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CANADIAN PARENTS FOR FRENCH:
A NATIONAL PRESSURE GROUP IN CANADIAN EDUCATION

by

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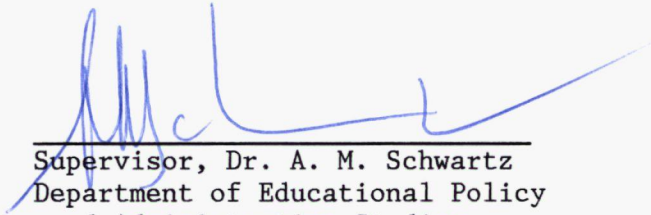DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES

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ABSTRACT

CANADIAN PARENTS FOR FRENCH:
A NATIONAL PRESSURE GROUP IN CANADIAN EDUCATION

Janet McCrae Poyen

Pressure groups are "organizations whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest" (Pross, 1986, p.3). Consideration of Canadian Parents for French (CPF) and its behaviour within the Official Languages Education policy community reveals a gap in Pross' theory of pressure groups in Canadian politics.

CPF, which was founded in 1977 to promote opportunities for Canadian children to learn French as a second language, came into existence as a fledgling group. It engaged in a variety of activities, such as publishing a quarterly newsletter, commissioning research, holding national conferences, and establishing links with government. At the present time, as a mature group, not necessarily seeking institutionalization, CPF is regarded as the most influential and active parent group in Canada.

Proactive public-interest groups are not well-represented in Canadian pressure group literature, which perhaps explains why Pross'

theoretical framework is weak in the middle range--between protest groups and institutionalized groups. The descriptors of media- and access-oriented communication with government are inadequate to describe CPF. This study proposes a revision of the framework.

Closer study of proactive public-interest groups might lead to a re-assessment of the current assumption that pressure groups should not rely on government as their major funding source. Pross maintains that CPF is not a true pressure group in that it receives a high level of funding from the federal government (p.12). Yet it meets his criteria for determining if such groups qualify as pressure groups. The purpose of the funding is as important a consideration as the level of funding. An association of active volunteers operating at three levels of government can not be regarded in the same light as the type of pressure group prevalent in the current literature.

A particular lobbying effort of CPF from 1979 to 1983 is described in order to provide insight into a policy field where the provincial government has major jurisdiction. Organizational aspects of this three-tiered pressure group are examined, along with the theory of parental involvement as it relates to CPF's extensive grassroots activity.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This is a study of a national parent pressure group which has been closely associated, since its founding in 1977, with an important change in the shape of Canadian education. It has been specifically excluded from the major theoretical taxonomy of pressure groups in Canadian politics (Pross, 1986, p.12) because of the high level of government funding it receives. Detailed study of its objectives, activities, and organizational features reveals that it does meet Pross' criteria of a pressure group. It is a mature group at the federal level, and ranges from mature to single-issue orientation at lower levels of the organization. The complexity of its lobbying and other activities as they relate to three levels of government leads to a number of observations which test the rather narrow definition of pressure group activities and, consequently, supplement current Canadian literature on pressure group theory.

Pressure Groups, Federalism, and the Public Interest

Pressure groups are defined by Pross (1986) as "organizations whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest" (p.3). Several authors have suggested that, because of the nature of parliamentary government, Canadian pressure group policy is distinctly different from that of American policy (Dawson, 1975, p.30; Thompson & Stanbury, 1979, pp.14-15; Pross, 1986, pp.84-85). In Canada, the main targets of organized group pressure, whether federal or provincial, are cabinet ministers and civil servants, i.e., the executive, rather than the legislative branch. Prior to the 1960s, at a time when the federal government structure was still relatively uncomplicated, influential pressure group leaders were able to negotiate quietly with politicians and senior civil servants. This practice of "elite accommodation" (Presthus, 1973; 1974) led to a closed system of decision-making, difficult for the less established pressure groups to penetrate.

Pressure groups serve to aggregate, and articulate to government, the demands of their clientele, thus performing a useful communications function. Government also uses these lines of communication to test public opinion with pressure groups before policy is formally presented.

Much of this interest articulation, and communication between government and the public, takes place within "policy communities",

which Pross (1986) defines as

> the clustering of interest groups, associated agencies, and interested and/or informed individuals around the agencies generally considered to be the key policy actors in a specific field of government activity. (p.290)

Effective national pressure groups are usually organized at both the federal and provincial levels, with a corporate-type structure (Sills, 1957, p.3), which gives the central office authority over the provincial branches. Whether this structure, as opposed to a loose federation of strong provincial bodies, can be maintained depends on the relative strength of the government to which each level has access, and may also depend on the level at which the organization originated.

A strong, centralized pressure group can, through its activities, serve to integrate a federal society and further the goals of the federal government (Kwavnick, 1975, p.71). It can be in the interests of the federal government to promote such an organization (p.84).

If a group depends on government for funding, its independence may be called into question. Funding entirely through membership fees and donations is difficult for pressure groups which are promoting the public interest. A public-interest group is defined as "one that seeks a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit the membership or activitists of the organization" (Berry, 1977, p.7). Berry suggests, however, that groups that are successful in attracting members and maintaining a viable organization usually offer three types of incentives: material, solidary, and purposive (p.21). In other words, they

provide tangible benefits as well as the opportunity to meet and work with other people in the pursuit of an ideological cause.

Measuring the effectiveness of pressure groups is a difficult challenge, which no doubt accounts for the sparsity of literature on pressure group theory. Pross (1975; 1986) suggests a continuum framework, for analyzing groups according to structure, functions, and level of communication with government. The continuum extends from small, single-issue groups which operate by public protest to powerful, institutionalized groups with multiple goals (1986, pp.120-125).

Pross' analysis of groups in the middle range of the continuum--fledgling and mature groups--is incomplete and not well documented. One of the objectives of this study is to develop the theory in this middle range by providing information on a pressure group that began as a fledgling group and has become a mature group.

Another objective is to question the statement that government-funded interest groups cannot be independent. Berry (1977) suggests that groups receiving in excess of 20% of their funding from government are disqualified as public-interest groups (p.9). Dawson (1963) concludes that it is difficult for a group "to take a determined stand against a body which provides a good sized proportion of its annual revenue" (p.117), although she concedes that there has never been any evidence of attempted influence by government. Pross (1986) not only suggests that heavily funded groups are "vulnerable" (p.199), he also claims that they "lose the habit of running a lean operation" (p.198). These generalizations

may not always apply, depending on the structure of the group and the nature of the funding.

Finally, this study illustrates how a national pressure group can maintain its membership base by allowing diverse objectives at the grassroots level. These objectives must work towards the goals of the association and there must be adequate integrative activities to assure its cohesiveness as a national association.

The Beginnings of French Immersion

French immersion is a program in which English-speaking students are taught the regular curriculum in French rather than in English. It is essentially a Canadian phenomenon which has gained international recognition in foreign language teaching circles.

The importance of improved French second language teaching in Canadian schools was recognized first by anglophones in the province of Quebec. Realizing that students should be graduated with superior French language skills in order to cope in an increasingly French environment, parents and educators searched for bold new methods of achieving such results. The first public school immersion class on record seems to have been a class of eighteen students in the greater Montreal area, in the West Island School Commission. The program, which began in 1958, is reported to have been a success from the start ("First immersion", 1985, p.5). Official recognition for the launching of French immersion, however, goes to the community of St. Lambert in the suburbs of Montreal, where, in 1963, parents teamed up with researchers from McGill University to initiate an experimental

program   (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). The research emanating from this successful experiment was a significant influence on the development of subsequent immersion programs in Quebec and the other provinces.

The 1960s saw increasing importance attached to the role of Canada's second official language. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism focussed public attention on the needs and aspirations of the French minority and the existence of latent support on the part of English-speaking Canadians for a more bilingual Canada. It resulted in the Official Languages Act of 1969, which created the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL). Responsible to Parliament, the Commissioner has the dual role of enforcing the Official Languages Act and promoting further language reform.

While the federal government was engaged in promoting institutional bilingualism, parents were acting on their own view of Canadian bilingualism by adopting the St. Lambert experiment in other areas of the country. Private schools sprang up in several cities. School boards in Montreal and Ottawa began offering French immersion programs. In response to parental demand, other boards across Canada followed suit, some reluctantly, some enthusiastically. By the mid-1970s French immersion in the public school system had spread east to Charlottetown and as far west as Victoria. Many of these programs received the support of their own small band of enthusiastic parents.

It was no doubt the desire to link the isolated pockets of grassroots support with each other and to lend some legitimacy to the federal government's less-than-popular institutional reform that led

Canada's first Commissioner of Official Languages to organize a conference in March 1977. At various receptions held in his honour across the country, he met interested parents and invited them to Ottawa, at the expense of OCOL, to discuss French language learning opportunities. The thirty parents who attended the conference founded an organization which they named Canadian Parents for French (CPF). They established goals, struck a provisional executive committee which included representation from the five regions of Canada, and made recommendations for the future direction of the organization.

A Brief Picture of CPF

The first national conference of CPF, held in October 1977, attracted over sixty delegates from across Canada. At the first annual meeting, held during the conference, the following goals were adopted:

- to assist in ensuring that each Canadian child have the opportunity to acquire as great a knowledge of the French language and culture as he or she is willing and able to attain.

- to promote the best possible types of French language learning opportunities.

- to establish and maintain effective communication between interested parents and education and governmental authorities concerned with the provision of French language learning opportunities. (Canadian Parents for French, 2, January 1978, p.1)

Officers of the association were elected and ten provincial representatives were appointed to the Board of Directors. The conference was funded by the Department of the Secretary of State. A

further grant from the same department allowed the fledgling association to set up a small office in Ottawa, publish a newsletter, hold meetings of the Board of Directors, and plan further publications and projects.

Although the organization's goals intended that it work towards better French language learning opportunities for all Canadian children, it was from the beginning identified with the immersion movement. The energy and enthusiasm of the parents were mainly derived from their efforts to obtain immersion programs in their own communities. CPF at this point saw its role as that of (a) disseminating information to make parents more effective in these efforts, and (b) bringing pressure to bear on government bodies to provide necessary programs and services.

By the time CPF celebrated its tenth anniversary in 1986, there were over 16,000 members in 165 active chapters. Project and operating grants at the national level were in excess of $350,000; in addition the ten provincial and two territorial organizations were negotiating their own operating grants with provincial offices of the Secretary of State. A large number of national projects had been undertaken: an annual conference; two handbooks for parents; a quarterly newsletter; a series of information pamphlets; special reports; an annual registry of immersion programs; an annual registry of summer programs; a series of conferences on post-secondary education; a major publicity campaign; a Gallup poll, undertaken in 1983 to ascertain parental attitudes towards French language learning; a national oratory festival for secondary students; a study

of core French programs across Canada; and a study of administrative practices in French immersion.

The current Governor General and her spouse are honourary patrons of the association. CPF has been invited to appear before the Standing Joint Committee on Bilingualism and other parliamentary committees, and was also invited by the Secretary of State to submit a brief in advance of the federal-provincial funding negotiations. Politicians and educators have given CPF public recognition for having had a major influence on the growth of immersion, and on the improvement of other French language learning opportunities.

The story of CPF's growth in this ten-year period is important for a number of reasons. First, it is unusual for a voluntary group serving the public interest to succeed in establishing a wide national membership of actively involved volunteers. Second, because the environment within which CPF operates is complex, in that three levels of government have constitutional or legislative authority for providing bilingual education, CPF's relationship to the various jurisdictions is different from that of other pressure groups described in the literature. This is of interest from an organizational standpoint as well as within the context of pressure group theory. In-depth examination of CPF provides an example in an area of the literature which has to date received little attention.

The Turbulent Environment of Bilingual Education in Canada

Section 93 of the British North America Act grants exclusive responsibility for education to the provinces, subject to the

safe-guarding of the rights of certain denominational minorities by the federal government. The protection of official minority language rights has been the justification for the federal government's proactive role in the development of French first language education and the teaching of French and English as second languages.

Because education is a provincial responsibility in Canada, there is no federal ministry of education. The agency fulfilling the role of coordinating federal education initiatives is the Department of the Secretary of State. In addition to its mandate for federal education policies, the Department is charged with the responsibility for preserving and promoting Canadian culture. It has been able to combine its priorities for the preservation of the minority official language and culture with policies for the promotion of learning the language and culture within the education system. This has been achieved by coordination between the Department's Official Languages in Education program (originally called Bilingualism in Education) and other programs not directly related to the education system, such as the funding of student exchanges, cultural events, minority language groups, and the activities of the many organizations promoting the learning of Canada's second official language and culture. When looking at the question of the federal government's role within the second language education field, however, it is important to remember that the Department of the Secretary of State is not a department of education and does not have the power that other federal agencies have within their policy fields.

One of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was that the federal government contribute to the costs that the provinces would incur in improving the opportunities for minority language education and second language instruction in French (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1968). As had been the case with previous education transfer payments, the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) was the designated body through which the Secretary of State would negotiate and administer its initiatives in French language education.

The CMEC was established by the provinces in 1967, ostensibly to allow the ministers responsible for education to discuss and act upon matters of common concern. One of these concerns was, and continues to be, the perceived intrusion by the federal government into the field of education. The CMEC was quite naturally, therefore, designed for confrontation rather than cooperation with the federal government. Meetings of the ten ministers of education are not open to the public. Their decisions are made known through press releases issued at the conclusion of their meetings, which are usually held three times a year. The Department of the Secretary of State is not represented at these meetings and until recently there was little evidence of prior consultation between officials of the two levels of government. Generally speaking, therefore, federally-funded programs have been negotiated in an atmosphere of confrontation.

The Secretary of State's first Bilingualism in Education program was created in 1970. In an attempt to respect provincial

sensitivities, a plan was devised to transfer the bulk of the money through formula payments; that is, the funding was not tied to specific programs but to numbers of students and provincial costs of education. However, there was also some incentive funding, designed to encourage growth of programs in provinces which to that point had not offered much French language education.

Another important feature of the program was the equal treatment to be accorded both official languages. In other words, Quebec would receive the same funding for its English language minority education and English second language instruction for francophone students as the other provinces would receive for French.

In the initial stages, when the program was expanding and providing the provinces with fresh funds, there were few questions as to the federal government's role. The CMEC was able to act fairly innocuously as a channel to the provinces. By the time a third agreement was to be signed in 1979, a new policy of fiscal restraint, combined with rapid growth in immersion programs, led the federal government to announce a ceiling on the funding. Once the provinces were put in the position of competing for available funds, the CMEC essentially became a bargaining agent on behalf of the provinces. The controversy between the two levels of government became coloured by constitutional overtones. The Secretary of State had spending power but no authority over the implementation of educational programs. The CMEC had collective strength but, with no governmental status in law, no right or power to sign an agreement unless the provinces were unanimous in their support of it.

As the proposed agreement affected some provinces adversely, a stalemate developed, which led to the retroactive signing of four one-year interim agreements. This had a negative effect on school board planning. Parents and school board authorities across the country urged the CPF national association to take up the cause with the Secretary of State. And thus, CPF was presented with its first major lobbying effort.

The Scope and Organization of this Study

Chapter 2 examines pressure group and organizational theory from the standpoint of a Canadian public-interest group that is national in scope and operates in a policy field of provincial jurisdiction. Pressure group behaviour is influenced almost exclusively by the political institutions to which it relates and so the focus of the literature review is mainly on Canadian literature. American sources were sought for further insight into public-interest groups because Canadian writers have dealt primarily with institutionalized material-benefit groups. In addition to this, current organizational theory was able to contribute an alternative to the bureaucratic perspective which is prevalent in the discussion of institutionalized pressure groups. A review of the literature on parent participation in education, because it is distinctly different from pressure group activity as currently described in the literature, is left to a later chapter dealing with local parent organization.

In chapter 3, CPF's national pressure group activities are described. Particular reference is made to the period between 1978

and 1982, when the stalemate referred to above was in effect. This chapter also describes more recent pressure group activities of the association and then explores provincial lobbying possibilities.

Chapter 4 presents a view of the organizational structure of CPF; specifically, the division of responsibility among the three tiers of the organization, guidelines and regulations, and the lines of communication. The services that the national body provides to the provincial branches and those provided to the local chapter are enumerated. Because the political, cultural and educational climate differs substantially among provinces, it is difficult to generalize when describing provincial activities. Therefore, a case study of one provincial body, the British Columbia Branch, has been undertaken in order to provide an example of the role of this level of the organization.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the local chapter. The literature on parental participation in educational decision-making at the school or system level is reviewed and related to CPF actions. The local level of CPF presents a complex and varied picture because local conditions play a large part in determining the nature of a particular chapter. A composite picture of what is possible under different circumstances is presented.

Also discussed is the idea that the actions of local CPF chapters contribute to CPF goals in a different way from those of the national and provincial organizations. First, there is the question of public interest versus material benefit. Parents sometimes join the association to achieve a specific benefit for their own children. Second, parental involvement with a school program goes well beyond

the conventional definition of pressure group activities. CPF's ability to maintain an active membership is due in large part to its activities as an interest group rather than strictly as a pressure group.

Conclusions regarding CPF as a pressure group and its place in current pressure group theory are summarized in chapter 6. Suggestions are made for further research in the particular area of public-interest groups and the field of education.

In summary, this study explores the relationship between CPF and the various levels of government, describes CPF's effectiveness in organizational terms, and explains its activities in terms of current Canadian pressure group theory. A case is made for categorizing CPF as an independent pressure group despite the high level of government funding it receives, and for the necessity of further investigation of public-interest groups within the Canadian context and of education policy communities in which pressure groups relate to three levels of government.

Methodology Used in This Study

The original impetus for this study was the author's personal experience with CPF and the Official Languages in Education policy community, first as a founder of the British Columbia chapter (BCPF) in 1978, then as CPF National Chairman from 1978 to 1981, and since that time as a participant in the national activities of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers (CASLT). A review of the literature on pressure groups and parent participation was undertaken

in order to determine which aspects of CPF should be documented. Published materials by and about CPF, as well as CPF and personal files, were reviewed. At various times during the development of this thesis, discussions were held with key participants in the events described. These individuals helped to verify facts and corroborate interpretations. Of particular assistance in this regard was a long-time CPF member who held the position of B.C. Director from 1978 to 1981, and who has since continued to serve the national organization in a number of capacities including that of author of the CPF Board Manual. Information on the present structure and activities of BCPF was obtained from the current BCPF President and staff members. The former also reviewed the chapter on provincial organization.

CHAPTER 2

A Critical Review of the Literature

This review of the literature is an attempt to find means of explaining Canadian Parents for French in an analytical rather than a descriptive fashion. In addition to the general theory on how pressure groups operate and what determines their success, there is an investigation of the specific problems of groups relating to more than one level of government and of public-interest groups. Reference is made also to organizational theory, to see if there are ways of organizing successfully other than along bureaucratic lines. A review of the literature on parent participation at the school and school board level is left to chapter 5, which deals specifically with the local organization and a different style of parent pressure.

Pressure Group Theory

Pressure group theory in Canada is not yet part of the mainstream of political thought. The general political literature deals with the subject of pressure group activity and influence more as an aside than as an integral part of political analysis.

Pross (1986) offers this explanation:

>   Pressure group studies have not kept pace with the changes
> we have seen in pressure group politics in recent decades,
> nor with the development of public debate. This is the
> case everywhere, but particularly in Canada--partly, I
> believe, because we have not developed the necessary
> analytical tools for a proper understanding of pressure
> group behaviour. As long as pressure groups are examined
> primarily through case studies and newspaper clippings, we
> will not grasp their real significance in political life.
> (p.ix)

He attempts in his 1986 publication "to put forward and apply an
analytical framework" (p.ix) so that pressure group behaviour can
be explained and related to the political system.

In an earlier work, Pross (1975) also attempted a synthesis of
the available literature, put forth the same framework, and called
for comparative research to be carried out in the Canadian setting.
However, it was left to Pross himself to take up the challenge in
1986. Although authors in the interim period refer to Pross, none
were found who attempted to build on his theory. It appears that
measuring the effectiveness of pressure groups is a difficult
challenge and, rather than building on existing theory, writers
resort to contributing insights through descriptions of particular
cases. For example, Berry (1977) explains his study of two
American public-interest groups in the following way:

>   The purpose of these case studies was not to draw out
> concrete generalizations from the two groups to the larger
> universe of public interest groups. Rather, the basic goal
> was to illustrate the day-to-day operations of these
> lobbies. It was hoped that some of the subtleties of
> public interest group behaviour, such as the working habits
> of the lobbyists, the utilization of resources, and the
> intricacies of daily decision making, would be well brought
> out by the in-depth coverage that the case studies
> allowed. (p.306)

Fulton and Stanbury (1985) do attempt to theorize, but admit that evaluating the effectiveness of groups is difficult. They achieve only a comparison of two organizations which share the same environment, the health care field in British Columbia.

Pross (1986), however, seeks to bring together all the Canadian literature against a backdrop of international theory, and advances an analytical framework for further discussion. Because of its comprehensive and theoretical approach, it is treated as the pivotal work in this study. Other sources are quoted in the perspective of Pross' work, either to reinforce his views or to provide additional insights in areas where his theory might be weak.

The functioning of a pressure group is very much dependent on the political system within which it operates. For this reason, literature from other countries is not always helpful. Writing about influencing policy at the level of local government, Beattie (1985) makes the following point about the specific nature of individual countries' traditions and the difficulty of finding universal solutions amidst "complex norm-bound activity":

> The most obvious lesson to be drawn from an international study of this kind is that straightforward `borrowing' is unlikely to be successful. The structures of parent participation are intimately connected with differing structures of educational government and administration, and with deep-rooted national attitudes and traditions. (p.247)

American literature proves to be somewhat more useful, likely because Canadians and Americans share a more common experience in voluntarism and in citizen participation in public affairs. This is particularly true with reference to public-interest concerns. Sills (1957) and Berry (1977), two American writers, provide considerable

insight into the workings of volunteer citizen groups which function quite differently from the large business, professional and labour interests which dominate the Canadian literature.

What Are Pressure Groups?

Pressure groups are "organizations whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest" (Pross, 1986, p.3). They act in the political arena to persuade governments; they possess an organizational framework, articulate and aggregate the common interests of their members, and seek to influence power rather than exercise the responsibility of government.

In an attempt to prove that pressure groups serve a useful and necessary function in the political process, Pross seeks to define them precisely. He excludes from his taxonomy of pressure groups the following three types of organization: interest groups, political parties and government agencies or government-affiliated groups.

"Interest group" is an inclusive term for all organizations that promote the common interests of their members by whatever means, included in which might be the attempt to influence government, other groups in society, and/or the general public. Pressure groups, then, are interest groups that seek to influence government policy-making. Very often they use other avenues as well to promote their interests. In fact, very few are organized primarily to be involved in public policy. This objective is more likely to be a by-product of their main objective to "serve their members' needs" (p.15), and they may even resent the label "pressure group". Nevertheless, Pross

refers to them as pressure groups, and exludes only those whose interest promotion does not extend to government.

Also excluded from the category of pressure group are political parties, which seek to gain power rather than influence those in power. This straightforward distinction needs no elaboration.

Finally, Pross distinguishes between pressure groups and government agencies, or government-affiliated groups such as the Economic Council of Canada, which receive the majority of their funding from government. Pross argues that they may lack the independence to be considered true pressure groups. He suggests that additional criteria must be applied to determine which category an organization falls into. These criteria are: (a) membership that is "inclusive of the interest community", "self-selected from the community", or "selected from that community by the existing membership"; (b) autonomy in choosing its goals; and, (c) autonomous use of its funds and personnel (1986, p.11).

Pross has chosen to cite Canadian Parents for French as an example of an anomaly in this attempt at classification. Curiously, in so doing, he does not refer to the above criteria but simply to the fact that CPF receives "considerable assistance from the federal government".

> We are likely to encounter some groups in the political
> system that cannot be said categorically to be either a
> true pressure group or a government-affiliated group. For
> example, Canadian Parents for French, an organization dedi-
> cated to promoting French language education in anglophone
> schools, might be one of these. It has received consider-
> able assistance from the federal government, but at the
> same time possesses an extensive and dedicated membership.
> By applying the tests we have devised we should be able to
> confine these anomalies to a reasonably small number.
> (p.12)

The study of CPF's organizational features in chapter 4 reveals that it does in fact meet the criteria listed by Pross and should therefore be considered a pressure group. In a later discussion this study makes the point that it is important to take into account the nature of the funding as well as the level of funding.

