account of the research process.

This report also includes a review of relevant literature, including some on the concept of community vitality, but more significantly, literature pertaining specifically to the unique context of Quebec. This research has served to underscore what community members have reported.

In asking community representatives about community vitality in the ESCQ and how they feel about federal government support, the following themes have emerged and will be revisited throughout this document:

1. The ESCQ has only just recently begun to explore the implications surrounding its status as an official language minority community. More attention needs be paid, by both government and community actors, to the significance of the community's place as a national minority.

2. The traditional analytic paradigm that presents the ESCQ as dividing neatly along a continuum that posits the island of Montreal against the rest of the province (ROQ) needs to be replaced by a more nuanced approach that pays greater attention to the idiosyncratic characteristics of individual communities.

3. Much of the legislation in place to support the ESCQ assumes a homogeneous and discrete linguistic identity. Local realities clearly show that this identity pattern is quickly fading away, and being replaced by a complex series of

heterogeneous affiliations.

4. Some community leaders have noticed a significant and positive attitude shift in recent years on the part of a number of federal departments in their willingness to learn about, assist, and collaborate with the ESCQ.

5. The gains made in goodwill have been compromised by a number of serious logistical inefficiencies and exclusionary practices associated with the ways in which program and project funding is designed, managed and evaluated.

6. The provincial and municipal levels of government are playing an increasingly important support role for the ESCQ. More attention needs to be paid to the possibilities and limits to inter-governmental collaboration, as well as to the support roles that each level of government can be reasonably expected to play.

In sum, community members seem to echo each other in the belief that the ESCQ is undergoing a period of transition, finding its place in Quebec as a valued minority, and wants to be able to advocate for itself for the equal implementation of Part VII of the Official Languages Act across Canada. That is - equal, but different. These themes will be explored throughout this report.

The research consultants wish to express their gratitude to the many individuals who freely gave of their time, opinions, and written materials in order to make this report possible.

Methodology

Through July and August 2009, two research consultants interviewed over forty individuals from over thirty-five organizations in the ESCQ in an attempt to understand the perspective of Quebec's English-speaking community on the implementation of the Official Languages Act (part VII in particular). Of key interest was the concept of Positive Measures and the idea of community vitality.

Interviews were semi-structured and were conducted in person whenever possible. Almost all interviews conducted in Montreal, Quebec City, and the Eastern Townships regions were conducted face-to-face. Telephone interviews were used for other regions and when scheduling an in-person meeting was impossible due to schedules.

Interview structures were based on the interview grid provided by OCOL included in the appendix, but were adapted to the unique Quebec context by allowing for themes to emerge naturally from the conversation, and by asking specific questions about immigration, youth,

demographics, the identity of the English-speaking community (i.e. what constitutes it), and attempting to draw out the nuances of belonging to a minority (English-speaking within Quebec) within a minority (Quebec within Canada).

The two research consultants worked independently by focusing on Greater Montreal and the Rest of Quebec respectively, but collaborated by doing some interviews in person for the other based on geographical proximity, and also by sharing data and discussing themes. They co-wrote the introduction, literature review, methodology, and conclusion. The main sections of this report for Greater Montreal and the Rest of Quebec were written independently.

Selecting research participants in a way that would reflect the reality of the ESCQ as much as possible was a priority. The research consultants began by consulting the regional OCOL office, the Quebec Community Groups Network ("QCGN"), and Community Table. Next, a general invitation to participate in this research was distributed through the QCGN, and interviews took place with the Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative ("GMCDI"), the Centre for Community Organizations ("CoCO"), the Community Health and Social Services Network ("CHSSN"), the English-Language Arts Network ("ELAN"), and several academics. Finally, an effort was made to consult smaller organizations and also key individuals associated with many tables, committees, and organizations.

Consultation occurred within an array of sectors, including arts and culture, heritage, health and social services, and employment. It also occurred across the province, from the Magdalen Islands to the Outaouais, although we were not able to adequately consult with Northern Quebec.

In sum, participants were targeted from:
- Regional organizations (such as Regional Association of West Quebecers)
- Cultural groups (such as the Black Community Resource Centre)
- Sectoral groups and networks (such as the CHSSN)
- Cross-sectoral groups and networks (such as the QCGN)
- Cultural institutions (such as the Morin Centre)
- Educational institutions (such as Concordia University)

For a complete list of research participants, please see the appendix.

Following these consultations, the two research consultants met several times in order to analyze and share interview data and establish themes. Research participants were conducted for a second interview as necessary. Drafts of the two main sections of the report were written and shared with research participants, and their (substantial) feedback was incorporated into the final report.

<u>GREATER MONTREAL AREA</u> – By Lise Palmer

It is commonly said that Montreal and the rest of Quebec ("ROQ") are two distinct worlds. In fact, those in the regions sometimes refer to themselves as being located "off-island", and thus cut off from many institutions and services. In some ways, this distinction is legitimate, for example in terms of access to English-language institutions. However, as pointed out by community leaders within Greater Montreal, the distinction can paint a misleadingly homogenous picture of the community vitality of the island, glazing over important and sometimes shocking differences. In this section of the report, the great number of sectors, geographical areas, and social groupings of Greater Montreal will be our focus.

In fact, English-speaking Montreal has one of the most diverse populations in Canada, one that is recognized as more culturally diverse than Quebec's Francophone majority and Canada's Francophone minority. 400,000 allophones in Quebec are considered part of the ESC, the vast majority of this figure residing in Montreal[1]. As will be shown below, this diversity makes it more difficult to talk about Montreal's ESC as a whole, and its level of community vitality.

In Montreal, we heard that the issue of cultural identity is far more contested than in the regions. With many different cultural communities using English as their first official language, and increasing rates of bilingualism - particularly among youth - many people do not identify with the "English-speaking community" but rather, think of their linguistic group merely as identifying what language they speak. Youth especially are beginning to identify as "bilingual" and to resist labeling that emphasizes difference between English- and French-speakers, and some allophones do not identify as an English-speaker at all despite a desire to access services in English.

Those we interviewed varied in their responses to this identity confusion and shift. Many feel that unless the community identifies as a collective entity, much-needed support will never be received, recognition will not be bestowed, and rights will not be respected. One by one, English-speaking communities will disappear without efforts to collectively protect this linguistic minority group, and a shared cultural identity is an important aspect of protection from this undesirable result. In contrast, some others felt that increasing identity confusion, integration, and assimilation is inevitable and the important thing is how it is done, not its prevention.

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[1] Jedwab. *How Shall We Define Thee? Determining Who is an English-speaking Quebecer and Assessing its Demographic Vitality.* In: Bourhis (Ed.) The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival. Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities and the University of Moncton. Page 8.

For many, Montreal's institutions form that much-needed collectivity and common support for the ESCQ. In fact, similar to the role that the French language plays in many Francophone minority communities, institutions (rather than language) in Quebec are often cited as forming the backbone of the ESCQ. One community leader stated that, while Francophones are focused on preserving their language in order to preserve their culture, we in Quebec "…do use our language in our daily lives. Our problem is one of community, and we are trying to save something that is shifting under our feet as we speak". These institutions are threatened and disappearing, and the affect this has on the ESC of Greater Montreal cannot be under-estimated.

While in many rural areas of Quebec, entire communities are at risk, in Montreal, it is the institutions. The institutions of the ESCQ - its schools, hospitals, universities, and so on - are of major importance to the entire community. Those we interviewed emphasized the effect that the closing of an institution has on a minority community that relies upon it, often as its only option. In contrast, those in the majority community can simply go to one of their other options. The effects of reduced or closed institutions are wide-reaching, from migration patterns to socio-economic mobility, and it will become evident throughout this report that English-speakers value their institutions and want government support to protect them.

Montreal's distinctness in Quebec, in Canada, and in fact internationally was mentioned as a recurring theme by the community leaders spoken to. Its culturally diverse English-speaking community, high levels of bilingualism, institutions and density of English-speakers in proximity all create a context that must be examined carefully and in distinction to the rest of Quebec and Canada.

In this section of the report, we will examine Montreal's specific situation from the perspective of community leaders themselves in terms of:

1. Defining and assessing community vitality
2. Priorities of the community
3. "Positive Measures" and other Official Languages Act support
4. Canadian Heritage funding programs
5. Communication needs
6. The ESC's position within Quebec and Canada

In many cases, there is significant overlap between concerns of community leaders in Montreal and in the regions. In these cases, the issues will only be briefly dealt with here, to be more fully explored in the "rest of Quebec" section of the report.

Defining and assessing community vitality

In terms of vitality, it was pointed out that this concept is closely tied to the percentage of English-speakers in a given area; therefore the reality in Montreal is very different from that of Quebec City, the Eastern Townships, or anywhere else in Quebec. It is important to note allophones who speak English as their first official language are included in the notion of the "ESCQ", even though many of them would not necessarily identify as a member of the community.

When asked to define the concept of community vitality, we had a range of responses. The following factors were offered repeatedly:

➢   A sense of pride for one's language and heritage
➢   A feeling of being celebrated and appreciated
➢   Having a voice and being heard
➢   Accessing opportunities and able to contribute
➢   Being able to live up to one's full potential
➢   Political and economic participation
➢   Sustainability of communities
➢   Sense of agency or empowerment
➢   Recognition of diversity and difference

As one community leader stated, vitality is "…being part of the larger community but not swallowed by it". Thus, common threads are being included, belonging, represented, and participating fully in Quebec society.

Some community leaders reacted negatively to the term "community vitality", feeling that this term is used in an exclusive way in order exclude those not in the semantic loop and also to focus on an issue much more easily solved ("what is community vitality?") than the most important one ("how do we assist the English-speaking community?").

Within Montreal, the level of vitality is thought to be highly variable from one "pocket" to the next. Some pockets are geographically based, such as contrasting the vitality of the English-speaking community of Westmount to that of the Plateau to that of Little Burgundy. Poverty in some of these communities is high, while in others, food and housing are not central concerns.

Important as a vitality indicator, those in Montreal have greater access to English-language institutions, support and services than those in the regions. However, here we see the effects of geographical distinction even within Greater Montreal; while the West Island enjoys a

satisfaction rate (in respect to access to services in English) of 55.3% (third in the province), East Montreal sees a rate of 39.4%, which is less than the average satisfaction rate across the whole province, on par with places such as Bas-Saint-Laurent and the Centre-du-Quebec[2]. Of course, different expectations may be at play here, but this nevertheless is a strong indication of the kinds of difference one encounters moving between geographical communities in Montreal.

More than geographical divisions, community leaders pointed out that those English-speakers who grew up in Montreal live in a much more vital community than newly arrived English-speaking immigrants who have fewer opportunities, much less access to resources, and, in many case, little to no social capital. Not only do some people face a linguistic barrier and all the baggage that carries in Quebec; they can often face racism, discrimination, poverty, and other factors which can interconnect and provide multiple layers of exclusion. Many immigrants arrive in Montreal with certifications that are not recognized in Quebec, and the process to secure that recognition can take years or be impossible. For those with recognized credentials, getting their first job in this country is often a major barrier, even when considered apart from language, racism, lack of a social network, and other factors. With this situation in mind, one sees how different the experience of "community vitality" is for diverse populations in Montreal.

Thus, the ESCQ is unanimous only in their assertion that the ESCQ and its needs are not homogenous, whether we are defining or assessing community vitality, or examine Montreal, or the ROQ. There is a wish to move away from blanket measurements of vitality or statements of need, and towards a sensitivity for diverse situations and complex needs, along with the implementation of policies and programs that are adaptable to local realities.

Priorities of the community

In no particular order:
➢ Employment and entrepreneurship opportunities
➢ Arts and culture
➢ Chance to contribute
➢ Access to health and social services
➢ Strong leadership and voice
➢ Sense of place, identity, and belonging
➢ Research

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[2] Carter: *What Future for English-language Health and Social Services in Quebec?* In: Bourhis (Ed.) The Vitality of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: From Community Decline to Revival. Canadian Institute for Research on Linguistic Minorities and the University of Moncton. Page 95.

In Greater Montreal, community leaders emphasized the importance of concrete issues such as arts and culture, access to health and social services, employment and entrepreneurship opportunities, and the chance to contribute. Health and social services were mentioned across the board as an essential factor for any model of community vitality, and economic opportunities followed as a close second.

Arts and culture was raised as a priority by several community leaders and noted to be a particular asset in the Montreal context, which is "…becoming known for its vibrant and bilingual artistic culture". Arts and culture provide a way to bridge English-speaking and Francophone sectors, and to communicate messages about identity and belonging. Furthermore, it was pointed out that arts and culture are a major catalyst for the economy. One community leader stated that arts and culture employs 1.1 million Canadians full-time and constitutes 7.4% of the GDP, figures that most people are shocked to hear. The importance of this sector is not reflected in funding programs.

In terms of more ephemeral subjects also prioritized, strong leadership within the ESCQ, identity, a feeling of belonging, and a strong voice were consistently raised.

Community leaders varied in their opinions of the current methods for providing a unified voice for the community; some felt that organizations should be able to speak for themselves without going through large organizations, in order to accurately represent the unique needs of their communities. Having the government interact mainly with a handful of large organizations may be less time-consuming, but the consequent loss of detail and diversity is not felt to be worth it. Others felt that a unified voice is essential for the forward-movement of the ESCQ and that current structures are doing a good job of providing this. A few community leaders stated that although a unified voice is important, current structures needed to be more inclusive and transparent in their practices.

Perhaps most importantly, community leaders expressed a desire for community development in the ESCQ to be driven bottom-up rather than top-down. This means, in concrete terms, that rather than the government consulting the community on their needs, and then creating policy frameworks that reflect those needs, and funding guidelines that incorporate those needs, that instead the government take a more active participatory role in community-level politics, initiatives, and projects, and be able to help the community in what they themselves are already doing. Further, the ESCQ pointed out that they are consulted on issues but that the federal government often fails to act on the information they are given.

Research was cited by some as the biggest priority of all, due to its influence on community capacity to advocate for itself, to provide measurable targets and to document change. Some,

though, disagreed, feeling that money spent on research was taking away from immediate programming needs in urgent areas such as poverty.

Participants also expressed a need to have better representation in many ways: representation of its diversity when communicating to the government; representation at the National level of Canadian Heritage when appropriate; and representation politically at all levels. This issue will be further explored in section five.

