

# alliance québec

Working Papers on English Language  
Institutions in Quebec

Susan Schachter  
Editor

Working Papers on English Language  
Institutions in Quebec

Susan Schachter  
Editor

Published by Alliance Quebec, March, 1982.



# CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgements	vi
Alliance Québec	vi
Introduction	1-6
<u>Working Paper I: The People</u>	10
Who We Are	11
Where We Are	34
Where We Come From	53
What We Do	60
Where We Are Going	67
Bibliography for Working Paper I	87
<u>Appendices to Working Paper I:</u>	
A-1 Ethnic Origin of the Population of Quebec, 1871-1971	72
A-2 Percentage distribution of the Population of Quebec by Ethnic Origin, 1871-1971.	73
A-3 Intercensal Rates of Change by Ethnic Group, Quebec 1871-1971.	74
B-1 Ethnic Origins of Husbands & Wives in Husband-Wife Families, by Birthplace of Husband, 1971.	75
B-2 Mother Tongue of Husbands and Wives in Husband-Wife Families, by Birthplace of Husband, 1971.	76
C-1 Distribution of the Quebec Population by Mother Tongue, 1931-1976.	77
C-2 Percentage Distribution of the Quebec Population by Mother Tongue, 1931-1976.	77
C-3 Intercensal Growth Rates by Mother Tongue, Quebec 1931-1976.	78
D The Relationship between Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue, Quebec 1931-1971.	79
E-1 Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English- Speaking Population of 100 or more - Ottawa Valley.	80
E-2 Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English- Speaking Population of 100 or more - Gaspé.	81
E-3 Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English- Speaking Population of 100 or more - North & South of Montreal.	82
E-4 Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English- Speaking Population of 100 or more - Eastern Townships.	83-84
E-5 Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English- Speaking Population of 100 or more - Quebec City.	85
F Occupations of the population 15 years old and over in the experienced labour force, by mother tongue.	86

# CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
<u>Working Paper II: Education</u>	88
Résumé	91
Introduction	101
<u>Case Studies:</u>	
-Quebec's Largest Protestant School Board - The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.	112
-"Co-Habitation": The Baldwin-Cartier School Board.	118
-"Immersion": The South Shore Protestant Regional School Board.	126
-A Mixed Blessing: Regionalization and the Large Polyvalent High School at the District of Bedford Protestant Regional School Board.	134
-The Plight of Rural Schools: The Laurentian Regional Protestant School Board.	144
-The "Multiconfessional" School Board: An Exception to the Rule - The Du Littoral School Board.	153
-CEGEPs - An Innovation of the 60s: Dawson College.	159
Summary and Conclusions	172
Education Notes - Useful Acronyms	175
 <u>Working Paper III: Health and Social Services in Quebec</u>	 177
Terms Used	177
Résumé	178
<u>Studies:</u>	
-Centres Locaux de Services Communautaire (CLSCs)	191
-Centres de Services Sociaux (CSSs)	201
-Hospitals	216
Summary	231
 <u>Working Paper IV: Culture</u>	
Introduction	235
Montreal	246
Off Island	263
Summary	297



TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
1-1 -Comparison between Mother Tongue and Home Language, 1971.	18
1-2 -Comparison of Ethnic Groups shifting to English Mother Tongue or French Mother Tongue, Quebec 1971.	27
1-3 -Percentage of Mother Tongue Group Shifting to English or French Home Language, Quebec 1971.	28
1-4 -Change in Proportion of Unilingual Anglophones & Unilingual Francophones, Eastern Townships, Montreal, Ottawa Valley, 1931 and 1971.	31
1-5 -Regional Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Quebec, 1971.	36
1-6 -Regional Distribution of the Population of Quebec by Mother Tongue, 1971.	36
1-7 -Regional Distribution of the Population of Quebec by Mother Tongue, 1976.	37
1-8 -English Mother Tongue Population, Eastern Townships, 1971.	40
1-9 -English Mother Tongue Population, Eastern Townships, 1976.	40
1-10 -Evolution of English, French and Other Mother Tongue Groups in the Ottawa Valley, 1941 - 1976.	42
1-11 -Population of British and French Origins Gaspé and Bonaventure Counties, Quebec, Selected Years.	44
1-12 -Population of French and English Mother Tongue Gaspé Est and Bonaventure, Quebec 1941-1976.	45
1-13 -English Mother Tongue Population in Noranda-Rouyn, Val d'Or, 1971.	49
1-14 -English Mother Tongue Population in Noranda-Rouyn, Val d'Or, 1976.	49
1-15 -Divisions of the Greater Montreal Area - 1976.	52
1-16 -Percentage of Quebec's Population of Neither English nor French Origin.	54
1-17 -Refugees: Province of Intended Destination: Quebec.	56
1-18 -Refugees: Province of Intended Destination: Quebec	56
1-19 -Language Capabilities of Immigrants Intending to come to Quebec, 1979.	58
1-20 -Percentage of People of English Mother Tongue, French Mother Tongue and Other Mother Tongue arriving in Quebec at the end of the periods 1966-1971 and 1971-1976.	58
1-21 -The Population of Quebec by Place of Birth 1951, 1961 & 1971	59
1-22 -Percentage of the population 15 years old and over in occupations in the experienced labour force, by mother tongue Quebec 1971.	61
1-23 -Percentage of the population 15 years old and over in occupations in the experienced labour force, by mother tongue Quebec 1971.	62

# TABLES

	<u>Page</u>
1-24 -Number and percentage of employees, by linguistic region, linguistic status of the position and language group of employee, 1980.	63
1-25 -Ranking of Incomes.	64
1-26 -Percentage Distribution of Workers by Mother Tongue Montreal, 1961, 1971, early 1978.	65
1-27 -Average Revenue of Linguistic Groups, Montreal 1961, 1970, 1977.	66
1-28 -Inter-Provincial Migration at the end of the Periods 1966-71 and 1971-76.	68
1-29 -Inter-Provincial Migration at the end of the Periods 1966-71 and 1971-76.	68
1-30 -International Immigration and Emigration at the end of the Periods 1966-71 and 1971-76.	69
1-31 -Estimate of the number of people who moved to and from Quebec at the end of the periods, 1966-71 and 1971-76	70
4-1 -Location of Quebec Women's Institutes	268
4-2 -Members of the Association of English Language Regional Media (AQREM)	277
4-3 -CBC Radio - English Services, Quebec: Stations on the Air.	279
4-4 -CBC Television, English Services, Quebec.	280
4-5 -CBC Satellite - Northern Services.	281

\* \* \* \* \*

# GRAPHS

2-A -Number of School Boards by Sector 1972-73 & 1980-81.	94
2-B -Distribution of Schools - 1980-81.	95
2-C -Total Number of Schools by Language of Instruction 1977-78 & 1980-81.	96
2-D -Enrollments by Language of Instruction - 1972-73 & 1980-81.	97
2-E -Enrollments by Religion - 1972-73 & 1980-81.	98
2-F -Enrollments by: 1)Language of Instruction, 2) Religion 1972-73 & 1980-81.	99
2-G -Enrollments by Language of Instruction & Religion, 1980-81.	100
2-H -Number of Students in French Immersion Courses in the English Protestant Schools, 1980-81.	127

\* \* \* \* \*



# ILLUSTRATIONS

	<u>Page</u>
Montreal: Part of the Port, looking West	9
Schools in Quebec: The Old...Mansur School, 1817, Stanstead.	139
Schools in Quebec: The New...Alexander Galt Regional High School, Lennoxville.	140
The Royal Victorial Hospital, 1894.	214
McGill College University, 1875.	247
The YMCA Montreal, 1872.	256
Bishop's University, Lennoxville	286

\* \* \* \* \*

# MAPS

Quebec Study Regions	7
English Mother Tongue as a Percentage of the Total Population by Study Regions - 1978.	8
District of Bedford Regional School Board	136
Area Served by the Laurentian Regional School Board.	148
Area Served by the Du Littoral School Board.	154

\* \* \* \* \*

# NOTES

Education Laws and Reports.	88-90
First English Language Elementary and Secondary Schools.	150
English Language Collegial, Post-Secondary Education & Technical Vocational Training.	166-167
Montreal Island Hospitals where the Majority of Patients Use a Language Other than French.	219
Hospitals off the Island of Montreal Where the Majority of Patients Use a Language Other than French.	221
Some Early Libraries with English Language Collections.	252
English Daily Newspapers.	258
Weekly English Newspapers On the Island of Montreal.	260
Weekly English Newspapers Off the Island of Montreal.	273-274
Some Historical Societies with English-Speaking Participation.	289

Acknowledgements:

Alliance Québec would like to thank:

Susan Schachter, for her role in collecting and organizing data, researching, writing and editing the Working Papers;

John Jackson of Concordia University and Gary Caldwell, who acted as consultants and who were members of the Research Committee for this project, along with Eric Maldoff, President of Alliance Québec, and Susan Schachter;

Luana Parker, for her contribution to the education and hospital sections;

Barbara Verity, for her contribution to the cultural section, and helping to edit and prepare the final drafts;

Michael Sheldon of Concordia University, who helped to edit the final Working Papers;

Morris Portnoff of McGill University, for drawing the graphs and maps;

Florence Saunders for typing and helping to prepare the final version;

The many people who gave up valuable time in order to be interviewed and who proof-read the draft papers;

The Secretary of State of Canada for the generous grant which made this project possible.

\* \* \* \* \*

Alliance Québec

Alliance Québec is a new umbrella organization set up to defend the development of the English-speaking community of Quebec. The principal objective of Alliance Québec is to foster the acceptance of an open and multicultural society in the province of Quebec, preserving the language, culture and vitality of its English-speaking people, communities and institutions. Membership is based on individual participation through regional chapters and through member organizations. The programmes of Alliance Québec operate in support of English language educational, health and social services, employment opportunities for the English-speaking population and community animations.

Located at 1411 Crescent Street, Suite 501 in Montreal, the Alliance Québec telephone number is (514) 849-9181. Do not hesitate to call for more information on our activities.

\* \* \* \* \*



## Errata

- Page 65 - Table 1-26 - 1977 should read Early 1978.
- Page 77 - Appendix C-1 Chart - line 1 should read English  
not British.

## INTRODUCTION

This project was designed to provide a resource for Quebec's English-speaking community and others who feel the need for information about themselves and those institutions usually identified as "English". The decision that such a resource was needed was based on both objective and subjective criteria. Objectively, the English-speaking population of Quebec is, and always has been, an unstable one; that is, large numbers of English-speaking people have always been among those moving to and from the province, leaving behind a relatively small core of their fellows with deep roots in Quebec. This high turn-over in population has affected the continuity of the English-speaking community. Such a state of fluidity has made it difficult to evolve a distinctive English-speaking cultural identity with Quebec as its focal point. On the other hand, it has led to a discontinuity in the knowledge of our economic, political and cultural role in Quebec. Hence, the need for a resource such as this.

Subjectively, we detected a feeling of bewilderment: a loss of bearings, so to speak, on the part of many Anglophones in response to the implications of language policy in Quebec and the accompanying new vocabulary expressed in such phrases as "the anglophone minority", "the minorities of Quebec" and "Quebec anglophones". This, too, suggested the need for something like a manual on Quebec anglophonie.

We seldom thought of ourselves in these ways. Rather it was the "French" who used these concepts while we defended, from time to time, the rights of racial and ethnic minorities, remaining secure as individuals in a setting dominated by the anglo-american mainstream of North American culture. For us, there were Canadians and les Canadiens or, more likely,



English and French Canadians and minorities or ethnic groups who were neither English nor French, but who usually became English in the long run.

This has all changed. Recently phrases like "collective rights" and "language rights" have become a part of our everyday conversation. It is as though someone changed the rules of the game, creating a sense of perplexity and the need for information about ourselves as English-speaking Quebecers.

These changes did not take place overnight as they might appear to have. They developed out of the long and complex political and economic history of Quebec and Canada and the varying roles played by English Quebecers in this development. Recent events were implied long ago in the Constitutional Act of 1791, which created Upper and Lower Canada and effectively separated French from English, leaving a linguistic minority in each region. However, it is not our intent to reiterate the details of past events. The point we wish to make is this: the way in which we see ourselves and identify with the world around us, as Canadians and/or as Quebec anglophones, is rooted in our history. We are now taking part in a restructuring of those relations which we inherited from the past; at times a painful process. Painful or not, it is a process which involves not only our feelings about ourselves, but also the institutions which both propagate and support those feelings.

All of us require a sense of identity, an identity which allows us to know who we are and give us the confidence necessary to live and to act. Who we are is, in turn, a composite of where we live and the people among whom we live. But individuals are not suspended in space amongst an indiscriminate mass. Place and people take on - in the complex social world in which we live - particular forms. These forms are landscapes marked by particular types of human activity: organizations within which we interact with others; institutions through which we accomplish the important functions of earning a living and bringing up our children; individual and community welfare; and our language itself,

which makes exchange amongst us possible.

Given the fact of French and English sectors in Quebec, a set of institutions and organizations have developed over the years which have served to separate two categories of people within one body politic. These did not, of course, come into being in order to separate people out along linguistic and religious lines; rather, they came into being because the course of history had already separated people out along these lines. As you might expect, those institutions which separated people out most were traditionally associated with ideology, beliefs and values; namely, religion, education, communications, health and welfare, or the churches, the schools, the media, hospitals and social agencies. These domains of institutional activity do not only provide the obvious services, but also, as noted above, provide the basis for a people's view of themselves and sustain that view. It is for these reasons that, in these Working Papers, we chose to concentrate our efforts on education, health and social services, and culture (which includes both communications and the churches).

In post-war Quebec all of these important aspects of institutional, cultural and social life have been changing as a result of a process of modernization which affects everyone, be we English-speaking, French-speaking, or otherwise.

Modernization, the outcome of advanced industrialization and urbanization, has revolutionized our lives. On one hand we live better materially. On the other, our ways of relating to others and the social machinery we use to get along with one another - institutions and associations - has been revolutionized. The instruments of this revolution in our way of life have been, largely, new communications technology (telephones, television, cars and airplanes); the use of bigger, more efficient, more costly, machines; and finally, a rationalization and centralization of the institutions of social life.

Modernization has, directly and indirectly, an impact on the language we use. Directly, via new communications technology, local lore, local accents and local idioms melt away under the impact of a continental



culture. Indirectly, the expansion and development of the public sector in Quebec, a manifestation of modernization, has gone hand-in-hand with the political affirmation of the French-speaking majority, thereby changing the linguistic environment of English and French-speaking Quebecers.

These changes have altered the way in which we perceive ourselves. When the associations, the institutions and even the language we use and hear are being transformed, it means that the foundations which anchor our sense of who we are begin to shake loose. This is what is happening to English-speaking Quebec, all of which underlines the crucial role of certain aspects of our institutional world. Among those institutions which are particularly vital to a community are schools, health and social services, and religious and cultural institutions. At school, the child's upbringing is completed, we find ourselves in hospitals in moments of great crises, and in church we reaffirm our adherence to essential values and the community which shares these same values. In various "cultural" activities - from the local historical association to the newspapers we read - the particular cultural content of a tradition is relived. For these reasons we have chosen in this text on contemporary English-speaking Quebec to focus on education (Working Paper II); health and social services (Working Paper III); and cultural institutions (Working Paper IV).

With these thoughts in mind, we can now return to the objectives of this project. The process has been a long one. Some time ago members of the Council of Quebec Minorities (now Alliance Quebec) expressed a need for lists of anglophone organizations of all kinds in Quebec, their objectives, their membership composition, and so on. An extensive list was compiled by the Council's research staff, and a questionnaire was sent out to the directors of these institutions. As this information (which is available to the public) was accumulating, it was decided that there was a more general need for information on the development, distribution, and operational problems of minority organizations within the present context of French-English relations. Accordingly, we proceeded to interview key informants associated with the many organizations responding to

the questionnaire in order to create a more comprehensive picture of these organizations and the relations among them. It was from these data that the first drafts of the Working Papers to follow were written. The drafts, in turn, were critically read by a selection of people knowledgeable in the various domains (education, health and social services, etc.) in which the organizations under study operated.

Yet, we might again ask, why such an undertaking? There are two reasons. The first has to do with the geographic dispersion of English-speaking Quebec. Traditionally, English-speaking Quebecers have defined themselves in relation to a particular locale rather than on the basis of the province as a whole. However, because the political affirmation of French-speaking Quebec and the subsequent weakening of local or regional English-speaking cultures, it has become necessary to think in terms of a larger entity - English-speaking Quebec. To do so we must know something about this "English-speaking Quebec": who its members are, where they come from and where they are in Quebec - hence our "demographic" Working Paper I.

There is yet a second purpose in trying to lay out the demographic and institutional outlines of English-speaking Quebec. It has to do with change. In fact, so much is changing so fast that it is almost impossible to arrive at a statement of what English-speaking Quebec is. The fluid situation in the educational sphere which emerges from the descriptions in Working Paper II is a good illustration of this state of flux - what exactly in an English school in contemporary Quebec?

Nonetheless, the change is taking place and, as a consequence, English Quebec is changing. Although this makes it difficult to describe education (Working Paper II) in English Quebec, it has the merit of forcing us to face some very vital questions, such as: where are we going with English education? In the light of the current debate and controversy around the present government's apparent intentions with regard to the restructuring of educational institutions, it is doubly important that we have an informed vision of what is actually going on

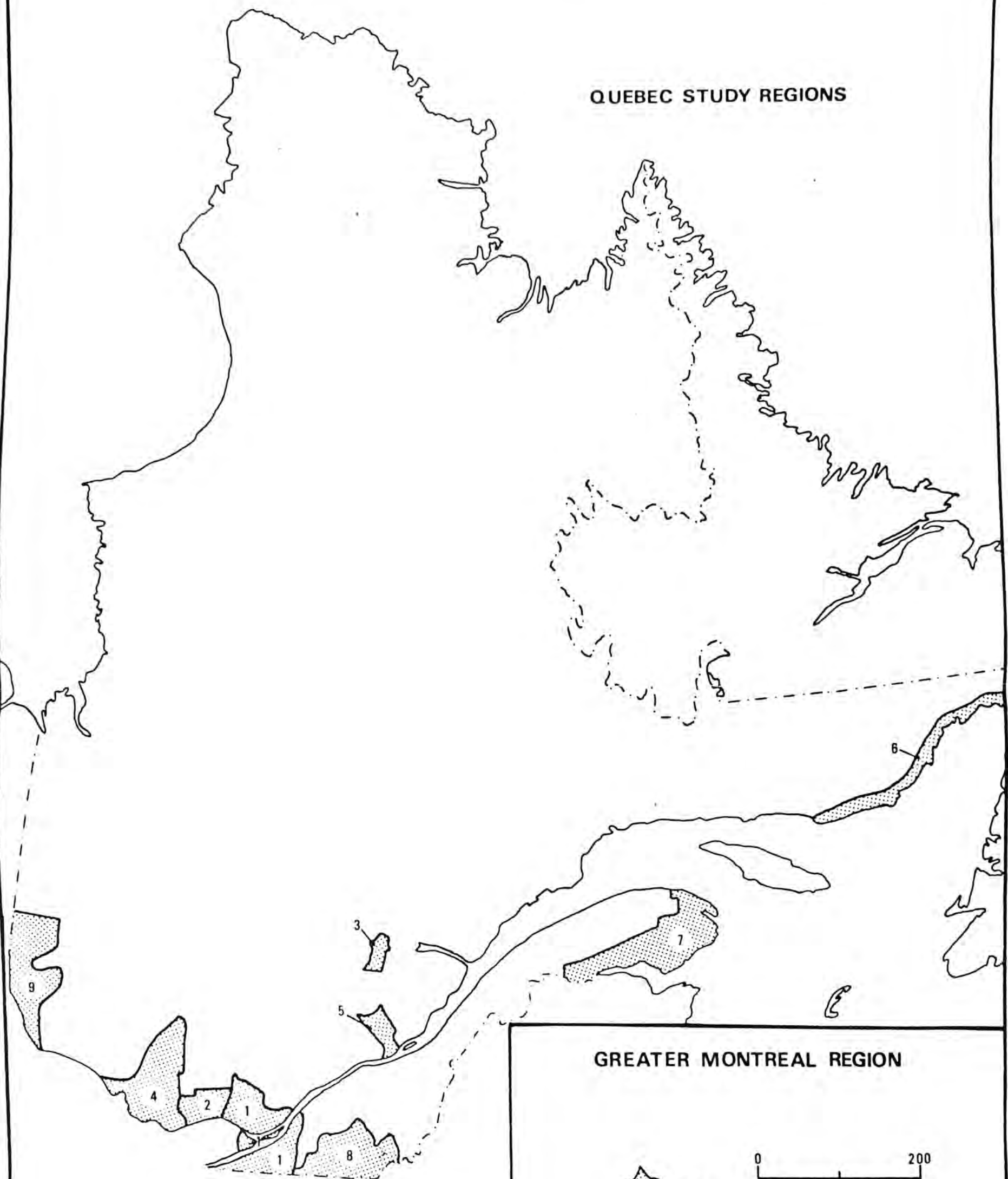


in English education and what the essential issues are,

It is, then, very difficult to provide an adequate moment-in-time outline of English Quebec owing to the changes in progress. Some of these changes are the outcome of forces that have been working in English Quebec for a long time. These same forces have had a determining effect on the present character of English Quebec and provide the precise context from which this project emerged.

We hope that these Working Papers, which address issues of concern in the English-speaking community, will contribute to a new consciousness within English-speaking Quebec, based on a deeper awareness and stimulate a continuing debate around the English-speaking community of Quebec.

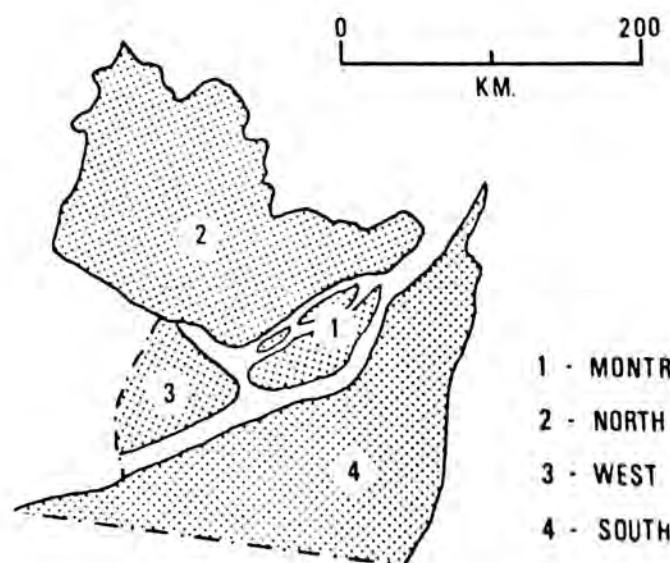
# QUEBEC STUDY REGIONS



0 200  
KM

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 - GREATER MONTREAL REGION | 6 - LOWER NORTH SHORE |
| 2 - LAURENTIANS             | 7 - GASPÉ             |
| 3 - LAC ST-JEAN/SAGUENAY    | 8 - EASTERN TOWNSHIPS |
| 4 - OTTAWA VALLEY           | 9 - WESTERN QUEBEC    |
| 5 - QUEBEC CITY             |                       |

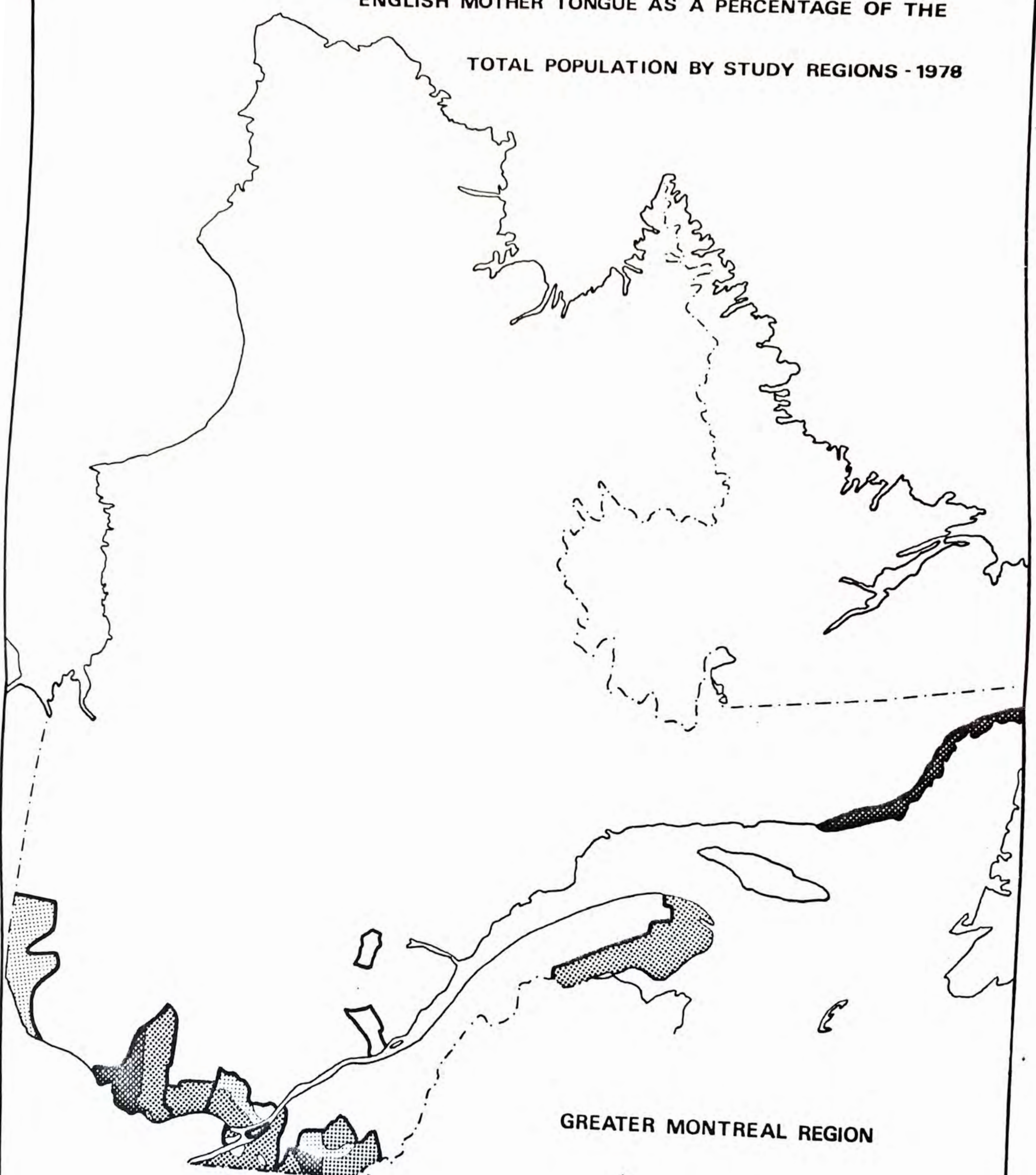
## GREATER MONTREAL REGION







- |                 |
|-----------------|
| 1 - MONTREAL    |
| 2 - NORTH       |
| 3 - WEST        |
| 4 - SOUTH SHORE |

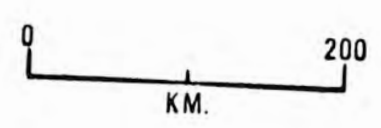


# ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION BY STUDY REGIONS - 1978

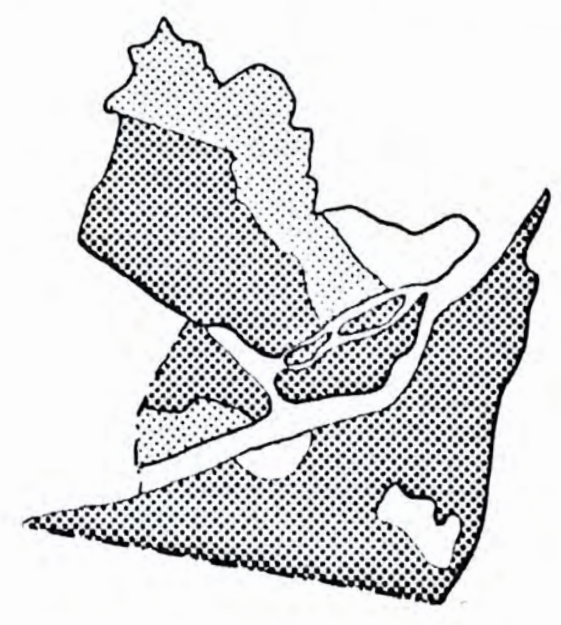


GREATER MONTREAL REGION

-  < 5%
-  5 - < 10%
-  10 - < 50%
-  ≥ 50%

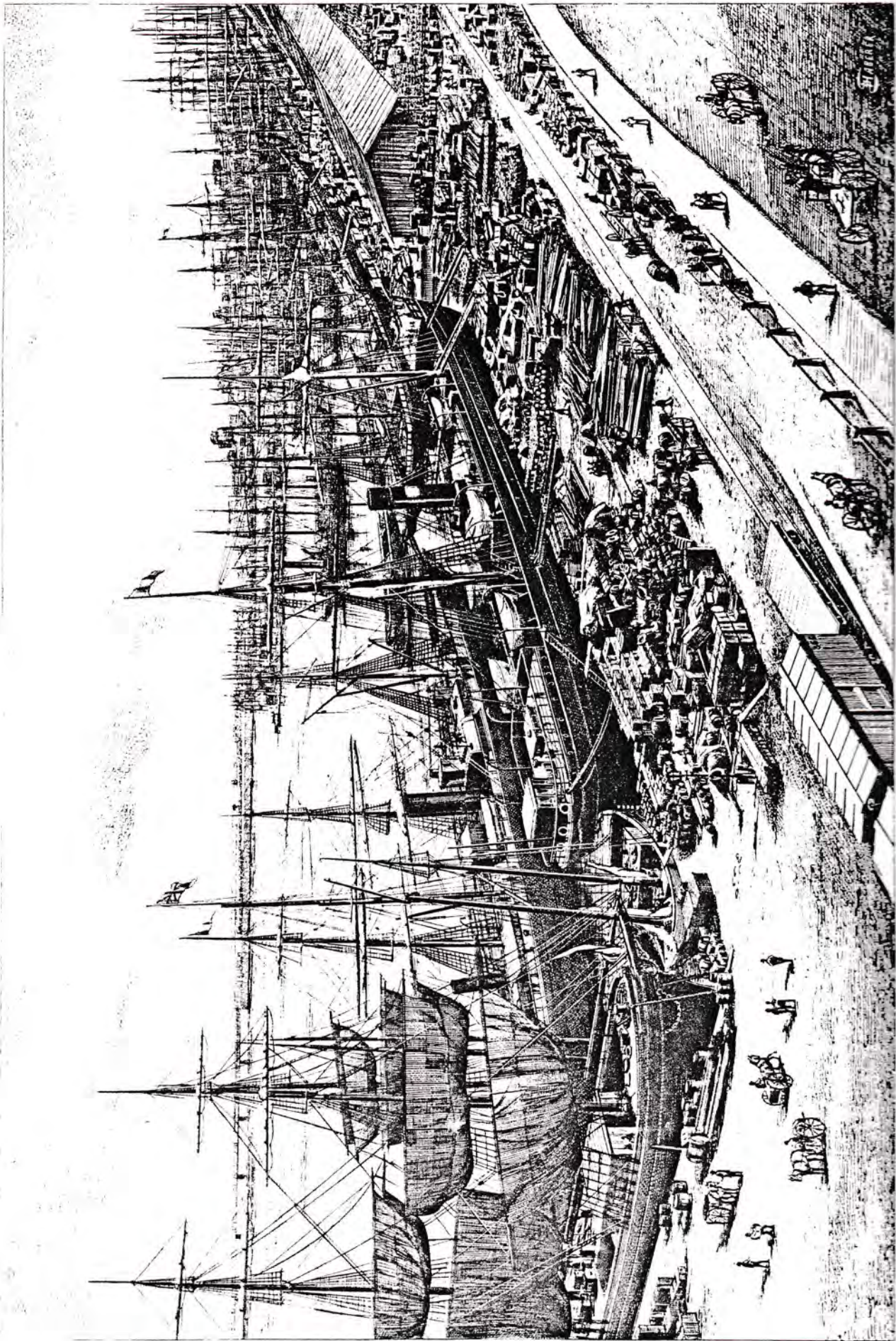


< LESS THAN  
≥ GREATER THAN OR EQUAL TO



Working Paper I: The People





MONTREAL: PART OF THE PORT, LOOKING WEST.

Photograph provided by the Mc Cord Museum, Montreal.



We often describe ourselves in terms of our ethnic origins, the languages we speak, the ethnic or racial group to which we belong, and the religion to which we adhere. To some extent these characteristics are measured by census data. The census can also describe broad historical trends in population growth, migration and settlement by the examination of birth rates, mortality, immigration and emigration.

Yet even with a wealth of statistical data we cannot be 100 per cent accurate in defining "who we are". It is difficult to quantify the characteristics of any group with total precision for too many variables must be taken into account. "Mother tongue" and "ethnic origin" can be quite arbitrary categories since they do not always relate to present reality; nor are they always comparable from one census year to another. "Religion" gives some indication of who we are, but it does not reveal much about other factors. Even when describing patterns of movement, there is insufficient data on ethnic and linguistic patterns of emigration with the result that much of the information regarding migrations from Quebec is based on estimates.

In summary, the data which we have at hand cannot be treated as absolute. Indeed, the methods of census questioning and analysis have been criticized by more than one demographer.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, census data refer to a specific moment in time. What we really derive from them is a cross-section of the population - a "snapshot"<sup>2</sup> frozen in time.

The purpose of this chapter is not to treat available information as the last word in the description of Quebec's English-speaking population; nor do we wish to enter any war of numbers. Rather, data are presented to reveal certain tendencies that describe the English-speaking population of Quebec by looking at: Who we are; where we are; where we come from; what we do; and where we are going.

---

<sup>1</sup> J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.23-25.

<sup>2</sup> J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.21.



Who We Are

A) Ethnic Origin and Ethnic Group

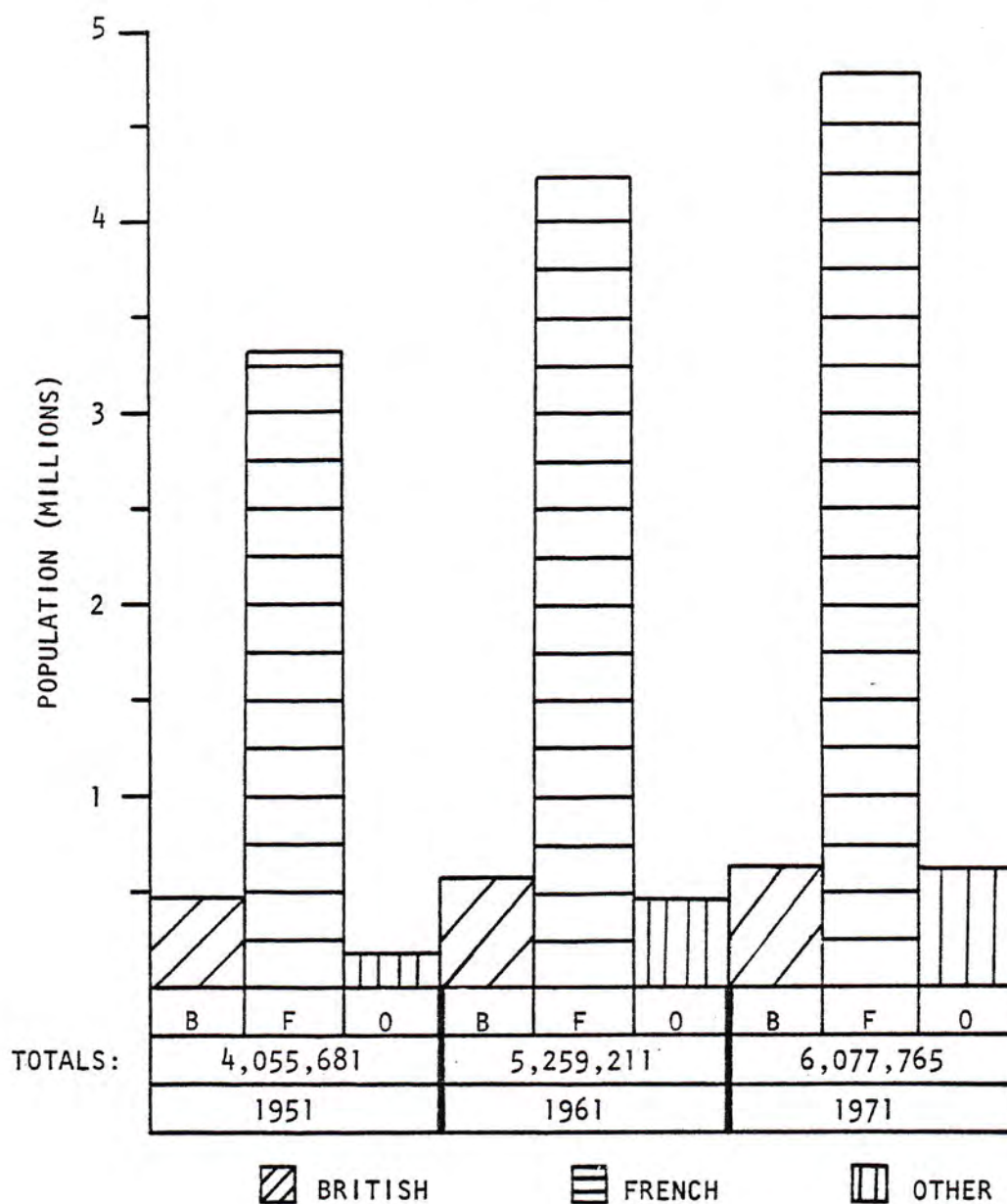
By the time Jacques Cartier claimed the east coast of North America for the King of France in 1534, its shores had already been visited by Viking sailors in the 12th century; Basque, French and Portuguese fishermen during the 15th century; and the explorer John Cabot. Many seasonal fishing stations were set up during the late 1500s, but permanent European settlement was not attempted until Samuel de Champlain established Port Royal (1604) and St-Croix (1608). The conquest of New France by Britain in 1759 led greater numbers of people of British origin to settle in Lower Canada. This community was augmented to some extent by United Empire Loyalists who left the United States after the American War of Independence (1783) and, slightly later, by British immigrants escaping the poor economic conditions which resulted from the Napoleonic Wars (1816). In addition, the 19th century Highland Clearances in Scotland and the famine in Ireland (1840s) generated British immigration to several parts of North America, including Lower Canada.

Although there is evidence of Italian, Jewish, Polish and German settlement during Quebec's early history, people of French, English, Irish, Scottish and American descent continued to form the major ethnic groups until the dawn of the 20th century. Only since then, and particularly since 1945, did immigrants of diverse cultural backgrounds begin to enter in large numbers from eastern and southern Europe, Asia and Africa.

The census category "ethnic origin", which is determined by the origin of an individual's first paternal ancestor to arrive in Canada, is one method used to describe our cultural composition. In fact, from 1871 to 1921, when the Canadian census bureau began collecting data on languages, it was the only such indicator. The following graphs 1-A, 1-B, 1-C and 1-D provide an illustration of our ethnic origins between 1951 and 1971, and the tables in Appendix A-1, A-2, A-3 (p.72-74) offer a more complete historical overview of the ethnic origins of the Quebec population from 1871 to 1971. Together these tables and graphs

Graph 1-A

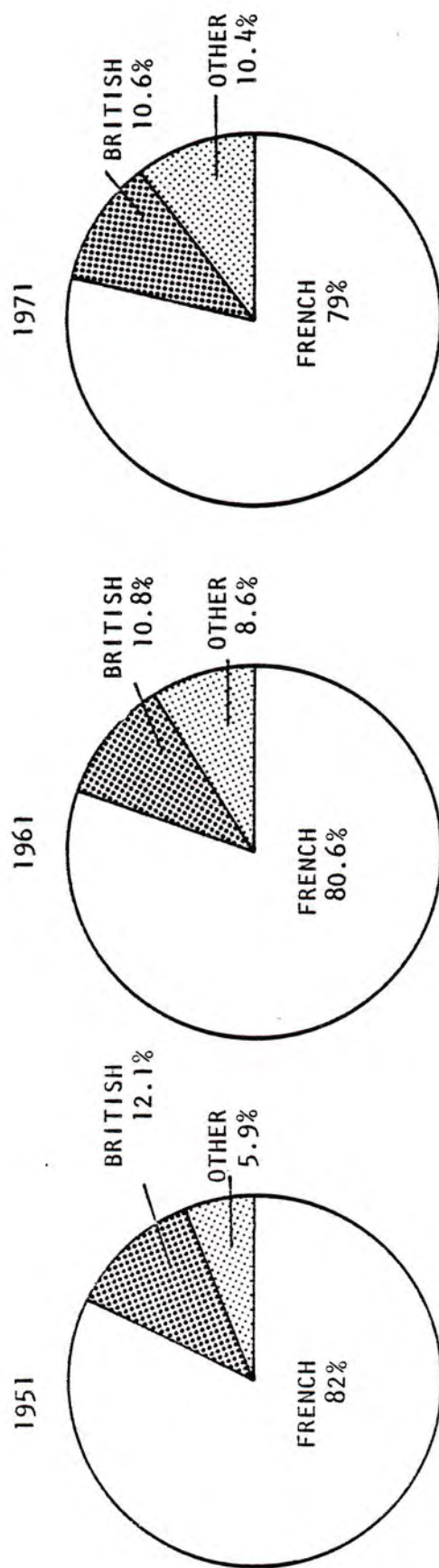
ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF QUEBEC  
1951, 1961, & 1971



Source: J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.



PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF QUEBEC BY ETHNIC ORIGIN  
1951, 1961, & 1971

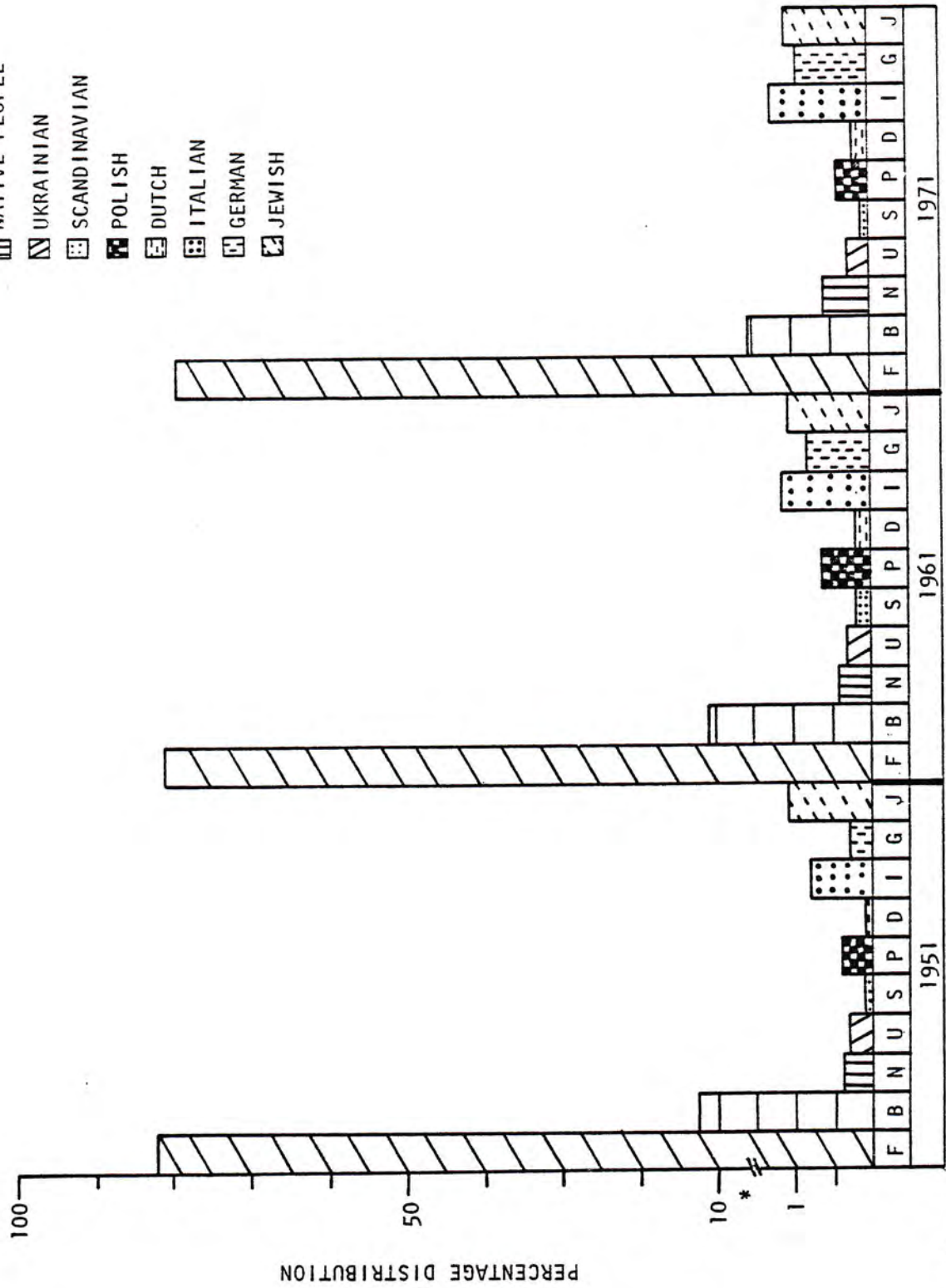


Source: J. de Vries, unpublished Study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OF QUEBEC BY ETHNIC ORIGIN

1951, 1961, & 1971

- ☐ FRENCH
- ☐ BRITISH
- ☐ NATIVE PEOPLE
- ☐ UKRAINIAN
- ☐ SCANDINAVIAN
- ☐ POLISH
- ☐ DUTCH
- ☐ ITALIAN
- ☐ GERMAN
- ☐ JEWISH



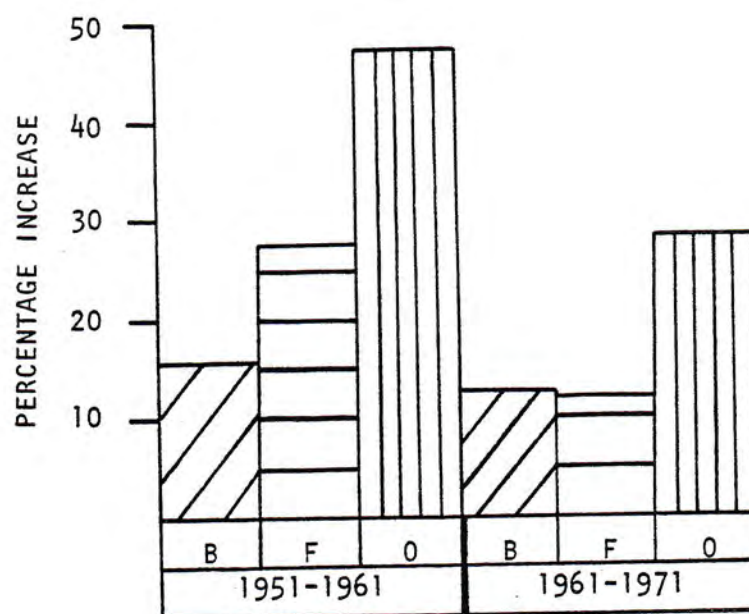
\*Note break in scale

Source: J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.



Graph 1-D

INTERCENSAL RATES OF CHANGE BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, QUEBEC  
1951-1961 AND 1961-1971



B - BRITISH  
F - FRENCH  
O - OTHER

Source: J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.

illustrate that the largest ethnic groups were of French and British descent and that British, French and most other groups have increased numerically over the years. Yet, despite this growth, the relative proportion of the British group has declined steadily from 20.4 per cent in 1871 to 10.6 per cent in 1971, while the French group has remained proportionately quite stable. In addition, the rate of growth within each group has fluctuated from one census year to the next. Recently, both the British and French groups have expanded less quickly than the other groups.

It is important to note that ethnic origin, while it is unalterable<sup>3</sup> and while it may express a common identity, sense of tradition and language among a particular group of people, has serious shortcomings as an accurate reflection of a society's cultural make-up. In the first place, the ancestral affiliation is often so far in the past that, in many cases, it has become folkloric. In effect, the extent to which ethnic ties of the past reflect those of the present is questionable. Secondly, the link to a paternal ancestor may be of little consequence. For example, intermarriage often results in children identifying with their mother's linguistic and cultural background rather than that of their father. Many people with Irish or Scottish paternal ancestors who married French-speaking women have assumed the language and culture of their maternal ancestors. Hence, many francophone families bear names like Ryan, Johnson, Burns or Blackburn. Similarly, there are many anglophone families with names like Nadeau, Dionne and Potvin.

Finally, unless we assume that there is no ethnic mobility in Quebec - and cases of intermarriage show that this is not true<sup>4</sup> - ethnic

---

<sup>3</sup> Gendron Commission Report, (Vol. 3, p.51).

<sup>4</sup> According to Statistics Canada about 13 per cent of the men of British origin in 1971 were married to women of French origin and 6.5 of these men were married to women who were of neither French nor British descent. See Appendix B-1, B-2 (p. 75-76) for detailed tables on intermarriage.



origin can never constitute, by itself, a complete description of a population's real ethnic composition. A cursory glance at the history of the Huguenots who settled in Quebec provides us with an example of how ethnic identification can change.

The Huguenots were French-speaking Protestants who fled from France and Italy during the religious wars of the 17th century. Many settled in the Channel Islands between England and France. Several then came to Quebec where they established trading companies at Quebec City, the Gaspé and along the Lower North Shore. Those who married Protestant generally maintained their religion, but became English-speaking; on the other hand, those who married Catholics generally preserved their French language, but converted to Catholicism. The result is that few direct descendants of these Huguenots have remained both French-speaking and Protestant.

The broad conclusions which can be drawn are that ethnic origin does not necessarily imply the use of a particular language, nor does it always correspond to the most current ethnic identifications, since the linguistic and religious characteristics of an individual within a particular ethnic group may alter. With these considerations in mind, we turn to "mother tongue" and "home language" as other methods of describing our social and cultural composition.

#### B) Mother Tongue and Home Language

Quebec social, political and economic development since the 1760s has been closely linked to the evolution of the French and English linguistic groups. Linguistic developments have been affected by changes in the fertility and mortality rates, immigration and emigration as well as by demographic exchanges.

Since 1941 the Canadian census has designated mother tongue as

the language first learned in childhood and still understood. However, like the classification, "ethnic origin", this category too has certain drawbacks as an accurate assessment of a population's linguistic composition. For example, bilingual or multilingual people are not always consistent in declaring the same mother tongue from one census to the next. Furthermore, certain census years did not make allowances for multiple responses by people who acquired more than one language in childhood. Also, an individual may use a "home language" (a census category introduced in 1971), which is different from the mother tongue. This is particularly true of immigrants and their children whose home language may reflect an adaptation to the language of their adopted country.

A comparison between home language and mother tongue in 1971 reveals that the proportion of the Quebec population which used English in the home was significantly greater than the proportion of the population which declared English as its mother tongue. Presumably, this is because a greater number of people who spoke neither English nor French as a mother tongue chose to speak English. In 1971, 789,185 people claimed English as their Mother Tongue and 887,875 claimed English as their home language.

Table 1-1

Comparison between Mother Tongue and  
Home Language, 1971.

	<u>Mother Tongue</u>	<u>Home Language</u>
French	80.7	80.8
English	13.1	14.7
Other	6.2	4.5

Source: Adapted from Rejean Lachapelle,  
Cultural Boundaries and Cohesion  
of Canada, p.28.



Noting these reservations we can proceed to Graphs 1-E, 1-F and 1-G and the numerical tables in Appendix C-1, C-2, C-3, (p.77-78), which give an historical overview of the Quebec population by mother tongue.<sup>5</sup>

These tables and graphs indicate that the proportion of the English mother tongue population has diminished slowly but steadily from 14.9 per cent in 1931 to 12.8 per cent in 1976. It also appears that the linguistic evolution of Quebec Francophones, which has fluctuated slightly, is dependent on the number of people whose mother tongue is neither English nor French. The proportion of Francophones increases as the number of Allophones decreases and vice versa.

C) Comparison of Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue

A discrepancy between a person's ethnic origin and mother tongue constitutes what is called a "language shift". In Canada a shift toward English or French is viewed as a measure of assimilation.<sup>6</sup> Useful as this comparative data may be in indicating the degree of assimilation to either of our major linguistic groups, it must be viewed with some caution for we do not always know exactly when the language shift occurred. For example, person A whose grandfather was the first paternal ancestor to arrive in Canada from Italy would have Italian as an ethnic origin. But person A's mother or father may have most commonly spoken French as a home language, and French may have become A's mother tongue.<sup>7</sup> In many cases the language shift may have occurred even further in the past. In other words, we cannot know precisely the extent to which recent events (such as language legislation in Quebec) or past events have

-----  
<sup>5</sup> There are other complications in interpreting mother tongue data. A structural change in the 1971 census meant that mother tongue data gathered before the change are not strictly comparable with the years after. In 1971 the "not stated" category was not listed as such in census reports. The people who did not state their mother tongue were then pro-rated across the other categories. In 1976 subsequent to controversy over the 1971 practice, responses were listed as such.