To return to Pross' exclusions, however, organizations must have autonomy from government to be considered pressure groups. We now turn to the context within which Canadian pressure groups operate.

The Canadian Policy Structure

In Canada's short history, the 1950s and 60s seem to have had a significant impact on our overall policy structure and especially on the way in which pressure groups adapted to this structure. The depression, the war and the growth of technology all encouraged the development of pressure groups, but at the same time the executive branch of government became increasingly dominated by a few very powerful civil servants who resisted their intrusion into decision-making. Pross (1986) concludes that

> the groups that survived in this era did so because they came to terms with a central fact: the key to exercising influence in the relatively closed policy-making system that prevailed from the war years to the beginning of the Trudeau era was access.... Consultation, and the search for consensus, became the outstanding characteristics of government/pressure group relations. (p.61)

Although this lack of openness in the policy system is character-istic of the parliamentary form of government, in Canada it was further exaggerated by the existence of an inner circle of powerful individuals involved in government business. Presthus (1973; 1974),

in his theory of "elite accommodation", maintains that such a system is necessary in Canadian politics. In simple terms, elite accommodation theory claims that a culturally-fragmented society, such as Canada's, needs a decision-making system that relies on negotiation rather than on strict adherence to overriding principles. The necessity of operating in this way has led to an informal but well-entrenched network of participants, acting as brokers in the political marketplace. It consists of cabinet ministers, senior civil servants and leaders of established pressure groups. The role of these pressure groups is vital to the process, but there is neither a rationale nor a guiding principle for determining who has access to the decision-makers and how a decision is made.

The consequences of the practice have been both positive and negative. We must concede that, "despite the ethnic, cultural, religious, and regional cleavages" (Presthus 1973, p.347), Canada is still a confederation, and to this point at least the system has been tolerated by society as a whole. The negative side of this policy system is: (a) the prevalence of ad-hoc decision-making rather than long-range, comprehensive economic and social planning; (b) the preservation of the status quo, acting in the interest of groups presently involved in this brokerage system; and (c) the lack of opportunity for participation by the majority.

If political writers dwell on the lack of open decision-making in Canada, it is no doubt due to the contrast with American politics. In the United States, great emphasis is placed on the generation of issues in a public forum; in Canada, successful pressure groups avoid the public forum. By the time an issue has reached the public stage

in the form of a bill, it is too late for consultation and coopera-
tive formulation of policy. Changes in the bill will embarrass the
government (Pross, 1975, p.21).[2] If pressure groups wish to
intervene in policy-making, they will be more successful at an
earlier stage, the cabinet being an obvious target of pressure.
Dawson (1975) points out that the Canadian cabinet, unlike its
British counterpart, will meet with pressure groups (p.36).

Recent observation of cabinet ministers' activities corroborate
Dawson's view. Individual ministers do appear at pressure group
functions, and it is understood that they will represent regional
interests in cabinet meetings, thus becoming lobbyists for the
lobbyists.

The cabinet, however, is not the best target of pressure group
activity. Because of its reliance on the bureaucracy for the
formulation and implementation of policy, much power has devolved
upon the civil service. The civil servants who rose to high office
in the 1950s and 60s were known as the mandarins; they were part of
the elite referred to by Presthus.

Today, with the greater volume of business, much government
policy is being developed by lower-level officials. Despite this
diffusion of power, the principle of elite accommodation still
applies. Consultation and negotiation with officials is the most
effective form of lobbying. Groups that have the resources and
know-how to work with civil servants on a day-to-day basis are
therefore in the best position to have bills formulated according to
their needs and wishes.

Thompson and Stanbury (1979) compare the American and Canadian political systems, using the marketplace analogy of supply and demand. The American legislative process is similar to the competitive market in which legislative output can be predicted by pressure group input. In Canada, the domination of the legislative branch by the executive leads to a monopoly so that output is unpredictable. How then do we predict the effect of pressure groups on public policy? We cannot--not without knowing more about individual ministers, the leadership within Cabinet, the relative strength of ministers, and so on. We can only study "the workings of the legislative process and by induction draw valid conclusions" (p.26) about pressure groups, the process they are involved in, and the relative strength of various groups.[3]

Thompson and Stanbury's paper offers a useful analysis of the legislative process, describing the transformation of a policy idea into legislation and enactment, and indicating, as Pross and Dawson do, the points of access to the policy system. They deplore the ineffectiveness of groups which do not attempt to influence legislation before it reaches the parliamentary stages. They make the key point that information, about the government process and about the particular government of the day, is vital for successful pressure group activity. They conclude that the political process must change to make political leaders more responsive to pressure group representation. Reform would include strengthening the role of the opposition and less cabinet control over the timing and frequency of elections.

Aucoin (1975) suggests that changes to the policy-making process initiated in the 1960s have had a modest effect on pressure groups (p.189). To counteract the increasing departmentalization of public policies because of the expansion of governmental activities, several initiatives were taken to coordinate overall policy formulation and to set priorities for programs and spending. Such initiatives included the expansion of the Prime Minister's Office and the Privy Council Office, the creation of policy committees and task forces, the establishment of Treasury Board and its secretariat, and the introduction of the Planning, Programming and Budgeting System (since replaced by the envelope system). The role of Parliament has been enhanced through the reorganization of the Parliamentary Standing Committee system and the use of white papers.

The effect of these reforms on pressure group activity has been two-fold: (a) the impact of pressure group input at the bureaucratic level has been reduced because officials, faced with the scrutiny of Treasury Board and legislative committees, now look at all proposed policies in light of the government's overall priorities and even the "public interest"; and (b) pressure groups have been brought out in the open because they are required to appear before committees or respond formally to positions taken in white papers. This has started a trend away from the traditional, informal, secretive contact towards an open system in which new groups with knowledge of the system and expertise could compete (Aucoin, 1975, p.186).

According to Pross (1986), the revival of Parliament as a forum for policy-making can be attributed as much to a change in public behaviour and attitude as to deliberate reform measures. He points

out that the "1960s was a decade of frenetic activity in public policy formation" (p.63). The government was involved in transferring money to the provinces for medical care, education and regional development. Other major endeavours listed by Pross are taxation reform, income maintenance programs, policies dealing with native peoples, urban development, resource development, and communications. Women's issues, consumerism, and the environment all spawned movements looking for the government's attention. Once content to have the civil service and the cabinet manage the business of government, the various actors in policy debates, now including the general public, have turned to Parliament. The House of Commons, always perceived as the ultimate authority (the elected, representative body), is now seen as the forum which commands the attention of the TV news reporters. Publicity, as well as legitimation, has become an important part of the "negotiation" process.

Thrust into the public arena, the civil servants, whose traditional role had been one of responding not initiating, were forced to find others to debate the issues with elected officials. They began to encourage the participation of pressure groups and, indeed, entire "policy communities" grew up around the various government initiatives.

> Interest group representatives are not bound by governmental agenda-setting. Intimately aware of the needs and objectives of [government] agencies, they can express those needs when necessary in a manner that can be readily disowned by the sponsoring agency. Furthermore, in the sometimes competitive atmosphere of committee hearings friendly interest groups, rather than agencies themselves, are at times the most appropriate defenders of agency positions and proposals. Thus in cultivating policy communities, agencies simultaneously achieve two types of legitimation. On the one hand they reinforce the support of their own functional constituencies, and on the other

> they use them to tap Parliament's capacity to publicize and legitimate agency goals and programs. In so doing they contribute to a revival of Parliament's role in the policy process. (Pross, 1986, p.77) 4

The reform of the parliamentary system is not the only reason for the growing diffusion of power in the federal policy structure. There has been a great increase in the number of areas of shared responsibility between the federal and provincial governments, and the use of intergovernmental conferences and committees has grown substantially in recent years. This leads to a greater number of access points for pressure groups to influence decision-making.

The question of the diffusion of power is most often looked at from the perspective of the federal government, but the same type of phenomenon occurs provincially with the use of legislative committees as well as intergovernmental conferences and committees. National pressure groups have the potential to counteract provincial government tendencies towards acting in isolation. National conferences and newsletters can equip provincial branches of pressure groups to use comparisons with other provinces in lobbying their governments.

Pross makes very little reference to provincial legislatures. He does make the distinction, however, that "provincial policy communities are less complex than those at the federal level and access to key decision-makers is easier to arrange" (p.167). This statement may not apply to areas such as education in which the provincial government has a strong mandate. The large provinces in particular have developed powerful bureaucracies in their education ministries, and the less-established pressure groups can have considerable difficulty accessing provincial officials and politicians.

The Function of Pressure Groups

The basic function of any interest group is to promote the interests of its members. Pross has made the point that pressure groups are a specialized form of interest group with the particular objective of influencing government. Pressure groups fulfill three functions, to a greater or lesser degree depending on the political system and the type of group:

> They communicate between members and the state. They legitimate the demands their members make on the state and the public policies they support. They regulate their members and they assist the state to administer policies and programs. (Pross, 1986, p.84)

Communication and legitimation are key functions for any pressure group. By aggregating and articulating demands, i.e., transmitting to government the demands and interests of certain constituencies of the community, pressure groups keep the decision-makers informed. Government, too, can use these lines of communication to test opinion of its policy-making and elicit support of government initiatives. This legitimating function works in the other direction too. By working with government officials, the pressure group is able to demonstrate to its members and the rest of the policy community that its goals and activities are accepted by government and that its voice is heard.

Thompson and Stanbury (1979) emphasize that the function of aggregating demands and communicating them to government fulfills an important role because elected representatives cannot adequately reflect either the pattern or the intensity of individual preferences. The ideal pressure group system would serve to articulate the

interests of the country better than Parliament. The flaw, of course, is that the vast majority of our citizens are not currently represented by pressure groups.

According to Thompson and Stanbury, one particular function needed by politicians has not been fully exploited by pressure groups. Political decision-makers need to know the potential consequences of government action, consequences not only for the group, but also for the political leader and for the general public. They cite Hartle (1976, p.85) on the benefits to a minister of receiving "more information on the estimated effects of policies" ("Who gains? Who loses? By how much?"), and more information on voter attitudes and on the symbolic effects of an action (What are the perceptions of the voter?) (Thompson & Stanbury, 1979, p.6). On the other side of the coin, pressure groups should provide more information to the public to make possible more effective demands on the political system (Hartle, 1976, p.85). This function, which has been frustrated by the lack of public access to information, may be more easily realized under the Access to Information and Privacy Act enacted in 1983.

Aucoin (1975), in his discussion on the increased role of Parliament in policy-making, refers to the importance of pressure groups in providing information to Members of Parliament.

> Without them, legislators and the general public must depend on the operating departments of government, the mass media, and their own investigative resources for information and group opinions....
>
> Pressure groups ... have a greater incentive to provide expert or specialized advice and to translate this advice into laymen's language. In so doing, they contribute to the presentation of alternative interpretations of complex policy questions. The policy attitudes of government

> bureaucrats thus can be countered in public, not merely
> confined to the council chambers of executive-bureaucratic
> structures. In this sense pressure groups constitute a
> regular source of alternate expert opinion. (p.188)

Along with the traditional communications patterns--to the
membership from government and to government from the members--Pross
(1986) notes two others of importance. Pressure groups can carry
messages to and from government departments, assisting in interdepart-
mental communication. (Although not specifically mentioned by Pross,
intergovernmental communication can also be assisted in the same
way.) Pressure groups can also communicate among themselves, helping
to sort out issues and enhance cooperation in a particular policy
sector (pp.88-89).

As diffusion of power has increased, growing importance has been
attached to the wider context of policy-making, and thus we are now
witnessing discussion of a "relatively new phenomenon" referred to by
Pross as the policy community (1986, p.132). In this publication he
elaborates for the first time on policy communities and, within them,
the relationship of government line agencies and pressure groups.

> By policy communities we mean the clustering of interest
> groups, associated agencies, and interested and/or informed
> individuals around the agencies generally considered to be
> the key policy actors in a specific field of government
> activity. The concept ... is similar to, but more inclu-
> sive than, the American concept of the `sub-government'.
> (p.290)

Pross' diagram portrays the complexity of a policy community
(see Figure 1). More or less at the centre are the government
agencies involved, both the key line agency and central agencies, as
well as institutionalized pressure groups. They are the equivalent
of the American "sub-government". Somewhat farther from the centre,
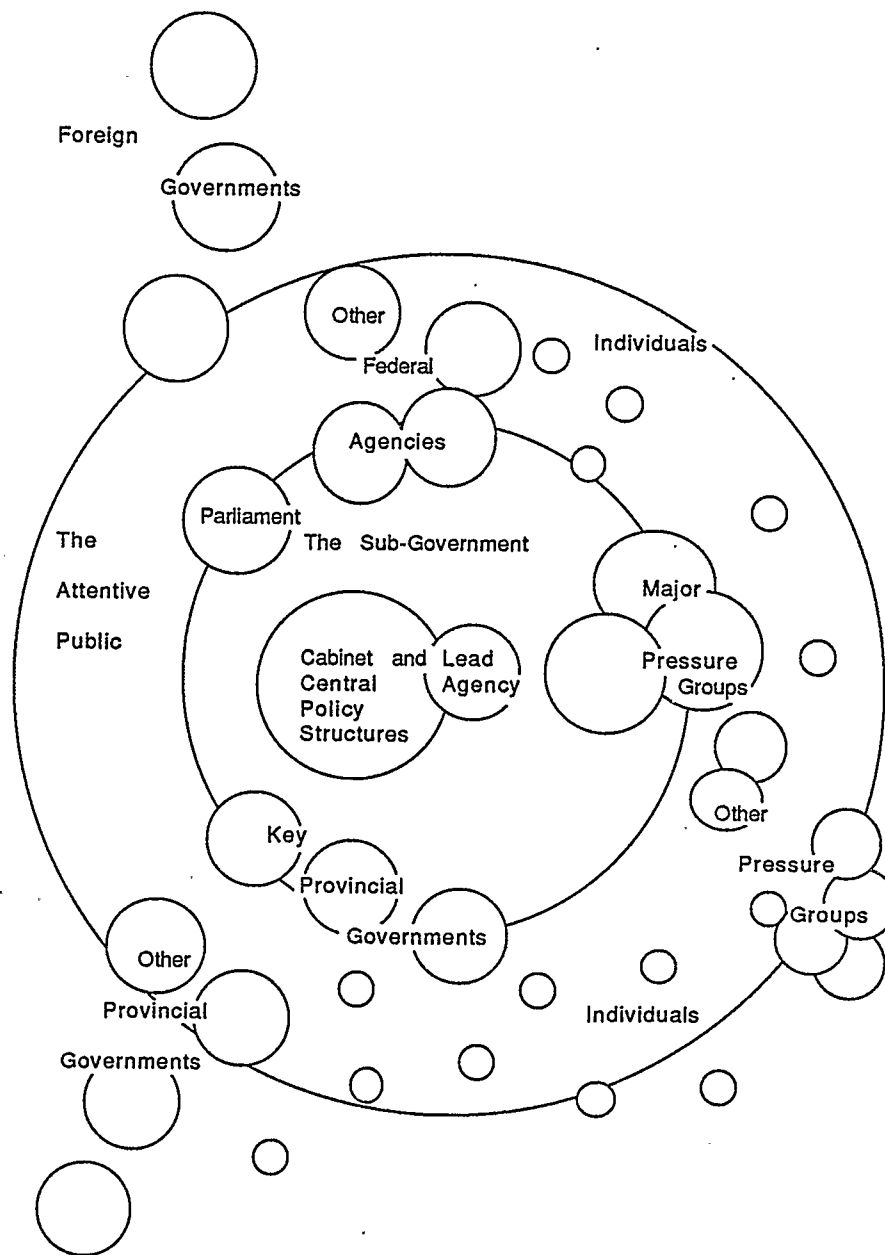
Figure 1. The Policy Community
Source: Pross (1986) p.100

sometimes part of the sub-government, sometimes not, are other government agencies, provincial governments, and Parliament. Those bodies not considered part of the sub-government in a particular policy field, along with other governments, less organized pressure groups and interested individuals, form the "attentive public".

Policy communities serve an important role in the political process.

> Without the policy community's special capabilities for studying alternative courses of action, for debating their rival merits, and for securing administrative arrangements for implementation, governments would have great difficulty discerning and choosing between policy options. Within policy communities pressure groups are equally important. It is in the policy community that they most frequently perform the functions we have attributed to them. They draw together the interests associated with the community and articulate their concerns. Their ability to secure the support of special publics for policies is often indispensable. They at times hold the collective memory for policy issues. With their annual meetings, newsletters, regional organizations, and above all, informal networks, they have an ability to cross organizational lines denied to other more formal actors, such as government departments. They can therefore act as go-betweens, provide opportunities for quiet meetings between warring agencies, and keep the policy process in motion. They may also act as emissaries to other policy communities. These services, together with their ability to evaluate policy and develop opinion, make pressure groups integral members of the policy community. (p.107)

In the current context of competition among federal departments for increasingly scarce funds and the power struggle between line agencies and central agencies such as Treasury Board, the Ministry of Finance and the Privy Council Office, pressure groups are often useful allies in the struggle to promote an agency's interests. It is not surprising that an agency might encourage the formation of pressure groups and co-opt those already in the field.

In addition to having the support of pressure groups, it is important to the agency that the attentive public be as sympathetic as possible. Part of the role of pressure groups is to disseminate information and air issues, communicating with the attentive public through conferences, newsletters and so on. Part of the attentive public may be local members of the national organization. The attentive public's main function is "to maintain a perpetual policy-review process" (Pross, 1986, p.99). As Pross suggests, the diversity introduced by the attentive public, whether welcome or not, is important for the health of a policy community, which is dominated by a sub-government constantly seeking consensus and avoiding controversy.

The Influence of Federalism

Canada's federal structure and the growing amount of inter-governmental discussion has already been mentioned as an opportunity for pressure groups to obtain more access to government decision-making. Federalism is not only an opportunity but also a challenge for national pressure groups. The size and diversity of our country presents problems, both financial and decision-making, for any national group.

If the concerns of a group are in an area of overlapping federal and provincial jurisdiction, or if jurisdiction is not clear, the problems are more noticeable. It becomes necessary for the pressure group to operate at both levels, parallelling our federal system. There are the obvious expenses of staffing national and provincial

offices, maintaining communications, and holding board and executive meetings, which as a result are held infrequently. More important is the challenge of policy-making and the position an organization is to take with each level of government. Dawson (1975) describes the problem in the following terms:

> Many national pressure groups are frequently confronted with the following paradox: if a provincial organization permits its policies to be too profoundly influenced by national as opposed to local considerations, it will lose support among its local clientele, and this in turn will diminish the national organization's political impact; whereas, if the provincial organizations adhere too readily to policies approved at the local level, it may be impossible to achieve any kind of national policy at all. (p.31)

Dawson suggests that most pressure groups are weak federations whose provincial or local components dominate the relationship, which make it difficult to develop a "national outlook". Although it is not clear why, they often keep re-electing the same people to national positions. "Rank-and-file members see local and provincial activities as being more interesting and more worthwhile." Members are suspicious of a national office, especially if located in Ottawa, and tend to keep it small and poor, thus making it impossible for members to receive proper service (pp.30-34). Pross agrees that, because of the strength and diversity of local interests, "very few [interest organizations] accord significant authority to a powerful head office" (1986, p.225).

Sills (1957) uses the term "federation-type" to refer to organizations whose local or regional branches are dominant and have formed a loose federation at the national level; a "corporate-type" organization, on the other hand, resembles a corporation in that

power is centralized and the branches are creatures of the national organization (p.3). These designations give a better description of the management of an organization than the terms "confederal" and "federal" which Pross (1986, p.166) uses.

According to Sills, the type of organization that develops generally depends on whether it originated at the national or local level (p.6). This is certainly true in the case of CPF, which has a corporate-type structure and which began as a national organization.

Kwavnick (1975) hypothesizes

> that the distribution of power between the central and provincial governments influences the structure, cohesion and even the existence of interest groups; that is, that the strength and cohesion of interest groups will tend to mirror the strength, in their particular area of concern, of the government to which they enjoy access. (p.72)

He illustrates the hypothesis with the following example. Until 1966, the federal government had a direct and increasing role in granting funds to universities. At that point it withdrew from direct participation in higher education in favour of granting formula payments that would contribute to operating costs and be distributed by the provincial governments. With no further federal initiatives in program implementation, the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) no longer had a reason to lobby at the federal level. Within three years, the "once mighty" pressure group had disbanded (p.74).

For our purposes it is a particularly interesting example because it deals with an educational rather than a business or labour issue. It points out that, although the federal government does not have jurisdictional authority for education, discretionary spending power gives it the "strength" that Kwavnick refers to. CPF enjoys

access to the federal government because of the federal government's commitment to promoting French language education. It will presumably remain a strong national association as long as the federal government maintains discretionary power over some of the funds it transfers to the provinces.

Kwavnick summarizes his discussion on the division of powers by suggesting that "pressure goes where the power is--and takes its organization with it" (p.7). In the case of fledgling associations, this may not necessarily be so. It may be more a question of gravitating "to the level of government assumed to be more receptive to their demands" (Schultz, 1977, p.375). If groups cannot get satisfaction from one level of government, they will approach the other, even to the extent that they play one off against the other. This is, of course, a dangerous game that may backfire, which is why pressure groups, institutionalized or fledgling, will try to please both levels of government.

Kwavnick also discusses the effect of pressure groups on federalism. His second hypothesis states that insofar as the distribution of powers has consequences for pressure groups with access to the two levels of government, "these groups may attempt to influence the distribution of powers between those governments" (p.72), particularly if the balance of power is in a state of flux. This may not be a deliberate act by pressure groups but is more likely to be done as a matter of organizational preservation (p.84).

Two corollaries in the case are worth noting. First, with regard to the role of voluntary associations as "agents of socialization",

depending on the basis upon which they are organized, pressure groups may serve to further integrate a federal society or to further fragment it. That is, groups organized on a local or regional basis will tend to strengthen local awareness, local loyalties and local particularism, thus reinforcing fragmentation. On the other hand, groups organized on a national basis will tend to strengthen the national awareness of their members, to create feelings of identification with the national institutions of government, to heighten feelings of efficacy and involvement with those institutions and thus promote national integration. (p.71)

Second, it is generally recognized that interest groups do not merely aggregate and articulate the demands of their members. When necessary, the leaders will initiate the demands that will preserve the organization and their role within it and then sell the position to the membership. They can therefore create the climate of opinion which legitimizes the action of a government. It follows that

one means by which a government in a federal political system may strengthen itself vis-à-vis government at the other level would be to 'encourage the development of as broad a range as possible of strong and cohesive private organizations dependent upon it. (p.84)

In the field of public education, the federal government's efforts to strengthen its role have been somewhat ambivalent. National organizations have been encouraged and funded, at least in the field of Official Languages in Education, but at the same time the federal government backs away from pressure by these organizations to establish its presence more directly. Instead it favours efforts by pressure groups to have the provincial governments increase their responsibility for coordination, planning, and funding. At the same time, the federal government is still trying to impose its priorities on the provinces. The roles of the Secretary of State and other key actors in the O.L.E. policy field are discussed further in chapter 3 of this study.

A further effect of federalism is described by Bucovetsky (1975) in his discussion of the battle between the federal government and the mining industry. The Mining Association of Canada took advantage of federalism by ensuring that the provincial associations lobbied the provincial governments who in turn put pressure on the federal government. Such a set-up requires that the issue be so important that a loose federation can be united behind the cause, or that the organization be particularly strong and united in its goals. Although it is not suggested by Bucovetsky's example, this strategy can be used in cooperation rather than in confrontation with the federal government.

Schultz (1977) uses a study of the Canadian Trucking Association to examine whether or not pressure groups gain or lose in the arena of intergovernmental negotiations. He concludes that our federal structure provides more access points to the system but groups that "exploit" them run the risk of being "caught in the vise of federalism" (p.394). The bargaining process in federal-provincial negotiations tends to shut out pressure groups (p.376), to varying degrees of course depending on the magnitude of the issue and the type of intergovernmental forum. First ministers' conferences are a difficult forum to penetrate because of the stature of the participants (Pross 1986, p.164), but there are other intergovernmental bodies or events, such as the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada and the annual Mines Ministers Conference which are easier to access.

Schultz states that we do not yet know the extent of the impact of intergovernmental policy-making on pressure groups (p.394). The

field of education would make an interesting study. With the notable exception of Kwavnick's (1975) study of university students' organizations, investigation of this topic has been limited mainly to areas in which the federal government has major jurisdiction.