"Positive Measures" and other Official Languages Act support

The following points can be considered key responses from community leaders regarding Positive Measures and other OLA support:

➢ There has been a positive shift in federal government attitudes
➢ A few federal departments are reaching out
➢ There are, as yet, few reports of concrete actions taking place
➢ Accountability of departments regarding positive measures must be established, with concrete targets and consequences
➢ Localized, differentiated strategies should be emphasized
➢ Government contractors should be required to demonstrate inclusive hiring practices

Positive attitude shift: Many community leaders spoke positively about a shift in attitudes found in government officials in recent years. Many departments were cited as having reached out to the ESCQ, or to being responsive to the ESCQ's requests. It seems as though there is a growing awareness of the ESCQ as a linguistic minority in need of support, and a gradual ebbing of the outdated stereotype of English-speakers being the "privileged" minority. The majority of those spoken to in Montreal indicated a level of "goodwill" present in many federal government institutions, and a new willingness to listen and learn about how they might be able to support the ESCQ.

Some federal departments are reaching out: Most notably, the following government departments were cited more than once as having demonstrated a willingness to learn and listen (note that some, such as Oceans and Fisheries, will be absent from this Montreal-specific list due to geographical factors):

➢ Service Canada
➢ Canada Economic Development
➢ Canadian Heritage
➢ Public Service

- ➢ Health Canada
- ➢ Justice Canada
- ➢ Public Works
- ➢ Canada Council for the Arts
- ➢ Statistics Canada
- ➢ Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
- ➢ Telefilm
- ➢ National Film Board
- ➢ Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission

It is important to note the varying experiences of those we spoke to. All of these departments were referred to more than once in a positive manner regarding their willingness to learn about the needs of the ESCQ. However, some community leaders did not have one positive experience to cite involving any federal department. Others cited negative experiences with some of these agencies. The general feeling is that attitudes are shifting within the federal government, and that there is a new openness and willingness to treat the ESCQ as a minority worthy of support. This brings hope to the community.

Few accounts of concrete actions: That said, there were very few instances recorded of concrete support offered by federal departments, indicating that the concept of Positive Measures is one that is still germinating but has not yet come to fruition. Funding was cited as coming from Canadian Heritage, Health Canada, Canada Council for the Arts, Service Canada, Canada Economic Development, and others, with the remainder of departments listed offering services in English, consulting the community, or reaching out in other ways. The National Film board was mentioned for creating innovative partnerships, and the Canada Council for the Arts was spoken of highly.

There were many instances spoken of when a government department was approached for non-financial support and it was not secured. Community leaders often felt this was due to outdated attitudes and stereotypes about the ESCQ, and about a lack of internal education on the OLA and departmental obligations. At other times, it was felt that federal department leaders were aware of Positive Measures and their obligations, but were not inclined to act, either through a lack of authentic desire to help, or for a lack of understanding of how to help.

Need for accountability: Consistently, community leaders spoke about the critical need for some kind of reward or incentive system to encourage departments to implement Positive Measures, so that the ESCQ was not merely relying on goodwill, which, in the words of many, "is not enough". Some community leaders spoke of financial incentives; others suggested that anything short of enforcing Positive Measures through judicial responsibility would not be effective. One

person commented: "it's about the stick and the carrot. Did you start wearing a seatbelt just because it felt good?"

Need for localized and differentiated strategies: In addition to a need for greater accountability, every community leader we spoke to would like to see the federal government take a differentiated approach to supporting the ESCQ. Not only does this mean that the ESCQ requires different support by government departments than their Francophone counterparts, but also from the community next door. Within Montreal, pockets vary wildly in their vitality indicators and the challenges they face, from those pockets of new immigrants facing poverty and exclusion, to those in the East Island not easily able to access health care in English, to the poverty issues in Notre-Dame-de-Grace, to the Black community which, despite having roots in Montreal for several hundred years, face unemployment rates of over 30%[3]. Given this variability, federal policy that does not allow for adaptation to local realities is not effective in the ESCQ. The Community Health and Social Services Network and the Community Learning Centres Network are two models that were cited by some as effective in navigating the competing needs for provincial policy and localized adaptation through mechanisms for local control of delivery.

It was stated that better communication between federal departments would allow for more effective interventions in the ESCQ, particularly in terms of pooled resources and non-monetary support. This aspect will be further explored in section five and in the Rest of Quebec section of this report.

Inclusive hiring practices: Finally, several community leaders advocated for the implementation of legislation requiring government departments to provide proof of diverse hiring practices such as affirmative action. For those in Montreal facing a linguistic barrier in addition to being a visible minority, for example, the multiple levels of exclusion interact to produce complex problems participating in Quebec society. Not only should departments such as the police and Canada Post have affirmative action policy in place regarding visible, linguistic minority and first nations status, but government contracts secured by any department should require the contracting company to show a certain percentage of the work done to be by those of various minority statuses.

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[3] Torczyner JL and Springer S. *The evolution of the Black community of Montreal: change and challenge.* Montreal (QC): McGill Consortium for ethnicity and social planning, 2001: 50.

Canadian Heritage funding programs

➢ Widespread appreciation for funds and personnel
➢ Bureaucratic and logistical issues undermine their effectiveness
➢ The top-down administration of funds according to federal priorities results in less impact on the ESCQ
➢ Need for ESCQ to access the national office, as a national minority

Widespread appreciation for funds and personnel: Canadian Heritage funding programs were mentioned by many as a key source of support, and by some as their only contact with the federal government. For many organizations, this funding body provides a critical link to the government that is irreplaceable. There is widespread appreciation for the availability of the funds, and also for the helpfulness of the regional staff.

Bureaucratic and logistical issues: Many feel the funds are inadequate, noting that "…5% of the total OLMC funding for the ESCQ is not exactly equitable". Further, one community leader pointed out that the funds might be closer to what is needed if other federal departments were doing their part for the ESCQ and coordinating with each other. "Why aren't other government departments major funders in the ESCQ - departments like HRSDC, Justice, Immigration? They do provide some funds, but these departments should be providing the bulk of the necessary funding to ESCQ organizations falling within the appropriate sector. This would free up Canadian Heritage funds to fill in the gaps and fund cross-sectoral efforts. Instead, Canadian Heritage is busy trying to fund employment programs, immigration programs, and all this with only 5% of the total OLMC funding. No wonder the ESCQ is under-funded."

Community leaders agreed on logistical issues negatively impacting the effectiveness of the funds, such as consistently late approvals for projects and delivery of the funds, and copious amounts of paperwork in the application and evaluation phases. Regarding the last issue, one person suggested the installation of a central database that community organizations could use to register their letters patent, business number, and other constants, to reduce the paperwork necessary for those organizations who receive funding from the same departments year after year. The federal government, one remarked, "...needs to get with the times and deal with paperwork in the 21st century way".

Many critiqued the over-reliance on results-based management ("RBM") techniques within project applications and evaluation frameworks. It is important to note that, overall, the sentiment was not to abandon the RBM approach; on the contrary, some expressed appreciation for the accountability this brings, and those in the ESCQ generally wish to see very concrete results. However, there was wide agreement that RBM can be embraced to different degrees, and

the government (particularly the department of Canadian Heritage) was cited as being too far along the RBM spectrum. "Some things cannot be measured," said one community leader, "...and with the framework used by Pch [Canadian Heritage], these things just won't get done at all, they just won't be funded."

Furthermore, the RBM approach embraced by Canadian Heritage has all its focus on the *what* (the results) and none on the *how* (the process). This over-focus on results is not necessarily an integral aspect of RBM; in fact, many RBM models incorporate participatory planning and assessment initiatives through mechanisms that ensure shared control between stakeholders.

A reticence on the part of Canadian Heritage to provide adequate core funding for organizations is one example of an over-emphasis on results. One community leader remarked that organizations are expected to diversify resources and in fact this is part of the contribution agreement organizations are required to sign; however, diversifying resources takes time that must be paid for by core funding. Thus, a dependent and unsustainable relationship with the federal government is encouraged by not providing enough support for organizations to be able to plan to be less reliant - a cycle that is difficult for an organization to break. Further, it was pointed out and emphasized repeatedly by those interviewed that when organizations are constantly threatened with collapse due to a lack of stable core funding, the resulting high turn-over of staff members and disproportionate energy expenditure in re-training, conserving institutional memory, and finding last-minute solutions detract from the organization's ability to serve the community. It also drastically impacts the organization's ability to innovate, be creative, learn about and use new technology, form lasting partnerships, and achieve sustainability. In short, a lack of core funding may appear to save funds in the short-term, but is actually an inefficient use of money in the medium- and long-terms, and reduces the community sector's ability to create results in the ESCQ.

Top-down administration of funds according to federal priorities: Some community leaders expressed frustration at the way funds are managed by Canadian Heritage according to government priorities, not community priorities. As several individuals pointed out, using such a top-down approach mitigates the effectiveness of local volunteer power, community buy-in, and other benefits seen when communities are given some control and input over the management of local funds.

These frustrations are particularly relevant in Montreal, where there is such cultural and other forms of diversity; the top-down prioritizing of government priorities are unlikely to represent the priorities of minority communities with the ESCQ. One way in which this clash is apparent is through the emphasis on specific terminology insisted upon by Canadian Heritage in funding applications and evaluations (such as "community vitality"), which excludes those organizations

not "in the loop", and particularly those organizations that serve diverse or marginalized populations.

One strategy suggested to change this dynamic was for Canadian Heritage to provide donations to local community foundations, thereby putting the funds directly in the hands of the ESCQ. Another strategy suggested was to create small, regional envelopes of funding available to support what is already happening in communities with a minimum of paperwork and delays in the application phase. A common thread through many interviews was the desire for government to do less consultations resulting in top-down frameworks informed by some of the community, and instead to reach out in a more grassroots manner (such as by sitting on local roundtables) to discover what the community is already doing, and to support those existing efforts. Not only will this give the government a much more accurate picture of what the community's priorities are; it will also use public money in a much more efficient manner. These issues will be further discussed in the Rest of Quebec section of the report.

The underfunding of cultural groups in Montreal was also mentioned. One community leader stated that "…government funding should reflect the community, not whose voices are loudest".

Need for ESCQ to access the National office: Finally, some community leaders called for the national recognition of the ESCQ, particularly in terms of its large network organizations, which should be involved in policy development and program input at the federal level along with their Francophone counterparts. This will be discussed further below.

To conclude, I call attention to the underlying issue of power that has provided a thread through this whole section. The ESCQ would like to see a more equal power relationship between themselves and the federal government - Canadian Heritage in particular. In order to implement the Official Languages Act, the government is integral in terms of funding and policy; yet the ESCQ's community sector is also integral in terms of providing relevant program delivery. There should be a real feeling of equal partnership between Canadian Heritage and the ESCQ, and this feeling should be concretely reflected in the ways that power is played out, such as respect for deadlines and prompt delivery of funds; mutually negotiated contribution agreements without coercion; ability to influence priorities, strategies, and actions; and participative mechanisms for planning and evaluation. In contrast to these hopes of partnership, many community leaders expressed helpless frustration at the way Canadian Heritage funding is provided, and doubt that change would occur.

Communication needs
➢ Within the ESCQ
➢ Between the ESCQ and the federal government

➢   Between federal departments and between levels of government

Within the ESCQ
In Greater Montreal, there is a pressing need for improved communication between community organizations representing the ESCQ, and also between English-speaking organizations and those groups that serve similar mandates for Francophone communities. The Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative is a beginning, but it is new, and the development of networks is a process. Few organizations exist in Montreal that serve to bring together various organizations and to assist them in having a voice and accessing services. This fact is added to and complicated by the ESCQ's history of not collaborating with each other and of emphasizing self-reliance, and by the stratified nature of the city.

Between the ESCQ and the federal government
Those we spoke to vary in their opinion of the communication needs of the ESCQ relative to the federal government. Although all feel that better communication is needed, and that the government must engage in more authentic consultation that includes a wider array of stakeholders rather than consulting with a few key stakeholders already in the loop, some divergence emerged when exploring the issue of a "voice" for the ESCQ. Some pointed out that speaking for the ESCQ as a whole is impossible to do while fairly representing various communities, pockets, cultures, sectors, and so on, and advocate for less reliance on one or two voices in favour of greater consultation with individuals and organizations. Some others felt that one voice for the ESCQ is not only necessary but imperative in order for the ESCQ to progress anywhere and protect itself from disappearing; without this one unified voice, the collective rights of the ESCQ could not be protected via the Official Languages Act, the main source of support available. However, when thinking about a unified voice for the ESCQ, those in Montreal consistently pointed out the need for greater inclusivity, transparency, and diversity.

Between the federal departments and between levels of government
Finally, community leaders expressed the desire for greater communication between government departments and between the various levels of government. Overlapping programs (such as for youth) and funding offered by various departments and a lack of coordination of non-financial support were all cited as evidence that there is a need for better inter-departmental communication. It was said that "…our issues [in Montreal] are like a mosaic. We need help from Immigration, from Justice, and from the National Film Board. All these departments are working individually (if at all) to support individual English-speakers. We need collaboration from many departments for the community as a whole."

The lack of communication between the federal and provincial government was mentioned several times as a source of wasted support for the ESCQ, which is "…like the children of divorced parents who don't get along". One concrete example is provided by Citizenship and

Immigration Canada, which has stated that the Official Languages Act, part VII, does not apply to their department because of devolved responsibilities to the provincial government. This example also demonstrates the unique challenges faced by the ESCQ due to their position within Quebec and Canada.

The ESC's position within Quebec and Canada

The ESCQ's ability to strengthen and find a secure place for itself "…has never been better". Many community leaders draw upon advances made in the relationship between the ESCQ and the provincial government, and the new openness found in some federal departments, high levels of bilingualism among youth, and economic positioning to feel a degree of optimism.

However, many community leaders stressed the importance of the ESCQ finding and defining its place within Quebec and within Canada. This includes validating its sense of being a national linguistic minority and having access to Canadian Heritage at a national level, and it also includes addressing the need for provincial support in spite of legislation to protect the French language and the contradiction inherent in the Official Languages Act and the language legislation in Quebec. It also includes finding creative ways for maintaining the institutions and building the networks of Montreal's ESCQ using inclusive strategies that welcome the diversity and difference of this unique population.

<u>THE SITUATION OUTSIDE MONTREAL</u> **– By Patrick Tomlinson**

Having reviewed the key issues that face the various English-speaking communities on the island of Montreal, we must now turn our sights to the situation in the rest of the province. We will begin by *sketching a likeness* of these communities by looking at some demo-linguistic and geographic statistics. We will then consider how community leaders across the province describe in their own words what their communities look like. Finally, we will consider how government actors have factored into the process of community development across English-speaking Quebec.