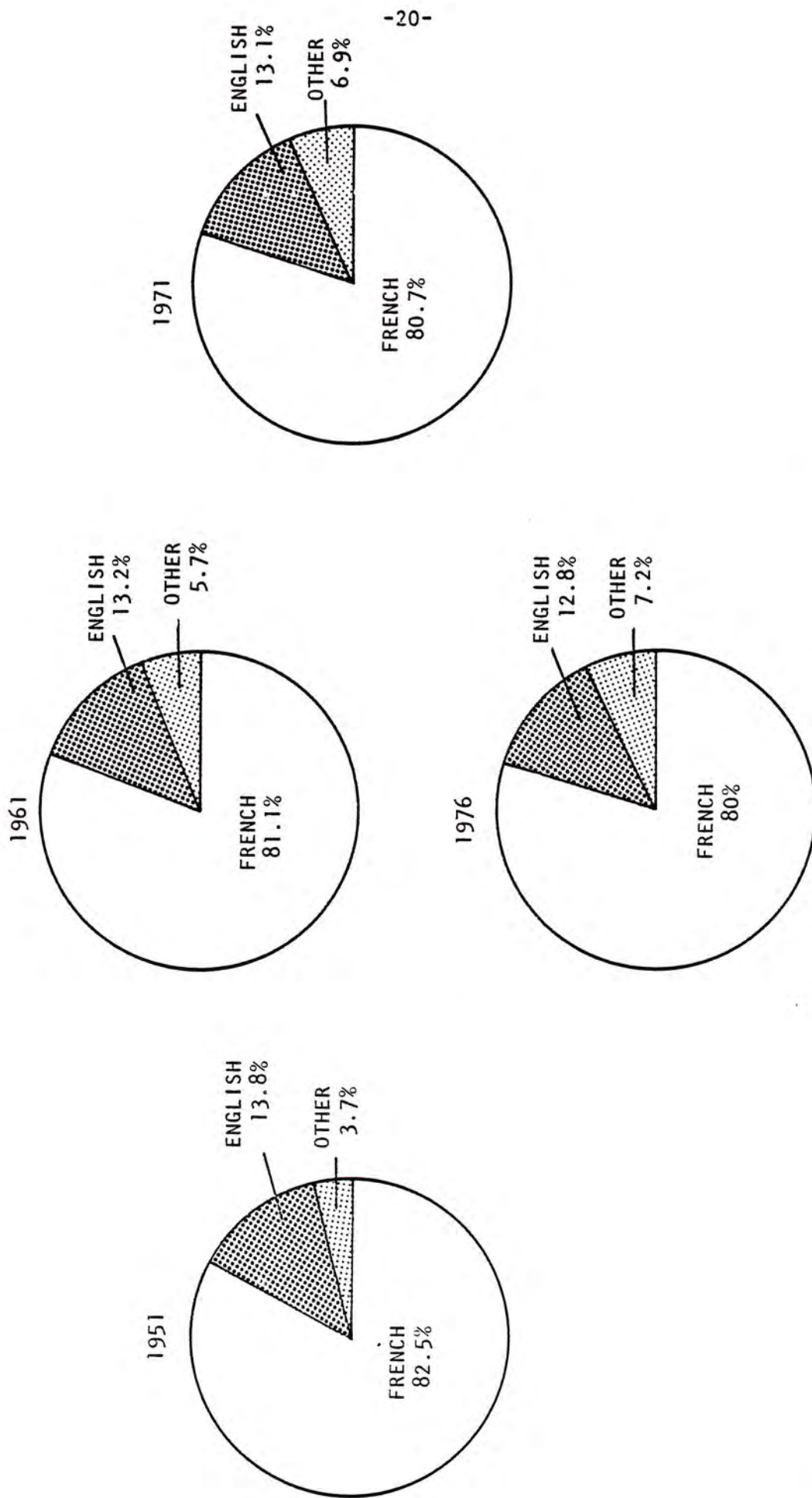
<sup>6</sup> J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.10.

<sup>7</sup> J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.10.

Graph 1-E

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE QUEBEC POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE

1951, 1961, 1971, 7 1976

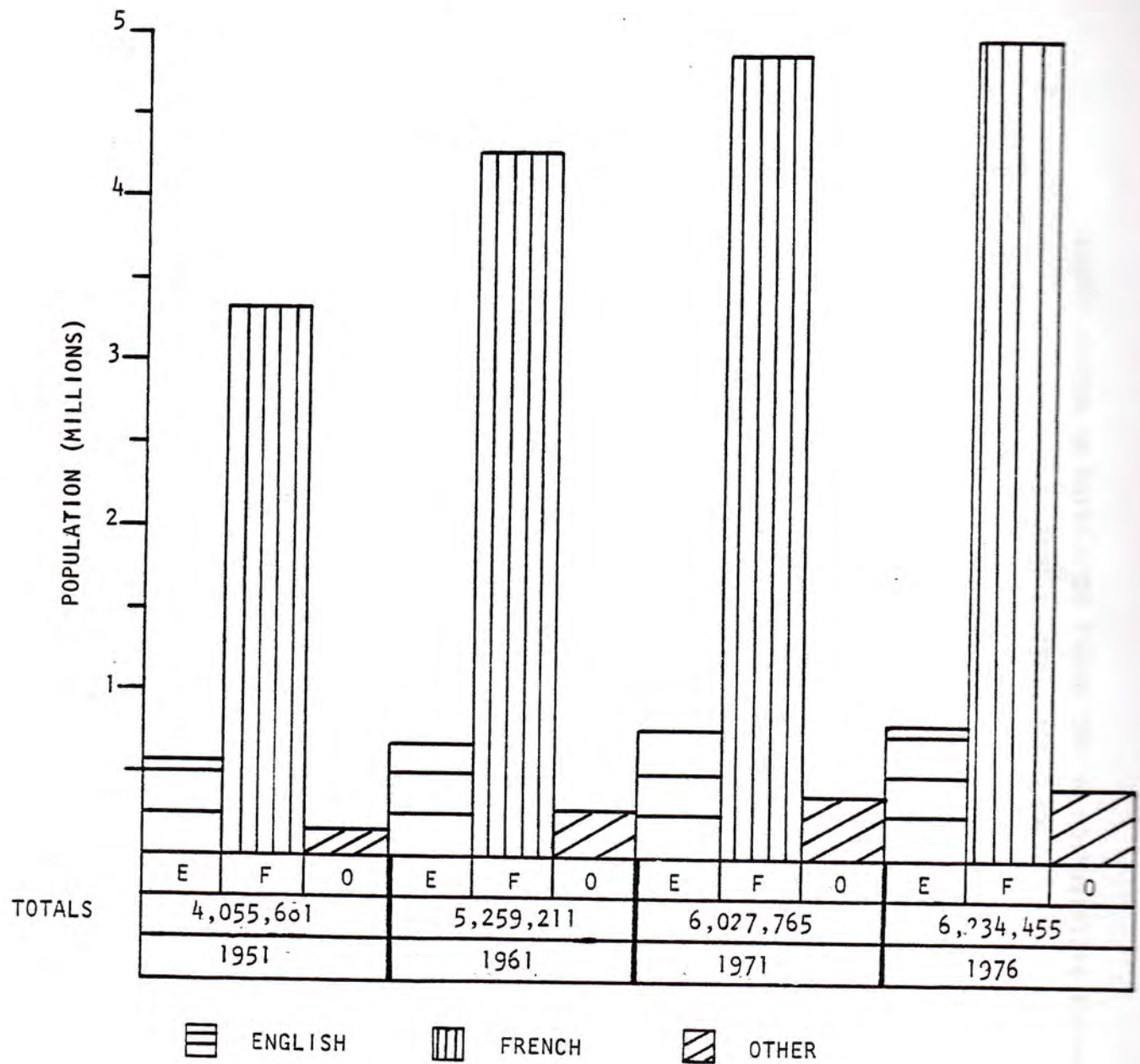


Source: J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.



Graph 1-F

DISTRIBUTION OF THE QUEBEC POPULATION BY MOTHER TONGUE  
1961 - 1976

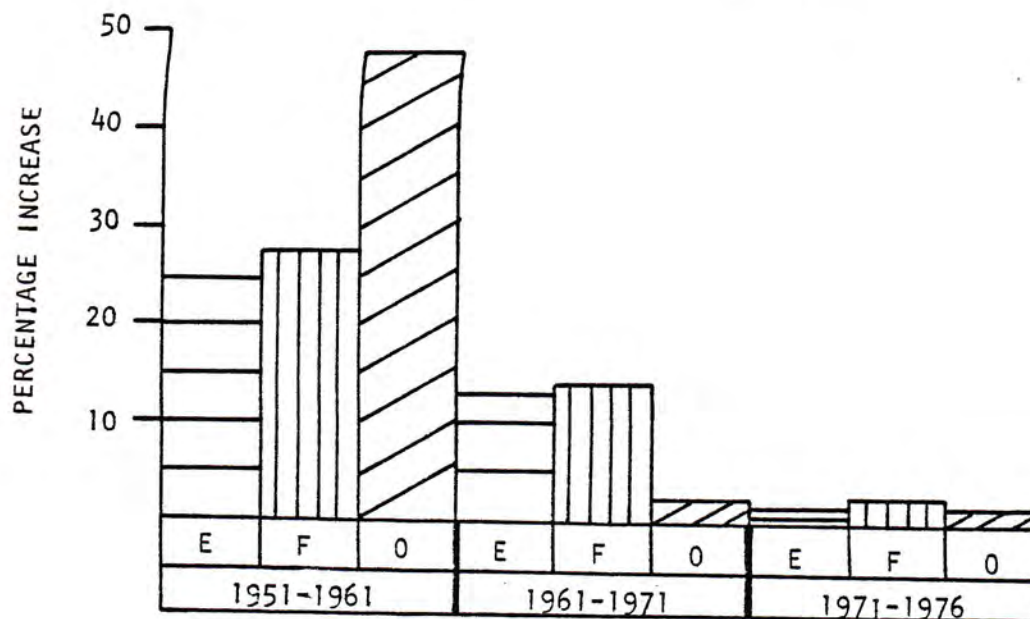


E - ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE  
F - FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE  
O - OTHER MOTHER TONGUES

Source: J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.

Graph 1-G

INTERCENSAL GROWTH RATES BY MOTHER TONGUE  
1951-1961, 1961-1971, & 1971-1976



E - ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE  
F - FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE  
O - OTHER MOTHER TONGUES

Note: First two sections of graph, 1951-61 and 1961-71, cover a ten-year period, while the third section, 1971-76, covers only a five-year period.

Source: J. de Vries, unpublished study for the Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.



influenced the rate of assimilation by examining "language shift" alone.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, the information is a guide to certain trends.

Until 1941 the coincidence of ethnic origin and mother tongue was virtually identical for those of British or French origin. Over 90 per cent of those whose ethnic origin was British gave English as their mother tongue and the percentage was even higher for those of French ethnic origin. However, by 1971, 16.5 per cent of those of British origin spoke French as their mother tongue, while only 1.6 per cent of those of French origin spoke English as their mother tongue, as the Graphs 1-H, 1-I and 1-J show.<sup>9</sup>

If language shift is greater among those of British origin, then why has language been such an explosive issue in recent years? The answer is found by looking at the language shift among those who are of neither French nor British origin. The following Tables 1-2 and 1-3 show quite clearly that until 1971 the attraction to the English language among allophones has been much greater than to French. Of all immigrant groups, only the Italians have shifted more to French than to English as a mother tongue. The same trend has been apparent for mother tongue groups shifting toward a different home language.<sup>10</sup> This fact, plus the declining birth rate among Francophones and a mediocre economic situation, has been the basis of the language question in Quebec for the past 20 years. According to Réjean Lachapelle, a demographer at the Université de Montréal:

---

<sup>8</sup> It is important to note that language shift also varies with age, place of birth, parents' place of birth, length of residence in Canada for foreign born and level of education.

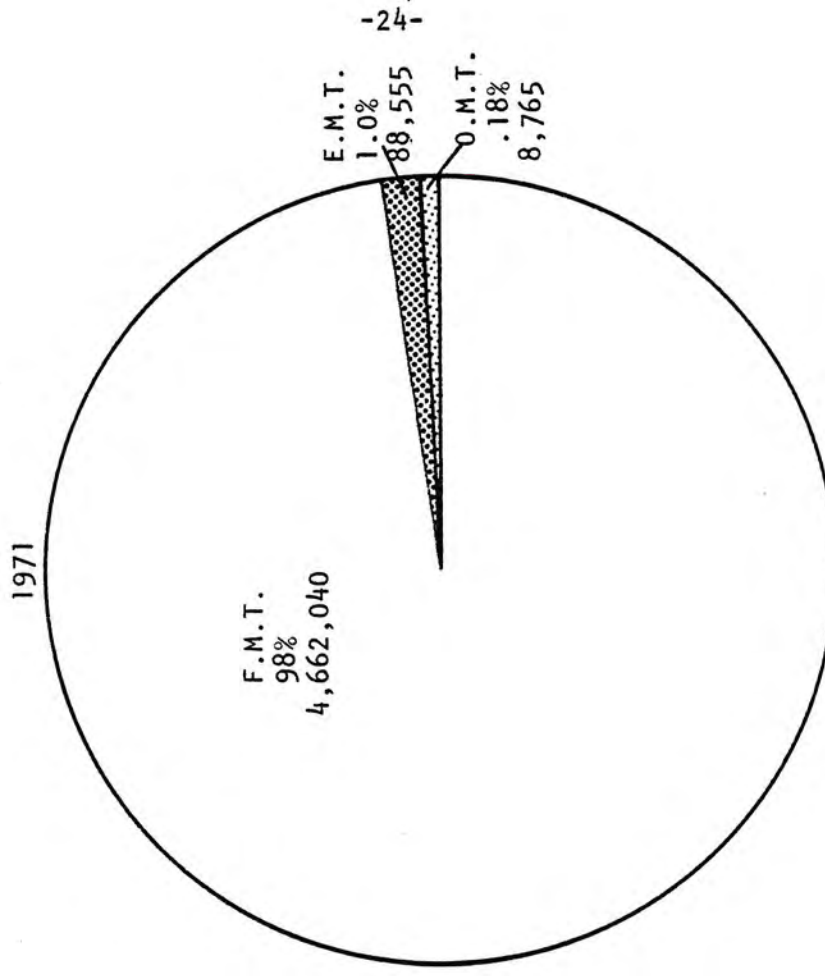
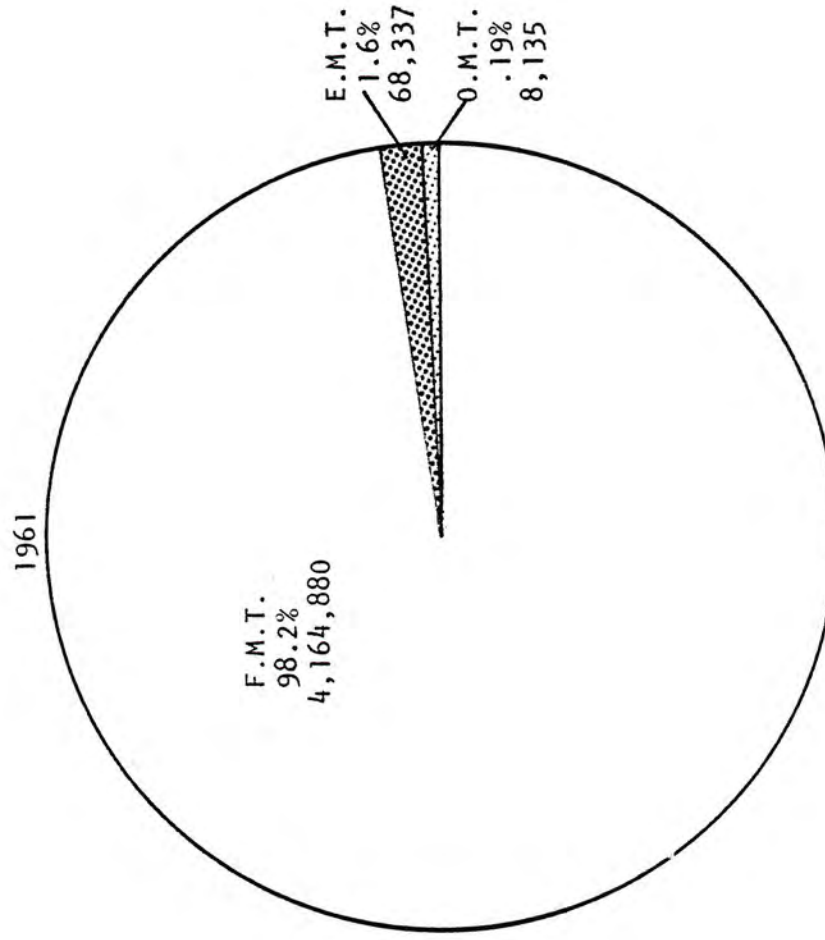
<sup>9</sup> The numerical table for these graphs appears in Appendix D, page 79.

<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, there is no breakdown for those of Spanish or Portuguese origins who have been arriving in Quebec since the late 1960s. However, it appears that they have assimilated more into the French milieu even before language legislation.

Graph 1-II

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE  
BY LINGUISTIC GROUP - QUEBEC 1961 & 1971

FRENCH ORIGIN



E.M.T. - ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE  
F.M.T. - FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE  
O.M.T. - OTHER MOTHER TONGUE

Source: J. de Vries, Unpublished study for Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.

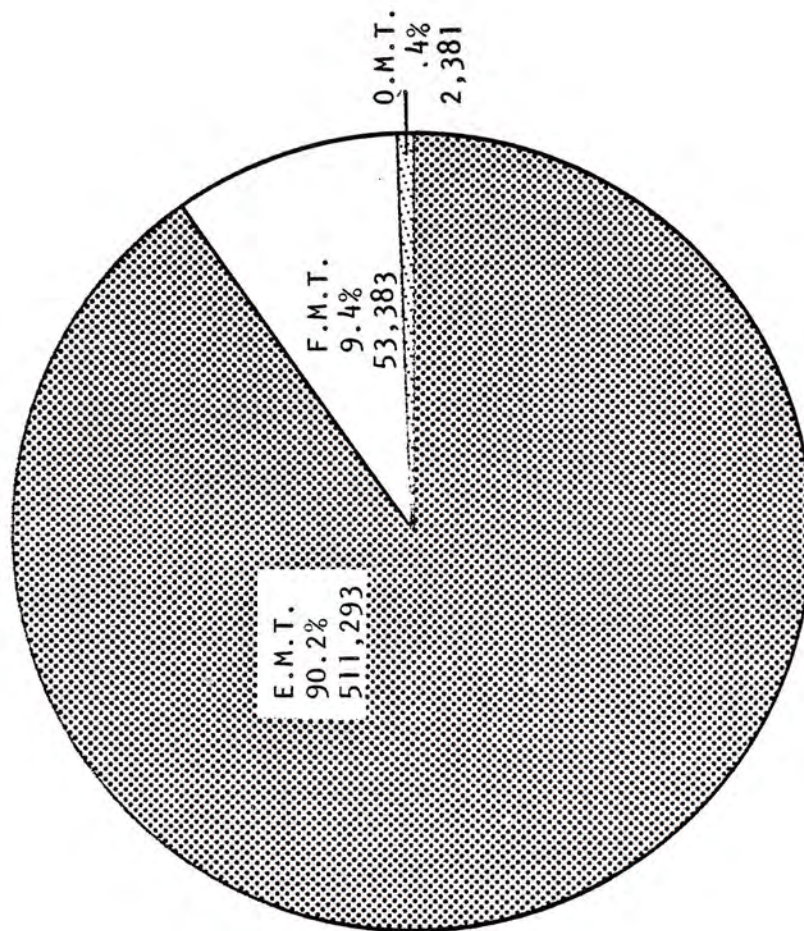


Graph 1-1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE  
BY LINGUISTIC GROUP - QUEBEC 1961 & 1971

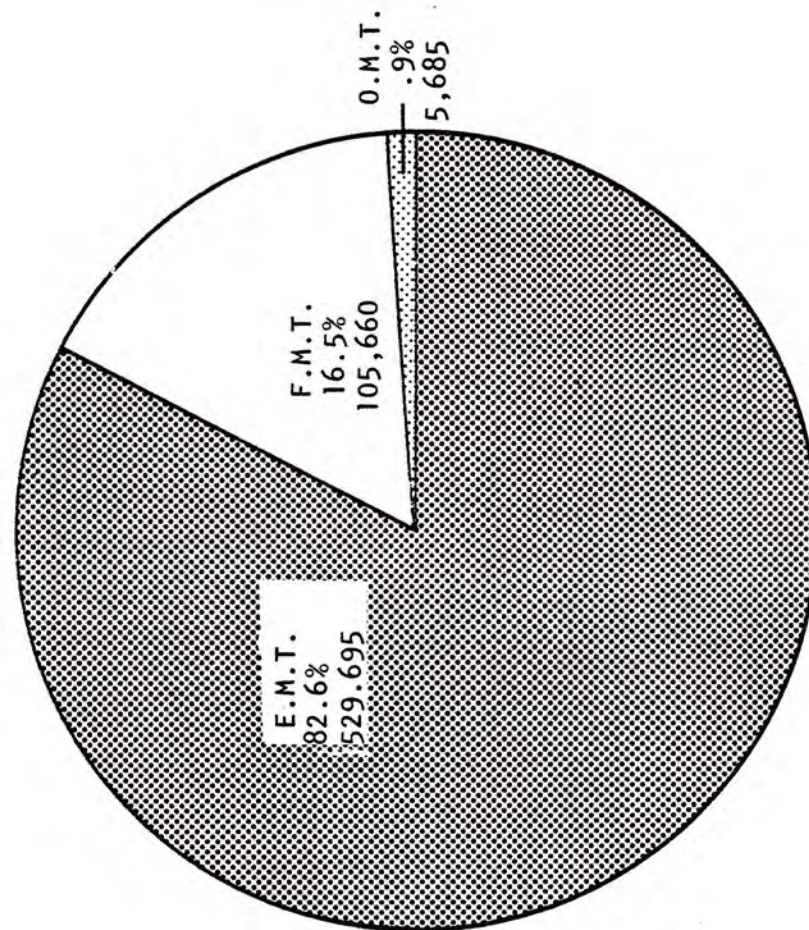
BRITISH ORIGIN

1961



TOTAL: 567,057

1971



TOTAL: 640,040

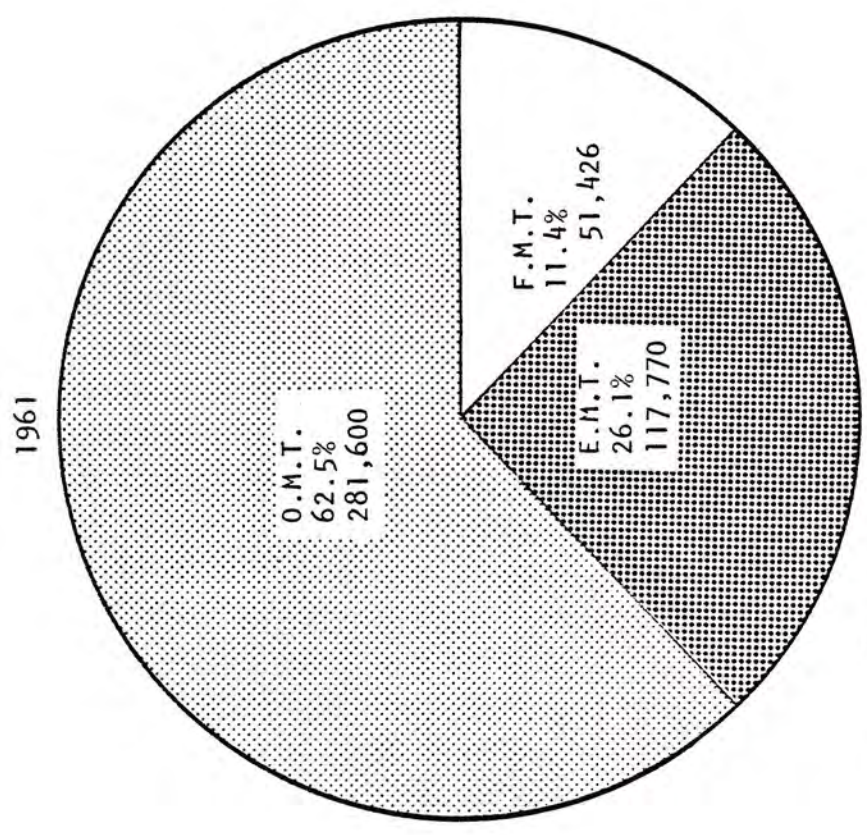
E.M.T. ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE  
F.M.T. FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE  
O.M.T. OTHER MOTHER TONGUES

Source: as in Graph 1-1.

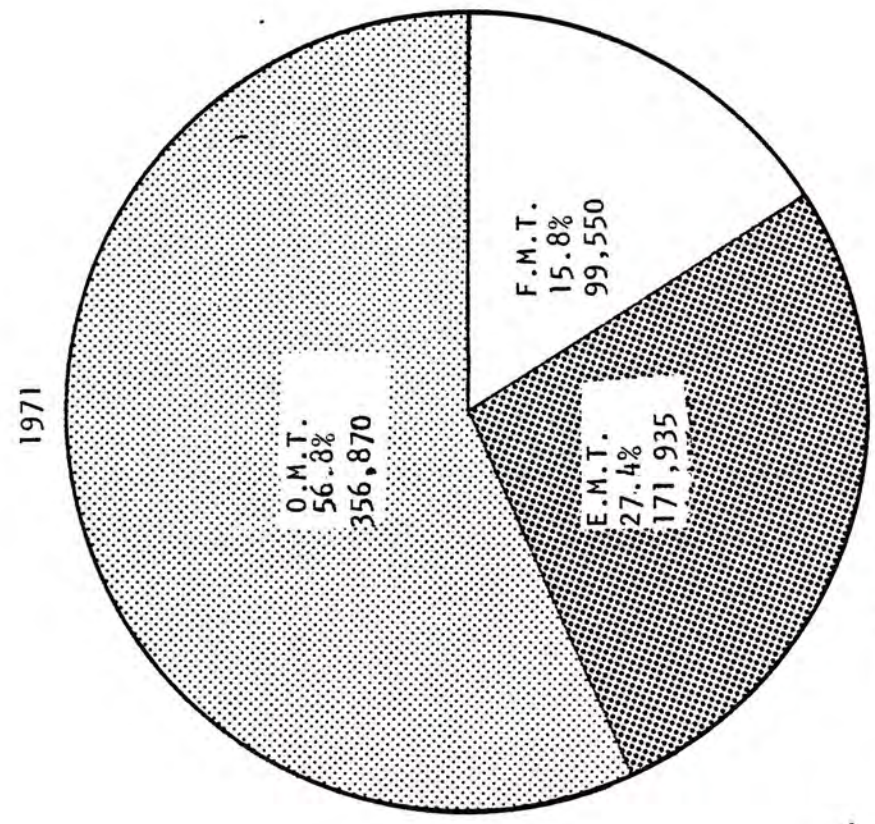


Graph 1-J  
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC ORIGIN AND MOTHER TONGUE  
BY LINGUISTIC GROUP - QUEBEC 1961 & 1971.

ORIGINS OTHER THAN BRITISH OR FRENCH



TOTAL: 450,796



TOTAL: 628,355

E.M.T. ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE  
F.M.T. FRENCH MOTHER TONGUE  
O.M.T. OTHER MOTHER TONGUES

Source: as in Graph 1-H.



"Due to the orientation toward English of third-group linguistic transfers, the French majority in Quebec, no longer benefiting from an appreciably higher fertility, faces a disturbing alternative: either the economic situation is satisfactory and immigration exceeds emigration, in which case Quebec maintains or drops slightly in demographic strength in the Canadian picture, but the proportion of francophones risks a strong drop in Quebec; or the economic situation is mediocre and emigration exceeds immigration, in which case the percentage of francophones is likely to rise in Quebec, but the strength of Quebec will decrease in the Canadian population. This undoubtedly partially explains why the Quebec government called for increased power over immigration, and in 1974 and 1977, adopted two very important laws designed to protect and improve the position of the French language." 11

Table 1-2

Comparison of ethnic groups shifting to English Mother Tongue or French Mother Tongue, 1971, Quebec.

	<u>E.M.T.</u>	<u>F.M.T.</u>
British	N/A	16.5
French	1.9	N/A
German	30.2	27.7
Italian	8.8	14.4
Jewish	63.0	7.7
Dutch	48.3	14.3
Polish	29.2	11.7
Scandinavian	58.6	17.8
Ukrainian	33.9	8.3

Source : J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.105.

-----  
11 Réjean Lachapelle, Cultural Boundaries, p. 36.

Table 1-3

Percentage of Mother Tongue Group Shifting to  
English or French Home Language, Province of  
Quebec, 1971.

<i>Mother Tongue</i>	<i>To English</i>	<i>To French</i>	<i>Total Shift</i>
English	xxx	6.2	6.2
French	1.5	xxx	1.5
Chinese	17.1	3.1	20.2
Czech	35.1	7.7	42.8
Slovak	37.5	4.9	42.4
Danish	69.9	6.1	76.0
Inuktitut	1.5	0.1	1.6
Native Indian	15.6	1.9	17.5
German	47.8	11.3	59.1
Italian	10.7	12.5	23.2
Hungarian	31.8	5.6	37.4
Dutch	60.8	9.6	70.4
Polish	35.2	7.4	42.6
Ukrainian	31.8	4.6	36.4
Yiddish	16.3	11.0	27.3

Source: J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada,  
p.120.

#### D) Bilingualism

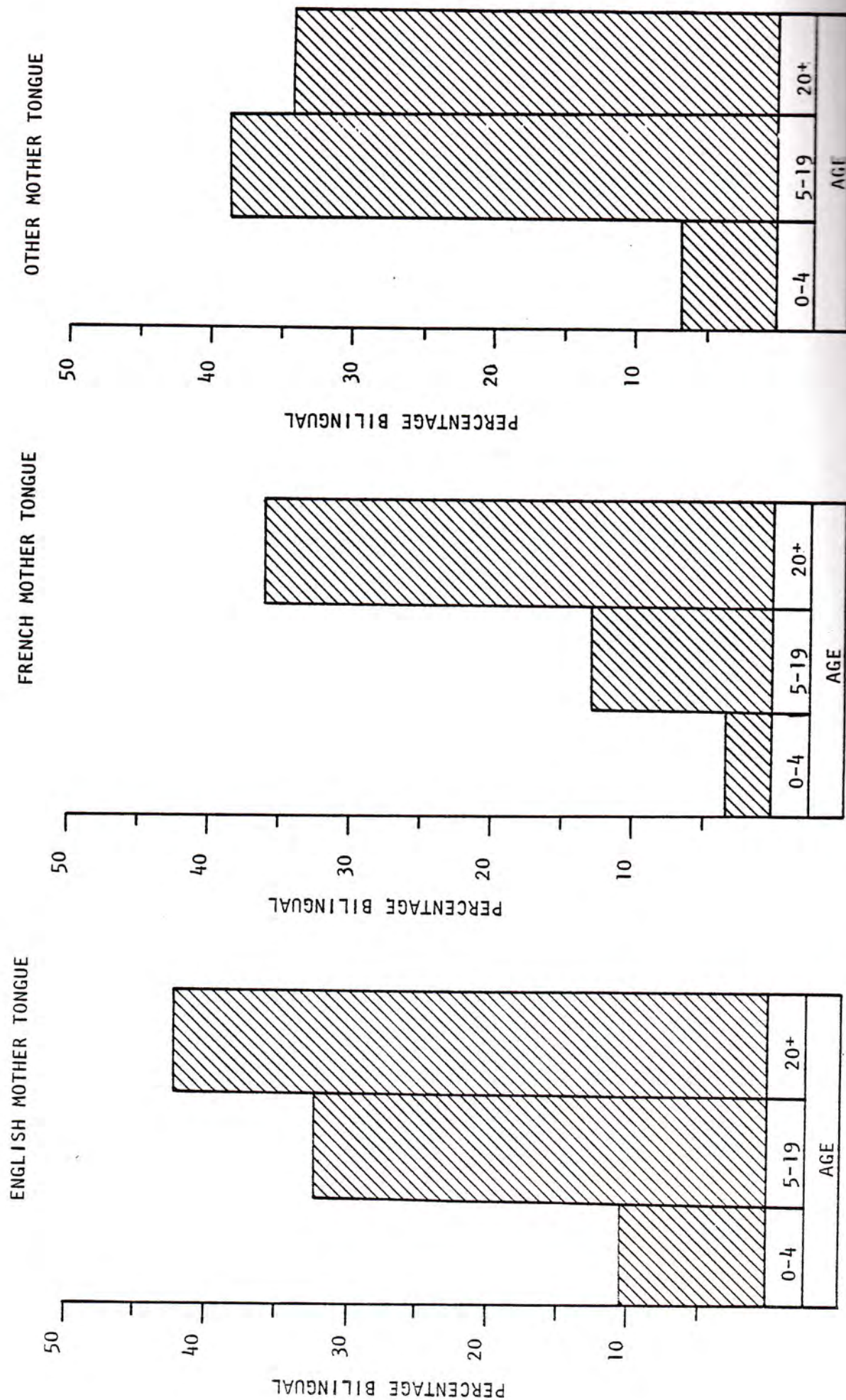
Whereas the phenomenon of Quebecers of neither French nor British background integrating into the English-speaking milieu has been well publicized, the increasing rate of official bilingualism among them as well as among Anglophones is not as well known. Official bilingualism is defined as a working knowledge of both English and French.

The province of Quebec and the bordering counties in Ontario



Graph 1-K

PERCENT OFFICIAL BILINGUALS BY MOTHER TONGUE AND AGE GROUPS - QUEBEC 1971.



Source: J. de Vries, F. Vallée, *Language Use in Canada*, p. 48.

and New Brunswick contain more than 86 per cent of all officially bilingual persons in Canada. The metropolitan area of Montreal alone contains 35 per cent.<sup>12</sup> However, the rate of official bilingualism in Quebec has not been constant. For example, the proportion of bilinguals in the Eastern Townships, Ottawa Valley and Montreal declined between 1931 (39 per cent) and 1961 (34.4 per cent, but then rose between 1961 and 1971 (35.7 per cent).<sup>13</sup>

The latest increase in the number of "official bilinguals" - particularly among English-speaking Quebecers - is an indication of the social and political evolution of Quebec. Some demographers attribute the increase in bilingualism among Quebec youths since 1961 to an increase in the English mother tongue and other mother tongue bilinguals.<sup>14</sup>

There is evidence that while young Anglophones and Allophones are becoming more bilingual, Francophones are becoming more unilingual.<sup>15</sup> The areas where English-speaking people are most concentrated - Montreal, Eastern Townships and Ottawa Valley - have experienced an increase in the proportion of Francophones between 1941 and 1971 (from 69.3 per cent to 70.8 per cent of the total population. At the same time, the percentage of unilingual Francophones rose in these areas from 41.3 per cent to 46.5 per cent. During this period the ratio of Anglophones declined from 23.5 per cent to 19.8 per cent of the total population, and the proportion of unilingual Anglophones decreased from 21.1 per cent

---

<sup>12</sup> J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.16.

<sup>13</sup> R. Lachapelle, J. Henripin, La situation démographique au Canada, p.48. These three regions are described as having the heaviest concentration of Anglophones in Quebec, and are characterized as the strongest zones of contact between English and French-speaking Quebecers.

<sup>14</sup> J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.49.

<sup>15</sup> R. Lachapelle, J. Henripin, La situation démographique au Canada, p.48. J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada, p.49.



to 16.3 per cent. Taking each of these three regions separately, we come up with the following table:

Table 1-4

Change in Proportion of Unilingual Anglophones and Unilingual Francophones, Eastern Townships, Montreal, Ottawa Valley, 1931 and 1971.

	1931	1971
<u>Eastern Townships</u>		
Unilingual Anglophones	23.1	9.8
Unilingual Francophones	42.9	61.0
<u>Montreal</u>		
Unilingual Anglophones	23.3	17.2
Unilingual Francophones	35.5	45.2
<u>Ottawa Valley</u>		
Unilingual Anglophones	22.2	14.2
Unilingual Francophones	42.2	43.1

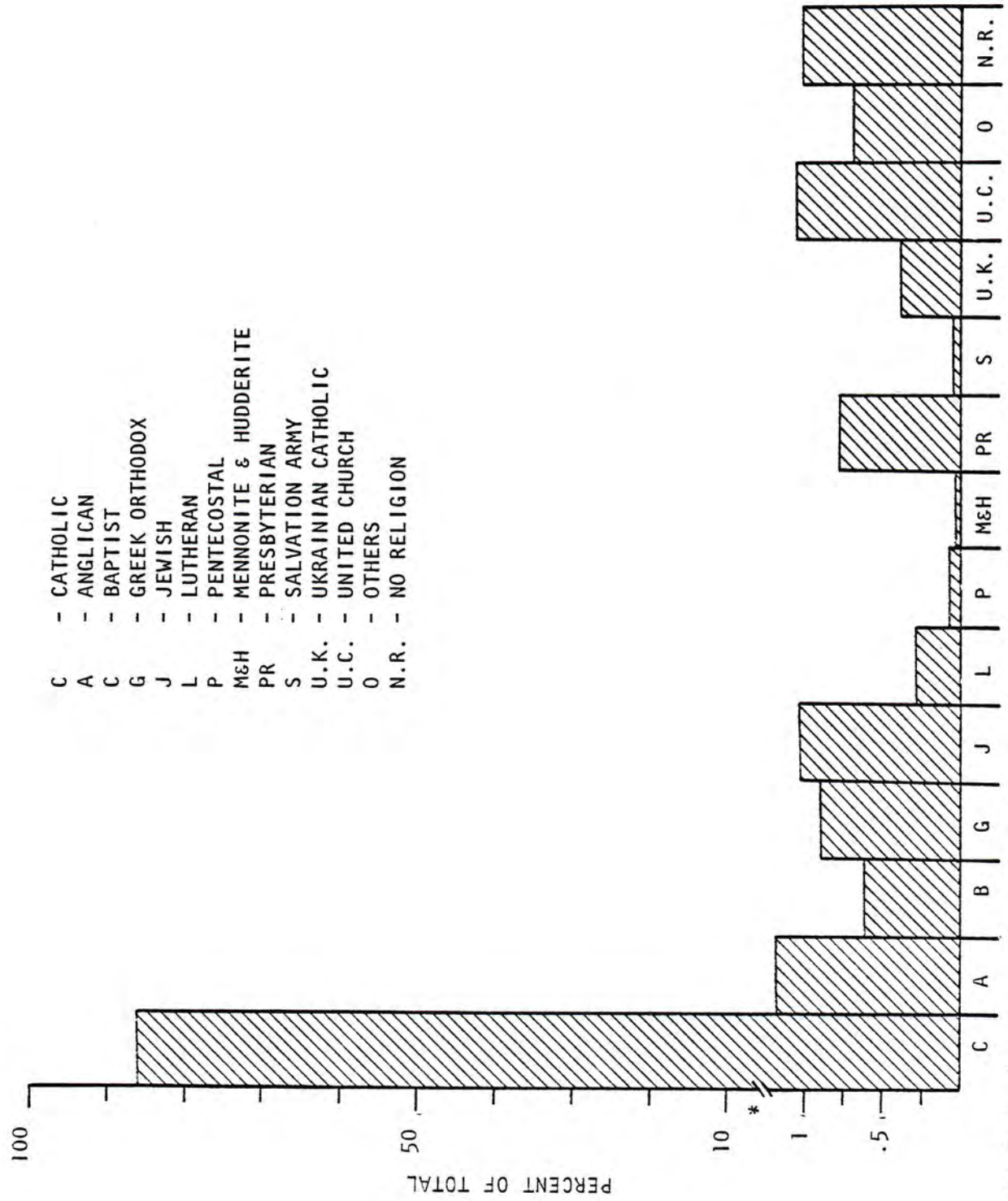
Source: R. Lachapelle, J. Henripin, La situation démographique, p.48-58.

Lachapelle and Henripin note that these trends have not always been consistent.

#### E) Religion

Religion, as we shall see in the following chapters, has had an important influence in the development of the educational, cultural, health care and social service institutions of Quebec.

The Catholic Church is the oldest and by far the largest organized religion in Quebec, comprising about 86 per cent of the total population in 1971, of which 5.4 per cent was English-speaking. Adherents to the Anglican and other Protestant denominations (particularly Presbyterian and United Church) form the next most numerous groups consistent of three per cent and 4.5 per cent of the population respectively. Most Protestants



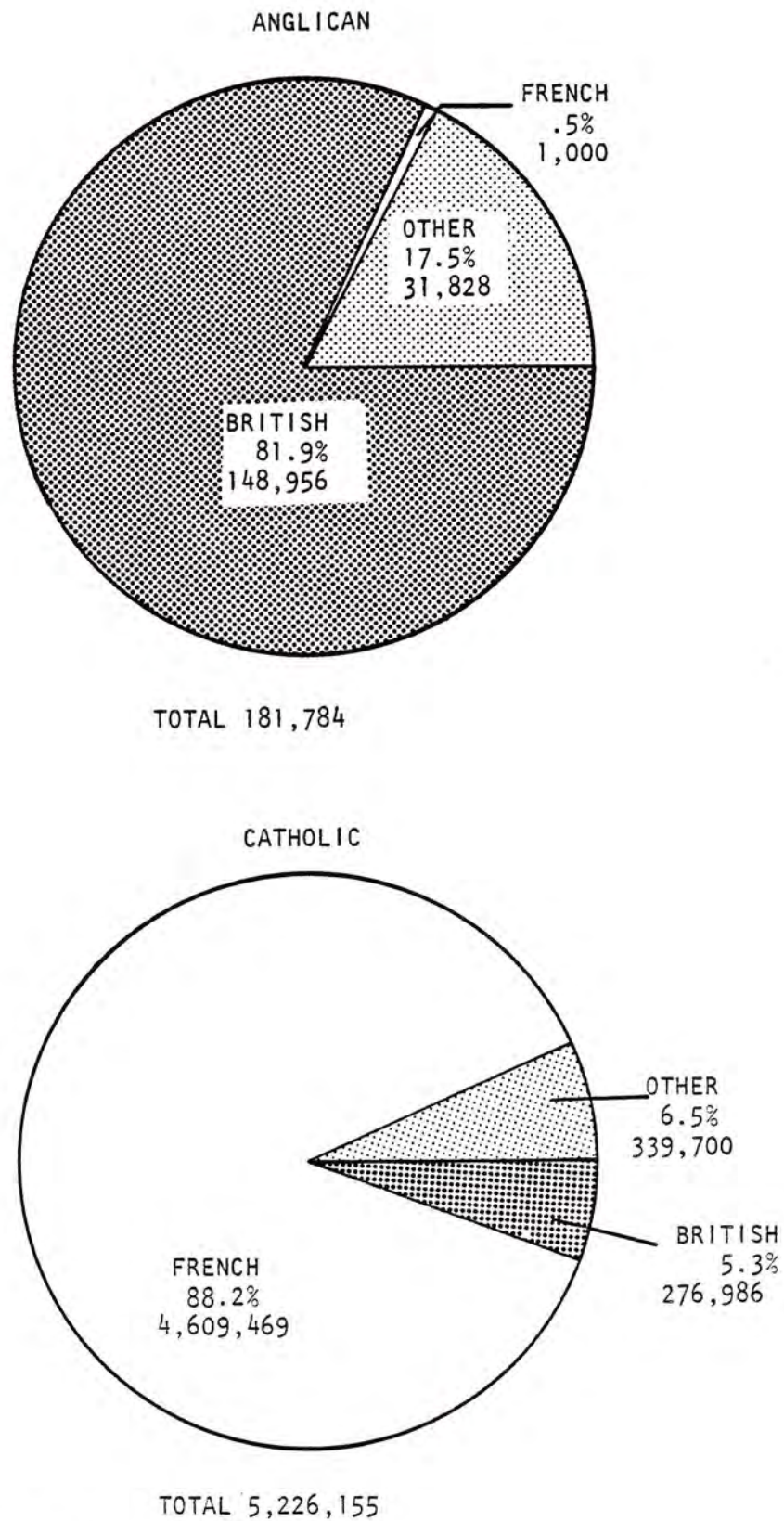
\* Note Scale breaks.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971.



Graph 1-M

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ANGLICANS & CATHOLICS BY ETHNIC ORIGIN - QUEBEC  
1971



are English-speaking, although there were, in 1971, about 40,000 French-speaking Protestants. There is some speculation that the recent spread of the evangelical movement in North America may result in an increase in the number of Francophone Protestants.

In addition to the Catholic and Protestant Churches, there are significant numbers of English-speaking adherents to the Greek Orthodox and Jewish faiths. The Greek Orthodox community, first recorded in the 1901 census with 215 members, grew to about 60,000 by 1971. The Jewish community, which totalled about 110,000 in 1971, dates its Montreal origins to 1768, when the first synagogue in Canada was established.

*At one time the terms "English-speaking" and "British" were almost synonymous. Since the late 19th century, the portrait of English-speaking Quebec has evolved to include people from a variety of ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. It is largely for this reason that the proportion of English-speaking Quebecers (14.7 per cent in 1971) has declined less rapidly than the proportion of those of British origins (10 per cent in 1971). Having established this, let us look briefly at Where We Are.*

#### Where We Are

The English-speaking population of British descent in Quebec was more widely dispersed and more heavily concentrated outside the city of Montreal during the 19th century than it is today. In 1871, for example, the combined English-speaking population of the Eastern Townships and the Ottawa Valley - 79,000 - was greater than the English-speaking population of Montreal which stood at 55,000.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the Eastern

---

<sup>16</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.42.



Townships, Ottawa Valley and Montreal had a majority of English-speaking people for at least the first half of the 19th century. During the 1840s the central business districts of Montreal and Quebec City were largely English-speaking<sup>17</sup> and the total proportion of Anglophones in each of these cities was 55 per cent and 42 per cent respectively in 1851.<sup>18</sup> In 1871, the Ottawa Valley was 49.7 per cent Anglophone and the Eastern Townships, 56 per cent.<sup>19</sup>

Nonetheless, by the last quarter of the 19th century a linguistic shift in these areas was already well under way. Montreal had become 53 per cent French-speaking by 1871 and, a century later, 66.7 per cent French-speaking. The corresponding figures for Quebec City were 68 per cent and 96 per cent.

The Montreal area, Eastern Townships and Ottawa Valley still have the greatest concentrations of English-speaking residents in Quebec. Along with the English-speaking populations of the Gaspé, Northwest and Lower North Shore, they formed 14.7 per cent of the total population of Quebec in 1971, (as opposed to English Mother Tongue population which was 13 per cent in 1971 and 12.8 per cent in 1976).

The following tables give some indication of the location of non-Francophones throughout the province, according to their ethnic origin and mother tongue. In addition, the maps on pages 7 and 8 indicate the location of Anglophones in Quebec and Appendices E-1 to E-5 (p.80-85) provide a list of all localities off the Island of Montreal where the English-speaking population numbers 100 or more.

---

<sup>17</sup> Donald G. Cartwright, Official Language Populations in Canada: Patterns and Contacts, p.34.

<sup>18</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.13.

<sup>19</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.42.

Table 1-5

Regional Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Quebec, 1971.

	<i>Total</i>	<i>British</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Other</i>
Total Province	6,027,765	640,045	4,759,360	628,360
Montreal Region	3,080,925	468,405	2,059,595	552,925
Ile-de-Montréal & Ile-Jésus	2,187,150	351,465	1,333,150	502,535
Suburban Region	893,775	116,940	726,445	50,390
West-Quebec	217,035	35,280	171,960	9,795
Eastern Townships	311,775	44,665	258,505	8,605
Rest of Province	2,418,030	91,695	2,269,300	57,035

Source: Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.330.

The allocation of counties to regions has been identified as:

West Quebec: Gatineau, Hull, Papineau, Pontiac.

Montreal: Argenteuil, Beauharnois, Chambly, Châteauguay, Deux-Montagnes, Huntingdon, Iberville, Ile-de-Montréal, Ile-Jésus, Laprairie, L'Assomption, Napierville, Rouville, St-Jean, Soulanges, Terrebonne, Vaudreuil, Verchères.

Eastern Townships: Brome, Compton, Missisquoi, Richmond, Shefford, Sherbrooke, Stanstead.

Table 1-6

Regional Distribution of the population of Quebec by Mother Tongue, 1971.

	<i>Total</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Other</i>
Total Province	6,027,765	789,185	4,867,250	371,330
Montreal Region	3,080,930	625,885	2,121,405	333,640
Ile-de-Montréal & Ile-Jésus	2,187,150	494,950	1,382,325	309,875
Suburban Region	893,780	130,935	739,080	23,765
West Quebec	217,040	40,830	172,050	4,160
Eastern Townships	311,770	46,980	261,290	3,500
Rest of Province	2,418,025	75,505	2,312,500	30,020

Source: See Table 1-5



Table 1-7

Regional Distribution of the Population of Quebec by  
Mother Tongue, 1976.

	<i>Total</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Other</i>
Total Province	6,234,430	796,665	5,058,260	379,505
Montreal Region	3,180,800	637,240	2,206,035	337,525
Ile-de-Montréal & Ile-Jésus	2,115,885	490,930	1,317,195	307,760
Suburban Region	1,064,915	146,310	888,840	29,765
West-Quebec	243,545	46,085	191,135	6,330
Eastern Townships	323,525	45,800	273,410	4,315
Rest of Province	2,486,560	67,545	2,387,650	31,335

Source: See Table 1-5

- Note: 1) Data in this table are not strictly comparable to those in Table 1-6
- 2) Data in this table differ slightly from those reported in Appendix C. These are the results of various adjustments by R. Lachapelle.

Why has the proportion of Anglophones declined in most regions of the province? The answer lies in a combination of social, political, economic and demographic factors stemming from the 19th century. During early 1800s, French-speaking Quebecers, aided by the clerical policy of colonization, started moving out of the crowded St. Lawrence River Valley and extended their influence in regions already settled by English, Scottish, Irish and American immigrants. This migration led to a decline in the number of urban residents from 25 per cent prior to 1760 to 10 per cent in 1825.<sup>20</sup>

Toward the mid-1800s a movement to the cities began to take place. The growing scarcity of arable land and lack of effective methods of cultivation could not sustain the rapidly growing French-Canadian population.<sup>21</sup> More people flocked to the cities or to other regions of the province or to New England where they formed the labour base for

-----  
<sup>20</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.13.

<sup>21</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.14.

nascent small-scale industries. In certain regions, such as the Eastern Townships, many of the British settlers who became entrepreneurs ultimately left for Ontario and the United States where investment opportunities seemed more lucrative.<sup>22</sup>

In sum, the high birth rate among the Francophones, changing economic conditions and emigration set the pace for the shift in the ethnolinguistic make-up of Quebec. In order to get a clearer idea of the impact of these trends on the English-speaking population, we will look briefly at each of the regions which have an anglophone population.

### The Eastern Townships

Most of the southern Eastern Townships,<sup>23</sup> which stretch from the Richelieu River, southeast of Montreal, to the Chaudière River, south of Quebec City, were settled originally by New Englanders, Scots, Irish and English. A lightly populated region where the main industries are farming, lumbering, manufacturing and asbestos mining, the Townships had a majority of English-speaking residents until the end of the 19th century.<sup>24</sup> In 1976, they formed about 19 per cent - 46,055 people - of the population in seven counties.

The earliest settled region of the Townships was Missisquoi County, located in the southwest, composed of the Townships of Farnham, Stanbridge, Dunham and Frelighsburg. This was the only county where the land was first held under the seigneurial system.

Contrary to a prevalent view, the majority of early Townships' settlers were not United Empire Loyalists, but rather New Englanders in search of good land. In fact, Loyalists were initially forbidden to settle anywhere in the Townships and were sent to hastily surveyed lands along the St. Lawrence River, Lake St. Francis and the Gaspé area.<sup>25</sup>

-----

<sup>22</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.29.

<sup>23</sup> The "Historic" Townships include the counties of Brome, Compton, Missisquoi, Richmond, Shefford, Stanstead and Sherbrooke. The counties of Richmond, Stanstead, Compton and Sherbrooke have recently been incorporated into another administrative region as have several other counties initially settled by the British.

<sup>24</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.29.

<sup>25</sup> Brome County Historical Society, Vol. 4, p.52.



Among the rare exceptions to this rule were those Loyalists who, in 1783, arrived in Missisquoi Bay and defied government attempts to move them out.<sup>26</sup> It was only in 1791 that displaced Loyalists, particularly from Vermont (which did not officially decide to join the United States until that year) were given large land grants in the "Eastern" Townships.

Land clearances in Scotland led many scots to settle certain areas of the Townships. For example, in 1828 the Duke of Hamilton, wanting to clear the Isle of Arran in the mouth of the Clyde River for sheep runs, offered to provide each family with 100 acres of "Canadian Wilderness" if they would leave. Many took him up on the offer and settled at Inverness during the 1830s.

The British American Land Company, posted in Quebec and Montreal, was also responsible for bringing settlers to the Townships. Scottish place names such as Stornoway, named after the capitol city of the Isle of Lewis in Scotland's Outer Hebrides, are reminders of the many Scottish settlers brought out by the Land Company. The company was administered by Alexander Galt during the 1840s. Galt's primary aim was to attract industry to Sherbrooke and open up the Townships to French settlement.

During the early 1800s land grant policies were designed to exclude French-Canadian settlement in the area. Even when the land grant system was reformed, many provisions were ignored.<sup>27</sup> It was not until the 1830s that Francophones began moving into the Townships in significant numbers, attracted by the fertile land as well as by the increasing number of jobs in industry. Often they replaced English-speaking people who moved off the land to go into business in Montreal, Ontario or the United States.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Brome County Historical Society, Vol. 4, p.53.

<sup>27</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.27.

<sup>28</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.29.

By 1861, 12,000 Francophones and 56,000 Anglophones were living in the area.<sup>29</sup> The proportion of those of English mother tongue declined to 24 per cent in 1941 and to about 14 per cent in 1976. Although certain counties such as Brome kept a considerable proportion of English-speaking people, other areas such as Sherbrooke declined from a majority during the late 19th century to 9.5 per cent in 1976.

Table 1-8

English Mother Tongue Population, (EMT)  
Eastern Townships, 1971.

	EMT	Total	EMT as % of Total
Brome	7,690	15,310	50.2%
Compton	4,215	21,365	19.7
Missisquoi	6,635	33,950	19.5
Richmond	4,770	41,040	11.6
Shefford	4,605	62,360	7.3
Sherbrooke	11,030	101,470	10.8
Stanstead	7,935	36,265	21.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-725,  
Vol. 1, Part 3, (Bulletin 1.3-4).

Table 1-9

English Mother Tongue Population, (EMT)  
Eastern Townships, 1976.

	EMT	Total	EMT as % of Total
Brome	8,020	16,410	48.8
Compton	4,010	20,510	19.5
Missisquoi	6,985	34,850	20.0
Richmond	4,330	39,895	10.8
Shefford	4,550	65,530	6.9
Sherbrooke	10,495	109,585	9.5
Stanstead	7,665	36,735	20.8

Source: Statistics Canada, 1976, Catalogue 92-821  
(Bulletin 2.2).

<sup>29</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.27.



### Ottawa Valley

The Ottawa Valley is defined by the Quebec government as 40,282 square kilometres encompassing the counties of Maskinonge, Berthier, Joliette, Montcalm, parts of Labelle and Papineau, as well as Hull, Gatineau and Pontiac. About 46,000 English-speaking people - 19 per cent of the total population - lived in these counties in 1976.

Certain parts of the Ottawa Valley, particularly around the Ottawa-Hull area, have relatively high English-speaking populations. The Pontiac region recorded an anglophone population of 54 per cent in 1976; the Gatineau, 33.5 per cent; and Papineau, (part of which is considered to be part of the Laurentians) 12 per cent: and Hull, 10 per cent. That the decline in the relative proportion of Anglophones in the Ottawa Valley has not been very dramatic over the past ten years can in part be attributed to the development of the National Capitol Region in the Ottawa-Hull area. Nonetheless, the change from the 19th century is worth noting.

