

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO****DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE – SUMMER 2014****POL 382H1S – Topics in Canadian Politics: Language Regimes in Canada**

Place: SS2127

Time: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2-4pm

**I. Introduction**

The purpose of this course is to move beyond the simple claim that Canada is a “bilingual country” and examine more deeply the complicated pattern of regulation and theory that underpins federal and provincial language policies. While it is true that the federal government works to defend the “official” languages at the national level, the country is actually a patchwork of legal approaches that each stem from very different political considerations. Along with the obvious case of Quebec, these range from the nominal bilingualism in Ontario, to full constitutional bilingual status in New Brunswick, to the emerging language regime in the largely Aboriginal territory of Nunavut.

The course begins by introducing some theories that have been used to justify minority language rights before moving into an historical discussion of how this issue has played out in Canada. From there, the course will take stock of different jurisdictions to see how they have approached the problem given different constitutional, demographic, and political realities. It concludes with some reflections on the central themes of the course, as well a discussion of the possible futures for language policy in Canada.

**II. Contact Policy and Office Hours**

I am available at my email address of [andrew.mcdougall@utoronto.ca](mailto:andrew.mcdougall@utoronto.ca). My office hours will be held on Tuesdays between the hours of 1 p.m. and 2p.m. in room SS 3118 of Sydney Smith Hall.

In the event of an emergency I am also reachable through my cell at 416-432-3813. I am also available to meet by appointment if necessary.

### III. Assignments

#### A. Grading policy

1. Participation and attendance (taken at the **beginning** of class) – 15%
2. Short Paper due July 22, 2014 (5-7 pages) – 25%
3. Presentation (15 minute limit) – 25%
4. Research Essay due August 12, 2014 (12-15 pages) - 35%

This is a seminar course. As a result, you are expected to attend all of the classes and arrive prepared for the discussion. This involves doing all of the required readings and engaging actively with your classmates and the material. Assessment will be made both on the quantity and the quality of your discussion. Included in this will be your attendance, which will be taken at the **beginning** of the class. Latecomers will not get credit for attendance, as it is very disruptive to have people arrive in the middle of discussions.

Each student will give a presentation at some point during the course based on one of the readings for the week at the start of class. Presentations are expected to offer a thorough analysis of both the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments and should raise questions and issues for discussion. Presentations should be no longer than 15 minutes and should reflect a thorough understanding of the materials read in the class to date.

For the short paper, you are asked to write a critical reflection on the theoretical sources of language rights. What are the most compelling bases for these rights? Which seem to apply most in Canada? To what extent are these rights justifiable? No external research is necessary, although you are free to include whatever you feel is relevant so long as it is cited correctly. The paper is due on July 22<sup>nd</sup> and must be no less than five pages and no more than seven, bibliography not included.

The research essay in this course asks you to compare and contrast two of the language regimes in Canada along two dimensions. First, what are the underlying political motivations behind each regime, and how do they explain the differences between them? Secondly, the essay asks you to argue whether you feel each regime is justifiable as an exercise in minority accommodation in a free society, as well as whether or not it is worth the financial costs. It should be 12-15 pages in length.

The papers should be double spaced in Times New Roman font, with one inch margins. It should have a coversheet and page numbers beginning on the first page of writing (i.e. the cover does not count.) All citations should be in the Chicago “author-date” parenthesis style (**NOTE: PAGE NUMBERS ARE REQUIRED IN THE REFERENCES!**) For the research paper the use of materials from the course reading list is permissible but significant research will be required beyond the syllabus to get a good grade. It is due the last class.

There is no exam in the class.

## **IV. Plagiarism**

Plagiarism is a serious academic offense. Students at this level should already have a thorough understanding of what is meant by the term “plagiarism” and the meaning of “academic integrity” more generally.

Students should review the University’s policies and resources on the matter which can be found on its website, and in particular the sheet “How Not to Plagiarize” located at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University’s use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com Web Site.

**NOTE: YOU ARE STILL REQUIRED TO HAND IN A PAPER COPY IN CLASS.**

## **V. Late Penalties**

As an upper year seminar, students are expected to submit all work on time. If you are unable to submit a piece of work in a timely manner, you are required to submit adequate medical documentation or otherwise seek an extension at the earliest time possible.

Failure to hand in either of the written assignments will result in a 5% daily penalty, including weekends. After one week the papers will not be accepted at all.

## **VI. Accessibility**

Classes at the University of Toronto are meant to be welcoming environments for students of all abilities. Should you require assistance, please contact the University of Toronto’s Accessibility Services at <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/>.