Demographic and Geographic Demarcation of English-speaking Quebec Outside Montreal
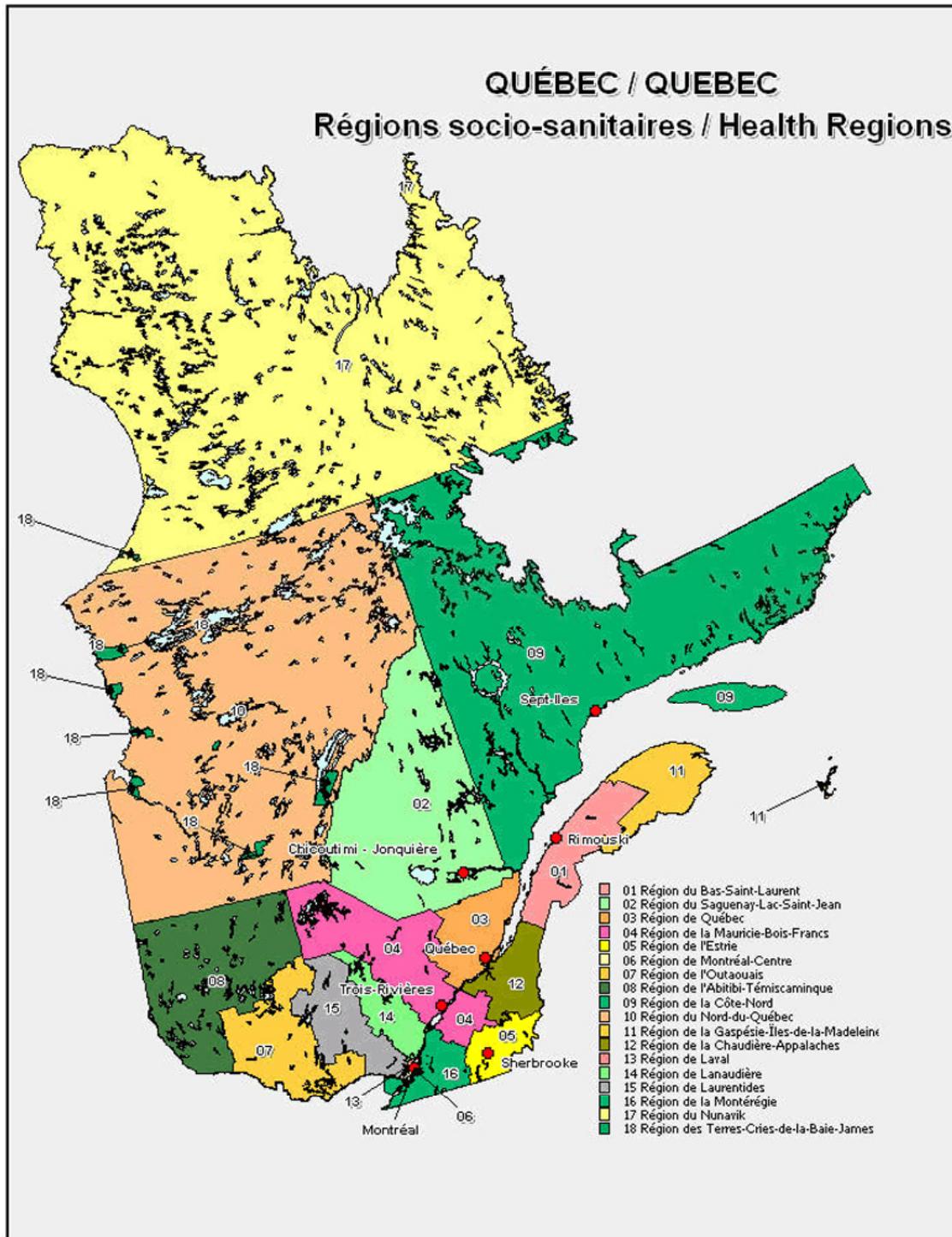
A core message coming out of the interviews of community leaders was that policy approaches to community development are poorly designed because they fail to give proper due to the many idiosyncratic variables that distinguish separate communities from one another. Too often, we were told, government programs and policies treated unlike communities uniformly, using, what one participant described as "an inefficient cookie cutter response to respond to very locally nuanced challenges." To better appreciate the local specificity of English-speaking Quebec, we must present a coherent formula that describes the various communities we are considering.[4]

Administratively speaking, the province of Quebec can be divided along a number of schemas. If we were to follow, for example, formal political designations such as those used in consonance with the National Assembly, we would consider the province as an aggregate of 125 electoral ridings. Of course, there are immediate (and obvious) problems with such an approach, at least from a community development perspective. For one thing, such a large number of geographical entities would bring with it significant challenges, particularly as regards the cost of administering and coordinating such a large number of social services. Secondly, and more importantly, there is nothing saying that this set of territorial divisions, intended as it is for narrow political purposes, would transcend in its usefulness to matters of community development that are influenced by three levels of government and by macro economic forces

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[4] A *mea culpa* must be acknowledged here. Whereas it is supremely important to provide comprehensive descriptions of the various individual communities across the province, we must admit that the primary purpose of this report is to convey the reflections and observations of participants, not to produce a comprehensive representation of the *face* of English-speaking Quebec. Obviously, when a core message is that policy must follow from local lived realities, it is crucial that exhaustive attention be paid to these realities. The scope of this report is, unfortunately, much more modest. For a thorough account as to the quantitative and qualitative variables that researchers and service providers use to evaluate the make-up of the various communties in English-speaking Quebec, please see: Baseline Data Report 2008-09, Regional Profiles of Quebec's English-speaking Communities: Selected 1996-2006 Census Findings. Community Health and Social Services Network, March, 2009.

that cross over such discrete boundaries.[5] Probably the best guide available to us is the delineation of the province into health and social services regions. Such topography understands there to be 16 distinct health regions:

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[5] See for example, Defilippis, James, Fisher, Robert, Shragge, Eric (2006) "Neither Romance nor Regulation: re-evaluating Community" International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Volume 30 Number 3, p.673-689.

QUÉBEC / QUEBEC
Régions socio-sanitaires / Health Regions

01 Région du Bas-Saint-Laurent
02 Région du Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean
03 Région de Québec
04 Région de la Mauricie-Bois-Francs
05 Région de l'Estrie
06 Région de Montréal-Centre
07 Région de l'Outaouais
08 Région de l'Abitibi-Témiscaminque
09 Région de la Côte-Nord
10 Région du Nord-du-Québec
11 Région de la Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine
12 Région de la Chaudière-Appalaches
13 Région de Laval
14 Région de Lanaudière
15 Région de Laurentides
16 Région de la Montérégie
17 Région du Nunavik
18 Région des Terres-Cries-de-la-Baie-James

Source: Government of Canada, Department of Canadian Heritage

There are several advantages with following this schema. The modest number of unique geographical agents, sixteen, appears to pay respect to variation at the local level all the while

not relying upon too large of a number of analytic/ administrative categories.[6] This graphic also allows us to distinguish more precisely the regions considered (and not considered) in this section of our report. That is to say, we will be here referring to health regions 01-05, 07-12, and 14, 15 and 16, and assuming that health region 06, Montreal, and number 13, Laval, were considered in the previous section. Finally, and most importantly, a great deal of research and services already conforms to this particular schema. By following the same plan, we may contextualise our findings against research and practice done elsewhere.[7]

Right away, then, we are in a better position to appreciate some of the expediencies associated with community development at the local level so long as we draw from the health region graphic above. For example, we see that some regions on the map are quite compact and well connected into urban networks, whereas others are very large and, in some case, totally disconnected (figuratively and literally) from these major hubs of activity. As one participant told us during her interview, "it doesn't make sense to consider two English-speaking communities the same just because they both have communities of about 10 000 residents; if one is small and compact in a city, and the other is distributed unevenly along a five hour rural coast line there will be significant differences between the two."

Demo-Linguistic Considerations

Just as differences between communities manifest on account of geographical factors, so too are they derived from demo-linguistic variables. The following chart depicts the English-speaking population of the province of Québec over the past thirty years. Here we see the population listed as a function of two different linguistic categories, mother tongue and FOLS (first official language spoken).

Anglophone Population in the Province of Québec, 1971-2006

Quebec Anglophones	Mother tongue	First official language
2006	**621,860**	**994, 720**
2001	591,379	918,955

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[6] As of the 2001 census, the Nord-du-Québec region was subdivided into three separate health regions (Nunavik, Terres-Cries-de-la-Baie-James, and Nord-du-Québec).

[7] It should be stated that the health region topography is not unanimously accepted. Several communities have expressed their opposition to this system because it misrepresents the spacial distribution of their community. Many of these critics charge that the realities on the ground are better represented by the spacial distinction associated with the Centre de Santé Services Sociaux, which divides the province into ninety-five regions.

1996	621,863	925,830
1991	626,202	904,305
1986	680,120	—
1981	693,600	----
1971	789,200	----

Source: Statistics Canada, *Census of Canada*, 1971-2001 and 2006 Census, Analysis Series

At present, there are as many as six working concepts to denote an "English-speaker". Of these, two are predominantly used by service providers, government bureaucrats and statisticians: mother tongue, and first official language spoken (FOLS). Although the emphasis of these two concepts is only slightly different, the statistical results, and consequently the consequences on policy recommendations, become quite different depending on the concept that is chosen.

The term mother tongue refers specifically to the language first learned at home and which is still used at the time of a federal census. To accommodate the possibility that multiple languages are used in the home, the Canadian census, as well as most other studies on language, allow for multiple languages to be included in this category; this has proven especially appropriate for individuals born in official language minority communities.

Yet despite the accomodation to allow for multiple languages in the mother tongue category, this definition is considered to be a strict, or narrow, interpretation of who counts as an English-speaker in Québec. For many residents born in other parts of the world, but who now live in Quebec, this definition is especially problematic. In countries where neither English nor French is an official language, often is the case that English is *picked up* for economic reasons. Upon arrival in Québec, then, some individuals have a working knowledge of English and little to no knowledge of French, but when asked they still consider themselves allophones. To accommodate for this demographic reality, which to be sure has become more significant in the recent past, the category FOLS has been added to the government census.

On its own, such a discrepancy means very little. Census Canada, for example, allows respondents to list whatever language they choose in the mother tongue category. No one is forced to enter English or French as their mother tongue simply because these two languages are the only ones that enjoy official status in Canada. From a policy perspective, however, there are important consequences to the first official language spoken phenomenon, especially as regards the English-speaking community of Québec. As Jack Jedwab notes, the Québec Treasury Board uses the mother tongue category most often when it refers to the linguistic minority in the province. Yet, the federal government of Canada often cites the FOLS category when referring to English-speaking Quebecers, arguing that it is in fact a more accurate representation of the

population.[8] Making matters more complicated, several recent studies have shown that the best approach to understanding the realities faced by English-speakers in Québec is to make use of both mother tongue and FOLS statistics. That is, in communities with larger immigrant populations, and where English speakers are densely populated, FOLS is considered a more accurate reflection of the size of the community. In regions where the population of English speakers is small and scattered, mother tongue is considered the most reliable indicator of the number of English-speakers.[9]

The variable of immigration also serves to distinguish Montreal from the rest of the province. The 2006 census has nearly 87% of immigrants residing in the greater metropolitan area of Montreal. But, what is often overlooked is how immigration also distinguishes other parts of the province from one another. For example, of the remaining immigrant population of the province in 2006, over 50% resided in the cities of Quebec, Gatineau or Sherbrooke.[10] In many respects, then, these three regions are intermediary regions for immigrant populations.

Making matters more complicated, researchers such as Annie Pilote have shown that across the province, but especially in more rural regions, that younger residents demonstrate less affinity towards unilingual identity claims.[11] The research of Jack Jedwab is also worth mentioning at this point, because he has shown that, particularly outside Montreal, there has typically been very high rates of exogamous marriage between Anglophones and Francophones, and that children who grow up in these families often assume a dual linguistic capacity that, in consequence, makes it difficult for them to adopt any one language as their mother tongue.[12]

The complexities around language identification, and the immediate connection between the make-up and size of language communities and government assistance was not lost on this report's participants. Said one interviewee, "much of our community speaks English and French, but often the people who require government assistance the most, like seniors, are far more dependent on services provided in English." Another participant noted that, "our young people have trouble making sense of single language identity, because they have grown up in bilingual

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[8] The federal government also routinely cites the category of "home language" in its studies of the English-speaking community of Québec. "Home language" refers to the language spoken most often at home. It generally produces results larger than mother tongue and smaller than FOLS.

[9] Another important reason why the FOLS figures are not considered indicative of rural communities is because it is built on using a 20% sample questionnaire. This means that large sections of the population would be overlooked in areas where the population is less big and more scattered. The mother tongue satistics, on the other hand, is built from the 100% sample material.

[10] For the latest immigration statistics, please see:
http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/recherchesstatistiques/Note_synthese_Immigration.pdf

[11] Pilote, A. (2007), «Construire son identité ou reproduire la communauté ? Les jeunes et leur rapport à l'identité collective», M. Bock (dir.), *La jeunesse au Canada français*, Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.

[12] Says Jedwab, "… of those married outside their linguistic community some 94% [of Anglophones residing outside of Montreal] are with Francophones. The net result of the mixing between Anglophones and Francophones is that when asked which of the two principled linguistic communities they consider themselves part of regardless of the language they spoke, one in four Anglophones said they were both English and French. Jedwab, Jack, "Follow the leaders: Reconciling Identity and Governance in Quebec's Anglophone Population," International Journal on the Sociology of Language 185 (2007) p.75.

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homes." And another still, "the irony of our community is that we have difficulty convincing many mother tongue Anglophones to participate in community events, and yet routinely we benefit from the efforts of francophone volunteers, employees and, of course, Francophones regularly attend our events." Several participants made clear that these issues should factor directly into how policies are designed and implemented. One participant told us that "support for English-speaking Quebec should benefit the province as a whole and not serve to isolate the community any more than it is already." And finally, several respondents made it clear that to date the English-speaking communities, and particularly those outside Montreal, has been misrepresented by analysts and government alike. "We are more diverse than we are given credit for," said one person; "a much more concerted effort needs to be paid to the fact that we are a community that is multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural."

Evaluating Community Vitality in English-speaking Quebec

When asked to describe the make-up of the English-speaking community of Quebec, participants across the province reiterated one overarching point: that the province's English speakers are scattered amongst a number of smaller, more locally situated communities, and that in many important respects, these smaller sub units are distinguished by characteristics that, in and of themselves, need to be better accounted for by government agencies. In the following section we will consider further how participants describe the uniqueness and well being of their communities. Our purpose is not to give an exhaustive account of all the nuances that separate the lived experiences of one locality from another. Rather, we will focus on the dominant themes found in the aggregate of responses. As will be shown, whereas the particular content of community development is sometimes contingent upon unique realities felt on the ground, we can nonetheless note that some instructive similarity is exhibited across the province.