Explored by Etienne Brûlé in 1611, the Hull area was first settled by Philemon Wright in 1800, an American from Woburn, Massachusetts, who pioneered the junction of the Ottawa and Gatineau Rivers. Largely responsible for starting the lumber industry in the area, he was joined by several other New Englanders who settled such places as Hull, Chelsea, Wakefield and Low. Wright was followed by another American, a Vermonter, E.B. Eddy, who arrived in 1805. In the mid-1800s Eddy set up a match factory and later developed a pulp and paper mill which was the first manufacturing plant of its kind in Canada.

Apart from Americans, the largest group immigrating to the region was of Irish origin. Clarendon County was pioneered by Irish Protestants who were followed by Irish Catholics settling in places such as Vinton and Chapeau. By the 1830s, the Irish formed the largest ethnic group in the Ottawa Valley until the arrival of French-speaking Canadians.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the Irish, the hills around Otter Lake were settled by Polish people, and around Thorne most of the population was German.

---

<sup>30</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations of Canada, p.18.

Many of those who arrived between 1819 and 1825 were attracted by the job opportunities associated with navigational improvements between Hull and Montreal, the construction of the Rideau Canal and seasonal lumbering.<sup>31</sup> However, early settlers often abandoned their agricultural operations as the timber trade moved further up the Ottawa Valley and tributaries of the Ottawa River.

By 1871, the Ottawa Valley was almost 50 per cent British and 46 per cent French. The French began moving from the crowded St. Lawrence Valley parishes into the Lower Ottawa Valley during the 1830s. Aided by the colonization policies of the Catholic Church, the French began penetrating the agricultural and lumbering sectors. By 1931, the area was 70 per cent French-speaking and 25 per cent English-speaking.

In terms of mother tongue the evolution of the entire area between 1941 and 1976 looks something like this:

Table 1-10

Evolution of English (EMT), French (FMT) and Other (OMT)  
Mother Tongue Groups in the Ottawa Valley, 1941 - 1976.

	1941	1971	1976
English Mother Tongue	23.1%	18.8%	18.9%
French Mother Tongue	75.1	79.3	78.5
Other Mother Tongue	1.8	1.9	2.6

Source: Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.56.

Pontiac is the only remaining rural county in the area, indeed in Quebec, where a majority of the population - 61 per cent in 1971 and 57 per cent in 1976 - is English-speaking. Most of Pontiac County's 20,000 residents live in 22 communities along the southwestern border marked by the Ottawa River.

---

<sup>31</sup> Association of Quebec Regional English Media (AQREM)  
Insert, June 25, 1981.



### The Gaspé

In 1976, most of the 12,300 English-speaking Gaspésians lived in the counties of Gaspé-Est and Bonaventure where they formed 14.9 per cent and 16.4 per cent of the population respectively.

Settled by Channel Islanders, Irish, Scots and Loyalists, the Lower Gaspé was 36 per cent British in 1871 and 13 per cent in 1976.

The landing place for Jacques Cartier, the Gaspé was the first site where he set up a cross for the King of France. Although Huguenot traders established themselves in the area in the early 17th century, European settlements were not successfully established until the 1670s when traders and fishermen settled in Percé, Bonaventure and Barachois.

Among the Huguenots to engage in the fisheries industry was Charles Robin of Jersey who arrived in Chaleur Bay in 1764. Soon after he was in control of the fishing industry. Another Jersey firm was operated by the Janvrin family which settled in the Magdalene Islands. By the 19th century the area was a hub of transportation, with ships leaving the Gaspé coast bound for destinations such as Barbados, Rio de Janeiro, Bahai, Oporto, Bristol and Jersey. The owners of these large vessels were the families who had settled the area: LeGrand, Steele, Montgomery, Flair, Bijouette, Le Boutillier Brothers and Charles Robin.<sup>32</sup>

The number of English-speaking Gaspésians increased after 1763. Many of the English who moved there had been among the Fraser Highlanders who had fought under General Wolfe. They obtained permission to settle in the Gaspé Basin in 1764 during the regime of General Sir James Murray. Forming the core of Anglo-Scottish settlement, they continued to colonize the area between 1764-1784.

About 200 Loyalist families began arriving during the 1780s, taking up land grants at Gaspé Bay and in Bonaventure County. They were soon joined by Irish immigrants who first appeared during the late 18th century, and immigrated in larger numbers after 1829. The ethnic and

---

<sup>32</sup> SPEC. May 13, 1981.

linguistic mix of the Gaspé did not escape the eyes of visitors to the region. When the Bishop of Plessis visited Matane in 1812, he noted that the population consisted of French-Canadians, Scots, Germans, Acadians, Irish, Anglo-Americans and Micmacs, adding that many people spoke three or four different languages.<sup>33</sup>

Table 1-11

Population of British and French Origins  
Gaspé and Bonaventure Counties, Quebec, Selected Years

Year	Total Population	French Origin	% of Total Population	British Origin	% of Total Population
<i>Gaspé</i>					
1871	15,559	10,123	65.1	5,125	33.0
1901	30,683	22,785	74.3	7,559	24.6
1921 <sup>a</sup>	40,375	31,146	77.1	8,836	22.9
1941 <sup>b</sup>	55,208	45,790	83.0	9,152	16.6
1971 <sup>b</sup>	60,480	51,355	85.0	8,300	13.7
<i>Bonaventure</i>					
1871	15,923	9,545	60.0	5,770	36.2
1901	24,495	17,056	70.0	6,700	27.4
1921	29,092	21,256	73.1	7,025	24.1
1941	39,196	30,711	78.4	7,481	19.1
1971	41,700	33,815	81.1	6,355	15.2

Source: Cartwright, Official Language Populations, p.42

Note: <sup>a</sup> County of Matane erected prior to 1921 census. Part of Gaspé County incorporated into Matane.

<sup>b</sup> Data from Gaspé Est plus Gaspé Ouest.

---

<sup>33</sup> SPEC , May 28, 1981.



Table 1-12

Population of French and English Mother Tongue  
Gaspé Est and Bonaventure, Quebec, 1941-1976

Year	French Mother Tongue	% of Total Population	English Mother Tongue	% of Total Population
<i>Gaspé Est</i>				
1941	26,303	77.7	7,537	22.3
1951	30,368	81.1	7,042	18.8
1961	34,754	84.1	6,424	15.5
1971	35,470	85.0	6,150	14.7
1976	34,770	85.4	5,640	14.9
<i>Bonaventure</i>				
1941	30,796	78.6	7,499	19.1
1951	33,332	81.1	6,903	16.8
1961	35,857	83.5	6,093	14.2
1971	34,505	82.7	6,135	14.7
1976	33,460	82.3	6,670	16.4

Source: Cartwright, Official Language Populations, p.43.

Laurentians: Argenteuil/Deux Montagnes

The first settler in Argenteuil, according to one account, was Durand Roburds who bought land from Seigneur Pat Murray in 1795. Roburds apparently built one mill at St. Andrew's in 1803 and another on the shores of the North River. He then sold the land to Hezekial Clarke for \$100.

Another version of the settlement of Lachute states that a Vermonter, Hezekiah Clarke, arrived there in 1796 with his wife and five children. Perhaps Clarke was a tenant of Durand. In any event, by 1798 the Clarkes were joined by several other Vermont families. By the early 1800s a social and economic infrastructure was evolving through the building of

schools and churches, a saw mill and a grist mill.<sup>34</sup>

When the best potash timber supplies were exhausted, many American settlers left the area and their places were taken up by Scottish immigrants beginning around 1810. Similar to the Eastern Townships, many of the immigrating Scots were victims of the Highland Clearances. Others left the British Isles because of the poor economic conditions resulting from the Napoleonic Wars. Still others remained in Lower Canada after being released from the British army following the War of 1812.

During the 19th century the lower Ottawa Valley continued to flourish commercially owing its importance to the Ottawa waterways which provided a natural transportation hub; the timber trade; the building of the Carillon and Grenville Canals; and the establishment of the Canadian paper industry. In recent years the economy has suffered, causing a large number of young people to leave.

Currently, most of the Laurentians defined by the counties of Argenteuil, Deux Montagnes and part of Papineau, are considered to be within the sphere of metropolitan Montreal.<sup>35</sup> The population of Argenteuil was 27 per cent English Mother Tongue in 1976, and that of Deux Montagnes about 13 per cent,<sup>36</sup> compared to 28 per cent and 14.5 per cent in 1971.<sup>37</sup> Numerically, 16,400 Anglophones lived in these two counties in 1976.

#### Quebec City

At present there are about 16,000 English-speaking people living in the Quebec City area, representing approximately three per cent of the census metropolitan area of Quebec. This is quite a change from the mid-19th century when people of British origin represented about 35 per cent of the population.<sup>38</sup> Even in 1871, English-speaking people

---

<sup>34</sup> Lachute Watchman, Centenary Edition, 1975.

<sup>35</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.330.

<sup>36</sup> Statistics Canada: Population Demographic Characteristics, 1976, Cat. 92-821, (Bulletin 2.2).

<sup>37</sup> Statistics Canada: Cat. 92-725, Vol.1, Part 3 (Bulletin 1.34).

<sup>38</sup> Gendron Commission, Vol. 3, p.147.



were still dominant in several census divisions and constituted 29 per cent of the Quebec City population. In 1976 there were 4,500 people whose mother tongue was English (2.5 per cent of the total population) in Quebec City; 1,350 (30 per cent) in Sillery; 3,800 (5.2 per cent) in Ste-Foy; and 1,100 (10 per cent) in Shannon.<sup>39</sup> About 5,250 Anglo-pones lived in surrounding areas.

The English-speaking people who live in Quebec City form a cultural mosaic and include the descendants of Wolfe's Fraser Highlanders, Anglican and Methodist merchants, and Irish immigrants. At the beginning of the 1800s, the British opened some of the area around present day Quebec City to New England immigration. For example, the area surrounding what is now Valcartier was once under the administration of Jesuit missionaries, who held it in trust for Huron tribes of the vicinity. However, there was no settlement on the land. In 1763, the land was confiscated by the British, but it was not until 1816 that the new owners opened it to settlers. An advertisement placed in the Quebec Gazette, January 16, 1816, read, "A farm of 200 superficial acres will be given in full property, to each of the three first able, sober, and industrious New England farmers, accustomed to clear new lands, who will settle upon the lots assigned to them...to such persons, in addition to the gift of lands, a sum of money at interest of six per cent will be advanced to enable them to purchase at Quebec, provisions, spring wheat, peas and oats, for the season."

In addition to the English-speaking residents of Quebec City, there are now about 15,000 first generation immigrants, many of whom are from Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Chile. There are also older ethnic groups, such as the Jewish community, currently consisting of about 100 families.<sup>41</sup> Montreal has acted as a magnet for this community, thus contributing to this community's decline in Quebec City.

The only band of Huron left in the province is found near Quebec City. According to some sources, ancestors of the Huron were at war

---

<sup>39</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations in Canada, p.34.

<sup>40</sup> Cited in: Low Down to Hull and Back, Aug. 13, 1981.

<sup>41</sup> Quebec Telegraph and Chronicle, January 7, 1981.

with tribes in the Iroquois Confederacy when the Europeans came to North America. Other sources say that their fertile land and control of strategic trading routes along the Great Lakes system contributed to rivalry with other Indian bands as well as with the Europeans. The result was that by 1650 the 600 Hurons on the Island of Orléans were all that was left of their people. They were moved to Sillery in 1653 and then to Lorette in 1693 where they have since remained.

The Irish immigrants of the early 19th century began establishing an Irish community in Quebec City. The extensive migration from the British Isles following the Napoleonic Wars of the early 1800s included many Irish who settled in Quebec.<sup>42</sup> This wave of immigration preceded the better known immigration of the 1840s famine years in Ireland. Quebec received many of the Irish immigrants simply because there was direct passage from Ireland to Quebec City, or Saint John, New Brunswick. It was cheaper than passage from Ireland to American ports or from Britain to American ports.<sup>43</sup> By the 1830s, there were, in Quebec City, approximately 7,000 Irish out of a total population of 32,000.<sup>44</sup>

#### Northwest: Abitibi and Temiscamingue

The English mother tongue groups were never very strong in the northwestern counties of Quebec, Abitibi and Temiscamingue. The small communities which did exist gravitated toward the towns and villages. Sixty-five per cent of the 2,405 Anglophones in Abitibi were located in Val d'Or in 1976, while 69 per cent of the 4,335 Anglophones in Temiscamingue were living in Noranda, Rouyn and Temiscamingue.<sup>45</sup>

Covering an area of 750,000 square kilometres or 48 per cent of Quebec, the Abitibi region is sparsely populated. Mining is its lifeblood: gold, silver, copper, zinc, lithium and asbestos,

-----  
<sup>42</sup> Marianna O'Gallagher, St. Patrick's Quebec, 1981, p.27.

<sup>43</sup> Marianna O'Gallagher, St. Patrick's Quebec, 1981, p.27-28.

<sup>44</sup> Marianna O'Gallagher, St. Patrick's Quebec, 1981, p.31.  
(O'Gallagher notes that the source of this information is not very reliable).

<sup>45</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations in Canada, p.49.



as well as nickel, iron and uranium. The most southerly part of the region is further south than Thunder Bay and the most northerly, further north than Yellowknife. Before 1900 few Europeans lived in the area which was inhabited mainly by the Cree around James Bay and the Inuit along the coast of Hudson's Bay and Hudson's Strait. The transcontinental railway opened the area in 1912, and in 1914 when the railway was extended to Harricana, now known as Amos, the first white settlers' camp was set up.

Val d'Or was founded only 50 years ago and some of the original settlers included the small but still active Ukrainian community. Father Josaphat Jean, a Francophone who completed his theological studies in the Ukraine, visited the northwestern area of Quebec in 1925, in an attempt to co-ordinate immigration from the Ukraine to this part of Canada. Some of the older settlements are also made up of Polish and German communities.

Table 1-13

English Mother Tongue (EMT) Population  
in Noranda-Rouyn, Val d'Or, 1971.

	EMT	Total	EMT as % of Total
Noranda	1,630	9,810	16.6%
Rouyn	580	17,680	3.2
Val d'Or	1,380	19,915	6.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971.

Table 1-14

English Mother Tongue (EMT) Population  
in Noranda-Rouyn, Val d'Or, 1976.

	EMT	Total	EMT as % of Total
Noranda	2,225	10,740	20.7%
Rouyn	645	17,820	3.6
Val d'Or	1,725	17,425	9.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 1976.

### Trois Rivières/Chicoutimi-Jonquière

Other areas with an anglophone population include Trois Rivières and Chicoutimi-Jonquière. As in the Abitibi-Temiscamingue region, Anglophones were never very numerous in these parts, forming only 2.7 per cent and 3.5 per cent (1971) of the population respectively.<sup>46</sup> This perhaps is one reason why there has been a considerable degree of language transfer from English to French in these areas: 20 per cent of the Anglophones in Chicoutimi-Jonquière used French as their home language, and 27 per cent did so in Trois Rivières in 1971. The corresponding percentage of unilingual Anglophones in these regions was 40 per cent and 25 per cent.<sup>47</sup>

### Lower North Shore

The isolated Lower North Shore of the St. Lawrence is home for about 4,500 Anglophones. Settled in the early 1880s by Channel Islanders, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, the 400 kilometres of coastline has 15 villages of which 14 are anglophone. Because of distances from major areas and the lack of transport facilities, the villages with few exceptions have remained quite distinct: they are either English or French; Protestant or Catholic.

### Magdalene Islands

Between the Gaspé coast and Prince Edward Island lies an archipelago of 12 islands known as the Magdalene Islands. Seven of them are inhabited and they include two English-speaking communities. Ownership of the islands changed hands several times since Jacques Cartier landed there in 1534. They were annexed to what is now Newfoundland during the mid-1700s and then to Quebec in 1774. They were given by George III of England to Sir Isaac Coffin in 1798 for his services during the American Revolution. In 1902 Coffin's descendants sold them to the Quebec government for \$100,000. During the late 1700s Acadians and Scots populated the Islands which were roughly 50 per cent English and 50 per cent French. After 1763 they were joined by many Fraser Highlanders. Today there are only about 700 (6.4 per cent) English-speaking

-----

<sup>46</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations in Canada, p.40.

<sup>47</sup> Cartwright, Official Language Populations in Canada, p.38.



residents out of a total population of 14,000, living in two small geographically self-contained communities: Grosse Ile and Ile d'Entrée. A monument on Grosse Ile pays tribute to the thousands of Irish immigrants to Canada, who either died of cholera during their transatlantic journey or were quarantined when the ships landed, only to die there.

#### Châteauguay-Huntingdon

In 1976 the County of Huntingdon counted 7,160 Anglophones (43 per cent of its total population), and Châteauguay, 18,385 (32 per cent) of its total population. Like the Laurentians, these regions have come to be considered part of Greater Montreal, yet the Counties of Huntingdon and Châteauguay have their own unique character. The area was a major battleground during the War of 1812, the site of the Battle of Châteauguay in 1813, a setting for the Papineau Rebellion in 1837 and the Fenian Raids in 1866.

Early European settlers included Irish, Scots, United Empire Loyalists and French. They found fertile land and vast forest drained by rivers swift enough to power grist and sawmills. Today the region remains semi-rural, with most English-speaking residents living in the towns of Hemmingford, Ormstown, Huntingdon and Châteauguay.

#### Montreal

Most of Quebec's English-speaking population is located on the Islands of Montreal and Ile Jésus. In 1971, the combined English mother tongue population of these areas was 494,950 or 22 per cent of the total. In 1976, this group numbered 493,060 or 23.3 per cent of the total. However, any ethnic or linguistic comparisons between Montreal of the 19th century, or even Post World War II, with the present must consider the steadily increasing boundaries of this megalopolis, which have changed from one census year to the next. Linguistic trends alter depending on how far one extends the city limits. The larger the territory, the greater is the relative importance of the francophone population. To show this, R. Lachapelle and

J. Henripin in La situation démographique have divided the Greater Montreal area in the following way:

Table 1-15

Divisions of the Greater Montreal Area, 1976.

Region	Census Division	Pop. in each region, 1976	Total Pop. in 1976
I	Ile de Montréal	1,869,640	
II	Ile Jésus	246,240	
III	Chambly & Laprairie	370,345	
IV	Châteauguay, Deux-Montagnes, L'Assomption, Terrebonne & Vaudreuil	409,555	
<i>Total Population Areas I - IV</i>			2,895,780
V	Argenteuil, Beauharnois, Huntingdon, Iberville, Napierville, Rouville, Saint-Jean, Soulanges & Verchères.	285,030	
<i>Total Population Areas I - V</i>			3,180,810
VI	Bagot, Berthier, Brome, Joliette, Missisquoi, Montcalm, Richelieu, St-Hyacinthe & Shefford	351,470	
<i>Total Population Areas I - VI</i>			3,532,280

Source: Adapted from Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.77.

The proportion of French Mother Tongue in 1976 was 59.7 per cent of the total population if the region is limited to the Island of Montreal. Yet it was 69.4 per cent when regions I and VI are included, and it climbs to 71.6 per cent if regions I to VI are included.<sup>48</sup> The proportion of English Mother Tongue population declined from 23.4 per cent of the total population in 1941 to 20 per cent in 1976 in regions I-V. In Montreal, three trends are apparent: the English

-----  
<sup>48</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.77.



Mother Tongue population has been losing ground; the French Mother Tongue population has been gaining since 1961 (except for the Island of Montreal and Ile Jésus); and other language groups have been increasing since 1951.

Some demographers postulate that one of the main reasons for the maintenance of the relative importance of the English language on the Island of Montreal is the substitution by some immigrants of the English language as their mother tongue.<sup>49</sup> On the Island of Montreal and Ile Jésus, Allophones have increased from 8.8 per cent in 1951 to 14.5 per cent in 1976. Montreal has about 90 per cent of the allophone population of Quebec, comprising over 40 ethnic and linguistic groups. The growth of this third group is noticeable particularly between 1951 and 1971 - years of comparatively heavy immigration. In the past, language transfers favoured English over French. Thus, while 494,950 on Montreal Island and Ile Jésus were English Mother Tongue, 572,675 used English as a home language in 1971. In spite of this phenomenon, the French language has continued to make important gains and, in the past 40 years, metropolitan Montreal has become progressively more francophone.<sup>50</sup>

*The English-speaking population, once more widespread in Quebec than at present, is concentrated in the Montreal area. Although its relative proportion has dropped elsewhere, the Eastern Townships, Ottawa Valley, Quebec City, Gaspé, Lower North Shore and the Huntingdon-Ormstown area have significant numbers of English-speaking people.*

#### Where We Come From

Following the French, the second major groups of European descent to settle in Quebec were English, Irish, Scottish and American. Until

---

<sup>49</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.83.

<sup>50</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, La situation démographique, p.85.

the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there was relatively little immigration to Quebec from other places.

It is important to situate immigration to Quebec within the Canadian context. The number of people arriving in Canada and permanently settling here has fluctuated greatly. From 1861 to 1901 the number of people leaving Canada exceeded the number coming to live here.<sup>51</sup> The period from 1901 to 1914 proved exceptional in Canadian immigration history. Between those years Canada had an open immigration policy aimed at settling the western provinces and profited from the strongest wave of immigration in her history.<sup>52</sup> Aside from British and American immigrants, as well as the Germans and Dutch who began arriving some years before, other groups coming to Canada included Scandinavians, Italians, Poles, Jews, Russians and Ukrainians.

However, fewer settled in Quebec than in the other provinces. By 1931 only 5.9 per cent of Quebec's entire population was of neither French nor British origin, compared to an average of 20 per cent across Canada.

Table 1-16

Percentage of Quebec's Population of  
Neither English nor French Origin.

Year	Quebec	
1871	1.6%	
1901	4.9	
1931	5.9	(53)
1961	8.6	
1971	10.4	(54)

51 Lachapelle, Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada, p.18.

52 Lachapelle, Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada, p.18.

53 Gendron Commission, Vol. 3, p. 31, 53-54.

54 Statistics Canada, 1971, Catalogue 92-774, (SP-4) May, 1974.



One reason for the traditionally low settlement rate in Canada, and the even lower rate in Quebec, was that immigrants were only passing through Canada, especially Quebec which served as a gateway to the rest of the country.<sup>55</sup>

Among the factors affecting the number and destination of immigrants are employment opportunities, labour supply, economic activity, Canadian immigration policies and international events.

As a result of the post-World War II boom, immigration to Quebec peaked between 1956 and 1958 (56,000). With the economy expanding more slowly during the following decade, immigration slowed from 19.3 per cent in 1968 to 15.8 per cent in 1971. Overseas immigration to Quebec then increased to 17.4 per cent in 1979,<sup>56</sup> but was back down to 15.6 per cent in 1980.<sup>57</sup>

From the earliest days of settlement, international and political events, as well as economic and social conditions, have influenced immigration to Quebec. The misfortunes of the Huguenots, the United Empire Loyalists and the Irish, who were escaping the potato famine, are only three examples.

Since the 1970s, a constant flow of immigrants has come from areas which are overpopulated and economically less favoured, such as Southern Europe and Central America.

More recently, Quebec has accepted refugees from other parts of the world. In the 1940s and the 1950s, many Hungarians and Czechoslovakians came to Quebec. During the 1970s, Quebec received a number of Ugandan Asian refugees, as well as Vietnamese and Cambodians. In 1979, over one-quarter of Quebec's immigrants were from Vietnam and Laos. In 1980, Quebec accepted 20 per cent of all the refugees admitted to Canada from the following countries:

---

<sup>55</sup> Gendron Commission, Vol. 3, p.31.  
Lachapelle, Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada, p.17-18.

<sup>56</sup> Annual Report, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1979, p.14.

<sup>57</sup> Annual Report, Employment and Immigration Canada, 1980, p.43.

Table 1-17

Refugees: Province of Intended  
Destination: Quebec.  
Total: 7,962                      No.                      % of Canadian  
Total

Indochina	7,515	21.3%
Eastern Europe	398	9.6
Latin America	35	8.0
Africa	5	3.6
Convention Refugees Selected Abroas	8	33.3

Source: Employment & Immigration Canada Refugee  
Policy Division, 1981, p.39.

Table 1-18

Refugees: Province of Intended Destination:  
Quebec                      No.                      % of Canadian  
Total

Total Refugees	7,962	19.9
Convention Refugees Granted Protection in Quebec.	133	35.8
GRAND TOTAL	8,095	20.1

Source: as in Table 1-17

Canadian immigration policies linked to the labour and job markets have affected who may immigrate to Quebec. Prior to the 1930s, a good deal of discrimination prevailed particularly regarding Blacks and Asians. During the early Depression years, only British subjects and Americans were admitted. Due to the slow economic recovery at the end of the '30s, access to Canada was not even open to refugees of Nazi oppression.<sup>58</sup>

-----  
<sup>58</sup> Gendron Commission, Vol. 3, p.43.



Post-war economic expansion led to relaxed immigration policies. In the 1950s skilled, educated people were encouraged to come to Canada. During the late 1960s, a points system was introduced to assess the qualifications of immigrants and match them to Canadian labour needs.

Those wanting to live in Canada must now obtain 50 out of 100 points which are categorized by: education and training (20 points); occupational skill (10 points); occupational demand in Canada (15 points); employment opportunities in the area of destination (5 points); arranged employment (10 points); personal assessment (15 points); age (10 points); knowledge of French and English (10 points); and relatives in Canada (5 points).

Subsequent legislation, in force since 1978, facilitates the unification of Canadian citizens and permanent residents with close relatives from abroad. This has led to a more relaxed immigration policy regarding, for example, Eastern European self-exiles, Indochinese and Latin Americans.

Like several other provinces, Quebec has had its own immigration department which was set up in 1968. Its only agency which can actively recruit immigrants is located in Paris, serving France, North and West Africa. However, the Quebec Immigration Department also has agents in over 35 offices abroad. Working closely with federal immigration officials, these "orientation" agents inform prospective immigrants to Quebec about social, cultural and economic conditions.

#### Immigration and Language

In general, Quebec has accepted the same proportion of different ethnic groups as other provinces. However, most immigrants from France, Haiti and North African countries tend to settle in Quebec. Eighty per cent of the 5,592 French-speaking immigrants who came to Canada in 1979 settled in Quebec. Fifty per cent of the 4,068 bilingual immigrants also chose Quebec.

Table 1-19

Language Capabilities of Immigrants Intending to  
Come to Quebec, 1979.

	Total	English	French	English/ French	Others	Not Stated
Quebec	19,522	4,091	4,446	2,032	8,949	1
Canada	112,096	49,215	5,592	4,068	53,218	3

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, 1979.  
Immigration Statistics, p.15.

The annual figures provided by the Federal Department of Employment and Immigration represent the numbers of people arrive from other countries. The census question which asks whether or not the respondent lived in the same dwelling, city, province or country five years previously, can also tell us how many people entered Quebec from other countries and other Canadian provinces, as well as their mother tongue. In recent years, in fact, it is the movement between Quebec and the rest of Canada which has had the greatest impact on Quebec's net migration balance. This census material provides us with the following picture:

Table 1-20

Percentage of People of English Mother Tongue, French  
Mother Tongue and Other Mother Tongue arriving in Quebec  
at the end of the periods 1966-1971 and 1971-1976.

<u>1966-1971</u>		
	<u>Arrivals from Other Provinces</u>	<u>Arrivals from Other Countries</u>
English	55.2%	26.8%
French	39.3	28.0
Other	5.5	45.2
Total	85,000	137,600
<u>1971-1976</u>		
English	50.0%	30.4%
French	44.4	36.6
Other	5.6	33.0
Total	83,800	108,200

Source: Adapted from Lachapelle, Henripin, La  
situation démographique, p.199 and 240.



Table 1-20 shows that the majority of people coming from other provinces was English-speaking for both 1966-71 and 1971-76. It also shows that the majority of arrivals from abroad, in the past allophone, was French-speaking in 1971-76.

Another way of describing where we come from emerges from Statistics Canada's "Population by Place of Birth". The following table provides information on the numbers of people living in Quebec who were born in other parts of Canada and in other countries.

Table 1-21

The Population of Quebec by Place of Birth  
1951, 1961, 1971.

Population Born In	1951	1961	1971
Total	4,055,681	5,259,211	6,027,765
Canada	3,826,758	4,870,762	5,558,835
Quebec	3,665,688	4,647,579	5,302,580
Rest of Canada	161,070	223,183	256,255
U.K.	75,740	82,206	65,605
Europe	102,604	238,889	284,810
Asia	3,475	8,401	25,355
U.S.A.	42,286	45,933	46,480
Other Countries	4,818	13,020	46,680

Source: de Vries, Unpublished Study for Council of  
Quebec Minorities, 1979.

*English-speaking Quebec has become more ethnically heterogeneous since the 1920s. In the past, many immigrants integrated into the English-speaking milieu thereby helping to maintain the relative strength of that linguistic group.*

### What We Do

The non-Francophones are involved in varying degrees in most aspects of industrial and agricultural activity in Quebec. The following Tables 22 and 23 provide a linguistic breakdown of the major types of employment in Quebec.

While those having English as their mother tongue and those belonging to other linguistic groups are represented in most categories, one important area of employment is not included: the three levels of civil service - municipal, provincial and federal.

The Gendron Commission<sup>59</sup> noted that during the mid-1960s minorities were under-represented at the municipal level of government in Montreal and at the provincial level. Less than three per cent of the British ethnic group and less than five per cent of "others" were employed in the Montreal civil administration. Most of the "others" were employed in manual labour by the public works department.

Only five per cent of provincial civil servants were non-franco-phone, and the Commission predicted that their numbers would decline. A 1978 report by Reed Scowen, the MNA for NDG-Montreal, proved the prediction correct. Only three per cent of provincial administration jobs were held by Anglophones and "Others". However, more recently efforts to increase anglophone participation in the provincial civil service have been made. The Comité d'Implementation de la Plan d'Action sur les Communauté Culturelles (CIPACC) instituted by the Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities aims to raise the proportion of minority participation in the provincial civil service to 9.5 per cent.

Federally, Quebec Anglophones have fared better, but often they are employed elsewhere in Canada. According to the Public Service Commission of Canada's 1980 Annual Report, 5.8 per cent of federal positions in Quebec are held by English-speaking people. However,

-----  
<sup>59</sup> Gendron Commission, p.281.



Table 1-22

Percentage of the population 15 years old and over in occupations in the experienced labour force, by mother tongue, Quebec, 1971.

Occupation	Mother Tongue			Total
	English	French	All Other	
<i>Total</i> .....	14.5%	77.0%	8.5%	100%
1. Managerial, administrative & related occupations.....	29.0	64.9	6.1	100
2. Occupations in natural science, engineering & mathematics.....	29.5	58.1	12.4	100
3. Occupations in social sciences & related fields.....	18.7	77.2	4.1	100
4. Occupations in religion.....	11.4	84.5	3.9	100
5. Teaching & related occupations.....	13.8	82.2	3.9	100
6. Medicine & Health.....	15.0	79.9	5.0	100
7. Artistic, literary & related occupations.....	20.9	68.9	10.2	100
8. Clerical and related.....	21.5	73.1	5.4	100
9. Sales.....	16.9	76.3	6.8	100
10. Services.....	10.8	79.3	9.9	100
11. Farmers (owners-managers.....	6.5	92.3	1.2	100
12. Farm management and other farming, horticultural and animal husbandry occupations.....	8.2	87.7	4.1	100
13. Fishing, hunting, trapping & related.	14.6	79.4	5.9	100
14. Forestry & Logging.....	2.8	96.0	1.1	100
15. Mining, quarrying (incl. oil & gas...	8.5	87.5	3.9	100
16. Processing.....	7.4	84.6	8.0	100
17. Machining & related.....	9.2	80.8	10.0	100
18. Product fabricating, assembling & repairing.....	8.9	75.3	15.8	100
19. Construction trades.....	6.7	85.5	7.8	100
20. Transport equipment operating.....	10.4	86.0	3.6	100
21. Materials handling & related N.E.C...	10.8	82.8	6.3	100
22. Other crafts & equipment operating...	15.6	79.7	4.8	100
23. Occupations not elsewhere classified.	8.6	21.6	9.8	100
24. Occupations not stated	14.8	75.6	9.6	100

Source: Anglo Québec en Mutation (AQEM), unpublished table provided by Statistics Canada.

Note: Numerical tables appear in Appendix F, page 86.

Table 1-23

Percentage of each mother tongue group of the population  
15 years old and over in the experienced labour force,  
by mother tongue, Quebec, 1971.

Occupation	Mother Tongue			Total
	English	French	All Other	
<i>Total</i> .....	100%	100%	100%	100%
1. Managerial, administrative & related occupations.....	9.5	4.0	3.7	4.7
2. Occupations in natural science, engineering & mathematics.....	5.1	.19	4.0	2.5
3. Occupations in social sciences & related fields.....	1.2	.9	.5	.9
4. Occupations in religion.....	.3	.4	.3	.3
5. Teaching & related occupations.....	4.3	4.8	2.2	4.5
6. Medicine & Health.....	3.9	3.8	2.4	3.2
7. Artistic, literary & related occupations.....	1.5	.9	1.4	1.0
8. Clerical and related.....	23.8	15.0	11.1	1.5
9. Sales.....	10.6	8.9	7.9	9.0
10. Services.....	7.7	10.6	13.2	10.3
11. Farmers (owner-managers).....	.7	1.9	.2	1.6
12. Farm management and other farming, horticultural and animal husbandry occupations.....	1.1	2.2	1.0	1.9
13. Fishing, hunting, trapping & related.	.1	.1	.1	.1
14. Forestry & Logging.....	.2	1.1	.1	.9
15. Mining, quarrying (incl. oil & gas)..	.3	.6	.3	.5
16. Processing.....	2.3	4.9	4.6	4.5
17. Machining & related.....	1.7	2.8	3.4	2.7
18. Product fabricating, assembling & repairing.....	5.5	8.7	18.2	9.0
19. Construction trades.....	2.7	6.4	5.8	5.8
20. Transport equipment operating.....	2.8	4.4	1.8	4.0
21. Materials handling & related N.E.C...	1.4	1.9	1.5	1.8
22. Other crafts & equipment operating...	1.4	1.3	1.8	1.3
23. Occupations not elsewhere CLASSIFIED.	1.4	2.4	2.9	2.3
24. Occupations not stated.....	10.4	9.9	12.6	10.2

Source: As in Table 1-22.



this does not include the Hull area which is part of the National Capitol Region. Nor does it include a significant number of anglophones employed in crown corporations.

Table 1-24

<i>Number and percentage of employees, by linguistic region, linguistic status of the position and language group of employee, 1980.</i>							
<i>Linguistic Region</i>	<i>Linguistic Status of Position</i>	<i>Anglo-phones No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Franco-phones No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Anglophones and Francophones Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
Quebec (except for NCR)	Bilingual	1,546	9.9	14,216	90.1	15,780	15,780
	English	269	86.2	43	13.8	312	312
	French	548	2.1	26,007	97.9	26,555	26,555
	English or French	128	32.7	263	67.3	391	391
	<i>Total</i>	2,509	5.8	40,529	94.2	43,038	45,695

Source: Adapted from Public Service Commission of Canada, Annual Report, 1980, p.43.

#### Income levels of linguistic groups in Montreal

Information on the income levels of minority groups is not extensive. One of the more detailed analyses was written by Jac-André Boulet for the Economic Council of Canada in 1977.<sup>60</sup> It states that the gap in income levels between Montreal's two major linguistic groups has narrowed since 1961 when there was a 51 per cent difference between the average earnings of Francophones and Anglophones. This disparity fell to 32 per cent in 1970 and 15 per cent in 1977.

<sup>60</sup> J-A Boulet, L'Evolution des disparités linguistiques de revenus de de travail dans la zone métropolitaine de Montréal, 1961-1977. Also useful is Boulet's follow-up study, Language and Earnings in Montreal, Economic Council of Canada, 1980.

Table 1-25

1961	Ranking of Incomes	1977
2	unilingual Anglophones	4
3	bilingual Allophones	3
1	bilingual Anglophones	1
4	bilingual Francophones	2

Source: Boulet, Language and Earnings in Montreal.

In 1961 Anglophones on the average earned 53 per cent more than Allophones. This difference narrowed to 37 per cent in 1970 and to 23 per cent in 1977. The 1977 report by the Economic Council of Canada shows that between 1961 and 1977 increases were made by Francophones at all income levels, particularly the upper income earners.

In 1961 Francophones made up 44 per cent of the top 15 per cent of income earners. By 1970 the percentage had increased to 57 per cent and, by 1977, to 70 per cent. If current trends continue, Francophones will constitute 78 per cent of upper income earners by the mid-1980s. This percentage would be proportionate to the population ratio of Francophones in Quebec.

There is no significant difference in the average earnings of Francophones and Anglophones up to a certain threshold. In 1961 that threshold was \$5,000, in 1970 it was \$10,750 and in 1977 it was \$19,000. The disparity in earnings is a result of the over-representation of Francophones below this threshold and their under-representation above it.



In 1977 bilingual Francophones ranked second in average earnings, being 11 per cent behind bilingual Anglophones. They had ranked fourth 16 years earlier. Unilingual Anglophones ranked fourth, just behind bilingual Allophones. They had been second 16 years earlier.

#### Bilingualism in the Labour Force

In 1977 Anglophones represented 18 per cent of the male labour force as opposed to 21 per cent in 1971 and 23 per cent in 1961. The Economic Council of Canada report states that this change is the result of a drop in the proportion of unilingual Anglophones on the labour market. This proportion declined from 13 per cent in 1961 to 11 per cent in 1971 to five per cent in 1978. The proportion of bilingual Anglophones on the Montreal labour market grew from ten per cent in 1961 to 13 per cent in 1978.

In 1971, 47 percent of Francophones aged 15 to 19 who entered the workforce was bilingual. In comparison, 51 per cent of the Anglophones aged 15 to 19 entering the workforce was bilingual and 65 per cent of the Allophones were trilingual.

Table 1-26

Percentage Distribution of Workers by Mother Tongue  
Montreal, 1961, 1971, 1977.

		1961	1971	Early 1978
Francophones	- unilingual	17%	25%	21%
	bilingual	46	41	46
	% of work force	<u>63%</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>67%</u>
Anglophones	- unilingual	13%	11%	5%
	bilingual	10	10	13
	% of work force	<u>23%</u>	<u>21%</u>	<u>18%</u>
Allophones	- French	2%	2%	2%
	English	6	5	4
	bilingual	6	6	9
	% of work force	<u>14%</u>	<u>13%</u>	<u>15%</u>

Source: J-A Boulet, Language and Earnings in Montreal, 1980, p.8.

Table 1-27

Average Revenue of Linguistic Groups, Montreal 1961, 1970, 1977.

	Avg. Income 1961		Avg. Income 1971		% Growth 1961-71		Avg. Income 1977		% Growth 1970-77	
		Rank		Rank		Rank		Rank		Rank
Francophones										
-unilingual	2,975	6	5,422	6	82	3	12,223	6	125	3
-bilingual	4,201	4	7,355	3	75	4	16,095	2	119	2
Anglophones										
-unilingual	5,749	2	8,631	2	50	7	14,674	4	70	6
-bilingual	5,931	1	8,851	1	49	8	17,874	1	102	5
Allophones										
-French	2,745	7	5,264	7	92	2	10,556	7	60	7
-English	3,818	5	6,601	5	73	5	12,968	5	146	1
-bilingual	4,518	3	6,942	4	54	6	14,931	3	115	3
Francophones	3,873	2	6,625	2	71	1	14,880	2	125	1
Anglophones	5,829	1	8,737	1	50	3	17,065	1	95	3
Allophones	3,816	3	6,383	3	67	2	13,905	3	118	2
Total Average	4,315		7,042		63		15,132		115	

Source: Adapted from J-A Boulet, L'Evolution des disparités linguistiques, p.13,15.



*Having had a glance at who we  
are, where we are, where we come from  
and what we do, let us now look at  
where we are going both in the literal  
and figurative sense.*

#### Where We Are Going

Although the Quebec population is increasing, the rate of this increase has slowed in recent years. Jacques Henripin has stated that the rate of growth was two-thirds less between 1971 and 1976 than it was between 1956 and 1961.<sup>61</sup> The Quebec population increased by 25.5 per 1,000 inhabitants between 1956-61 and then by only 6.7 per 1,000 inhabitants between 1971-76.<sup>62</sup>

The slowdown is largely a consequence of a reduction in the number of births, from 28.9 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1956-61 to 14.9 per 1,000 in 1971-76,<sup>63</sup> which is a phenomenon affecting population growth throughout Canada, the United States and Europe.<sup>64</sup>

Emigration is a second reason<sup>65</sup> for the downward trend in Quebec population growth. Between 1956 and 1961 the net immigration from other nations and the rest of Canada to Quebec was positive at 3.9 per 1,000 inhabitants. However, since 1966 to 1971 and 1971 to 1976 more people have left than have arrived. It is important to note that the balance of migration to Quebec from overseas in general has been positive. In contrast, the number of people coming from other provinces, as opposed to the number of people leaving to other provinces, has been negative since 1966-71.

---

<sup>61</sup> J. Henripin, Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique, p.4.  
(from 126,000 to 41,000/year)

<sup>62</sup> Henripin, Natalité, migrations, p.6.

<sup>63</sup> Henripin, Natalité, migrations, p.7.

<sup>64</sup> Henripin, Natalité, migrations, (natural increase fell from 107,000/  
49,000 per year).

<sup>65</sup> Henripin, Natalité, migrations, (from 19,000 per year to 8,000 per year).

There are two principal methods of assessing how many people are leaving Quebec for other provinces. The first method is based on the census question which asks where the respondent lived five years previously: in another dwelling, city, province or country.

The second, less direct, is based on the changes of address of family allowance allocations. This method generally provides results which are substantially higher than the first. While the first method enumerates people who moved five years previously and averages the results over a five year period, the second method provides annual figures and can account for families which moved more than once during a five year period.<sup>66</sup> The differing results can be confusing to someone trying to understand who is going where.

For example, if we want to know the number of people migrating to and from Quebec and the other provinces between 1966-71 and 1971-76, the census will provide the following picture:

Table 1-28

Inter-Provincial Migration at the end of the periods  
1966-71 and 1971-76

	1966-71	1971-76
Arrivals from other provinces	84,900	83,800
Departures to other provinces	160,400	145,000
Balance of provincial migration	-75,500	-62,000

Source: Adapted from Lachapelle, La situation démographique, p.199.

The statistics provided by the changes of address in family allowance allocations furnish the following information:

Table 1-29

Inter-Provincial Migration at the end of the periods  
1966-71 and 1971-76

	1966-71	1971-76
Arrivals from other provinces	195,000	186,000
Departures to other provinces	318,000	264,000
Balance of provincial migrations	-123,000	-78,000

Source: Adapted from J. Henripin, Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique, p.2.

<sup>66</sup> Henripin, Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique, p.20.



In both cases the very different numbers indicate similar trends: At the end of the period 1971-76, fewer people left Quebec for other provinces, fewer people arrived from other provinces and the net loss to other parts of Canada was less than at the end of the preceding five year period. Still, the balance in the two periods was negative.

This situation is not new: between 1881 and 1931 Quebec suffered a negative migration balance. Although this tendency was reversed from 1931-1966, it has again become apparent from 1966 to the present. In the past, negative provincial migrations were somewhat offset by a high birth rate and a higher rate of immigration to Quebec from other countries. The latter, while still favourable, has fluctuated greatly since 1966.

Table 1-30

International Immigration and Emigration at  
the end of the periods 1966-71 and 1971-76.

	1966-71	1971-76
Immigrants	142,000	112,000
Emigrants	132,000	70,000
Balance	10,000	42,000

Source: Adapted from J. Henripin, Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique, p.21.

#### Who is leaving?

Over the past years there has been a profusion of statistics describing how many Anglophones, Francophones and Allophones have left Quebec. Here, too, there are certain problems in obtaining accurate data. Specifically, while demographers may ascertain the mother tongue of people arriving from abroad, or moving to and from other provinces, there is no way to determine the mother tongue of those who depart for other countries. Any figure representing the number of people emigrating abroad, by mother tongue, is always based on estimates. These estimates, in turn, derive from studies on past internal and external migratory trends in the rest of Canada and consider such factors as the ages,

educational levels and birth places of the emigrants. For example, people between the ages of 25 and 29 have a high propensity to leave, as do people with higher levels of education and non-Canadians.

Empirical evidence and theory have led some demographers to conclude that between 1971-76 international migrations favoured first those who spoke neither English nor French, second, the French mother tongue group and, third, the English mother tongue group.<sup>67</sup>

During the past 15 years more English-speaking people have moved to Quebec from the rest of Canada than French-speaking people or other mother tongue groups. However, the migration balance has been worse for the English-speaking population because they also leave Quebec in large numbers for other provinces.<sup>68</sup>

At the end of the 1966-71 period, over 55 per cent of the 84,900 Canadians who moved to Quebec had English as a mother tongue, 39 per cent had French as a mother tongue and 5.5 per cent had a mother tongue other than French or English. The respective figures for 1971-76 were 50 per cent, 44 per cent and 5.6 per cent. On the other hand, of the 160,400 who left Quebec for other provinces in 1966-71, 61.8 per cent was English-speaking; 29.2 per cent was French-speaking, and 9 per cent had another mother tongue. The figures for 1971-76 were 64.9 per cent, 28.3 per cent and 7.1 per cent respectively.

A simplified table, juxtaposing inter-provincial and international movements, sketches this information in the following way:

Table 1-31

Estimate of the number of people who moved to and from Quebec at the end of the period, 1966-71 and 1971-76.

	Inter-Provincial Migration		International Migration	
	1966-71	1971-76	1966-71	1971-76
Immigrants	85,000	84,000	142,000	112,000
Emigrants	160,000	146,000	132,000	70,000
Balance	-75,000	-62,000	10,000	42,000

Source: J. Henripin, *Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique*, p.21  
 Note: Numbers differ from those in Table 1-28 due to rounding.

<sup>67</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, *La situation démographique*, p. 196-198.

<sup>68</sup> Lachapelle, Henripin, *La situation démographique*, p.221, adds on the basis of the 1971 census Allophones who use English as a home language have a higher propensity to leave than those who use French as a home language.



An important footnote to the statistics on international migrations is that a large percentage of people arriving in Quebec from other countries do not remain. About 40 per cent of these overseas immigrants move on to other provinces, compared to an average of 15 per cent to 20 per cent in other provinces.<sup>69</sup>

### Summary

*The preceding sections have attempted a brief statistical overview of English-speaking Quebec. Overall, the proportion of English-speaking people has been declining for many years. This decrease has led to a significant loss in the population base essential in supporting the English language institutional framework: schools, hospitals, social services and cultural organizations. Specifically, the emigration of large numbers of English-speaking people has contributed to a loss of leadership and has left anglophone communities, particularly outside of Montreal, with an aging population. These factors, along with the evolution of Quebec society during the last 20 years and the recent introduction of language legislation, have modified the profile of English language institutions in Quebec.*

*How is English-speaking Quebec coping with these changes? How is it developing intrinsically? The following chapters on Education, Health and Social Services and Culture try to provide some of the answers to these questions.*

---

<sup>69</sup> J. Henripin, Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique, p.21.

## Ethnic Origin of the Population of Quebec, 1871 - 1971.

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Total	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,648,898	2,005,776	2,360,510	2,874,662	3,331,882	4,055,681	5,259,211	6,027,700
British	243,041	260,538	290,169	318,799	356,943	432,729	452,887	491,818	567,057	640,045
French	929,817	1,073,820	1,322,115	1,606,535	1,889,267	2,270,059	2,695,032	3,327,168	4,241,354	4,758,310
German	7,963	8,943	6,923	6,221	4,667	10,616	8,880	12,249	39,457	53,870
Italian	539	745	2,805	9,608	16,141	24,845	28,051	34,165	108,552	169,450
Jewish	74	330	7,607	30,758	49,977	60,087	66,277	73,019	74,677	115,990
Dutch	798	776	1,554	1,513	1,412	1,824	2,645	3,129	10,442	12,590
Polish	--	--	274	3,233	3,264	9,534	10,036	16,998	30,790	23,970
Scandi- navian	454	648	1,350	1,757	2,219	4,932	4,840	5,390	11,295	8,820
Ukrainian	--	--	6	458	1,176	4,340	8,006	12,921	16,588	20,325
Indian/ Eskimo	6,988	7,515	10,142	11,997	11,234	13,875	13,641	16,620	21,343	36,590

Notes: 1) Data were not collected in 1871.

2) Data for 1871 and 1881 are probably inaccurate, due to incorrect allocation of small groups, especially from central and eastern Europe.

3) -- means that data are not available.

Sources: Report of the Royal Commission for bilingualism and biculturalism, Vol. IV, table A11  
1971 Census of Population, Volume 1-3.



Appendix A-2

Percentage distribution of the population of Quebec by ethnic origin, 1871 - 1971.

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
British	20.4	19.2	17.6	15.9	15.1	15.0	13.6	12.1	10.8	10.6
French	78.0	79.0	80.2	80.1	80.0	79.0	80.9	82.0	80.6	79.0
German	0.7	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.9
Italian	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.8	0.8	2.1	2.8
Jewish	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.5	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.9
Dutch	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
Polish	--	--	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.4
Scandinavian	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
Ukrainian	--	--	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3
Indian/Eskimo	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.6

Sources: As in Appendix A-1.

Notes: As in Appendix A-1

Appendix A-3

Intercensal rates of change by ethnic group  
Quebec, 1871-1971.

	1871- 1881	1881- 1901	1901- 1911	1911- 1921	1921- 1931	1931- 1941	1941- 1951	1951- 1961	1961- 1971
British	7.1	11.3	7.9	12.9	21.1	4.6	8.5	15.2	12.9
French	15.6	23.0	21.4	17.6	20.1	18.7	23.4	27.4	12.2
German	-4.2	-9.4	-11.3	-24.1	127.4	16.4	37.9	222.0	36.5
Italian	38.2	276.5	241.3	68.5	53.9	12.9	21.7	217.0	56.3
Jewish	345.9	2205.2	302.8	56.5	25.2	10.3	10.1	2.2	55.3
Dutch	-2.8	100.2	-4.2	-6.2	29.0	45.0	18.2	233.7	20.6
Polish	--	--	--	1.1	192.0	5.7	69.3	81.1	-22.1
Scandinavian	42.7	108.3	30.0	26.3	122.2	-1.9	11.3	109.5	-21.9
Ukrainian	--	--	--	--	269.0	84.4	61.3	28.3	21.9
Indian/Eskimo	7.5	35.0	18.2	-3.4	16.1	12.7	9.4	28.4	71.5

Sources: As in Appendix A-1.

Notes: As in Appendix A-1.



Appendix B-1

Ethnic Origins of Husbands and Wives in Husband-Wife Families, by Birthplace of Husband, 1971.

		<u>Canadian Born Husband</u>	<u>Foreign Born Husband</u>	<u>Total</u>
Husband:	British	114,165	25,760	139,925
Wife:	British	70,920	20,585	91,505
	French	36,045	3,195	39,240
	Other	7,200	1,980	9,170
Husband:	French	909,965	20,750	930,715
Wife:	British	32,615	1,040	33,655
	French	865,145	18,985	883,630
	Other	12,205	1,230	13,435
Husband:	Other	49,320	102,215	151,535
Wife:	British	6,880	4,595	1,475
	French	14,725	9,420	24,145
	Same as Husband	25,115	81,560	106,675
	Other	2,590	6,635	9,225
All Husband-Wife Families:		1,073,450	148,725	1,222,175
Wife:	British	110,415	26,220	136,635
	French	915,915	31,100	947,025
	Same as Husband	25,115	81,560	106,675
	Other	21,995	9,845	31,840

Source: de Vries, Unpublished Study for Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.

Appendix B-2

Mother Tongue of Husbands and Wives in Husband-Wife Families, by Birthplace of Husband, 1971.

	Canadian Born Husband	Foreign Born Husband	Total
Husband: English	125,490	36,335	161,825
Wife: English	100,835	31,335	132,170
French	22,090	3,720	25,810
Other	2,565	1,285	3,850
Husband: French	934,655	26,905	961,565
Wife: English	20,095	1,165	21,255
French	911,355	26,665	936,030
Other	3,205	1,080	4,285
Husband: Other	13,305	85,485	98,790
Wife: English	1,500	4,635	6,135
French	2,440	7,250	9,690
Same as Husband	8,785	69,510	78,295
Other	575	4,075	4,650
All Husband-Wife Families:	1,073,450	148,725	1,222,175
Wife: English	122,430	37,135	159,570
French	935,885	35,635	971,520
Same as Husband	8,785	69,510	78,290
Other	6,345	6,440	12,790

Source: de Vries, Unpublished Study for Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.



Appendix C-1

Distribution of the Quebec population by mother tongue 1931 - 1976

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1976
Total	2,874,662	3,331,882	4,055,681	5,259,211	6,027,765	6,234,445
British	429,613	468,996	558,256	697,406	798,185	800,680
French	2,292,193	2,717,287	3,347,030	4,269,689	4,867,250	4,989,245
German	7,295	5,123	7,515	31,589	31,025	22,630
Italian	21,972	21,580	24,619	89,806	135,460	124,575
Jewish	504	553	2,019	6,059	4,660	4,210
Dutch	9,083	9,099	12,837	19,827	15,485	11,675
Polish	3,150	2,484	2,017	3,477	2,325	1,590
Scandi- navian	4,882	8,456	11,743	13,424	11,390	10,975
Ukrainian	59,468	52,717	44,262	35,845	21,340	8,900
Indian/ Eskimo	--	12,628	14,299	16,518	21,050	18,375
Not Stated	--	--	--	--	--	110,470

Sources: J. de Vries, unpublished study for Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.

Notes: 1) 1931 data not strictly comparable with later data.

2) 1976 data not strictly comparable with earlier data.

Appendix C-2

Percentage distribution of the Quebec Population  
by Mother Tongue, 1931 - 1976.

	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1976
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
English	14.9	14.1	13.8	13.2	13.1	12.8
French	79.7	81.6	82.5	81.1	80.7	80.0
German	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.4
Italian	0.8	0.6	0.6	1.7	2.2	2.0
Dutch	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Polish	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2
Scandinavian	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Ukrainian	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2
Yiddish	2.0	1.6	1.1	0.7	0.4	0.1
Eskimo/Indian	--	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3

Sources: As in Appendix C-1.

Appendix C-3

Intercensal growth rates by Mother Tongue,  
Quebec, 1931 - 1976.