The Pross Typology

Pross (1975; 1986) suggests a theoretical framework in order to determine whether an organization is operating effectively within given parameters (see Figure 2). It arranges groups "along an institutional continuum" which is "helpful in identifying the capacity of groups to relate to the structure of policy-making" (1986, p.108). The continuum extends from the small, narrowly-defined, single-issue group to the large, stable, cohesive, influential institution. The four categories in his model include the above-mentioned extremes and, in between, fledgling and mature groups. Each is related to group characteristics (structure) and levels of communication with government (functions), according to a progression which implies degrees of competence in carrying out certain functions. This single framework, Pross claims, enhances the possibility of comparative analysis and general statements about pressure groups operating in different environments.

The use of the term "issue-oriented" for groups at the low end of the continuum is somewhat unfortunate. All types of groups can be issue-oriented at any given time. A preferable term would be one that describes groups who see themselves as organized to react to a particular issue and who are not concerned with the long-term future

CATEGORIES GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

	Objectives				Organizational Features			
	Single, narrowly defined	Multiple but closely related	Multiple, broadly defined and collective	Multiple, broadly defined, collective & selective	Small membership/ no paid staff	Membership can support small staff	Alliances with other groups/staff includes professionals	Extensive human and financial resources
Institution-alized				▓				▓
Mature			▓				▓	
Fledgling		▓				▓		
Issue-oriented	▓				▓			

CATEGORIES LEVELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH GOVERNMENT

	Media-oriented			Access-Oriented		
	Publicity-focused protests	Presentation of briefs to public bodies	Public relations; image-building ads	Confrontation with politicians, officials	Regular contact with officials	Regular contact, representation on advisory boards, staff exchanges
Institution-alized			▓			▓
Mature		▓	▓		▓	
Fledgling		▓		▓		
Issue-oriented	▓			▓		

6

Figure 2. The Continuum Framework
Source: Pross (1986) pp.120-121

of their group. A better choice might have been "ad-hoc" or "single-issue" so that a group would not have to change its orientation (public issues) in order to become institutionalized, which is what Pross implies with his choice of terms. For example, he continues to refer to Pollution Probe as an issue-oriented group although it is becoming institutionalized, a contradiction of terms according to his continuum.

It is probably not unusual for a single-issue group to go on to other issues and, in so doing, to look to some type of permanency in its organization and its relationship with government. As indicated above, Pollution Probe is one such group. It was formed as a result of a particular event but continued to exist in order to take on a number of significant issues. Pross in his introduction to Chant's 1975 essay on Pollution Probe relates its evolution to his own theoretical framework:

> Perhaps many issue-oriented groups have only a short existence because they lack this opportunity to relate concern for a specific problem to a broader but less clearly defined cause. Conversely, as Chant points out, it is equally important that a newly formed group focus its general concerns on specific issues with which the public can readily identify before moving on to larger issues of more far-reaching importance. (Pross, 1975, p.59)

In chapter 5 we find that local CPF chapters often originate the same way.

How do you describe this new type of organization, which is not ad hoc but not institutionalized? The descriptors for objectives and organizational features on the Pross continuum may be adequate to distinguish among four types of organization but the descriptors for levels of communication with government are decidedly weak in the

middle range. His theoretical framework would benefit from further elaboration in these two categories.

For example, in the category of media-oriented communication with government, between the publicity-focused protests of issue-oriented groups and the extensive image-building of institutionalized groups, the sole descriptor listed by Pross is "presentation of briefs to public bodies". Fledgling and mature groups have more effective ways of attracting the attention of government and becoming established within their policy community. Their methods include holding conferences to which important guest speakers are invited, publishing a regular newsletter, obtaining interviews on radio and T.V., having the print media write articles on the organization and its major issues, and, occasionally, writing briefs.

The following is a suggestion for revising the indicators listed under media-oriented activities in Pross' framework (1986, p.121): (a) ad-hoc groups--publicity-focused protests; (b) fledgling groups--efforts to establish a presence within the policy community; (c) mature groups--an established presence: conferences, news-letters, media interviews, etc.; (d) institutionalized groups--extensive public relations: image building ads, press conferences, representation on boards of other organizations.

It is surprising that Pross has ignored the policy community entirely in his theoretical framework since he had just devoted several pages to its importance (pp.96- 107). The descriptors suggested above were developed from this author's experience with CPF and other interest groups in the O.L.E. policy field, but they could just as easily have been chosen from Pross' own description of the

work of professional and interest associations, as the following

paragraph indicates:

> Conferences and study sessions organized by professional
> and interest associations offer opportunities for officials
> at various levels to converse with the grass roots of their
> constituency, and with journalists and academics who have
> been studying public policy. They usually have views on
> government performance and are quick to put them forward.
> Though most are heard skeptically, sometimes patronizingly,
> they contribute to the gradual process through which
> policies and programs are amended, extended and generally
> adapted to the changing needs of the community. Similarly,
> the newsletters, professional journals, and trade magazines
> that circulate through the policy community give both the
> sub-government and the attentive public plenty of oppor-
> tunity to shore up, demolish, or transmogrify the existing
> policy edifice. In this turmoil of theories and interests,
> officialdom--which is almost never monolithic, nearly
> always pluralistic, and seldom at peace with itself--
> discerns the policy changes government must make if it is
> to keep nearly abreast of circumstance. The main function
> of the attentive public, then, is to maintain a perpetual
> policy-review process. It introduces into the policy
> community an element of diversity inhibited at the sub-
> government level by the need to maintain consensus. (p.99)

The descriptors under access-oriented communication with

government are found equally wanting (p.121). "Regular contact with

officials" is the only descriptor between "confrontation with

politicians, officials" and "regular contact, representation on

advisory boards, staff exhanges". This does not illustrate the

normal process of a group trying to establish contact with civil

servants, contact which will at first be intermittent and mainly

initiated by the group. A clearer definition of the steps towards

regular access might be: (a) confrontation with politicians,

officials; (b) group-initiated contact with officials; (c) regular

contact with officials; (d) regular consultation with officials,

representation on advisory boards, staff exchanges. Figure 3

illustrates how the second half of Pross' continuum might be revised

LEVELS OF COMMUNICATION WITH GOVERNMENT

ACCESS-ORIENTED

CATEGORIES

	Confrontation with politicians	Group-initiated contact with officials	Regular contact with officials	Regular consultation with officials, representation on advisory boards, staff exchanges
Institutionalized				▓▓▓
Mature			▓▓▓	
Fledgling		▓▓▓		
Ad-Hoc	▓▓▓			

MEDIA-ORIENTED

CATEGORIES

	Publicity-focussed protests	Efforts to establish a presence within the policy community	An established presence: conferences, newsletters, media interviews	Extensive public relations; image building ads, briefs, press releases
Institutionalized				▓▓▓
Mature			▓▓▓	
Fledgling		▓▓▓		
Ad-Hoc	▓▓▓			

Figure 3.   The Pross Continuum - Revised

to reflect the communication that fledgling and mature groups have with government. In keeping with an earlier discussion, "issue-oriented" groups have been renamed "ad-hoc".

Chapters 3 and 4 of this study describe CPF's communication with government and organizational features at the national and provincial levels. The national organization is discovered to be a mature group, as is the one provincial branch described in detail. Other provincial branches may be mature or they may be fledgling groups. Local chapters, as described in chapter 5, sometimes have features of ad-hoc groups, or they may have progressed to the fledgling or mature stage.

Organizational Theory and Pressure Groups

Of the several metaphors that have been developed to describe organizational behaviour, the most traditional is the machine metaphor. Once thought to be the only successful way to organize, the mechanistic or bureaucratic model, with its clearly defined activities, job descriptions, and chain of command, has proven effective only under certain conditions.

> Mechanistic approaches to organization work well only under conditions where machines work well: (a) when there is a straightforward task to perform; (b) when the environment is stable enough to ensure that the products produced will be the appropriate ones; (c) when one wishes to produce exactly the same product time and time again; (d) when precision is at a premium; and (e) when the human "machine" parts are compliant and behave as they have been designed to do. (Morgan, 1986, p.34)

As our world has become more complex and unpredictable, many organizations have turned away from the bureaucratic model, looking

for an approach that could adapt quickly to changes and allow for innovation.

> Changing circumstances call for different kinds of action and response. Flexibility and capacities for creative action thus become more important than narrow efficiency. (p.35)

Whether or not all organizations within government have remained or should remain bureaucracies is beyond the scope of this discussion but it is safe to assume that large parts of the civil service are bureaucratic by design. Pressure groups have had to adapt to government bureaucracy in three important ways (Pross, 1986, pp.137-142). First, in working with government agencies, "interest groups must organize themselves in similar fashion and, to some extent, must abide by the norms of consultation preferred by them" (p.137). This means hiring consultants who are experts in how the process works. Second, "physical centralization" has become necessary, i.e., maintaining an office in Ottawa in order to facilitate committee work between agencies and pressure groups.[7] Finally, Pross says, most key agencies "will want affiliate groups to accept their own bureaucratic mores, including a high regard for bureaucratic modes of communication" (p.140).

Is institutionalization synonymous with bureaucratization, and therefore are successful pressure groups by necessity bureaucratic? The answer to this question is likely "yes" if the government agencies in a policy community are highly bureaucratic and central-ized. Common sense suggests that, with more diffused power in a policy community, groups might profit from a more eclectic approach to influencing various actors in the field. If more than one level

of government is involved, it might be particularly useful to adapt to different methods of influence. As political life becomes more complex, the successful organization will not necessarily be more bureaucratic. It may, on the contrary, be required to become more flexible.

In light of the growing complexity of our environment, organizational theorists have developed new metaphors to explain group behaviour. The most common of these is the organization as a living organism--an open system transforming input into output and using feedback from the environment as a means of ensuring that activities are appropriate and relevant. Just as the mechanistic model gave rise to scientific management theories, so the organic model has its contingency theory. Morgan (1986) refers to the contingency approach to management in three different quotes:

> Organizations are open systems that need careful management to satisfy and balance internal needs and to adapt to environmental circumstances.

> There is no one best way of organizing. The appropriate form depends on the kind of task or environment with which one is dealing.

> Management must be concerned, above all else, with achieving 'good fits'. Different approaches to management may be necessary to perform different tasks within the same organization, and quite different types or 'species' of organization are needed in different types of environment." (pp.48-49)

This suggests that appropriateness is the key to effective structure, which is also the approach of Lawrence and Lorsch (1969). At the core of their model is the need for differentiation and integration: differentiation, so that the group can deal effectively with different parts of its environment; integration, to

pull the otherwise fragmented group together. The more diverse the environment, the more differentiated the organization must be, and the more necessary are integrative devices.

> Organizations faced with the requirement for both a high degree of differentiation and tight integration must develop supplemental [in addition to the management hierarchy] integrating devices, such as individual coordinators, cross-unit teams, and even whole departments of individuals whose basic contribution is achieving integration among other groups. (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969, p.13) (original emphasis)

The significance of this for a national voluntary organization is that lobbying cannot be the sole objective of the national office or even the provincial branches. A large part of the association's resources must go into activities such as regular board meetings, conferences, newsletters and special events that bring members together on a regional or national basis. A development officer who keeps tabs on the day-to-day operations of provincial branches or local chapters is often considered a wise use of funds. Without such integrative devices a pressure group runs the risk of .first alienating and then losing its members.

The original organic metaphor portrayed the image of the organization as a separate entity forced to adapt to its environment. Some writers have adapted it to account for young, growth-oriented organizations that function in turbulent environments. There is increasing emphasis on the dynamic relationship which exists between a system (organization) and its environment, a relationship which causes them to affect each other as they evolve together. In other words, organizations do not merely react to their environment, they actively seek changes, thereby determining their own futures.

An image of this sort would seem to be necessary to analyze proactive pressure groups in a rapidly changing environment. It is important to note that a pressure group does not have an identity separate from its environment. Although it would be foolhardy, a company could set production goals while ignoring the environment. A pressure group's goal, however, is not to provide a product but in some way to make the environment "produce". The environment must therefore be part of the pressure group's identity.

In the era of the mandarins, government agencies and pressure groups had a relatively simple and stable environment. Theoretical discussion of pressure groups centered on transactions between the two components of the sub-government. Increasingly the literature refers to the policy community, a reflection of the expanding number of actors in a policy field and the importance of transactions between the various actors. It is possible that a pressure group cannot be analyzed except within the context of its policy community. In a particularly complex policy field, attention to organizational structure might help explain a group's success or lack thereof. More detailed examination of group structure, definition of roles and decision-making procedures would help to explain how pressure groups can function successfully.

Without relating the internal organization to a particular environment, it is difficult to explore how an organization should adapt to that environment; i.e., how it should differentiate and what the subsequent need for integration should be. The field of public education, in which jurisdiction is shared by three levels of government, provides a quite different example of a policy

community. Further investigation of this field might lead pressure group theorists to re-examine some of the existing assumptions of pressure group behaviour.

The Special Case of Public Interest-Groups

Pross (1986) describes the difficulties with categorizing pressure groups according to their purpose, specifically whether they are material-benefit as opposed to public-interest groups (pp.127-129). First, he suggests, some groups may not be clearly one or the other, or may sometimes be one type and sometimes the other. Second, this kind of typology does not really explain pressure group behaviour.

Yet, at times, it is necessary to make the distinction between these two broad types of groups. Pross, himself, makes reference to public-interest groups, especially when talking about internal organization (pp.194-201). It is generally possible to differentiate groups "that tend to have a specific ulterior motive, such as economic security, from those [that] are bound together by normative ties that seek to advance a 'cause'" (Presthus, 1973, p.69). There is a basic difference in their motivation, whether or not groups of one kind include objectives of the other. By not distinguishing between them, the tendency is to over-generalize in explaining group behaviour.

Defining a Public-Interest Group

Berry (1977) defines a public-interest group as "one that seeks a collective good, the achievement of which will not selectively and materially benefit the membership or activists of the organization" (p.7).

He qualifies the definition in four separate points:

(a) When analyzing whether a group is a public- or private-interest organization, one must consider both the goods and the membership. Goods are not inherently collective. For example, if a group were organized to promote the abolition of capital punishment, it would normally be considered a collective good--unless the organization advocating it were made up of prisoners on death row (p.8).

(b) "If a public interest group pursues material goods, the benefits must not selectively reward its own members" (p.9). Berry uses the example of the Children's Foundation, whose middle-class members work for the benefit of children in poverty areas. He does not give examples in which members benefit along with others, but it is understood that as long as members do not have any particular advantage, they are still advocating a public good. Stanbury (1978) refers to Mancur Olson's explanation of public goods:

> (1) ...once they are created they are available to all and the consumption by one individual in no way reduces the amount available to others. Because of their 'jointness in supply' such goods are not divisible and appropriable by individuals; (2) ...no one can be excluded from the benefits of such goods (or it is uneconomic or socially unacceptable to do so). (p.178)

(c) Berry disqualifies as a public-interest group any organization that receives 20% or more of its funding from government,

stating that any higher percentage puts at risk their independence in choosing what issues a group will become involved in (p.9). (Berry admits that the percentage was arbitrarily chosen, and he provides no particular substantiation.)

(d) Finally, he suggests that private-interest groups sometimes advocate collective goods. Nevertheless, they should not be included as public interest groups because their main goal is private-interest lobbying (pp.9-10).

This point is further developed in a study by Fulton and Stanbury (1985) of lobbying strategies in health care policy in British Columbia. The British Columbia Health Association represents the hospitals and health care associations of the province and negotiates with the provincial government the best possible conditions, i.e., level of funding, for the health care sector. Because the association is not put in the position of negotiating the actual funding that each hospital or association receives, it is not perceived by the public as a private-interest group, although it does seek selective and material benefits for its member associations.

Sills (1957) analyzed an American association, the March of Dimes, with a view to determining how an organization's membership affected its fundamental character. He wanted to gain an understanding of the importance of organizational structure as the link between the top leadership and the membership. Three broad organizational problems for volunteer associations were identified: maintaining the interest of members, preserving organizational goals, and the recruiting of volunteers (pp.16-17). Although these concerns are

not exclusive to public-interest groups, the survival of such groups often depends on their resolution.

Berry (1977) discusses at length the question of how public interest groups get started and how they maintain their membership (pp.18-44). He cites Salisbury's exchange theory, which suggests that individuals join an association for the benefit they receive from it. Salisbury in turn draws on Clark and Wilson's theory of organizational incentives:

> Clark and Wilson conclude that there are three kinds of incentives that may be secured from organizations. Material incentives are those related to tangible goods such as jobs, taxes, and market opportunities. Solidary incentives are the rewards obtained from the socializing and friendships involved in actual group interaction. Purposive incentives are those benefits one receives from the pursuit of nondivisible goods. In other words, a purposive incentive is the ideological satisfaction associated with the organization's efforts to achieve any collective goods which do not benefit the members in any direct or tangible way. (Berry, 1977, p.21) (original emphasis)

According to Salisbury, organizations get started and are maintained by the existence of a strong leader who is able to convince members or potential members of the value of as many incentives as possible. Salisbury claims that his exchange theory is an alternative to the earlier, well-established disturbance theory of David Truman, who maintained that individuals organize to overcome disadvantageous forces that appear in the environment.

Berry carried out a study which led to the conclusion that private-interest groups were more often started as a result of a "disturbance" whereas public-interest groups generally originated because of a strong leader. He would like to see a broader theory that would incorporate both theories and "would interrelate all

significant correlates of interest group development, including non-entrepreneurial disturbances" (p.26). (He postulates that the existence of a strong leader or entrepreneur is itself a disturbance in the environment.) His tentative conclusion is that for public-interest groups "the quality of leadership may be more important than the quality of the cause or the strength of the disturbance" (p.26).

It is difficult to assess this conclusion in light of CPF's experience. In the initial stages of organization, both good leadership and a strong issue/cause seem to be necessary. Once the issue has been resolved, however, the group may have difficulty continuing without strong leadership. This is discussed further in chapter 5 of this study.

Pross (1986) lists five factors, not mutually exclusive, which might lead an individual to join a pressure group: selective inducements, the promise of collective benefits, socialization to a sense of civic responsibility, a strong sense of political efficacy, and institutional coercion (p.184). Coercion applies only to material-benefit groups such as unions or professional associations which require membership before an individual is allowed to work in a particular field. Such groups are often called inclusive associations. The other four factors can apply to both material-benefit and public-interest groups.

Selective inducements are a common tactic of material-benefit pressure groups. As mentioned earlier, lobbying was not necessarily the reason for which such groups were organized. The lobbying activities are more likely to be a "by-product" of a personal, instrumental incentive which attracts members (Presthus, 1973, p.73).

Public-interest groups, such as the Consumers' Association of Canada, use this tactic as well. Pross mentions the development of selective incentives along with four other strategies which groups use to "secure mandate", all of which are equally valid as strategies for increasing membership. Briefly summarized, they are: (a) pursuing issues that are limited enough to be resolvable through group action, (b) diversification of goals, (c) heightening the legitimacy of the group through external recognition and material support, and (d) decentralizing group organization along territorial or sectoral lines (1986, pp.193-194).

Financial Support

For public-interest groups, which by definition seek public goods, the very fact that lobbying does not selectively benefit the membership works against them. Thompson and Stanbury (1979) elaborate on this "free-rider" problem. If a public good is available to all once it is supplied, regardless of who asked for it, then those who do not support the effort to achieve the benefit in essence get a free ride. Unless some other factor is involved,

> large numbers of individuals who have interest in common and much to gain from a change in government policy, for example, consumers, tax payers, the victims of pollution, and so forth, will not be organized [to lobby for their interests]. (p.19) (original emphasis)

As a result, most public-interest groups are constantly engaged in a struggle for survival. Compounding the problem of lack of members is the fact that public-interest groups must often levy only a modest membership fee. Dues are kept low for two basic reasons. First, the

active members are donating a great deal of time and/or expertise. Second, as Pross (1986) suggests, is the question of trade-off:

> Dues ... reflect what the market will bear. In the case of many public-interest groups, they also reflect a trade-off between the need for funds and the desire for representativeness: it is better to impress government with 30,000 members, each paying $15, than to fix dues at $50 and attract only 8,000 members. (p.195)

There is also the consideration of wanting to reach the widest audience possible with the information the group has to offer.

Other sources of funding are: friends, governments, and sale of goods and services (p.194). There is no doubt that public-interest groups must attempt to secure donations from friends, whether they be individuals, corporations or foundations. This is sometimes a lucrative source of funds, but is very often time-consuming and futile, taking the volunteers and paid staff away from accomplishing the true objectives of the association. Sale of goods and services may also have the same result. A group is fortunate if fund-raising activities can at the same time contribute to its goals.[8]

In the final analysis, organizations often turn to government for funding. As previously mentioned, however, government funding calls into question the independence of an organization.

Dawson (1963) explains the dilemma of the Consumers' Association of Canada (CAC) in its early years. When the organization started, it was naively believed that all women in Canada would want to support it through a small fee, in return for having an advocate representing their interests. This turned out not to be the case. In addition to this, its consumer magazine was initially not very effective. Great debates ensued as to the wisdom

of accepting government funding.   Eventually a grant was accepted.

Dawson concludes:

> While there is no sign that this grant has in any way
> inhibited CAC independence, it is very difficult for any
> organization to take a determined stand against a body
> which provides a good sized proportion of its annual
> revenue. (p.117)

By the 1970s, about 40% of the CAC's budget came from government

and Canadian Consumer had become a successful magazine.

> For the $8 per annum CAC membership, an individual receives six
> issues per year - each of which has a newsstand price of $1.50.
> Therefore, the imputed price of belonging to CAC as an organiza-
> tion is minus $1 per year. (Thompson & Stanbury, 1979, p.19)
> (original emphasis)

Dawson, in her 1975 article, discusses the financial problems of

organizations operating at more than one level of government, and

repeats her belief that "the long-term viability and continued

influence of organizations in receipt of government money is open to

doubt"[9] (p.33).

Pross   (1986) also expresses concern about government financial

support of organizations, which he believes makes them "flabby,

vulnerable and manipulable"   (p.198). His conclusion seems to be

drawn from very few examples and from circumstances in which funds

are given specifically so that paid personnel can develop the

information and expertise to communicate with government. One example

is the Social Science Federation of Canada, which devotes the major

portion of its resources to lobbying federal departments and agencies

(pp.138-139).   Other groups have been given funds to make representa-

tions before regulatory bodies and inquiries. It is easy to see that

under such circumstances a group could be manipulated by the govern-

ment providing the funds. It is less obvious that government funds

used to pay the expenses of hundreds of volunteers spread throughout Canada could influence organizational decision-making. If anything, CPF is more democratic as a result of these funds because it allows equal representation from all provinces. One does not hear complaints that a clique from central Canada runs the organization.

As for the question of manipulation, an assumption has been made that government-funded groups must behave in a certain way in order to keep the goodwill of government. The relationship of the government agency to the pressure group and to the policy field should be closely examined. Some government agencies may take special pains not to be seen to influence public-interest groups. Furthermore, it would be worth comparing this problem with the legitimating process which affects the independence of private-interest groups. According to Pross (1986) institutionalized groups often compromise their positions in order to maintain their peaceful relations with government (pp.115-116), thus sacrificing short-term objectives for their long-term goals, or even sacrificing long-term goals in order to remain part of the government's inner circle.

One illustration is Barry's 1975 account of interest group behaviour during the Biafra affair in 1968. Institutionalized groups such as The Presbyterian Church of Canada, not achieving success through normal channels, used "issue-oriented" groups to muster the support of the public through the media. (p.133). One could conclude that co-optation by government is a concern of any pressure group, regardless of the means by which it is accomplished.

Another point worth considering is that the independence of a pressure group is often affected by Revenue Canada and its tax

rulings.   Groups with a charitable donation number have to pay close attention to their lobbying behaviour to avoid losing this status.

Pross seems to make the assumption that a group in receipt of government money cannot manage it properly.   If a group has responsible financial management, it need not over-extend itself because of an influx of funding.   Although it may be vulnerable because of the constant possiblility of withdrawal of funding, it may be able to live with that threat, content to do what it can within a limited life-span.   He suggests that government-subsidized pressure groups may "lose the habit of running a lean operation" (p.198). This seems a rather spurious argument, as any sufficient and secure source of funding will lead to that result. Professional associations, for example, often appear to have a great deal of fat in their organization   whereas government-funded public-interest groups are often run on a tight budget. Not only are funds limited but these groups usually have to account to government agencies for the spending of public funds.