In the previous section we noted that important variations exist in the population samples of English communities across the province. Factors such as immigration and exogamy have contributed to produce what even the most conservative pundits would admit is a heterogeneous social form in English-speaking Quebec. We must be careful, however, not to reject all quantitative data associated with English-speaking Quebec because in many respects it serves to ground constructive dialogue between policy makers, community advocates and service providers on issues of community development. For after all, the vitality of linguistic minorities requires to some important degree a critical mass and geographic concentration of its members and such information is conveyed most directly by way of quantitative statistics.

This past year the Community Health and Social Services Network, a community group whose mandate is to serve the health interests of English-speaking Quebec, released a highly informative report titled, "Baseline Data Report 2008-2009, Regional Profiles of Quebec's

English-speaking Communities: Selected 1996-2006 Census Findings."[13] Inside this report we find a chart that lays out the population of English-speaking Quebec, divided according to the various health regions. It reads as follows:

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Source: Baseline Data Report 2008-2009, CHSSN, 2009

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[13] *Supra* note 1.

The above graphic corroborates our previous point about the specificity, or diverging lived realities of the various communities across the province of Quebec. Let us first note that absolute population numbers for the various health regions range from very small to very large. On the one hand, we can see that in certain regions of the province there is only a small population of English-speakers. In this first category, which we will distinguish by a population size of under 5 000 residents, we find the Mauricie et Centre-du-Quebec Health region (4,995), Chaudieres-Appalaches (3,705), Sagueney- Lac-Saint-Jean (1,830) and the Bas Saint-Laurent (1,295). In contrast to these small regions we find a number of mid-size communities, which we will characterize as being in between 10,000 and 25,000 residents. In this category, we find Lanaudiere (10,115), Quebec-Capitale Nationale (11,840), Nord de Quebec (16,945), and the Estrie (23,580). Finally, we see that several English-speaking communities are rather large. If our largest category includes regions with at least 30,000 residents, we still come up with three communities, the Laurentides (33,175), the Outaouais (58,720), and the Montérégie (143,645).

The range of lived local experiences of English-speaking Quebecers is not only exhibited in absolute numbers. We also see significant variation expressed in terms of the percentage of the overall population of the health region. In some cases, English-speakers represent less than one percent of the overall population (Bas Saint-Laurent and the Sagueney Lac-Saint-Jean), and on the opposite end of the spectrum we see English-speakers making up more than forty-percent in others (Nord du Quebec). The majority of health regions, let it be said, fall somewhere between these two figures, with most hovering around five to ten percent of the total population.

And if we were to gauge the well being of the various English-speaking communities in terms of the instability of their population totals, we can draw further from the above graphic. For, as is plainly evident from the absolute and percentage figures listed above, nearly every health region in the province has increased its relative weight over the past five years. In fact, only two health regions, the Cote Nord and the Gaspesie-Iles-de-la-Madelaine regions, suffered population loses over the five year period of 2001-2006. Such loses are tempered by the fact that in both cases the loses in absolute numbers experienced by these two communities did not affect their overall percentage vis-à-vis the majority population.

What is striking is how rarely these quantitative statistics were raised when community leaders were asked to speak about the well being of their communities. With the exception of one participant in Quebec City, who noted optimistically that "it seems the population of my community has stabilized for the first time in over one hundred years," no one else referred directly to the quantitative size of their community. Many respondents did, of course, refer indirectly to this variable, by citing the importance of young people and the high number of senior citizens in their community, but as we will see shortly even these comments were made with an eye towards qualitative variables. Moreover, no mention was made by any of the participants to the overall quantitative picture that is to the large number and geographic concentration of the English- speaking community of the province. As the Baseline report acknowledges, when considered as a national minority community, "only the provincial Francophone population of New Brunswick represents a larger percentage of the total provincial

population [than English-speaking Quebec)]…. [and] the total population of Quebec's official linguistic minority is larger than that of some provinces."[14]

Evaluating the Qualitative Side to Community Well-Being: Taking a Closer Look at the Participant Contributions

To get a better sense, then, of how community leaders expressed the nature and well being of their respective communities, we must turn away from numerical data and provincial levels of analysis and concentrate more closely on qualitative variables and a frame of reference that is more based in lived local experiences. Three overarching themes come out of these interviews: Integration and Linguistic Duality; Building and Maintaining Strong and Diverse Socio-Economic and Political Networks; and, Leadership. Each will be covered separately.

I) Integration and Linguistic Duality

Participants across the province unanimously spoke in support of stronger integration with the majority Francophone culture. Linguistic duality, or bilingualism, was also viewed across the province as a necessary skill. These social categories were considered by participants to represent not only objectives to be achieved, but also core characteristics of the identity of English-speaking Quebec. As such, an intensely integrated and competently bilingual community was presented not simply as a *good way for English-speaking Quebec to be* but as the *right way*. As one participant noted, "there is a big difference between an English community that is part of a larger community and one that is swallowed by it."

Obviously, the issues of integration and linguistic duality are tightly bound together because the key distinction between the minority and majority communities is grounded in language. As one participant succinctly noted, "In English Quebec community development is more about bilingualism than it is about English." It is perhaps not surprising that many participants, and especially those in the most rural and scarcely populated areas of the province, complained of insufficient French language training. As one participant told us, "We are still producing kids who can't properly function in French. To be a citizen in Quebec (to run for office, to volunteer, to get a job) you have to speak French."[15] Another participant lamented the lack of adult language training in their community. "The residents in my community that are the most isolated linguistically speaking," she told us, "are adults and seniors, not our young people. For us to move forward we need to help adults further develop their French language skills."

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[14] Supra note 1, p. 16.

[15] This was a key finding of a recent report on Young English-speakers in Quebec by the QCGN. See, "Creating Spaces for Young Quebecers: Strategic Orientations for English-speaking Youth in Quebec." Full copy of the report available at: www.qcgn.ca .

Overwhelmingly, the participants in this study viewed bilingualism as a way for individual residents to improve their socio-economic well-being and for the community as a whole to flourish.

The participants of the study also demonstrated an acute sensitivity to the wide scope of individual and social relationships encompassed in a healthy integrated mix between minority and majority communities. In some communities, and particularly in those where participants expressed stronger confidence in the well-being of their community, there was a great deal of appreciation for Francophones who actively participated various facets of community life, even as actors within some of the most cherished institutions. Examples included, Francophone students studying at English language schools, Francophones working as volunteers and employees in key English- speaking community groups and associations, Francophones serving as bosses to English-speaking employees in French companies, Francophone residents participating in community events, and Francophone organizations acting as key institutional partners on committees and boards mandated to work on behalf of the interests of the local English-speaking community.

Judging from the comments of participants, to varying degrees English-speaking communities across the province have developed, or continue to actively pursue integrated relationships with the majority culture. More importantly, those participants who felt their communities were benefiting from a certain standard of success attributed some of their vitality directly to the connections they enjoyed with the Francophone majority. As one participant astutely pointed out, "we are preserving something called community not language, and this is far more complex and difficult then simply accepting only English people into our clubs." Along the same lines, another participant noted, "community development in English Quebec implicates directly the Francophone majority, not as an impediment to growth but as a partner. Community development in English Quebec should be based on value added for everybody, French and English."

Perhaps one of the most enlightening comments provided by a participant in regards to the integration element to community development in English-speaking Quebec concerned the best practices associated with conflict resolution with the majority Francophone culture. She told us "we benefit tremendously from the fact that when conflict (or potential conflict) arises, we can work to find solutions through closed door diplomacy, rather than open aired aggression." This participant went on to explain that rather than broadcast grievances publicly, by way of the news media or through formal complaints processes, that routinely her community speaks directly with organizations representing the Francophone community, to try and arrive at resolutions collaboratively instead of through conflict.

II) Building and Maintaining Strong and Diverse Socio-Economic and Political Networks

For the most part the participants in this study were employees and volunteers of local, regional and national community associations that serve the interests of English-speaking Quebec. The

views expressed in this report are indicative of a great many years of experience, in some cases decades of experience. These individuals have with great care worked on behalf of their communities. Some have lived in the same community for most, if not all of their lives. The connection many of these participants feel towards the subject matter is thus not simply that of a dispassionate professionalism, but encompasses a strong personal pride of place.

We are in a position to consider seriously the subjective views of these participants because, at its core, community development involves a number of important qualitative variables. Their perceptions as to what values and goals should be attached to the well being of their community and the nature of a *good life* in their community, are not derivative of the process of community development; they make it up.

It should come as little surprise, then, that the dominant themes broached by participants in this study all revolved around qualitative characteristics of community development. To effectively group and understand their comments, we should keep in mind the concepts of capacity and network capital. Capacity refers to the ability to reflect upon, judge and act according to one's given circumstances; network capital refers to the means by which a community can collectively respond to changing life circumstances.

Further analysis reveals that the participants agreed on three basic points. First, they supported a view of community vitality that was open and inclusive. As one person told us, "the whole community and more needs to be a part of the process." We might call the first priority: a citizen-based or participatory approach to community development. Secondly, much attention was paid to the importance of having established organizations to serve and protect the interests of the community. This second priority, we will refer to as: institutional capacity. Lastly, the participants in this study overwhelmingly brought up the need for (and sometimes "painful lack of") effective collaboration amongst community actors. This priority is best assigned the designation of: community coordination. To be sure, none of these priorities exists independently of the others. Rather, they co-exist. Such interdependence is confirmed by the fact that a dearth or weakness in one such category has deleterious effects on the others. A lack of volunteers or community engagement, for example, will result in weaker institutional capacity. In this regard, these three priorities should be understood to encompass a number of ulterior transitive relationships that factor into the processes of community development.

A Participatory Approach

Unanimously, participants in this study expressed the belief that the well-being and vitality of their community is directly tied to the participation of residents in community endeavours. To be sure, such participation involves a certain standard of community engagement at public events like social gatherings and arts and cultural events. Yet, participants clearly stated that a healthy level of engagement involves far more than simply "having fun together." Most commonly cited was the need for residents to dedicate their time and effort to community causes and a concomitant appropriation by individual residents of key collective interests.

It should come as no surprise, then, that volunteerism and civic engagement were cited by many as key indicators of community vitality. Volunteerism involves any dedication of one's time in support of a social cause, event or movement, without any immediate monetary compensation for one's efforts. Volunteerism is the lifeblood to a great many community organizations, it accounts for a number of key services offered to residents, and it is essential to the successful carrying out of community events. As one participant noted, "without volunteers" most of the organizations that serve my community would close down and many of the services provided to our most needy residents would cease to be offered."

Equally important in this regard is community engagement understood as public participation. Here we are referring to civic responsibilities, like running for office, voting, and engaging in public debates around local concerns. Said one participant, "for our community to thrive, we need to have our residents out in the wider community, representing our points of view and actively contributing to the social harmony of our region, which is something everyone shares in common."

Perhaps the most instructive example of just how important citizen engagement is to the best practices of community development, and to the vitality of communities more generally, is the emphasis placed on volunteer boards of directors in English-speaking Quebec. Across the province, these boards are responsible for discussing and settling upon the goals of the community, and for working out the strategies that will be put in place to achieve these goals. As one participant told us, "my job as the executive director of a community group is to inspire the residents of my community to take a pro-active role in maintaining the dynamism of their social environment. To achieve this end, I need to be a good listener and I need to trust the judgment of the people who surround me."

Institutional/ Organizational Capacity

Just as they were wont to focus on the importance of community participation, the participants of this study were equally emphatic as regards the role played by community organizations in maintaining the vitality of their communities. Repeatedly, we were told that a diverse organizational infrastructure consisting of strong and flexible institutions was a necessary component to community development in English-speaking Quebec. As one participant told us, "a scattered community like ours needs anchors." In many ways community institutions provide stability where otherwise it would be lacking. Below we will consider four such ways.

Some participants focused on the symbolic role played by organizations working on behalf of the community. A participant from a region in Quebec where few to no English language institutions exist lamented on the lack of a recreational centre where residents could congregate. "We need a place where people can come together, feel safe and collaboratively build social bonds." Another participant, speaking on behalf of his members, told us "one important reason why we continue to attract a large number of volunteers is because residents view the well-being of our organization as tied directly to the vitality of the community at large.

We were one of the first organizations to serve English interests, and so if we were to close the symbolic weight would be overwhelming."

Other participants focused more directly on the role played by organizations in the provision of reliable and timely services. In this regard, health and social service and economic development organizations were most often cited. As one participant remarked, "the most needy residents in our community are the unemployed and seniors. Thankfully, we have a strong set of organizations in place to address their needs."

Schools, recreational centres and arts and cultural organizations were also mentioned by a great number of participants as key contributors to community vitality. "Our schools serve a number of purposes," said one participant, "it is there where our young people can learn about the community they have inherited, and it is there where they will learn the most important skills they will need to accept this inheritance responsibly." Commonly, recreational centres and arts and cultural organizations were singled out as key actors in the preservation of English-speaking Quebec's immaterial heritage. Said one participant, "one of our priorities at the moment is to establish a safe place where we can begin to organize an archive." Another participant noted that, "our local arts and culture organizations serve just as important a role as does any other type of institution." And a participant in Quebec City proudly told us that, "the recent expansion of the local arts centre represents one of the biggest successes our community has enjoyed in years."

The last three important functions served by community instituions can be mentioned in tandem. Participants cited the importance of an institutional base: to the research and the evaluation of progress in community initiatives, to the advocacy and brokerage of community interests, and to the building and strengthening of contacts both locally and on larger geographical scales. Again, the analogy of an anchor serves well here. Several participants noted favourably the stability that comes to a community when an organization successfully establishes itself. "It can bear witness to how the community develops over time," said one participant. Another participant noted how in her community there has long been a tradition of community development, though the type of groups that typically have provided support has changed over time: "community organizations have replaced religious groups as the rallying and motivating force, as the recreational hub, and as the responsible party for keeping the community spirit alive," she told us.

To date, too little has been said on the significance of the transformation away from the charity model towards a state-centred approach to community development in English-speaking Quebec. What is clear, however, is that the number of interests that today factor into the best practices of community groups have increased significantly, and so too has the number of social actors increased that purport to act on behalf of community interests.