	1931- 1941	1941- 1951	1951- 1961	1961- 1971	1971- 1976
English	9.1	19.0	24.9	13.2	1.5
French	18.5	23.1	27.5	14.0	2.5
German	-29.8	46.6	320.3	-1.8	-27.1
Italian	-1.8	14.0	264.7	49.7	-8.0
Dutch	9.7	265.0	200.0	-23.1	-9.7
Polish	0.2	41.0	54.4	-21.9	-24.6
Scandinavian	-21.2	-18.4	71.5	-33.1	-31.6
Ukrainian	73.2	38.8	14.3	-15.1	-3.6
Yiddish	-11.7	-16.1	-19.1	-40.5	-58.3
Indian/ Eskimo	--	13.2	15.5	27.4	-12.7

Sources: As in Appendix C-1.

Notes: As in Appendix C-1.



The Relationship Between Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue, Quebec,  
1931 - 1971

	BRITISH			FRENCH			OTHER		
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>Other</u>
1931	406,833	24,465	1,428	12,653	2,256,741	665	10,127	10,987	150,350
1941	414,565	33,307	2,152	25,723	2,668,816	493	28,708	15,164	140,000
1961	511,293	53,383	2,381	68,339	4,164,880	8,135	117,770	51,426	281,600
1971	528,695	105,660	5,685	88,555	4,662,040	8,765	171,935	99,550	356,870

Source: J. de Vries, F. Vallée, Language Use in Canada.

Appendix E-1

Towns, Village and Other Points with an English-Speaking  
Population of 100 or more - Ottawa Valley

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Anglo Pop.</u>
Aylmer v.	25,710	11,210
Aylwin	575	365
Deléage sd.	1,440	180
Egan-Sud sd Maniwaki v.	6,325	580
Hull, partie-ouest ct.	3,505	2,020
Lac-Sainte-Marie sd.	340	110
La Pêche sd.	4,665	1,500
Low ct.	905	645
Wright ct Gracefield vl.	1,825	145
Gatineau v.	73,480	7,805
Hull v.	61,040	4,305
Buckingham v.	14,330	2,425
Lochaber ct Thurso v.	3,515	235
Lochaber, partie-ouest ct.	440	145
Mayo sd.	210	130
Mulgrave et Derry cu.	190	150
Namur sd.	520	75
Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours, partie nord p. Montebello vl.	1,590	125
Val-des-Monts sd.	3,540	680
Alleyn et Cawood cu.	145	130
Bristol ct.	1,065	190
Chichester ct.	560	480
Clarendon ct. Shawville vl.	3,365	3,080
Grand-Calumet ct.	975	230
Isle-aux-Allumettes partie est ct.	480	415
Isle-des-Allumettes ct Chapeau vl.	1,040	535
Leslie, Clapham et Huddersfield cu	950	520
Litchfield ct Portage-du-Fort vl.	3,000	2,005
Campbell's-Bay vl Bryson vl.		
Mansfield et Pontefract cu.	3,785	665
Fort-Coulonge vl.		
Pontiac sd.	3,365	1,840
Rapides-des-Joachims sd.	200	130
Sheen, Esher, Aberdeen et Malakoff cu	110	105
Thorne ct.	325	245

Source: Gary Caldwell, Le Québec anglophone hors de la  
région de Montréal dans les années soixante-dix.

Key: c....city                      ri...Indian reserve  
ct...county                    sd...not designated  
cu...united county           v....town  
no...not organized        vl...village  
p....parish



Appendix E-2

Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English-Speaking Population of 100 or more - Gaspé

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Anglo Pop.</u>
Bonaventure <i>sd.</i>	2,910	165
Escuminac <i>sd.</i>	680	365
Grande-Cascapédia <i>sd.</i>	325	270
Hope <i>ct.</i>	1,090	175
Hope-Town <i>sd.</i>	330	170
Matapédia <i>p.</i>	885	350
New Carlisle <i>sd.</i>	1,785	1,075
New Richmond <i>v.</i>	4,310	945
Nouvelle <i>sd.</i>	2,280	130
Pointe-à-la-Croix <i>sd.</i>	1,480	310
Port-Daniel, partie ouest <i>ct.</i>	1,145	475
Ristigouche, Partie sud-est <i>ct.</i>	195	105
Saint-Jules <i>sd.</i>	525	310
Shigawake <i>sd.</i>	580	290
Gaspé <i>v.</i>	16,845	3,530
Pabos <i>sd.</i> Chandler <i>v.</i>	5,075	450
Pabos-Mills <i>sd.</i>	1,465	235
Percé <i>v.</i>	5,195	1,270
Murdochville <i>v.</i>	3,700	775
Grosse-Ile <i>sd.</i>	510	500
Ile-du-Havre-Aubert <i>sd.</i>	3,080	250
Ile d'Entrée <i>vl.</i>		

Source: Gary Caldwell, Le Québec anglophone hors de la région de Montréal dans les années soixante-dix.

Key: *c...*city  
*ct...*county  
*cu...*united county  
*no...*not organized  
*p...*parish  
*ri...*Indian reserve  
*sd...*not designated  
*v...*town  
*vl...*village

Appendix E-3

Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English-Speaking Population of 100 or more - North and South of Montreal.

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Anglo Pop.</u>
Arundel ct. Barkmere v.	820	395
Chatham ct. Brownsburg vl. Carlton vl.	6,880	1,860
Gore ct.	405	270
Grenville ct. Calumet vl. Grenville vl.	4,045	1,455
Harrington ct.	725	595
Lachute c.	11,980	2,205
Mille-Isles sd.	385	195
Montcalm ct.	255	105
Morin Heights sd.	1,445	820
St-Adolphe-de-Howard sd.	1,260	205
St-André-d'Argenteuil p.	2,075	335
Wentworth ct.	195	185
Wentworth-North sd.	520	115
Godmanchester ct. Huntingdon v.	4,870	2,100
Hemmingford ct. Hemmingford vl.	2,595	1,320
Dundee ct.	380	170
Elgin ct.	530	355
Franklin sd.	1,440	390
Havelock ct.	770	395
Hinchinbrooke ct.	1,820	1,200
Saint-Anicet p.	1,770	295

Source: Gary Caldwell, Le Québec anglophone hors de la région de Montréal dans les années soixante-dix.

Key: c....city  
 ct...county  
 cu...united county  
 no...not organized  
 p....parish  
 ri...Indian reserve  
 sd...not designated  
 v....town  
 vl...village



Appendix E-4

Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English-Speaking  
Population of 100 or more - Eastern Townships

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Anglo Pop.</u>
Granby <i>ct.</i> Granby <i>v.</i>	41,380	2,285
Shefford <i>ct.</i> Warden <i>vl.</i> Waterloo <i>v.</i>	7,285	1,525
Stukely-Sud <i>sd.</i> Stukely-Sud <i>vl.</i>	800	215
St-Joachim-de-Shefford <i>p.</i>	990	155
Adamsville <i>sd.</i> East-Farnham <i>vl.</i> Bromont <i>v.</i>	4,430	970
Bolton-ouest <i>sd.</i>	505	430
Lac Brome <i>v.</i> Brome <i>vl.</i>	4,420	3,130
Sutton <i>ct.</i> Sutton <i>v.</i> Abercorn <i>vl.</i>	3,110	1,810
Bedford <i>ct.</i> Bedford <i>v.</i>	3,685	950
Dunham <i>v.</i> Cowansville <i>v.</i>	14,430	3,025
Frelighsburg <i>p.</i> Frelighsburg <i>vl.</i>	995	240
Rainville <i>sd.</i> Farnham <i>v.</i>	8,030	635
St-Armand-Ouest <i>p.</i> Philipsburg <i>vl.</i>	1,365	435
St-Georges-de-Clarenceville <i>sd.</i> Clarenceville <i>vl.</i>	890	470
St-Ignace-de-Stanbridge <i>p.</i>	865	160
Noyan <i>sd.</i>	555	255
Stanbridge <i>ct.</i>	900	580
Venise-en-Québec <i>sd.</i>	585	110
Austin <i>sd.</i> Eastman <i>vl.</i> St-Etienne-de-Bolton <i>sd.</i>	2,150	885
Bolton-Est <i>sd.</i>		
Potton <i>ct.</i>	1,735	990
Bury <i>sd.</i>	1,070	630
Clifton, partie est <i>ct.</i>	380	110
Compton <i>ct.</i> Compton <i>vl.</i>	1,450	260
Compton-Station <i>sd.</i> Waterville <i>v.</i>	2,210	490
Eaton <i>ct.</i> Cookshire <i>v.</i> Sawyerville <i>vl.</i>	3,850	1,340
Hampden <i>ct.</i> Scotstown <i>v.</i>	925	225
Newport <i>sd.</i>	740	430
Westbury <i>ct.</i> East-Angus <i>v.</i>	5,220	300
Frontenac <i>sd.</i> Lac-Mégantic <i>v.</i>	7,545	110
Brompton <i>ct.</i> Bromptonville <i>v.</i>	4,175	165
Cleveland <i>ct.</i> Richmond <i>v.</i>	5,630	1,610
Melbourne <i>ct.</i> Kingsbury <i>vl.</i> Melbourne <i>vl.</i>	1,615	735
Shipton <i>ct.</i> Asbestos <i>v.</i> Danville <i>v.</i>	14,410	1,140
Windsor <i>ct.</i> Windsor <i>v.</i>	7,150	385
Valcourt <i>ct.</i> Valcourt <i>v.</i>	3,690	100
Ascot <i>ct.</i> Lennoxville <i>v.</i>	10,965	4,360
Ascot Corner <i>sd.</i>	1,945	110
Fleurimont <i>sd.</i>	6,920	170
Orford <i>ct.</i>	655	165
Rock Forest <i>sd.</i> Deauville <i>vl.</i>	9,840	405
Saint-Elie d'Orford <i>p.</i>	2,450	135
Sherbrooke <i>v.</i>	76,805	5,105
Barnston <i>ct.</i> Coaticook <i>v.</i>	7,700	455
Barnston-Ouest <i>sd.</i>	525	180
Hatley, North Hatley <i>vl.</i>	1,285	830

(continued)

Appendix E-4 (continued)

Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English-Speaking  
Population of 100 or more - Eastern Townships

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Anglo Pop.</u>
Hatley, Partie ouest <i>ct.</i> Hatley <i>vl.</i>	610	330
Magog <i>ct.</i> Omerville <i>vl.</i> Magog <i>c.</i>	16,895	1,670
Ogden <i>sd.</i> Stanstead-Plain <i>vl.</i> Beebe-Plain <i>vl.</i>	3,150	1,580
Ste-Catherine-de-Hatley <i>sd.</i> Ayer's Cliff <i>vl.</i>	1,990	780
St-Mathieu-de-Disville <i>sd.</i> Dixville <i>vl.</i>	930	280
Stanstead <i>ct.</i>	705	470
Stanstead-Est <i>sd.</i> Rock-Island <i>v.</i>	1,960	1,130
Dudswell <i>ct.</i> Bishopton <i>vl.</i> Marbleton <i>vl.</i>	1,555	265

Source: Gary Caldwell, Le Québec anglophone hors de la région de  
Montréal dans les années soixante-dix.

Key: *c....city*  
*ct...county*  
*cu...united county*  
*no...not organized*  
*p....parish*  
*ri...Indian reserve*  
*sd...not designated*  
*v....town*  
*vl...village*



Appendix E-5

Towns, Villages and Other Points with an English-Speaking Population of 100 or more - Quebec City

	<u>Total Pop.</u>	<u>Anglo Pop.</u>
Charney v.	6,480	140
Lauzon c. Lévis v.	30,485	290
Saint-Romuald-d'Etchemin c.	9,160	185
Donnacona v.	5,790	110
Notre-Dame-de-Portneuf p. Portneuf v.	3,190	140
Ste-Catherine p. Lac St-Joseph v. Fossambault-sur-le-lac v.	2,675	105
Shannon sd.	3,600	1,085
Ancienne-Lorette v.	11,695	215
Beauport v.	55,340	480
Charlesbourg v.	63,145	860
Loretteville c.	14,765	460
St-Dunstan-du-Lac-Beauport p.	2,085	125
St-Félix-du-Camp Rouge p.	5,710	215
Sainte-Foy v.	71,235	3,725
St-Gabriel-de-Valcartier sd.	2,020	575
Sillery c.	13,580	1,295
Québec v.	177,080	4,120
Stoneham et Tewkesbury cu. Lac-Delage v. Non-Municipalisé de Montmorency no 1	2,970	300
Val-Belair v.	10,715	450
Vanier v.	4,175	85

Source: Gary Caldwell, Le Québec anglophone hors de la région de Montréal dans les années soixante-dix.

Key: c....city  
 ct...county  
 cu...united county  
 no...not organized  
 p....parish  
 ri...Indian reserve  
 sd...not designated  
 v....town  
 vl...village

Appendix F

Occupations of the population 15 years old and over in  
the experienced labour force, by mother tongue,  
Quebec, 1971.

Occupation	Mother Tongue			Total
	English	French	All Other	
Total.....	313,510	1,683,720	169,165	2,166,400
1. Managerial, administrative and related occupations.....	29,820	66,750	6,285	102,865
2. Occupations in natural science, engineering & mathematics.....	15,960	31,475	6,700	54,135
3. Occupations in social sciences & related fields.....	3,870	15,955	850	20,665
4. Occupations in religion.....	815	6,015	280	7,115
5. Teaching & related occupations.....	13,505	80,160	3,805	97,470
6. Medicine & Health.....	12,155	64,775	4,085	81,015
7. Artistic, literary & related occupations.....	4,770	15,695	2,320	22,785
8. Clerical and related.....	74,480	252,945	18,785	346,210
9. Sales.....	33,360	150,275	13,430	197,065
10. Services.....	24,200	178,010	22,255	224,465
11. Farmers (owner-managers).....	2,295	32,385	405	35,080
12. Farm management and other farming, horticultural and animal husbandry occupations.....	3,530	37,560	1,735	42,825
13. Fishing, hunting, trapping & related.....	285	1,545	115	1,945
14. Forestry & Logging.....	565	19,245	230	20,040
15. Mining, quarrying (incl. oil & gas...)	1,000	10,270	455	11,730
16. Processing.....	7,140	82,100	7,785	97,025
17. Machining & related.....	5,370	46,875	5,795	58,040
18. Product fabricating, assembling & repairing.....	17,285	146,865	30,875	195,025
19. Construction trades.....	8,530	108,090	9,860	126,480
20. Transport equipment operating.....	8,970	73,710	3,125	85,750
21. Materials handling & related N.E.C....	4,250	32,510	2,485	39,245
22. Other crafts & equipment operating...	4,410	22,520	1,345	28,270
23. Occupations not elsewhere CLASSIFIED.	4,285	40,650	4,905	49,840
24. Occupations not stated.....	32,725	167,350	21,255	221,330

Source: As in Table 1-22.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Texts used in Working Paper II: The People

- Boulet, J-A, L'Evolution des disparités linguistiques de revenus de travail dans la zone métropolitaine de Montréal, 1961-77. Economic Council of Canada, 1977.
- Language and Earnings in Montreal, Economic Council of Canada, 1980.
- Caldwell, Gary, Le Québec anglophone hors de la région de Montréal dans les années soixante-dix, Conseil de la langue française, 1980.
- Cartwright, D.G., Official Language Populations in Canada: Patterns and Contacts, l'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.
- de Vries, J., Unpublished Study for Council of Quebec Minorities, 1979.
- de Vries, J. & Vallée, F., Language Use in Canada, Statistics Canada, 1980.
- Henripin, J., Natalité, migrations et croissance démographique, Parti Libéral du Québec, 1980.
- Lachapelle, R., "Evolution of Linguistic Composition", Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada, l'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.
- Lachapelle, R. & Henripin, J., La situation démolinguistique au Canada, l'Institut de recherches politiques, 1980.
- O'Gallagher, M., St. Patrick's, Quebec, Carraig Books, 1981.
- Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, (The Gendron Commission) Vol. 3, 1972.

Working Paper 11: Education



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-Education Laws and Reports-

- 1763 - Royal Proclamation on Education.
- 1789 - Report on education recommends - secular university for French and English; free elementary schools in parish or village; administration by equal number of Protestants and Catholics.
- 1801 - "An act to establish Free Schools and Advancement of Learning in this Province" - Education law enacting the creation of Royal Institutes, religiously neutral, charged with organization of schools: elementary, model, university. 22 schools established between 1818-1824. Delay in establishing Royal Institute Schools due to Napoleonic Wars. No letters patent for them were granted until 1818.
- 1818 - Royal Institute receives letters patent to incorporate and establish schools.
- 1824 - Education law - "Ecoles de Fabriques" - allowed fabriques (lay administrative boards) to found and maintain parish schools; 1824-1828, 48 schools established.
- 1829 - Education Law - provincial subsidies for construction of schools and teachers' salaries. Election of boards by tax payers; 1,600 schools established between 1829-1836; law remains in force for seven years. When subsidies not renewed in 1836, 1,200 of the 1,600 schools closed. Schools under authority of Legislative Assembly, but within control of local community leaders.
- 1841 - Education Law establishing Superintendent of Education; recognized right of dissidence for religious minorities; imposed mandatory school tax. Restoration of "Common Schools".
- 1845 - Education Law regarding elementary instruction in Lower Canada; autonomous school commissions; voluntary school tax.
- 1846 - Education Act re-established obligatory school tax; creation of examination boards in Quebec and Montreal to choose teachers. Known as "Magna Carta" of Quebec education - formed fundamental structures for succeeding education acts.
- 1853 - Government inquiry on education; difficulties in administration arising from increase in the number of schools during the 1840s; creation of central authority; uniformity of books; normal schools opened in Montreal and Quebec City for teacher training.

\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-Education Laws and Reports-

- 1856 - Education Law established pension fund for teachers; Journal of Public Instruction published; Council on Public Education.
- 1863 - Royal Assent given to separate schools.
- 1867 - British North America Act passed, with Article 93 referring to education:

"In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:--

- (1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:
- (2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec..."

Sub-sections 3 and 4 of this section provide an appeal to the Governor-General in Council regarding acts or decisions of any provincial authority that affects any right or privilege mentioned in sections one and two. They also allow the Parliament of Canada to adopt remedial laws in executing Article 93.

- 1869 - Education Act established Protestant and Catholic education; Council of Public instruction divided into two separate committees - a Catholic Committee with 14 representatives, and a Protestant Committee with seven representatives. The committees were reorganized and further defined in 1875; the Catholic Committee had seven clergymen as representatives, as well as seven lay Catholics. The Protestant Committee consisted of seven lay Protestants. Although the system lasted until 1960, there was not one joint meeting between 1908-1960.
- 1875 - Superintendent of Education re-established.
- 1902 - Adam's Report on Education in Quebec - more rational classification of schools, more money, compulsory education law; consolidation of some rural schools, better salaries.



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-Education Laws and Reports-

- 1943 - Education law making school attendance obligatory until 14 years of age.
- 1946 - Law by which government took over debts of school boards while also placing the commissions under government guardianship.
- 1961 - Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education - Parent Commission.
- 1963 - Parent Commission Report begins releasing documents.  
Five volumes were released between 1963 and 1966.
- 1964 - Bill 60 sets up Ministry of Education and Superior Council of Education.
  - Operation 55 leads to creation of regional school boards.
- 1965 - Implementation of some of Parent's recommendations: reorganization of curriculum; six years elementary school; five years secondary school; kindergarten for all.
- 1966 - Regulations on school examinations; pre-university and professional studies; disappearance of school inspectors.
- 1967 - Bill 25 - forces teachers back to work after lengthy strike; first major teacher confrontation; established wage parity between male and female teachers.
  - Bill 21 - creation of CEGEPs - first publicly created non-confessional schools since 19th century.
- 1969 - First collective agreement between government, teachers and school boards.
  - Bill 63 - Freedom of Choice language law which also stipulated that all graduates of Quebec schools must have a working knowledge of French.
  - St-Léonard riots.
- 1971 - Bill 27 - regroups school commissions of Montreal Island.
- 1972 - Bill 71 - reorganization of boards on Montreal Island.
  - Creation of Montreal Island Council.
- 1977 - Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Quebec.
- 1979 - Bill 57 - The Schools of Quebec - policy statement and plan of action.
- 1981 - Release of White Paper on education - complete reorganization of school system.

\* \* \* \* \*

### RESUME

To say the least, the Quebec system of education is unusual. Quebec is one of the few places in North America which has a confessional public school system, providing minority language education from kindergarten to university. Of the 248 school boards and 2,677 primary and secondary schools in 1980-81, there were: 213 Catholic boards with 2,370 schools; 31 Protestant boards with 268 schools; and four multi-confessional (Protestant and Catholic) boards with 39 schools.

At one time most schools in the Catholic sector were French and most in the Protestant were English. However, Quebec's rapidly changing society has jumbled this distinction into a confusing puzzle which is difficult to unscramble.

Consider the following statistics: In 1980-81 the Catholic sector had 1,021,250 students. About 953,600 were in French schools, including about 12,500 who were English-speaking. The other 67,632 were in English schools.

Meanwhile, the Protestant sector had 92,100 students, of whom 13,835 were following French immersion programmes. Almost 12,000 of the total were Catholic and 24,500 were neither Protestant nor Catholic.

French instruction was given in 2,208 of Quebec's primary and secondary schools; English instruction in 388 schools; and 74 schools had both French and English sectors.

At the post-secondary levels, there are 46 public Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPs), of which four are English: Dawson College (Montreal), Vanier College (Montreal), John Abbott College



(Ste-Anne de Bellevue), and Champlain Regional College (Lennoxville, Quebec City and St-Lambert). There are also two French CEGEPs in the Gaspé and Hull which have English sectors.<sup>2</sup>

About 117,965 students were enrolled in the CEGEP system in 1980-81, of whom 20,740 were in the anglophone sector. The English-speaking population is served by three of Quebec's seven universities: McGill, Concordia and Bishop's.

The declining enrollments of the past 12 years have left their mark on Quebec's education system. While 1,515,200 students were in primary and secondary levels in 1972-73, only 1,119,740 were enrolled in 1980-81. Statistics describing the rate of decline in the French Catholic, English Catholic and English Protestant sectors vary. It is generally accepted that from the early 1970s to the passage of the Charter of the French Language in 1977, enrollments in the French Catholic sector declined faster than in other sectors, and that since 1977 the rate of decline in English schools has been greater. For example, between 1971 and 1979 enrollments in the French Catholic schools on Montreal Island declined by 40 per cent, English Catholic school enrollments by 30.5 per cent and English Protestant by 32 per cent. Between 1976 and 1979 French Catholic enrollments dropped by 17 per cent, while the figure for English Catholic and English Protestant enrollments was about 20 per cent.

A study recently released by the Quebec government confirms this by showing that since 1978 enrollments in English schools have been declining twice as quickly as enrollments in French schools.<sup>1</sup>

The only sector having an increase was the small French Protestant sector which grew from 1,133 students in 1971 to 5,726 in 1980. This sector serves francophone Protestants and, increasingly, Anglophones and those not eligible for English instruction but wish to enroll in

-----

<sup>1</sup> Claude St-Germain, Robert Maheu, Mother Tongue and Language of Instruction in Quebec's Public Schools: Recent Evolution, Direction des études économiques et démographiques, January 1981, p.vii.

<sup>2</sup> A report to determine whether Heritage Campus (500 Anglo students) in Hull will remain part of the CEGEP de l'Outaouais or become part of the Champlain Regional College network is scheduled to be released by the spring of 1982.

the Protestant sector.

Added to all this is Quebec's growing network of private schools. In 1979-80 over 100,000 students were enrolled in 381 of them. Almost 200 of these schools qualified for government grants, the total of which equalled 60 to 80 per cent of the per capita allowance given for students in the public sector. In total, there were: 19 kindergartens; 35 primary schools; 138 secondary schools offering general education; 17 secondary schools offering professional education; 16 colleges offering general education; and 19 colleges offering professional education. Almost 80,000 students were enrolled in general programmes and 8,500 students in professional programmes. Thirty-five of these schools were English (10,500 students), and 161 were French (77,800 students).

Another 185 private schools with 12,000 students were not government subsidized.

Many private schools such as those run by the Jewish, Armenian and Greek communities have ethnic or religious affiliations.

Finally, the native peoples and children of military personnel attend schools subsidized by the federal government. The provincial government also operates several highly specialized schools: music conservatories, and institutes for tourism, fishing, navigation, and furniture building, among others.

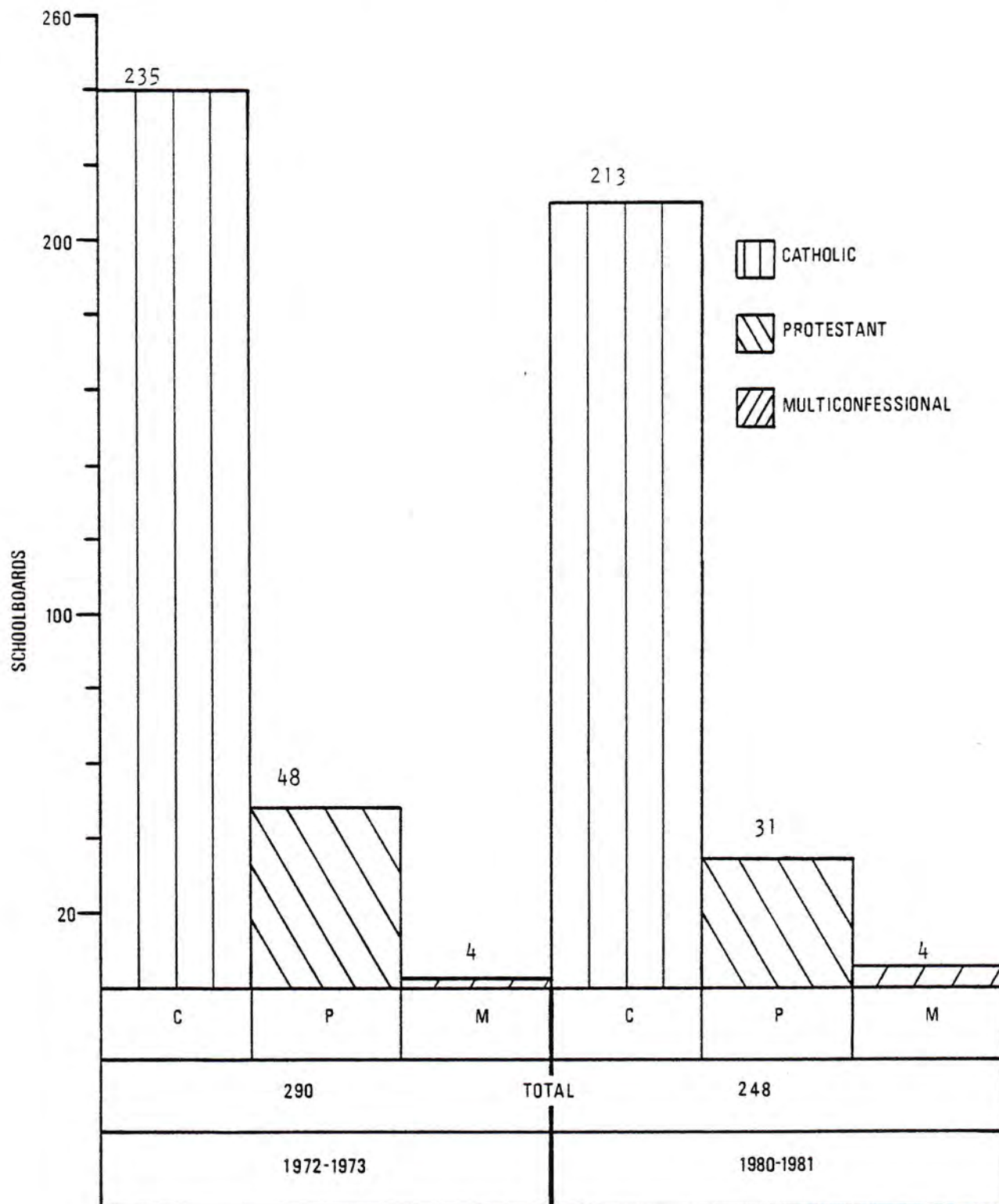
Although statistical information is straightforward, it does not tell the whole story. Like other aspects of Quebec society, the education sector has been the scene of much tension in recent years.

This chapter will give some historical background and an idea of how institutions which have traditionally offered instruction in English are meeting the challenge of change.



Graph 2-A

NUMBER OF SCHOOLBOARDS BY SECTOR - 1972-73 & 1980-81

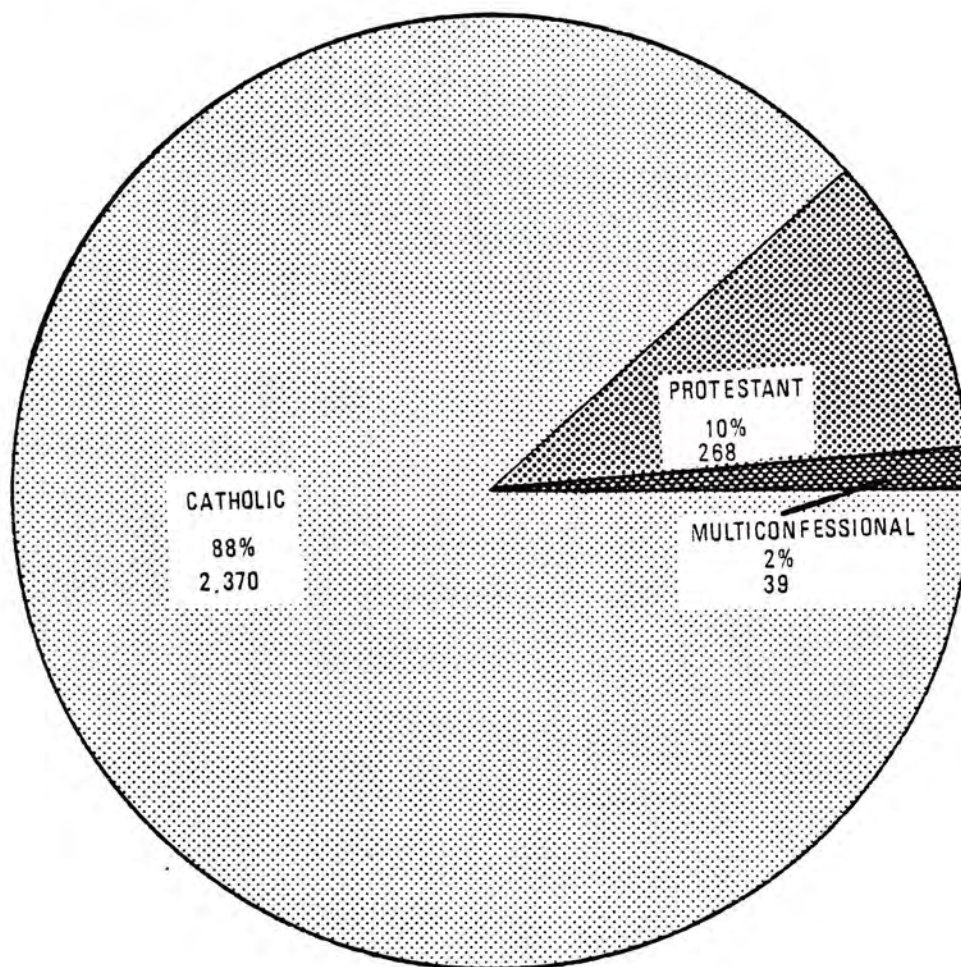


Sources: 1) Clientèle scolaire des organismes d'enseignement, Ministère de l'éducation, Québec, 1972-73.  
 2) Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.

Graph 2-B

DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS - 1980-81

Total Number of Schools: 2,677.

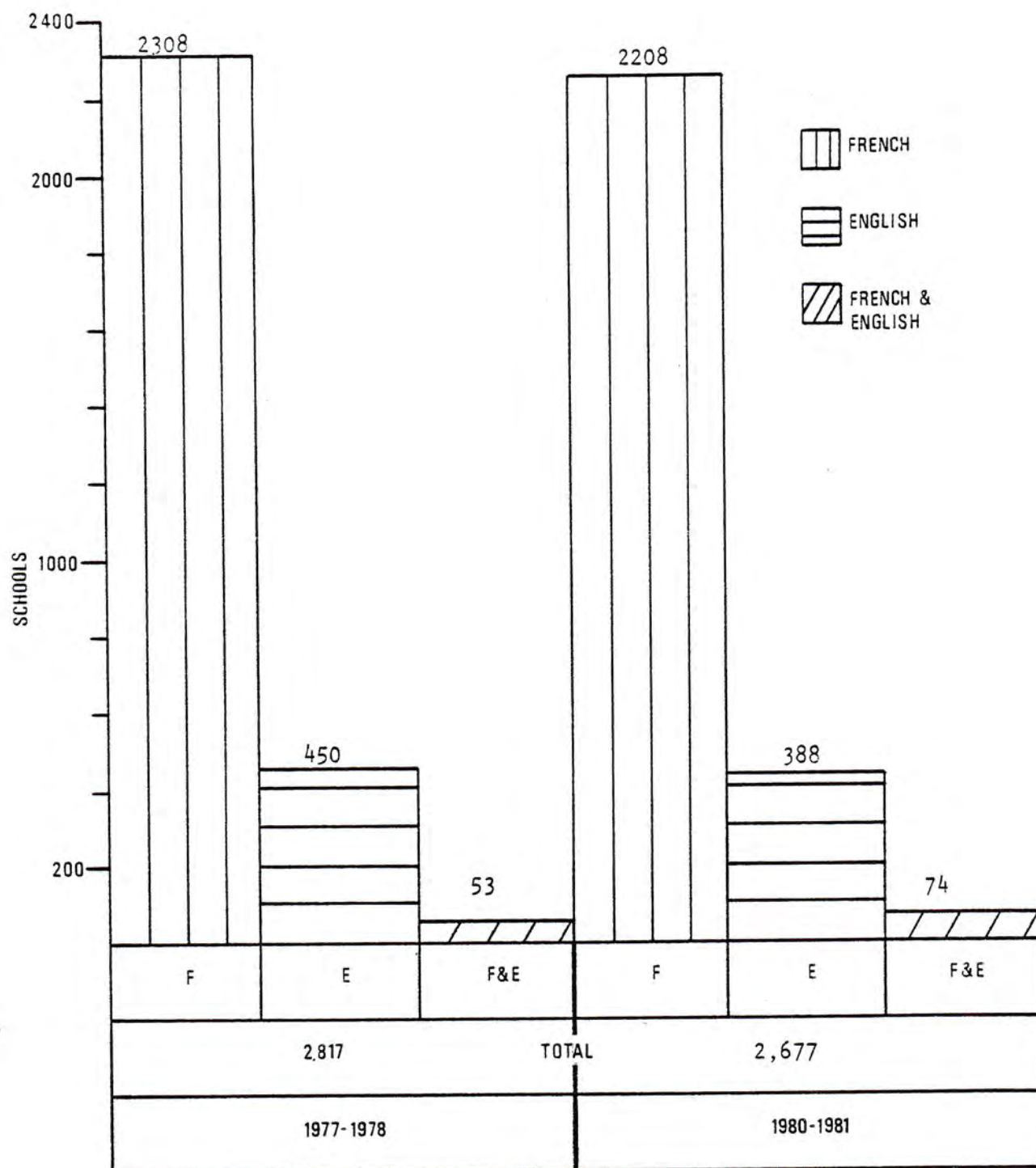


Source: Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.



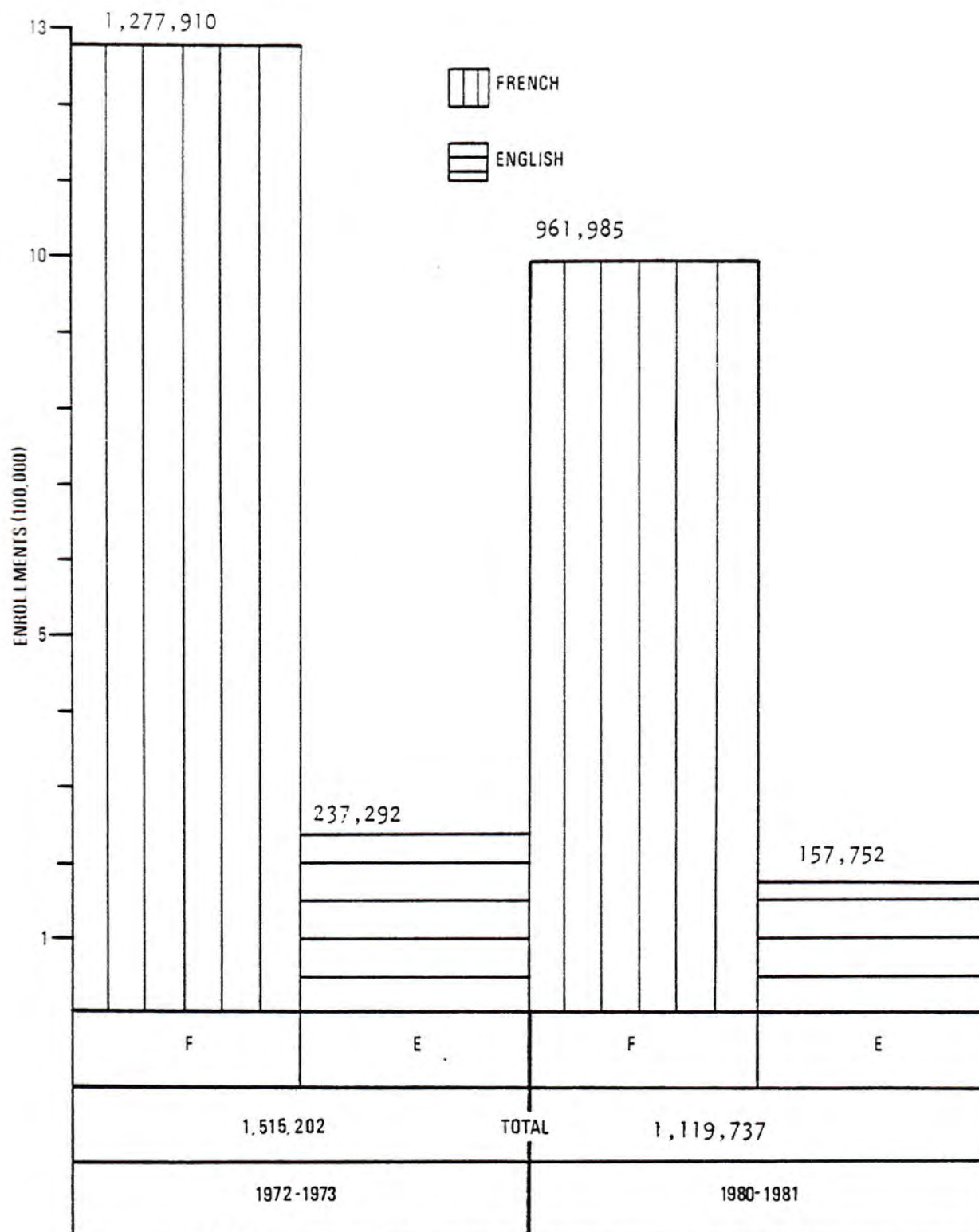
Graph 2-C

TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS BY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION  
1977-78 & 1980-81



Sources: 1) Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1977-78.  
2) Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.

## TOTAL ENROLLMENTS BY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION - 1972-73 &amp; 1980-81

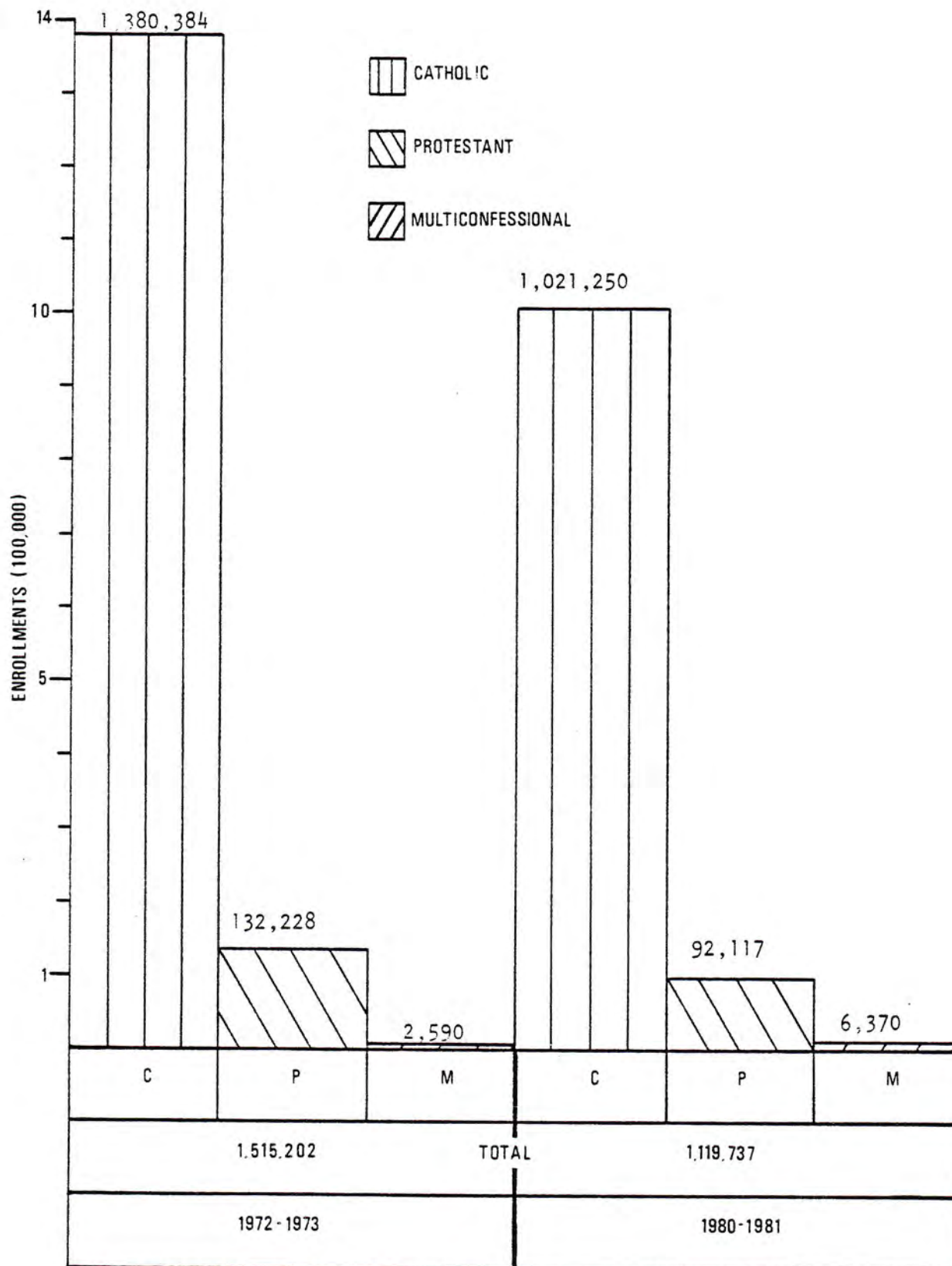


Sources: 1) Clientèle scolaire des organismes d'enseignement, Ministère de l'éducation, Québec, 1972-73.  
 2) Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.



Graph 2-E

ENROLLMENTS BY RELIGION - 1972-73 & 1980-81

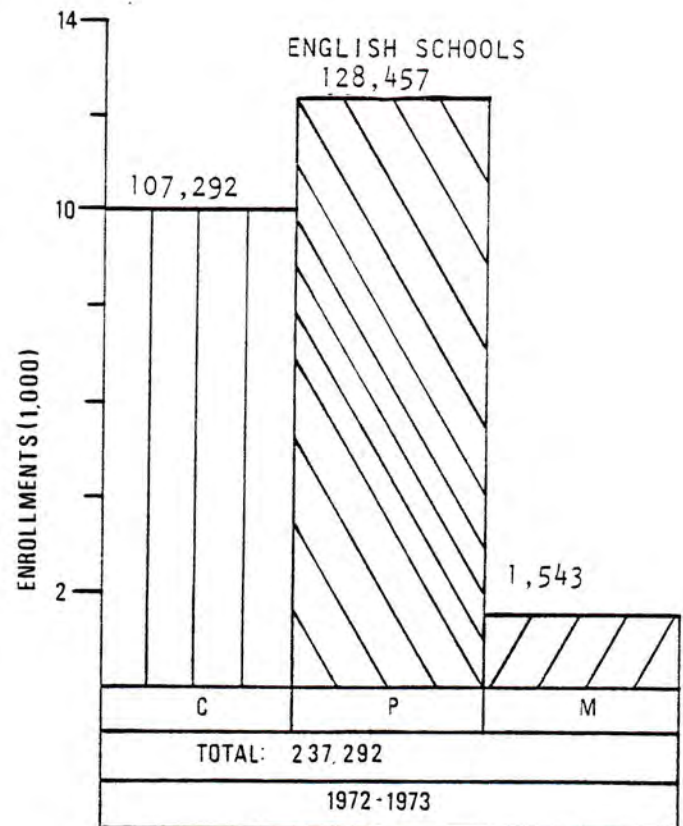
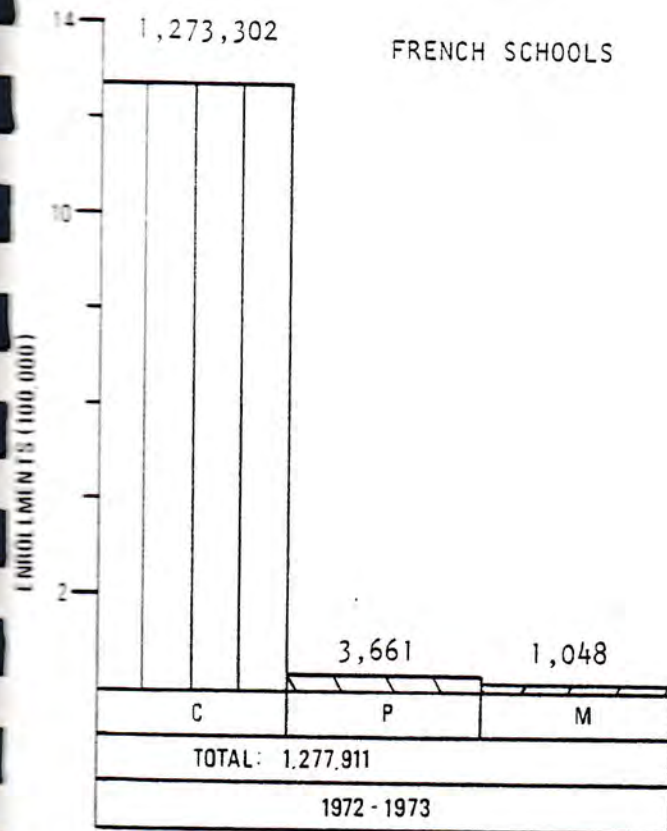


Sources: 1) Clientèle scolaire des organismes d'enseignement, Ministère de l'éducation, Québec, 1972-73.  
 2) Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.

Graph 2-F

ENROLLMENTS BY: 1) LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION 2) RELIGION - 1972-73 & 1980-81

1972-73

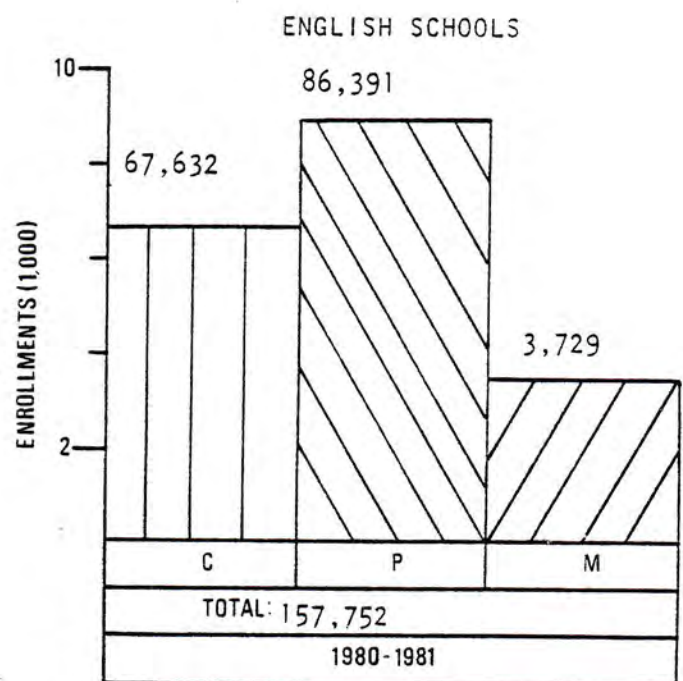
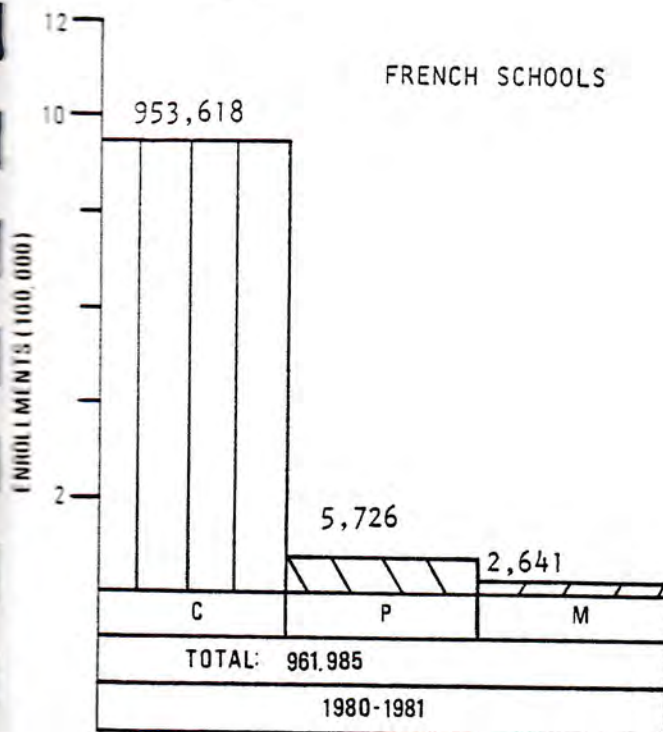


CATHOLIC

PROTESTANT

MULTICONFESSONAL

1980-81



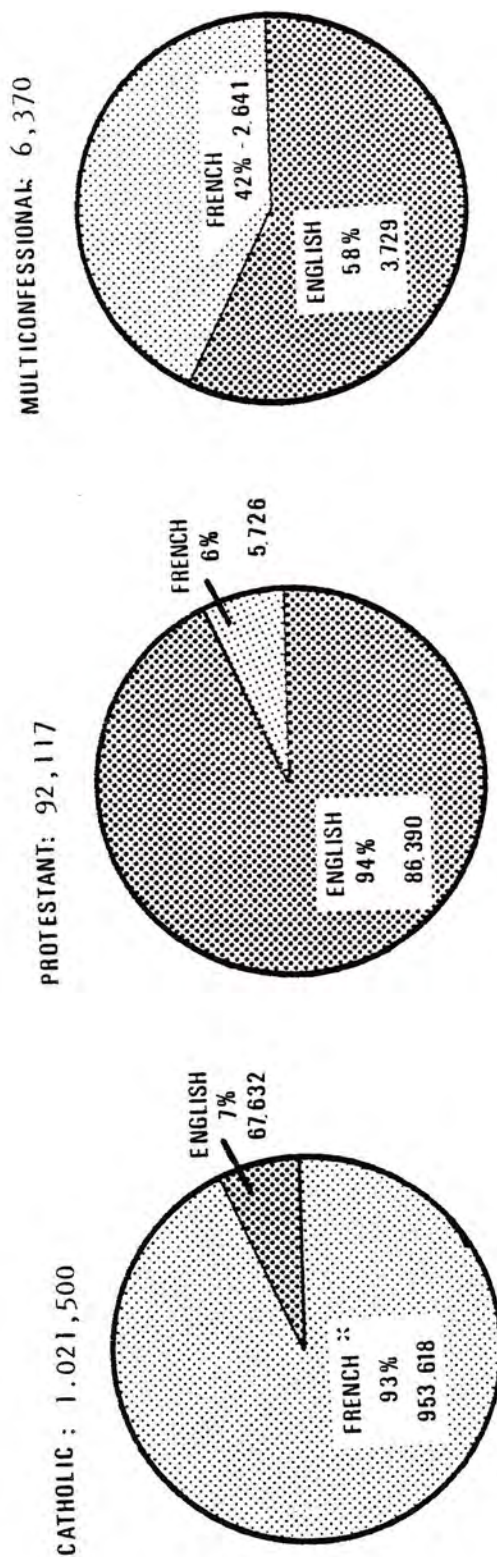
Sources: 1) Clientèle scolaire des organismes d'enseignement, Ministère de l'éducation, Québec, 1972-73.

2) Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.



Graph 2-G

ENROLLMENTS BY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION & RELIGION - 1980-81



\*This number includes 12,500 English-speaking students. However, total enrollments do not include students in the "classes d'accueil".

Source: Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, 1980-81.

## INTRODUCTION

Quebec's education system has undergone many changes in the past 20 years. Education has become compulsory to the age of 15 and free to the completion of CEGEP. School boards have been re-organized on a regional basis, a Ministry of Education has been created and church control of the Catholic sector has declined significantly.

During the 1960s the number of schools grew to accommodate increasing enrollments, but are now in a period of decline. The baby boom is over and many people are leaving the province. Schools, both French and English, are closing. Between 1977 and 1981 the total number of students enrolled in primary and secondary schools dropped from 1,258,541 to 1,119,740. Over 100 schools closed during this period.

The Charter of the French Language (referred to as Bill 101) has compounded the problem of declining enrollments in the English language system. Bill 101 defines who is permitted to receive instruction in English. With a few exceptions, all new immigrants to Quebec, including Anglophones from other Canadian provinces, must attend French schools.

What is the future of English schools in Quebec? How are they adapting to these changes? Will children gain the working knowledge of French essential to be active members of Quebec society, while still maintaining their English identity? These are some of the questions many administrators, teachers and parents are asking themselves. There are no simple answers.

Some school boards have greatly improved and expanded French instruction. The immersion option - first developed in the Montreal suburb of St-Lambert in 1965 - is being used increasingly in Quebec as well as the rest of Canada. There are several types of immersion



programmes, but they all follow a similar format: French is used as the medium of instruction for a variety of subjects rather than being confined to a specific time-slot where the language itself is taught as a subject. Most of these programmes are the result of persistent lobbying by parents.

In 1979-80 there were 17,076 students enrolled in French immersion programmes: 3,135 in English Catholic schools and 13,940 in English Protestant schools. Only 14 of Quebec's 249 school boards in that year offered French immersion programmes: nine were Protestant, five were Catholic.

Many boards have not introduced immersion or even expanded their French language programme since this would further shrink the job market for anglophone teachers who are already losing jobs because of declining enrollments. On Montreal Island alone, 1,000 teaching posts were withdrawn between 1976 and 1980.