## **VII. Readings**

Many of the readings in this class can be found online through the University of Toronto Library system. Book chapters will be posted online in Blackboard. If you cannot access the readings, you will have to email me well in advance of the class.

## **VIII. Class Schedule**

### **WEEK ONE - The Theoretical Justification of Minority Language Rights**

Why should we tolerate or promote minority languages? How do we answer those who argue that commitment to a single language is far better for a community’s culture, economy, and

unity? What are the democratic implications of having a citizenry who cannot necessarily understand one another without assistance during important political debates? If we do agree about the importance of guaranteeing linguistic rights, how and where should we ground them theoretically?

TUESDAY, JULY 1, 2014 – CANADA DAY - NO CLASS

THURSDAY, JULY 3, 2014 - Political Theory

McRae, Kenneth. 1975. The Principle of Territoriality and the Principle of Personality in Multilingual States. *International Journal on the Sociology of Language*. 13(158): 33–54. BLACKBOARD

Patten, Alan. 2008. Survey Article: The Justification of Minority Language Rights. *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 17(1) 102-108. BLACKBOARD.

Kymlicka, Will, and Alan Patten. 2003. “Language Rights and Political Theory: Context, Issues, and Approaches.” In *Language Rights and Political Theory*. New York: Oxford. pp. 1-51. BLACKBOARD

MacMillan, Michael. 1998. “The Practice of Language Rights in Canada.” In *The Practice of Language Rights in Canada*. Toronto: UTP. BLACKBOARD.

## **WEEK TWO - The Federal Regime: Official Languages in a Multicultural Canada**

By far the best known language regime in Canada is the one enacted by the federal government pursuant to the *Official Languages Act* in 1969. Its impact can be felt by all Canadians whenever they interact with federal institutions. But how does it work? What were the goals that it was set up to achieve? How effective has it been in this regard, and how has it changed? And how does it interact with a policy of multiculturalism?

TUESDAY JULY 8, 2014 – – Origins, Design and Limits

Mackey, William F. 2010. The History and Origins of Language Policies in Canada. In *Canadian Language Policies in Comparative Perspective*. Ed. Michael A. Morris. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s. pp. 18-66. BLACKBOARD.

McRoberts, Kenneth. 1997. *Misconceiving Canada*, Toronto: Oxford. Chapters 3. BLACKBOARD. On reserve at Robarts (F5029.3 .M44 1997)

Fraser, Graham. 2006. *Sorry, I Don’t Speak French*. Montréal: Boréal. Chapter 5. BLACKBOARD.

THURSDAY, JULY 10, 2014 – Multiculturalism

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen. 1999. "The Politics of Race, Ethnicity and Immigration: The Contested Arena of Multiculturalism." In James Bickerton and Alain-G. Gagnon (eds.), *Canadian Politics*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 1999. pp. 463-483.

BLACKBOARD

Eve Haque. 2010. "Canadian Federal Policies on Bilingualism, Multiculturalism and Immigrant Language Training: Comparisons and Interaction." In *Canadian Language Policies in Comparative Perspective*. Ed. Michael A. Morris. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's. pp. 267-296. RESERVE

Cameron, David, and Richard Simeon. 2009. "Language and the Institutions of Civil Society." In *Language Matters: How Canadian Voluntary Associations Manage French and English*. Vancouver: UBC Press. BLACKBOARD.

### **WEEK THREE – Quebec: Canada's Ground Zero for Language Politics**

Unsurprisingly, the experience of the Quiet Revolution and the awakening of the French-Canadian community as a political entity in Canada are what really brought language rights to the fore. How have francophone Quebecers responded to their "majority-minority" challenge in Quebec and Canada? What place do Anglophones, Allophones, or Aboriginals have in the Quebec regime?

#### TUESDAY JULY 15, 2014 – – Protecting French

Dyck, Rand, and Chris Cochrane. 2013. *Canadian Politics*, Seventh ed. Toronto: Nelson. Chapter 5. BLACKBOARD

MacMillan, Michael C. 1998. "Quebec: Collective Rights to Language." In *The Practice of Language Rights in Canada*. Toronto: UTP. pp. 100-139. Available as an e-book from UTL.

Laurin, Camille. 1978. French Language Charter. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 15, no.2: 115-127 BLACKBOARD

#### THURSDAY, JULY 17, 2014 - Anglophone Quebec

Green, William. "Language Regimes, Minority Language Rights, and International Legal Issues: The Case of Quebec's Anglophones." *Syracuse Journal of International Law and Commerce*. 26: 267-290 BLACKBOARD

*Ford v. Quebec (Attorney General)* [1988] 2 SCR 712. Available Online: <http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/384/index.do>

## **WEEK FOUR - New Brunswick: Constitutional Entrenchment and Demographic Balance**

New Brunswick is Canada's only constitutionally bilingual province and has by far the most balance, demographically, between the two official language groups than anywhere else. How has this informed its language regime?