Community Diversity and the Need for Coordination

When asked to describe her community, one participant bluntly replied, "it sure isn't monolithic." This peculiar choice of words is worth mentioning at this point. For, as the

participant notes, none of the English communities in Quebec can accurately be portrayed as a large, uniform and closed social entity. To the contrary, these communities are in many important respects fragmented, dynamic, and diverse. In such a situation intercommunity coordination becomes a necessary condition for successful community development.

"There is no way English Quebec will continue to develop across the province unless we as a community continue to build and develop effective ways to work together." This sentiment was repeated by a number of participants. They provided a number of factors that influence community coordination, a list that included open channels of communication, tolerance and respect, and the establishment of clear channels of open dialogue. As one participant said, "many of the most pressing challenges to our community demand a coordinated approach among organizations from different sectors." A number of participants also singled out the importance of intergenerational communication and applied dissemination as two aspects of healthy collaborative enterprises. "A basic premise of community development in our community," said one participant from a rural community in Northern Quebec, "is that everyone who comes to the table is given the same level of respect. We all come to the table with useful skills. The task is activating the knowledge, know-how and resources we have available to us."

Participants were quick to note that these practices affect not only relationships within individual communities, but also between regions and from one generation to the next. As one participant based in Quebec City told us, "We are lucky to have such a large pool of talent here. One of our priorities is to make sure that lessons learned and skills gained are passed down from one generation to the next." Another participant, this time from a community with only a limited amount of resources, told us that she would welcome assistance from elsewhere in the province. "What could be more helpful than direct contact with communities who have successfully overcome the challenges that our community now faces," she said.

Over the course of the interviews, we were informed of many different types of coordinated approaches to community challenges. Through further research we discovered others. We learned of visioning exercises that brought together community leaders from a wide range of sectors to annual and bi-annual meetings to discuss the global priorities and challenges faced by their shared communities. We discovered several types of youth committees that paired stakeholders, like employers and economic development agencies, with young people interested in developing entrepreneurial skills. And, we happened upon a large number of citizen-oriented collaborative exercises, networks of residents with similar interests and experiences, such as social activities designed for pregnant and young mothers, and counselling groups run by and for cancer survivors and their loved ones. We also came upon a number of arts and culture organizations that played to the interests of hobbyists of different kinds.

In addition to these ad hoc bodies, it is important to note that a number of regional and national organizations exist in English-speaking Quebec. These groups serve a number of purposes, but one key element of their mandate is to advocate on behalf of the wider interests of the community, and to help bridge communication and logistical gaps between the large number of sectoral community organizations in existence. Although most attention was paid to local

solutions for local challenges, a great number of participants acknowledged the need for what one person noted as "the existence of advocacy groups and brokerage associations that take on larger, more complicated issues." Further analysis shows that such organizations indeed play an integral role in community development initiatives in English-speaking Quebec. In some cases advocacy groups represent the only or the most effective means by which smaller and more isolated communities' interests are defended. As one participant told us, "some parts of English Quebec get overlooked because they do not fall neatly within any municipal boundaries. My organization plays an important support role for several communities in this precarious position." Other groups assume the advocacy role to take the pressure off sectorial associations. "Some sectors like education can better handle their advocacy needs because they have a solid administrative infrastructure in place and because their funding is assured to a certain standard. Many other groups, however, rely on unstable government funding. They cannot afford to rock the boat too much. We help in this regard." Finally, a great many participants acknowledged the role played by several national organizations that presently serve to communicate larger concerns of the community and to facilitate the administration of larger projects and grants. "As a small, isolated community," said one participant, "we benefit tremendously from having good representation in groups located in Montreal and Quebec City whose clout with government is far stronger than ours."

On a final note, it is worth mentioning that several participants did raise concerns about some of the provincial associations that presently serve English-speaking Quebec. Said one participant, "a great deal of work needs to be done to make our provincial organization more representative of the rank and file members across the province." Another told us that "membership rules to gain entry into the provincial association are too stringent," and in another interview we were told "the face of English Quebec in reality, and the version one gets by the members of the provincial association give two drastically different pictures." In all such cases the participants acknowledged the legitimate role played by umbrella and provincial associations, but argued that the coordination practices would have to be improved for their legitimacy to gain traction across the province.

III) Leadership

The last key theme that was repeatedly cited by participants was the importance of (and need for) strong leadership at the local, regional and provincial levels. One participant defined strong leadership as "a pool of individuals who invest themselves on a volunteer basis in local institutions." Comments provided by other participants demonstrate, however, that quality leadership involves much more than the availability of volunteers. As another participant noted, "solid leadership comes out of a fine balance between innovation and fairness." That is, a good leader will inspire positive change in their community, but not at the expense of the core values of community development, respect for others, and inclusiveness.

Participants listed a number of key characteristics possessed by the leaders of their communities. Some noted that professional talents are required; others mentioned a "versatility of skills and a plethora experiences." Such talents and skills include, among other things, public speaking, accounting and finance management, and effective human resources skills. Said another participant, "our community leaders are well known and respected. They have an intimate knowledge of the community they serve and they have a diverse number of solid contacts." This last point demonstrates the time and effort required to groom quality leadership. For as one executive director told us, "it takes time for leaders to build relationships with people, to gain the trust and confidence of key partners, to develop a positive reputation, and to establish their place in the living norms of a community." Adding to this list, participants also told us that good leaders must have "the courage of their convictions," "they must believe strongly in their community," "they must be assertive and fair," "willing to take on causes passionately," and, finally, "have the ability to see the bigger picture, the long term picture, and be able to envisage a way forward."

In addition to the qualities of good leadership, participants also spoke to the functions of leadership from within the paradigm of community development. The various functions they mentioned can be distilled into two predominant categories: tangible and symbolic results. In both cases, we are referring to types of results that are achieved when good leadership is in place. Tangible results would include "the successful negotiation of contracts and conflict settlement" (to this we might also add the mitigation or avoidance of conflict). Also included in this category would be "the ability to build coalitions among community partners, as well as between the community and other actors not normally situated within its network." Participants also listed a number of symbolic results that clearly they believed were equally as important as the tangible results produced by good leadership. As regards symbolic results, participants referred to "the ability of leaders to give meaning to collective experiences," "to inspire self-confidence," "to lead visioning experiences so that others can more easily envisage future goals and objectives," and "to help to instill a sense of belonging and self-respect among residents."

Participants who believed strongly in the vitality of their communities claimed to benefit from a large pool of leaders and leadership potential. They also mentioned the diversity of skills and contacts possessed by their leadership. By diversity of contacts, participants referred not only to cross-sectoral connections, but also reliable channels of communication with local, regional, provincial and even national stakeholders. Participants who expressed concern about the dearth of leadership in their local communities focused especially on the lack of contacts and the limited number of professionals to draw from. Said one participant in a very rural part of the province, "we simply have a hard time convincing talented professionals to move to our region."

The Role of Government As Regards Community Development in English-speaking Quebec: Reflections on the Past and Looking to the Future

Since the early 1960s, when federal and provincial support for community organizations serving language groups began, the relationship between the community sector and public agencies in Quebec has intensified tremendously. At present, very few community groups operate independently of government. Some receive core funding from the federal government, which pays for basic operating costs. Most other community organizations are supported financially through project funding at the federal level; that is, they apply for monies intermittant, when federal departments approve budget expenditures for particular departmental objectives. In both cases contribution agreements are negotiated between the government agency and the community group in question, and a number of documents are drafted to account for the ways in which the monies will be spent. Moreover, as part of both core and project funding agreements, community organizations must submit a series of progress reports, budget updates and final reports that are designed to ensure transparency and accountability whenever tax payer money is at stake. In many respects, then, the relationship between the community sector and the public sector is quite close, leading Jack Jedwab to note that "the institutional viability of minority language community organizations is highly dependent on the nature of and degree of assistance that is received from government."[16]

One objective of this research initiative was to canvass the views of community leaders' on the role of government in recent community development initiatives. Across the province, individuals explained the pros and cons of working with government actors, and they spoke to how the process could be improved in the future. In this final section, we will review some of the dominant themes of these discussions. We will begin by looking at the stated experiences of participants working with the federal government. We will list the advantages and challenges associated with this working arrangement, and we will highlight some of the suggestions put forth by participants as to how the process could be improved. Finally, we will consider the growing complexity of community development in English-speaking Quebec by reviewing some of the participants' comments about increasingly important roles played by the municipal and provincial governments.

When asked to address their relationship with the federal government, participants were expressly told to consider how relationships have changed over the past five years. In several key areas, they responded, significant improvements had been felt over this period. Globally speaking, participants felt that their community was becoming better known among federal actors. "Compared to even five years ago, we have come very far in terms of the visibility our community receives at the federal level," said one participant. Such visibility was explained by participants in several ways. Many participants told us that a wider number of federal departments were "actively showing interest in our community." Others noted that there was a significant improvement in the "awareness of the current research on the community," and "on the priorities of the community." And without exception, participants expressed satisfaction with

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[16] Supra note 7, p.73.

the welcome reception they receive from program agents. "They sound genuinely interested and willing to help," said one participant.

In more tangible terms, participants noted a significant improvement in the accessibility of English language information, whether it be surrounding services or funding opportunities. And, in a number of cases, participants noted important improvements in the consultation by federal departments of community needs. Said one participant, "we are now contacted by several federal departments whenever they have questions about how policies might affect our community." Said another, "when we have questions, we now know who to call and we are always warmly received." According to a number of participants, representatives from English communities are now routinely invited to attend consultation meetings with representatives of federal departments to discuss the effects of policy on community interests.

In contrast to the above-mentioned improvements, participants expressed a long list of complaints. The bulk of these we can slot into one of two categories: concerns over the funding process; and, concerns about the types of funding. The complaints communicated by participants were strikingly similar across the province.

The most passionate concerns raised by participants concerned the nature of the funding process. Without exception every single participant bemoaned the "complete lack of respect federal departments show for their own dates." We received dozens of complaints from community groups about the lack of prompt notice about funding arrangements. In fact, not one of the groups outside Montreal had received approval of their 2009-2010 funding agreement when we spoke with them in July and August, despite the fact that the fiscal year officially began April 1. In the words of one participant, "the norm now is to work on a project from September to March, instead of from April to March."

Participants went to great lengths to describe the extremely negative effects of this lack of prompt notification of funding. It is difficult to overemphasize this point. We were told of high levels of job related stress, cut backs in hours for essential employees, the inability to attract and keep good talent, increased costs associated with interest payments on lines of credit, high turnover rates in staff, and a significant compromising of services ("you can't plan for a year when you don't know what you have"). In extreme cases, we were told of office closings. One participant told us that "for the first time in the long history of my organization I might have to close my doors if I don't get word in the next two weeks about whether or not we can expect anything from the federal government." Many participants expressed the belief that the situation has only gotten worse in the past few years. Others argued that the entire process of community development was being undermined by this single issue: "we are signing agreements completely under duress, when we haven't received a paycheck in months." In the most extreme examples, we heard of funding approval not being communicated until the final quarter of the fiscal year. In one such case, a participant told us "we received money in early February to be spent by the end of March. In this time we were supposed to conduct a number of strategic planning workshops, develop a global plan and gain a formal approval by our board of directors."

Other complaints were also raised about the funding process. A great many participants complained of increasing micro-management associated with funding agreements. "One department had the gall to require that I submit interim reports despite a lack of a contribution agreement," one participant told us. "Before approving funds, they required us to provide budget expenditures for everything, including rent, utilities and stationery," said another. Closely linked to this complaint, participants also expressed concern over the increasingly specialized language required on forms and reports. "To get money approved we must talk about things in a way that is not natural," one participant said. Said another, "Many community organizations are staffed by volunteers and by individuals with modest levels of education. These days to submit a successful grant application you need someone with a graduate degree, or you have to hire a consultant who is familiar with government speak." Finally, some participants expressed concern with how funding decisions are made. Several expressed concern over the increasing penchant of federal agencies to give large amounts of funding to umbrella groups, leaving smaller organizations with fewer opportunities (and fiercer competition) to bring in funds. Others spoke about the lack of clear guidelines as to how grant monies are released. "The department we deal with on a regular basis is as transparent as a mud puddle," said one participant. Another added that, "sometimes we are given the impression that we have been approved only to later find out the entire budget has been put on hold."

A second set of concerns raised by participants regards the types of funding available. A chorus of voices raised objection to the general lack of core funding, and the reliance on single-year funding agreements. "It is very difficult to create any momentum," said one participant, "when we only have budgets approved for one year, and when this money is received six months late." Said another participant, "there are a great many costs associated with the effective running of an office that are not eligible with most program funding." Others mentioned the inability to apply for follow-up funding to projects that have gained traction in the past. "We are not allowed to ask for funding for projects that have had any success. The federal government needs to do a better job of reaching out and supporting what is already doing well in the community." Along similar lines, another participant noted that, "we must always come up with new ideas for funding, instead of simply further developing something that is working well." Finally, a number of participants complained about the lack of indexation in funding agreements. "For the past six years funding has been frozen and yet my costs have risen steadily. Every year we have to come up with new ways to do more with less."

Tangible manifestation of geographic isolation that was most mentioned by participants was the increased cost of travel and transportation. One participant, familiar with the situation in the Magdalen Islands, for example, noted "a plane ticket to Montreal costs, on a good day, over $800." Moreover, the ferry service that serves the Magdalen Island runs only from May to December. And so whereas communications technologies like video conferencing and the Internet have mitigated some of the challenges associated with isolation – as one participant noted, "in many respects we have overcome geographical expediencies by way of sound channels of communication" – other challenges persist. Another participant told us that

complications around transportation routinely impede the timely arrival of services, goods and people (service providers), to mention nothing of the prohibitive expense they represent for a great many other necessary tools to effective community development. The best way to address such problems, this participant concluded, was for government programs and policies "to factor into their funding agreements some type of subsidies for isolated communities to cover the high travel expenses they are forced to pay that others don't have to." "Since gas prices have gone up our transportation costs have gone through the roof," one participant told us.

When asked how the situation could be improved, participants provided the following advice to federal government departments:

- Respect dates around funding notices;
- Decrease significantly the reporting associated with funding agreements;
- Provide for longer term funding agreements;
- Allow for funding of previously successful initiatives;
- Allow for more collaborative funding opportunities that would enable organizations to work together on larger, cross sectoral initiatives;
- Index funding with inflation;
- Tailor funding agreements more effectively to the costs of particular regions (i.e. allow organizations in Northern and rural areas to ask for greater amounts to cover travel and transportation expenses).

Across the province community organizations are also working very closely with provincial and municipal actors. One participant in Quebec City told us that; "traditionally the English-speaking community has always had strong support at the municipal level. This point has never been lost on us." Another participant noted that, whereas it takes time and a lot of effort, "we try very hard to cultivate strong relationships at all three levels of government."