Due to budget limits and strict teacher-pupil ratios, boards cannot increase the number of francophone teachers without laying off Anglophones. Rural boards are faced with the added problem of not having enough students in some schools to support two separate programmes - French immersion and traditional English instruction. Setting up an immersion programme could lead to re-locating, and possibly busing, students enrolled in either of these programmes. This could create conflicts between parents over the use of local schools.

During the past four years the number of French Protestant schools has increased to meet the growing demand for French instruction. This is an important adaptation to Bill 101. In 1980-81 there were 26 French Protestant schools in Quebec - most were located in Montreal - compared to less than 10 before Bill 101 was passed in 1977. One of the consequences of increasing the number of French schools at the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM) and the South Shore Protestant Regional School Board (SSPRSB) is that children who are ineligible for traditional English language instruction may enroll legally in these schools.

Ironically, even though these boards are responding to community pressures in expanding their French sectors, often they are accused of cynically devising a French language system aimed solely at maintaining enrollments.

A parallel development is the expansion of the classes d'accueil which has further stimulated the growth of the French Protestant sector. These government subsidized classes which began in 1969 were intended originally to help children whose mother tongue was neither French nor English enter French schools. Until May, 1981, many children who were eligible for English instruction also enrolled in these classes. According to 1980-81 data from the Ministry of Education, 10 to 15 per cent of the 7,200 children in the Catholic sector's classes d'accueil were eligible for English instruction, while 50 per cent of the 3,055 children in the Protestant sector's classes d'accueil were eligible for English instruction.

Since May, 1981, children born in Quebec whose mother tongue is English are no longer able to attend these classes d'accueil. Instead, they are eligible for half-day French immersion classes. They also must be five years of age, whereas previously four-year-olds were admitted to classes d'accueil. As a result of this cutback, parents in Montreal's Notre Dame de Grace area and on the West Island have organized their own privately-funded classes d'accueil. Some parents are paying up to \$500 a year so that their five-year-olds can receive full-day French language instruction.

The terms, "French school" and "English school", are becoming confusing. There are English schools where in certain grade levels all instruction is in French - for example, in immersion programmes; and there are French schools such as St-Remi in Beaconsfield where the majority of students are English-speaking. At the Baldwin-Cartier (Catholic) School Board on the West Island 25 per cent of students in the French sector are English-speaking. Although figures vary, the government estimates that about 12,500 children eligible for English



instruction were enrolled in French schools in 1980-81, compared to 5,175 in 1977-78.

Legally there are no "English" or "French" schools; they are "Protestant" or "Catholic". Catholic boards are responsible for educating all Catholic students in their territory regardless of language. Similarly, Protestant boards are responsible for all Protestant students. Until the early 1930s English Catholics attended French Catholic schools. The first public English Catholic high school, D'Arcy McGee, opened in Montreal in 1931. After 1945 enrollments in English Catholic schools were bolstered by the children of immigrants who were Catholic and who identified with the English community. Traditionally, children who were neither Protestant nor Catholic tended to go to Protestant schools.

This confessional division between the French Catholic and English Protestant sectors in the past was easy to see in the kind of facilities available, the type of instruction offered and the number of schooling years required for a university degree.

Today English schools are involved in a delicate balancing act, trying to maintain their English identity while also preparing students to work in a French society. It is a dilemma with which Francophones, particularly outside Quebec, have been struggling for a long time. In this respect, Francophones outside Quebec and Anglophones in Quebec perhaps have more in common than ever because they both feel they are threatened minorities.

#### Historical Background

Prior to the period known as the Quiet Revolution, which began in 1960 with the election of the Lesage government, Quebec had over 1,700 Catholic and Protestant school boards. Twenty years later there were only twenty-four.

Most Catholic schools were run by the Catholic Church which also

had an extensive network of private schools, convents and classical colleges. There were also many technical and trade schools administered by more than ten government ministries.

Despite the number of institutions, secondary schooling was limited. For financial reasons it was impossible for many small, rural boards to provide secondary level facilities. Where feasible, Protestants provided secondary-level instruction in public schools. In the French Catholic sector, pre-university secondary schooling was largely limited to private classical colleges. According to the 1951 census, the proportion of students attending secondary schools was the lowest in Canada. Only 38 per cent of the 14 to 17-year-olds were in school as opposed to the national average of 46 per cent.

In 1961 the government created the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec to examine the education system. It was headed by Monseigneur Alphonse-Marie Parent, a philosophy professor and vice-rector of Laval University. Over a five year period the commission produced a series of volumes known as the Parent Report which contained hundreds of recommendations. This blueprint for a major overhaul of the system had a clear-cut aim: "It is essential that the general public attain a fairly high level of education, that key workers be prepared for all sectors of the economy." The underlying philosophy was that "the progress of science and technology and the resultant socio-economic development lend education ever-growing importance and, in fact, constitute the basis of modern society."

These were the main reforms, some of which already had begun before the Parent Report was made public:

- A Ministry of Education was created in 1964 to centralize the administration of public and private education at all levels. Support structures such as the Superior Council of Education composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant committees as well as committees for the various education levels were formed to advise the Minister.



- The government abolished tuition fees in all public primary and secondary schools.
- The age of compulsory attendance was raised from 14 to 15 years.
- Resources were provided to up-grade the qualifications of secondary school teachers.
- Quebec created its first non-confessional public education institutions, the Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEPs). First established in 1967, they offer two-year pre-university and three-year technical programmes. An unusual feature of these CEGEPs is that students enrolled in academic and vocational programmes attend the same classes for certain courses. Dawson College, the first of four anglophone CEGEPs, was established in 1969.
- Outside Montreal Island and Quebec City the government encouraged small local boards to regroup voluntarily into regional boards to handle only secondary education. Fifty-five Catholic and nine Protestant boards were formed. This process, known as regionalization, led to the construction of regional polyvalent schools which offer technical-vocational as well as academic training.

Regionalization did not stop with the Parent Report. In 1971, boards outside Montreal were further reorganized and new ones created. A year later, the number of Montreal Island boards was reduced from over 40 to eight. The reforms in 1972 also meant that in Montreal for the first time all school board commissions were to be elected. Previously there was a mixture of elected and appointed commissioners. In 1973, the Montreal Island School Council was set up to supervise expenditures.

The inevitable price of this centralization has been a loss of

flexibility in responding to local needs. The government has imposed a complicated finance system on boards which previously set their own priorities and taxation rates. Many Montreal Island boards complain about the Montreal Island School Council's financial control. Centralization has also led to negotiations with teachers' unions at the ministerial level and to salaries and teacher-pupil ratios becoming uniform.

Although recent legislation has extended the rights of parents, teachers and students to advise boards on local priorities, parents and administrators worry about growing government control.

When the government turned its attention to the question of who has the right to receive English instruction, English-speaking people and those of other linguistic backgrounds who sent their children to English schools became concerned. Given the context of the declining birth rate in the Francophone population, the government feared that French-speaking Quebecers would lose their majority status because French-speaking children, and those whose mother tongue was neither French nor English, continued to enroll in English schools. During the past eleven years several laws have attempted to define who can attend English schools.

#### Language Legislation

The issue first surfaced in 1968 in the French-Italian section of the Montreal suburb of St-Léonard. Newly-elected commissioners whose platform had included making French the only language of instruction moved to eliminate English-language instruction at the Jerome Le Royer School Board. However, Italian parents insisted on their right to choose the language of instruction for their children. Emotionally charged, the issue erupted in demonstrations and riots. In response, the government set up a Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, known as the Gendron Commission.



Bill 63 was passed in 1969, backing "free choice" in the language of schooling. For the first time in Quebec history, boards were required to provide instruction in English to all children whose parents requested it. If a board was unable to do so, provision could be made with a neighbouring board. For example, a Catholic board with too few English-speaking students to organize English schooling could send these students to a nearby Protestant school. The bill also stated that all English schools must provide English-speaking pupils with a working knowledge of French.

The period of free choice lasted only five years. In 1974 the government passed Bill 22, making French "the Official Language" of Quebec. Knowledge of English became a prerequisite to attend English schools and no school board could begin or increase instruction in English without government approval. It was left to the school boards to set tests which would measure the level of a prospective student's knowledge of English - a process which was repealed a few years later.

Key questions are now being raised about the future of English schools. The combined effects of declining enrollments and of Bill 101, which severely restricts access to English schooling, are being felt. School boards which operate mostly in English can no longer afford to tell parents: "If you want your children to be really fluent in French, send them to French schools." Schools must improve their own French instruction. Yet this is a touchy issue especially in boards where many of the staff members can only teach in English. Ultimately both Protestant and Catholic boards might have to change their structures to organize English schools more efficiently. Already there have been several joint ventures. Parents on the West Island have asked the Baldwin-Cartier (Catholic) School Board to consider more joint ventures with Protestants to avoid school closures.

In many rural areas other arrangements have been made to accommodate English Catholics. Both the District of Bedford and the Eastern Townships (Protestant) Regional School Boards have a high proportion of

Catholic students in their schools. Out of approximately 92,000 children in Protestant schools in 1980-81, about 12,000 were Catholic, 24,500 were "other" and 4,400 were classified as having no religion. In some of the schools run by the Eastern Quebec (Protestant) Regional School Board such as St-Malachie School near Quebec City, there are no Protestant students. In remoter regions, such as Nouveau Québec and the Lower North Shore, four multi-confessional boards serve the entire population - English, French, Protestant, Catholic and native peoples.

The idea of unifying boards was first proposed by the Parent Commission in the mid-1960s. It called for the creation of unified boards to cover specific regions in which English, French, Catholic, Protestant and non-confessional education would be provided. Several attempts to establish such boards on Montreal Island have failed because French Catholics, English Catholics and English Protestants felt threatened by changes to traditional structures. Many Catholics saw it as a threat to the survival of religious instruction. Many English Protestants seeing the proposal as a threat to the survival of English education, argued that it was unconstitutional. Article 93 of the British North America Act guarantees the right to a Catholic or Protestant education, but does not mention linguistic rights. While the extent to which Article 93 actually protects the present Catholic and Protestant structures remains a matter of debate, it is the only existing legislation, however indirect, ensuring control by the English-speaking community of its school structures.

Despite these still prevalent arguments, the present Minister of Education has embarked on the herculean task of reorganizing the entire school system. In December, 1981, a working paper was released outlining proposals that would form the basis of a bill to be introduced early in 1982. The plan calls for the replacement of the province's 248 Catholic and Protestant school boards by 110 regional school councils to administer Catholic, Protestant and neutral schools. Article 93



of the BNA Act would apply only to those school boards which existed in 1867, according to the Ministry. Off the Island of Montreal, 100 geographically-based councils would be formed, each would have 25 schools and 7,000 to 10,000 students. In Montreal, 10 councils would administer about 30,000 students each and the Montreal Catholic School Commission, as well as the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, would be restricted to their 1867 boundaries. Off the Island of Montreal, anglophone representation at the school council level would only be ensured where there are at least five English schools.

While the proposals suggest that more power will be given to parents at the school level, the effects of this decentralization probably will be minimal. Since these school councils will be too small to have any effect on the system at large or even the region they are in, greater centralization at the ministerial level most likely will result. Also, there will be greater centralization through the regrouping of school councils.

Reaction among English-speaking Quebecers has been swift. They fear the potential loss of control by English-speaking Quebecers of their own schools. Since the anglophone community, with only a few exceptions, is outnumbered in all Quebec areas, regional councils would be dominated by Francophones. The implementation of the plan is viewed as the final blow that would destroy many English-speaking communities, particularly in off Island areas where the school is a crucial community focal point.

Reaction among educational organizations has varied. The Quebec Superior Council on Education, the senior advisory body to the Ministry, urged Education Minister Camille Laurin to maintain the present system in order to protect citizens' religious and linguistic rights. The Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards (QAPSB) and the Quebec Federation of Catholic School Commissions (QFCSC) have asked for a six-month consultation period before legislation is enacted. The QAPSB and the Montreal Catholic School Commission warned court action would be considered by them if the government goes ahead with its plan.

An alternative to restructuring the school system has arisen from the debate. The creation of boards based on language rather than religion has been proposed by the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers (PAPT), the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers (PACT), and the McGill University Education Faculty.

Meanwhile, the province's largest teachers' association, Alliance des Professeurs de Montréal, has backed Laurin's plan.

Some people have promoted the idea of non-confessional schools but they have been strongly opposed by pressure groups and defeated in court. In the 1977 and 1980 school board elections, candidates campaigning for non-confessional schools were defeated. Also, when parents received permission from the Catholic Committee of the Superior Council of the Ministry of Education to change the legal status of Ecole Notre-Dame-des-Neiges from confessional to non-confessional, they were taken to court by a group headed by l'Association des Parents Catholiques. In June, 1980, Quebec Superior Court Judge Deschênes ruled that changing the school's legal status was unconstitutional.

At the moment there is no consensus on how to reorganize a system that has become ridiculously outdated, according to some leaders in both the francophone and anglophone communities.



The following case studies give an idea of how several school boards and a CEGEP in various regions of the province are coping with change. Each focuses on a particular issue: the situation at Quebec's largest Protestant school board (The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal); the complexities of running a "bilingual" or "co-habited" Catholic school board on the West Island (The Baldwin-Cartier School Board); the development and expansion of immersion on the South Shore (The South Shore Protestant Regional School Board); regionalization and the large polyvalent high school in the Eastern Townships (The district of Bedford Protestant Regional School Board); the problems of rural school boards (The Laurentian Regional School Board); the problems of isolated areas (Du Littoral School Board); and finally, the strengths and weaknesses of a new level of education (Dawson CEGEP in Montreal).

#### Quebec's Largest Protestant School Board

##### The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal

On July 1st, 1945 nine local Protestant school boards on Montreal Island united under the administration of the Montreal Protestant Central Board. "This union led to the creation of a strong administrative unit to be known as the PSBGM, a school board independent in its own right, as any school board should be, with direct taxation powers and sufficient means to ensure a healthy progressive development of a quality curriculum in the field of education in the Protestant sector."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Marcel Fox, Director-General, Annual Report, 1975-77, p.4.

During the past 15 years the PSBGM has evolved a variety of programmes in response to demands and pressures made by the communities which it serves. Adult education, both academic and popular, expanded by leaps and bounds until recent budget cutbacks slowed the process. However, alternative schools such as Moving in New Directions (MIND), The Fine Arts Core Elementary School (FACES), Beechwood Elementary (administered jointly with the Lakeshore School Board) and John Grant (for children with learning disabilities) continue successfully to meet particular needs. The Lasalle Extended School and Options, both inspired by individual initiatives and later subsidized by the PSBGM, attempt to help high school drop-outs by giving them a second chance at continuing their education or by preparing them to enter the job market. In 1978 the PSBGM counted almost 900 students in its social affairs schools which are located in centres such as the Douglas Hospital, The Child Care and Development Centre, The Mackay Centre for Deaf and Crippled Children and the Montreal Association School for the Blind.

The PSBGM has also improved French language instruction. Immersion programmes were introduced in 1968-69. The percentage of students enrolled in these programmes has increased from seven per cent of the total enrollment in 1974-75 to over 25 per cent in 1980-81. The number of schools in which all instruction is in French is also growing. In 1980, 2,554 students were enrolled in 12 French elementary schools and one French high school.

The changes are the combined result of parental pressures, language legislation, declining enrollments and the need to attract more students. Enrollment at the PSBGM peaked in 1966-67 when 64,521 students were registered in 101 schools. Enrollment in 1980 was down to 35,300 students in 84 schools. The PSBGM anticipates that by 1985 it will have only 50 schools with 25,000 pupils.

The board's ability to respond to local needs has been restricted by developments outlined in the introduction to this chapter; increased



government centralization, the loss of taxation powers, the growth of teachers' unions and the creation of the Montreal Island Council.

Varied local needs are inevitable in the mosaic of ethnic communities served by the PSBGM. As well as serving Quebec's largest anglophone Protestant community, the PSBGM also teaches the children of non-Catholic immigrant populations - notably Jewish and Greek Orthodox - who have traditionally enrolled at the PSBGM. Of the 38,482 pupils enrolled during 1980, 18,636 were Protestants, 15,997 were registered as "other", 2,123 were registered as "none", and 1,726 were Catholic. Integration of these students has not been completely smooth.

Representation of the different ethnic communities at the administrative level has not always been equal to that of English Protestants. Until 1973 non-Protestants could not be elected as commissioners. The Jewish community, whose children made up 40 per cent of the enrollments in Montreal Protestant schools during the 1920s and between 20 to 25 per cent in later years, protested this situation. After several court battles the provincial government authorized, in 1930, the creation of a Montreal Jewish School Commission with the same rights and privileges of the Protestant and Catholic Commissions. However, members of the Jewish community decided not to set up a separate board. Finally in 1965 the PSBGM agreed to allow five representatives of the Jewish community who would be nominated by the Canadian Jewish Congress to observe board meetings. With the restructuring of Montreal Island boards in 1973, non-Protestants whose children were enrolled in Protestant schools were able to run as commissioners. In contrast, non-Catholics, whose children are enrolled in Catholic boards and who pay taxes to these boards, still do not have this right. In the June, 1980 school board elections, several Quebec City and Montreal elections were contested on the grounds that the candidates were not "practising Catholics".

On a pedagogical level anglophone parents have often worried

about the quality of education in areas having many children not from English-speaking backgrounds. In 1971, for example, parents of children attending Algonquin School in the Town of Mount Royal complained that because much attention was paid to teaching English to Greek-speaking children, subject content suffered. Interestingly, this complaint is also voiced by francophone parents whose children attend schools with many anglophone children.

Certain communities have had to combat aspects of the education system which have discriminated against their children. For example, it was noted that a disproportionate number of the 6,000 Black children and 8,250 Greek children at the PSBGM were in special classes. This was blamed on the nature of PSBGM placement tests which assess the educational level of non-Canadian students. Thus, members of these communities pressured the PSBGM into naming two liaison officers - one for the Greek and one for the Black community. They would oversee the testing of students and provide a link between the board, community and school. Further pressure led to the hiring of social workers, guidance counsellors, psychologists and teachers from these communities. Also, because the Black community is mixed nationally and linguistically, equivalences were worked out between West Indian, British and Canadian grade levels.

Perhaps one of the most progressive measures undertaken by the Greek Liaison Officer and the PSBGM is the publication of English and Greek pamphlets dealing with a wide range of topics such as sex education, learning processes and ways to encourage children in their homework. A School Committee Guide, which explains recent legislation and procedures for meetings, was also published to aid community awareness of current issues and to boost participation in school and parents' committees. It is one of the few such texts directed at the immigrant population of Quebec. These measures have undoubtedly helped immigrant families and their children adapt to the English Protestant school system.



According to PSBGM officials, the survival of the PSBGM rests on its policy of expanding the number of French schools. They estimate that by 1984-85 about half of PSBGM schools will be French. These will accommodate immigrant children who graduate from the PSBGM French language classes d'accueil as well as the English-speaking children who choose French schools rather than immersion programmes. Only in this way can the board meet the problem of declining enrollments by continuing to attract immigrant children legally and by providing French schooling for those English students wanting it. In doing so, however, the PSBGM is profoundly changing its policy on language instruction and its traditional character as an English language school board.

French schools, which served approximately 2,554 students in one high school and 12 elementary schools in 1980-81, are not entirely new to the PSBGM. The board opened its first French elementary school in Pointe-aux-Trembles in 1956 and its first French high school in 1961. These French schools served the non-Catholic francophone community which included European Francophones and French-Canadian Protestants. In fact, until recently the PSBGM did not allow students who did not already speak French to enroll in its French sector. Admission was reserved for children whose mother tongue was French or who had previously attended French schools. This policy was changed by the "free choice" of Bill 63, allowing all children the right to French or English schooling. However, one might ask the PSBGM and other boards, "How French is a French school which consists mainly of Anglophones and immigrants?" There is already concern among many French parents that their children's language habits will be affected adversely by contact with non-Francophones.

Francophone parents have recently expressed resentment toward the PSBGM's policy on French schools. For years the Fédération des

Associations des parents d'élèves des écoles protestantes de langue française du Québec has pressured the PSBGM to improve and expand facilities within the French sector. While little has been done in this respect, the board has begun a publicity campaign to attract immigrant children to these French schools. Officials at the PSBGM concede that in market terms the PSBGM is competing with the French Catholic sector to capture the immigrant population by selling its own French sector. However, some educators warn that expansion must not interfere with the quality of education. There will only be solid growth in the French sector if parents believe that the quality of education offered is better than in French Catholic schools.

French immersion programmes have also done much to change the character of the English sector of the PSBGM. Experimental programmes were introduced in 1968-69 by the PSBGM in response to well-organized lobbying by parent committees. Until 1974 the PSBGM was selective in admitting students to immersion programmes. Once this option was opened to all students, enrollments in these programmes leapt from 3,700 students in 1974 to 8,964 in 1981-82.

Currently the PSBGM offers three types of immersion: early immersion; a one-year programme of late immersion; and a two-year programme of late immersion.

Covering kindergarten to Grade 6, the early immersion programme has classes conducted in French up to Grade 2. Then by Grade 3 40 per cent of classes is in English while 60 per cent is still in French. From Grades 4 to 6 the proportions of English and French instruction are reversed. For these students there is an optional immersion programme in high school where 40 per cent of instruction is in French and 60 per cent, in English.

The one-year late immersion programme in Secondary 1 provides instruction in French for five periods out of six with the option to continue with 40 per cent French and 60 per cent English instruction for the remaining high school years.



Finally, the two-year late immersion programme provides instruction in French for five periods out of six for two years in Secondary 1 and 11. In this case there is also the option to continue with a 40 per cent French/60 per cent English split.

Late immersion seems to be the more popular option. Of the 8,964 students enrolled in immersion in 1981-82, 3,505 were in elementary and 5,459 were in secondary schools. That is, 20 per cent of children enrolled at the elementary level and 30 per cent of the children enrolled at secondary level were in immersion classes. Of the 33,319 students enrolled in the PSBGM in 1981, about 40 per cent (13,136 children) were receiving their instruction in French through either the classes d'accueil, immersion programmes or in French schools. About 28 per cent of teachers were in the French sector, the majority of them being Franco-phone.

In order to keep enrollments up, the PSBGM has greatly improved French language programmes. Meanwhile, the nature of the board has changed to the point where many ask, "What is English-language education?"

*For many years English-speaking Catholics on the West Island have tended to send their children to the Baldwin-Cartier School Board's French schools for elementary grades and then switch them back to its English schools for secondary education. Belonging to a bilingual board has certain advantages but, as the following case study shows, it has its drawbacks too.*

#### "Co-Habitation": The Baldwin-Cartier School Board

The Baldwin-Cartier School Board (BCSB) on the West Island of Montreal is unique for two reasons: until 1973 it was the only board in

Quebec where English-speaking Catholics outnumbered French-speaking Catholics; and since then it has been the only board where the proportion of English-speaking and French-speaking students has remained roughly equal. Although the BCSB has a French and an English sector - each with its own director and autonomous operation - the director-general and his assistant work for the entire board. Finance, equipment, personnel and transportation services also are shared. In this respect, the board itself can be viewed as an example of "co-habitation".

The board's top level has seven French-speaking and four English-speaking commissioners as well as a parent representative from each group. They use the language of their choice at board meetings but documents are written in French; public statements, including those made by the chairman of the board announcing the closure of English schools, are also in French.

With the structure of the board in mind, it is interesting to note that the board has come out against co-habitation at the school level: "The school board does not retain as a solution to lack of space the co-habitation in the same building of two distinct administrative units. Experience of such schools indicates that they should remain exceptional and, at best, temporary."

This has been BCSB policy since 1978. It is a change from the philosophy of earlier days when many felt it would be a good idea to have the two groups share the same building. Three joint facilities were created for this purpose but during the past two years two of them were converted to unilingual units. One is an English school; the other, a French school. The third complex, Secondaire Saint-Thomas/St. Thomas High School, remains a somewhat muted form of co-habitation: two connected buildings each with its own cafeteria and library, but with shared auditorium and bus service.

Administrators say co-habitation is impractical because the two groups have different collective agreements and time schedules. "It's



like having two families, each with its own way of life, under the same roof," said one administrator. "Unless you have two very committed principals, it's very difficult because it requires almost constant negotiation over the use of common facilities. A lot of stress is created, especially if the facility is overcrowded." As the BCSB's director-general philosophically added: "The perfect balance of cultural strength does not exist. There is always one group that has the upper hand. The other complains."

Who has gained the upper hand in recent years at Baldwin-Cartier?

Although the total number of English-speaking and French-speaking students enrolled at the board was at one time comparatively equal, the balance has steadily shifted in favour of the French sector between 1975 and 1981. In 1980-81, 67 per cent of the board's 17,341 students was enrolled in the French sector compared to 50.5 per cent of 19,971 students in 1975-76.

Over 20 per cent of the 10,380 students in the French sector in 1980-81 were anglophone. This represented a loss to the English sector of about 23 per cent of its potential school population. Five of the English sector's schools became French in the same period so that there were 20 French and 14 English schools.

This trend became even more marked in 1981-82 when 25 per cent of students in the French sector were anglophone. Meanwhile, the number of schools had decreased to 18 French and 12 English.

In the past, many English-speaking parents sent their children to the board's French schools for the elementary grades and then switched them back to the English system for high school. Many did so because until recently the English sector would not increase the amount of French instruction given in its schools. When parents pressured the board to improve its French language programme, anglophone pedagogues reacted by saying: "Why should we try to compete with our French schools? If you want your children to become really bilingual, send them there."

By 1976, 1,500 English-speaking students were enrolled in the board's French sector. They made up 16 per cent of the French sector's student population. It was partly because of concern over this figure that BCSB's English sector created a French programme committee in 1976 to review French instruction.

At that time the English schools were offering 15 to 45 minutes of French instruction daily from kindergarten to Grade 11 as well as a Grade 6 immersion programme introduced in 1972. The committee, composed of parents, students, teachers and administrators, produced a 62-page report which said that the board's programme did not provide the level of bilingualism graduates need to compete successfully in Quebec's employment market. It recommended that 60 per cent of all instruction from kindergarten to Grade 2 be in French with the proportion reversed for Grades 3 and 6.

The early partial French immersion programme, which was introduced at the kindergarten level in 1978, is being implemented at the rate of one grade level per year. So far, according to the West Island Teachers' Association, "None of the (anglophone) teachers has been adversely affected." Although the programme is seen as a good idea in itself, it has not solved the problem of declining enrollments in the past few years. As one commissioner who participated in the two-year study wearily admitted: "If anything, our problem has been magnified. We just can't compete with the classes d'accueil."

From 1978 to May, 1981 the classes d'accueil were open to English-speaking children. During that time both sides of the BCSC competed for the same students. The English sector was clearly at a disadvantage because its French kindergarten programme only offered free transportation to five-year-old children living more than a mile from school. Meanwhile, the French sector's classes d'accueil were providing free door-to-door bus service to all children, regardless of where they lived. Furthermore, they were offering half-day instruction to four-year-olds and full-day to



five-year-olds. Thus, many anglophone parents sent their children to the French sector's classes d'accueil. Administrators estimated that between 75 and 80 per cent of children in the classes d'accueil continued their education in the French elementary system, thereby contributing to declining enrollments in the English sector. However, recent government regulations barring Quebec-born anglophone children from the classes d'accueil may soften the effect on enrollments in the English sector, or once again increase their enrollments in the French sector.

Belonging to a bilingual board has been a mixed blessing. While it allowed Anglophones who wanted their children to become fluently bilingual easy access to French schooling, it also has been responsible for the English sector's reluctance to set up an early French immersion programme. While other anglophone school boards have tried to maintain enrollments by setting up their own classes d'accueil and expanding (or creating) their French sector, the English side of the BCSB has been unable to set up classes d'accueil because: "We already have a French sector," as one administrator pointed out.

In the French sector certain programmes, such as English second-language instruction, have had to be adjusted to accommodate English-speaking students. The French sector used to have a policy of having no more than three Anglophones per class but this was never a hard and fast rule. For instance, schools such as St-Remi in Beaconsfield developed the reputation several years ago of being the school that teaches French to the English. Up to 75 per cent of its students speak English as their mother tongue. The school tries to restrict the use of English outside class: every time a student uses an English word while at school, he or she is expected to make a note of it on a card which is sent to parents after being graded ("A: aucune remarque; B: 3 remarque et moin; C: entre 4 et 6 remarques"). St-Remi's principal said students have done as well academically as those in other French elementary schools where there are fewer English-speaking pupils. French-speaking parents are glad that there is a high proportion of English-speaking students at St-Remi because this way their children will learn English, he added.

Four years ago the French sector reorganized its English language instruction programme, dividing students into basic, intermediate and advanced classes in Grades 4,5 and 6. It is the only board in Quebec to have developed such a programme. As the co-ordinator of English second-language instruction explained: "We had to do this because before the teaching of English was only babysitting for our English students. It is an important programme because we will be getting more English students in the future."

The BCSB is also the only board in Quebec which has had a substantial English immersion programme for several years. Sixty-seven per cent of instruction is in English. The programme was introduced in the French sector at the Grade 6 level in 1973. It is only open to students who are above average in French and mathematics and poor in English. The Quebec government did not officially recognize the programme until 1978 when it awarded a \$50,000 research grant to the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) to study the programme. The major conclusion of the study was that students in the programme improved their knowledge of English without losing time on academic studies. When they returned to the French programme, they were at the same level as students who had not followed the English immersion programme.

With the growing presence and assertiveness of Francophones on the West Island, as well as the increasing number of Anglophones in the board's French schools, there have been conflicts over the use of facilities. "There is no tug-of-war between the two interest groups on the board level," said the director of English education, "but at the parent level there are conflicting points of view."

Some English-speaking parents have vigorously opposed school closures, particularly in the northern part of the board's territory where the proportion of French-speaking families is higher and the pressures to regroup and bus English-speaking children are more intense. In 1979-80 two groups of parents took the BCSB to court to contest its decision to close St. Luke Elementary School in Dollard-des-Ormeaux



and Ste-Suzanne Elementary School in Pierrefonds. St. Luke is now a French school and Ste-Suzanne was reopened to house classes d'accueil students.

"If hostilities increase just a little," said an anglophone commissioner, "parents will be open to creating a third, all English system on the West Island."

The parents had asked the board to consider reaching an agreement with the Lakeshore (Protestant) School Board to turn St. Luke's and Ste-Suzanne's into "integrated" or "linguistic" schools instead of closing them. St. Luke's (Catholic), which had a high enrollment and which was in an area where enrollment at the Protestant school was declining, was considered to be one of the board's most viable English schools. In 1981, Ste-Suzanne's was closed, whereas St. Luke's became a French elementary school within the same board.

Several anglophone commissioners are hesitant to set up integrated or linguistic schools. "We always have to be careful of not closing the door on ourselves," said one commissioner, adding, "Remember, the BNA Act only recognizes us because we are Catholics, not because we are English."

For the time being the board is strongly committed to maintaining its elementary schools as distinct Catholic units where possible. It turned down an offer by the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal to amalgamate elementary schools in Roxboro and Pierrefonds, but at the secondary school level it agreed to set up a joint high school in 1980 to preserve an English-language high school in Dorval. Dorval High is affiliated with both boards. Its principal and two-thirds of its students are Catholic. The Protestant and Catholic students are separated for moral and religious instruction.

The BCSB actually has six agreements with neighbouring boards to share services. Three of the agreements are with the Lakeshore School Board: they jointly run an adult education programme, a bus service, and a school for the handicapped, John F. Kennedy Memorial School. Committees composed of several people from each board supervise these joint ventures.

"We are multiplying the complexities (of the education system) beyond reason," said the BCSB director-general. "There is still too much variety and not enough co-ordination between the different boards," he added. He continued, "The West Island is a real super-market when it comes to education...The system is total unintelligible to the parents. They don't understand how you can have the Lakeshore School Board, Baldwin-Cartier and PSBGM all on the same street or how you can have empty buildings next to overcrowded buildings."

The bilingual nature of the Baldwin-Cartier School Board and its experience with co-habitation add another dimension to the already complex picture of education in Quebec.

*One of the most important innovations that Canada has made in the field of education began in Quebec more than 15 years ago. Originally developed to teach French to English-speaking children, the immersion method of teaching a second language is being used to teach a variety of languages in other parts of the world. Quebec now offers what some observers and school board officials describe as an "incredible" variety of French immersion programmes. They vary according to the grade level at which they begin and according to the proportion of the curriculum and the subjects taught in French. One secondary-level programme even requires an extra year of schooling. This case study outlines the development of Quebec's first immersion programme which has remained virtually unchanged over the years.*



"Immersion" : The South Shore Protestant Regional School Board

The South Shore Protestant Regional School Board (SSPRSB) was among the first boards in North America to develop the immersion method of teaching a second language to English-speaking children. It was almost twenty years ago that a small group of energetic, determined parents in St-Lambert requested that their children be educated entirely in French for the first years of schooling and then gradually be eased into English. They were convinced this was the only way their children could become bilingual in an English school.

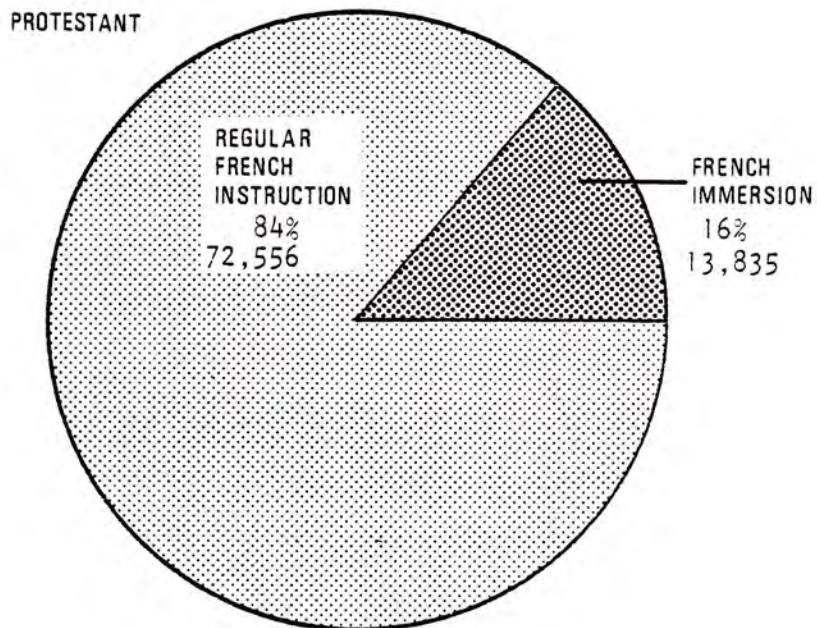
In those days the idea of trying to teach a language by using it as the medium of instruction for a variety of subjects instead of confining it to a specific time-slot where the language itself was taught as a subject was, as The Montreal Star put it: "a revolutionary proposal". Many questions were raised about the viability of such a scheme: Would the children really become bilingual? Would they fall behind in their English? What about their mastery of other subjects - would they be able to learn mathematics or history, for example, in French? Would they do just as well as their counterparts in the regular English programme? And how would this affect their overall emotional and cognitive development?

Today these questions have been answered. They are not asked any more at the South Shore Protestant Regional School Board. The board's experimental project, set up in 1965, was evaluated for several years by McGill University researchers and results were published in a book by W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker: The Bilingual Education of Children. The St-Lambert Experiment. Early immersion has been a permanent feature of the SSPRSB's education programme since 1969. Within a couple of years, if the present trend continues, half of the board's elementary students will be enrolled in what it now calls its "Enseignement en Français" schools.

The method is increasingly being used not only in Quebec but in other parts of Canada and the world. In 1980 there were over 17,000 students in immersion programmes in Quebec and 60,000 in nine other

Graph 2-H

NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN FRENCH IMMERSION COURSES  
IN THE ENGLISH PROTESTANT SCHOOLS 1980-81



Source: La direction des études économiques et démographiques,  
Gouvernement du Québec.



provinces. In the United States about a dozen schools are experimenting with early immersion (using French, German, Spanish and Chinese) based on what is commonly referred to as the St-Lambert model. In Dublin some schools are "immersing" the Irish in Gaelic.

In most cases - at least in Quebec - these programmes were created as a result of persistent lobbying by parents. It took seven years for parents in the St-Lambert area to get the immersion option firmly established there.

"It was like fighting city hall," one of the key parents in the struggle remembered, referring to the opposition of school board commissioners, administrators and teachers. "First they said, 'Nobody will buy it'. So we sent a questionnaire asking parents if they were willing to sign up for a four-year French programme. More than 100 families said 'Yes'. Then they said, 'The children will fall behind in their English. They'll be emotionally disturbed'..."

Dr. Wilder Penfield, the well-known Montreal neurologist, did not agree with the board (at that time it was the Chambly County Protestant Central School Board): "There is no danger of conflict," he wrote in a letter of encouragement to parents, "nor will the intellectual performance of these children be less than that of unilingual children - indeed, quite the opposite..."

None of the French language teaching specialists consulted by the board supported the idea. The board rejected the parents' proposal, saying: "We believe that the possibilities of success are so remote, except perhaps for a handful of children, that the time of a qualified teacher would be better employed in improving the programme for larger numbers and in helping English-speaking teachers to improve their proficiency in teaching French." This was in 1963.

Still parents decided to hire a French teacher and organize their own immersion classes in church basements, in space rented from Catholic school commissioners and later in one of the Protestant schools.

More than 100 children participated.

In the summer of 1964 parents arranged to have one member of their group sit on the school board (members of the board traditionally chose their own successors in those days). They held a series of public meetings publicizing their proposal; they wrote newspaper articles; and they showed up at every board meeting. Only about 20 people regularly worked on the campaign, but there were 200 more ready to offer their time at a moment's notice. As one of the parents said in an appendix to the book, The Bilingual Education of Children: "The spectre of 200 parents kept the administrators and board members uneasy."

Finally in 1965, the SSPRSB (then Chambly County Protestant Central School Board, composed of the boards of St. Lambert and five other south shore communities) relented and agreed to set up one experimental kindergarten. The quota of 26 children was filled five minutes after registration began. Yet, once the experiment was set up, parents never knew from one year to the next if it would be continued. They had to monitor the project constantly, acting alternatively as animator, watchdog and mediator.

One of the key factors in extending the immersion experiment to Grade 1 and beyond was the McGill University evaluation of the programme. Various innovative approaches to bilingual education had been tried in many settings around the world but few had been systematically evaluated and the work done by Dr. Wallace Lambert and his colleagues became the model for most of the subsequent evaluations of immersion programmes.

Every year students in the early immersion programme were tested for their progress in: French, English, subject matter; verbal and non-verbal intelligence; and their attitudes toward English and French-speaking people. They were compared with English-language schooling



and French-language schooling children from the same background (essentially middle class), of the same intellectual level and, in the case of the English-speaking students, from homes having similar attitudes toward Francophones.

Because of initial opposition to the programme, the original idea of not introducing English until Grade 4 was modified. During grades 2,3 and 4 children received two daily half-hour periods of English Language Arts Courses; physical education and plastic arts were also given in English. The amount of instruction time given to English increased at Grade 5 so that during Grades 5 and 6 proportions were roughly 60 per cent English and 40 per cent French.

The research results, which began coming out of the St-Lambert experiment in 1969, were extremely positive. The children had progressed "extremely well in all aspects of French language skills" (one parent remembers her child becoming so fluent that she started to have nightmares in French); "they were able to learn content subjects through French as well as their counterparts; they showed no signs of falling behind their age group in any aspects of English language development; they were not impaired intellectually...their attitudes toward French people and toward the French immersion programme were favourable throughout the elementary years."

The St-Lambert board, as skeptical as ever, decided to send its own personnel to do the testing and, much to its surprise, "the results were identical!" The board's deputy director-general and director of elementary schooling remembered, "It was a real shock."

In 1969 the "bilingual programme", as it was called then, was expanded to four other schools. No longer an experiment, it was thrown open to all areas covered by the board (which as a result of regionalization had become the South Shore Protestant Regional School Board). The St-Jean area was not included because of distance.

According to the SSPRSB's director-general, the board encountered

few difficulties in setting up its programme because it was developed during a period of expanding enrollments when the board was hiring about 120 to 130 teachers a year. English teachers did not feel as threatened as they do now and the English community was not afraid of losing its schools. However, three years ago enrollments started to decline at an annual rate of four per cent.

About three-quarters of the board's 9,000 students are bused but few travel more than 30 minutes each way since about 7,000 students live within a 10-mile radius of the Victoria Bridge. This situation made it easier to set up immersion here than in other parts of Quebec where children who previously attended schools close to home have to be bused to one central location for French immersion. In rural areas where schools are far apart it is virtually impossible to set up early immersion.

With a French immersion or bilingual programme already established in several schools, the SSPRSB was in a relatively good position to adapt to Bill 101's restrictions on English school enrollment. Three years ago it simply changed the name of its programme from "bilingual" to "Enseignement en Français". The SSPRSB now has nine of its 16 elementary schools providing "Enseignement en Français". According to the board's interpretation of the law, students who are required to receive instruction in French are allowed to attend these schools.

A distinction should be made between one of these schools - Mackayville Elementary in St-Hubert, which has traditionally served French Protestants - and the other eight schools where a French sector was developed to teach French to Anglophones. At Mackayville English is taught half an hour each day from Grade 1 to 6. At the other eight "Enseignement en Français" schools it is not introduced until Grade 2 when students receive 50 minutes daily and the amount of instruction in English is gradually increased to 40 per cent in Grade 6. The majority of students in these schools is anglophone, although there are a few Francophones and other children whose mother tongue is neither French nor English.



The SSPRSB predicts that within a couple of years, if the present trend continues, half its elementary students will be enrolled in these schools.

In the future the board will have to modify its "Enseignement en Français" programme to accommodate its new clientele. It will have to increase instruction in French at the secondary level; it will have to offer more remedial help in French; and most likely it will also have to reorganize its English language teaching programme.

According to an Education Ministry regulation, students in French schools cannot start learning English until Grade 4. If the government enforces this regulation, the SSPRSB will have to divide its "Enseignement en Français" students into two groups: those who are entitled under Bill 101 to receive English instruction and those who are not.

Many teachers already feel that English language instruction should be divided into two categories: English language arts for Anglophones and English-as-a-second-language classes for non-Anglophones.

"It's going to become a big problem," predicted one teacher. "If you call your school French and accept everyone, when you start teaching English you end up working with children for whom English is a second language, with others learning it as a third language and with others whose mother tongue is English and who are ready to learn how to read and write...and you only have them for 50 minutes (in Grade 2)!"

Many of the board's free-flow teachers - people trained to work with children who have special learning difficulties - have been teaching English as a second language to Francophones although they are not second language teaching specialists. They have been working also with Anglophones who are having problems in the "Enseignement en Français" programme.

The board has a policy that "children encountering difficulties in the optional programmes shall receive the same services as those provided in the regular programme," but its remedial services do not reflect this policy. For example, in 1979-80, 42 per cent of the SSPRSB's elementary

students were in the "Enseignement en Français" sector but the board only had the equivalent of two and one half (out of a total of 19 and one half) francophone free-flow teachers. As a result, Anglophones enrolled in French immersion were receiving help in English. However, their problems in French generally were ignored. It makes no sense and it is a good example of how the board has not "kept up with itself". As one administrator admitted: "Our French sector has expanded faster than we have been able to provide services for it."

By the 1981-82 year, the situation had regressed further: about 50 per cent of students are studying in French, yet the number of francophone free-flow teachers has stayed the same. Those studying entirely in French totalled 1,034; those enrolled in French immersion totalled 1,187. Meanwhile, 2,255 were enrolled in the English programme. Two and a half francophone free-flow teachers were still working at the board, although the total number of anglophone and francophone free-flow teachers had dropped from 19 and one half to 16.

In expanding French services to meet new demands, the SSPRSB is now providing some follow-up to early immersion at the high school level.

One of the general conclusions which emerged in a follow-up study of the first group of children in early immersion was that although they were "well prepared to function in French", many of the graduates of this programme had trouble "making contact with the French world around them." Some students felt that there was something "phoney" about talking to fellow English classmates in French.

"If you really want to learn French," said one student, "you have to have a French friend and talk to him every day. If I were in a French school, I would have learned faster. This way at recess and at lunch, instead of talking to other English students, there would be French



students to talk to and we would have made French friends and then we would have used our French outside of school."

As the number of French-speaking students increases and the "Enseignement en Français" schools become more truly French, English-speaking children who want to become fluently bilingual will find themselves in a unique situation. They will be in an environment where their mother tongue and an English-based curriculum are valued. Meanwhile, they will have an opportunity to learn French and form friendships with French-speaking children of their own age. In other words, from an anglophone viewpoint, they will have the best of both worlds.

*While the question of French language instruction is coming into sharper focus as an issue, other areas of concern still linger in some minds. It's been years since local school boards were reorganized on a regional basis but, as the following two case studies show, the pros and cons of regionalization still are being debated in areas such as the Eastern Townships and Laurentians.*

A Mixed Blessing: Regionalization and the Large Polyvalent High School at the District of Bedford Protestant Regional School Board

The showpiece of the District of Bedford Protestant Regional School Board (DBPRSB) is its \$8 million regional high school set on 27 acres of land in the Eastern Townships. Built in 1969 as a joint venture by the DBPRSB, the City of Cowansville and the Davignon Catholic School Board, Massey-Vanier Regional High School is the only regional high

school in Quebec designed to integrate French Catholic and English Protestant students for all services except academic instruction. Not only does Massey-Vanier have a cultural centre, an arena, an auditorium with an elevated orchestra pit and a swimming pool, it also has "the finest technical/vocational facilities in the English system", according to local administrators.

The promise that a school providing specialized personnel and services, which the local boards could never hope to offer, was the most persuasive argument used to promote regionalization in the area.

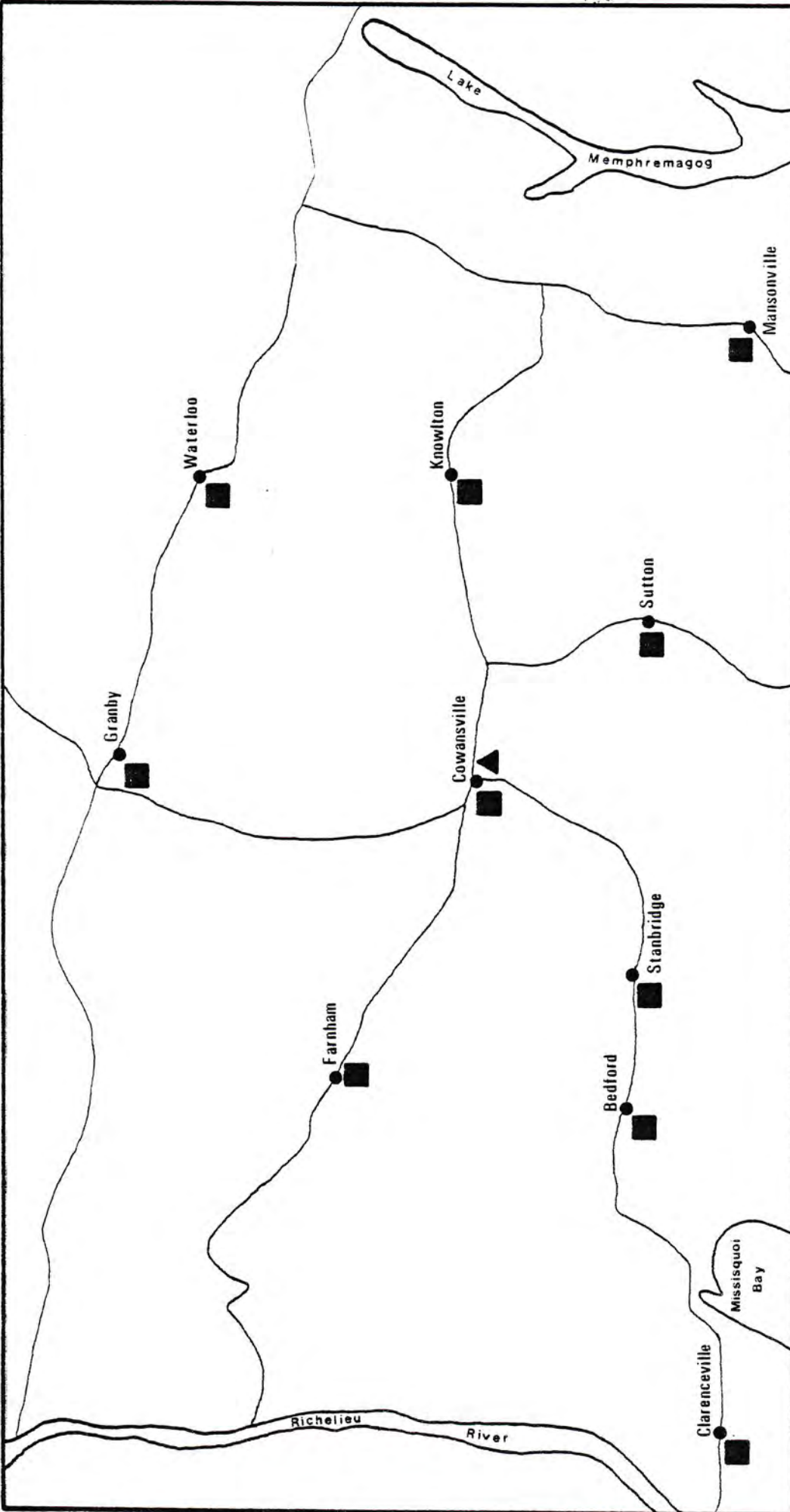
Regionalization is a term that came into vogue in the early 1960s when the Quebec government started to encourage small local boards to regroup into regional boards which were to set up regional high schools. These boards were intended originally to provide secondary level schooling only. As a result of Bill 27, which was passed in 1971 reducing the number of local boards in the province from 1,100 to 189, some regional boards such as the DBPRSB also became responsible for providing elementary level schooling. The DBPRSB, created in 1967, is now in charge of ten elementary schools spread over a 13,000 square kilometre territory.

Although this regrouping of boards occurred more than ten years ago, many here still debate the pros and cons of regionalization. "A great deal of questions are being asked about the success of the high school," said an elementary school principal who lived over 50 kilometres from Massey-Vanier.

The main drawback is that some of Massey-Vanier's 1,218 students spend up to three hours a day travelling to and from school. "Three hours of unproductive time," some say. Would these students be better off if they remained in their local communities, or do they gain more than they lose by spending all this time and energy to study at Massey-Vanier?

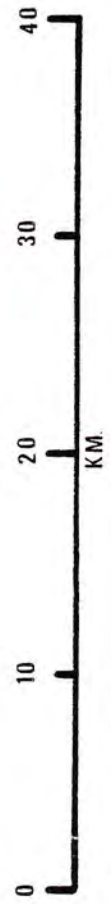
The answer is usually an ambivalent one and, as an elementary school principal pointed out, the negative attitude to the school increases





DISTRICT OF BEDFORD REGIONAL SCHOOL BOARD

■ Elementary School    ▲ High School



geometrically according to the square of the distance from the school. Communities which are farthest away, such as Mansonville and Clarenceville, are the most dubious about the value of sending their children more than 50 kilometres to an unknown and rather mysterious entity called a regional polyvalent high school.

It is not just the hours spent on the road that bothers people, it is also the fact that, as a Mansonville teacher explained: "The school is so far away people just don't know what their children are doing there. I don't think they take as much interest in their high school children as they do in their elementary children because they don't understand the system," she added.

Parents, teachers and students used to know each other. It was easy for a teacher to call a parent at home or to invite students home to discuss Shakespeare after class. Communication flowed in all directions.

"We used to know everyone in the school board," remembered a commissioner who lives in Mansonville. "We knew who to go to for what. But now it (the DBPRSB) is anonymous. In general, parents only know the representative from their own area and they view the board with mistrust and trepidation...don't forget, this is a very culturally deprived area. We don't even have a newstand here," she explained.

Mansonville has a population of only 750 people. In 1979-80 its elementary school had 117 students. Clarenceville has about 300 residents and in 1979-80 only 91 students were enrolled in the local school. When these figures are compared with the regional high school's total population, the contrast is startling: over 5,000 Francophones and Anglophones study at Massey-Vanier Regional High School/Ecole Régionale de Massey-Vanier.

"It's like culture shock, bringing these students here," said a teacher in Massey-Vanier's special education department. "Some people say we're helping to prepare them for the city, but we're not. They're



not exposed to a real urban environment. All they have seen is the inside of a bus and the school."

The other side of the argument emphasizes Massey-Vanier's good points, especially its technical/vocational facilities. As one enthusiastic parent explained: "In the past we had nothing to offer but a very squared off academic programme. It was fine if you were in arts or science, but it was very frustrating for the student who learns by doing. We used to graduate only 40 per cent of our students. The rest we would saturate academically and they'd drop out. We pushed them right out."

Two of his sons were trained at Massey-Vanier to become professional cooks. "My sons never could have become French chefs at the school in Waterloo," he said, adding, "They're doing very well now. They're both working in Alberta."

Students have several options at Massey-Vanier. In Grade 8 they can enroll in the regular academic programme or they can go into special education; in Grade 9 they can be recommended for the short profile programme. Both the short and the long profile options are two-year programmes. Students who do not wish to remain in the academic programme can choose either but not both of these programmes. The short profile offers training in welding, restaurant and table service, auto-service and business-assistant training. The long profile provides courses in drafting, professional cooking, mechanical technology, automechanics, welding, furniture-making and construction.