### TUESDAY JULY 22, 2014 (SHORT PAPER DUE!!!!) – The Acadians

Laxer, James. *The Acadians*. N.p.: Doubleday. Chapters 4 and 5.

MacMillan, Michael C. 1998. "Legislating Language Equality: New Brunswick." In *The Practice of Language Rights in Canada*. Toronto: UTP. pp. 139-162. Available as an E-book from UTL.

### THURSDAY, JULY 24, 2014 – The Regime

Steel, Catherine. 1990. *Can Bilingualism Work? Attitudes Toward Language Policy In New Brunswick: The 1985 Public Hearings on the Poirier-Bastarache Report*. Fredricton: New Ireland Press. pp. 9-25; 70-88. BLACKBOARD.

The Government of New Brunswick 1990. "The Forum: New Brunswick Language Policies." 39 UNBLJ 260. BLACKBOARD

## **WEEK FIVE - Official Bilingualism in Ontario**

Ontario is the only province that has committed itself *politically* to state bilingualism, despite the fact that it is not required in the Constitution or reflective of demographic proportionalities. How did that come about, given the very small percentage of Ontarians who are actually francophones? How effective has it been?

### TUESDAY, JULY 29, 2014 – Origins and Nature of the FLSA

Boileau, François. 2013. The Laurendeau-Dunton Commission: The Situation of Francophones in Ontario. *Canadian Issues*. Fall 2013. 24-27. BLACKBOARD

Behiels, Michael. 2004. *Canada's Francophone Minority Communities: Constitutional Renewal and the Winning of School Governance*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's. Chapter 3. Available as an E-Book on UTL.

### THURSDAY, JULY 31, 2014 – Value and Evolution

Labrie, Normand. 2010. "Language Policy in Ontario: From the Recognition of Linguistic Rights to the Free-Market Policy." In *Canadian Language Policies in*

*Comparative Perspective*. Ed. Michael A. Morris. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's. pp. 333-343. RESERVE.

## **WEEK SIX - Beyond the “Official Languages:” The Case of Nunavut**

English and French are not the only languages to have “official” status, at least in the North. While English is very common in the institutions of the government, Aboriginal languages remain both the mother tongue of most of the population and the language most commonly used in the home. Nevertheless, there is a perception that it remains under threat. How has the Government of Nunavut addressed this?

### TUESDAY, AUGUST 5, 2014- Context and Challenges

Henderson, Ailsa. 2007. Chapter Two: Politics in Nunavut. In *Nunavut: Rethinking Political Culture*. Vancouver: UBC Press. BLACKBOARD.

Timpson, Annis May. 2009. Reconciling Indigenous and Settler Language Interests: Language Policy Initiatives in Nunavut. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43(2): 159-80. BLACKBOARD.

### THURSDAY AUGUST 7, 2014 – Proposals

Tulloch, Shelly. 2009. *Building a Strong Foundation: Considerations to support a thriving bilingualism in Nunavut*. Cambridge Bay: Nunavut Literacy Council. Section 2 only, “Describing the Problem” Available as an e-book through UTL.

Government of Nunavut. 2012. *Annual Report: Office of the Language Commissioner of Nunavut*. Iqaluit: Government of Nunavut. English section pages 42-84 (skimming here is acceptable) Available Online:

<http://langcom.nu.ca/sites/langcom.nu.ca/files/Ukiuqtamaat%20Kangiqhidjutaut%20%E2%80%93%20Annual%20Report%202011-2012.pdf>.

## **WEEK SEVEN – The Future: Where Do We Go From Here?**

As we come to the end of the class, we take a look at where the country is going. What are the government’s priorities on official languages? How successful have they been to date?

[Government documents can be skimmed for this week.] No presentations, but REMINDER: ESSAYS DUE THIS WEEK.

### TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 2014 – Looking Ahead – ESSAYS ARE DUE!!!!

Government of Canada. 2013. *Roadmap for Canada's Official Languages 2013-2018: Education, Immigration, Communities*. Ottawa: Minister of Canadian Heritage and Official Languages. Available Online at <http://pch.gc.ca/eng/1363882822690>

Vaillancourt, François, Oliver Coche, Marc Antoine Cadieux, and Jamie Lee Ronson. 2012. *Official Language Policies of the Canadian Provinces*. n.p.: The Fraser Institute. Available Online: <http://www.fraserinstitute.org/uploadedFiles/fraser-ca/Content/research-news/research/publications/official-language-policies-of-canadian-provinces.pdf>