When it comes to the province, some sectors are more dependent on support from this level of government than others. Community groups whose mandate touches upon health care or education, for example, most likely deal more often (and directly) with provincial representatives since these sectors fall under provincial jusrisdiction according to the Canadian constitution. A participant who works closely with the province in matters of health care told us, "we are very warmly received by provincial representatives. In many respects, they fully recognize the English-speaking community's legitimate claim as a cultural minority deserving of support." Several participants representing economic development had equally positive things to say. "We work closely with a number of federal departments," said one participant involved in economic development in English-speaking Quebec.

Other participants expressed some concerns about working with provincial and municipal representatives, though to be sure they fully acknowledged the benefits of having strong

relationships at all levels of government. "In the arts community, groups that work on behalf of English Quebec have a hard time winning support," said one participant. Another told us that, "the provincial bureaucracy is not interested in us like the federal bureaucrats are. Why would they be? There is no political framework in place at the provincial level obliging government to hold our interests as a priority." Returning to Quebec City, where a great many community groups enjoy positive relationships with provincial and municipal representatives, we were told that, "more so than at the federal level, these strong bonds took a great deal of time to cultivate. We're talking about generations of contact and many, many successful collaborative initiatives worked on by Francophones and Anglophones together."

Closing Remarks: Drawing Further Conclusions from the Participant Interviews

The preceding section was based on interviews with over thirty respondents representing English-speaking communities from all four corners of the province. For our benefit, they responded enthusiastically when asked to reflect upon their most recent professional experiences; they were forthcoming about their views on the nature and well-being of their communities; they spoke frankly about the best practices and challenges associated with community development in English-speaking Quebec; and they spoke in a balanced yet trenchant tone when they were asked to comment on how the federal government has played a role in the process of building strong communities across the province.

We just finished sketching out, albeit in broad strokes, some of the most important issues related to the process of community development in English-speaking Quebec. We now must ask ourselves, is it possible to draw any overarching conclusions about what should be done in the future, given what we have heard? In an attempt to formulate an answer, this final section will return its focus to the three basic questions grounding this report. That is, how do community leaders understand the vitality of English-speaking Quebec, and what best practices in community development do they associate with this goal? Secondly, what amount of success have they achieved in trying to accomplish their stated goals? And, finally, how has the federal government contributed to the success of community development practices in English Quebec over this period of time?

Vitality Understood as Social Capital

We saw in the first section of this chapter that when community leaders and government actors consider the size and distribution of the province's English-speaking population they refer to a schema that lists seventeen separate regions; we also learned that this social mapping conforms to a topography used by health care professionals and that a significant body of quantitative and qualitative statistics has developed around these geographical distinctions. We noted that, despite

these attempts to define clearly the collectivity of English-speaking Quebec, a number of other variables exist to complicate things. Geographic expediencies, demo-linguistic variables, like immigration and exogamy, and an increasing willingness to integrate by both Francophones and Anglophones make it difficult to come up with a universally applicable standard that clarifies what an English-speaking community looks like.

And so, whereas we are still not in a position to denote English-speaking Quebec, at least not as a discrete analytical category, we can safely conclude that the compounding of the variables previously considered results in a fragmented and heterogeneous set of English communities across the province. And if one point was made overtly clear over the course of the interviews it was that: *the idiosyncratic characteristics of each particular region should not be glossed over or ignored when policy makers consider strategies to support English- speaking Quebec; that government supported programs and projects need to be based on lived local realities.*

Despite the fact that there is in fact a multiplicity of communities, participants were equally vocal in their support for a continuation of the dialogue and active collaboration between community associations and government. As one participant stated: "We must not let the lack of firm judgment on issues of identity discourage attempts to build a common framework." And with the comments of our participants serving as a guide, we are in a better position to now flesh out what this common framework entails.

Quality of Life is both an Individual and Collective Category

The participants focused primarily on social capital when describing the nature and well-being of their communities. As such, when they were asked to describe the vitality of English- speaking Quebec, the majority of the comments referred to strong social relationships, particularly among established organizations, institutions and community groups. This approach to community development can be referred to in terms of *social networks*. Elsewhere the social network approach has been described in the following terms:

"Vital communities are characterized by strong, active and inclusive relationships between residents, private sector, public sector and civil society organizations that work to foster individual and collective wellbeing. Vital communities are those that are able to cultivate and marshal these relationships in order to create, adapt and thrive in the changing world and thus improve wellbeing of citizens."[17]

The social network approach stresses the strength, diversity and quality of relationships that make up collective ways of organizing and being in the world. When a particular community

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[17] CCSD, p.4

exhibits a large and diverse number of social relationships, when it benefits from a large number of locally based organizations whose mandate is to service local residents, it can be said that a flourishing collectivity exists. Participants from both struggling and thriving communities in English Quebec resorted to this type of framework to describe their situation. So, in a particularly embattled community we heard, "it is hard to talk about vitality in the present context because our organizational infrastructure is collapsing." In a region where the socio-economic situation was far better off, we were told, "our community is extremely dynamic. We have a large number of organizations working both independently and together on a number of projects."

The ability of the participants to articulate the well-being of their communities in terms of social capital demonstrates a level of sophistication in the dialogue around issues of community development in English Quebec, just as it infers a certain sophistication in the social make-up of the community as a whole. On some level, the participants are able to express themselves in this way because they are privy to a social arrangement that includes a strong organizational base, and because they are convinced of the merits of this approach.

The participants' comments also shed some light on how they consider the fortunes of individual residents to be tied directly to the well-being of their communities. For, as several participants pointed out, on some level the objective of community development is not only to ensure the long-term development of the community-at-large, but also to strengthen the ability of individuals to live in their language and for them to participate in Quebecois (and Canadian) society more generally. And so, whereas the participants spoke less about individual well-being in explicit terms, they still demonstrated a strong tendency to evaluate a community's well-being not only on the strength and quality of social relationships, but also on the stock and flow of resources and opportunities available to individual residents.

The emphasis on social relationships and collective well-being in conversations around vitality is consistent with much of the literature on community vitality in minority language communities in Canada. In both cases, individual interests seem to factor less in the calculation surrounding the best practices of community development.

To properly demarcate the collective interests of a minority language group involves, on some level, a clarification of the types of interests individual citizens have in seeing their own language community flourish. Education, employment, good health, happiness, these are qualities of life that are experienced by individuals. And in political conversations around minority rights, to effectively persuade others, particularly those in the majority culture who will be asked to make some types of sacrifices, there needs to be some convincing list of interests attributed to individuals that, in-themselves, are intimately tied to the social relationships of, in this case, their language group.[18]

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[18] Actually, we need to do more. As Leslie Green has noted, we need to demonstrate that these interests are *sufficiently* important to warrant protection. Green, Leslie, "Are Language Rights Fundamental," (1987) Osgoode Hall Law Journal 25, p.640-69.

The comments of the participants show that individual interests are important to conversations about the collective well-being of English-speaking Quebec for two reasons. Firstly, they made clear that a healthy community is measured partly by its capacity to satisfy individual interests. For, as we learned in the interviews, another key commonality between the embattled and the flourishing English communities across the province was the constant challenges felt by community leaders to motivate residents to participate in community endeavours. The following comments, seem to ring true across the province: "We have no problem mobilizing our community around key issues, but in the day-to-day stuff, in the many other less but still important issues we have a great problem mobilizing our people." The problem of community mobilization is front and centre in every community across the province; it is relates to bigger issues, like the social presence of the community in the context of the majority population, and like the long term existence of institutions; it also factors directly in some of the more specific but nonetheless crucial smaller issues, like volunteer burnout, and even the provision of individual services.[19] The comments of the participants represent an important recognition that community well-being needs to be on some level measured by the individual interests of its residents.

There is a second, and more important reason why individual interests must factor into our conversation about community development in English Quebec. Satisfying individual interests is a necessary condition for a community to exist at all. That is, in the opinion of the great majority of the participants, certain individual interests must be satisfied before any type of genuine, discrete and coherent collectivity can be said to exist at all.

At first, this statement seems paradoxical. Would not a society, understood in terms of its political standing, be contingent upon social interests alone? Well, according to the great majority of participants in this study, and their views are entirely consistent with a great deal of academic literature on the subject, for a community to settle and flourish there needs to be three conditions: a sense among individual residents of belonging in their lived local environment; a sense of self-respect (presumably, in this case, as an English-speaker living in a majority French culture);[20] and, finally, a standard of self-confidence, a belief that despite one's minority status that they can forge out into the wider society and work to achieve their goals.

Across the province, participants made clear that their community is more than simply a collection of services offered in English. It is even more than a symbolic status, something that is commonly measured in terms of civic rights and freedoms. The social cohesion of English-

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[19] This is especially the case for language rights in Canada due to the sufficient numbers requirements that are associated with service provision in national minority languages.

[20] Association of Canadian Studies, Entrevue avec Kevin Dobie. Canadian Issues, Summer 2008, Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 2008; Office of the Commisioner of Official Language. A Sharper View: Evaluating the Vitality of Official Language Communities (May 2006); Jedwab, Jack. "Intersections of Duality : The Relationship between Ethnocultural Identity and Minority Language". Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens. (Spring 2005) : p. 107-111.

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speaking Quebec is far deeper and more intimate than either of these variables could possibly satisfy. In the words of one participant, "There needs to be a desire among the general public to build a collective voice." Thus put, it is only out of an aggregate of individual choices, through individual desire (not only needs) to find meaning and build a collectivity, uncoerced, that English-speaking Quebec is born.

The clarification of the types of interests, both collective and individual, that are involved in community development also enables us to better appreciate some more general challenges that arise on the front lines of community development in English-speaking Quebec. Briefly, we will consider two such challenges, at least as the participants in this study expressed them.

The first challenge concerns the abilities of English-speaking communities to maintain a strong cultural identity in a minority context. In the previous section of this paper, we cited the views of many participants who spoke in favour of integration and against assimilation in respects to the majority Francophone community. In reality, the situation is more nuanced than even this. For, in fact, both integration and assimilation represent challenges of a similar sort to the maintenance of a strong cultural identity in English-speaking Quebec.

This first challenge was best articulated by one participant who noted that, "a big issue facing my community is how to have a strong English pole so that biculturalism can be possible." Because there exists a natural tendancy amongst minority populations towards majority cultural forms, English-speaking communities across the province share the challenge of keeping their cultural community vibrant. Interestingly enough, the challenge manifests slightly differently for vibrant communities, than it does in embattled ones. In areas with diverse cultural anchors, that is regions with a diverse institutional base, a deep presence of human and financial resources, and an established inter-generational voice, we can note at least two issues of concern. These communities tend to have more diverse populations (higher immigration rates and more Canadian migrants) and higher percentages of their population with only a few years connection to their host community. In such a situation, building loyalty and maintaining an inclusive and dynamic cultural form are the main challenges. We might also say that in these communities there is the added challenge of keeping on the same page the various institutions and organizations whose narrow institutional interests tend to entrench and dominate the time and effort of their members.

In communities with less network capacity and social capital we see other problems arising. The lack of an institutional base means that no solid anchors exist to maintain and defend core strains of the identity pattern, particularly in times of great volatility, such as economic slumps or rising political tension. Moreover, such institutions are key to the expression of collective voice, and so in their absence there is increased fragmentation at the collective level and a weakening of social bonds at the individual level. A lack of resources more generally speaking often translates into less visibility locally, vis-à-vis the Francophone majority, and provincially, vis-à-vis the various other English-speaking communities. Quite literally the qualities of these cultural form fly under everyone's radar and thus fail to factor into the issues that get attributed to English-speaking Quebec. Finally, a lack of economic and financial

resources, at both the individual and collective levels, serves only to breakdown vitality in all its forms. As we mentioned earlier, mental and physical well-being, various types of social relationships, and the ability to collectively organize and respond to issues of collective importance, all are jeopardized by such instability.

Participants told us that the best way to maintain a strong cultural identity in the face of such challenges is through support to the arts. As one participant said, "the arts represent a mirror of a community. They are a way we can look at and reflect upon ourselves." The strategies we were presented aim to increase the presence of the arts in the community. What can a community do to attract artists to the region? Showcase the work of local amateur and professional talent? Create strong personal contacts between artists and the general public? The participants mentioned three such ways: organize public events that encompass a strong arts component; establish venues where artists can congregate and work; and,celebrate English language arts practices by showcasing them to other communities.

The second challenge that comes to community associations charged with satisfying both the collective and individual interests contained in their communities revolves around the issue of bilingualism. For, as was mentioned in the previous section, the participants clearly recognized the merits of having a competently bilingual community. The challenge that comes with bilingualism, however, is that the support many English language institutions and services receive is contingent upon the presence of English-speakers and on demand for services in English. Increased bilingualism, especially among young people, has tended to complicate population figures because bilingual residents tend to place less importance on any one language identity. It is hard to believe that increasing bilingualism in the English population of the province will, all other things being equal, result in more support and an increase in the institutional base of English-speaking Quebec. The priority, said our participants, was to establish *additive bilingualism*, which literally translated means that residents learn French, but not at the expense of English. What is quite interesting is that participants made clear that additive bilingualism involves more than language training, that it involves many other aspects of English culture, too.

This second challenge can be summarized in the following question: how can English-speaking communities contribute to the individual well-being of residents by facilitating French language skills development in such a way that does not detract from the livelihood of the collectivity? From an institutional perspective, such an issue is especially relevant to hospitals and schools. From a human resource perspective, the issue is relevant to matters of community engagement, more generally speaking. Participants responded by saying that, irrespective of the capacity of individual residents to be functional in French, that we must always recognize that some services, like education and health services, will always be in demand by a significant number of native English-speakers. They noted that part of their job as advocates of the community was to maintain the coherence of this core message in the public discourse around minority rights in Quebec. A small minority of participants even recognized that part of the responsibility that comes with being a leader, or a key stake-holder of a community is to

maintain the relevance of the collectivity in such a way that an increasing number of individuals will see their own interests as aligned to those of the collective social form.

Some Recent Trends in Capacity Building

In certain respects, the recent past has been a period of great dynamism in English Quebec. According to the participants in this study, the past five years have brought some tangible successes in many regions across the province. Like never before, English Quebec is now being studied by researchers in a variety of fields, it is being served by a large number of institutions that provide assistance in many different sectors, and communities across the province are building political contacts at the federal, provincial and municipal levels of government.

The participant interviews also demonstrate, however, that the gains made in the recent past have been unequally felt. Certain communities and sectors have stagnated, or continue to lack the resources they require, while others have enjoyed some major gains.