There is another group of students who also would have been pushed out, some say, if the regional high school had not been created. These are the 80 students in special education. Massey-Vanier has developed a programme in which physically and mentally handicapped students are trained on the job in various industries of the region. There are similar projects elsewhere in Quebec, but this is unique because students also attend classes at Massey-Vanier a couple of days a week and they use the



Schools in Quebec: The Old .... Mansur School, a one room school built in 1817,  
near Stanstead in the Eastern Townships

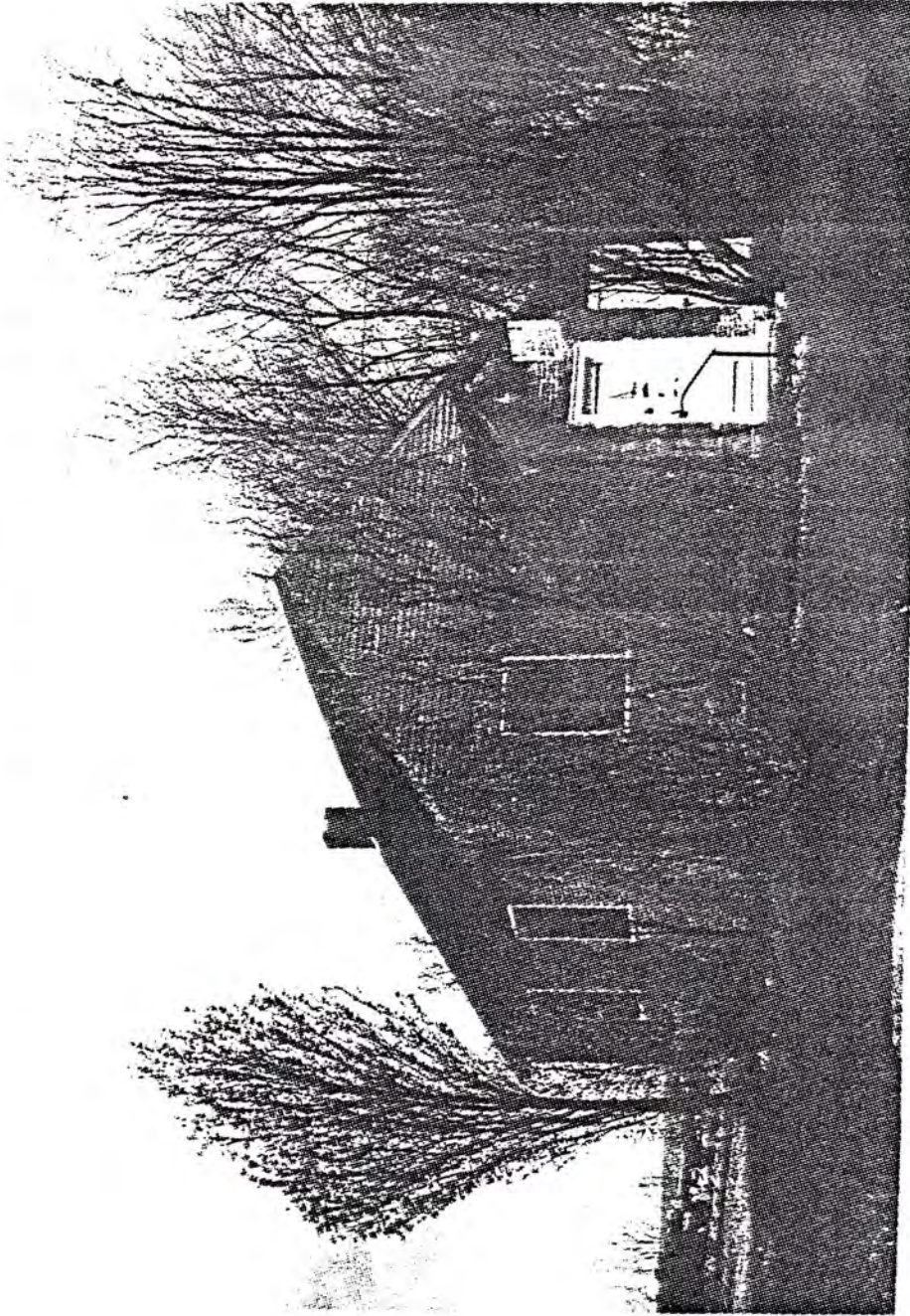


Photo by Barbara Verity



Schools in Quebec: The New .... Alexander Galt Regional High School,  
Lennoxville

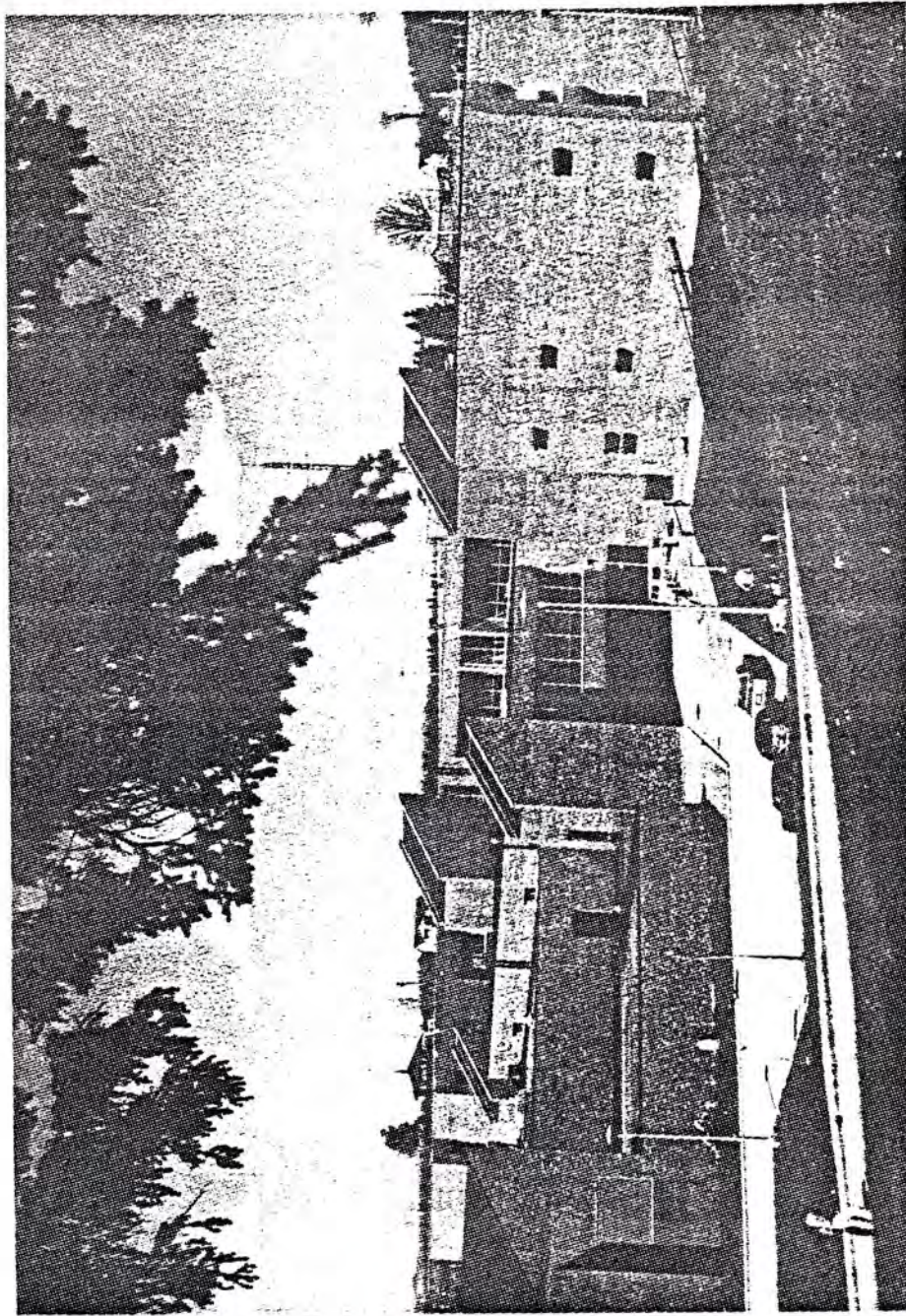


Photo by Barbara Verity



school's bus service to go to work. The programme is funded by the Ministry of Education as a pilot project.

Massey-Vanier also provides services such as guidance counselling and health care to the DBPRSB's elementary schools. Its learning evaluation team consists of a special education co-ordinator, a psychologist, a guidance counsellor, a nurse, a learning teacher and a social worker. If a student at the elementary level develops a problem, any or all of the members of this team drive from Massey-Vanier to the elementary school, analyze the problem, make suggestions and do the follow-up. Due to the distance between Massey-Vanier and some of these schools, it can be an expensive programme.

Problems which once would have been solved at home tend to be placed by parents in the hands of the school, according to some administrators and commissioners. "We have resources but the community expects us to do everything and we can't," said one official, predicting that continued budget cuts will force the board to lean more on parent participation.

The board has already asked parents if they would be willing to do volunteer work in schools. Faced with declining enrollments and indications that it would be saddled with a mounting deficit if it did not cut costs, the DBPRSB held a series of public meetings in 1979 to consult parents on how to trim expenses. One of the questions it asked in a questionnaire handed out at these meetings was whether parents would be willing to do regular volunteer work: 426 people replied "Yes" and 365 said "No". Some schools already have volunteers. At the Cowansville Elementary School, for example, ten volunteers work in the library, in special education and on school trips.

Enrollment at the DBPRSB has been declining at an annual rate of seven per cent during the past five years. There were 3,236 students in 1980-81 compared to 4,522 students in 1975-76. About one-third are Catholic. However, the DBPRSB does not plan on closing any schools.



"We don't close schools unless parents ask for a school to be closed," said the director-general. The DBPRSB has not closed any school since it was created in 1967; in fact, it actually re-opened one in Clarenceville. The communities are highly motivated to keep their schools going. Almost everyone who filled out the questionnaire said they wanted the elementary schools to remain open. People in the larger centres such as Cowansville, Waterloo and Granby indicated they were prepared to subsidize the smaller schools.

"What people were saying was that they'd pay high taxes if necessary to avoid closing some of the local schools and losing the only English-speaking focus remaining in some of these communities," said one school commissioner.

Before regionalization, local high schools played a role in their community which went beyond providing an education. The principal of the Mansonville and Sutton Elementary Schools feels that, since the high school students left, local schools have had no way of being visible in their community. In his words, "High school students used to organize dances and car washes. They had sports teams and they would be seen pestering businessmen for advertisements for the school annual...Now we don't have these activities. The schools are used for adult education courses a couple of nights a week and for exercise classes, but providing a social centre is not considered an important school aim." In July, 1980 he organized a 25th anniversary celebration for the Sutton Elementary School. One of the goals was to raise money; another was to show that there are some Anglophones who count as a living, driving force in Quebec.

Recently the Anglophones who best fit this description have been focusing their attention on one issue: the quality of French language instruction in DBPRSB elementary schools. In January, 1980 a group of parents asked the board to set up an immersion programme in Grades 4, 5 and 6 in one central location in the Cowansville-Knowlton-Granby area. In March another group, The Townshippers' Association, presented the board with a resolution strongly supporting "any decisions made by school boards

of the Eastern Townships to assure that our English-speaking elementary school graduates be functionally bilingual." Townshippers' Association, founded in 1979, represents 15 per cent of the English-speaking population of the Townships and now has about 6,000 paid-up members. The association has pressed hard on this issue because it feels that if schools do not upgrade French language instruction, young people in the area will continue to leave Quebec in ever-increasing numbers, and this will inevitably lead to a "near-disappearance of the English community within a generation or so".

The board's initial response to both groups was to say that it was unrealistic to depend on the board to produce bilingual children and that parents had a major role to play in encouraging their children to use French outside school. Budget restrictions and the fact that "school board remain the last institutions which serve the English exclusively...across Quebec" were other points to consider before launching into an expanded French language programme. The campaign for more French at school did bring about some changes. With the exception of the Granby school, which has many French-speaking students, DBPRSB elementary students receive 60 minutes of French instruction daily. This has been the board's policy since 1977, but it was not applied generally until the beginning of the 1980-81 school year. Aside from classroom instruction, the amount of French used in the school has increased: cafeteria services are in French only; noon hour supervisors in several schools have been instructed to speak only in French unless there is an emergency; announcements in three or four schools are bilingual or in French, and the number of extra-curricular activities in French has also increased.

Several years ago the board introduced an extra year of school between Grades 7 and 8 for students wishing to take French immersion. Thirty-five students were enrolled in the programme in 1979-80.

It has been suggested that regionalization has created, or is still



in the process of creating, a new aspect of the concept of community in the Eastern Townships. People in small, isolated centres are now identifying with the interests of a larger region. More than anything else, it is concern over the quality of French instruction in elementary schools that is bringing people together.

"Look at the Townshippers' Association turnout," said a community animator working at Massey-Vanier. "True community organization is coming and what better issue to group around than education?"

*The Laurentian Regional School Board is a good illustration of the combined effects of regionalization and the decline in student enrollments on rural village schools. The following case study gives examples of problems faced by the small village school and the difficulties in resolving them. As these schools are often the focal point for community activities as well as education institutions, the attempt to keep them open is closely linked to the survival of rural English communities.*

#### The Plight of Rural Schools: The Laurentian Regional Protestant School Board

Centred in Lachute, the Laurentian Regional School Board serves the English-speaking Protestant population in an area roughly 8,100 square kilometres. It extends west along the Ottawa River to Montebello, northwest to St-Jovite, northeast along the Laurentian autoroute to Ste-Adele and south to St-Eustache. It administers nine elementary schools and

one secondary school. With a 1981-82 enrollment of 1,794 students, it is the smallest school board in Quebec which offers both elementary and secondary education.

The past ten years have been marked by a decline in enrollment of nearly 1,000 at the board. This reflects not only the general fall in the birth rate but also a downturn of industry and agriculture in the region and the subsequent emigration of young adults. Large employers of skilled labour such as Ayer's Woollens (which expanded during World War 1), Price Wilson and Canadian Industries Limited (CIL) have reduced operations here. Many people particularly in the Rouge River area have abandoned farming to work for the Canadian International Paper Company or at the Canadian Refractories Limited mine at Kilmar, usually as unskilled labour. According to some, there is less money, fewer benefits and more work involved in agriculture.

Because of the decreasing population and rising maintenance costs, the Laurentian Regional School Board proposed the closing of several schools within its jurisdiction: Morin Heights High School with 85 students, Arundel Elementary with 43 students and Shawbridge Elementary with 97 students. These schools received a temporary respite for the 1980-81 academic year when residents served by the board agreed by referendum to pay higher property taxes. Bill 57, passed in 1979, requires that a school board hold a referendum if it wishes to raise property tax revenues above six per cent of its net budget. The Laurentian School Board needed 12 per cent more. However, the following school year saw Morin Heights High and Shawbridge Elementary close despite community efforts to keep them open. To save Arundel Elementary from the same fate, parents in that community bought the building and leased it back to the board.

Even though parents are willing to pay to keep their local school open, they realize more closures are imminent. The board believes in centralizing high schooling at the polyvalent in Lachute and closing



some of the larger elementary schools which are expensive to maintain. The children attending these schools could be placed in smaller, rented premises or rezoned and bused to the closest elementary school. Although the director-general does not want to be "the one who helps kill the English community", as he said, organizational problems and budgetary costs make the buildings as well as academic structures difficult to maintain.

The schools in this region have already undergone one round of centralization several years ago. The Laurentian Regional School Board opened its regional high school in Lachute in 1968. Previously local schools combined elementary and high schooling in one building. While most of these schools included Grades 8 and 9, few included 10 and 11. By 1970 the only remaining high schools were Morin Heights and the Laurentian Regional which both served Grades 7 to 11.

Parents generally agree regionalization has many virtues. Firstly, the regional polyvalent enables all students in the area to have complete high school education as well as technical/vocational training. Secondly, the bigger school brought teaching and organizational advantages: the larger the student body, the more numerous the teaching staff and the greater the flexibility in hiring specialists. Being able to increase the number of French specialists is of particular concern to most parents since they want better French language instruction. The hiring of specialists who teach only one subject and the organization of immersion classes are particularly difficult in small, rural schools.

However, many parents are reluctant to consolidate further the number of elementary and high schools because they do not want to bus their children. Morin Heights parents had fought hard to keep their high school open. They asked for a re-adjustment of school boundaries to allow students in the vicinity of Morin Heights High to enroll there rather than at Lachute, but this would have contributed to declining enrollments at Lachute's large polyvalent. They argued too that busing the

children out of the community would be costly, dangerous and unfair. In many cases the length of a school day for a child bused from Morin Heights to Lachute would be ten hours or more. Transportation time, which is usually unproductive, could exceed two to three hours. As well as having to travel poorly maintained and sometimes hazardous roads, the children would not be able to take part in extra-curricular activities at school.

The recent school closure could well mean that parents will simply send their children to the local French high school.

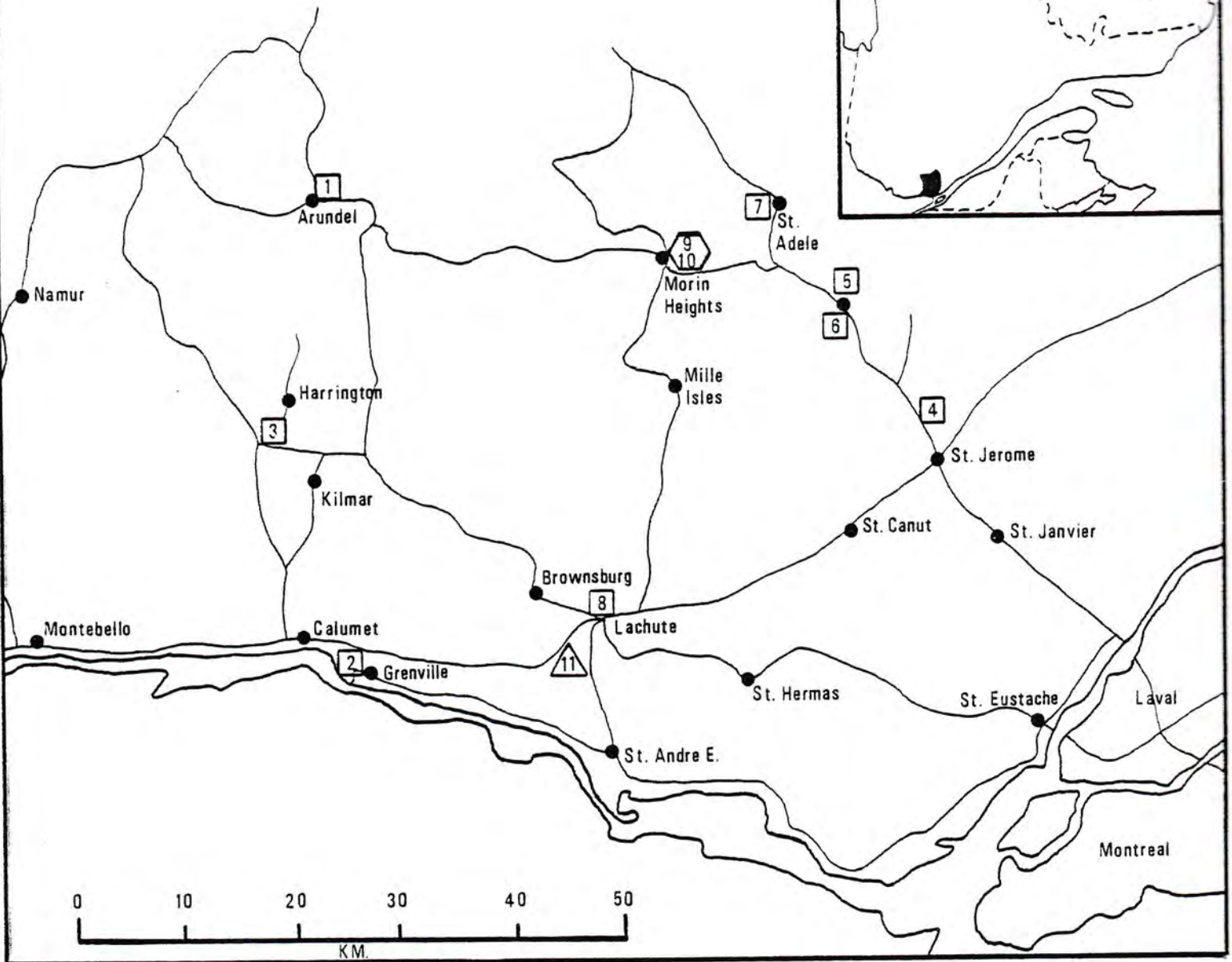
Consolidating schools also has its drawbacks for the government. Even before the closure of Morin Heights High, the Transport Ministry was spending \$100,000 busing children in the Lachute area alone. One principal foresees the day when the Ministry will refuse to pick up the tab. "Either parents will move closer to schools or they will pay their own bills," he said.

But parents are also sending their children to French schools out of dissatisfaction with French instruction in the English schools which, they feel, does not adequately prepare children for living and working in Quebec. This attitude is weakening elementary school enrollments. There were about 24 such cases affecting Morin Heights Elementary School in 1979-80 and, given the small, closed nature of the community, these cases are significant for both the school and community.

Each community wants its school to remain open. Yet this requires money and students. The resulting tension is sometimes expressed through psychological pressure placed on the parents who send their children to French elementary schools. Although these parents insist they will send their children to English high school later, this trend creates a two-fold dilemma. It is true that sending English children to French schools does not impede their legal eligibility (or the legal eligibility of their descendants) to continue in an English system. However, if English parents increasingly send their children to French schools, the enrollment



# AREA SERVED BY THE LAURENTIAN REGIONAL SCHOOL BOARD



□ Elementary School

△ High School

⬡ Combined



of English elementary schools will decline and more schools may close. Since long-range projections on the future of the high school rest on elementary enrollments, its existence too is jeopardized. To make matters worse it is difficult to introduce immersion programmes in order to up-grade French language instruction in the English sector. In small schools where there are not enough students to justify two streams of education - French immersion and traditional English instruction - the latter is usually offered.

When a school is unilingual, it is relatively simple to create split classes in which the correct teacher-student ratio is met. For example, Grades 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5 and 6 can be taught together by one teacher. Small schools, however, face a special problem because an effective immersion programme can only operate if there are enough students initially to meet the required ratio. In other words, split classes which are partly French immersion and partly English only cannot function properly.

The Laurentian Elementary School is the only one in the board which has enough students to offer French immersion. In 1979-80, 60 of the 357 students were enrolled in this programme. A bilingual programme was introduced in some smaller schools in 1979-80. At Morin Heights Elementary, for example, kindergarten and Grade 1 pupils were studying core subjects in English in the morning, then art, music, physical education, health and some literature in French during the afternoon. The Laurentian Regional School Board extended the bilingual programme to include Grade 2 for the 1980-81 year.

This method of learning French, however, is not the most desirable, and many parents are demanding a full immersion programme. It is too early to assess the effects of the bilingual programme in Morin Heights, although both the principal and a French teacher agree that even if progress is slower than in immersion, at least the children develop a positive attitude toward learning French.



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

First English Language  
Elementary and Secondary Schools

- 1790 - Elementary school, Gaspé.
- 1791 - Elementary school, Trois Rivières.
- 1794 - Elementary school opens in William Henry (Sorel).
  - Elementary school opens in Philipsburg.
- 1798 - Elementary school, l'Assomption.
- 1800 - First school in Lachute.
- 1816 - National School established by Montreal and Quebec branch of the Anglican Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Also gave elementary education to children of poor regardless of sex, language or religion.
  - Royal Grammar School - Montreal and Quebec.
- 1820 - Ursuline Nuns open special classes for about 60 Irish Catholic girls in Quebec City.
- 1822 - Montreal and British and Canadian School, founded by inter-denominational education society. Run according to Lancastrian method; elementary education to children of artisans and labourers in French and English; nonsectarian moral and religious instruction.
- 1823 - Congregation of Notre Dame gives classes for girls in English in Montreal.
- 1827 - First school in Clarendon.
- 1828 - Kirk Hall, Quebec City - attached to Presbyterian Church (girls' school).
- 1830 - Three more schools built in Clarendon during the 1830s.
- 1836 - Christian Brothers arrive and establish schools in Montreal; between 1842-1870 many other teaching orders arrive in Quebec; flow continues until 1900 but at a much slower pace.
- 1839 - Newfoundland School Society (Townships) - religious instruction in elementary schools.
- 1843 - High School of Montreal.
- 1870 - Father Dowd Girls' Academy
- 1933 - D'Arcy McGee High School - first English Catholic High School in Montreal.
- 1939 - First community school - Eastern Townships, Sherbrooke.
  - First School for Leaders, Lennoxville.
- 1943 - Thirteen community schools established by 1943 serving 1,000 adults from Eastern Townships and Chateaugay region.

\* \* \* \* \*

Of the Rouge River Schools, only Grenville Elementary with its 120 students in 1979-80, had a bilingual kindergarten. Students in Grades 1-6 at Grenville and Harrington received only 30 minutes of French instruction daily. The state of French education worries parents and administrators in this area. For some, comparing the quality of traditional French instruction at a small rural school like Harrington with a French immersion programme is like pitting "a cripple with an Olympic runner", as one principal said. Even though Harrington is literally the last school in the village (an English Catholic elementary school shut down some years ago), most parents probably would not fight very hard to keep it open.<sup>4</sup> Parents in this area prefer to bus their children to Grenville which has a French specialist. But it is unlikely to expect each school to have a French specialist, both because of cost and the fact that having a French specialist for each school usually means replacing other English-speaking teachers.

As a small school, Harrington Elementary qualifies for special treatment in the form of lower pupil-teacher ratios. For example, a school of 38 students can have three teachers. This is an improvement over previous years when these schools were only allowed two teachers. Each teacher has a split class while also teaching art, music and physical education.

While many schools in Quebec have had to organize split classes, the quality of instruction in them is a matter of debate. One teacher commented that it seemed to affect the quality of education because the teacher must compromise and teach at a level mid-way between the two grades.

The viability of small schools as educational institutions, the problem of improving French instruction, and the costs of maintenance are serious problems communities must face in the struggle to keep small,

---

<sup>4</sup> In 1977, the government announced a policy designed to help boards maintain the last school in the village by lowering pupil-teacher ratios and providing extra funding.



rural schools open. Except for the Morin Heights area, parents in the Laurentians are not particularly well organized. Although each school legally has to have a parents' school committee and parents must be represented on the board, many do not understand pedagogical or budgetary issues. Little is done to help them untangle the web of bureaucracy in the Education Ministry. "They'd rather talk about the soup programme or the refreshments to be served at the next meeting than methods of learning," was one administrator's comment.

However, parents are adamant regarding French instruction. In the words of a land developer in the Morin Heights area who saw great real estate value in maintaining the high school there, "Education is a commodity; we must please the consumers. If our product is lacking, they'll buy elsewhere." However, the extent of the depopulation of the small, rural schools in this area, combined with budgetary and organizational concerns, make it difficult to improve the product.

*In remoter regions of Quebec such as Nouveau Québec and the Lower North Shore where communities are isolated from each other, where transportation is difficult and where public services are rudimentary, multiconfessional school boards have been created to serve the entire population - Anglophone, Francophone, Catholic, Protestant, and native peoples. In 1980-81, 6,370 children were enrolled in four multiconfessional school boards. The Du Littoral School Board, the first multiconfessional board, was created in 1967 to organize schools previously run by the Anglican and Catholic Churches on the Lower North Shore. The Nouveau Québec School Board was set up in 1970 to organize primary and secondary schooling in Northern Quebec. While the language of instruction in this board's*

*schools is French and Inuktituk, the language of instruction in the federally-run schools of the region is English.*

The "Multiconfessional" School Board: An Exception to the Rule  
The Du Littoral School Board

The Du Littoral School Board administers 15 schools along 400 kilometres of the Lower North Shore from Kégaska to Blanc Sablon and one school on Anticosti Island. In the 1979-80 school year, 70 per cent of the 1,700 students were Catholic; 30 per cent, Protestant; 33 per cent, French-speaking (of which 12 per cent were Montagnais Indians); 67 per cent, English-speaking. The board operates exclusively on a direct grant from the government and the administrator is a government appointee.

The logistics of administering this board are complex, not only because of the religious and linguistic diversity of the population it serves, but because of the nature of the territory and difficulties of recruiting personnel.

In fact, while the board administers schooling for a varied clientele, most individual schools are homogeneous. With villages isolated from each other, a religious and linguistic distinctiveness has been maintained. Among the 15 villages only one, Tête-à-la-Baleine, is francophone and ten are either Anglo-Catholic or Anglo-Protestant. Only four have mixed populations; La Romaine, which is francophone and Montagnais; Lourdes de Blanc Sablon, which is anglophone and francophone; St. Paul's River, which is Anglo-Protestant and Anglo-Catholic; and St. Augustine's, which is anglophone, but is near a Montagnais reserve. In these four villages arrangements have been made to educate children of different backgrounds.

In St. Paul's River, for example, where 40 per cent of the population

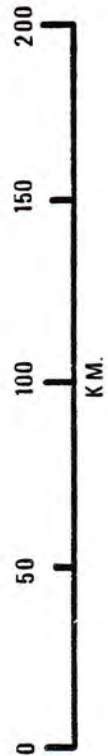
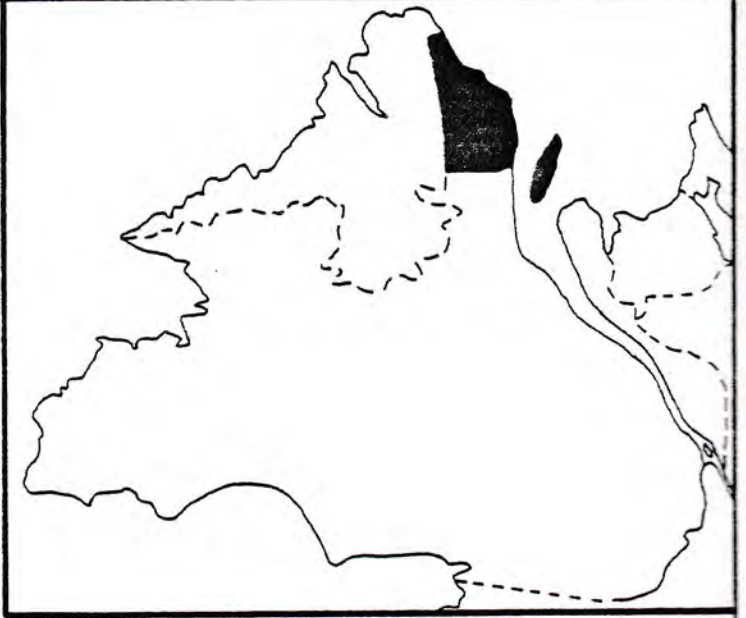


AREA SERVED BY THE DU LITTORAL SCHOOL BOARD

Labrador  
Quebec  
Blanc-Sablon  
Lourdes-de-Blanc-Sablon  
Bradore Bay  
Middle Bay  
Old Fort  
St. Pauls R.  
Saint-Augustin

La Tabatière  
Mutton Bay  
Tête-à-la-Baleine  
Aylmer-Sound  
Harrington-Harbour  
Chevery  
GULF OF ST. LAWRENCE

La Romaine  
Kégaska



ANTICOSTI ISLAND

Port  
Mernier

is Catholic and 60 per cent Protestant, children of both denominations attend the same school. Founded in the early 1900s, the school was run by the Anglican Church, receiving subsidies from both Anglican and Catholic Churches. In 1948, the Catholics opened their own school and the two schools operated separately until 1967 when the regional board was created. From Grades 3 to 6 children are separated for moral and religious instruction so that Catholic children may prepare for their first communion and confirmation. The Catholic priest, who also serves the community at Lourdes de Blanc Sablon, provides religious instruction.

The school in La Romaine serves both Montagnais and francophone children. The situation of the Montagnais who live near the town of St. Augustine is a bit more complicated. While the Montagnais are French-speaking, the people of St. Augustine are mostly unilingually English. Because all instruction at the school in St. Augustine is in English, a special class had to be set up where the Montagnais children could study in French. Recently a new school was built by the federal government for the Montagnais on their reserve.

With its population roughly half francophone and half anglophone, Lourdes de Blanc Sablon is considered a bilingual town. There is one school in which all instruction is in French. Although anglophone children can receive English instruction in the school at Blanc Sablon, which is six kilometres away, few do so.

Although each village has its school, children from the Lower North Shore must complete their high schooling in other regions of Quebec. Of the 16 schools administered by the Du Littoral School Board, six include Secondary III. The other ten only provide schooling from kindergarten to Secondary II. English-speaking children tend to go to the Eastern Townships Regional School Board in Lennoxville, St. Elizabeth School in Sept-Iles or the bilingual polyvalent on the Gaspé. French-speaking children attend school either in the Gaspé, Rimouski or Sept-Iles. From 1972 to 1979, 250 children attended high school outside the region at an annual cost to the government of \$1,000,000. This does not



include the additional \$250 fee parents must pay.

Thus, in order to complete high school, children must leave the Lower North Shore after Secondary 11 or 111, when they are 13 or 14 years old. This situation is satisfactory to no one. Parents understandably are reluctant to send their children away at such an early age and children cannot adapt to life in the large towns or in huge regional schools. The drop-out rate is high. Only about 55 of 250 children sent out in the past several years actually completed high school. Many who finish never return to the Lower North Shore. Those who do return often find that the skills acquired in the polyvalents are not appropriate for life in the economically under-developed area where the main occupation is fishing.

The present government has agreed to build a high school in the region. A feasibility committee has been set up to study its future location and whether or not it should provide technical/vocational as well as academic training. Because of the area's geography, choosing the location for a high school is difficult. If one large school is built in any one town, children from the rest of the coast still have to board there. Many parents who filled out a questionnaire on the issue noted that wherever the high school is built there would be difficulties in accommodating 300 to 400 students. An alternative is to set up three or four smaller high schools in the larger towns where some roads connect with other villages. Even then some children would have to board - but the problem would be less acute.

Most people feel that a high school should provide academic training first and technical training second. Unimpressed with the kinds of industrial skills their children acquire in polyvalents, some parents on the Lower North Shore would prefer to set up something along the lines of the Ecole des Pêches (Gaspé) or the Institut Maritime (Rimouski) which are government-run institutions associated with the CEGEPs in their regions. Skills learned in these schools are more pertinent to a coastal, maritime life.

Because of the area's special nature, the government has made allowances regarding pupil-teacher ratios, putting them well above current norms. Generally, classes have fewer than 12 students compared to the usual 18. There are some split classes in the smallest schools such as Brador Bay (24 students) and Aylmer Sound (25 students), but these are exceptional. Since there is only one school in each village and most villages are isolated, the smallest schools have remained open. In Brador Bay, for example, it costs \$50,000 to \$60,000 per year to educate 24 children.

School conditions and facilities vary from village to village. A new school was built in Chevery in 1977 to replace the old two-room school. Until 1977, Grades 7 and 8 were housed at different times in a basement apartment, a movie hall, a community hall and over a Hudson's Bay store. Although some schools have access to a gymnasium, facilities such as libraries are few.

As in other boards there are parents' committees and school committees, but their influence is more limited here than elsewhere. Residents do not pay property taxes since there is no property evaluation in the region. Thus, the board operates entirely on a direct government grant and the administrator is appointed by the government. There is no school commission in the usual sense. Although two commissioners were elected in 1980 by the parents' committees from each village, they can only advise the administrator and the five directors (of finance, adult education, pedagogy, personnel and teaching services).

One wish expressed by many parents is that French instruction be improved. Until recently, learning French did not seem a necessity in this area where about 5,000 of the 6,000 inhabitants are English-speaking. Isolated from the rest of Quebec, the people of the Lower North Shore have closer ties with Newfoundland. They buy about 95 per cent of their cars and building material there, for example. Now there are signs of change. The Quebec government is beginning to develop hydro power, transportation and public services on the Lower North Shore. There is a



growing recognition that in order to work in any public service, a knowledge of French is essential. Despite the high rate of unemployment here, labour will continue to be imported from other parts of Quebec until the local population acquires a sufficient knowledge of French.

It is difficult, however, to attract good French teachers and to improve French instruction in small schools. There are no immersion classes. Children in Grades 1 and 2 receive 15 minutes of French instruction daily; Grades 3,4,5 and 6 receive roughly 30 minutes per day; and high school students receive 50 minutes per day. While some board officials insist there is no language problem, Francophones from the area will not teach in English schools and vice versa. Some parents in "English" Blanc Sablon are sending their children to school in "French" Lourdes, but most anglophone parents cannot send their children to the French schools in Lourdes or Tête-à-la-Baleine because of inadequate roads.

Recruiting teachers and personnel - both English and French-speaking - is probably the board's most difficult problem. A small percentage of teachers is from the Lower North Shore. Only the school in Chevery has a large proportion of local teachers. Many are from the Maritime provinces and some are from southern Ontario. Teachers are offered all kinds of inducements, such as several flights a year to Montreal and subsidized housing, to work on the Lower North Shore, but there is roughly a 50 per cent annual staff turnover. There is also a problem in hiring professionals. The government has allocated funds for five pedagogical counsellors, but it is difficult to find suitable people for the posts. There are no teachers to help children with specific learning disabilities, but two "social technicians" travel the coast to deal with some of these students.

The general lack of educational resources and materials as well as the difficulties in recruiting qualified staff have clouded the development of education on the Lower North Shore. Yet there are signs of improvement, both physical and attitudinal. The recent expansion of radio and

television communications with CBC broadcasts in French from Matane and English from Montreal, the development of hydro power, and improvements in transportation are beginning to open the area to the rest of Quebec. There has been some accompanying change of attitude among the region's people, particularly toward education.

Looking to the future, more and more parents are stressing the importance of their children completing high school, preferably on the Lower North Shore. Despite problems associated with organizing education in this large territory, some officials are beginning to see light at the end of the tunnel.

*While previous case studies focus on problems inherent in the public education system at the elementary and secondary levels, the following study on Dawson College centres on another sector of education. It describes the growth of the first anglophone Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEP).*

#### CEGEPS: An Innovation of the '60s - Dawson College

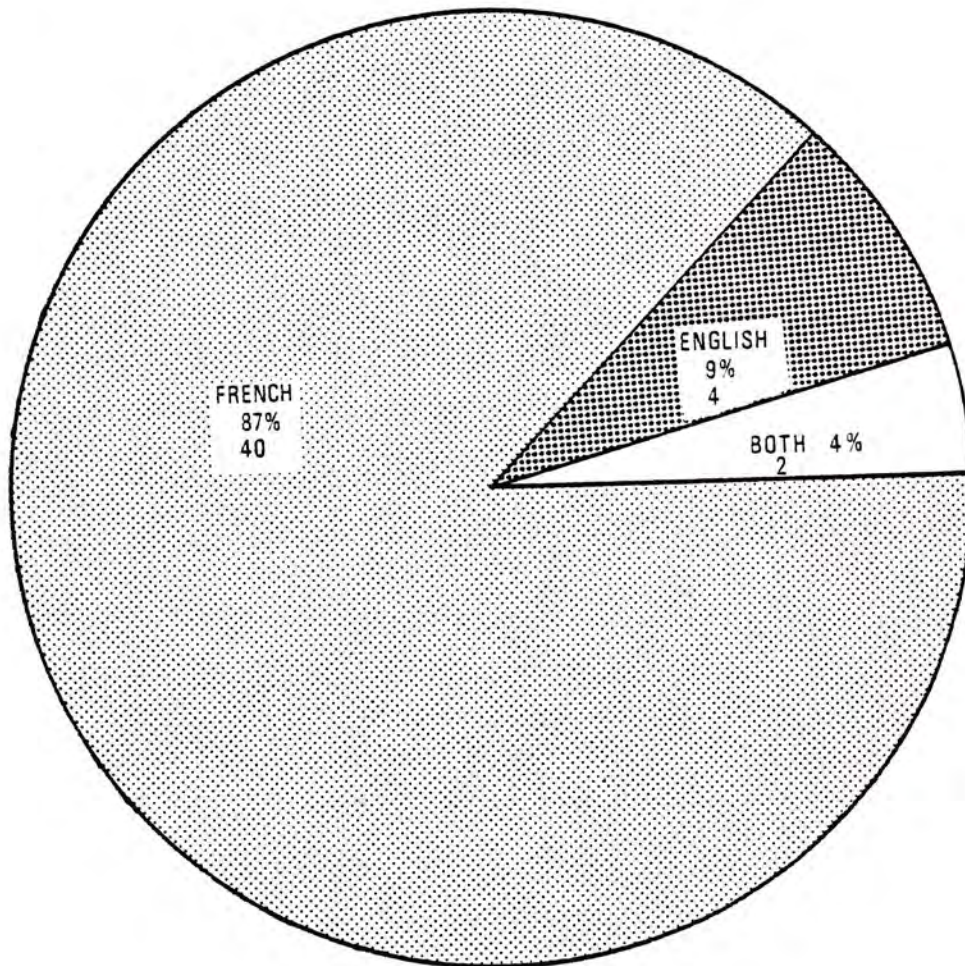
Along with other educational reforms of the 1960s, the purpose of CEGEPs was to provide the French community, in particular, with ready access with higher education. CEGEPs were also meant to place the English and French post-secondary systems on the same track and to increase opportunities for technical/vocational training in both sectors.

Introduced in 1967 as Quebec's first non-confessional public education institutions, CEGEPs were to be administered by public



Graph 2-1

TOTAL NUMBER OF CEGEPS BY LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION  
1980-81



Source: Répertoire des organismes et des écoles, Ministère de l'éducation, Québec, 1980-81.

corporations representative of students, teachers and the community. They were to provide two-year, pre-university programmes and three year, technical/vocational programmes. They were to be comprehensive in their student clientele and tuition-free. Intended to continue the general education of students, they were to provide specialization required either for university studies or technical occupations. Twelve French language CEGEPs opened in 1967 with an enrollment of 38,000. Fifteen years later, 117,965 students were enrolled in 40 French language CEGEPs, four English language CEGEPs and two CEGEPs with both French and English sectors.

Before CEGEPs opened, the route to university for most Franco-phones was longer and more restrictive than for Anglophones. According to The Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems (Tremblay Commission), set up in 1953, 9.4 per cent of the anglophone and 3.7 per cent of the francophone population between the ages of 18 and 27 attended university. In the French sector, university was open for the most part to an elite who could afford to complete 15 years of schooling: seven years at the elementary level and eight years in a private classical college. Three more years were required at university to obtain a degree, bringing the total to 18. Graduates of the classical colleges tended to enter the priesthood or follow careers in medicine or law. Few studied engineering or science. On the English side, those entering university usually graduated from the public school system after 11 years of schooling. Then, with four years at university, they obtained a degree after a total of only 15 years.

After 1967, the education system was standardized so that the road to university was the same throughout the province: six years of elementary education; five years of secondary education; two years at CEGEP; and three years for the first university degree - a total of 16 years. In effect, the CEGEP system widened opportunities in post-secondary education for Francophones and added one year to the anglophone education system, bringing it in line with most of North America.



Another result was that many classical colleges became public CEGEPs while a few became privately run CEGEPs. Some decided to limit themselves to secondary education. The number of private colleges declined from 98 in 1967 to about 20 in 1979.

CEGEPs are unique in North America in two respects. While they are the training centres for certain professions, they also provide the exclusive path to university for students under 21. Also, unlike most public educational systems which separate technological from pre-university programmes, CEGEPs require all students to take certain compulsory courses. In the English CEGEPs these courses are English and Humanities.

The interdisciplinary Humanities courses are an attempt to examine various aspects of man's creativity and reality, thus giving students an understanding of the way our society functions. They are meant to be a forum where students in both technical and academic programmes can share experiences and interests. The Humanities courses are unique to the English CEGEPs, giving students a taste of several subjects so they might have a better idea of what route to follow at university. In the French CEGEPs, students must take "philosophie", which is more traditional and either politically or classically oriented.

Two years after the law establishing CEGEPs was passed, the first of four English CEGEPs, Dawson College, opened its doors. The reasons for this time-lag were two-fold. There was general hostility toward the concept of the CEGEP in the English community. Most Anglophones believed they had a fairly good working system, refusing to change it "just because the French wanted to get rid of their classical colleges", as some said. Secondly, only a minority saw the advantages of allowing two years for potential university students to experiment with different courses. Few were interested in the expansion of technical/vocational training. Most would have preferred to tack Grade 12 on to high school and establish separate technical schools. Some, who could afford it,

responded by sending their children elsewhere to complete post-secondary education. According to the ex-director-general of Dawson, "The Anglophones never understood that the CEGEPs were planned for Quebecers - that they were province-wide, and therefore included them too." There were also serious practical problems of staffing and finding facilities for English CEGEPs.

Francophones had certain advantages in this respect since many of their CEGEPs were created from existing classical colleges and post-secondary institutions. To hasten the set-up of anglophone CEGEPs the government pressured the anglophone community by refusing to give grants to its universities for Quebec students who did not have a CEGEP diploma. It also looked toward Marianopolis College, Loyola College, Bishop's University and the Macdonald Campus of McGill University as prospective anglophone CEGEPs. Although Marianopolis did become a private college, strong resistance was made to changing the status of the other liberal arts colleges and universities.

A scramble to find adequate facilities for an English language CEGEP followed. Dawson College finally opened in 1969 with 1,900 students in a converted pharmaceutical factory in downtown Montreal, and 13 years later this is still one of its main campuses. Dawson did not have sufficient facilities to accommodate all who applied in its first years, so parallel programmes were set up temporarily at McGill, Sir George Williams, Loyola, and Bishop's until more CEGEPs were established.

These parallel programmes were transitional in nature and, with few exceptions, did not really experiment or innovate with the CEGEP programme. "The real innovation was left to Dawson where starting from scratch made it possible to create programmes and courses uninhibited by traditional practices in universities," said the Associate Vice-Rector for Academic Planning at Concordia University. In its early days Dawson's philosophy was that "students must participate at all levels in the educational system", "that people learn by doing, and by having



exposure to other people's experiences." It was considered "democratic" because it was free and it was a "leveller of society" because it was the only way to university in Quebec for students under the age of 21. Students from all social and economic backgrounds had to attend before going on to university. Today Dawson, more than any other CEGEP, maintains an open door policy. Anyone who meets minimal requirements can register. Becoming a full-time student immediately after high school requires a Secondary V diploma. However, mature students - those over 19 years who have been out of school for at least one year - may register without a Secondary V diploma. Despite initial resistance to the CEGEP system, the proportion of Anglophones has grown from 15 per cent of Quebec's collegial enrollment in 1972 to 17.5 per cent in 1980.

Dawson's initial aims, which were viewed as too radical by other anglophone CEGEPs, have been difficult to apply. While its open door policy and low admission requirements have extended post-secondary education to many people (over 60,000 Montrealers have registered in regular day-time and continuing education programmes in the past 13 years), it has been difficult to impose academic standards.

The attempt to integrate career and academic students through the Humanities courses has not been wholly successful. Students tend to remain in two solitudes. Generally, teachers in the technological programmes have trouble understanding the philosophy behind the Humanities courses and their skepticism is often transferred to students. "It's a constant struggle to keep reminding them of why the students must take English and Humanities," an administrator pointed out. "Often the response is, 'The only English a student needs to know is how to write a business letter'."

The idea of levelling is also difficult to apply. Because of limited space and facilities many CEGEPs, both French and English, have become selective in admitting students.

Having proper facilities to offer as many programmes to as many students as possible has always been a thorny issue at Dawson. Unlike

the other three anglophone CEGEPs, Dawson has not yet managed to get permanent facilities even though it is Quebec's largest anglophone CEGEP. It has had over 120 leases in the past 13 years. Termed the downtown CEGEP, Dawson is scattered in nine buildings from St-Henri to Lafontaine Park.

The main campuses include the Selby Campus, the converted pharmaceutical factory, Richelieu Campus located directly beneath the Ville Marie expressway; and Viger Campus, a maze of classrooms once occupied by Ecole des hautes études commerciales. Although there are some advantages to having a decentralized system - such as smaller working communities - the disadvantages are greater. Programmes offered in one place are not necessarily offered in another, library facilities are dispersed, and maintenance costs are multiplied. Dawson's most recent request for new facilities was rejected by the Quebec Treasury Board in 1981.

#### CEGEPs and the Universities

CEGEPs have had a significant impact on university structures. They have become the sole vehicle to university in Quebec for students who graduate from Quebec high schools, and all CEGEP graduates may enter university programmes. Furthermore, the university requirement for a first degree is now three years.

The universities have lost some control of their admissions criteria since all CEGEP graduates are eligible for university education. But with standards varying from one CEGEP to another, not all degrees which they accord are of equal value. Also, universities are required to accept CEGEP students directly into professional faculties such as Law. However, both French and English universities have imposed quotas on the number of CEGEP students directly admitted to professional faculties. Thus, CEGEP students are tested before being admitted to these faculties. The reasoning of the universities is that CEGEP graduates must compete for limited places with university graduate who



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

English Language Collegial, Post-Secondary  
Education and Technical Vocational Training

- 1817 - Stanstead College founded by American Congregational Minister.
- 1818 - Royal Institute received letter patent to incorporate and establish schools.
- 1821 - McGill University receives Charter.
- 1833 - St. Patrick's Academy, Montreal.
- 1836 - Bishop's College School founded in Lennoxville.
- 1839 - Academies for classical education open in Stanstead and Charleston (Hatley).
- 1845 - Bishop's College founded by Bishop George J. Mountain.
- 1847 - St. Laurent College, Montreal, giving classical instruction, including some in English.
- 1848 - St. Mary's College, Montreal.
- 1852 - McGill Charter amended: university officially nonsectarian in organization and programme as in admissions' policy.
- 1853 - Bishop's obtains Royal Charter.
- 1855 - Knowlton Academy.
  - First short courses for farmers attempted by William Dawson of McGill University.
  - William Dawson becomes principal of McGill.
- 1856 - Lachute Academy.
- 1857 - Founding of three teacher training schools: Jacques Cartier and McGill in Montreal, and Laval in Quebec City.
  - St. Francis College founded in Richmond.
- 1860 - Three Rivers College founded.
- 1861 - St. John's School founded (Anglican) - becomes Lower Canada College

\*\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*\*

English Language Collegial, Post-Secondary  
Education and Technical Vocational Training

- 1862 - Morrin College opens, Quebec City.
- 1866 - Montreal Veterinary School founded.
- 1884 - Women accepted at McGill.
- 1887 - Montreal Polytechnical School affiliated with Laval.
- 1889 - Legislation on the establishment of free night schools.
- 1894 - Seven night schools in Montreal operating under Provincial Secretary, Protestant Board of School Commissions.
- 1897 - Provincial law to encourage technical schools.
- 1899 - Loyola College - Jesuit - affiliated to University of Laval.  
- Royal Victoria College opens.
- 1903 - Montreal Technical School receives charter.
- 1905 - Founding of Macdonald College.
- 1907 - School for teachers at Macdonald College.
- 1920 - Montreal Labour College.
- 1926 - Sir George Williams College founded.
- 1945 - Thomas More Institute founded.
- 1956 - St. Lawrence College, Quebec City.
- 1959 - Charter for Sir George Williams University.
- 1963 - Labour College of Canada, Montreal.
- 1967 - Macdonald Extension becomes part of McGill Continuing Education Department.
- 1969 - Dawson College, first anglophone CEGEP opens.

\* \* \* \* \*



have already proven their academic ability. These tests also provide a standard evaluation of the CEGEP graduate.

The change to the university structure from four to three years has meant that programmes are more specialized. Although the general education courses of the old four-year undergraduate programme are now followed at the CEGEP level, students take fewer of them. Some professors complain students are less prepared for the highly specialized disciplines. Interestingly, the French language universities have had to make more structural changes than the English ones. They have had to replace their European structure of licences with the American system of bachelors degrees with majors and minors.

#### Technological and Vocational Training

CEGEPs have made their greatest contribution through technological training. At first, some administrators felt the government was trying to gear people toward the technological professions demanded by the labour market. Only in the recent period of limited job opportunities has this objective been met. Those wishing to follow careers at the technological level in health sciences, engineering, business, social work, and commercial art, to name only a few, can enroll tuition free in the CEGEPs. Here they can also benefit from general academic training. Although more Francophones than Anglophones enroll in technological/vocational programmes, the number of Anglophones is increasing.

"The three-year technological programme - in which students go straight into the work force - is where the CEGEPs have really made a mark. It is here that it is important to maintain the reputation of the school or else few employment opportunities will exist for the graduates," said one director of technological studies at Dawson. However, these programmes are expensive and tight budgets seriously affect their implementation, diversity and ability to meet job market

needs. A selection procedure has been set up to cover highly technical vocations for which equipment and space are limited. Many teachers and administrators dislike this situation because it defeats the CEGEP philosophy of having an open door policy and of delaying specialization. Prerequisite courses often must be chosen in high school. The result is that many students enroll in the arts programme hoping to switch to a career programme when possible.

Although 45 different career programmes are offered, not all CEGEPS can afford to be equipped for all of them. The four anglophone CEGEPs can offer only about 30. If Anglophones want to follow any of the other careers such as aviation technology, they must enroll at a French CEGEP. In some cases, the Education Ministry has refused to open career programmes in English-language colleges, especially where equipment costs are high.

Budgets also are affected by changes in industry which rapidly make equipment obsolete. Most machinery used in technical training has a life of only five years. However, much of Dawson's equipment stretches back ten years and more.

Another criticism of the programme is that technological training cannot be isolated from industry. CEGEP technological training departments are demanding greater participation by industry. Some feel the introduction of six-week or three-month retraining programmes directly related to the immediate needs of the labour market would be a more concrete contribution to industry.

#### Adult Education

Adult education, which has been expanding, is linked to the concept of up-dating careers and retraining individuals so they can develop and adapt to a rapidly changing society. In fact, government pressure is leading colleges to reduce general arts offerings and turn more to technological training. Continuing education is not only seen as the vehicle of life-long education but, in view of the declining student



population and teacher lay-offs, it is a gold mine for recycling students. For these reasons Dawson has attempted to become an educational resource within the community. For example, it has developed courses and programmes which are offered in industrial settings and it conducts a "rattrapage" session every summer so high school students who do not qualify for CEGEP education may take courses that meet entrance qualifications.

Despite the importance of adult education the government has been imposing severe budget cutbacks, which have meant adult education fees have had to be raised substantially. The result has been that enrollments for 1981-82 have dropped by 50 per cent. The Jean Commission has been set up to study adult education in Quebec, including adult education for the minorities.

Commenting on the general contribution of Dawson College and the CEGEP system as a whole, most people interviewed were enthusiastic about technological/vocational training. Some, however, were somewhat hesitant about the success of academic programmes at Dawson: "The arts programme has become a dumping ground for those who cannot enter the technical programmes. In Humanities there is a lot of creativity mixed with a lot of bull..."

Even as early as 1971 in a retrospective on the Parent Report, several ex-commissioners indicated that the CEGEP system did not meet their objectives. The vocational sphere was too specialized and the academic sphere had lowered its standards. However, it was noted that although CEGEPs have had growing pains, the change in attitude toward their existence is a major step forward. Post-secondary education has been opened up for Francophones, yet their attendance at university is still substantially lower than that of Anglophones. The results of a 1979 government sampling of the university population showed that 11.9 per cent of the anglophone population was in university compared to 5.5 per cent of the francophone population. The number of Francophones attending English post-secondary institutions has been increasing.

About 25 per cent of the students at John Abbott CEGEP and 20 per cent of students at McGill University are Francophones. Some attribute this to the poor quality of English instruction in French primary and secondary schools.

Those who defend the CEGEP system do so not on academic terms but on its social benefits: "It doesn't really matter what they learn, access to post-secondary education is provided." The admissions policy, though tighter now than at first, is still quite open - particularly at Dawson. Accommodation is provided to students who speak neither English nor French as well as to second chance students who otherwise would be limited to blue collar jobs.

In this context, the CEGEP's atmosphere plays a key role. Students are generally 17 years old and over, and the CEGEP is seen as an effective place for them to assume responsibility and to get the "kinks" out of their system. Many educators insist this should not be done in a high school atmosphere. "There is some abuse, some kids get lost, but in general the CEGEP is a place where the students can experiment with different courses and life-styles before continuing on to higher levels of education or to a job," they say.



### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

These case studies are meant to show how some educational institutions have attempted to adapt to the new demands of Quebec society. These are the main points which have emerged:

- Because of declining enrollments, there will be fewer English and French schools. The additional impact of Bill 101 on the anglophone school population is the subject of debate.
- One of the factors leading to the rate of decline in English language schools has been the increasing enrollment in French schools and classes d'accueil of children who are eligible for English instruction. Most children in the classes d'accueil, which exist in Protestant as well as Catholic schools, continue their education in French.
- Several English Protestant school boards have introduced the immersion option and improved their French language instruction. However, due to finances and the job security of unilingual anglophone teachers, school boards in many areas are resisting parental demands for improved French instruction. In some cases parents have responded by enrolling their children in French schools.
- Due to changes in Protestant school boards such as expanding or creating French sectors and introducing classes d'accueil or French immersion programmes, the English school system is no longer as English as it used to be. The term "English school" has become

incredibly blurred - along with the terms, "French school", "Protestant school" and "Catholic school".

"The system is becoming totally unintelligible to the parents," commented one school board director-general.

-All Catholic boards have a majority of French-speaking students. Most urban Catholic boards administer English schools for their English-speaking pupils, but they do not offer them the immersion option. Those wanting more French instruction are sent by the boards to their French schools. Most rural Catholic boards have been transferring their English-speaking students to Protestant boards. Lately there has been growing opposition to this practise because of the general decline in enrollments. Thus, these boards are considering providing English instruction to these students. This would have considerable impact on enrollment in the Protestant boards which traditionally accepted them.

-Both Anglophones and Francophones have been dissatisfied with the way English is taught in French schools. Perhaps this is one reason why Francophones enroll in English institutions at the post-secondary level. In 1980, about 25 per cent of students at John Abbott College and 20 per cent of students at McGill University were francophone. Overall, while Anglophones represent roughly 15 per cent of Quebec's population, 19 per cent of the post-secondary level students are enrolled in English institutions.

-Bill 101 no longer allows English schools to educate the children of immigrant families. Consequently, Anglo-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant schools are becoming more homogeneous in terms of their students' ethnic background. Meanwhile, French schools are becoming more heterogeneous.



- On Montreal Island Anglo-Catholics and Anglo-Protestants are running schools side-by-side, both half empty. Setting up jointly administered schools is one solution to the problem. There have already been several such ventures but, according to the British North America Act, they are illegal for certain boards.
- As schools close, parents increasingly are sending their children to the nearest school, regardless of language or religious affiliation.
- There are many tensions within the present system: conflicting priorities among parents as they try to decide which schools are best for their children; disagreements between parents and teachers over French instruction; conflicts between school boards and governments over financing; and competition between boards for students who are not eligible for English instruction.
- Consideration must be given to the question of whether or not re-organization plans envisioned by the Ministry of Education in its current White Paper will resolve these problems. Another vital question to be probed is how much impact re-organization will have on the English-speaking community of Quebec.

-Education Notes - Useful Acronyms-

Teacher Groups:

- MTA - Montreal Teachers Association.
- PAPT - Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers.
- FESCT - Federation of English-speaking Catholic Teachers (PACT).
- PACT - Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers.
- APM - Alliance des professeurs de Montréal (CEQ)
- CEQ - Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec.

Employer Groups:

- QAPSB - Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards.
- FCSCQ - Fédération des commissions scolaires catholiques du Québec.
- PSBGM - Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.
- CECM/mcsc - Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal/  
Montreal Catholic School Commission.

Administrative Groups:

- ADG - Association of Directors-General, Protestant School Boards of Quebec.
- ADGEQ - Association des directeurs généraux des écoles du Québec (includes English-Catholic Deputy Directors-General).
- QASA - Quebec Association of School Administrators (Protestant).
- QACSA - Quebec Association of Catholic School Administrators.
- FQDE - Fédération québécoise des directeurs d'écoles (provincial).
- MASA - Montreal Association of School Administrators.
- ACPM - Association of Catholic Principals of Montreal.
- ADEM - Association des directeurs d'écoles de Montréal.
- ADES - Association of Directors of English Schools (cadres).
- ACM - Association des cadres de la CECM.
- ACSQ - Association des cadres scolaires du Québec.  
(all cadres in Catholic boards except CECM/MCSC).
- AAO - Association of Administrative Officers, PSBGM



-Education Notes - Useful Acronyms-

Parent Groups:

- CPC - Central Parents Committee, PSIGE.
- FCPIM - Fédération des comités de parents de l'île de Montréal.
- QFHSA - Quebec Federation of Home & School Associations.
- ESPCC - English-Sector Parents Coordinating Committee, MCSC.
- ESCC - English-Speaking Catholic Council.
- FCPPQ - Fédération des comités de parents de la province du Québec.

\* \* \* \* \*

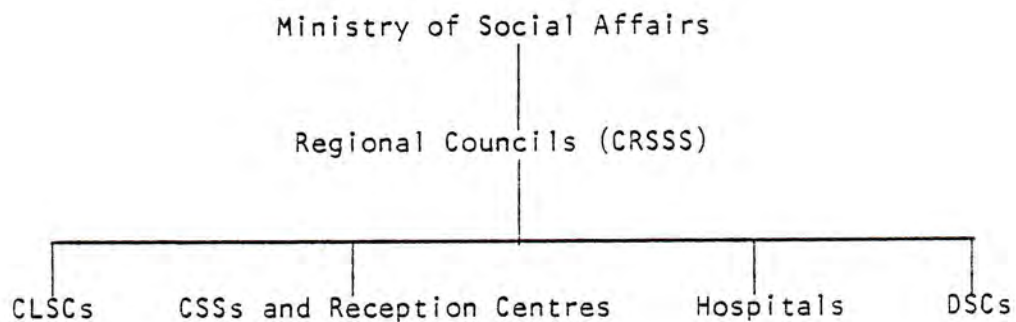
Working Paper 111:  
Health and Social Services in Quebec



Terms

- CRSSS: -Conseil régional de la santé et des services sociaux  
(Regional Council)
- CLSC: -Centre local de services communautaires  
(Local Community Service Centre)
- CSS: -Centre de services sociaux  
(Social Service Centre)
- CH: -Centre hospitalier  
(Hospital)
- DSC: -Département de santé communautaire  
(Department of Community Health)
- CA: -Centre d'accueil  
(Reception Centre)

Basic structure of Quebec's health and social service system



### RESUME

At first glance Quebec's health and social service system consists of a bewildering array of acronyms. There are CLSCs, CSSs, CRSSSs, DSCs...and more. Yet, with a closer look, the system takes form.

The Ministry of Social Affairs was set up in 1970 when the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of the Family and Social Welfare were merged. It controls the public health and social services, Health Insurance Board, Pensions Board and family allowances. One third of Quebec's total annual budget is allocated to this "super" Ministry. Along with the Regional Councils, the Ministry administers health and social services.

#### CRSSSs

There are 12 Regional Councils (CRSSS - Conseil régional de la santé et des services sociaux), one for each of Quebec's 12 administrative regions. The Regional Council plans, co-ordinates and develops health and social services and acts as a link between citizens, local institutions and the Ministry of Social Affairs. Its 22-member board of directors includes representatives from the region's educational, health and social service institutions. It is important to note at the outset that this institutional representation does not necessarily take into account the language of the people using these services. While there is some involvement by English-speaking Montrealers on their Regional Council, anglophone representation is lacking on other Regional Councils even though several of them have significant English-speaking residents in their territory.

Though originally intended to be merely advisory, Regional Councils have gradually become mini-ministries after receiving decision-making



powers from the Ministry. The CRSSs in the Eastern Townships served as a pilot model for this decentralization, which has since been extended to all Regional Councils. They now have the final word on hospital purchases of specialized equipment and construction projects costing up to one million dollars (the Ministry controls expenditures over this amount), and hospitals are not allowed to increase their staff of doctors without Regional Council approval. Regional Councils also control expenditures of CSSs and CLSCs.

There are four major types of public agencies and institutions which provide care: the CLSCs (Centres locaux de services communautaire), the Hospitals (Centres Hospitaliers); the CSSs (Centres de services sociaux); and the Reception Centres (Centres d'accueils). Each of these four agencies and institutions - the CLSCs, hospitals, CSSs and reception centres - has a board of directors consisting of government-appointed members as well as members elected by citizens who have used the agency's facilities during a given period.

#### CLSCs

The original blueprint for Quebec's health and social service network has earmarked the CLSCs as the point of entry for citizens going into the health care system. A person would first go to the CLSC for minor medical treatment or for counselling. If further care was needed, the client would be referred either to a hospital or CSS, depending on the nature of the problem.

In reality, however, the CLSC system has been under-used. This is due in part to citizens continuing to use the traditional institutions rather than new, unfamiliar ones. CLSCs are particularly under-used by uninformed Anglophones since, in most instances, the literature and advertising of available services is in French only. Furthermore, except for six CLSCs in the Greater Montreal area, most of the province's 81 CLSCs have few Anglophones on their boards and staff. As a result, the availability of English language services in CLSCs is

limited in other parts of Quebec.

Although 250 CLSCs were originally planned, only 81 existed in 1980, along with eight Centres de Santé which served remote regions of Quebec. They served a potential clientele of 2.4 million people, about 38 per cent of the Quebec population. In 1980, CLSC employees included 310 doctors, 215 nurses, 780 social workers, 1,135 professionals and their assistants, 305 administrators and 939 support staff.

The CLSCs are also responsible for establishing health education programmes and stimulating communities to become involved in issues affecting the quality of life. This community action role has led some CLSCs into politically volatile situations and conflict with other public institutions.

In response to this role, the Ministry has tried to rule CLSCs with a firmer hand; a move that is contrary to the original spirit of the CLSC, which stressed community rather than government involvement.

### CSSs

The province has 14 CSSs (Centre de services sociaux), one for each of the 12 administrative regions except for Montreal Island where there are three. The CSSs were created by merging 42 social service agencies and six treatment centres with the aim of standardizing social services and making them equally available to everyone.

The CSSs handle social problems through prevention, consultation and psycho-social or rehabilitation treatment. They are also in charge of the adoption and placement of children and placement of the elderly. These services are provided throughout the province in 120 locations which include regional offices, hospitals and schools.

Outside Montreal each CSS is assigned to a specific area. However,



in deference to Montreal's ethnic diversity, three CSSs provide services to citizens based on language as well as on residence. Ville Marie Social Service Centre, Jewish Family Social Service Centre and Centre de services sociaux-Montréal Métropolitain are each assigned not only specific areas of Montreal Island but also certain linguistic and ethnic groups regardless of where they live.

Government pressures persist to eliminate the ethnic character of these three CSSs so that each would only serve its area's residents regardless of language or culture. This policy of "secorization" as it is called, has found support from Montreal's Regional Council.

#### CAs

Closely linked to CSSs are the reception centres (Centres d'accueils) which provide short or long term institutional care for the elderly, the mentally or physically handicapped, and socially maladjusted or delinquent youth. Each reception centre is under contract to a CSS or a hospital. In all, about 30 reception centres are used mainly by Anglophones.

#### Hospitals and DSCs

Hospitals, with their sophisticated equipment and specialized staff, are meant to deal with more serious medical problems, surgery, obstetrics and emergency cases, thereby preventing overuse. Although they absorb 51 per cent of the Ministry's annual budget, the major problem facing hospitals is how to meet their tight budget.

Twenty-seven of Quebec's 203 hospitals have a majority of English-speaking clientele; one mainly serves Chinese citizens, and another, Italians.

Working out of 32 hospitals, but independently administered, are the DSCs (Départements de santé communautaire). Each is responsible for preventive, therapeutic and rehabilitative services for about 200,000 people in a particular district. Several are also teaching bases for universities.

Altogether, Montreal Island has eight DSCs. Two DSCs operate out of hospitals which serve large anglophone populations - the Lakeshore General and the Montreal General.

### Historical Background

Before the 1960s Quebec's health and social service agencies and institutions were scattered through the province with few ties connecting them. By the 1960s the government had become the main source of funds, yet it had no systematic control or standard policy to assure that everyone received adequate care.

Hospitals were being used increasingly and costs were getting out of control. There were long delays for non-urgent treatment, overcrowding in some hospitals despite unused beds in others, poor distribution of specialized services, and a lack of professionals and capable administrators. The incomes of professionals and other staff were well below the rest of North America.

Rural populations had limited access to general care and almost no immediate access to specialized care. Public health services were separate from the medical care system and, except for some areas of Montreal, district health units were understaffed and poorly equipped.

After the Parent Commission submitted its educational reforms the Quebec government felt it was time to tackle health and social services. Pressure for change had already come from both professionals and the public. In 1966, Quebec's first public sector strikes took place in the hospitals. In this charged atmosphere the Castonguay-Nepveu Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare in Quebec was formed to investigate the entire field of health care.

The commission worked for five years and published four volumes of studies and recommendations which called for an overhaul of the system. Chairman Claude Castonguay, who became the first Minister of Social Affairs in 1970, began the process of translating the blueprint into reality.



## INTRODUCTION

The tide of change which swept over Quebec life during the past 20 years has affected health and social services as much as it has other sectors. Once a disorganized mélange of services, Quebec's health and social services have been reformed into one comprehensive modern network.

Free medical care and social services are available to everyone. Children under the age of 15 receive free dental care,<sup>1</sup> and most drugs are free for people of 65 and older. Users of services have the right to see their medical records and to refuse treatment. They can also participate, to some extent, in the administration of public institutions by electing members to and serving on the board of directors of health and social service institutions and agencies.

Many privately run institutions and agencies have been restructured and brought under government direction. There has been a parallel decline in the Catholic Church's control of the francophone institutions and the number of private volunteer health and social service organizations which worked within specific communities. New institutions and agencies, such as CLSCs, Regional Councils and DSCs, have been created by the government. Standardization and regionalization of health care is proceeding through the increasingly powerful Regional Councils, which are, in turn, controlled by the ever-centralizing "super" Ministry of Social Affairs.

### Major Reforms

Three major bills based on the Castonguay Commission recommendations form today's system. Bill 8, the Health Insurance Act, established medicare, guaranteeing universal medical insurance for all Quebecers; Bill 65 formed the structure of the health care system; and finally, Bill 250, the Professional Code, reformed the province's licensed and certified professions.

---

<sup>1</sup> Recent budget cuts may result in the elimination of this service.

### Medicare

Ten years after medicare had been adopted in Quebec, the system was cited by the 1980 federally commissioned Hall Report as an example other provinces should follow. Quebec doctors cannot charge patients more than the accepted medicare rates, whereas doctors in other provinces have a growing tendency to extra billing. Quebec also has the strictest rules to discourage doctors from opting out of the medicare system. Doctors are either totally in or totally out. Virtually all Quebec's approximately 10,000 physicians participate in the medicare scheme compared to, for example, only 85 per cent of Ontario's 12,000 physicians.

Quebec also compares well with other provinces in the priority it gives health care. Since 1975 it has outpaced the other provinces in the race to keep ahead of inflation. Quebec's contribution to the medicare and hospital insurance programme, which are jointly financed by the provincial and federal governments, increased by an annual 11.8 per cent between 1975 and 1979 compared to an annual inflation rate of 8.7 per cent in the same period. Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia increased their contribution by only 3.2 per cent, 3.8 per cent and 6.5 per cent, respectively.

### Bill 65

Bill 65, which was passed in 1971, created a system aimed at making the advances of medicine and social services available to everyone. Existing institutions were restructured and new ones created. The new network created links between hospitals, CLSCs, CSSs and reception centres through which patients and staff were to move freely. Specifically, Bill 65 aimed: to merge preventive, curative and rehabilitative services within each region; to limit the use of hospitals to the treatment of



acute illness; to increase the use of general health services; to control budgets; to avoid duplication of services; to set up services in areas where they were lacking; and to give local communities a voice in the system.

#### Bill 250

Bill 250, the Professional Code, was passed in 1973 to create a uniform system that would act as a watchdog on the quality of the health professions. The role of existing professional corporations was defined and criteria were set for establishing new ones. Public participation was encouraged by allowing citizens to be members of the boards of professional corporations. Controls were set on the number of doctors so that the province would not be over-supplied.

The Quebec Professions Board was created to protect the public while also respecting the rights of individual professionals and their corporations.

#### Budget and Bureaucracy

Yet with all these changes, problems and tensions persist, partly because the system is not being entirely enforced. Hospitals are either over-used or under-staffed, depending on one's viewpoint. Some agencies, such as CLSCs are under-used for many different reasons. According to one director at Ville Marie Social Service Centre, various agencies and institutions compete for clients because government funding is based mainly on the number of clients served. The result is that services in different institutions are still duplicated.

Community involvement is not as extensive as envisioned by the Castonguay Commission. "If you let people take their own responsibility, on the whole, they will co-operate," had been Chairman Castonguay's belief.

However, the complexity of the system has spawned a bureaucratic giant which is somewhat overwhelming. A common comment of CLSC and CSS directors is that clients of these services are reluctant to spend their time and energy to deal with a bureaucracy they do not understand.

Doctors and other professionals are uneasy over both the increasing government control of their professions as well as increasing community control.

Attempts to curb costs have failed, partly because of unprecedented inflation and high labour settlements. Reaching almost \$5 billion in 1979-80, Quebec's health care costs have soared since the mid-1970s. Government spending on hospital insurance and medicare alone rose by more than one billion dollars, reaching \$2.859 billion by 1979-80. In 1979-80 Quebec had the second highest costs per capita for medical care in Canada after Alberta: \$633.28 compared to the national average of \$588.37.

Quebec now has the highest hospital costs per capita in Canada, and government efforts to wipe out hospitals deficits have so far failed. Continuing high costs could force the closure of some hospitals and the sharing of complex equipment by others. In fact, several hospitals have closed wards and cut services as well as staff.

The Quebec government ordered \$24 million in cutbacks to the 1982 budgets of health and social service institutions. Hospitals must trim costs by \$150 million: CSSs, by \$14 million; CLSCs, by \$3.8 million; centres d'accueils, by \$17.3 million; and rehabilitation centres, by \$17 million. The reductions consist of an average of seven per cent to institutions throughout the system. Provincial Treasury Board President Yves Berubé has warned that two years of harsh cutbacks will be needed to bring budgets in line.

Concretely, hospitals will have to cut staff, slash budgets and reduce overtime costs by 75 per cent. For a hospital the size of the Montreal General, this could mean 250 fewer employees and 70 fewer beds.

The province's CSSs protested the cutbacks, pointing out that services would deteriorate. This is particularly evident in services to the English-speaking population which has already been receiving inadequate care in its own language. Ville Marie Social Service Centre, which provides some English language services off Montreal Island, was instructed to limit care to residents within its Montreal territory. Told to trim \$2.3 million from its 1980 budget of \$20.8 million, Ville Marie initially refused, but later backed down and has eliminated 90 positions.



Montreal's other two CSSs also faced severe budget cutbacks. Montréal Métropolitain, the province's largest CSS, had to cut \$6.8 million from its budget and planned to lay off between 555 and 690 employees from its total of 5,700. Jewish Family Social Service Centre would have to reduce its staff of 122 by 10.

Cutbacks have also affected the few anglophone social workers who are employed in CSSs off Montreal Island. At the CSS de l'Estrie, the only two English-speaking social workers were among the employees with less than two years seniority who were dismissed to comply with budget cutbacks. One of the Anglophones was a children's social worker, while the other was a social worker at Alexander Galt Regional High School. Partly in response to protests from English-speaking residents, the latter post has since been filled by the hiring of another English-speaking social worker.

#### Language Legislation and Health Care

In the past, social service agencies and institutions were culturally distinct, most being either French or English. These distinctions have become blurred, a trend which has been accelerated by Bill 101's language regulations. Bill 101 does not permit the hiring of employees to be based on their knowledge of any language except French. In other words, no institution can refuse to hire someone simply because that person speaks French only. The result is that the practise of serving English-speaking clients in their mother tongue continues only where staff members can speak English, a situation which has had the greatest impact on Anglophones off the Island of Montreal.

The passage of Bill 101 in 1977 has had a widespread effect on the health care system. Institutions and agencies have had to ensure that services are available in French, that staff has a knowledge of French, and that external written communications with government institutions and agencies and the public are in French.

The rulings on public communications allow some exceptions whereby a language other than French can be used. These exceptions cover

notices concerning public safety; correspondence with people outside Quebec; communications with the non-francophone media; and replies to people who contact an institution or agency in a language other than French.

Clinical records may be drafted in French or English, although resumé's must be furnished in French when requested by anyone authorized to obtain them. However, an institution can require the records to be in French only.

Institutions and agencies, with a majority of their clients speaking a language other than French, were granted a special status that allowed them to use another language in their name and internal communications. They were also given a five year delay, ending December 31, 1983, to meet the bill's language requirements regarding services, external communications and their staff's knowledge of French.

To obtain this status, institutions had to ask their clients, through a questionnaire, in which language they wanted to be served. If the majority, regardless of ethnic background, opted for services in a language other than French, that institution or agency was given special status. Twenty-nine hospitals, two CLSCs, two CSSs and thirty reception centres fitted this category.

Bill 101 also requires that professionals pass French language tests, a measure which stirred strong reaction not only among English but other minority language groups. Set by the Office de la langue française (OLF), these tests measure the French language competence of Quebec health professionals, and they cannot obtain a permit to practise in Quebec without passing them. Also, some professionals trained in Quebec, such as nurses, must receive a permit in Quebec before being able to practise elsewhere in Canada (except Ontario which began accepting Quebec nurses in May, 1981, regardless of whether or not they had passed the French test).

The professionals who initially failed the French test were given a temporary permit renewable each year, for up to three years, allowing



them to work until they passed the test. But, as of the end of 1980, those trained in Quebec were no longer eligible to receive these temporary permits.

According to a study commissioned by The Council of Quebec Minorities,<sup>2</sup> most professionals who take the QLF French test are successful. However, some have major problems. For example, fifty per cent of nurses fail on their first attempt, and 20 per cent never pass even though they try several times. Nursing assistants have an even worse record.

Administrative and other non-professional employees will also have undergo French testing when they are hired, transferred or promoted by 1983. Bill 101 states that "a knowledge of the official language appropriate to the office applied for is required". However, there are differing interpretations as to what Bill 101 means by "appropriate".

The health and social service agencies and institutions with special status are gradually adapting to Bill 101, while continuing to provide services to non-Francophones in their mother tongue. They are evaluating the degree of French needed for each job; they are setting up translation services at their own expense; some are designing their own French tests (which must ultimately be approved by the OLF); and most are providing French courses for their professional and non-professional staff.

The overall result of the language legislation has not seriously damaged the ease with which English-speaking citizens can be served in their mother tongue on the Island of Montreal. The situation off the Island where anglophone communities are scattered in several regions is far different. They have major problems in getting adequate social service care in English.

Another major short term consequence of Bill 101 is that the job market is narrowing for non-Francophones because institutions and agencies which have special status are increasingly hiring bilingual Francophones for professional and non-professional posts. This is not to

-----  
<sup>2</sup> Council of Quebec Minorities, unpublished study, 1979.

suggest that others are systematically being forced out; there simply have not yet appeared enough non-francophone job-seekers, particularly among nurses and nursing assistants, who can cope adequately with written and spoken French.

The vital question of language continues as a persistent theme throughout the remainder of this chapter. It surfaces in the accessibility of care for minorities in their mother tongue; in the changing cultural character of institutions and agencies; and in the need for non-Francophones to have a knowledge of French in order to be employed.



CLSCs

*The concept of CLSCs reflects the social idealism of Claude Castonguay, architect of Quebec's reformed health care system. Citizens, doctors, nurses and social workers were to work side-by-side, drafting programmes which would meet community needs. Power would go to the people at the grass roots level. However, bringing the concept to reality was more easily said than done and these concepts were rather short-lived. The following section traces the development of the CLSCs, particularly as they relate to the linguistic minorities of Quebec.*

As small, community-based clinics, the CLSCs were to be the cornerstone of Quebec's health care reform. Health and social services would be more accessible to the community and more human to the individual.

Initially about 250 CLSCs, offering daily, round-the-clock care, were planned across the province. Priority was given to areas which offered only limited access to health and social service institutions and to areas where existing institutions, such as hospital emergency wards, were overburdened. However, by 1980 there were 81 CLSCs which covered 38 per cent of Quebec's population and cost the government \$80 million annually. This slow growth was due to the rapidly rising costs of the health care system and to a re-evaluation of the CLSC mandate since the mid-1970s.

Forming a CLSC was an experiment in encouraging citizens to pinpoint their particular needs and to set up programmes that would meet them. Either community organizations would be approached by a Ministry of Social Affairs agent who would promote the idea of forming a CLSC, or community organizations or teams of professionals could approach the Ministry.

### Programmes

In 1980, 93 per cent of the CLSCs offered prenatal programmes; 100 per cent, activities for the aged; 75 per cent, programmes for children up to age five; 27 per cent, day care centres; 29 per cent, programmes for alcoholics; and 100 per cent, services for the handicapped and chronically ill. Other services included minor medical care, immunizations, referrals to social service institutions, home care and family planning.

The programmes and priorities of a CLSC are set by a governing board of between ten and thirteen members who represent the professional, non-professional and administrative staff, as well as CLSC clients. Every two years when elections are held, five clients are chosen by a community general assembly to represent local needs. This community involvement has led to a diversity of CLSC programmes in addition to the regular ones. Programmes designed by citizens in rural areas are quite different from those in urban areas. The CLSC in Farnham, for example, pressured the government into finding a different water supply than the polluted Yamaska River. Meanwhile, the CLSC St-Louis du Parc, covering a dense, low income area in Montreal, is active in assuring proper safety and ventilation in factories. On the Lower North Shore, the Centre de Santé, which serves the coastal communities there, tries to ensure that some health care is available in each village.

### English Language Services

Six CLSCs serve very diverse linguistic and cultural communities. They are CLSC Côte des Neiges, CLSC Park Extension, CLSC St-Louis du Parc, CLSC Guy Metro, CLSC Pierrefonds and CLSC Chateauguay. Only the first four listed have a minority representation on their boards and staff.

CLSC Pierrefonds serves a community that is half francophone and half anglophone, yet its board and staff are predominantly francophone. Employees are sufficiently bilingual to provide individual, but not group, services. From a cultural and linguistic viewpoint it is



important to provide services in the language of the client particularly in case of crisis intervention and psycho-social counselling. "One can understand the language but may not understand the logic of what is being said," one staff member explained.

Of these six pluralistic CLSCs, only CLSC Guy Metro and CLSC Park Extension are considered "anglophone" and they do not have to francise until December, 1983. Over half their clientele is English-speaking. CLSC Côte des Neiges, about 55 per cent anglophone, does not have that special status. Outside Montreal there are no anglophone CLSCs, although the Centre de Santé in Notre-Dame de Lourdes de Blanc Sablon on the Lower North Shore, which has some CLSC functions, is considered anglophone. The many Anglophones who use the CLSCs in the Eastern Townships, Gaspé, Ottawa Valley and Chateauguay Valley are particularly under-represented on the CLSC staffs and boards in their respective regions. "CLSCs are not anglophone institutions," rationalized one CLSC director. "They haven't caught on among Anglophones who tend to have recourse to other institutions offering similar services." While this may be true for Anglophones in Montreal, those off the Island of Montreal have few other choices.

#### Conflicts with the Community and Government

The decade-long evolution of CLSCs has not been smooth. CLSCs have experienced conflict on two levels, with government and within their own organizations. "Social animation, preferably without cost, is acceptable to the government," said a Ville Marie Social Service Centre director. "The government permitted the examination of individual cases, but resisted the tendency to organize the community around the more profound social causes of individual problems," she continued. Other social service workers pointed out that clashes were the inevitable result of allowing communities which had never exercised control in the past to evolve and implement their own social programmes.

The CLSC Côte des Neiges, located in an ethnically heterogeneous

area of Montreal, illustrates these conflicts. Living there are many members of the city's Jewish, Black, West Indian, Latin American, Greek and Vietnamese communities. Medically, the area is well served by three hospitals - the Jewish General, St. Mary's Hospital and Hôpital Ste-Justine - and many private practises. The French and English-speaking Jewish community has ready access to social services provided by the privately-run Allied Jewish Community Services and the publicly-run Jewish Family Social Service Centre. Ville Marie Social Service Centre has several points where services are also available in English such as St. Mary's Hospital and the area's Protestant schools. The original aim in setting up the CLSC Côte des Neiges was to improve community services, particularly for recent immigrants and lower income groups.

The CLSC was formed in 1972 by several local groups: Open Your Eyes to Poverty, a welfare rights group; the Black Community Project; l'Esprit Côte des Neiges, a federal Local Initiatives Project for youth; and the Association des locataires du Côte des Neiges, a tenants' group. Also wanting input were Allied Jewish Community Services, Ville Marie Social Service Centre, as well as Francophones from the Paroisse Notre-Dame des Neiges. When the territory of the CLSC was reduced, the latter group was excluded.

The cultural gap between the groups involved widened during the setting up and running of the CLSC. "There is not much history of ethnic groups working together in this area," said one community organizer. "Scratch the surface and there is a lot of unease." Initially, there was an attempt to promote ethnic representation on the board level. The five client seats were to go to one representative of the English-speaking Jewish community, one from the French-speaking Jewish community, one from the Black community, one Francophone, one Anglophone and one "other". "But since there was no mechanism to ensure this type of representation, it simply didn't work," one community organizer explained.

There were also ideological clashes between some staff and board



members representing traditional institutions. In 1973, three community organizers were fired. "The CLSCs are used as political instruments," commented an ex-director of the Jewish General Hospital, adding that his hospital might have co-operated medically, but the CLSC was too political.

The CLSC increasingly lost its base in the community when representatives from the community lost interest in participating on the board. In 1980 only 100 CLSC clients attended the general assembly to elect five of the eight board members.<sup>3</sup> Even though half the board consisted of clients, a higher proportion than most CLSCs, several organizers said that community needs were not adequately represented. Part of the reason was that some of these client members were actually professionals from other social service agencies.

#### CLSC Bureaucracy

Bureaucracy has discouraged community involvement too. The CLSC has to cope with government delays in launching programmes, according to one organizer. "In one case it took the Ministry of Social Affairs an entire year to transfer the special aid for a family of Vietnamese refugees which was scheduled to settle in east end Montreal but moved to Côte des Neiges instead."

The Ministry's response to political battles within CLSCs and against other government institutions was to decrease the community's voice in stating priorities and programmes. Several modules with standard teams of professionals having a wide range of skills were created to serve different regional needs. Communities could choose from several of these uniform packages.

The government tends not to realize that time is needed to activate a community into forming a CLSC, the former president of the federation of CLSCs protested. "Even if it takes longer to set up the centre through the community - it's worth it. If the definition of needs is in the hands

-----

<sup>3</sup> An election which was later contested.

of administrators the centres will become merely clinics."

### CLSC Models

The government also asked four hospitals, each linked with one of Quebec's four medical schools, to set up CLSCs without community participation. Eventually, the hospitals were to transfer control of the CLSC to the community. These CLSCs would provide a training centre for physicians, interns and nurses involved with family and community medicine, and for social workers concerned with community needs.

One such CLSC is Guy Metro in downtown Montreal which was set up by the Montreal General's Department of Family Medicine and its Kellogg Centre for Advanced Studies in Primary Care. This CLSC absorbed some of the area's existing facilities such as the Montreal Youth Clinic and the Mental Hygiene Institute, while adding services needed by its population, notably family medicine and care for the elderly. Forty-five per cent of the residents are between 20 and 35 years of age, and 15 per cent are over 65.

The area's population of about 37,000 varies from low to upper income brackets. About half are Anglophones, half Francophones. Many non-residents who work in the area during the day also use the CLSC services. Most staff members are bilingual. One social worker is contracted from Ville Marie Social Service Centre, while most of the medical staff are associated with the Montreal General.

CLSC Guy Metro's first elections, held in May, 1980, saw more community participation than most CLSCs. About 416 voters elected five candidates to the 12-member board. However, the majority of board members are representatives from the Montreal General and Ville Marie, who tend to emphasize clinical care, family medicine and care for seniors, rather than preventive medicine or community organization.



### CLSC Doctors

Most CLSCs have a high turnover of doctors and some difficulty recruiting them. CLSCs are often viewed as a threat to the authority of the medical establishment. Paying doctors by salary is seen as a first step toward making them civil servants. In addition, since doctors only have minority representation on CLSC boards, many feel they have to answer to the community rather than their professional corporation. Furthermore, few doctors are willing to give up the prestige of private practice.

Many doctors have responded to CLSCs by forming private polyclinics which have teams of specialists in the same office or building. A trend since the 1940s, there are now over 400, some of which offer daily round-the-clock emergency services, as well as medical and diagnostic facilities on weekdays, evenings and weekends. Doctors also have access to laboratories and X-rays free of charge. On a medical basis polyclinics can compete in every way with CLSCs.

### Community Clinics - Point St-Charles

Some community clinics in Montreal - notably the Point St-Charles Community Clinic - have kept out of the Bill 65 scheme to avoid a governmental and institutional grip on their programmes. These clinics maintain that bureaucratic norms and directives stifle the ability of clients and staff to define local community needs.

The Point St-Charles Community Clinic was started in 1966 by McGill University medical students and professors along with citizens in the community. A \$25,000 start-up grant was provided by the American Markall Foundation. Based on the experience of successful clinics in the ghetto areas of Boston, New York and Chicago, the Point St-Charles Community Clinic served as a prototype for the CLSCs. When the clinic was set up, Point St-Charles, a low income area, had the fewest medical services in Montreal. There were only two full-time and two part-time doctors to serve its population of 23,000. By 1980, there were 55

employees at the clinic operating on a \$1,200,000 budget provided by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Included on the staff are six doctors, nine nurses, three community workers, and three community organizers.

Community participation developed gradually and was marked by growing pains but, with the help of the professional staff, residents were encouraged to become more involved in running the clinic. The board refused to transform the clinic into a CLSC in order to preserve the mechanism of popular participation. It did not want to experience the same fate as the Hochelaga-Maisonneuve Community Clinic in Montreal which had its client board members reduced from 16 to five when it became a CLSC.

While there are certain problems, particularly concerning the high turnover of doctors, the overriding concern of the clinic is to preserve its community character. Participation is encouraged at every level of the clinic's administration. Ten of the 15 board members are citizens elected at a general assembly. Furthermore, these ten members reflect the community's linguistic nature. Since 40 per cent of the population is English-speaking and 60 per cent, French-speaking, there are four anglophone board members and six francophone members. Board meetings are held in French with translation, if needed, for Anglophones. The board, which includes the clinic's co-ordinator, also has representatives of the professional and support staff.

#### CLSCs and Ethnic Communities

CLSCs, CSSs and DSCs have tried to map out the needs of ethnically and linguistically diverse communities. In 1979-80, several symposiums were held, involving branches of the CSS-Montréal Métropolitain (Jarry, Centre Ville and St-Hubert), Jewish Family Social Service Centre, CLSC Park Extension, CLSC Côte-des-Neiges, CLSC St-Louis du Parc, DSC-Montreal General Hospital, DSC-Hôpital Ste-Justine, and others.

Recommendations urged that programmes be co-ordinated for recent immigrants to help them integrate into North American society. Attempts were made to design a mechanism whereby institutions would share multi-



lingual personnel with other organizations.

The question of language, and the obvious advantage of having personnel who have the ability to speak two or more languages, is central to the effectiveness of institutions such as CLSCs and CSSs, which are close to the community. The languages spoken by staff members at the CLSC Côte des Neiges, for example, include French, English, Greek, Yiddish, Spanish and Vietnamese. At CLSC St-Louis du Parc French, English, Greek, Chinese and Portuguese are spoken. Still, the linguistic needs for the multi-ethnic districts of Montreal is not being adequately met. One solution is for institutions to work closer together. For instance, CLSC St-Louis du Parc has contracts to borrow staff members from the Hôpital Ste-Jeanne d'Arc, the Hôtel Dieu, and the Montreal General Hospital.

CLSC Park Extension, set up in 1978 in response to the area's lack of general health and social services, also has a complex ethnic character. Of its 35,000 population, 50 per cent is Greek; 10 per cent, Armenian; 10 per cent, Francophone; 10 per cent, Anglophone; and 20 per cent "other". "About 70 per cent of the population are members of one minority group or another," said this CLSC's ex-director. However, since many have English as a second language, the CLSC Park Extension is considered an English language institution.

In 1980 almost half its staff were members of the Greek community, and one employee was Armenian. Of the five clients on the board, three were Greek, one, Francophone and one, Anglophone. Also, one of the government appointees on the board was Armenian. Most of the information and board minutes published by the CLSC are in French, although translations are given during meetings.

A similar situation exists in the area served by the CLSC St-Louis du Parc. Of the 55,000 people in this area, 37.7 per cent is Francophone; 14.5, Anglophone; 13.4, Portuguese; 12.4, Greek; 5, Italian; 3.4, Chinese and Japanese; 2.7, Spanish; and 10.9, "other". About 14 per cent of the population speak neither English nor French.

On the basis of a 1979 study of 15,400 dossiers, this CLSC provided a linguistic profile of its clientele. Thirty-seven per cent of clients was Francophone; 8, Anglophone; 10, Portuguese; 28, Greek; 10, Chinese; 2, Spanish; and 5, "other".

Community resources are quite well developed in this CLSC. There are over 50 organizations which include the Ateliers d'Education Populaire, the University Settlement, the YMCA, consumer co-ops, and day care centres. Ethnic groups are served by many organizations like the Centre Portugais de référence et promotion sociale, La Fédération Italienne, and associations serving the Greek and Spanish communities.

The population is also served by two large hospitals in the immediate area and seven others nearby, some of which provide services in English. There are six medical centres, three parish clinics, many private practices, two legal aid bureaus, and one branch of the CSS-Montréal Métropolitain. Many of the area's polyclinics have been organized by doctors who, belonging to one of the ethnic groups, can serve citizens in their own language.

### Summary

CLSCs are continually attempting to define their mandates. In the process they run up against other health and social service institutions as well as government. When they plan non-medical programmes, CLSCs are often accused of encroaching on the territory of other health care institutions. For example, in 1980, Montreal's 17 CLSCs wanted to take over the after-hour ambulance and emergency services run by organizations such as Tele-Medic. However, they were opposed by the Regional Council which wanted to start its own system.

Secondly, CLSCs have the potential to provide important front line services to all communities in Quebec. That they are doing so in certain areas of Montreal can be shown. These services are not available to most Anglophones off the Island of Montreal, both because services are rarely in English and because there is little anglophone representation on CLSC boards.



## CSSs

*Like CLSCs, the Centres de services sociaux, (CSS) by their nature are particularly concerned with providing services in the language of their clients. In Montreal the English services are available, but the farther one goes from Montreal, the worse English language services become.*

Altogether Quebec has 14 CSSs, each responsible for providing a broad range of social services to the citizens in their particular area. Only Montreal's three CSSs have a linguistic and cultural basis as well as a geographical basis. Ville Marie Social Service Centre, assigned to the west and south-west areas, is responsible for Montreal's 478,000 English-speaking residents.<sup>4</sup> Jewish Family Social Service Centre which covers a small area in the west-central part of the Island also serves the 115,000 members of Montreal's Jewish community. Likewise, CSS-Montréal Métropolitain serves the north-east and north-central part of the Island, as well as all of Montreal's Francophones.

## Social Services - Montreal

The linguistic division is not widely accepted at the bureaucratic and administrative levels. Since 1973 several attempts have been made to sectorize Montreal's social service centres and limit them to a particular geographical area. Ville Marie and Jewish Family Services have accepted responsibility for certain geographical regions, but have had to battle government for the right to serve all English-speaking and Jewish Montrealers regardless of where they live.

Former Social Affairs Minister Claude Forget, who helped implement Bill 65, envisioned one CSS for Montreal with small decentralized points of service which would reflect the ethnic and linguistic make-up of a

-----  
<sup>4</sup> This figure is the result of subtracting the Jewish community (115,000 in 1971) from the total number of people using English as a home language (572,675).

neighbourhood - somewhat like a CLSC. He has described the three CSSs as being contrary to the spirit of Bill 65, adding that they exist only by administrative fiat.

Responding to this view, a past-president of Ville Marie, Alphonsine Howlett, pointed out that the creation of three social service centres in Montreal was a response to the needs of the heterogeneous cultural and linguistic population. She stressed that because of their psychological, consultative and social nature, these services are best delivered in the language of the client.

Another reason why the government first allowed this three-way distinction was that the social service agencies which merged to form the CSSs, had deep roots in their communities. As one Ville Marie area service director pointed out, "The social service agencies have tradition, history and ethnicity."

Before Bill 65 Montreal had 14 social service agencies serving Francophones, six serving English-speaking Catholics and English-speaking Protestants, and one serving the Jewish community. Some of these agencies had been established for over 100 years. For example, Jewish Family Services - which became Jewish Family Social Service Centre - had its origins in the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society founded in 1863 and the Baron de Hirsch Institute founded in 1900, making it the oldest social service agency of its kind in Canada. Jewish Family Services and its affiliates provided free schooling, health and social services, as well as employment for its clients.

Among the six organizations which merged to form Ville Marie were those which had served Montreal's Anglo-Protestant community. These social service agencies traced their roots back to 1760 when the Anglican Church was established in Montreal. The Anglo-Catholic agencies also had a long history. The Family Service Association, for example, emerged from the Charity Organization set up in Montreal during the 1890s.



The merger between the Protestant and Catholic agencies was not without problems. According to some Ville Marie staff members, many feared a weakening of the religious foundations of the Catholic agencies.

The network of agencies included hospital social service departments as well as social workers employed by school boards and reception centres. Each organization was independent, privately run and highly specialized in its services, which were not very well co-ordinated. Although fees were charged by some, these agencies received more and more public funds as their services expanded. For example, Catholic Family and Children's Services was almost entirely government-funded before 1971. It became obvious that services had to be co-ordinated to improve efficiency and the allocation of funds. Re-organization was undertaken in Montreal with a promise that the traditional ethnic and linguistic bases of existing agencies would be respected.

One result has been that CSSs have more responsibilities than the former agencies. Ville Marie is a large administrative unit co-ordinating all social services for residents in its area as well as for other English-speaking Montrealers. Its staff includes social workers in 17 hospitals, seven school boards, three social welfare courts, the Superior Court and seven reception centres dealing with delinquent children, the mentally and physically handicapped and the elderly. The staff of six founding agencies has more than doubled to about 650 (in 1980).

Services include crisis intervention, social protection for children, counselling, therapy and community animation. Clients include youths, couples, families, children, adults, senior citizens, hospital patients and adult offenders. Youth and senior citizen programmes are the main priorities. The CSSs maintain daily, round-the-clock services in compliance with the 1979 Youth Protection Act which protects abused, neglected and delinquent minors.

In 1979 Ville Marie placed over 1,200 children in 900 foster homes.

About 125 of Ville Marie's staff work on various senior citizen programmes. Along with volunteers, they provide in-home services for the elderly and handicapped. In addition, since there are only two CLSCs in its territory, Ville Marie handles front-line psycho-social treatment, a service normally provided by the CLSC. In Notre-Dame-de-Grace and Westmount, home care services for the elderly are provided by the provincially-funded Operation Contact, but Ville Marie must handle the bulk of other social service requests from the west end of Montreal.

Finally, Ville Marie receives requests to provide clients of other CSSs in Montreal and beyond with anglophone social workers in cases where they are needed but not available. The arrangement, used in cases of adoption, youth protection and home services, is informal and referrals are not assured. Hospital social service departments linked to Ville Marie also attend to many off-island clients.

The far smaller Jewish Family Social Service Centre covering Montreal's Jewish community, as well as all residents in the Côte St-Luc, Hampstead and Côte des Neiges districts, has its main point of service at Côte des Neiges. It, too, has integrated social workers in several hospitals and reception centres. Like Ville Marie, current priorities focus on care for youth and the elderly. According to a late 1970s survey by this CSS, about 21 per cent of the Jewish community in Montreal is over 65, compared to a 10 per cent average in other Montreal communities. Consequently Jewish Family Social Services has developed special services for those awaiting admission to chronic care hospitals. Forty per cent of its 100 staff members deals with the social service departments of hospitals and reception centres.

Ville Marie and Jewish Family Social Services have had to improve their French services and increase the use of French in their administration to meet Bill 101 language requirements.

Ville Marie has had a French language consultant since 1980, and French courses are available to senior management and personnel. It has also begun to implement its own testing programme for hiring and promotions



in order to be administratively bilingual by the end of 1983.

While Jewish Family Social Services has a similar deadline, it has an added incentive to deliver services in French, since nearly 25 per cent of its clients are of French-speaking origin. On the basis of a 57 per cent response to a questionnaire given its staff (in 1980) regarding their linguistic abilities: 100 per cent were able to function in English; 89 per cent in French; 44 per cent in Yiddish; and 16 per cent in Hebrew. About 95 per cent of the staff said they are able to work in two languages. The executive director pointed out that more bilingual Francophones, particularly from the French-speaking Jewish community, are being hired.

But are these attempts at becoming bilingual sufficient to halt further attempts to sectorize social services in Montreal? In 1979 CSS-Montréal Métropolitain took over former Ville Marie service points in Verdun, Point St-Charles, Laval, Isle Bizard and Lachine. Only the Lachine General Hospital was excepted from this change in order to serve the area's Anglophones, and Ville Marie retained its service point here. Since the last move to sectorize services in 1980, the issue has been placed on the back burner. "But not for long; the government will try again," said the director of Jewish Family Social Services. His counterpart at CSS-Montréal Métropolitain backs sectorization because, as he said, "Social services are neither linguistic nor confessional."

#### Social Services off the Island of Montreal

The on-going process of centralization further lessens the availability of social services for Anglophones in rural regions. Chateauguay Valley, south of Montreal, illustrates the problem.

Until 1978 the CSS-Richelieu, located in the urban and mainly francophone area of Valleyfield, had a branch in Huntingdon, an area which is semi-rural and roughly half francophone and half anglophone. When that branch closed, Anglophones from Huntingdon and elsewhere in the Chateauguay Valley had to go to the centre in Valleyfield for care. In

terms of geography this centralization made sense; in terms of language, it did not. The CSS in Valleyfield did not have anglophone social workers to send to the CLSC in Huntingdon or to schools, hospitals and other institutions serving Anglophones.

In the 1979 "Black Paper", written by the area's residents, the lack of services was detailed. Foster parents complained that they could not get adequate information on funds available to them; and teachers at the Chateauguy Valley Regional School Board complained that there were no social workers to help with truancy, alcoholism or crisis intervention. It was also pointed out that there are no senior citizen facilities at Huntingdon for Francophones or Anglophones.

Although referrals and contracts with Ville Marie are possible, "The CSS-Richelieu is reluctant to solicit Ville Marie's help, for to do so would be an admission that it is unable to serve its clients adequately," postulated one Huntingdon CLSC staff member. Rural areas farther from Montreal share similar problems. The CSS-Côte Nord, the CSS-Gaspé-Iles de la Madeleine, CSS-Hull and CSS de l'Estrie all serve large pockets of Anglophones, but have few staff members who speak English.

A brief submitted by the Townshippers' Association in 1981 to the Eastern Townships' Regional Council focused on the situation of that area's 25,000 Anglophones.<sup>5</sup> There are no English services for delinquents or youths who are emotionally or socially maladjusted. The only two centres in the Townships serving these needs - Val du Lac and Relais St-François - do not accept Anglophones. The one small anglophone group home in the area, Maplemount, which is run by the Christian Brethren, can accommodate only a few of those requiring care. Many English-speaking adolescents, therefore, are referred to Ville Marie Social Centre in Montreal which places them in institutions (or on waiting lists) in Montreal region.

There is no treatment for alcoholism and drug addiction in the Townships. Le Portage, a privately run, bilingual drug addiction

---

<sup>5</sup> This number differs from that given in the demography section because administratively the Townships are divided into two. For the purposes of Health and Social Services, half of the Townships fall under the CRSSS de l'Estrie (Eastern Townships Regional Council), and half fall under the CRSSS Montérégie.



treatment centre in the Laurentians, which accepts some referrals from the Townships, is planning to open a centre there soon.

There are no services for the handicapped or home services for the elderly. This is of particular concern since many senior citizens are too ill to seek treatment outside their homes. Nor are there English language services in speech therapy or family planning.

Finally, social workers generally are provided to hospitals and schools by the CSS de l'Estrie which, at the moment, has only one anglophone social worker.

### Social Services and the Bureaucracy

The extent and power of the bureaucracy which administers social services is felt within institutions and between institutions and government.

"Accessibility is essential in maintaining the quality of social services, but accessibility is hindered by bureaucracy," said a Ville Marie social worker. By integrating all anglophone social services, Ville Marie merged not only six social service agencies but also signed contracts to provide services with the social service departments of various institutions, each having their own clientele and traditions.

Conflicts resulting from the formation of a large bureaucratic institution were identified by staff in the Montreal Children's Hospital. "There are two lines of accountability, two bosses, two sets of priorities," explained one staff member. "It's a nuisance."

The directors of Ville Marie and Jewish Family Social Service Centres view the Regional Councils and the Ministry of Social Affairs as stumbling blocks in carrying out effective programmes. "Regional Councils are focal points for regional centralization, not decentralization," said the director of Jewish Family Social Services.

Furthermore, the Montreal Regional Council does not fully represent the English-speaking CSSs on its board. Two seats on the council are reserved for representatives of the city's three CSSs. One seat always

goes to CSS-Montréal Métropolitain, while the other is shared alternately by Ville Marie or Jewish Family Social Services. Both CSSs, which potentially serve 573,000 English-speaking Montrealers, cannot be represented on the board at the same time.

#### Budget

Budgetary control allows the Ministry to direct the scope and quality of social services. Funds are provided on a programme basis, and 85 per cent of the CSS budget must be spent on direct client services.

Much of the 1980-81 budget was earmarked for services to the elderly and youth. "We are behind most of the European countries in providing services to the aged," says former Social Affairs Minister Denis Lazure. Of the \$66.5 million total budget for Montreal CSSs, over \$16 million went to home services to the elderly.

Yet all three CSSs complain that insufficient money was allocated to cover the cost of providing the services called for by the Youth Protection Act. The director of CSS-Montréal Métropolitain says, "While the government's heart is in the right place in that care for the elderly and youth protection are important programmes, the provincial allocation provided only 40 per cent of the total cost and so money had to be pulled from other programmes."

The CSSs are not coping very well with limited budgets and greater demands on their services. Ville Marie's March, 1981, deficit of \$600,000 led to the phasing out of about 90 positions. Even extra funding does not solve the problem. Ville Marie receives some funds from the Albion Foundation which was established before Ville Marie was made public. Jewish Family Social Services receives private donations from Allied Jewish Community Services for programmes not covered by government funds.



## Volunteers

To overcome the budgetary strait-jacket, health and social service institutions, as well as the federal and provincial governments, are trying to revitalize the volunteer spirit among Quebecers. Volunteer organizations supplement social services and provide services for specific needs that large bureaucratic institutions cannot always meet. In Montreal, for example, there are several information and referral centres which help those who speak neither English nor French; crisis centres and emergency shelters for those who need immediate help; and organizations providing aid to the economically underprivileged, handicapped, elderly among others.

There are organizations off the Island of Montreal which also meet particular needs. In the Eastern Townships, Les Bénévoles de Rock Island was begun by volunteers who wanted to set up a transport system linking the towns of Rock Island, Beebe and Stanstead with Sherbrooke. Citizens seeking health care at Sherbrooke face a 130 km round trip which is not adequately covered by bus or train. The organization is financed federally through the New Horizons senior citizens programme, and provincially through the development budget of the Eastern Townships' Regional Council. The project's success has led to a study on the viability of beginning a CLSC there. The Regional Council has also given Les Bénévoles Lennoxville et Environs a grant to establish transport and home care services to that area's residents.

Volunteer agencies are mainly funded by Centraide, an amalgamation of several charitable and non-profit organizations such as Red Feather, the Federation of Catholic Charities and their francophone counterparts. Affiliated with Centraide are the Red Cross, Allied Jewish Community Services and, since 1980, the YMCA.

Centraide covers seven categories: health and social services to the handicapped; neighbourhood services; services to individuals and families; social development; youth and group work; community and self help groups; and camps for low income families, children, the elderly

and handicapped. It was formed in the 1970s after corporations, solicited several times a year for charity campaigns, urged that funds be centrally gathered and distributed. In 1980-81, 40,000 volunteers helped collect funds which went to about 170 non-profit anglophone and francophone organizations.

Many of the institutions receiving funds serve particular ethnic groups and have lengthy histories. For example, the Catholic Community Services, a large organization founded in the 1930s, previously funded by the Federation of Catholic Charities and serving the Irish Catholic Community of Montreal, now receives most of its funding from Centraide. Activities include family life programmes and senior citizen programmes.

There is some tension between the large, older private organizations and the public social service institutions since more and more services are becoming the exclusive mandate of the public sector. "As the government agencies assume more responsibility in certain areas such as senior citizen programmes, we must shift our priorities to other programmes; however, our services are more personalized and less bureaucratized," said the director of Catholic Community Family Services.

### Reception Centres

Theoretically independent, the reception centres actually are linked closely with CSSs which refer clients to them and which are represented on their boards of directors. These centres provide shelter, residential or institutional care and outpatient services for youth, the handicapped and the elderly.

The anglophone network includes about 15 publicly and privately funded homes for senior citizens; eight centres for the mentally and physically handicapped; four rehabilitation centres for socially maladjusted youth; and one centre for the rehabilitation of delinquent youth. Most are located in Montreal.

Many of these centres have long histories and, like the social



Reception Centres on Montreal Island,  
Where Languages Other Than French Are Used

- Montreal Association for the Blind.
- NDG Nursery School, Inc.
- Neighbourhood House of Montreal.
- Pavillon au Castor.
- Parkview Preschool Association.
- Résidence du Bon Pasteur.
- St. Margaret's Home, Inc.
- St. Andrew's Nursery School.
- St. George Community Playgroup.
- Susan's Day Care Centre.
- Teen Haven.
- The Church Home.
- Vanier Day Care Centre, Inc.
- Villa Mont-Royal.
- Westpark Parents Community Preschool Executive.
- Wheeler Convalescent Homes, Verdun
- Centre de réadaptation de Lethbridge.
- Centre de jeunesse Shawbridge.
- Westwood Village, Dollard-des-Ormeaux.
- YMCA, Montreal.
- Three Corners Coop. Nursery School.
- Garderie Whiteside Taylor Day Care.