Measuring Effectiveness

Perhaps one of the reasons that the analysis of pressure groups has not proceeded at a faster pace is the great difficulty in measuring their effectiveness.   Berry (1977), referring to the American system, acknowledges "the methodological difficulties to be encountered in trying to operationalize the concept of influence" (p.285).   Evaluation of Canadian pressure groups is presumably even

more difficult because so much decision-making is carried out behind closed doors.

Pross has performed a valuable service in pulling together the pressure group literature and providing a theoretical framework. It is curious, however, that the continuum remains exactly the same in the 1986 publication as when it was introduced in 1975, although other areas of his research have progressed in major ways. For example, he discusses at length how pressure groups act to increase their influence within a policy community but none of this behaviour is added to the typology of groups. Likewise, it is strange that other writers have not attempted to build on his theory. Perhaps, because pressure groups are so adaptive, it is too ambitious an undertaking to place them all within a single framework. As Pross states, "they tend to work within the framework established by government, rather than impose their own structures and procedures" (1986, p.108). He adds:

> The character of a specific group is determined in part by its internal resources, but also by the policy environment it attempts to influence, for its effectiveness as a pressure group will be governed by its ability to adapt to that environment. (p.109)

Since there will be as many variations as there are different environments, any theoretical framework encompassing all pressure groups must be very general indeed. It may therefore be necessary to examine particular pressure groups within their policy community and be content with determining only their relative strength.

Fulton and Stanbury (1985) compare the B.C. Medical Association and the B.C. Health Association. They do not entirely succeed, acknowledging along with all other writers the difficulties

of evaluation, but they do provide a useful set of outcomes for comparing the lobbying process of the two groups (Table 4, pp.292-293).

As far as the larger picture is concerned, further research is definitely needed if Pross' generalizations are to be supported or disproved. As new examples come forward, they must be tested against the generalizations. Other policy communities must be examined, in particular those to which Pross and other political theorists seem to have limited exposure. The following analysis of Canadian Parents for French has been undertaken with these conclusions in mind.

Notes to Chapter 2

1.   Although the terms are used interchangeably by many authors, it is significant to note that in the mind of the public the term "pressure group" is more pejorative. This view is illustrated by the following anecdote. The Consumers' Association of Canada in its early days considered itself an interest group, and resisted suggestions to increase contact with civil servants for fear it might become a "pressure group" (Dawson, 1963, p.100).

The term "lobbying" is also acknowledged by some observers to have a sinister connotation. Since it is a convenient and widely-recognized term, it is used in this study to describe the efforts of pressure groups.

2.   This is obviously not the case if a cabinet minister introduces a bill in order to generate discussion and reaction to its policy initiatives, as happened in Alberta with the proposed School Act, Bill 59, in 1987-88.

3.   Observations on the legislative process and access to government presumably apply equally to the federal and provincial levels of government. Whether this is always the case is debated later in this chapter.

4.   This might sound as though participatory democracy has arrived in Canada. Some writers are not as optimistic as Pross. Bryden (1982) discusses the increasing use of parliamentary committees and task forces as well as the relatively new practice of offering funding to disadvantaged groups so that they can participate more effectively in the system. He nevertheless concludes that, although the policy process has been opened up, its "elitist character" may remain. "Those whose resources are such that they are already the predominant outside influences" may have found new avenues to influence the system (p.262).

5.   CPF's efforts to see the establishment of a national clearing-house or resource centre are in the same vein as the more general recommendations of many scholars who believe there should be more national coordination of education (see Ivany & Manley-Casimir, 1981). One can only speculate that the reason the federal government has not pursued such a course of action is its tremendous cost in a period of fiscal restraint.

6. The original diagram in Pross' 1986 publication (p.120) is lacking the necessary shading for media-oriented levels of communication with government for institutionalized groups. The text makes it obvious that this is an inadvertant omission and that the figure should be identical to the figures in earlier articles (Pross, 1975, pp.14-15; 1984, pp.298-299).

7. The headquarters of many university organizations are in Ottawa, presumably because of the high federal involvement in the funding of university research. A number of educational organizations interested in interacting with the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada have located in Toronto where the CMEC has its headquarters.

8. CPF, for example, raises money through admission to events and sale of materials which promote the use of the French language, particularly of benefit to children.

9. This discussion becomes all the more meaningful in light of the CAC's current (1989) financial problems. The association has had to declare bankruptcy and take out a loan from the parent organization in the United States.

CHAPTER 3

Influencing Public Policy:
CPF at Work in its Policy Community

Canadian Parents for French was founded specifically for the purpose of carrying out national pressure group activities. The thirty parents who attended the founding conference in March 1977 were intent on two things: establishing a national association which would disseminate information to parents in communities across Canada, and pressuring governments and government agencies to provide further opportunities for learning French.[1] By making available information on research, successful programs and resource people, CPF would encourage parents to seek improved French programs from their local school boards. At the same time, the national body would direct its attention towards the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), the Secretary of State, the CBC, and the Government of Canada.

Specifically, the CMEC would be asked to: (a) establish a clearinghouse of information on curriculum and allocate federal-provincial funding to the development of French program curricula; (b) help make available French materials such as films and video-tapes, and establish a network of regional resources centres to distribute French materials; (c) consider teacher training needs

for core French and immersion teachers; (d) provide more specific direction to local school boards concerning the costs of French programs, and implement a more efficient system of grants.

The Secretary of State would be asked to allocate more federal-provincial funding to curriculum development, subsidize local French programs for parents who wished to learn French, and encourage and/or sponsor youth exchange programs. It was recommended that CBC radio and television provide French language learning programs and bilingual programs, use subtitles rather than dubbing for French programs, and explore how education programs could be transmitted to areas of the country without access to French television. The Government of Canada would be asked to allow personal income tax deductions for the expenses of children and their parents learning French.[2]

The executive committee that was established to carry out the initial work of the association would propose a budget and ways of seeking funds at the first national conference. The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (OCOL), which had sponsored the founding conference and the first newsletter, was asked to provide interim administrative support to CPF. The fledgling group would be looking to the Secretary of State for further help.

The tasks set before the provisional committee and the first national executive were wide-ranging and challenging. A part-time executive-secretary and a volunteer board of directors could hardly be expected to carry out these extensive lobbying activities, especially for an association that was new in the field. Most of the recommendations were not followed up in any formal way, partly

because of the uncertainty as to how to proceed and partly because information dissemination to local parents became the first priority of the National Board. Faced with a confusing and wide-spread policy field, CPF turned to the component of it which offered familiar access--the local school board.

The French Language Education Field

The complex nature of today's society would seem to suggest that many policy fields are vast and not necessarily clearly defined. Certainly, Official Languages in Education (O.L.E.) is an example of a wide-ranging policy community whose actions affect a large number of organizations and institutions and whose interests overlap with other areas.

In its broadest sense this policy area includes the following:

(a) federal government bodies--the Department of the Secretary of State (the lead agency and principal funding body), the regulating and planning bodies such as Treasury Board and the Cabinet Committee on Social Development, the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the Standing Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Official Languages, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (a secondary funding source), and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation;

(b) provincial and local government bodies--the Council of Ministers of Education, the ministries/departments of education and advanced education, and local school boards;

(c) community groups--Canadian Parents for French, the Canadian Home

and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, the Fédération des Francophones hors Québec (and the provincial components of these groups), Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada, Alliance Quebec, the Association canadienne de l'éducation de langue française, the Commission nationale des parents francophones, and the Fédération des jeunes canadiens-français;

(d) teacher organizations--the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion, the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers, the Ontario Modern Language Teachers' Association and counterparts in other provinces, the Canadian Association of University Teachers, the Association canadienne des formateurs des enseignants de français;

(e) other education bodies--the Canadian Education Association, the Canadian Association of School Administrators, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, the Canadian School Trustees' Association and provincial trustees' associations, the Association des commissaires d'école de langue française du Canada;

(f) academic bodies--journals such as the Canadian Modern Language Review, institutions such as the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; committees of the Social Science Federation of Canada, university departments of French, faculties of education;

(g) student exchange groups--the Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, and so on;

(g) groups in related fields--the Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism, Teachers of English as a Second Language, and many ethnic groups promoting the teaching of heritage languages.

Figure 4 illustrates this broad policy field, showing in a very general way the position of groups within the field. Specific mention of provincial groups has been made where they have more than provincial influence. For example, the Ontario Modern Language Teachers' Association until recently published the national modern languages journal and is nationally prominent as the voice of second language teachers. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and the Federation of Quebec Home and School Associations have both lobbied in the federal arena.

The O.L.E. policy community differs in a major way from others that have been discussed in the literature. Neither of the two major players who make up the sub-government as described by Pross (1986) have the jurisdictional authority to dominate the field. The Department of the Secretary of State (to be referred to as the Secretary of State) derives its power from its ability to fund; the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) is the collective voice of the ten provinces which individually have the authority for educational policy. The CMEC plays the role that a powerful pressure group might in another policy community. There is no evidence that other pressure groups dominate the field or are part of the sub-government.

Negotiations between the Secretary of State and the CMEC are a major part of the activity of the O.L.E. policy community. The following discussion relating to a specific period of intense negotiations, from 1979 to 1983, provides a specific example of how

Figure 4. Official Languages in Education Policy Community
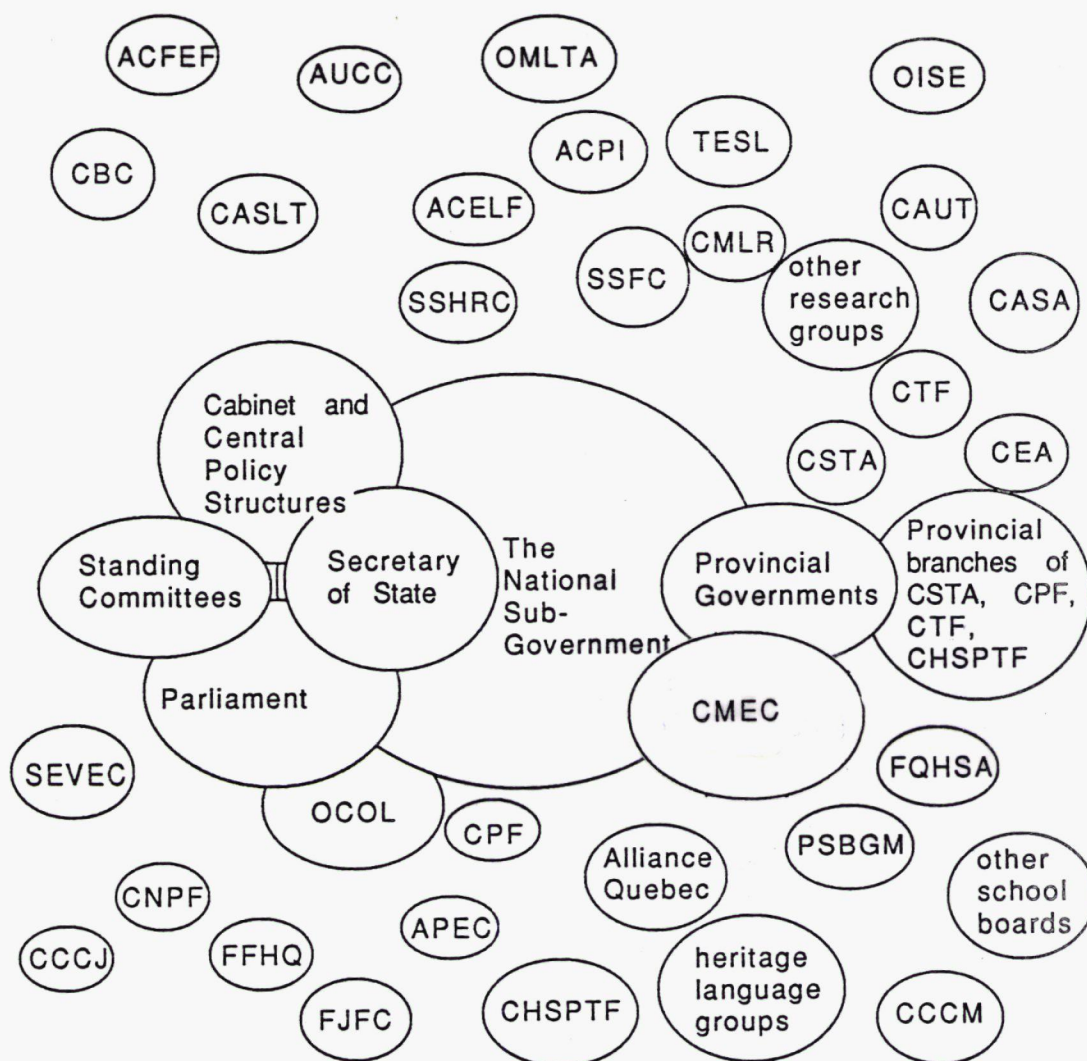
Legend: ACELF - Association canadienne de l'éducation de langue française; ACFEF - Association canadienne des formateurs des enseignants de français; ACPI - Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion; APEC - Alliance for the Preservation of English in Canada; AUCC - Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada; CASA - Canadian Association of School Administrators; CASLT - Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers; CAUT - Canadian Association of University Teachers; CCCJ - Canadian Council of Christians and Jews; CCCM - Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism; CEA - Canadian Education Association; CHSPTF - Canadian Home and School and Parent Teacher Federation; CMEC - Council of Ministers of Education, Canada; CMLR - Canadian Modern Language Review; CNPF - Commission nationale des parents francophones; CPF - Canadian Parents for French; CSTA - Canadian School Trustees' Association; CTF - Canadian Teachers' Federation; FFHQ - Fédération des Francophones hors Québec; FJFC - Fédération des jeunes français-canadiens; OCOL -Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages; OISE - Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; OMLTA - Ontario Modern Language Teachers' Association; PSBGM - Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal; FQHSA - Federation of Quebec Home and School Associations; SEVEC - Society for Educational Visits and Exchanges in Canada; SSFC - Social Science Federation of Canada; SSHRCC - Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada; TESL - Teachers of English as a Second Language.

the policy community operates and what CPF's role within it has become.

Federal-Provincial Negotiations: 1979 to 1983

Following the recommendation that the federal government contribute to the additional costs incurred by the provinces in improving the opportunities for minority French language education and French second language instruction (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1968), an agreement on federal-provincial programs was negotiated in 1970. It was renewed virtually intact in 1974. Rising education costs and the significant increase in minority and second language education sparked by the Secretary of State programs meant that the federal contribution had gone from $50 million in 1970-71 to $210 million in 1978-79.

By the time the second agreement expired in 1979, the federal government was engaged in a campaign of fiscal restraint, and, in spite of the high priority given to bilingualism, French language education would be one of the victims of the federal retrenchment. When the Secretary of State proposed to cut back on the funding for Bilingualism in Education (as the program was then called), the provinces rebelled, refusing to sign a new agreement. For four years, the Bilingualism in Education program operated through a series of retroactive interim agreements. In 1983, after prolonged negotiations and intensive lobbying, a satisfactory solution was reached. The previous long-term agreements which spelled out conditions for each province have been replaced by protocols of three

to five years' duration which serve as an umbrella for bilateral agreements with each of the provinces. The most recent protocol, announcing a $1.2 billion increase in funding, was signed in December 1988. At the time of writing, new bilateral agreements with the provinces had not yet been negotiated.

When the Bilingualism in Education program was created in 1970, the federal government devised a plan to transfer the bulk of the money through formula payments. The majority of the funding was tied to provincial program enrolment and provincial costs of education rather than to specific programs. Through various formula payments the federal government proposed to pay:

(a) 9% of the cost of educating each child enrolled full-time in French first language (English in Quebec) or French immersion education;

(b) 5% of the cost of second language instruction (the regular French classes in most provinces and English classes in Quebec);

(c) 10% of the operating grant for minority-language education provided by post-secondary institutions; and,

(d) administrative costs of 1.5%, based on the number of minority-language children in a province.

The federal government also provided non-formula funding: special projects carried out on a cost-shared basis; travel bursaries and fellowships for post-secondary students; teachers' bursaries; capital cost grants for language training centres; and assistance to teacher colleges. These non-formula payments were designed to encourage growth of programs in provinces which to that point had not offered much French language education.

Two additional programs, the Summer Language Bursary program for post-secondary students and the Second Language Monitor program (in which university students studying in their second language receive bursaries for helping in classrooms in their first language), are paid for by the federal government but administered by the CMEC. It is interesting to note that even the administration costs are covered by federal funds, but these particular endeavours are nonetheless looked upon as truly national programs in education, having tangible results which bring accolades to both levels of government.

The funding of bilingual exchanges during the school year is part of another vast Secretary of State program called Open House Canada, not directly related to the education system. It is included here, however, because some provinces use O.L.E. special project funding to match the federal government's half of the contribution from Open House Canada. In Ontario, these exchanges have become an integral part of the French program for many school boards.

In the early years the funding arrangements were reasonably well tolerated by the provinces despite the great disparity in allocations and the many anomalies which were allowed to occur. They became a real source of friction once funds became scarce. One major irritant was the formula payment to Quebec, which in the first ten years amounted to over half of the $1 billion transferred to the provinces. Although it is not admitted publicly, many observers suggest that the original intent of the funding was to bolster the teaching of French for the French language minority outside Quebec and for anglophones. Even the English minority in Quebec would have welcomed this opportunity to see their children's French improved.

Officially of course this would not have been possible because equal treatment of the francophones required that funding go to the teaching of their second language, and support of their official language minority.

Quebec, unlike the other provinces, had always provided adequately for its minority. The English have had their own school system and their own universities for the last century. Also, French students have been taught English on a much larger scale than was true for the learning of French in the other provinces. The size of the province and the extent of its English education and second language instruction meant, therefore, that Quebec was entitled to this large portion of formula funding, and it was considered unfair to penalize them for their good performance in the first seventy years of the century. The "incentive" funding for "additional costs" of offering minority and second language programs went into Quebec's general coffers to boost a struggling economy.

To a lesser extent, this was also the case in New Brunswick. By the time the federal government offered the grants, this province had two parallel education systems for French and English. Although it had a long way to go in the offering of French immersion programs, New Brunswick could argue that this was best accomplished by putting the incentive funding into the general operating fund. As a very poor province, it came to depend on the federal grants as a part of general education funding.

Ontario, by virtue of its large population and the extent of its French second language teaching has received the second largest portion of the federal funding. It has a large French minority,

which has not been particularly well-served by the provincial government in the past. But the large numbers guarantee substantial funding from the formula payments. In French second language instruction, the province has had the reputation of being a leader, partly through the efforts of the four Ottawa-Carleton school boards whose clientele included the children of federal civil servants, generally well aware of the need for bilingual education. They have led the way in immersion education and in research on bilingual programs. For many years Ottawa was the mecca of immersion ideology and practice in Canada. Being a rich province, Ontario has been able to devote the federal funds to increasing and improving the offering of French language programs, although its policies have often benefitted the well-situated school boards rather then the poorer, isolated regions of the province.

The rest of the provinces, rich or poor, have typically not taken their responsibility for offering French language education and instruction seriously. When the federal funding was made available, however, programs increased at a dramatic rate. Although receiving a small portion of the formula payments, these provinces took full advantage of the special projects and other non-formula funding. If the federal funds stopped, the French programs would suffer because of lack of commitment on the part of the provincial ministries of education.

The Secretary of State's announced ceiling on funding for the 1979-80 fiscal year put the entire program on a shaky footing. How were "emerging" provinces expected to support existing programs, let alone expand their offerings? However logical a solution, taking

funding away from Quebec was an impossibility. The provinces reacted bitterly, having had experience in other areas of education with the federal government luring them into expensive undertakings only to leave them with the eventual maintenance.[3] Moreover, the two levels of government were already engaged in a bitter struggle over the upcoming renegotiation in 1982 of the Established Programs Financing (EPF), which in addition to hospital insurance and medicare included post-secondary education. There was the thought, and even a suggestion by the Secretary of State, that the negotiation of a new O.L.E. agreement might be tied to post-secondary block funding.

That an agreement was reached at all can be attributed to two facts. Without an agreement the provinces collectively stood to lose approximately $200 million a year; the Secretary of State was risking its reputation in the bilingualism issue while spending millions through many other federal government programs to promote it within the civil service and the work world. The agreement, when it was eventually signed, reflected considerable compromise on both sides.

CPF's Role in the Negotiations

CPF's lobbying efforts in its first two years were aimed mainly at the local level, where organized groups of parents were pressuring school boards to implement French immersion programs. By 1979 local school board authorities were urging CPF to lobby the Secretary of State for a new long-term funding agreement. The current agreement was about to run out and rumours were rampant that the federal government intended to withdraw its funding. Those most hostile to

federal initiatives claimed that funding would disappear entirely; French coordinators and others responsible for the successful implementation of programs worried that support would be dropped for the established programs, which still could not survive without federal funding.

The Secretary of State was most often suggested as the target of CPF lobbying, not the provincial governments or the CMEC. In the Bilingualism in Education policy field, only the Secretary of State seemed to be accessible to interest groups and the attentive public. As CPF had already established access to Secretary of State officials regarding funding of the organization, the lines of communication seemed open. By 1980, the lack of a long-term agreement was seriously affecting policy-making at the local level. CPF initiated discussions with Secretary of State officials such as the Director General of the Bilingualism in Education program, the Assistant Under-Secretary of State, and the Minister's executive assistant. A formal letter in the form of a telex was sent to the Secretary of State. The telex, dated March 26, 1980, and the Minister's reply of May 12 were published in the CPF national newsletter ("Fox answers", 1980, p.5).

It became clear that decisions regarding the level of funding originated at a higher level and that Treasury Board should be lobbied as well. Instead of an anticipated meeting with the Chairman of Treasury Board, CPF delegates met with officials whose ministers sat on the Cabinet Committee on Social Development. It was this committee which apportioned funds to the government departments included within its "envelope". The Secretary of State was part of

the Social Development envelope, competing for funds with Employment and Immigration, Health and Welfare, and the Ministry of State for Multiculturalism, among others. At short notice in November of 1980, the Executive Secretary of CPF and the Vice-chairman, who was also the CPF Ontario Director, met consecutively with executive assistants to three cabinet ministers on the Social Development Committee as well as the Deputy Secretary for Transfer Programs, Ministry of State, Social Development.

The CPF position was that federal fiscal restraint was causing serious damage to French language programs just as numbers of children enrolled were increasing dramatically and as provinces were beginning to acknowledge the need and the demand for such programs. It was emphasized that the timing of federal retrenchment could not have been worse.

The various federal officials argued the need for accountability from the provinces and public acknowledgement of the source of the funding. They were also concerned about fiscal imbalance, the fact that "rich" provinces like Alberta and B.C. were grabbing up funds for their successful immersion programs, which meant depriving the poorer provinces. They wondered what to do about Quebec, which had received over the ten years more than half of the federal funds but which refused to account for how they were spent. They wanted, as well, proof that there was a great increase in programs.[4] By way of its annual registry of immersion programs, CPF could offer a quite accurate, up-to-date picture. CPF was also invited to suggest how the provinces could be persuaded to demonstrate additional costs and how a new agreement might be negotiated.

CPF was able to deal with this line of inquiry. The National Chairman had assumed responsibility for researching the question of bilingualism-in-education funding and was in the process of writing a major article for the CPF newsletter to be published in January 1981. The Executive Secretary had formerly worked as executive assistant to a federal cabinet minister and knew what was required by way of introduction, briefing notes and follow-up to meetings with politicians and officials. The Ontario Director had a thorough grasp of the problems that school boards encountered in Canada's largest and most influential anglophone province. Briefing notes prepared from the research that had been done allowed CPF's two representatives to display a confidence and conviction that might have been considered uncommon for a fledgling pressure group.

The information was made available to provincial branches as well. When the Secretary of State paid a visit to British Columbia, the BCPF executive was able to meet with him and reinforce the message that the officials in Ottawa had heard.

The funding article published in the national newsletter ("Funding", 1981, pp.3-6) presented the background of the funding arrangements, the details of programs and funding practices in each of the provinces, and the reasons for the current impasse between the two jurisdictions. The article reminded the governments that the Canadian people were being short-changed and that provision of good French programs was a shared responsibility that was not being met. CPF issued a news release on the article. Although not a hot news item, it was picked up by a number of newspapers in large and small communities in the West and the Maritimes.