Already, we have stressed that the various English communities across the province are distinguished from one another by way of a number of demo-linguistic characteristics. It is important to now distinguish yet another key variable that serves to differentiate communities: network capacity. Perhaps more so than any other variable, the exhibited differences in network capacity among communities across the province supports our contention that federal programs and support need to be more tailored to specific realties on the ground. Let us now then consider some of the ways in which recent experiences in community development have resulted in varying degrees of sophistication in network capacity.

When it comes time to evaluate a community's ability to take charge of its affairs, to be able to visualize its most pressing challenges, to come up with a strategy to deal with these challenges, and then to mobilize around a collectively agreed upon response, we must be careful not to misjudge the skills and resources at the disposal of the social group. Social capital, the currency by which a community will organize and overcome its challenges, when properly used, can involve almost any combination of skills and resources. What appears at one point in time as a weakness can, under the right set of circumstances, turn very quickly into a strength. As such, it is best to view social capital not as a material form of wealth, something that is possessed or not possessed, but rather as a pool of resource potential, something that is constantly evolving, but which remains always present. The key here is to remember that the members of the local community are always well placed to evaluate what types of social capital their community possesses.

Social capital can be *inherently located* in a community, it can be *acknowledged* by a community, and a community can actualize it. Each of these three possibilities is analytically distinct. An inherent potential is something that is clearly possessed by a community but not necessarily recognized, or put into effect. An acknowledged potential is something that a community sees in itself as a potentially valuable resource, but which continues to remain an

underutilized resource. An actualized potential is a resource that has been acted upon, or used to achieve some particular purpose or function.

Even a cursory glance at the various English-speaking communities across Quebec reveals that each region exhibits a different and unique social capital matrix. Network capacity thus contributes to the uniqueness of a community. In some cases, we see a diverse and deep set of institutions that serve communities with a deep pool of residents who possess professional skills, high levels of education, strong employment rates. Some communities demonstrate strong connections with francophone organizations and with political actors, and have established strong human networks with other Anglophone organizations as well as with their constituent population base. In these communities we might say that a great deal of resource potential has been acknowledged and actualized.

In other cases, particularly in more isolated and rural regions, social capital is far less actualized. Despite the existence of modest size pockets of English-speakers, some regions have few to no English institutions, in some cases only a school. There is a very concerning co-relation between underrepresented services areas and lower scores in a number of health variables, ranging from employability to education levels, to physical and mental health. In such areas, financial resources are also lacking. Many English-speakers are forced to resort to informal networks of support and to francophone organizations that provide services to the wider population. In many cases, these outlets are not the ideal response.

Finally, in several regions across the province, we heard that problems persist with the francophone majority, that long-standing prejudices still abound. When asked, participants from the various embattled communities were quite consistent with their responses about the main challenges they face: diversification of the existing economy; more effective and available language training for adults and young people; a stronger institutional base; a comprehensive strategy to build human resources, both in terms of improving skills and in terms of augmenting community engagement from a wider number of people; develop stronger ties with Anglophone organizations serving other parts of the province, federal government departments, and with francophone service providers.

Despite these very real and pressing challenges, it is worth noting a few examples of the most recent success stories in building network capacity through the actualization of social capital in English Quebec. In all four cases, the communities in question demonstrate the process of how social capital can be actualized in order to address immediate challenges in the lived local environment. In all four cases, collaboration between numerous decision makers and local stakeholders results in an actualizing of inherent capital and the breaking down of existing challenges.

Systemic Collaboration Among Existing Partners: Gaspé-Percé Community Groups Network

In the past two years over forty representatives from nearly 20 community organizations have joined into a semi-formal collective network that will meet at least once a year to collaboratively consider and organize around issues of common concern. Already the community has drafted a formal strategic action plan based on the priorities of the various institutional members. Priorities of the group are to consolidate and coordinate fund raising events, strategies around issues that affect the future sustainability of the various member organizations, develop recruitment strategies, and strengthen local leadership.

Making Use of Provincial and Municipal Actors: The Senior's Intermediary Housing Project in Quebec City

Since 2000 the Jeffery Hale Community Partners have been actively putting into place a strategic plan around the establishment of an intermediary residence for English-speaking seniors in the Quebec City region. In the past several years, the organization has collaborated with the municipality of the City of Quebec, as well with several provincial departments to purchase the land required and begin building. The project is expected to be completed in May 2010.

Bringing Young People In: Townshippers Youth Council

The regional association in the Eastern Townships has recently spearheaded an initiative that brings together young people from different towns and areas in the region to organize around issues of common interest. The stated objectives of the Townshippers Youth Council are: to learn from others by sharing knowledge, skills and experience; to build leadership capacity among young people; to establish a youth network for the entire Eastern Townships inter-community; to increase the involvement of young people in youth centres and youth groups across the Eastern Townships. The Youth Council is formally linked to Townshippers' Association's board of directors, and collaborates with other youth organizations and groups in various parts of the Townships, thus better ensuring coordination and cross-pollination of ideas and human and financial resources.

Building Knowledge Capital: The Lower North Shore

In a number of recent initiatives the English-speaking community in the lower North Shore has taken a pro-active approach to developing the skills of its existing population base. The cornerstone of this movement has been the establishment of a partnership table that brings together stakeholders form the community sector, the private sector and concerned residents from several closely located but isolated areas in the region. The basic philosophy of the group is that every contribution made is considered by all as equally valid, and that indigenous knowledge is respected on the same level as any outside expert contribution. In addition to the partnership table, other recent successes include the transformation of a local school library into

a municipal library, and the establishment of an on-line community newspaper that includes contributions from each municipality in the region. Said one participant of these recent changes, "a common language has developed, the contours of a debate have formed, and core issues have been established and validated locally." In addition to this, skills development is occurring and stronger links are being established by a wider network of actors.

Sectorial and Provincial Advocacy Organizations

There have also been substantial gains made in the recent past by sectorial and provincial advocacy organizations. At the provincial level, the Quebec Community Groups Network continues to represent an important voice for English-speaking Quebec. The organization represents a buffer between regional and local interests and federal government actors, and it provides the opportunity for local interests and challenges to gain greater traction at a provincial level. In the past five years, the QCGN has spearheaded numerous initiatives that have developed network capacity of English-speaking Quebec. Three of them are worth mentioning. Firstly, the QCGN has made a pro-active effort to increase the evidence base research capacity on issues surrounding the minority language status of English-speaking Quebec. The organization has recognized that a deep evidence base is required for effective public engagement (particularly with the majority Francophone population), for successful political advocacy, and to apply for funding. As a result, the QCGN was instrumental in developing a research centre that is now housed at Concordia University's School of Extended Learning known today as the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN). Secondly, the organization has done a great deal of advocacy development on behalf of provincial sectorial interests. One prime example of this was the establishment of a policy framework on arts, culture and heritage that summarizes the various needs and challenges facing artists and other stakeholders in the creative millieu. Finally, the organization has been instrumental in building social capital and network capacity among young people across the province. It recently completed a large consultation process with young people in eight separate regions across Quebec, which culminated in a two-day conference attended by over one-hundred English-speaking young people. Out of these deliberations was published a comprehensive report about the various needs, priorities, and challenges facing young English-speaking Quebecers at present.[21]

A number of sectorial organizations are also in-place to facilitate the provision of services and to ensure that particular interests of English-speakers are represented and heard. Among those that continue to work tirelessly across the province are the Community Table, whose twelve branches focus specifically on community economic development and employability, and the English-Language Arts Network, which advocates on issues of arts and culture. Representatives from each organization spoke at length about recent initiatives undertaken in collaboration with certain federal departments, and they also noted that this

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[21] Supra note 12.

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raprochement between government actors and community stake holders was especially strong in the past two or three years.

Participants noted that two community initiatives that have enjoyed much success across the province as of late are the Community Learning Centre initiative and the Community Health and Social Service Network. The Community Learning Centre project was borne out of a three-year federal-provincial funding agreement, with each level of government assuming half the cost of the overall project. Presently, local CLC's exist in a number of communities across the province. One participant associated with the CLCs told us that the objective of the project is to "bring together English communities and educational actors to enhance students success in English-speaking schools." A second participant affiliated with a local CLC told us, "we help established groups accomplish particular projects." A closer look at one particular CLC reveals that the initiative contributes in a number of ways to the building of social networks in English Quebec. Over the past year, projects involving young people touched upon health issues, economic development and employability, improved rates of volunteerism, and provided educational support to students as part of after school programs. Meanwhile, video-conferencing technology has been installed in a number of CLC's to facilitate information exchange and cross regional workshops. A great many participants cited the CLCs as having an immediate and positive impact on their communities. They characterized the CLC approach as "listening to the needs of the community," "providing support to the other community groups in the region," and as "building stronger relationships among existing actors, particularly between young people and the wider community."

Similarly, a great many participants spoke positively about another sectorial association with a growing presence across the province, the Community Health and Social Services Network (CHSSN). Less than ten years old, the CHSSN today boasts over sixty member organizations, in what is properly characterized as a comprehensive network of disparate stakeholders united by their commitment to improve the health and well-being of English-speakers in the province.[22] As part of the network, we find universities, public institutions, like medical clinics and hospitals, community groups from various sectors, and political actors representing all three levels of government. Numerous participants cited the CHSSN as one model of successful community development. "The CHSSN brings our community interests to the attention of government actors that we would never have reached otherwise," said one participant. "Probably the most positive result the CHSSN model has had is the increased level of coordination among both local and regional English community groups," said another. Judging from other comments made by participants, the success of the CHSSN is grounded in its practice of listening to the needs of local communities, then designing programs based on these locally articulated needs. It has also been responsible for a great deal of recent study on the socio-economic conditions of English communities across the province. For example, in 2006, the organization hosted over two-hundred participants for a two-day conference on health and

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[22] The CHSSN web site contains a large amount of documentation about its activities on-line: www.chssn.org

social services in English Quebec. As part of the conference, nearly one-hundred-and-forty delegates with a direct interest in research, evaluation and knowledge-based community development in English Quebec came together to discuss the latest trends and new projects in the discipline. Between local accounts and hard facts, the organization is in a better position to seek out funds for projects tailored to the needs on the ground, and clearly the strategy has worked. In 2000, the organization began with a $25 000 project funding grant from Canadian Heritage. In 2009, the CHSSN was granted a $4 million budget from Health Canada to pursue its 2009-10 activities. Moreover, the organization will be expanding into nine new communities this coming year.

The Support Role Played By Government Actors

Just as it is not the role of government to produce and enforce manuals on the subject of community development, neither should it be the obligation of community associations in English Quebec to assume the entirety of their financial, administrative and logistical burdens. A balance must be struck between heavy-handed government intervention, on the one hand, and the complete exoneration of the state of its responsibilities onto the community sector, on the other. To be sure, the law has not been precisely defined around official languages; much clarification is still required. Nonetheless, there is still no denying that the federal government is bound by a sophisticated matrix of constitutional, quasi-constitutional and policy obligations to provide a certain standard of support to minority language communities, and it is equally fair to say that a basic principle behind this framework is the objective of improving the communities' abilities to fend for themselves.

And so, it is important to recognize that the legal obligation behind support for English Quebec is supported by another compelling reason in favour of allowing community agents to do what they want, how they want to. In the words of one participant in this study, "in the game of community development the process is as important as any results produced." Part of the goal of community development involves building up capacity at the local level, and this involves the creation of strong organizations whose mandate is to act on behalf of residents' interests.

To be sure, it is entirely consistent with a healthy democracy to have a system of checks and balances to factor into the manifestation of power. Public institutions have an obligation to assure that public money is being spent efficiently and in consonance with the law. Moreover, public institutions also have a responsibility to assure that initiatives supported with public resources do not place undue stress on the overall social fabric of the majority community. The two values of transparency and accountability are paramount when public funds are at stake.

All this makes for a rather complicated arrangement. Community development here encompasses dozens of federal government departments, thirty-two of which have been delegated key actors affiliated with the well-being of English Quebec, and a growing number community associations working on the ground. All these actors (and more) are charged with

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working together.[23] Moreover, there is the massive pool of money, an amount that has not been publicly released but that no doubt counts in the hundreds of millions of dollars, that is earmarked and thus must be released for the purposes of the strengthening of the vitality of English Quebec each year. Factor in various other variables, like jurisdictional complexities, the presence of third parties (schools, hospitals…) and even unexpected economic and political expediencies (elections and slumps in the economy), and the matrix around support for minority language communities becomes dizzyingly complex.

It should be expected, then, that the system works well at times, and less well at others. Exercises such as this one are thus important because they provide actors directly implicated in the process an opportunity to comment on its efficacy. With so much at stake, it only seems appropriate that the different actors have a chance to discuss collectively the structural integrity of the system by paying mind to the specific consequences that are ultimately produced from it.

The participants in this study provided a number of comments, about the benefits and the challenges of working with the federal government. To close this chapter, we will make use of those comments to lay out a more comprehensive view as to how they understand the role of the federal government in the overall community development framework. We will consider the structural changes they feel are necessary to make the system work more efficiently, and the types of government actions they consider as positive measures.

Politics

The participants believe strongly that the federal government occupies an important support role in English Quebec. Whereas there are certainly perceived limits to the levels of intervention that are deemed acceptable, they view a number of departments in the federal government as key partners in their development, and they look to these departments for timely and reliable support.

Whereas the majority of remarks concerned issues associated with policy, it is worth mentioning that some participants blamed impediments in the political realm, particularly in the past two years, for some of the most pressing problems at present. "The political will is not there," said one participant. "We are clearly not a priority for this government," said another. Such comments demonstrate that, in the eyes of community leaders, the political realm remains a key battleground where important decisions are made, where priorities are set, and where concrete results can be won out. It also shows that, far from being perceived as an arena filled with empty rhetoric, the mainstream political discourse is considered an important deliberative arena, and community leaders have certain expectations as regards the contemporary political discourse. They expect their needs to be addressed publicly by their political representatives.

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[23] A number of other institutions factor into the equation, including school boards and individual schools, and hospitals and individual clinics.

The Bureaucracy

The views of the participants vis-à-vis the bureaucratic side of the federal government are far more conclusive. Not surprisingly, a great deal was said about specific departments and programs, and participants put forth a number of recommendations as to how the administrative and policy tasks of the federal government could be improved. Let us first acknowledge that a number of federal departments were specifically mentioned as having improved, in one way or another, their service to the English-speaking community over the past few years. Most commonly cited on this list: Fisheries and Oceans, Health Canada, Justice Canada, the Canada Council for the Arts, Economic Development Canada, Service Canada, the CBC, the NFB, the CRTC, and Industry Canada. Whereas some dissenting opinions were certainly articulated against some of these departments, the great majority of comments as regards consultations were positive, and based mostly on the fact that a much improved level of consultation between the departments and the communities had taken place as of late.