The article was also attached to a brief (CPF, 1981, January) sent to the CMEC prior to a meeting of the ministers. The brief urged: the conclusion of an agreement between the two levels of government; a consultation process with school boards, parents and interested organizations; and a stronger role for the CMEC "in the implementation, reporting and evaluation of bilingualism in education programs". There was no early response to indicate that the brief had been discussed although in subsequent meetings between individual ministers and CPF directors mention was made of it. On May 11, the Chairman of the CMEC sent a letter of reply, inviting CPF representatives to a meeting with a committee of CMEC members (i.e., education ministers).

In anticipation of this meeting and further discussions with Secretary of State officials, a position paper addressed to both levels of government was developed in March 1981. In a sense, it was an attempt to mediate between the two jurisdictions by recognizing the sensitivities on both sides, asking for assurances that both parties would act in good faith, and proposing solutions for a funding agreement. Bilingualism in Education programs had by this time been operating for two years by means of interim agreements concluded three- quarters of the way through the fiscal year in question, creating problems for many school districts. CPF felt that it had the right to be somewhat persistent.

The meeting with the CMEC committee took place on June 15. The committee, consisting of five of the Ministers of Education, had responsibility for talking to non-governmental organizations. For its delegation CPF chose the Directors from the same provinces as

were represented on the CMEC's committee, as well as the National Chairman and the Executive Secretary. One Minister and one CPF Director were unable to be there, but the meeting room was crowded nonetheless. The Chairman of the CMEC, who was the Ontario Minister of Education, chaired the meeting. With her at the table were the Ontario Deputy Minister of Education and the three other Education Ministers. Behind them were seated a dozen or so individuals representing the provincial ministries and the CMEC staff. CPF had six representatives.

The March position paper had been sent to the CMEC in advance and, therefore, following initial remarks from the Chairmen of both organizations, there was a free flow of discussion. The Ministers pursued a tough line of questioning. Although lacking experience, the parents were able to hold their ground, being convinced that their position was entirely justified. In the final analysis, the provincial stand was that the Secretary of State had caused unnecessary problems and that the CMEC had no authority to act on behalf of the ministries of education.

The committee met the same day with representatives of another pressure group, l'Association canadienne de l'éducation de langue française (ACELF). ACELF had sent CPF a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, attached to which was a resolution passed by the ACELF executive. This was presumably the basis for their discussions with the CMEC as well. The resolution deplored the length of time the negotiations were taking, deplored the federal government's decision to place a ceiling on funding, and urged the

federal government to reconsider, keeping in mind the following points:

(a) the rights of the official language minority have precedence over right of access to second language instruction;

(b) given the provinces' responsibility to educate all their citizens, the federal government should pay only for additional costs of teaching in a minority situation;

(c) declining enrolment and rising costs mean that the federal government should increase its contribution to preserve the quality of existing programs.[5]

Their brief with the provincial governments, then, was that extra costs of minority language education should be identified and the basic costs borne by the province, and more attention should be paid to minority language rather than immersion education.

The position of two other organizations should be mentioned. Although not national in scope, the Federation of Quebec Home and School Associations and the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, as the spokesmen for the English-language minority, represent the other side of the official languages picture. Claiming that the English minority was not being well served by the funding received by Quebec, they were demanding that the province be required to report on the funds and that the funds go to the anglophone school boards to offset the costs of meeting the French language requirement imposed on them by Bill 101.

CPF continued to pressure the federal government throughout this period. The National Chairman, the Executive Secretary (as she was called at that time), and the Quebec Director met with the

Under-Secretary of State in February 1981. In September, subsequent
to a letter from the Secretary of State announcing only partial
agreement between the two parties for the 1980-81 fiscal year, the
National Chairman addressed a letter to the Chairman of the Social
Development Committee with copies to all other Ministers on the
Committee expressing the concerns of CPF. Replies were received
indicating support for the Secretary of State's initiatives, but this
support did not produce results for another two years.

The protocol for agreements was finally signed in December 1983,
four years after CPF began lobbying on the issue. Did CPF have any
impact on the negotiations? No official recognition was given by
either level of government. In informal discussions it was learned
that Secretary of State officials appreciated CPF's representation to
the Cabinet Committee on Social Development. CPF seemed to enjoy
greater status shortly thereafter. The organization began to receive
much larger grants to sustain its operations. The Minister began
appearing at national conferences. Communications with higher level
officials increased.

Because of its lack of jurisdiction over education, the
Secretary of State's sources of information were limited. CPF became
recognized as a valuable source of information. It could make
available information about provincial activities that federal
officials could not access without intruding into provincial
jurisdiction. As taxpayers, CPF members had a right to information
on how the provincial governments were spending the federal grants.
With a widespread network of interested taxpayers, the federal

government might be able to realize one of its aims, that of greater
accountability on the part of the provinces.[6]

For their part, the provincial ministers took note of CPF's lobbying efforts. The position was a balanced one, not favouring one side over the other, and the requests were reasonable. One particular Associate Deputy Minister who had not attended the June meeting at the CMEC reported that the committee had been impressed by the presentation and by the extent of CPF's information.

CPF played a role, then, in bringing to the attention of both levels of government the desire of the attentive public to have a long-term agreement signed and to see greater commitment from both sides. As for the terms of the agreement, one can only study the outcome and surmise whether there was influence. One of the strongest points in the CPF position was the need to treat provinces differently, not forcing them to conform to the same formula. It was a source of satisfaction to CPF to discover that the 1983 protocol was an umbrella arrangement paving the way for a bilateral agreement with each of the provinces, allowing for options that accommodated the most divergent of circumstances. The achievement of bilateral agreements was a breakthrough because it held the promise that one or two provinces would no longer hold up the overall agreement for the others.

In an attempt to mediate between the levels of government, the CPF position paper stated the following:

> Federal officials have not made clear how the provinces should justify receiving bilingualism-in-education funding. In the minds of provincial ministers and officials accountability conjurs up images of federal civil servants invading the departments of education, not only examining accounts in detail, but eventually telling the provinces what to do and how to do it.

On the other hand, to CPF accountability means a year-end statement to the federal government by each province, with supporting documentation available for public scrutiny. This should be all that is required by the Secretary of State to justify bilingualism-in-education funding to his cabinet colleagues and to parliament. If so, he should state it in clear and certain terms. (CPF, 1981, March, p.3-4)

In the protocol, the provinces agreed to make public the bilateral agreement each year, and publish an accounting of how the contributions had been spent. The way was now paved for CPF to be the watchdog at the provincial level.

Several other conditions considered necessary for successful negotiations were cited in the position paper, and may have received thoughtful attention from the negotiating parties. For example, the Secretary of State had been threatening to link the bilingualism-in-education funding to other transfer payments so that an increase for French programs would mean a reduction in post-secondary funding or medicare payments. CPF urgently sought him to reconsider and no further mention was made of this, in public at least.

A minor point from the position paper was taken up in the protocol. In previous agreements, formula grants were paid on the basis of the individual province's per pupil cost. CPF claimed that a form of equalization would be achieved, i.e., the poor provinces with a low per pupil cost would get a boost, if a national average cost were determined. There is no indication that this suggestion was made by any other group or individual, and yet this became the new mechanism for calculating per pupil costs in the protocol.

Other pressure groups as well had an influence on the agreement. In response to ACELF's request, greater attention has

been accorded minority language education, and it has been separated from French immersion in the terms of the agreement. There is also a new mechanism in the protocol for English school boards in Quebec to receive funding for offering French programs.

The years leading up to this first protocol were critical ones for all involved in French language education. The future of immersion programs and other French language learning opportunities was at stake. For CPF it was also an important opportunity to establish itself as a responsible pressure group representing the interests of its members.

Further Examples of Access

After the June 1981 meeting between CPF and the CMEC's Committee on Relations with Non-governmental Organizations, it was some time before regular contact was established. The Executive Director of CPF and the Director General of the CMEC met in December 1983, and then CPF delegations met with what was by that time called the Liaison Committee of the CMEC in July 1985 and September 1987. Discussions were general in nature, reviewing the concerns of CPF and what action the CMEC was taking in these particular areas. Various formalities were exchanged through correspondence during this period as well.

Meetings between CPF and Secretary of State officials have been more regular, and have generally required fewer formalities, albeit as much preparation. Discussions have included issues of concern to the whole policy community and also financial support to CPF in

particular. The CPF Executive Director, in an explanation of what the National Office does, described one such initiative.

> At the beginning of the month, CPF national officers met with Secretary of State officials to talk about our hopes for new arrangements when two important government programs --the Promotion of the Official Languages Program and the Official Languages in Education Program--are renewed in early 1988. Because these two programs affect not only the funding of French education in schools across Canada, and some extracurricular French activities such as summer camps, but also CPF activities both nationally and provincially, it was very important to prepare CPF's representatives fully with information about fundraising, time contributed by CPF volunteers, and CPF activities affecting the community at large across Canada, as well as providing them with statistics about membership, school enrolments etc. This kind of in-depth preparation is a very important function of our Executive Director and her staff. (Scott, 1987, December, p.8)

Prior to the funding issue, CPF had undertaken an important lobbying effort which has yet to be satifactorily resolved. It became evident as early as 1979 that CPF was coordinating on a national scale general information and research on French language learning. This was a strain on the resources of the fledgling group, and also an indication of the lack of leadership on the part of the federal government and the CMEC. CPF first approached OCOL with the idea of writing a guest article in the CPF newsletter about the need for a national clearinghouse of information on French language learning. The OCOL article (Sarkar, 1980, June, pp.1-2) deplored the lack of governmental action on a national resource centre, something which had been recommended by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism twelve years previously. The article, written by an OCOL staff member, urged CPF to work with allies in the field to present the case for a national clearinghouse to the federal government and the CMEC.

CPF prepared a brief, which was sent to both the Secretary of State and the CMEC. The logical body to sponsor a clearinghouse or resource centre was the CMEC, but it was not eager to spend the money required for such a vast undertaking. A cautious letter of acknowledgement was received from the Director General of the CMEC in January 1979. Had the Secretary of State wished to create an Office of Education, as has often been suggested in a number of educational circles, this would have been an appropriate pilot experiment. But a government intent upon fiscal restraint could scarcely make this move.

This particular lobbying effort is of interest because CPF joined forces with well-established organizations such as the Canadian Teachers' Federation, the Canadian School Trustees' Association, and ACELF. A proposal was developed under the umbrella of OCOL, and the Secretary of State funded a feasibility study. The CMEC has responded in a very modest way to the pressure by establishing an information bank of resources in existing centres. Nothing has yet been done about the coordination of developmental projects and research, a necessary function of a national centre. CPF continues to be used as a source of information on the subject of French language teaching, and continues to urge the two levels of government to provide greater leadership in policy development.

In the past several years, CPF has diversified its approach to the federal government. Briefs, often supported by personal appearances, have been presented to the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages, the Special Joint Committee on the Constitutional Accord, the committee stage of the Official Languages Bill, the

Senate Committee on Youth and the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission.

Gaining Recognition From the Policy Community

The annual report of the Commissioner of Official Languages, which provides Parliament with thorough documentation on French second language education, makes frequent mention of CPF. The following is an excerpt from the 1987 report:

> For anyone involved in official languages education in Canada, references to Canadian Parents for French (CPF) throughout this section will come as no surprise. From a group of 30 founders who got together in 1977 to exchange up-to-date information on all aspects of French as a second language (FSL) and youth exchanges, CPF has expanded to become a more than 17,000 strong national association with local chapters in almost every part of the country. Its reputation in the second-language field is such that CPF has been regularly consulted by the federal government and the Standing Joint Committee on such matters as revising the Official Languages Act and the review and adjustment of the Official Languages in Education Program. (Commissioner of Official Languages, 1987, p.189)

As a creature of Parliament, OCOL is unable to support CPF financially although it gave CPF its start with the founding conference and first newletter. Moral support has always been gratefully received, however, particularly in the early days when the future of CPF was so uncertain.

Secretary of State officials, too, have shown public support for CPF. At the first few conferences the Director General of the Language Programs Branch brought messages from the Minister. It was considered a breakthrough in 1981 when the Minister himself addressed CPF at the national conference in Vancouver. Since then the minister

or deputy minister has appeared at a number of the annual conferences.[7]

Public acknowledgement of CPF's efforts by the CMEC is difficult to obtain because the CMEC must speak for all the provinces. Some provinces show support for CPF, include CPF members on committees, use its publications as part of their information to the public, and actually use CPF members to promote immersion in new communities. But this is not the case in all provinces. One of the major challenges facing CPF is increasing recognition of the organization at the provincial level.

From the beginning, the strongest supporters of CPF nationally and locally have been the second language educators and researchers. Nationally-recognized authorities, as well as local administrators and teachers, have given workshops at CPF conferences and written articles for its publications. They have given CPF legitimacy in the eyes of its members and the government too. No one questions the quality of information that the national organization provides for its chapters. The educators in turn reap benefits from the relationship as CPF is able to provide support for their efforts. CPF's first national conference was held in conjunction with the founding conference of the Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion (ACPI) and the tenth anniversary conferences of the two associations in 1986 were a joint celebration, with a show of mutual support.

CPF has reached out to the university community in an effort to see improved teacher education and increased opportunities for immersion graduates to continue their studies in French. A series of

conferences on post-secondary education was held from 1983 to 1985 in the various regions of Canada in order to raise awareness of the needs resulting from improved French programs in the school system.

Other projects, benefitting not just members' children but the community at large, reach many parents who are not CPF members. The Festival national d'art oratoire is the best national example but there are thousands of local examples in the form of contests, summer camps and extracurricular activities.

CPF has made a conscious effort to increase its members' sensitivity towards the francophone community. Cooperation is not necessarily easily accomplished since the two groups are often competing for the same attention and resources. Rapprochement is more successful in some communities than in others, but on a national scale CPF and the Fédération des Francophones hors Québec (FFHQ) have exchanged public statements of support.

The media and therefore the general public have been a challenge in the organization's search for recognition. Even as a fledgling group, CPF had a certain access to politicians and civil servants, and there was never the inclination to act as a protest group and embarrass the government. A proactive style of operations is not particularly newsworthy. Press releases on the topics of conferences, book launchings, even the funding issue resulted in some coverage--short newspaper articles, radio interviews, and, less often, television interviews. The francophone press, eager for news on the promotion of the French language, gave more play to the issues and to the organization. Bilingual CPF leaders, of whom there were few, received more than their share of air time.

As it became a mature group, CPF was able to devote more attention to publicity and public relations. Feature articles on CPF appeared in major Canadian magazines. In 1984, CPF received funding from the Secretary of State to commission a national Gallup poll involving a representative sample of over 3,000 English-speaking Canadians. The findings--68% wanted children to become bilingual within the school system and 60% of parents favourable to French in the schools would choose immersion if it were available--were dramatic enough to attract media attention. CPF then undertook a publicity campaign which included advertisements on buses, in newspapers and on T.V. in order to increase its membership and inform parents of the possibilities for their children and where they could obtain further information. Whether or not this campaign had an influence on the decision-making of many parents has not been established. It did not result in many inquiries for information from the national office or in any significant increase in membership.

In 1986 the Secretary of State hired consultants to evaluate its O.L.E. program. OCOL drew the following conclusion from the consultants' report:

> It is clear from reading the report that money is not the only need. The context of federal-provincial negotiation has not always led to well co-ordinated educational planning. Key problems have now been identified, but they still have to be fully addressed. Interested parties should insist that governments use the present more enlightened climate to break out of the band-aid mould and design an OLE strategy for a new decade and a new century. The potential crises which this report describes demand more than periodic financial finagling; they call for a full-scale and continuing effort of projection and adjustment. A renegotiated agreement that disregards that need would seriously miss the boat. (Beaty, 1987, p.24)

This call for stronger leadership from the major players is indicative of the rather unusual nature of this particular policy community. CPF's success can in part be attributed to the fact that it answered an unmet need by disseminating information on French language learning and coordinating major undertakings to improve French language learning opportunities.

As a result of the above report, the Secretary of State has begun the practice of bringing together representatives from a number of pressure groups to discuss strategies for the future of the O.L.E. program. Interested observers hoped that this initiative would be matched by increased leadership from the CMEC. This has yet to happen, and yet, until it does, there is not much hope for a more effective national policy community. In the meantime, CPF provincial branches continue to lobby for national action by providing input to their minister of education regarding the role of the CMEC.

Lobbying at the Provincial Level

Provincial governments are a focus of attention for CPF and other O.L.E. pressure groups, not only to promote national action but for the more important purpose of extracting a greater commitment from this level of government. Progress in offering successful French language programs does not become a reality unless the provincial government coordinates the efforts of the school boards and contributes human as well as financial resources to curriculum and professional development.

As was evidenced by the protracted discussions on the funding agreement, the provinces guard vigourously their jurisdiction over educational matters. Each province has developed its own system for delivering French language education to its citizens. There are differences in the historical provision of French programs, the amount of authority passed on to school boards, how and when programs are funded, services provided directly by the province, coordination and dissemination of information, responsibility for teacher training, and certification requirements, not to mention differences in the general attitude towards French education and the federal initiatives in this field. At one end of the continuum, there are provinces which put the federal funds in their general coffers and declare in only general terms that they are being spent on the additional costs of providing minority and second language education; at the other end of the scale there are provinces which pass on the bulk of the funding directly to the school boards and provide a public accounting of all federal grants. The majority are in middle, responding reluctantly to the federal government's request for accountability.

The fact that the federal government now signs bilateral agreements with the provinces means that the individual education ministers must assume greater responsibility for funding decisions than was true when the provinces acted collectively. This opens the door for more active lobbying by the CPF provincial branch if it is able to find a member interested in studying the provincial documents and preparing briefs. In some provinces access to ministry officials

is greater than in others, but on the whole none of the branches carry out provincial lobbying to the extent that they could.

Other issues besides funding can be taken up with ministry officials. Teacher training and retraining, professional development, curriculum development, and student assessment are all areas of provincial concern that affect the offering of French programs. They are discussed in greater detail in the following chapter on national and provincial organizational structure. Pressure group activities carried out at the local level are examined in chapter 5.

Notes to Chapter 3

1.   The   goals,   intentions   and   recommendations   of   the   Parents
Conference   on   French   Language   and   Exchange   Opportunities   are   fully
laid   out   in   CPF's   first   newsletter,   <u>Canadian   Parents   for   French</u>,   <u>1</u>,
June   1977.   This   account   is   a   summary   of   the   recommendations.

2.   At   the   first   national   conference   in   October,   it   was   further
recommended   that   the   federal   government   be   asked   to   reduce   domestic
airfares   "in   an   appropriate   way   so   as   to   facilitate   travel   within
Canada   for   exchange   visits   and   other   purposes   related   to   [CPF's]
objectives   (<u>Canadian   Parents   for   French</u>,   <u>2</u>,   January   1978,   p.3).

3.   One   example   is   the   financial   encouragement   offered   the   provinces
to   build   expensive   vocational   education   centres   only   to   have   the
federal   government   withdraw   the   funding   needed   to   maintain   them.

4.   Statistics   Canada   figures   were   always   a   year   behind   the   time   and
1979-80   had   seen   a   great   jump   in   immersion   enrolment.   Moreover,   for
reasons   too   lengthy   to   describe   here,   the   figures   were   incomplete.

5.   These   points   were   translated   and   summarized   from   a   portion   of
the   minutes   of   an   ACELF   executive   meeting   held   April   24   to   26,   1981.
They   were   attached   to   the   May   13,   1981   letter   addressed   to   the
Honourable   Francis   Fox,   which   was   copied   to   CPF   by   ACELF.

6.   To   repeat   the   point   made   above   (#4),   CPF's   informal   information-
gathering   produced   more   accurate   and   up-to-date   statistics   than
bureaucratic   organizations   like   Statistics   Canada   could   deliver.

7.   Part   of   the   recognition   that   CPF   has   sought   has   been   financial
support   in   the   form   of   grants   for   projects   and   operational   purposes.
It   took   CPF   four   years   to   convince   the   Secretary   of   State   that   "core
funding",   i.e.,   annual   funding   of   the   organizational   infrastructure,
was   the   only   possible   solution   if   CPF   was   to   exist   as   a   national
group.   Although   the   federal   government   had   hoped   to   see   CPF   become
an   independent   group   supported   by   hundreds   of   thousands   of   members,
it   came   to   recognize   that   the   measure   of   public   support   for   the
organization   is   not   in   actual   memberships   but   in   the   number   of
communities   that   CPF   has   reached   and   the   vast   increase   in   enrolment
in   French   programs.   CPF   is   legitimized   by   the   activity   of   the   many
local   volunteers,   and   thus   the   Secretary   of   State   is   legitimized   by
CPF   as   a   pressure   group.

CHAPTER 4

CPF's Organizational Structure

Canadian Parents for French is a three-tiered organization which provides for automatic membership in all three levels once the membership is processed by the National Office. A significant feature of CPF is that the three levels of operation are essentially free to carry out the activities they deem necessary as long as they are acting in the best interests of the association as a whole. The by-laws, rules and regulations, procedures and other policies are clearly laid out in a board manual. Its explicit nature is more liberating than inhibiting; it sets the limits but allows freedom to act within them.

The National Organization

The current structure of the national organization is represented in Figure 5. The board of directors comprises twelve directors, each elected by the members of their own province or territory, as well as a president and vice-president, elected by the members at large. The officers of the association are the president, the vice-president, the executive director and the treasurer,

```
┌─────────────────┐              ┌─────────────────┐
│   EXECUTIVE     │              │   NATIONAL      │
│   COMMITTEE     │              │   OFFICE        │
└─────────────────┘              └─────────────────┘

                    OFFICERS
                    President
                    Vice-President
                    Executive Director          Festival
                    Treasurer                   Coordinator


        ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
        │   NATIONAL  BOARD  OF  DIRECTORS         │
        │                                          │
        │   President        Vice-President        │
        │   12  provincial/territorial  directors  │
        └─────────────────────────────────────────┘


                        COMMITTEES

┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Constitution │      │ Personnel    │      │ Conference   │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘

┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Finance      │      │ PR/Publicity │      │ Resolutions  │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘      └──────────────┘

┌──────────────┐      Immersion   Newsletter
│ Membership   │      Registry    Editor
└──────────────┘      Editor

┌──────────────┐      ┌──────────────┐
│ Nominations  │      │ Publications │
└──────────────┘      └──────────────┘
```
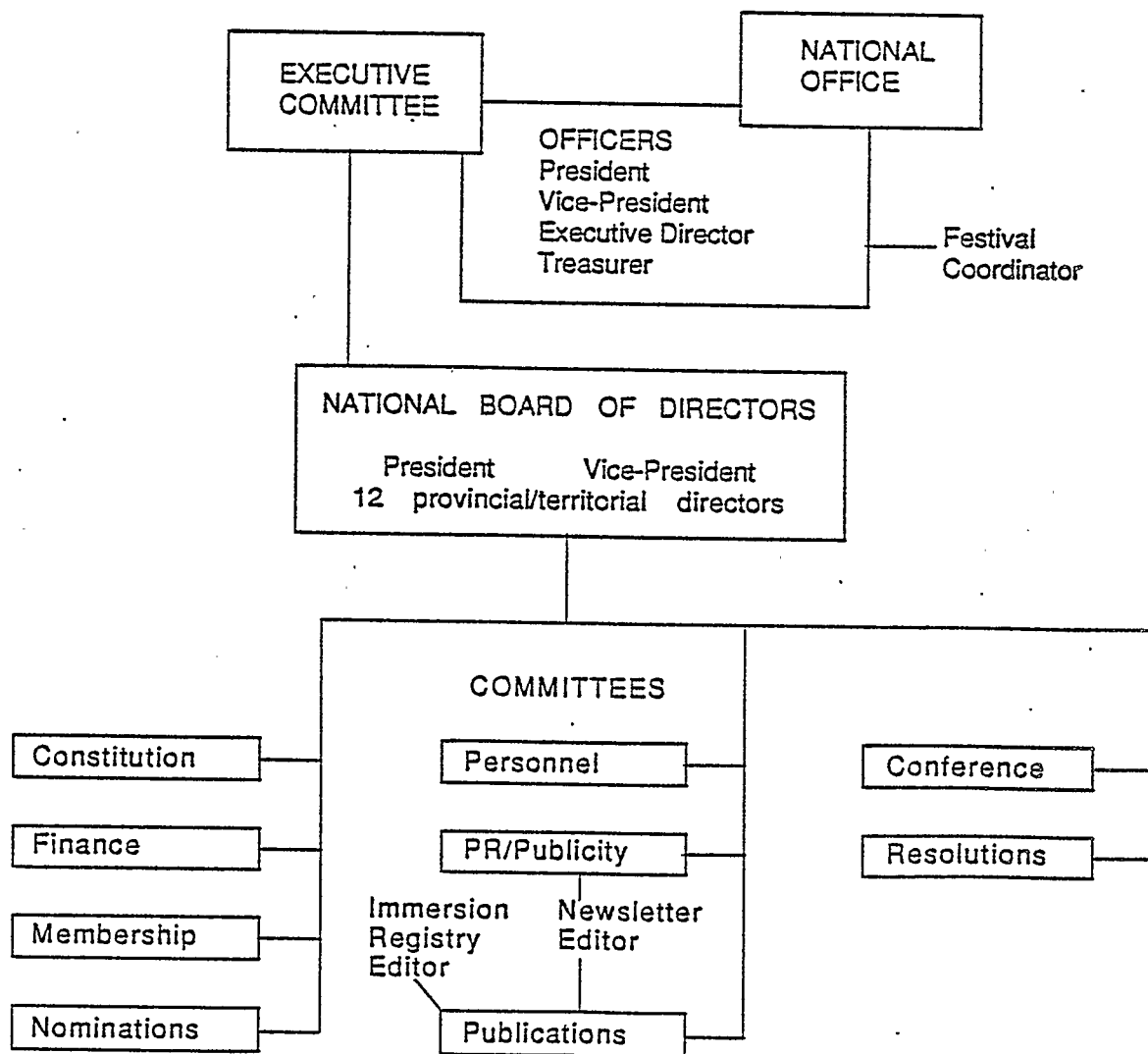
Figure 5. Canadian Parents for French National Structure

the latter two appointed by the board of directors following the
annual meeting.[1]

The decision-making of the board of directors, which normally meets three times a year, is supported by a committee system. The executive committee consists of the president, vice-president and four directors or other officers. It meets between meetings of the board to facilitate its work. There are eight standing committees, composed of both directors and members-at-large drawn from the various provincial and territorial organizations. They meet when required and/or when the opportunity presents itself, such as at conference time, but much of their work is carried out by correspondence and telephone. Two additional committees are considered to be ad hoc. The conference committee is appointed annually and draws on members of the community where the national conference is to be held. The resolutions committee screens and coordinates resolutions to be presented at the annual meeting.

The National Office in Ottawa is staffed by the Executive Director, the Treasurer who also serves as bookkeeper, an administrative assistant, a publications assistant, a secretary/receptionist, and a membership clerk/typist. The editors of the newsletter and the immersion registry and the coordinator of the national oratory festival are employed on a contract basis. The staff reports to the board of directors; it is responsible for the coordination of national projects and programs as well as liaison with the federal government and other national organizations. A description of the National Office was written for the June 1986 issue of the national newsletter ("CPF National", 1986, p.4).

All memberships are processed by the National Office. Full (family or individual) members currently pay $15 per year or $40 for three years. They are entitled to newsletter mailings and are eligible for sponsorship at national and provincial conferences. The membership is determined by an address. Names of individual family members (18 years or older) must be on record in the National Office if voting privileges are to be extended to more than one person in the family. Membership totals are also calculated on this basis. Thus, CPF currently has approximately 13,000 memberships but 18,000 members. Half of the membership fee is returned to the provincial branch. Whether it is further divided among the local chapters or spent on their behalf by the provincial organization is determined provincially.

The Associate Membership for Organizations (AMO) is a category intended to promote cooperation and exchange of information between groups, whether national, provincial or local. Fifteen copies of newsletters and other mailings are sent to one central address. If the AMO requests provincial mailings, half of the $75 annual membership fee is returned to the provincial organization. AMOs are not eligible for conference sponsorship nor do they have voting privileges. Some educators and other professionals, however, take out a membership in their own right as well as for their organization.

Financing of CPF's organization and activities is of course a constant preoccupation of the National Office. Membership fees make up only a minor portion (10% in 1988) of the annual budget. To

decrease reliance on federal government funding, fundraising has become an important activity. The National Office has a tax exemption number and issues official receipts for donations. Members are encouraged to make a donation when they send in their membership fee. A donation of $40 entitles them to "patron" status and recognition in the national newsletter. A special Christmas campaign has also been instigated to increase the number of member donations. Several corporations and foundations have made donations to CPF over the years, and occasionally services are donated. For example, Air Canada has offered a number of free flights to help CPF cover the costs of travel to meetings of the National Board. CPF is also participating in the Bank of Montreal MasterCard fundraising plan in which 0.25 percent of money from purchases made with a special card is paid to CPF.

General donations by members, foundations and corporations in 1988 amounted to 5% of the national budget. A special donation by a large Montreal-based foundation, earmarked specifically for the Rendez-vous Canada youth conferences, accounted for a further 13% of the budget.

With the amount of criticism that public-interest groups receive for their reliance on government, the opportunity must be taken at this point to indicate the effect that charitable donations can have on organizations of this type. If a foundation or corporation is willing to donate funds only for a certain activity, the tendency is for the board of directors to promote this activity whether or not it is a high priority with the provincial branches and the membership in

general.   In   the case of CPF, the youth conference series might not
have   assumed   such   high   priority   had   the   donation   not been tied
directly to it.

Satisfying   the   requirements of Revenue Canada in order to main-
tain   charitable   status is also a concern.   CPF has had to abandon its
original   goals (see page 8) in favour of a less specific statement in
order   not   to be seen to be promoting "culture".   The new goal of CPF
is   "to provide educational opportunities for young Canadians to learn
and   use the French language"· (CPF, Board Manual, p.1).   The original
goals   with   some slight changes in wording have become mission state-
ments, or, in other words, the unofficial goals of CPF.[2]

Other   sources of income include sales, conference registrations,
and   bank interest, which together accounted for almost 8% of the 1988
CPF   national   budget.   Secretary   of   State funding, when all these
lesser   percentages are added up, amounted to 64% of the budget of the
national   organization.   The uses to which this funding is put become
evident in the remainder of this chapter.

Organized for Action

The   structure   of the national association allows CPF to respond
quickly   to   events   and take political action.   Board meetings, which
are   infrequent,   are   by   necessity   lengthy affairs, but most of the
policy   discussion   centers   on   issues   that concern the future well-
being   of   the   provincial   and   local   chapters   in   an immediate and
tangible   way.   The national organization for the most part exists to
serve   the   needs of the chapters.   Government and public relations on

a national level are mainly the responsibility of the national officers. It is not necessary for action of this nature to receive the prior approval of the Board although there may be times when it is wise to seek it.

The membership has its say at annual meetings, at which time voting on resolutions is a major event. Resolutions rarely prohibit action, however. They are usually statements of principle or intent which direct the Board to write a letter, organize a committee, publicly affirm ..., and so on. In addition to providing a forum to determine the concerns of the members, resolutions allow the opportunity to air provincial differences and reach compromises. Because every part of Canada is represented on the national board and members from Victoria to St. John's have held the positions of president and vice-president, CPF does not suffer from the sense of alienation that affects many national volunteer groups.

Goal displacement has not appeared to be a problem of the national organization, either on the part of staff or elected leaders. The turnover rate for elected leaders is about every two years, and the senior staff person, who has held the group together since its third year of operations, for the most part acts in a supporting role to the elected officers. Actions with regard to the policy community are generally appropriate. The bureaucratic demands of government are met when necessary, but flexibility is maintained where possible. The following is a quote from the current President of CPF in the keynote speech at the 11th National Conference, when she was Vice-President:

> CPF is a national organization of skilled, committed individuals who work together through a comprehensive communications network and a clearly defined organizational structure to create for all Canadian children the opportunity to become bilingual in their country's two official languages.

The report of her speech goes on to say,

> CPF is communication. "We talk to people. We talk to parents, teachers, trustees, governments, researchers and other organizations whose mandates touch ours," Ms. Manzer said, adding that we learn to communicate in the manner most appropriate to the message and the situation through casual conversation, briefs to official bodies, speeches and media interviews. We communicate through advertisements, bumper stickers, articles and especially through our own impressive array of publications. ("CPF is", 1987, p.3, 7)

Relationship With the Provincial Branches

Even though the staff is concerned for the most part with national activities, communication with the provincial organizations takes place on a regular basis. Provinces receive their membership lists and their portion of the membership fee from the National Office. Although the quarterly newsletter is mailed directly to members and individual book orders are handled by the National Office, bulk shipments of these and other publications for promotional purposes are sent by national to the provincial offices. Conference delegates for the most part are sponsored by the national organization, but chosen by the province.

Information is also required from the provinces. The provincial branch compiles the local and provincial statistics on the number of volunteer hours worked each year and the amount of fundraising carried out. These figures are reported to the Secretary of State

when the national organization submits its request for funding. The registry of immersion programs which has been published annually since 1980 requires details of every immersion school in Canada. Again, it is the provincial organization which must coordinate this information-gathering. Finally, the national organization on occasion taps the opinions of its members by asking the provincial boards of directors to discuss selected issues and report the results to the national board.

CPF's Treasurer and Bookkeeper, who has held the two positions since the founding of CPF, encourages the practice of responsible financial management through strict budgetting and guidelines for spending and reporting. The provincial branches have been provided with a treasurer's handbook as well as training sessions for provincial treasurers at the time of the national conference.

Provincial Structure

As the discussion in chapter 3 indicates, the organization of provincial chapters was not one of the priorities of the founders of CPF. Each province was represented by a director to the national board.[3] As the original selection was rather haphazard, there was no guarantee that a particular director was capable of creating a provincial organization, yet it was left to the ability and desire of this one individual to do so.

In some provinces the director began immediately to develop a team which then allowed the provincial group to incorporate, establish a board of directors, publish provincial newsletters, hold

provincial conferences, develop a political presence and, above all, recruit and train members. In other provinces the director acted like a public relations agent for the national association: information dissemination consisted largely of distribution of national publications and the attendence of a few members at the national conference; the director decided what activities would be carried out and recruited people to work on these activities; local groups often carried out projects independently, with or without CPF affiliation; and, most important, the information flow between provincial members and the national association was controlled by the director. (Interestingly enough, in the early days most directors tended to guard their autonomy over provincial activities and for many years resisted efforts to increase provincial effectiveness by creating an organizational network of internal information.)

When, in 1982, the Department of the Secretary of State began funding the provincial branches directly, through negotiation between these CPF groups and the regional offices of the Department, a new dimension was added to provincial activity. With the ability to rent office space and hire staff, the well-organized branches became even stronger; for some provincial groups it was a new opportunity to create a solid organization; the fortunes of other provinces continued to ebb and flow depending on the skills and interests of the incumbent director.

This general description indicates the factors which have contributed to the development of provincial branches, and is not intended to compare provincial organizations. To give as complete a picture as is feasible of the provincial role, the activities of one

provincial branch have been documented. Canadian Parents for French--British Columbia Branch (BCPF) was chosen for this purpose, partly because of the author's familiarity with it and partly because it has statistically been the most successful. It has consistently been the province with the largest membership and has registered the most volunteer hours. And, the growth of French immersion in British Columbia in terms of numbers of students and participating school boards has been impressive. (One must keep in mind, though, that the B.C. government has been among the most open to the immersion movement and to parent lobbying. Federal grants have been used creatively to enhance the growth of immersion. Also, the concentration of school boards in the lower mainland area facilitated the development of an active provincial branch. Other provinces have perhaps faced greater challenges.)

The British Columbia Branch

By the time BCPF was incorporated in September 1978, one year after CPF's first national conference, two provincial newsletters had been produced, a regional conference had been held with the help of provincial funding, and liaison had been established with the Ministry of Education and the regional office of the Secretary of State. Responsibility for the decision-making and workload was shared from the beginning, which allowed a nucleus of volunteers to begin organizing an effective chapter. BCPF was the first provincial chapter to have office space and hire a staff person as well as to

divide the responsibilities of the director so that a second person was elected president of the provincial organization.

Figure 6 presents an organizational chart of BCPF. The volunteer board of directors consists of the president, vice-president, secretary-treasurer, past-president, French language programs liaison, francophone liaison, membership chairman, public relations/publicity officer, publications chairman, cultural coordinator, and director to the national board. In addition to directing the activities of the provincial organization, chairing meetings of the Board, and overseeing the operations of the office and staff, the president acts as alternate director to the national board. Of particular note are the positions of: French language programs liaison, representing BCPF on Ministry of Education committees; francophone liaison, requiring a bilingual person to represent BCPF at francophone meetings and functions and maintain communication between BCPF and the francophone community; and cultural coordinator, having responsibility for cultural activities and resources including student exchanges.

The term of office of a board member is two years with the possibility of reelection for two more years. Elections, held at the annual general meeting, are staggered so that continuity is ensured. All board members chair or sit on a number of provincial committees. As of September 1988, the following committees were operating or under discussion: executive, constitution, finance, and nominating (standing committees); secondary, post secondary, publicity/public relations, publication/provincial profile, personnel, office relocation, federal/provincial agreement (ad hoc committees).

PROVINCIAL OFFICE

Administrative Secretary
Chapter Relations Officer

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President

Vice President

Director to he National Board

Secretary-Treasurer

PR/Publicity Officer

Membership Chairman

Culture Coordinator

Francophone Liaison

Past President

French Language Programs Liasion

Youth Conference Coordinator

Concours d'art oratoire Coordinator

Family Camps Coordinator

Personnel

Federal-Provincial Committee

Finance

PR/Publicity

Publications/ Provincial Profile

Constitution

Nominating

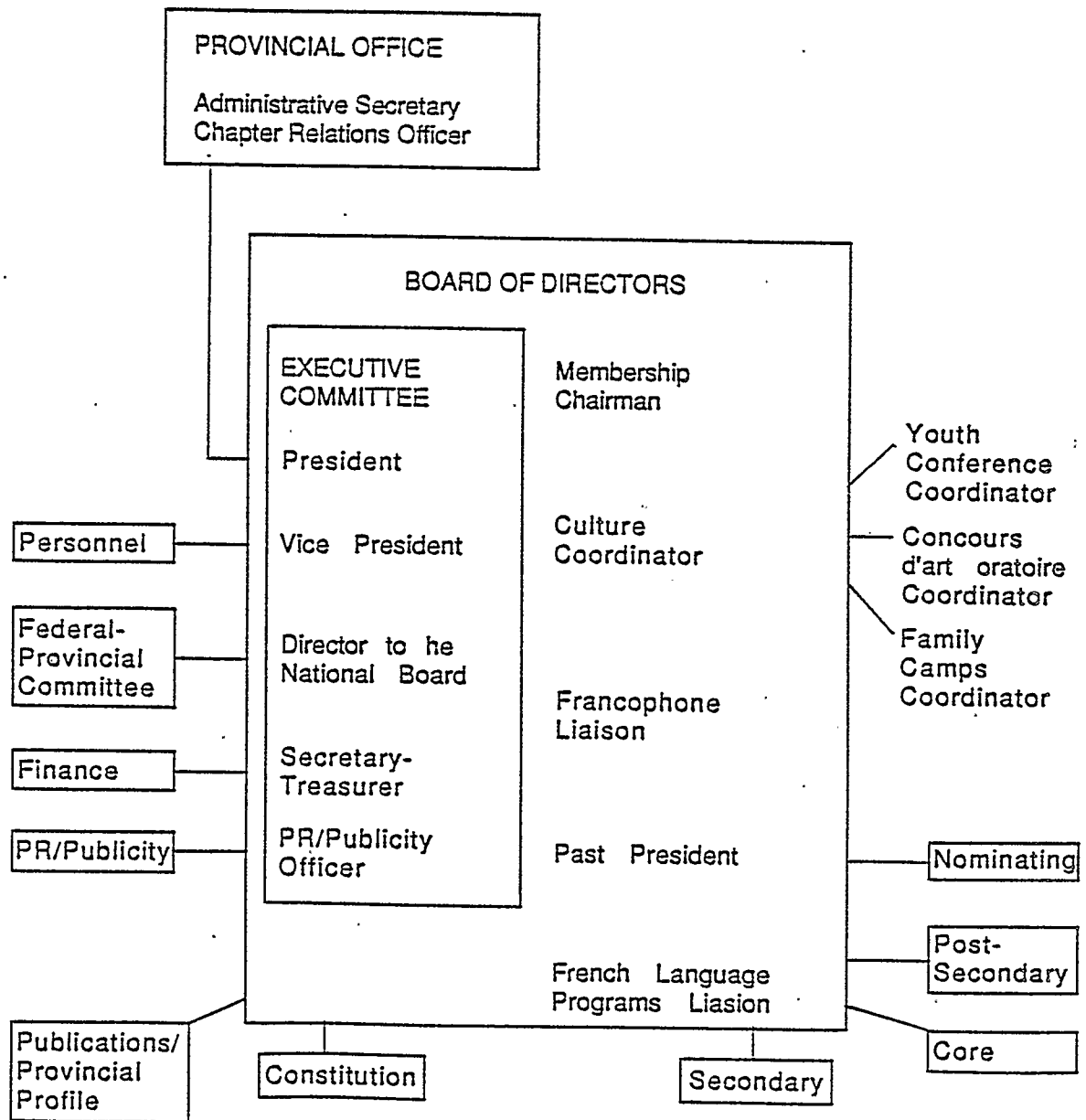Post-Secondary

Core

Secondary

Figure 6. The Organizational Structure of Canadian Parents
for French--British Columbia Branch

To facilitate the work of the volunteers, BCPF has created two paid positions. The administrative secretary, who reports directly to the president, is responsible for running the office and assisting board members. She works 35 hours a week.

The chapter relations officer (C.R.O.) answers the needs of the local chapters. Currently there are chapters organized in 45 of B.C.'s 75 school districts. Requests from the chapters are varied. The C.R.O.'s duties might include sending information, solving problems, speaking at meetings, help in writing briefs, and other types of assistance in dealing with the local school board. Understandably, the job description for this position must be flexible. Qualifications include thorough knowledge of CPF and BCPF, communication and organizational skills, public speaking, and the ability to work with minimum supervision. Amidst the flow of paperwork and written communication such as newsletters and district representatives' updates, the C.R.O. ensures that the personal touch is there when needed.

In addition, there are currently three project coordinators who are paid honoraria to carry out specific projects: the annual Concours d'art oratoire, the annual B.C. Family French Camps, and the 1988 Youth Conference. They work independently of the provincial office but each reports to a board member. They are paid their honorarium upon completion of the project and submission of a report and recommendations for the next year.

In spite of the presence of paid employees, BCPF essentially remains a volunteer organization. The volunteer hours of the Board of Directors for the period April 1, 1988 to March 31, 1989 were

recorded at approximately 4350, of which the President was responsible for 1200. This latter figure averages out to 40 hours per week during the school year.

Internal Communications and Training

In BCPF, importance is attached to the internal flow of information, documentation of procedures, and training. Whereas other organizations might leave the gaining of information and experience to word of mouth and personal accounts of how things are done, the BCPF manuals leave little to chance. The documenting of procedures was begun early on in the life of the provincial organization. In 1988 a number of manuals were compiled to replace the many sets of guidelines that had been developed.

The *Office Procedures Manual* outlines by activity, by position and by calendar of events the required action of the staff and the board members. Lists of directors, district representatives and committee members are included, as are sample letters and forms. This manual has been stored on the office computer with the intention that it will be updated regularly. The *Computer Manual* explains the different programs that BCPF uses on its Panasonic PC. The *Conference Manual* provides a step-by-step plan for the organizing of BCPF's two major conferences each year, also including sample invitations and forms.

Of special significance for pressure group theory is the *Provincial Profile,* an attempt to provide comprehensive, up-to-date information on all aspects of the French language educational field

in British Columbia. Who's who and what's what are covered by such entries as: an immersion enrolment report from the Ministry and information on the provincial resource centre; French first language education and francophone associations; a ministry manual on federal funding; listings of French second language policies in the various school districts, district French advisory committees, and members of the provincial French coordinators' association. The final two chapters provide a look at CPF and BCPF, and the appendix offers an explanation on "being a local chapter in B.C.". The careful reader of this document should be able to assess the policy community within which BCPF works as well as understand the overall organizational structure of CPF, BCPF, and the local chapters.

Other manuals in the office are the Exchange Manual, created around 1985, which outlines the procedures a parent group goes through in arranging a student exchange. CPF National Office manuals (CPF Board Manual, Chapter President's Handbook, Treasurer's Handbook, Fundraising Manual, and Membership and Recruitment Manual) are kept on file in the provincial office and updated when necessary.

Training sessions on such topics as publicity, running an organization, and writing a brief are offered to the members at most provincial conferences. For the board of directors each year there is a three-day retreat. With the help of the Secretary of State's Skills Program, this planning session is carefully structured in order to encourage a sense of cohesion among board members. The Social Development Officer of the regional Secretary of State office attends this session and the annual general meeting.

With regard to the sharing of information among board members, the following instructions on mail distribution have been given to the Administrative Secretary.

> Another file is the Correspondence for Circulation file. This file will be placed on the Board meeting table for review during Board meetings, so anything for general interest to Board members could be placed in this file. After the Board meeting this information will be filed. Do not use this file for correspondence, letters, memos, etc. that are of more than general interest. Use the Board members' envelopes for that purpose. (BCPF, Office Procedures Manual, p.9)

> When newsletters are received from other organizations or from BCPF chapters, other CPF provincial newsletters, etc., they should be read by the Administrative Secretary, read by the Chapter Relations Officer and then placed in the Newsletters for Circulation file. This file is to be placed on the Board meeting table for review by Board members during Board meetings. (p.10)

Major Provincial Activities

Information dissemination is the major thrust of BCPF, as it is of the national body. A provincial conference, held in conjunction with the Annual Meeting, is attended by sponsored delegates from each chapter. Also held each year is a second BCPF-sponsored conference called "InfoXchange", at which local chapters exchange information and ideas. These are also opportunities to meet with Ministry of Education officials, who present reports and answer questions. Four provincial newsletters are produced each year, and in addition a district representative update is sent out after each of the eight to ten Board meetings held each year.

The three projects mentioned earlier, the Family Camps, le Concours d'art oratoire, and the Youth Conference, are current

examples of the type of enrichment activities that BCPF provides for students. The Concours and the Youth Conference form part of an overall national effort, whereas the Family Camps were an invention of a local B.C. chapter. Other events, organized by the francophone community, are promoted by BCPF and attended by immersion students and their parents.

Under the heading of lobbying, BCPF writes briefs to government bodies when issues arise. In response to the recent B.C. Royal Commission on Education, seventeen local chapters submitted briefs at the request of the provincial organization, resulting in an invitation to BCPF to be represented on the newly formed Provincial Education Policy Advisory Committee. BCPF is also represented on the immersion and core French advisory committees. The French language programs liaison is the designated Board member and it is her responsibility to keep informed by reading research articles and government documents.

It is a firm policy of CPF not to support political parties, nor are political organizations allowed to use CPF membership lists. However, individual members are encouraged to become active in political affairs and promote individual candidates who support the improvement of French programs.

With regard to public relations, BCPF maintains ties with organizations with related interests such as immersion and second language teachers' associations, an association of French language curriculum coordinators, the Fédération des Franco-Colombiens, and an organization of francophone parents. The latter two require a bilingual representative, not always easy to find among immersion

parents. BCPF has published a bilingual booklet and a multilingual brochure in conjunction with the francophone parents in order to inform the general public about the options available to their children. Cooperation is sought with the French language newspaper, Le Soleil, which provides news on educational topics.

Information booths are maintained at conferences, at which CPF and BCPF publications are displayed. An effort to reach school principals with information has resulted in the production and distribution of an information kit. Funds are budgetted for attending outside conferences, and for the public relations director to meet with the education reporters of the major newspapers.

Relationship With the National Organization

Due to the nature of educational jurisdiction, the various levels of CPF's organization are relatively clear cut. However, CPF National has always assumed a greater importance than might have been expected, because funding for the organization as well as for French language programs originates at the federal level. Therefore, the national organization has played the role not so much of providing national coordination of provincial projects but of initiating provincial activity. This has not necessarily decreased as the provincial bodies have become stronger. In fact, one of the few criticisms leveled at the national organization is that it decides on projects and then expects the provinces to pick up the costs and provide the manpower.

Relationship With Local Chapters

Guidelines to delineate the responsibilities of the provincial
and local levels are spelled out in the BCPF Provincial Profile.