Despite this improved level of communication, participants put forth a number of suggestions that they argued would offset structural inefficiencies present in the existing arrangement. We will review several of the most common of these suggestions now.

National Status

A certain number of participants, including representatives from several umbrella organizations, argued that a handful of associations should be granted national status by the federal government. In this way, they would have direct access to the national offices of federal departments, and they would be able to apply to funding programs that are earmarked for national groups only. Several participants from smaller associations agreed with this suggestion on the basis that it would ease some of the competition that exists between organizations of different sizes for the limited pool of regional funds. Several participants asked for there to be more clarity around the amount of money earmarked for English-speaking Quebec, and that a formula be adopted to normalize the funds English-speaking groups receive in comparison with their French counterparts. One participant noted that the standard in health funding was to maintain a three to one ratio for all monies granted to minority communities, French-speaking and English-speaking communities respectively, and that a similar formula be used in other funding arrangements. Several other participants spoke of the need for more *equal opportunity* for English-speaking Quebec by way of increased financial support for umbrella organizations. One participant expressed this sentiment in the following way: "Francophone umbrella organizations are granted national core funding so long as they represent the overarching interests of residents across the province. So, we see provincial francophone justice groups, women's organizations, seniors and youth advocacy associations, all receiving core funding directly from Ottawa. Nothing like this is available in English-speaking Quebec. This should be considered essential infrastructure support that we are clearly disadvantaged by not having."

A More Coordinated Effort

A number of participants spoke in favour of having financial incentives available to inspire departments to support official languages communities. Interestingly enough, the federal program IPOLC (Interdepartmental Partnership with the Official Language Communities), which did institute a number of similar types of incentives, was only mentioned by one participant. Should participants be told about IPOLC, and that this program has recently been shut down because it was believed to "has achieved its objectives," they would most certainly be concerned because a great deal of work is still required to ensure coordination between federal departments and to motivate more concrete action from these departments.

A second common request was to have significantly better coordination take place among federal departments. Whereas some recent improvement in this area was acknowledged, a great many participants complained that needs were not being addressed by the right federal department, and that often federal representatives would refer all inquiries regarding official languages communities to Canadian Heritage. Some questioned the wisdom of assigning the principal responsibility for coordination of official languages to Canadian Heritage; others argued that, given its excessively large mandate, that Canadian Heritage had become too bloated of a department to handle the increasingly complex dossier of minority language communities.[24]

Funding

In addition to these recommendations, participants made a number of suggestions for improving the existing funding arrangements. As mentioned above, a great many participants felt strongly that more responsibility be allocated to community associations to design and implement projects as they saw fit, free of government intervention. Other suggestions closely related to this one included allowing community groups to apply for longer term contracts, and the indexing of core funding to make up for inflationary pressures. Four especially provocative ideas worth mentioning here include: the releasing of monies to local community foundations instead of to community groups so as to allow for a more direct decision making process about which projects receive funding; the possibility of releasing small caches of funding granted on a regional basis to fund current projects to improve sustainability of existing successes; a third idea was to earmark a special set of funds for mentoring initiatives that would focus on pairing established groups with upstarts, or grant funding for initiatives that involved several organizations working in tandem. Finally, several participants suggested providing financial incentives to professionals, particularly teachers and social workers, to move and work in especially isolated communities.

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[24] One can see from the PCH web site that the department is responsible for a large number of initiatives including the Olympics, the Katimavik exchange program, any program the involves art galleries, museums, and heritage organizations, and many others.

Positive Measures

As we mentioned in the last section of this chapter, a great majority of participants complained about administration practices that are attached to funding agreements. Many participants complained of "micromanagement tactics," enforced through excessively long application procedures, large number of reporting documents and excessive demands at the initial stages of project design. In the words of one participant, "as it stands now financial support is too costly in time and effort." A number of participants spoke of "a lack of respect" and "a breakdown in trust" when speaking about the reporting procedures, inferring that strategies at maintaining accountability and transparency have gotten out of hand.

All this having been said, what types of actions do participants view as positive measures on behalf of the federal government? We can list several. A number of participants noted that, to offset the conspicuous lack of participation of English-speakers in the provincial public service, that positions presently available be earmarked for English-speaking residents of Quebec. A majority of participants also argued in favour of a more sustained consultation process with community associations. Whereas some improvement was recognized in the degree to which communities across the province were increasingly being contacted by federal departments, participants nonetheless felt that much more could be done. One participant described this positive measure as "regular human contact." This might include having members of federal departments attend board meetings of community associations, or increasing the number of invitations to participate in important discussions around policies that would directly implicate English-speaking communities. Whereas participants all over the province argued for "more direct communication with grass roots organizations," participants in especially isolated communities called for more frequent contacts, or regular visits by key bureaucrats. "We deal with a number of kind and helpful people in the government," said one participant, "but rarely do we ever deal with someone who has actually visited our community."

Several participants also cited the need for much better communication by federal government departments concerning upcoming funding possibilities. A positive measure in this regard might be a web site, or some type of on-line resource where the variety of funding initiatives targeting minority language communities could be easily located.

Finally, it cannot be understated that the most popular "positive measure" suggested by participants was simply that federal departments respect their own deadlines and provide timely and prompt replies about funding. This change would represent the single most consequential positive measure. For, as one participant told us, "the lack of respect for deadlines is completely debilitating." Indeed, the present habit is to inform community groups four or five months late. By doing so, the federal government is actively undermining a coordinated approach between government and community groups, groups' ability to design effective strategies and hire and keep competent staff, deter the public's access to reliable and prompt services, and pummel the integrity of the groups' short and long term future (by compromising their human and financial

resources). Significant improvements would be felt without delay, if only federal departments could improve in this area.

Conclusion

To evaluate community vitality in English-speaking Quebec is no easy task. Quality of life is a category that can apply to individual English-speakers, to English-speaking communities, and even to the entire collective presence of English-speakers in the province. To arrive at some definitive conclusion about the well-being of this official minority language community, we must first acknowledge that a diverse and heterogeneous set of interests is at stake.

The conclusions presented throughout this report have been based on comments from key stakeholders about their experiences working on behalf of English-speaking Quebec. The interviews were designed to develop a framework of understanding about how community development works well (and has worked well) across the province. As such, the questions presented to the participants targeted the best practices of community development. Participants drew from professional anecdotes and personal stories to convey these best practices. At times, they spoke of the priorities that guide their work; at others they referenced the values that they believed lay at the foundation for these priorities. Participants were also asked to reflect upon the effectiveness of the federal infrastructure in place to provide assistance to minority language communities, and they rated the efficacy of individual federal departments to provide timely and reliable assistance.

The intimate and unique perspective put forth by the participants was very instructive when it came time to consider the global picture around minority language rights in Quebec. For despite the enormous variation exhibited in the community profiles, there were nonetheless some important patterns in the answers of community leaders. In the introduction to this report we listed the most significant core messages coming out of the interviews; it is worth repeating them at this point, along with some broad recommendations that draw upon suggestions raised consistently by those we interviewed. It is important to note that these recommendations are merely a starting point for acting upon some of the views that have been presented in this document.

1. The ESCQ has only just recently begun to explore the implications surrounding its status as an official language minority community. More attention needs be paid, by both government and community actors, to the significance of the community's place as a national minority.

RECOMMENDATIONS: that some English-speaking organizations in Quebec have consistent access to the federal office of Canadian Heritage in terms of

funding and dialogue; that dialogue at all levels (government and the community sector) about the status of the ESCQ in Canada be encouraged and supported; that federal programs and policies reflect the needs of the ESCQ explicitly and equally alongside the needs of the Francophone minority in the ROC.

2. The traditional analytic paradigm that presents the ESCQ as dividing neatly along a continuum that posits the island of Montreal against the rest of the province (ROQ) needs to be replaced by a more nuanced approach that pays greater attention to the idiosyncratic characteristics of individual communities.

RECOMMENDATIONS: that this diversity is reflected in federal programs and policies by allowing for greater regional adaptation and flexibility, and enhanced local ownership and control; that the government increases its effort to use language that reflects differing local realities.

3. Much of the legislation in place to support the ESCQ assumes a homogeneous and discrete linguistic identity. Local realities clearly show that this identity pattern is quickly fading away, and being replaced by a complex series of heterogeneous affiliations.

RECOMMENDATIONS: as above; that federal funding and support mechanisms shift to prioritize what is already happening and working in communities, instead of emphasizing priorities developed in a top-down manner; that the federal government expands their consultation mechanisms to reach a broader and more inclusive range of actors in the community sector.

4. Some community leaders have noticed a significant and positive attitude shift in recent years on the part of a number of federal departments in their willingness to learn about, assist, and collaborate with the ESCQ.

RECOMMENDATIONS: that the federal government continues and builds upon their efforts to raise awareness of the ESCQ and the obligations of the Official Languages Act amongst their departments and employees; that incentives of some kind are introduced to ensure this goodwill translates to the implementation of positive measures.

5. The gains made in goodwill have been compromised by a number of serious logistical inefficiencies and exclusionary practices associated with the ways in which program and project funding is designed, managed and evaluated.

RECOMMENDATIONS: that the policy and practice of the management of public funds by Canadian Heritage be comprehensively and rigorously reviewed

and altered in order to encourage a delivery of funds to the ESCQ that is more effective, both in the short and long terms.

6.The provincial and municipal levels of government are playing an increasingly important support role for the ESCQ. More attention needs to be paid to the possibilities and limits to inter-governmental collaboration, as well as to the support roles that each level of government can be reasonably expected to play.

RECOMMENDATIONS: that increased communciation be encouraged and supported between levels of government and with the ESCQ in order to clarify support roles and encourage collaboration.

The participants in this study stressed the importance of having strong locally based service groups when they were asked to describe the vitality of their communities. Other issues, like the quality of life of individual residents and the role of provincial advocacy bodies, while certainly not ignored altogether, were cited far less often than this need for a diverse institutional presence. And, to be sure, the emphasis on institutions came with a correlative focus on service provision. The participants were united in their belief that strong services make up a strong community. Moreover, participants tended to evaluate the value of both government and non-government assistance to English-speaking Quebec similarly, as a function of providing reliable and timely services to English-speaking residents according to local needs.

This type of institutional framework draws much of its strength from loyalties paid to local, grass roots approaches to community development. In Montreal, grass roots approaches to community development often revolve around socio-economic and cultural distinctions. Thus, we see the very clear role played by organizations that serve the black community, the Jewish community, among other ethno-cultural distinctions, and organizations serving low-income pockets. In the various other parts of the province, where institutions are sparser and where residents experience less diversity, the institutional base is geographically focused. In such circumstances, key institutions are designed to serve a particular region more so than a cultural, socio-economic, or religious sub set.[25]

This observation should not take away from our point that important variation exists both within Montreal and outside of it. It is simply to acknowledge that, in Montreal, such heterogeneity was most often referred to in terms of *pockets*, and the challenges faced by English-speakers were said to manifest not as a product of narrow prejudice along the lines of linguistic identity, but in a more sophisticated matrix that participants described in terms of *multiple levels of exclusion*. In contrast to this, we heard how drastic variations in network capacity, social capital and levels of integration were responsible for the variation in experiences

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[25] This is not to deny outright the existence of ethno-cultural organizations in the rest of the province. The long tradition of religious institutions is but one indication that important cultural distinctions have always existed across the province.

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of English-speakers around the rest of the province. Some communities reported strong and diverse institutional capacity, the presence of quality leadership and the very good working relations with the Francophone majority. Others reported just the opposite. The difference between the "haves" and the "have-nots" outside of Montreal is stark if we focus on the (non) existing institutional base of the various embattled communities and on the corresponding capacity of these communities to collectively respond to imposing socio-economic challenges.

And yet, the comments we received on the role government should play and the changes that needed to take place in the policy framework were strikingly similar across the province. We heard that in the past few years an improved effort by federal departments had been made to get in contact with and learn about English-speaking Quebec. We were told that the number of federal departments reaching out had increased over this time.

Equally as clear, however, is that the small gains made have been overshadowed by problems in the working relationship that, in many cases, have intensified in the recent past. Participants listed a great number of problems with the present working arrangement, ranging from small modifications to the manner in which project and core funding agreements are managed, to more radical suggestions about who should be allowed to design the priorities and the scope of assistance to English-speaking Quebec.

As was highlighted in the section chapter of this report, the bulk of the changes suggested by participants support the claim that network capacity and social capital are regarded as the two basic components to community development by community stakeholders. The overwhelming majority, when asked how the system could be improved, presented a variation of the following message:

> *"community development works best when we do the work ourselves, when the policies are designed in a transparent and participatory manner according to values, priorities, and strategies that are built from the ground up, and when our institutional base is working in unison."*

All such suggestions for how the state infrastructure could be modified to improve efficiency in the goal of improving vitality in English-speaking Quebec can thus be measured against this standard.

Research Participants

Note: Individuals interviewed often participated in more than one organization, and in each organization we often interviewed more than one individual. We are listing the organizations only for the sake of simplicity and protection of privacy.

Quebec Community Groups Network
Greater Montreal Community Development Initiative
Community Table
Quebec Drama Federation
English-Language Arts Network
Artistic Diversity of Montreal
Bishops University
Concordia University - Continuing Education
Concordia University - School of Community and Economic Development
Quebec Community Newspapers Association
Townships Outlet
Dobson-Legace Centre for Entrepreneurship
Qu'anglo Communications
Centre for Community Organizations
Community Learning Centres Network / LEARN Quebec
Provincial Committee for the Delivery of Health and Social Services in the English
    Language
Centre Hospitalier Universitaire de Sherbrooke
Quebec Anglophone Heritage Network
Black Community Resource Centre
Jamaica Association of Montreal
Canadian Parents for French
Megantic Community Development Corporation
Youth Employment Services ("YES") Montreal
Assembly of First Nations of Labrador and Quebec
Voice of English-speaking Quebec
Community Health and Social Services Network
Jeffery Hale Community Services in English
Neighbours Association
The Morrin Centre
Shalom Quebec
Literary and Historical Society of Quebec
Quebec English-speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN)
Irish Heritage Quebec

North Shore Community Association
Quebec English School Board Association
Vision Perce-Gaspe
Council for Anglophone Magdalen Islanders
Townshippers Association
Association for Canadian Studies