> The area of responsibility of the local chapter is the
> school, group of schools, community and school board in
> which the chapter is located. All other activities which
> affect one or more other school districts must be coordi-
> nated with the local chapters affected, where they exist.
> Otherwise, such activities must be approved by the BCPF
> Board. (BCPF, B.C. Provincial Profile, October 1988,
> Appendix A: Being a Local Chapter in B.C.)

The Rules and Regulations describe the division of authority thus:

Article III - Authority

1. The Board of Directors shall take responsibility for all
   business conducted with the provincial office of all
   Federal government departments, all ministries and
   departments of the provincial government, and all other
   provincial organizations.

2. The Board of Directors shall take responsibility for all
   publicity and public relations matters which affect more
   than one school district and which affect areas of the
   province in which there are no local chapters.

Article IV - Funding

1. It shall be the responsibility of the Board of Directors
   to provide funds for all projects undertaken and
   administrative costs incurred at the provincial level,
   and to assist the local chapters in their efforts to
   procure funds. (BCPF, Rules and regulations relating to
   the management of Canadian Parents for French--British
   Columbia Branch, May 14, 1988)

A local chapter may be established when there are ten CPF
members in a school district who wish to form a chapter. Each
chapter is expected to: accept national CPF goals; have at least ten
current members; establish a bank account in the name of the local
chapter, with two signing authorities; hold an annual general
meeting, electing at least a president, vice-president and

secretary/treasurer; provide an annual report; and respond promptly to questionnaires and evaluations.

The provincial half of the CPF membership fee in B.C. is divided between the provincial organization and the local chapter in a three-to-two ratio, the lesser amount going to the local chapter. The money is deposited directly into the bank account of the chapter and the two signing authorities are responsible to the provincial treasurer for the funds received. If there is no local chapter, the membership fee is retained by the provincial body. Start-up grants are offered by BCPF to groups who are not yet able to qualify for chapter status.

Once a group has received chapter status, it receives a start-up kit consisting of: the provincial profile and other provincially- and nationally-developed manuals and handbooks; a copy of national CPF publications and kits; the current annual report of the Commissioner of Official Languages; brochures, order forms and special issues of Language and Society, published by the Commissioner's office; a brochure on how to run a meeting; the Annuaire of the Fédération des Franco-Columbiens; a slide kit for kindergarten parents; and posters and an ad slick of the CPF "griblins".[4] The new chapter is eligible as well to apply for loans to carry out revenue-producing activities.

The earlier-mentioned activities and projects carried out at the national and the provincial levels are meant for the ultimate benefit of the local chapter. Several additional services should be mentioned at this time. BCPF orders bulk quantities of CPF-produced pamphlets and makes them available to chapters upon request. Video

and cassette tapes are available for purchase or on loan. Chapters receive extra copies of the provincial and national newsletters for distribution. Experienced members from the provincial body or from other chapters will speak at information meetings or share information over the telephone. Copies of briefs, research, and information on programs across Canada, when they seem pertinent, will be sent to local chapters. The provincial publicity chairman provides copies of appropriate news releases and other publicity ideas, and is available for consultation. CPF artwork and stationery may be obtained from the provincial office.

In return BCPF asks the local chapters to keep in touch, keep records, get members and be accountable. In particular, it is important that the chapter account accurately and completely for federal grant money, which must be applied to activities reflecting the goals of CPF. As mentioned earlier, BCPF also asks local volunteers to keep track of their volunteer hours. A record of meetings, displays, briefs, newspaper articles, interviews, etc. is needed both to report to granting agencies and to help other chapters generate ideas.

The question of the image of the organization is an important one. The provincial board asks the chapters to submit all plans for publicity, public relations and local lobbying in order to ensure that they are in keeping with the goals of CPF and are not in contradiction to the efforts of the provincial body. A copy of newspaper articles and correspondence with school boards, MLAs and MPs must be sent to the chapter relations officer. Local chapters must get permission to write the Ministry of Education directly. The

types of political activity which a chapter may be interested in pursuing will come up later in a more detailed description of local activities. It should be noted here, though, that the chapter relations officer plays a significant role in defusing potential problems by helping local chapters come to terms with issues that arise while at the same time alerting the director to the national board and the provincial president to these problems.

BCPF is an example of a provincial branch that has become a mature group. Its policies allow for maximum information dissemination to the members and to the public. Open lines of communication between levels of authority, explicit job descriptions and guidelines for all positions mean that volunteers and staff can work to their potential. Thus, BCPF has been able to recruit and keep volunteers at the provincial level and its local chapters have done likewise, a difficult feat at a time of working mothers and single-parent families. British Columbia accounts for roughly one-third of the total CPF membership and close to one-quarter of the number of local chapters.

The high degree of structure exhibited by BCPF may be questioned by the reader. Does it not kill the initiative and enthusiasm of the volunteer? To the contrary, it seems to encourage more active participation. Volunteers are subject to increasing demands on their time and like to know what is expected of them and how long it will take. Frustration occurs when jobs are left undone or there is duplication of effort. Staff tends to take over the organization if they are the only ones who know what is going on.

The controls on the local chapters are likewise necessary if BCPF is to fulfill its role effectively and preserve the public image of CPF. This latter subject will be discussed in the following chapter.

The effective functioning of the provincial organization is likely the key to the ongoing success of CPF. Research results, statistics, and advice are now readily available to the public, or they may be purchased directly from the CPF national office. Local parents may not see the need to form a chapter, or even become CPF members, in order to lobby their school board on an ad-hoc basis. The provincial body must be able to offer obvious additional benefits to local members. As the following account of local activities indicates, this support must be on-going if more than short-term objectives are to be met in many areas.

Notes to Chapter 4

1.   The original constitution called for a board of directors composed of ten directors, a national chairman, and an executive secretary.   The change in name to "president", the change from part-time executive secretary to full-time executive director, and the addition of a vice-president and directors from the territories came about at stages as the organization matured.

2.   Keeping the tax exemption number also requires careful regulation of the transfer of funds between levels of the organization.   A registered charity can only re-direct funds to another registered charity.   Because the CPF membership form states that the fee will be divided with the provincial branch, there is no difficulty passing these funds on to the province whether or not it is a registered charity in its own right.   Provincial branches that have acquired their own tax exemption number and wish to pass funds on to the local chapters must sign an agency agreement with each chapter stating what the funds will be used for.   They have the other option of spending all membership fees at the provincial level, in which case the local chapters will receive funding only for their part in carrying out projects for which there is government funding.

Raising money locally has become more difficult now that it is no longer possible to solicit donations through the provincial or national tax number with the proviso that these donations be earmarked for local use.

3.   Directors were appointed until the province had enough members at the national conference to hold an election.   At first these elections took place at provincial meetings held at the time of the national conference but as the provincial organizations grew they held their own conferences and annual meetings in the provinces.

4.   Heather Griblin, a BCPF member, has been contracted by the National Office to produce figures of children and families which CPF uses in conjunction with its logo to identify the association.

CHAPTER 5

CPF at the Local Level

The examination of CPF as a national pressure group would not be complete without describing the grassroots level, the local chapter; yet to do so requires looking at pressure group theory from a new perspective. The local chapter is not a microcosm of the national or provincial organization. It does not exist to provide support to another level of the organization, nor does it relate to a level of government that is making broad, overall decisions for the education system. Local parents are interested in the welfare of their own children, and they interact with the school board and the school, where the important everyday decisions that affect their children are being made.

Parental Involvement in Education:
Some International Comparisons

At the local level, the parents' role in pressure group activities becomes intermingled with other roles they play in the educational system. Parents have traditionally been involved in education through intervention exclusively on behalf of their child: providing help with homework, establishing study rules, and meeting the teacher. A second role has evolved over the years whereby

parents have provided help to the teacher or the school; for example, by assisting in the classroom, supervising lunch rooms, raising money, or helping in the arrangements for field trips and extracurricular activities. In all these roles, parents are not necessarily organized and, even if they are, it is not their purpose to affect educational decision-making.

CPF parents are involved in all these activities independently of their pressure group affiliation. In fact, because of their keen interest in their children's education, immersion parents generally have a higher level of involvement than that of regular program parents.

Until the 1960s, organized parent activity "tended to be sporadic and unstable and aimed at supporting particular schools rather than at questioning or altering the system or conveying parent views to teachers or administrators" (Beattie, 1985, p.2). Home and school or parent-teacher associations, which for the most part fit the above description, reached their zenith in the 1960s in Great Britain, Canada and the United States. Although still in existence, they are not reported as having much impact on the education system.

By the 1970s demands for accountability and for public participation in policy-making led to the growth of organizations which could give parents the opportunity to voice their opinions. The type which figures most prominently in the literature (Beattie, 1985; Baron et al, 1981) is the legally-required school council which has elected parent representatives, along with representation by teachers and/or administrators and sometimes students. In Great

Britain, continental Europe, New Zealand and Australia, countries in which education is state-run, this body is often called a school council. It is the only way in which the public is represented in the decision-making body. In Canada and the United States, where schools are governed by elected school boards, any additional body of elected parent representatives is commonly referred to as an advisory committee or council. Whatever the title and the composition, these councils described by Beattie have in common the fact that they are a legislated part of the decision-making process in the education system. "Parent participation" is a common term for this type of involvement.

The conclusion often reached in the literature is that school councils have not been a great success. The basic observation which recurs in many accounts is that parents are excluded from the decision-making process on matters of substance such as curriculum, finances and staffing. Beattie describes the frustrations of European parents who are often very vocal in expressing their displeasure at being involved in rubber-stamping activities.

> In all decisions of any weight or importance, government bodies are involved in Pateman's 'pseudo-participation': parents and others are being persuaded 'to accept decisions that have already been made by the management'. (Beattie, 1985, p.214) (original emphasis)

Hughes (1981, pp.153-154) discusses the failure of school-based decision-making in the Australian system. Interestingly enough, he comes to the conclusion that parents and teachers can agree on curriculum questions.

Jennings (1981) has entitled his study of the American system "School Advisory Councils in America: Frustration and Failure". (In

the United States, the federal government requires advisory councils for schools, often in disadvantaged areas, which receive federal funding. One wonders what political backlash and bureaucratic chaos would have occurred had the Canadian government attempted this in regard to French language funding.)

Quebec is the only Canadian province that has legislated district-wide parent advisory committees. Lucas and Lusthaus (1981) suggest that this system offers hope for the future but it illustrates once again that the legal framework within which the committees operate actually restricts parent power (p.76). The story repeats itself in country after country.

Why has parent participation been such a failure? In the first place, educational authorities often seek parent participation for the sole purpose of legitimation. Beattie (1985) defines legitimation as the "achievement of increased support for the existing political system by evolving new forms of citizen activity which will distract attention from the fundamental distribution of power" (p.21). It is therefore natural that administrators want to exclude parents from decision-making, to limit their involvement to "pseudo-participation". This is part of a general syndrome which affects many organizations: the administration, i.e., the paid staff, runs the organization while the volunteer board of directors is restricted to rubber-stamping decisions, carrying out public relations, and raising funds.

But the specific problem of parent participation in educational decision-making is more complex because of the attitude that professionals take towards parents.

> The involvement of laymen in matters of intimate profes-
> sional concern including, for example, all that relates to
> the curriculum, to teaching methods, to school organization
> and to assessment procedures is seen as constituting a
> threat to the professionalism of the teacher, since it
> implies that his knowledge and skill is so unremarkable
> that it can be commented and appraised by others who do not
> share either his training or experience. (Baron, 1981,
> p.18)

Yet, insofar as mandated school councils are concerned, these are the matters that parents are being asked to consider. From his study of school councils in four European countries, Beattie (1985) lists the functions of school systems which the presence of parents might be expected to affect. He includes pupil promotion, discipline, curriculum, other use of the school facilities within school hours, grouping of students, personnel matters, funding decisions, district planning decisions, along with peripheral curriculum activities, fundraising and public relations (pp.21-23). In practice, decisions in most of these areas are made by the professionals. Parents are usually involved only in the final three functions.

Apathy on the part of parents is often a reason given for the lack of success of the school council movement. It may be that parents are discouraged by the lack of opportunity for meaningful involvement. On the other hand, it may be that most parents are prepared to leave decision-making to the professionals, except in times of crisis. A New Zealand study on parental involvement in primary schools found that many parents

> were prepared to become more involved in a number of
> aspects of school life, with preference being shown for
> school-based ("peripheral") activities over class-centered
> ("active") activities, and it was these peripheral
> activities which the schools were already encouraging
> parental involvement in. "Administrative activities" were
> those least preferred by parents. (Barrington, 1981,
> p.170)

This observation is consistent with the results of the 1979 survey of the Canadian Education Association Task Force on Public Involvement in Educational Decisions. The survey found that,

> while a significant majority of respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the amount of say that the public has in the running of the schools, very little interest was expressed in actually participating in school affairs, either as a school board member or as a member of a board advisory committee or of a home and school association. (Lucas & Lusthaus, 1981, p.74)

If the role of parents in mandated school councils remains unclear and controversial, it may be because the basic question is unresolved. Do parents have the right to participate in educational decision-making? In this age of participatory democracy and democracy in the workplace, parent representation is a special case. It differs from other forms of participatory democracy in that it is indirect, i.e., parents are representing their children, not themselves. They "have no day-to-day experience of schools other than what their child conveys to them" (Beattie, 1985, p.3). Although not part of Beattie's description, it is also the case that parents rely on memories of their own school experience, which often shape their expectations of their children and of the school system.

Parents are not necessarily a homogeneous constituency, and may have quite different educational backgrounds and interests. In addition to this, says Beattie,

> the main problem with parent representation ... is the fact that parents are already represented through the general democratic process....
>
> If parents are then allocated some particular responsibility for schools without the general framework being altered at the same time, there will be obvious problems of overlapping or competing jurisdiction. Strain or controversy may then arise for various reasons. The sectional

interests of a group of parents may be at odds with more general interests such as the equal sharing of resources. (p.4) (original emphasis)

Beattie is commenting on European state-run systems of education but his statement is also true of the North American model. Because elected trustees represent all citizens, an interest group is often viewed as looking for special concessions if it seeks to provide input to the system.

Because decision-making is considered the sole criterion for true participation in educational bodies, mandated school councils have not been looked upon as successful. Nevertheless, according to Beattie, they are not a complete failure. Other aims such as account-ability (ensuring), providing input (advising) and increasing the flow of communication (communicating) serve a useful purpose and "may be steps on the way to deciding, or preconditions for effective decisions" (p.6). Beattie concludes,

> Thus, whatever its origins, any system of parent partici-pation rapidly constitutes a large and complex information network. However small the minorities actively concerned locally, they represent nationally a considerable body of people. The very existence of such a network, however large or small, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain the secrecy traditionally associated with bureaucratic power. Any system of parent participation represents a permanent leakage of information from bureaucrats and professionals towards lay persons. Again in the long term that may be a potent factor in achieving change: changes in _attitude_ from politicians, administrators, teachers and parents, and even in the long term changes in _policy_. (p.231) (original emphasis)

The logic of Beattie's remarks applies equally well to the activities of advocacy or pressure groups, which operate outside the system. Advocacy of this type can not be regarded as participation in the decision-making of mandated committees, but its purpose is to

ensure, advise and communicate. Seeking accountability, writing briefs and making presentations to school trustees, and communicating information to the general public can potentially influence decisions of the policy-makers.

Local parent groups can be divided into two broad categories according to how they seek change. The most common is the ad-hoc, issue-oriented group that is formed to react to a crisis, to fight a political or administrative decision that has already been taken or that is looming on the horizon. The school closure issue in Canada has produced a number of studies that discuss the role of parent groups of this type (Lucas & Lusthaus, 1981, pp.56-63; pp.73-75). There is no doubt that the ad-hoc, single-issue group is effective in gathering its forces and making its voice heard. The weakness of such groups, however, is that their input arrives too late in the decision-making process and their lobbying becomes an exercise in protesting.

In seeking a less confrontational approach, both parents and educational authorities recognize the need for ongoing dialogue, which can be achieved through the second type of group, the local chapter of an established pressure group. This is an alternative to the system-initiated advisory council discussed earlier although its purpose is the same: to work proactively, in cooperation with educational authorities. It gathers information, raises the consciousness of its members and the key players in the system, and persuades by means of responsible argument. Because a pressure group is independent of the system, it has the potential of being more effective than the advisory council.

There are few examples of the proactive local advocacy group. To be organized in this way seems to require not only independent funding (often funding from another level of government) but also a significant cause and/or the threat of losing what already exists. Two examples from other countries illustrate how parents can unite behind a cause.

Hughes (1981) relates how parent activism in Australia resulted in the creation of an independent education authority for the Australian Capital Territory (A.C.T.). Since its creation in 1911, the capital city, Canberra, had been under the educational authority of New South Wales. It became obvious to parents that New South Wales was not as responsive to the educational needs of Canberra as a local educational authority would be. The Council of Parents and Citizens Associations (known as the Parents Council) had its beginnings in one suburban primary school in 1966. Gathering the support of other parents and working in cooperation with teachers' associations and the universities, the Parents Council mobilized public opinion to pressure the federal government into creating the A.C.T. Schools Authority in 1973. The Parents Council was successful in obtaining two representatives on the new ten-member School Authority, and in having school boards mandated for all individual schools (pp.138-144).

In this particular case, the cause was important enough that the group succeeded without government funding, although they did have the support of several colleges and leading academics. In the following example, parents were able to be formally associated and

work in conjunction with professional educators because of government funding of a special program.

Fetterman (1988) describes the success of California's Gifted and Talented Education (GATE) program. All participants in the GATE program--coordinators, teachers, students and parents--exhibit a high degree of commitment and leadership. Fetterman characterizes the parents as highly supportive of their children's education and appreciative of the teachers' contributions. He goes on to say,

> Parents also demonstrate a commitment to their children's education unparalleled in the American educational system. Such parents are actively engaged in assessing the quality of the education their children receive.... They uninhibitedly consult with teachers and administrators.... Many parents of gifted children teach them to read before they enter kindergarten. Most of these parents continue to provide academic instruction in the home throughout elementary and secondary school, as well as time and resources to supplement their children's education. Their help may range from providing funding for special academically oriented summer camps to volunteering time to assist the teacher during the school day.

> Parents of gifted children are also actively engaged in the political education arena. They generally play a large part in parent-teacher organizations and routinely become involved in district and state politics concerning matters related to gifted educational instruction. Threats to the quality of the program, such as funding cuts or curriculum alterations, elicit an overwhelming public forum of concerned, articulate parents. (p.131)

The GATE program parents appear to be successful because (a) their activities are meaningful and their involvement makes a difference, giving them the incentive to do more than help their own children; (b) threats to the quality of the program, even to its existence, help to maintain interest in the administrative and political aspect; and (c) they are able to benefit from the network of communication created by the advocacy group and take part with educators and other professionals in local and state-wide lobbying

activities. Although the creation and composition of their pressure groups differ, their approach to advocacy parallels in many ways that of CPF parents.

Local Chapters of Canadian Parents for French

Local chapters of CPF are usually organized around a school board, the major educational decision-making unit. In communities with both public and separate school systems the two groups of parents will usually form one chapter; the parents in geographically large school districts with several communities may form sections within their chapters. According to local conditions, chapters will differ not only in their purpose but also in composition, their relationship to the school board, and the challenges they face. They can, however, be separated into two broad categories according to their immediate objectives: there are those attempting to persuade a school board to initiate a new French program, and those supporting a program or programs already in place.

If the number of actively involved members is the criterion for success, the first type of chapter is the easier to establish and maintain. Members will rally behind a cause, particularly if there is open opposition to it. They know what they want and why, and advice on how to get it is readily available.

Groups of this type will sometimes be classified as single-issue, protest-oriented groups, depending on their approach to the school board and the community at large. CPF tries to encourage local chapters to be proactive, to appear responsible and

knowledgeable, and obtain the backing of educational authorities. They are encouraged not only to investigate the research on the program being promoted, but also to research the needs of their particular community. Is the district large enough and does the school board have the resources to offer this program as well as what other parents want? Are the rights of francophone parents being taken into consideration? Their demands must be seen to be reasonable; the missionary zeal that gives parents the energy to pursue their cause must be tempered by the facts. Credibility means being prepared to answer questions on the drawbacks of the program, cost considerations, availability of human resources, problems such as space for the program in future years and attrition in the higher grades.

Parents in a proactive chapter attend school board meetings to get a sense of the political climate. They organize parent information sessions with knowledgeable speakers, and arrange to be speakers themselves at meetings of a Home and School association and/or community service organizations. They learn to write briefs and make presentations at school board meetings. For effective publicity, they learn to write news releases and to be interviewed on radio and television. They lobby individual trustees and discuss administrative matters with the school board's French coordinator or more senior administrators. In some communities parents gather the names of all children who would be enrolled in the program, even in upcoming years. French pre-schools can be organized, and library hours in French, to show parents how easy and fun it is for children to learn French.

With effective lobbying of this nature, parents more often than not get what they want. But, sometimes the school board can put forth a case against the program that would make the parents look unreasonable if they pursued it further. They are still advised to stay organized and keep a high profile for the organization and for the teaching of French. The following account by a chapter president illustrates this approach.

> With a growth in membership from five to 145 in less than three years, CPF Brant is one of the newest and most active CPF chapters in Ontario.
>
> The chapter was founded in the fall of 1985 by three good friends (and two of their slightly coerced husbands) who wanted to start an immersion program in their small community of Paris, Ontario and believed CPF could help them to achieve their objective. Immersion was offered in two Brant County Board of Education schools five miles away, but it meant busing.
>
> When the chapter's request for immersion in Paris was turned down on the grounds that a new immersion location could not be considered until the existing programs were full, Brant CPF proved it was both creative and flexible. It decided to concentrate its energies on providing a variety of opportunities (many outside the classroom) in French which would be open to everyone in the county, regardless of their age or ability in French.
>
> They began with a 'Festival des arts' performance series featuring francophone musicians, actors, puppeteers and other performers. The result: 340 of 400 series tickets sold. (Wise, 1988, p.3)

The article goes on to describe the organizing of French classes for parents that attracted singles and seniors as well, a summer camp, plans for a film series, advanced French classes and renewed lobbying efforts. With an approach like this, the school board is likely to respond favourably at the first reasonable opportunity.

If, on the other hand, parents achieve what they want, they still must be prepared to continue their efforts in order to ensure

the ongoing success of the program. This is true even in areas where a program, especially an immersion program, has been established at the initiative of the school board. Advice for groups with an established program, if they are to be successful, is the same as that for groups trying to get new programs: be well-informed, establish links with sympathetic administrators and trustees, ensure that demands are reasonable and responsible, try to get the community on side.

The ideal CPF chapter monitors school board activities; provides input to the administration on potential problems; holds local conferences to keep up with the latest research, to exchange ideas and to inform new parents about the program; continues to attract positive media attention; and, provides as much support for the program as possible. CPF chapters arrange for enrichment activities such as travelling theatre groups or chanteurs. They pay for library books and excursions, arrange book or magazine clubs, hold French oratory contests, arrange French summer camps and exchanges with Quebec students, and encourage parents to enrol in French classes. They promote rapprochement with the local francophone community. As the program advances, they begin to investigate the issues at the secondary level and prepare the universities for the upcoming demand for immersion-type courses. They encourage individual members to run for school board office, and as a group they seek representation on advisory committees.

Successful chapters have the respect of school board administrators and the majority of school trustees. Teachers, administrators and trustees are willing to speak at CPF functions, and will often attend conferences to show support and acquire information.

Administration may invite CPF's opinions on specific issues and include CPF representatives on advisory committees. Joint projects may be carried out, especially when it is a question of program enrichment.

The rapport between CPF parents and immersion teachers has generally been good. In the early days of French immersion, in particular, each group appreciated the role of the other. Parents were aware of the fact that teachers had to work hard to make the program succeed, often in the absence of adequate planning by many boards and provincial governments. Many immersion parents do not speak much French, and therefore feel that they are unable to help their children with homework. They have to trust the teacher to provide satisfactory instruction. CPF pamphlets, such as "How to be an Immersion Parent", are a help in developing this trust and in giving advice on other ways parents can support their children's education. In overcoming uncertainty about the program, it is effective for knowledgeable parents to talk to other parents.

As a rule, parents respect the professionalism of the teacher, and are content to involve themselves in peripheral activities at the school level. It is left to the provincial and national levels of CPF to exert influence in curriculum and other professional matters. The presence of a CPF chapter, therefore, can make the role of the teacher easier.

Although the support of the provincial branch is an important part of the success of a local chapter, the essential ingredient is local leadership. It is the people involved that determine the quality of the particular chapter. The more successful the program

and the fewer the problems, the greater the necessity for a skilled leader. A chapter seeking a new program tends to have a momentum of its own, particularly if it faces opposition. Once a program is in place, there is a tendency to let the experts take over the running of it. It takes a strong leader to convince parents to stay involved and discuss areas of possible contention before they become serious issues. Among the more common school board actions which can cause problems are: (a) moving the program to a different school; (b) placing limits on the size of the program, which results in inconvenience or disappointment at registration time; (c) charging fees for transportation, books or lunch room privileges when regular program students are not assessed.

Sometimes parents are divided on an issue, such as which school will house the secondary program, and then it becomes a question of compromise and working in the best interests of the majority. Provincial branches and local chapters that are not well-organized can let situations like this get out of hand and bring discredit to CPF. A proactive chapter is likely to solve such problems without adverse publicity.

Occasionally conflict between the school board and the parents is inevitable, and a chapter may give up its proactive stance. If all other avenues have been pursued, it may have to resort to the tactics of a protest group, attracting negative publicity or even launching court action. The CPF national and provincial bodies have on occasion supported a public stand of this nature if the school board is seen to be intransigent and unreasonable.

One constant trouble spot has been the semi-rural school district of Saanich on Vancouver Island. CPF parents had to elect candidates to the school board in order to obtain an immersion program, and have lived with the threat of cancellation ever since. The 1986 School Board voted to close the program to new enrolment and phase it out beginning the following year. After intense lobbying and support from the neighbouring Victoria chapter, BCPF and CPF nationally, the Board reversed its decision. A letter from the Saanich President, explaining the new results and thanking BCPF parents as well as the National Office for writing letters of support, was printed in the BC Provincial Newsletter. The following is an excerpt:

> Although this decision is a victory for immersion, it has come at considerable cost to the Saanich program. At a series of expanded Education Directions Committee meetings (three trustees, school district personnel and parent participation) a compromise was reached that stops further expansion, limits enrollment and ends kindergarten beyond September 1986 until numbers allow a 50/50 balance in the two dual-track immersion schools.
>
> We feel this is a heavy price to pay, and particularly dislike the temporary loss of kindergarten. It seems clear that the educational needs of the children entering the immersion program have taken second place to the needs of ease in administration. (Ralston, 1986, p.3)

Manitoba provincial laws make it realistic for parents to take their school board to court. Parents in Brandon went to court in 1984, at their own expense, to get an immersion kindergarten program ("Busing issue", 1987, p.3). Thompson parents took an appeal to the Supreme Court over busing for the immersion program. Delegates to CPF's 10th anniversary National Conference celebration raised $720 at an auction to support the Manitoba parents.

Lobbying or challenging the system is the type of activity that strengthens a local chapter, but what of internal problems that undermine it? There is the problem of conflicting interests. Despite the CPF goal of promoting "the best possible types of French-language learning opportunities" for all Canadian children, in times of conflict parents often revert to looking after the short-term interests of their own children. The best interests of the whole community will not necessarily be served.

Also, volunteer groups are finding it increasingly difficult to attract members who will give the time commitment to run an organization. Potentially good leaders are often busy elsewhere.

Finally, there is the question of apathy. As a bold experiment 15 or 20 years ago, French immersion attracted parents and teachers with a high level of commitment and enthusiasm. As it becomes more commonplace, it is losing its aura of "specialness" and with it the sense of collaboration that existed between parents and teachers. In many communities, parents no longer feel the need to be involved. This is perhaps the greatest problem facing CPF.

Implications of the CPF Experience
for Parental Involvement

What can the CPF story add to the theory on parental involvement in education at the school or school board level? Four general observations come to mind.

(a) With adequate information and training, organized parents can provide meaningful input into educational decision-making. An independent source of information and funding can put parents on an

equal footing with those they are attempting to influence, whereas parents on mandated school councils often operate within limited terms of reference and with a managed information flow. Whether they operate within or outside the system, parents need an independent source of funding in order to have control over information/opinion gathering and information dissemination. A special set of circumstances made this possible in the case of CPF because of the federal government's interest in promoting bilingualism, and there is little evidence that this sort of system has been attempted under other circumstances.

(b) Some of the current literature on parent involvement in education restricts the term "participation" to activities in a legally-mandated body. Advocacy groups which operate outside the system may not give the education system the legitimacy it seeks, but they can influence decision-making and they also fulfill the roles of ensuring, advising and communicating. Advocacy groups like CPF promote greater awareness and make it possible for greater numbers of parents to contribute actively, whether it is by helping their own child, promoting program enrichment, or attempting to influence the system.

(c) The question of professional autonomy arises in virtually every account of mandated parent participation. On the other hand, it does not seem to be an issue in the case of advocacy groups such as CPF and the California Association for the Gifted (CAG). In Fetterman's (1985) account of the gifted program, there is mention of parents asking questions, but not giving answers, which characterizes CPF's involvement in professional matters as well. Curriculum

issues are discussed at a level beyond the classroom, in school board committees, and at workshops and conferences, where parents have earned the right to be consulted rather than having been granted it by legislation. CPF members collaborate with educators at every level of the system. Teachers, school board administrators, provincial second language coordinators, members of national organizations and university researchers all contribute to and benefit from the information network established by CPF. CPFers have proved that they are "professional parents", not in the way Beattie (1985) intended it, i.e., participating extensively in professional decision-making, but in the sense that they are expert activists and lobbyists.

(d) Advocacy groups lose their initial zeal once the 'cause' has been won. As the group takes on wider objectives, it is tempting for parents to sit back and let someone else do it. The wider the focus of interest, the more difficult it is to obtain a commitment from parents. It is at this point that activities beyond the scope of a pressure group can keep them involved, the "peripheral" activities referred to earlier, for example, that enrich the program, or summer programs and exchanges and so on.

Local CPF chapters could be analyzed according to Pross' continuum, outlined in chapter 2. According to their organizational characteristics, they mostly fall into the category of ad-hoc, single-issue groups. Pross (1986) suggests that this type of group "relies on its own membership to do the office work, meet with officials and the media, and to prepare briefs and press releases" (p.122). The problem is, however, that the lobbying techniques of a proactive group, even at the local level, are more sophisticated than

Pross describes. In communicating with government, they are more likely to fall into the fledgling, even mature, category. This, basically, is the dilemma we face in categorizing CPF and its components according to current pressure group theory. There is no consideration given to the small band of "proactivists" who carry out their own lobbying--with a fair degree of sophistication, thanks to the support of a mature national pressure group. Such is the description of the average CPF local chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Theoretical Considerations

What might seem a simple task--classifying Canadian Parents for French according to a theoretical framework--becomes complicated by the circumstances surrounding this particular pressure group's involvement in the political system. The result is one more case study rather than a comparative study. On the other hand, it does contribute to the theory in that it is illustrative of a type of pressure group largely neglected to this point in the Canadian literature and it discusses a policy community which does not fit the general mold.

CPF as a National Pressure Group

First, it is necessary to reaffirm that CPF is a pressure group. It seeks to influence government through organized action, by the articulation and aggregation of its members' interest in the promotion of French language education in Canadian schools. Having said that, we must make a number of additional points about CPF as a national pressure group:

(a) CPF is a pressure group in spite of the high level of funding it receives from government.

(b) The fact that three levels of government share responsibility for the provision of French language programs. has important implications for Pross' concept of the "policy community" (1986, pp.296-297). It is of course a major influence on CPF's pressure group activities.

(c) CPF's internal organization, in particular the way in which it differentiates and integrates (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969), is made necessary by this complex policy community.

(d) CPF cannot be described as a single entity. The individual provincial branches, the local chapters and the national organization are located at different points along the Pross continuum (1986, p.121).

(e) Generally speaking, CPF can be categorized as a public-interest group (Berry, 1977), but elements of private interest or material benefit appear in lobbying efforts at the local level.

(f) Membership interest is maintained through general interest-group activities, carried out in addition to CPF's lobbying.

Each of these points is expanded upon in turn.

The Funding Issue

Pross maintains that CPF is an anomaly, neither a pressure group nor a government-affiliated group (1986, p.12). Using his own criteria (p.11), we cannot find a reason to exclude it as a pressure group. Membership is "self-selected" from local communities; directors on the provincial and national boards, as well as the officers, are elected annually by the membership; members have the

right to review the goals of the association at any national annual meeting; and the elected directors determine the budget and the personnel of the organization.

If anything, the federal funding makes CPF more democratic. National organizations have difficulty surviving if they must maintain two levels of organization and bear the costs of bringing together a geographically-dispersed membership. This often results in the development of an Ottawa clique which runs the organization and can easily be co-opted by the government that funds it. Federal funding allows CPF to sponsor members at national and provincial conferences at which time annual meetings are scheduled. The national board consists of a director from each province and territory, elected to the board by the provincial/territorial membership. Generally speaking, they remain interested in representing their provincial constituency, especially in those provinces where the director remains president of the provincial branch. At the present time, six provinces have separated the two positions. The workload is heavy, resulting in a relatively high turnover rate. The national president and vice-president have a national perspective, but with an average term of office of two years there is not much opportunity for them to remove themselves from the membership in favour of an Ottawa clique. Unlike institutionalized groups such as the Canadian Teachers' Federation, CPF does not expect its president to move to Ottawa.

Still, there is still the danger that CPF leaders could be co-opted by the federal government. The officers of the national board of directors take responsibility for lobbying the federal

government.   The other members of the Board grant them a fair amount of latitude to write briefs, carry on discussions, and negotiate grants.   It is possible that a persuasive leader could sell the board of directors on a position or a project that was not in the best interests of the membership. This may have been attempted in one or two instances, but for the most part the board of directors has been quite protective of the interests of the membership.

To exclude a group solely on the basis of the amount of funding it receives   (Pross, 1986, p.12) limits serious investigation of public-interest groups.   It is important to examine the federal context within which the organization is working as well as the uses to which the funding is put. As stated earlier, funding to increase communication among grassroots members serves a much different purpose than subsidizing the costs of presenting briefs to a federal department or appearing at hearings of a federal agency.

Local Level Politics in a National Policy Community

Pressure group theory to date has concerned itself mainly with the federal arena.   It has been suggested that provincial policy communities are similar but less complex (Pross, 1986, p.167), but beyond that one is to assume that the pressure group tactics are similar. The idea that local level politics might influence the decisions of the senior governments or might be a part of national pressure group activity does not seem to be considered at all.

Perhaps this influence is significant only in the field of education, where substantial authority has been granted to the local school board and yet issues may be of more than local concern. Perhaps the federal government's involvement in bilingual education makes the O.L.E. policy community unique among educational policy fields. Whatever the reason, this study breaks new ground in suggesting that lobbying aimed at the local level of government can play a part in national pressure group activity.

To maintain the original perspective of this study, which was to examine CPF as a national pressure group, no theoretical elaboration of provincial and local policy communities, nor the effect of one upon the other, is included. Instead, provincial governments, provincial CPF chapters, school boards and local chapters of CPF are considered part of the attentive public of the national policy community. The fact that there is cooperation among CPF chapters, and between CPF chapters and school boards--and that they are all part of an information network--likely makes the attentive public stronger than in other policy communities. It is left to future research to discover the extent to which this happens in other policy fields and to elaborate the concept of provincial policy communities vis-à-vis local government.

The exercise of power in the O.L.E. field is more diffused than that in policy communities described by Pross (1986, p.102, p.152 and p.165, for example). The federal government, which has the least influence over the delivery of educational services, provides a sizeable portion of the funding for French language programs. Its negotiations with the CMEC over the level of funding and how it will

be distributed is at the hub of the policy community, the part called the sub-government. The sub-government in the O.L.E. policy community has the power to make agreements but not to make laws. Because of the lack of jurisdiction at this level, no particular bureaucratic structure has been developed and pressure groups will not necessarily increase their effectiveness by developing a bureaucracy to deal with the federal government or the CMEC.

As noted in chapter 2, pressure groups may have difficulty accessing intergovernmental decision-making but even this forum now has new access points. Since 1983, the Secretary of State has signed bilateral agreements with each of the provinces, under an umbrella agreement reached with the CMEC. This allows the provincial branches of pressure groups to lobby individual education ministers on the particular agreement for their province.

As stated above, theoretical analysis of a provincial policy community is beyond the scope of this study. From general observation of the education field, one can assume that this is the logical level for concentrated action by pressure groups. The provincial teachers' and school trustees' associations are good examples of pressure groups that relate to the provincial government. Whether or not the delegation of discretionary power to the local authorities influences the provincial power structure is a question that could be investigated by pressure group theorists.

In the O.L.E. policy community specifically, pressure groups are not particularly active at the provincial level. Second language and immersion teachers' groups concentrate mainly on professional development, leaving political matters to the overall provincial body

or the national association. As far as CPF is concerned, one might assume that the provincial branches are involved in highly organized pressure group activities, but generally this is not the case. (In the absence of a study of all provincial branches, these generalizations are only informed speculation but nevertheless necessary to explain CPF structure.) CPF provincial branches have not yet reached their potential because access to this level of government is the most difficult. As Schultz (1977) stated, pressure groups "gravitate to the level of government assumed to be more receptive to their demands" (p.375). Provincial branches do carry out some pressure group activities but direct their main energies towards making local chapters effective in their lobbying. As the provincial branches mature, there may be increasing attention devoted to lobbying efforts aimed at the provincial governments.

Local level lobbying is of course quite different from that carried on in the parliamentary structure of the senior levels of government. Access to city hall or the school board is easier and does not necessarily require a high degree of organization. Parental lobbying is often part of a much larger effort of being involved in the education system. However, when it occurs as part of an overall national pressure group effort, it should be included in the theory of pressure groups. If for no other reason, the cumulative effect of decision-making in many local communities must have an influence on the overall policy community.

This focus on local governmental decision-making is unusual for a national pressure group. Many groups are organized nationally, provincially and locally but few are in a position to lobby three

different levels of government. To cope with the different activities appropriate at each level requires certain organizational features, which the following section describes.

A Differentiated Approach

The federal government is the source of funding for CPF and other national associations in the O.L.E. policy field. This has allowed CPF to develop a corporate-type structure (Berry, 1977), i.e., an association with strong central orientation and adherence to national goals. The initiative for the development of provincial branches came from the national organization, and they remain dependent on it for financial support and other services.

Local groups have a greater degree of independence because it takes energy and enthusiasm rather than money to organize a lobbying effort at this level. They are therefore not necessarily dependent on CPF for their existence. Provincial organizations sometimes have to play a strong leadership role to persuade existing local groups to join CPF and to keep chapters united behind CPF goals. But the key to the corporate-type structure is the role that the provincial group plays vis-à-vis the national organization.

In spite of its corporate-type structure, CPF is characterized by a great deal of differentiation (Lawrence & Lorsch, 1969). Each level, the national level included, has the latitude to carry out the activities most appropriate to its environment. At the provincial level each branch can operate as it sees fit, and within the province each chapter will have a different method of carrying out its

activities. National and provincial rules and regulations may make CPF appear overly structured, but they actually serve to clarify roles rather than to restrict action. Any restrictions are aimed at ensuring that individual parts of the organization do not compromise the position of any other part and that all action is in the spirit of the national goals.

As Lawrence and Lorsch (1969) suggest, this differentiation must be offset by a broad range of integrative activities. National and provincial conferences, national and provincial newsletters, other national publications and the national oratory contest, for example, serve to remind individual members, chapters, and branches of the advantages of belonging to a national organization and at the same time make them feel part of an overall national movement. The key factor in CPF's success as a pressure group is that individual local chapters have the freedom to relate to their school boards according to local circumstances but without being dependent on the school board for their existence or for information and know-how. And it is the cumulative effect of success at the local level that gives CPF its strength as a national pressure group.

Placing CPF on the Pross Continuum

Because of the high degree of differentiation, an analysis of CPF's organizational features and activities will reveal that it comprises a number of different types of pressure group. Without detailed study of the approximately 200 chapters and the twelve provincial and territorial jurisdictions, one can only speculate

about the definitive characteristics of the various parts of the organization. However, they probably range along Pross' continuum framework (1986, pp.120-121) from ad-hoc (Pross' single-issue) to mature groups.

The assumption is made that many chapters began as single-issue groups, some of them protest-oriented, and that some that have not progressed beyond this stage. Those that best fit the fledgling category would have "multiple but closely related" objectives and their "levels of communication with government" are probably more access-oriented than Pross' "issue-oriented groups". They are unlikely, however, to have paid staff of any kind. At this level volunteers are more inclined to carry out all activities, including lobbying. It is difficult to imagine that any local chapter would have the "multiple, broadly defined and collective" objectives or the professional staff of a mature group, but in its "levels of communication with government", i.e., pressure group activities, it could exhibit the characteristics that Pross accords to mature groups.

Provincial branches fit in the fledgling to mature range. Those that might be considered mature will be so because of their "communication with government" and their objectives rather than the size and nature of their staff.

The national organization exhibits all features of a mature group. It fits Pross' criteria of "multiple, broadly defined and collective objectives", "alliances with other groups/staff includes professionals", efforts at "public relations, image-building ads, press releases", and "regular contact with officials". It also fits the modified descriptors proposed in this study. That is, it has an

established presence in the policy community, developed through activities such as conferences, newsletters, and media interviews. On the other hand, CPF does not yet meet the criteria of an institutionalized group. It is not "run by its professional staff"; it does not provide services that are "unrelated to the group's political activities", and it does not have "regular and private meetings with officials and politicians" (1986, p.123). (This last descriptor is interpreted as scheduled meetings with cabinet ministers and their senior civil servants, not as frequent contact with lower-level officials and occasional meetings with politicians as is the case with CPF.)

Public Interest Versus Private Interest

With the wide divergence in roles in CPF, it is once again difficult to characterize it categorically as one type of organization. As Pross (1986) suggests, the borderline between private- and public-interest groups is often blurred. Private-interest groups will pursue public causes, and public-interest groups sometimes offer material incentives (p.128).

The purpose of the CPF national and provincial organizations is to provide support for local parents to achieve their objectives and to promote the overall goals of CPF, which basically work towards improved opportunities for all Canadian children to learn French. These purposes and goals fall into the category of "public interest" as defined by Berry (1977, p.7).

It is at the local level that objectives can become confused. Although chapters are encouraged to promote programs that are in the best interests of the community as a whole, it is difficult to dampen the enthusiasm of parents who want the school board to provide a given program regardless of the costs. Trying to obtain a certain location for an immersion program or transportation services is also likely to benefit one group of children more than another. In such situations CPF will be looked upon as a special-interest group.

Interestingly enough, once parents become involved in advocacy of this type, they often begin to take on the wider cause and work for the benefit of all children. In particular, members who advance to the provincial or national levels do so for reasons other than promoting programs for their own children. They become caught up in a "cause", be it the general promotion of better education, bilingualism, national unity, or simply making the system work better. They are spurred on by incentives such as a sense of "personal efficacy", "civic responsibility", or a need to belong (Pross, 1986, p.182-183). These are the dominant characteristics of CPF at the national and provincial level. Although many members may first be attracted by a material-benefit inducement, that of a special educational opportunity for their own children, CPF can overall be considered a public-interest group.

Maintaining Member Interest

CPF began as a pressure group, pure and simple, in that it intended to put pressure on federal agencies, crown corporations such

as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, provincial governments, and school boards to provide opportunities for children to learn French (Canadian Parents for French, 1, June 1977). Local chapters often get started with the same intention of pressuring the local authorities to provide a French language program.

Without other activities, those that make CPF an interest group as well as a pressure group, membership in CPF might well have consisted mainly of small bands of parents trying to get a new program or to maintain one under adverse circumstances. As it turned out, once parents had become organized and had obtained what they wanted, they often remained members in order to encourage a whole range of enrichment activities which would support the school program. Local chapters sponsor extracurricular activities such as plays and concerts; they organize summer camps and exchanges, the purchase of books, records and films, oratory contests, and a host of other French language learning opportunities.

The volunteer experience is enriched as the school program is enriched. The opportunity to develop skills and be involved in decision-making often results in a growing sense of efficacy. Not all parents are politically oriented and these additional activities provide more opportunities for members to be involved. (They could be regarded as "peripheral" activities but in actual fact they do have an influence on the policy community. They do not entirely fit in the category of communicating with government, however.)

Being a member of CPF, then, is not simply a question of supporting a small group of activists or the national staff in their lobbying efforts. Members are aware of the benefits of belonging to

a national organization that supports their individual objectives in a concrete way.

Updating the Pross Theoretical Framework

In his 1975 publication Pross proposed a theoretical framework for analyzing pressure groups and comparing their ability to relate to government (pp.9-18). The concept of fledgling and mature groups was not well developed. They were described as being beyond the "issue-oriented" stage but not institutionalized. The descriptors for organizational features seemed adequate but those for communications with government left much to be desired. "Presentation of briefs to bodies" was the one descriptor between protests and extensive public relations. "Regular contact with officials" described the access of groups that had gone beyond confrontation but not reached extensive consultation, "representation on advisory boards" and "staff exchanges".

These descriptors were not adequate to describe CPF, which worked proactively in its approach to issues and to government. Conferences were an opportunity to develop positions, make contact with officials and educators, and inform members. Newsletters served similar purposes. The media's attention was sought for positive stories rather than negative reaction to government action. As a fledgling group, CPF sought out contact with officials and politicians. Once a mature group, officials sought out CPF for consulation and politicians more readily accepted invitations to speak.

In 1986, Pross again put forward his framework (pp.120-121), unchanged from the previous work in spite of the fact that another important aspect of pressure group theory had been developed and could have contributed to the descriptors of his typology. The activities of pressure groups within their "policy communities" are clearly laid out. Pross discusses the importance of conferences and newsletters as a means of communicating with officials (p.99); he talks about pressure groups being "popularizers of information" (p.43). But none of this activity shows up in the theoretical framework. The important roles of clarifying, reviewing and publicizing issues and concerns of a policy community should be acknowledged in a revised typology.

Implications for Future Research

Is CPF an anomaly? If so, it is not for the reason Pross (1986, p.12) suggests. It meets the additional criteria for funding that Pross proposes for groups that receive a high level of funding from government (p.11).

The fact that CPF is organized for lobbying at three levels of government makes it different from other pressure groups described in the literature. It may be that the opportunity to focus on local government activity while aiming at national goals is rare. Federal government funding allows several thousand volunteers, from coast to coast, to become involved in their local system of education, according to their own objectives. It also allows the national

organization to provide sufficient integrative activities for individual chapters to remain focussed on national goals.

CPF may be an anomaly because it was able to seize on this rare opportunity, but further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis. Issues that might well be addressed are listed below. Each is followed by several questions that have remained unanswered in this study.

1. Three-tiered organizations and federalism. Are there other national pressure groups that operate under similar jurisdictional circumstances? If a pressure group interacts with the system at three levels, should its policy community include a sub-government at each level? If so, how is the relative strength of each to be portrayed? Is the nature of such a policy field altered by the efforts of a three-tiered pressure group to create a cohesive and well-informed attentive public?

2. Pressure group theory and the field of education. What other fields besides minority language education and second language instruction are affected by federal government policy? How do organizations like the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) and the Canadian School Trustees' Association (CSTA) relate to the relatively weak sub-government at the national level? Do they have a corporate-type or a federation-type structure? Is that structure adequate for the organization's goals?

3. A comparison of groups in the O.L.E. policy community. Do the CTF and the CSTA have to "sell" their membership on national second language policy? How do the associations of immersion

teachers (ACPI), second language teachers (CASLT) and francophones (FFHQ) compare to CPF in their lobbying efforts?

4. Government funding and its effects on public interest groups. Is it reasonable to categorize the type of funding that an organization receives and assess the impact it has on lobbying activity? What type of funding leads to co-optation of leaders or inefficiency in running the organization? How does this compare to the operations of inclusive organizations which receive their funding automatically from membership fees?

Concluding Remarks

Because of its unique structure as a pressure group, CPF cannot readily be compared to business, labour or professional groups, nor even to public-interest groups like the Consumers' Association of Canada or Pollution Probe. If it is an exception to the general pattern of pressure groups, how realistic is it to think that other public-interest groups could copy its structure and activities? The federal government, in search of ways of uniting our country behind national goals, would do well to examine this question. Indeed, provincial governments might think of further involving citizens in the education process in this way. CPF need not be an anomaly.

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