Reception Centres on Montreal Island,  
Where Languages Other Than French Are Used

- Jardin d'enfants Sunnybrook Parent Participation Nursery.
- St. Augustine Private Nursing Home Reg'd.
- Jardin d'enfants Hillcrest Beaconsfield Playgroup.
- Campus Day Care Centre, Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue.
- Centre d'accueil Miriam.
- Centre d'accueil Horizons de la jeunesse.
- Centre hospitalier du Montreal General.
- Christ Church, Cooperative Play Group.
- Curzon Pre-School.
- De Salaberry Parents Club, Inc.
- Ecole bilingue de l'ouest de l'ile.
- Elizabeth House, Montreal.
- Fairview Village Coop Nursery.
- Father Dowd Memorial Home.
- Foyer pour personnes âgées St-Laurent, Inc.
- Garderie d'enfants Campus SGWU.
- Garderie d'enfants St-Laurent.
- Garderie des Bois Verts, Dollard-des-Ormeaux.
- Garderie Dorval.
- Garderie Trinité, Inc.
- Germain's Rest Home.
- Jewish Nursing Home.
- Joyce Creative Centre.
- Ladies' Protestant Home.
- Les résidences Griffith McConnell.
- Mackay Centre for Deaf & Crippled Children.
- Manoir Pierrefonds.
- Mount St. Patrick, Inc.

\* \* \* \* \*



service agencies, discovered in the late 1960s that their services were unco-ordinated. As a result, they were unable to respond to the needs of the anglophone community. Bill 65 integrated them into the rest of the social service network.

In 1976 the Batshaw Commission, established in the previous year to examine Quebec's residential treatment facilities, recommended that greater emphasis be placed on community-based programmes rather than on institutional treatment. It also urged that centres for maladjusted youth be merged. This was done partly through the creation of Youth Horizons.

Consisting of the Allancroft, Summerhill and Weredale Centres, and the Mount Bruno Boys' and Girls' Cottage School, Youth Horizons is the primary treatment centre for psycho-socially maladjusted anglophone youth. It can accommodate 216 youths. In addition, St. Patrick's School, Lethbridge Rehabilitation Centre and Teen Haven (for girls) treat non-delinquent, maladjusted youth who require institutional or community-based residential treatment and care.

Since 1976 Shawbridge Youth Centre has become the primary treatment resource for unilingual anglophone delinquents from the ages of 12 to 18 throughout the province. Referrals are received from Ville Marie and other Quebec CSSs. In 1979 it treated almost 500 juveniles in its residences, group homes and community treatment centre.

This large regional institution had (in 1980) 36 beds in its closed high-security unit (24 for boys and 12 for girls); 63 beds in its open unit (boys only); and 36 beds in its group homes (eight for girls and 28 for boys or girls). The waiting list is long, particularly for the closed unit. There is also one short term emergency shelter for boys and a daytime training centre in Montreal for juveniles living at Shawbridge or in their own homes.

Services to the anglophone community are probably most lacking in regard to delinquent youth. Shawbridge can only provide medium-security detention for juvenile delinquents. Youths requiring maximum security

detention and psychiatric services are sent either to francophone institutions or institutions for adults. In response, Montreal's Regional Council has supported the building of an 84-bed anglophone maximum security treatment centre for juveniles by January 1982 on Montreal's West Island. At this point in time the project is up in the air as it has been opposed by several community groups which believe prevention and crisis intervention centres are more effective.

Off the Island of Montreal the situation is deplorable, according to several health care professionals. Facilities for youth detention are non-existent. "The fate of any misfit in the Eastern Townships is tragic," explained one professional. Since there is no help for Anglophone youths who are in trouble, they are simply left alone until the situation worsens enough to send them to Shawbridge. When they return, there are no rehabilitation services.

There are also shortages of anglophone services throughout the province in residential care for the mentally and physically handicapped. The institutions which serve the severely mentally and physically handicapped include the Douglas Hospital, the Alexandra Pavillion of the Montreal Children's Hospital, the Dixville and Butter's Homes in the Eastern Townships, the Mackay Centre, the Montreal School for the Deaf, the Montreal Association for the Blind, and Child Care and Development Centres Inc.

"Bilingual services are unrealistic in a residential setting," said a former director of Child Care and Development Centres which has 235 places in its John Birk and Garry Taylor Centres, and about 40 places in group homes. Between six and ten per cent of the children are francophone and some foster families who care for the children are francophone. Several camp staff members are bilingual. "External services and communications with parents can be in French or English, but we can only treat the children in one language," the former director added.



Reception Centres Off Montreal Island  
Where Languages Other Than French Are Used

- Cecil Butters Reception Centre, Austin.
- Dixville Home Inc., Dixville.
- Foyer Sutton Inc., Sutton.
- Garderie Communautaire St-Lambert.
- Nesbitt Anglican Residence, Cowansville.
- Regal Nursing Home, Cowansville.
- St. Joseph's Manor, Campbell's Bay.
- St. Paul's Rest Home, Compton.
- The Wales Home, Richmond.
- Grace Christian Home, Huntingville.
- The Connaught Home, North Hatley.
- The Orange & Protestant Children's Home  
for Quebec, Inc., Shawville.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Summary

In general, English language social services are virtually non-existent off the Island of Montreal. The two English language social service agencies on the Island are not coping very well with the present budget cuts. At the same time they confront an almost annual battle to maintain their ethnic and linguistic bases. Together these factors are causing concern over the future extent of English language social services.

### Hospitals

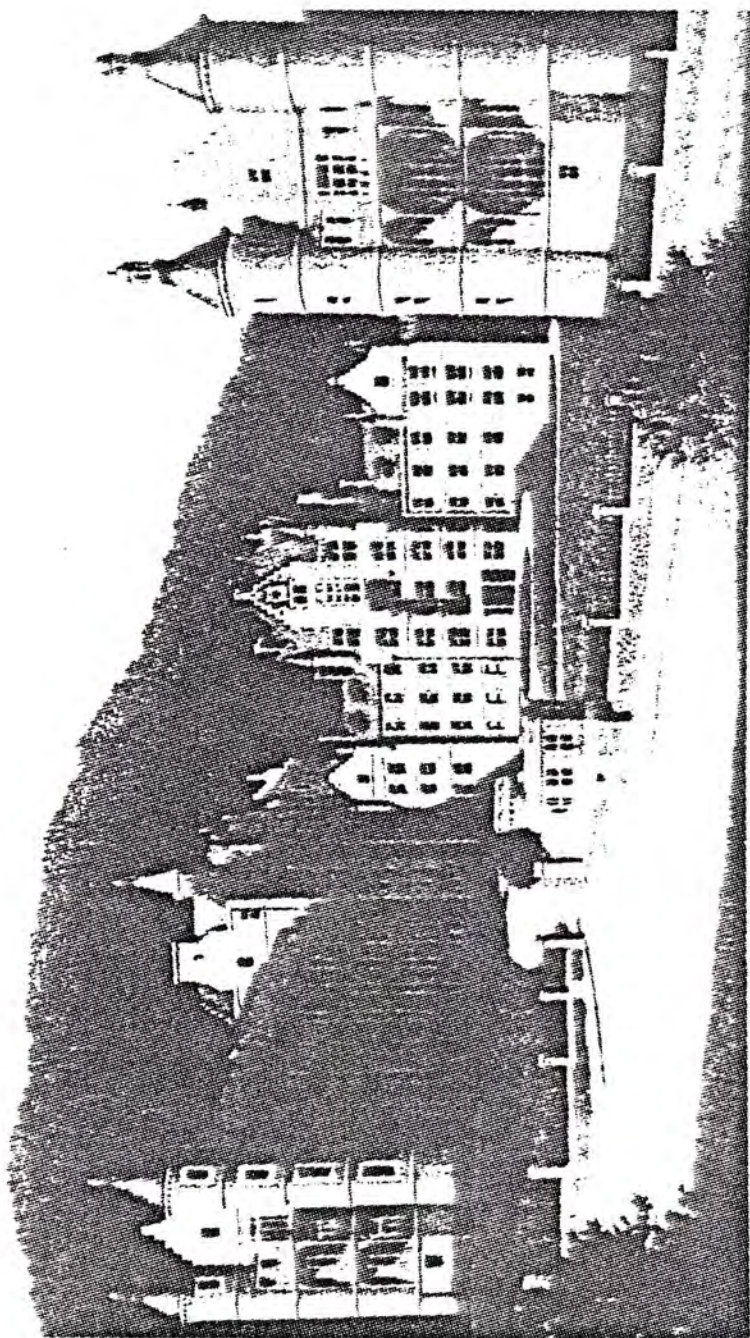
*Bill 65's conversion of hospitals into public institutions and Bill 101's language regulations are whittling away the cultural and linguistic character of the non-francophone hospitals. How far this will go remains to be seen. Meanwhile, hospitals are faced by the over-riding concern of controlling costs.*

To anyone unfamiliar with the way Quebec's hospital scene has evolved during the past 15 years, it may come as a shock to hear the way hospital directors these days are trying to avoid using the old familiar terms: "French" hospital, or "English" hospital. The linguistic or ethnic identity of hospitals is not as clear-cut as it used to be and, even when it is apparent, the old terms no longer apply.

At the Jeffrey Hale Hospital in Quebec City, for example, about 90 per cent of the patients and 90 per cent of the staff is French-speaking, but when the executive director was asked whether the Jeffrey Hale was a French hospital, he immediately replied: "No."

The Montreal Children's Hospital, founded in 1903 as a memorial to Queen Victoria, has always been thought of as an "English" hospital.





THE ROYAL VICTORIA HOSPITAL  
1924

Reproduced with permission of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

The list of members of its corporation confirms that impression, but when the executive-director was asked whether the Montreal Children's was an "English" hospital, he pounced on the term. "I don't know what people mean by that," he said. "We have never consciously tried to be a so-called 'English' hospital."

Statements such as these, which are apparently contradictory, are in fact an accurate reflection of the change in attitudes and social realities during the past ten to fifteen years. If, in current language, the terms "French" hospital and "English" hospital are still commonly used, in formal terms they have become almost taboo.

"People don't want quarrels," explained Dr. Roy of the Corporation Professionnelle des Médecins du Québec. "Instead of saying that a hospital is anglophone, they say it is a Quebec hospital and that a lot of English people work and go there."

The politics of Bill 101 only partly explain this. There have been other developments - changes of all kinds, from administrative to demographic - that have led to this situation.

Probably the most significant change has been the creation of a publicly-financed and publicly-controlled health system which turns to Quebec City rather than to local communities for direction. As the executive-director of the Montreal Children's Hospital, describing that hospital's evolution, explained: "The hospital was originally started, supported and operated within the anglophone community by a group of dedicated volunteers, but now the situation is different. No one has to operate just with community support anymore."

There is a price to pay for government financial support. Hospitals are powerfully influenced by government policies which regulate everything from budgets to the number of beds allocated for chronic care patients and the maximum number of hours that patients can be kept in emergency wards before being admitted to hospital. According to the Quebec Hospital Association's calculations, between



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

Montreal Island Hospitals, Where the Majority of Patients  
Use a Language Other Than French

<u>Date of Founding</u>	<u>Hospital</u>
1821	-Montreal General Hospital.
1863	-Centre de soins prolongés de Montréal.
1871	-Reddy Memorial Hospital.
1881	-Douglas Hospital Centre.
1894	-Royal Victoria Hospital.
1904	-Montreal Children's Hospital.
?	-Queen Elizabeth Hospital.
1907	-Grace Dart Hospital.
1909	-Lachine General Hospital.
1910	-Maimonides Hospital & Home for the Aged.
1922	-Shriner's Hospital.
1924	-St. Mary's Hospital.
?	-Catherine Booth Hospital.
1930	-Montreal Chest Hospital.
1932	-Montreal Convalescent Hospital.
1934	-Jewish General Hospital.
?	-Montreal Neurological Institute.
1939	-Bussey Chronic Hospital.
1942	-Jewish Hospital of Hope.
1953	-Julius Richardson Convalescent Hospital.
1960	-Santa Cabrini Hospital.
1965	-Lakeshore General Hospital.
?	-Montreal Chinese Hospital.
1966	-Jewish Convalescent Hospital.
1970	-Hôpital de Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue.
1973	-Child Care & Child Development Centres.

\* \* \* \* \*

Source: Office de la langue française, Rapport d'activité, 1978-79,  
p.183.

January 5, 1977 and August 17, 1979, the government issued 335 directives - or one for every two working days - to the various institutions in the health and social service network. This intensification of government control really began with Bill 65, which stated that: "Health services and social services must be granted without discrimination for preference based on the race, colour, sex, religion, language, national extraction, social origin, customs or political convictions of the person applying for them or of the members of his family."

This means that, legally, there can be no such thing as a "French" or an "English" hospital; it means that the Jewish General Hospital or the Montreal Chinese Hospital are not technically "Jewish" or "Chinese"; and the Jeffrey Hale Hospital, which was founded in 1865 "for the relief and cure of sick and infirm persons professing the Protestant religion" can no longer be a Protestant hospital.

Bill 65 also loosened the ties that certain hospitals had with particular communities by reducing the authority of the private corporations that previously ran the hospitals. They were only entitled to elect four of the 15 members to the board of directors, although they retained ownership of the hospital's fixed assets - the land and buildings. About 75 per cent of Quebec's 203 public hospitals are "owned" in this way by private, non-profit corporations. The Jeffrey Hale Hospital's land and buildings are owned by a corporation. One of its bylaws states that members must be Protestant and English-speaking. This means that as long as the corporation has members there always will be four Anglophones on its board of directors - even though the vast majority of patients and employees are Francophones.

Another factor that has been gradually eroding the "English" identity of hospitals such as the Jeffrey Hale, the Brome-Missisquoi-Perkins in Waterloo and the Barrie Memorial in Ormstown,<sup>6</sup> has been the decrease in the number of Anglophones living in these areas. Since there are fewer Anglophones, the majority of patients and staff in

-----  
<sup>6</sup> These hospitals were once considered English language institutions, but now have a majority of Francophone patients.



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

Hospitals Off the Island of Montreal  
Where the Majority of Patients Use  
A Language Other Than French

<u>Date</u> <u>Founded</u>	<u>Hospital</u>
1888	-Sherbrooke Hospital, Sherbrooke.
1909	-Mont-Sinai Hospital, Ste-Agathe.
1948	-Pontiac Community Hospital, Shawville.
1950	-Hôpital Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes de Blanc Sablon.
1952	-Gatineau Memorial Hospital, Wakefield.
?	-Heather Hospital, Rawdon.

\* \* \* \* \*

these hospitals are now francophone. At the Sherbrooke Hospital in the Eastern Townships most of the staff is still anglophone, but about 50 per cent of the patients are francophone.

In Montreal, hospitals associated with the English-speaking community have been less affected by demographic changes but they, too, for various reasons, have been under increasing pressure to become more bilingual. The extent to which they have responded to the challenge varies, but most so-called "English" hospitals claim they are capable of offering a broad range of services in the French language - psychiatry being a notable exception. Hospital officials say this was the case even before Bill 101 was passed and that Bill 101 has simply speeded up the process. Gradually the number of French-speaking doctors, nurses and patients has increased.

Some hospitals, such as the Montreal Children's, always have had a large French-speaking clientele. Because of its location near a major bus terminal, a metro stop and the largely French-speaking working class district of St-Henri, the Montreal Children's has a broad community base.

Although hospitals do not keep records of the linguistic or ethnic background of their patients, people working at the Montreal Children's say that more than half their patients are not anglophone. The hospital, one of two pediatric hospitals in Montreal, looks after many children from the Greek, Italian, Portuguese, as well as French-speaking communities. It has a special clinic to serve the Greek community and is considering setting up a clinic for Chinese patients as well. In some services, such as its home care programme, 80 per cent of the patients are not anglophone. The hospital's social services department, to name only one, has had a policy of hiring bilingual or even trilingual staff members since the early 1970s. Its staff includes Greek, Italian and Armenian speaking people.

Other hospitals, such as the Montreal General, report an increase in the number of French-speaking patients and staff particularly



during the past five or six years. One reason is that more Francophones are living in the west end of the city, the region where most anglophone hospitals are located. At the Montreal General's family medicine unit, one third of the 10,000 registered families are Francophone, according to the head of that department. The hospital has been offering free French courses for the past two years and has been making its signs bilingual since 1972.

#### Hospital Services and Bill 101

Generally, Bill 101 has not had as much of an effect on the "English" hospitals as originally anticipated, although its full impact has not yet been felt. In the first draft of the bill, hospitals and social services were subject to the same francization regulations as commercial enterprises. Anglophone hospital administrators protested, saying that their patients would be "placed in jeopardy" if hospitals were forced to comply with this ruling.

In a lengthy letter addressed to Premier René Lévesque in July, 1977, they said that they recognized that patients were entitled to receive services "in their own languages, be they French or English, and in other languages where possible", but they argued that "a francisation programme conceived and designed for business firms has no place in an institution dedicated to the care of ill and dying patients".

In their campaign to change Bill 101, the English-speaking hospital administrators were supported by the more established organizations such as the Quebec Hospital Association, which represents about 200 hospitals in the province, the Corporation of Quebec Hospitals and by Dr. Roy, but were opposed by the newer Montreal Regional Council.

The head of the Regional Council warned of the danger of anglophone hospitals forming a ghetto if they did not become truly bilingual, and he criticized the continuing existence of two separate health care systems in the city - one controlled by the French-speaking community, the other by the English-speaking community.

Ultimately, hospitals and other health care institutions were allowed to apply for a special status that would let them keep their name and internal communications in a language other than French and that would give them a five-year delay, ending December 1983, to fit other Bill 101 requirements. Twenty-seven anglophone hospitals obtained this special status, along with the Santa Cabrini Hospital, which has a large Italian-speaking clientele, and the Montreal Chinese Hospital whose patients are 80 per cent Chinese-speaking. Santa Cabrini is a general care hospital in the Montreal suburb of St-Leonard, and the Montreal Chinese Hospital, in the north-east section of the city, looks after the chronically ill.

The Cree and Inuit, who signed the James Bay Agreement in 1971, were given the right in Bill 101 to use their native language. They were also given an unspecified "transitional" period to comply with other sections of the bill that oblige them to communicate with the government and with other hospitals or social services in French. The Cree Board of Health and Social Services of James Bay administers one hospital, the 32-bed Chisasibi Hospital Centre. It is also responsible for administering several nursing stations in different Cree communities, as well as a social service centre. The Kativik Health and Social Services Council administers several nursing stations for the Inuit in the area.

Protests by organizations such as the Quebec Hospital Association over the first draft of Bill 101 also led to the permission for medical or clinical records to be written in French or English. It was an important modification of the bill because, as several executive-directors of anglo hospitals have admitted, many senior staff members are not fully bilingual. They know enough French to talk to their patients but, for more technical discussions and to dictate medical records, they have to use English. However, these records must be furnished in French upon demand.



Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, one of the province's largest hospital, responded quickly to the Bill 101 requirement that staff have an "appropriate" knowledge of French. It developed its own tests which have been approved by the OLF, and which several other hospitals are adapting to their own use.

What constitutes an "appropriate" knowledge of French? Hospital officials would answer that the Chinese cook at the Montreal Chinese Hospital, for example, does not need much French to be a good cook - in fact, he does not need any. But the government, as it clearly said in reply to the initial protest against Bill 101, wants to make these institutions bilingual. This means that not only should hospitals be able to serve francophone patients in their own language, but Franco-phones should also have the right to work in their own language.

English-speaking hospital administrators were initially worried that language restrictions would prevent them from hiring or retaining the staff they needed. Problems have been encountered for several reasons but, in general, hospitals have been managing.

The supply of doctors across Canada has been a problem in the past 35 years which have seen an annual net loss to the United States of about 300 physicians. Doctors have become increasingly dissatisfied with the medicare system, restrictions on hospital budgets, bureaucratic control of health care, and limited research funds. Quebec's loss has not been any greater, comparatively, than other parts of Canada, except in 1977 when 150 physicians left, and 1978 when 336 left. However, Dr. Roy blamed the high level of taxation and limited research funds, rather than Bill 101.

In a 1981 survey, hospitals, with the exception of the Pontiac Community Hospital in Western Quebec, reported that they had no trouble finding the nurses or nursing assistants required to operate the hospital. When contacted in 1980, the Montreal General had only four of its 550 nurses working on a temporary permit; the Montreal Children's had only one. However, in previous years both hospitals had lost

several nurses when their third temporary permit expired.

"The problem is easing...we are hiring more French nurses and the young nurses are graduating with enough French to pass the test," the Montreal General's director of nursing said. The hospital has 50 French-speaking nurses on staff and two-thirds of the nursing staff at the Montreal General-based DSC are Francophones.

The Pontiac Community Hospital, whose staff and clientele is 85 per cent English-speaking, has so far unsuccessfully tried to have Bill 101 modified to take its special situation into account. Located near the Ontario border in a predominantly English-speaking area, the 82-bed hospital has always had difficulty recruiting nurses. It has been hiring nurses from Ontario and overseas, many of whom do not know enough French to pass the OLF exam. When one nurse lost her job after her third temporary permit had expired, the hospital asked the government for permission to continue employing this badly-needed nurse. Some of the hospital's nurses were working double shifts at the time, according to the director of nursing.

The OLF agreed to extend the three-year limit on the nurse's temporary permit, recognizing that Bill 101, if rigorously applied to this particular hospital, might create an "inhuman situation". However, the Quebec Order of Nurses, which actually issues the work permit, refused to go along with the arrangement, arguing that it was illegal according to Bill 101.

Although the government has provided extra funds to the local school board to organize special intensive French language courses, two more Pontiac Community Hospital nurses have lost their jobs as a result of their inability to pass the French test. The executive-director of the hospital, anticipating a repetition of this problem, worries about the future.

#### Hospitals and Budget

It is important to put the linguistic issue into perspective:



by far the most serious problem facing hospital administrators is what often seems to be the impossible task of not overstepping their budget. Dealing with this problem often means that English language services suffer.

Both the Liberal and Parti Québécois governments have imposed a series of budget cutbacks on hospitals in an effort to constrain costs. In 1974, the government announced that it would no longer cover hospital deficits, which nonetheless continued to pile up. By 1978, the hospitals had accumulated a deficit of \$86.3 million. More than 40 per cent of this deficit came from 12 large teaching hospitals in the Montreal area. The government threatened to impose trusteeship on hospitals which did not balance their budgets within the next two or three years.

These financial pressures have soured human relations within the hospitals. Employees regularly stage work stoppages and walk-outs to protest staff cuts; physicians scramble for their department's share of the budget; hospital administrators complain they have little control over expenses because it is the government that negotiates wages (which take up 80 per cent of their budget), and they accuse the government of making politically expedient and arbitrary decisions; health and social affairs ministers blame hospital administrators, accusing them of bad management and wasteful expenditure. Somewhere, lost in the shuffle, are the patients who find themselves in an increasingly bewildering situation.

#### Acute Care/Chronic Care

The issue of whether there is a shortage of hospital beds in the Montreal region is complicated by the fact that up to 30 per cent of beds in some Montreal hospitals have been occupied by the chronically ill. The government has recently directed hospitals to set aside 10 per cent of their beds for chronic care.

Acute care hospitals have been reluctant to admit chronic care

patients even on a temporary basis because there is a shortage of alternative facilities. Once a chronic care patient is admitted to an acute care hospital he or she may have to remain there for months, even years. The executive-director of the Montreal General explained that this can have a negative effect on teaching hospitals because, if there is less patient turnover, the teaching material is not as rich. Of the Montreal General's 822 beds, 119 are reserved for the chronically ill. The Montreal General, through its DSC and its Family Medicine Unit, runs a home care programme which was set up by CLSC Guy Metro to keep the chronically ill or elderly at home as much as possible. In 1980, this service was attending to the needs of 120 people who otherwise would have been hospitalized.

Having closed many poorly run nursing homes several years ago, the government has embarked on a programme of building facilities for the elderly and chronically ill. For example, in 1981 the Santa Cabrini Hospital opened a Centre d'Accueil which accommodates 69 patients. Previously, one opened on Ile Bizard. Another is due to open this summer which will be affiliated to the Montreal Chinese Hospital. Promises to build several on the West Island primarily to serve Anglo-phones have not yet been realized.

According to a study prepared in 1980 by the Montreal Regional Council, the health care system requires serious realignment. Although theoretically there are enough prolonged and acute care hospital beds in the region, "critical" shortages exist because there are not enough alternatives to hospitalization and those that exist are improperly used. A considerable percentage of patients in acute care hospitals could be looked after in chronic care hospitals if beds were available. Even chronic care hospitals have many patients who should really be in nursing homes, and many of those in nursing homes could be looked after at home if proper services were available. Even with 3,000 new places and a high priority on home care services, the Montreal region where 40 per cent of Quebec's 550,000 seniors live, will be badly off compared to the rest of the province, according to the Council's report.



Recent budget cuts are affecting the number of acute care beds in Montreal hospitals. For example, six of the city's 34 hospitals are closing temporarily a total of 432 beds during February and March, 1982. This represents 4.5 per cent of all Montreal acute care beds.

Other regions, such as the Eastern Townships which actually has too many hospital beds according to government norms, have few facilities for psychiatric patients requiring prolonged care. After four years of study, the Eastern Townships Regional Council recommended in 1978 that 40 to 80 of the Sherbrooke Hospital's 141 beds be converted to long term psychiatric care. This would have essentially changed this English hospital's vocation as a general hospital which allows a wide variety of primary and specialized services. The hospital board reacted quickly, circulating a petition which was signed by 62,000 people, many of them French-speaking. It met with Dr. Denis Lazure, who was then Social Affairs Minister. He viewed the idea of creating a psychiatric hospital as being old-fashioned and declared Sherbrooke Hospital could continue to operate as a general hospital. Current medical trends keep patients in the community, only hospitalizing them for brief periods.

The Sherbrooke Hospital story is just one example of what some would call a clumsy attempt to solve long-standing problems. In view of the many problems that remain to be solved, the Association of Quebec Hospitals has asked the government to hold a summit conference on the health and social affairs system so that all organizations involved could collectively decide how to reshape the system.

#### Summary

Soaring costs will inevitably lead to a further stream-lining of the system. In 1979, the Montreal Council formed a medical services commission aimed at re-organizing the city's medical care to improve efficiency. This commission, which has six Francophones and five Anglophones on its executive committee, will have a very important and possibly politically sensitive role in the future. The financial pressures on the system already are enormous and a regrouping of

resources is already underway. Some hospitals will have to reduce certain services due to the enormous cost of equipment, such as for open heart surgery and kidney dialysis. The question is: which hospitals will maintain what services and which will lose them?

In this context, budgetary considerations have as much impact on the future of hospitals used by the minorities as does language legislation.

Their impact is greatest on the minorities living off Montreal Island where there are few English language institutions and where medical services in English are not assured.

On Montreal Island Anglophones generally have medical services assured them in their own language. Still, centralization has already led to the loss of certain wards in some of the smaller anglophone hospitals in Montreal. The Catherine Booth Hospital, for example, lost its maternity ward. Even large hospitals are being affected. Early in 1982, the Montreal General Hospital closed its maternity ward and Pain Clinic in an attempt to trim its budget.



SUMMARY

- In the brief span of 20 years, Quebec's health and social service system has gone from a disorganized, often backward, mélange of services to a comprehensive modern network.
- Yet the bureaucracy which has evolved to administer it is blamed for stifling initiative and causing extensive delays. Its complexity overwhelms citizens and ties the hands of administrators and professionals.
- The major problem facing health and social care administrators is how to keep in line with budgets. The spiralling cost of today's technological equipment makes this a formidable task.
- Although Bill 65's aim of having services more equal and accessible to everyone is being attained to a far greater extent than before, its goal of cutting overlapping and duplicated services is not being achieved. Hospitals are still over-used and institutions, such as CLSCs, are under-used. Further, despite Montreal's extensive resources, some hospitals are overcrowded. Care for the elderly and the chronically ill is still insufficient.
- The government has tightened its grip on doctors through the Professional Code which acts as a watchdog on the professions. The traditional authority of the medical profession, somewhat undermined by allowing citizens to sit on the boards of professional corporations, has caused concern among many doctors.

- Bill 101 has not had as much of an effect as first feared by anglophone health care administrators, although the full effect remains to be seen. Institutions and agencies receiving a special bilingual status were given a five year delay, ending December 1983, to become francized. Most are coping with the requirement to have external communications in French and with the requirement for professional and non-professional staff to have a knowledge of French.
- French language tests for professionals and non-professionals have stirred protest among minorities. Nurses and nursing assistants have had a high failure rate. Many non-francophone institutions are adapting to Bill 101 by hiring Francophones, thus decreasing the job market for Anglophones.
- A major concern of Quebec's minorities is whether or not they receive health care in their own language. This is dependent mainly on the linguistic ability of staff members. Yet legislation prevents employers from requiring a knowledge of a language other than French.
- With the exception of reception centres for youth and the elderly, care is generally available in English for Montrealers. However, service for its ethnic populations is uneven, being dependent on whether or not there are staff members who speak languages other than French or English.
- The accessibility of care for anglophone populations off the Island of Montreal is another story. Although medical care is generally available in English in most areas, social service care is lacking, and often tragically so. It seems the farther one goes from Montreal's pool of resources, the worse off the population becomes.



- Care for youth is pinpointed as the service most lacking to the anglophone population. Montreal's few youth detention centres are overcrowded and there are no definite plans to build new ones. Meanwhile, young people off the Island of Montreal have little, if any, help when in trouble. Nothing can be done until the situation deteriorates enough for them to be sent to a Montreal reception centre. When they return home, there is no rehabilitative care.
- The linguistic and ethnic character of Quebec's anglophone hospitals is changing. Once clearly English, in general they are now bilingual. This is seen in the increasing number of francophone employees and patients, and in public notices and external written communications which must be in French. Meanwhile, their anglophone character has been permitted by Bill 101 to continue in regard to their names and internal communications.
- The government has aimed at ending what was once a parallel system of health care, one for the anglophone community and one for the francophone community. Yet it has allowed the setting up of Montreal's three CSSs to be based on language and culture. Opposition among government and administrative circles to this set-up brings continuing pressure to end it.
- Community involvement has not been as extensive as envisioned by Bill 65. There is a particular lack of anglophone participation in Bill 65's new agencies such as the CLSCs and Regional Councils. This situation is especially evident among anglophone populations off the Island of Montreal.

-There is a lack of information of health care services in English. Most media advertising and government brochures are only in French. This is cited as a major cause of the lack of anglophone input to the new health care agencies and institutions.



Working Paper IV: Culture

Culture, in its broadest sense, encompasses the customary beliefs, social forms and material traits of a racial, religious or social group, and relies to some extent on institutions and organizations to support and enhance it. Schools, universities, churches, libraries, museums, historical societies, theatre, dance, music, all reflect and strengthen a culture.

At the same time, a particular social group may be made up of several cultural groups each marked by individual characteristics; each fitting into society as a whole in a different way.

The complexity and diversity of social composition are no less real for English-speaking Quebecers than for other social-cultural groups. English-speaking Quebecers, contrary to popular myth, do not all live in Montreal, are not all economically well-off, and are not all of Anglo-Saxon descent. There are English-speaking men and women who are tradesmen, farmers, factory and office workers, as well as professionals. In the Montreal area especially, there are English-speaking people who trace their ethnic origins, for instance, to Greece, Italy, Poland, Germany, India and the West Indies. English-speaking Quebecers belong to the Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Jewish, or any one of a number of other faiths. Some have ancestors who arrived during the 18th century, others themselves, arrived in Quebec recently.

The complexity in describing the Quebec English-speaking population as a whole arises not only from its social and cultural heterogeneity, but also from the differences between the Montreal English-speaking community and the off-island community.

The Montreal community is many-faceted and crosses, ethnic, religious, social and economic lines. Off the Island of Montreal, the cultural distinctions are less sharp, but one cannot ignore the particular history and development of each of the anglophone communities. For this reason, we have divided this chapter into two parts - Montreal and Off-Island.



### Background

A glance at the history of English language cultural institutions reveals their continuous development from the late 18th century when English newspapers, schools and churches began to appear. By the mid-1800s, some English-speaking communities, both rural and urban, had fairly complete cultural structures.

The Lachute area, for example, set up its first English language school in 1800 and consecrated its first Presbyterian Church in 1802. From the early to mid-1800s, the Methodists, too, garnered a large following and Lachute became the headquarters of the Methodist circuit for the region. The Watchman and The Ottawa Valley Advocate (now simply The Lachute Watchman) was first published in 1877. By that time the area had an Episcopalian service, a Roman Catholic Church and Presbytery, two Presbyterian Churches, a Baptist Church and a Methodist Chapel. English language educational needs were served by five district schools and the Lachute Academy (1855).

Similarly, one of the first Anglican churches in the Eastern Townships was established in St-Armand East (now Frelighsburg) in 1809. Among the earliest English elementary schools in the region was the school opened in Philipsburg in 1794. In 1817, Stanstead College was founded by an American Congregationalist minister. Bishop's College School opened its doors in 1836 and Bishop's University received its charter in 1843. Newspapers, too, abounded in the area and included The British Colonist (1825), The Townships' Reformer (1836), The Sherbrooke Gazette (1837), and The Stanstead Journal (which is still published), 1845.

The first English schools in the Pontiac area opened in 1827. By 1889, Pontiac had 13 school districts. Itinerant Methodist preachers visited regularly during the late 1820s and were soon followed by Anglican ministers. Clarendon's first Presbyterian Church opened in 1829. The Pontiac Pioneer (1855), The Pontiac News (1882), and The Equity (1883) were among the early newspapers in the region.

Quebec City boasts the first public library in Canada - the Quebec Library - founded in 1779. The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, the oldest Anglican Cathedral built as such outside the British Isles, was completed in 1804. Other churches also attest to early British settlement. A Presbyterian congregation, initially composed of 78th Highlanders disbanded after the conquest, consecrated St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in 1810. The Irish Catholic community - which celebrated the first St. Patrick's Day in Quebec City in 1765 - used the church facilities provided by the French-speaking Catholics until their own church - St. Patrick's - was dedicated in 1833. On the literary scene, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, now a library, dates back to 1824, and St. Patrick's Literary Institute was founded in 1850. Early newspapers included The Quebec Gazette (first printed in 1764), which was the ancestor of the present day Quebec Chronicle and Telegraph.

By the late 1800s, Montreal's English-speaking community sustained a host of cultural institutions. The Anglican Parish of Montreal was established in 1766 and St. Gabriel's Presbyterian Church in 1792. The earliest libraries stem from 1796 when Montreal's first public library (called the Craig Library in 1811) was established; the Fraser Institute was opened in 1825 and the Westmount Library in 1897. Literary societies of the day included the Literary Society of Montreal (1860) and the Montreal Library Club (1864). The St. James Literary Society was founded in 1898. The YMCA, which included a library and reading room, was established in Montreal in 1851. Musically, the Philharmonic Society of Montreal originated in 1877. The Museum of Fine Arts, which emanated from the Montreal Society of Artists (1847) and was built in 1912, was initially endowed by members of Montreal's English-speaking community. Similarly, the Redpath Museum (1882) and the McCord Museum (1919) were endowed by English-speaking Montrealers. On the educational front: McGill University was founded in 1821, Loyola College in 1848, and Sir George Williams College in 1926. A teacher training school was set up at McGill in 1857 and Macdonald College was founded in 1905.

In addition, cultural institutions which reflected the growing



diversity of the Montreal English-speaking community developed as a result of increased immigration to Quebec by ethnic groups which were of neither British nor French descent, but integrated into the English-speaking milieu. The German Benevolent Society was established in 1845; the Hebrew Library in 1888; the first Italian Mutual Aid Society in 1889; the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood in 1905; and the Sons of Italy (a North American organization) in 1905 - to name but a few.

In short, the institutions which sustain English language culture in Quebec are found in many parts of the province and have developed over a considerable period of time. They attest to the history, tradition, as well as to the religious and, for Montreal at least, the ethnic diversity of the English-speaking population.

At the same time, an intrinsic definition of a province-wide English-speaking community is elusive. The physical isolation of English-speaking communities has resulted in their separate and distinct evolution. In the past, each community sought its own solutions to particular local problems. Added to this isolation is a long-standing division between rural and urban interests. The Montreal English-speaking community, for instance, has not been sensitive to the worsening economic situation and the declining English-speaking population of rural Quebec over the past several decades. Above all, the English-speaking community has never felt the need to develop a province-wide community based on a common identity. With the rare exception, few organizations have had, as their objective, the development of one facet or another of English language culture on a province-wide scale. Only indirectly have some organizations contributed to this end: the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers founded in 1864; the Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards in 1929; and the Quebec Federation of Home and School Associations in 1944. In rural Quebec, the Women's Institutes, established in 1911, and the Quebec Farmers' Association, incorporated in 1957, have looked after the interests of English-speaking rural Quebecers. But, by and large, these organization have directed their

energies toward a particular segment of the English-speaking population.

Physical isolation, urban and rural divisions, the absence of compulsion have not been the only factors preventing a common English language expression in Quebec. Many Anglophones living close to the borders of other provinces or the United States have never really developed a strong sense of identification with the province of Quebec. Ontario has been a magnet for many living in the Pontiac area; New Brunswick for the Gaspé; Newfoundland for the Lower North Shore; and the United States for the southern areas of the Eastern Townships and Châteauguay-Huntingdon area.

"Pontiac's founding families came up the Ottawa River in the early 1800s, clearing land and building homes on either shore, wherever they found terrain to their liking. Family members on either side of the river maintained contact by boat in summer and over ice in winter. The river was their highway to the outside world and also their connection with one another. Nobody thought, in those days, that an imaginary line would be drawn down the middle of the Ottawa to become a boundary between such provinces as Quebec and Ontario." <sup>1</sup>

"For us the Ottawa River is a link, not a natural boundary," confirmed the publisher of The Equity, the weekly newspaper published in Shawville. "Some of our ancestors settled on one side of the river and some settled on the other side," he continued. Consequently, the historical sense of identity among Pontiac people extends beyond the political boundary dividing Quebec and Ontario. Today, many of the people who live on the Quebec side are employed in Pembroke and Renfrew, Ontario. Many receive their social services at the Ottawa Civic Hospital. Indeed, Ottawa is an employment and cultural centre for the Ottawa Valley area.

---

<sup>1</sup> ACREM insert, June 25, 1981.



Similarly, there is a greater affinity between certain communities in the Gaspé to New Brunswick than to Quebec. "Many people who live in the Escuminac to Matapedia region work in New Brunswick, get their entertainment in New Brunswick, pay taxes in New Brunswick and only sleep in Quebec. Their focal point is in Campbellton," said the executive-director of the Committee for Anglophone Social Action. "They even set their clocks to New Brunswick time," added a United Church minister.

Lagging local economics have taken their toll on the development of cultural institutions. It is exceedingly difficult to maintain any cultural institutions in areas where there is a high degree of emigration. Whatever the reasons for leaving - whether they are related to a lack of employment opportunities or otherwise - the decreasing population base of rural Quebec makes it more and more difficult to sustain cultural institutions.

While the declining English-speaking population base is a matter of concern for Montrealers, Montreal still maintains a wealth of English language cultural institutions. Montreal has long been a national cultural centre. Members of the city's English-speaking community have made major contributions to Quebec and Canada in the performing arts - music, theatre and dance - as well as in the creative and literary arts. The universities - McGill and Concordia, the CEGEPs - Dawson and Vanier, the theatres, auditoriums and concert halls have provided stages for amateur and professional productions of English language works, or works by English-speaking artists. Art galleries, such as the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, have displayed the works of Canadian and international artists. Libraries house English language literature.

Many of Montreal's English language cultural institutions have broadened their appeal in recent years in order to attract a greater audience: the McCord Museum, for example, does not see itself as an "English" institution, but as Montreal's only museum of social history. Furthermore, cultural institutions can and do offer a medium of exchange between the two major linguistic groups in Quebec and have tried to bridge the

francophone and anglophone cultures. The Centaur and Saidye Bronfman Theatres present French plays translated into English. Similarly, French language theatres translate English Canadian works into French for their audiences, and francophone universities host Canadian theatre and dance companies.

In addition to the arts, the Montreal English-speaking community supports over a dozen local newspapers as well as several historical and literary societies. Adding to this cultural richness and vitality is the multitude of ethnic organizations, whose activities range from the religious to the recreational.

#### Community Organizations

Despite differences between on and off-island situations, a more coherent expression of English-speaking Quebecers is beginning to emerge. Funded largely by the Secretary of State, community organizations which aim to give a common voice to English-speaking people regionally and provincially have been more in evidence since 1975. The Committee for Anglophone Social Action was set up in the Gaspé in 1975; the Pontiac Social Planning Council in 1976; the English-Speaking Townshippers' Association in 1979; and the Voice of English-Speaking Quebec and the Châteauguay Valley English-Speaking Peoples' Association in 1981. Participation Quebec, founded in 1977, and Positive Action, founded in 1977, work out of Montreal. The Council of Quebec Minorities - now Alliance Quebec - was set up as a province-wide umbrella group for linguistic minorities in 1978.

#### Culture and Government

Both the federal and Quebec governments have taken important initiatives to build and sustain cultural resources.

Federal government interest in Canadian cultural development began in 1951 with the setting up of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Commission).



Ten years after the Massey Commission, the Quebec government created its own Ministère des affaires culturelles (1961). Initially conceived to support the arts, this new ministry was to be a "department of French-Canadian civilization...to act as the most effective instruments of the French fact in North America, of the soul of our people."<sup>2</sup>

Since 1976, two other ministries - the Ministère de développement culturelle and the Ministère de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles - have been created to deal with Quebec's cultural programmes.

From the late 1960s and the 1970s organizations and institutions have been developed to preserve and stimulate Quebec culture. The Bibliothèque Nationale was founded in 1969. The Cinématèque Nationale du Québec was set up to acquire photographs and compile film and photography inventories.

The development of public museums and libraries was put in the hands of the Commission des musées and the Commission des bibliothèques publiques. The Commission des biens culturelles du Québec is intended to preserve the province's cultural properties - works of art, historic properties, monuments, historic sites, as well as audio-visual, photographic, radio and television works. The Bibliothèques Centrale de Prêt were established to provide books to municipal libraries in towns of 5,000 people or less.

The Ministère des affaires culturelles has also embarked on the development of Quebec based "cultural industries", through the creation of Société des développement des industries culturelles (SODIC) in 1978. A crown corporation with a \$10 million budget, SODIC is aimed at stimulating Quebec cultural undertakings in the fields of book publishing, periodical publishing, recording, entertainment, videotape recording, audio-visual production, visual arts, design, arts and crafts, and any other field chosen by the government.

---

<sup>2</sup> Jean Lesage, cited in A Cultural Development Policy for Quebec, Vol. 1, p.29

Yet, while all these endeavours have benefitted the French-speaking community in particular, little action has been taken to build bridges between the government and English-speaking Quebecers. Nor have the cultural organizations and programmes which have evolved over the last decade significantly penetrated the English-speaking community. First, there is a lack of information in the English language concerning these programmes: publications listing extensive available grants, such as the Receuil des programmes d'aide et de subventions du Ministère des affaires culturelles, appear in French only. Secondly, English-speaking representation in many Quebec government-sponsored agencies is quite low. For example, there are no representatives on the government-appointed board of SODIC. Thirdly, Anglophones themselves are often reluctant to participate on the boards of government institutions such as the regional cultural councils.

A network of regional cultural councils, aimed at stimulating cultural development within each of Quebec's administrative regions, was created in 1976. These councils are part of the trend toward government decentralization at the regional level and centralization at the policy making provincial level also seen in the formation of health and social service regional councils.

Each of Quebec's administrative regions has a cultural council except Montreal where the Montreal Urban Community Arts Council, set up 25 years ago, continues to fund performing arts, visual arts and libraries within the city. Regional cultural councils consist of members of the arts community who choose to join the council. Together they form a general assembly from which the board of directors is elected. However, in general, Anglophones are not actively involved in the administration of these councils. For example, there are no English-speaking members on the board of the Conseil culturel de la Rive-Sud de Montréal. "The English are not generally aware of the Council or, if they are, the Council is viewed as a francophone institution," explained one English-speaking member of the General Assembly who participates on a cultural committee.



The only English-speaking board member of the Conseil de la culture de l'Estrie also a member of the English-Speaking Townshippers' Association, echoed the same sentiment: "Somebody's got to be there to make the English voice heard." Explaining that he is the only member representing a linguistic group, he added that the Conseil bent its rules to have this linguistic representation.

On the other hand, the director of the Conseil de la culture de l'Estrie underlined the importance of English-speaking representation on the board since much of the Eastern Townships' history is rooted in the anglophone community. To emphasize this point, the Conseil recently sponsored a day-long bilingual seminar on heritage in which participants expressed themselves in the language they preferred.

The Conseil de la culture de l'Estrie has also invited English language organizations and historical societies to submit briefs on the proposed creation of a regional Townships' museum in Sherbrooke. An extensive report on the projected museum was completed in October, 1980, by a six-member committee which included a representative of the anglophone community.

It is true that recently there has been some material recognition of the needs of minorities. The Comité d'implémentation du plan d'action (CIPACC) - which aims to increase minority participation in the civil service - and the Conseil des communautés culturelles are both under the administration of the Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities. This ministry has provided some funding for the ethnic minorities and, since 1977, has funded language classes in their own language for children whose background is neither French nor English, so that they may preserve their culture.

At the same time, certain government practices have only antagonized some members of the English-speaking community. For example, proposed policies, such as the unsuccessful Bill 20 (1981) on cinemas, which would have released only one copy of a film in English until the film was dubbed into French have aggravated many English-speaking Quebecers.

The sign legislation of Bill 101 is the greatest target for Quebec Anglophones. There is a sense of threat in that the English-speaking community is being made invisible by strictly limiting the public display of the English language. Commercial signs and posters must be in French only. Exceptions to this rule include the names and activities of non-profit organizations devoted exclusively to the cultural development or interests of a particular ethnic group. But all kinds of other signs, such as street signs, must be changed.

"In Compton County a road entitled 'Ives Hill', named after a family of original settlers, has been renamed Chemin Yves. The Town of Cedarville now has an accent thrown in, now called C  darville. Skibereen, near Waterloo, so named after its counterpart in West Ireland, is now dubbed Skibirine...

We question whether or not the quality of the French language is enhanced through such folly."<sup>3</sup>

*English culture in Quebec can be viewed from at least two perspectives: its ethnic and religious components and its diverse regional attributes. At the same time, the English-speaking community as a whole has only been described in very vague terms. At present, it does not itself have a firm province-wide definition of its culture. In fact, it is only during the past decade that the English-speaking population as a whole has felt its minority status within Quebec and this, in turn, has led to the beginnings of a province-wide identity.*

*In order to describe English culture, this chapter is divided into two sections. The first*

---

<sup>3</sup> (Brief to the Conseil de la Langue Fran  aise made by the English-Speaking Townshippers, 1981).



*deals with institutions which have contributed to the development of English culture on the Island of Montreal. The second section looks at cultural activities off the Island of Montreal: education, women's institutes, farmers' associations, libraries, religious organizations, newspapers, theatres, museums and community organizations.*

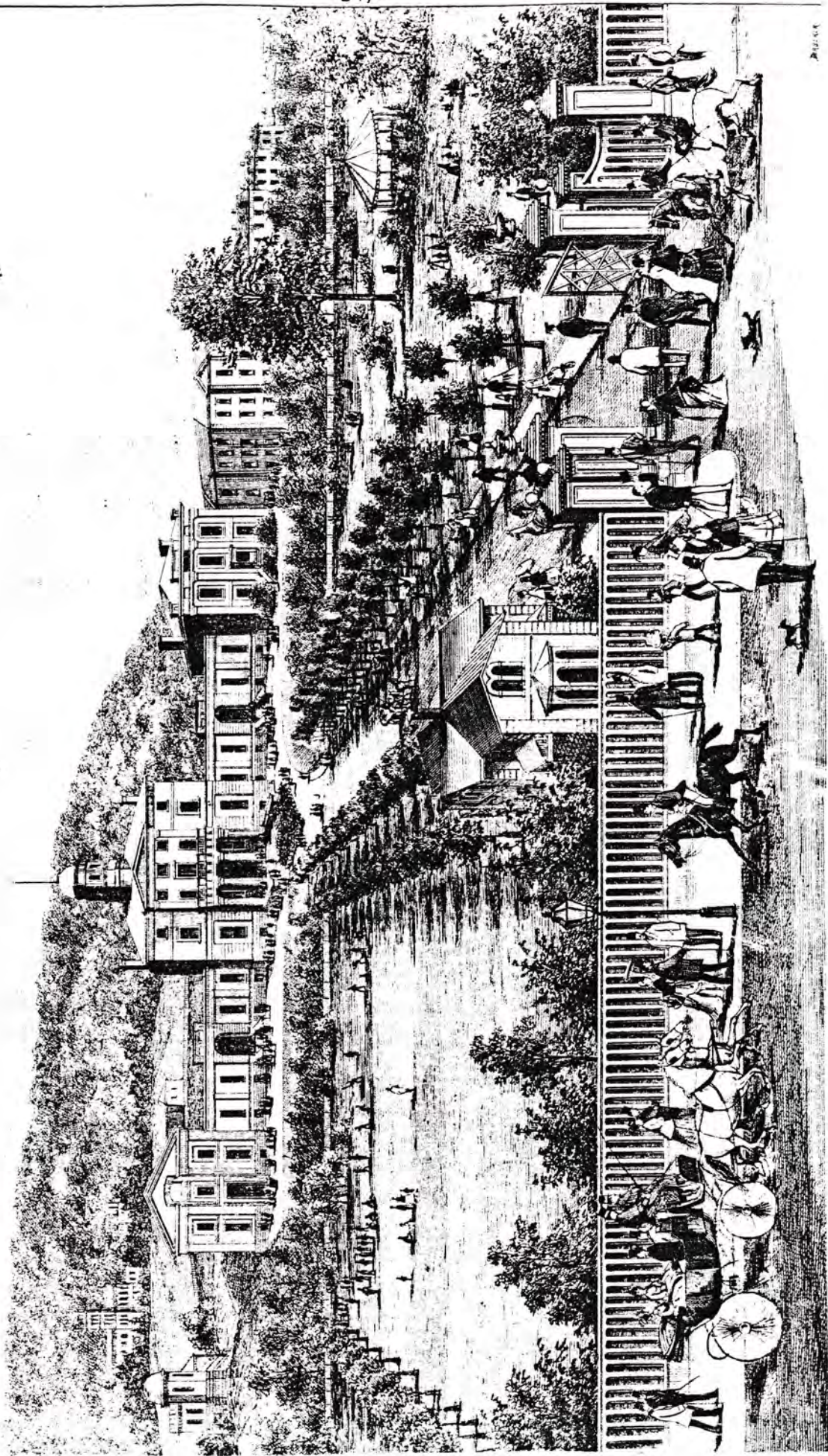
### Montreal

From writers, such as Hugh MacLennan and Mordecai Richler, to song-writers such as Leonard Cohen, the English-speaking cultural community of Montreal has long contributed to the Quebec, Canadian and international literary and artistic scene. Its cultural vitality and support is found in its universities, CEGEPs, museums, libraries, community centres, literary and historical societies. McGill University, for example, in its 160 years of existence has touched many areas of cultural life through its museums, concerts, theatre productions and the literary movements which have been associated with it.

However, a declining population base, financial problems, as well as the social changes which have occurred over the past two decades, have led many of Montreal's traditionally English language cultural institutions to look beyond their distinctive character and reach out to the entire Montreal population.

Most English language institutions have adapted linguistically by becoming bilingual. Brochures and information regarding plays and exhibits are printed in English and French. There is a widespread determination to integrate the French language into the institutions while still maintaining their English character. For example, the McCord Museum which is part of McGill University, does not consider itself an anglophone institution, according to Registrar Conrad Graham. Instead, it is part of the entire city.





McGill College University, 1875  
Photo provided by The McCord Museum



Libraries are expanding their collections of books in French and other languages. For example, the Fraser-Hickson Library in Notre-Dame-de-Grace, which was begun by English Protestants in 1885, now has 30,000 French books among its total collection of 200,000. It also has volumes in Russian, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Polish, German, Dutch and Italian.

Both the Montreal YMCA (1851) and YWCA (1877) reflect the changing times to an even greater extent. Concerned with social issues since inception, they are keenly in tune with the total community. The Downtown YMCA membership is 60 per cent Anglophone and 40 per cent Francophone. In addition, the YMCA International Branch on Park Avenue reflects its area's cultural make-up and lives up to the word "international" in its name.

Participation at the Montreal YWCA has changed from being mainly English-speaking only a few years ago to being 60 per cent Francophone and 40 per cent Anglophone. "Our profile in the French communities is rapidly rising," said the director, adding that the YWCA policy is to hire only bilingual staff members. Physical education courses are run bilingually, while other courses are run separately in English and French. Several Francophones are members of the board and the YWCA keeps in close touch with French-speaking women's groups.

Within the English-speaking community itself there are signs of a revival of support for English language cultural institutions. For example, when the Centaur Theatre was carrying out its 1977 subscription campaign during the enactment of Bill 101, the number of subscriptions plunged. In response, the theatre launched a telephone campaign among former subscribers and discovered that one in five was planning to leave Quebec. The Centaur urged those staying to support the theatre rather than sit on the fence, with the result that subscriptions surpassed previous highs. The 1981-82 season subscriptions have been virtually sold out, and artistic director and founder, Maurice Podbrey, now sets his sights on expansion to include an 800-seat theatre and youth productions.

The 52-year-old Montreal Children's Library, too, has recently experienced

renewed support within the English-speaking community. Although its membership is decreasing, its annual fund-raising campaign is producing more and greater contributions. Head Librarian, Kathleen Roy, attributed this phenomenon in part to the fact that people are concerned about the library's survival.

"There's a feeling of being pulled apart, but there's also a resurgence or a groundswell among English-speaking Catholics," said Harold Thuringer, executive-director of the English-Speaking Catholic Council of Montreal. Organized in 1980, the Council aims to co-ordinate community organizations, identify needs and resources, and re-develop a sense of identity. The English Catholic Centre, which Thuringer termed a symbol of cultural identity, was bought by the Catholic community. Opened in April, 1981, it has become a focal point with an information centre, a 1,000-volume library, a chapel, meeting rooms and headquarters for the newspaper, The Catholic Times.

What of the future? Thuringer responded that, "It's going to be difficult, but I'm encouraged by this resurgence."

### Theatres

In 1966, Kathleen Jenkins in her book, Montreal, described English language theatre in Montreal as "almost extinct - partly because of public apathy". The Montreal Repertory Theatre had come in 1930 and gone in 1961; The Mountain Playhouse lasted only ten years; and CBC English language drama had been cut back.

Fifteen years later there are several theatres which stage performances in English and include: the Centaur Theatre, the Saidye Bronfman Theatre (which also has Yiddish theatre), and the Black Theatre Workshop. The Youtheatre troupe presents plays in Montreal schools and, in 1981, formed the Penguin Theatre for adult audiences.

There are about a dozen amateur groups in Montreal which present play, musicals and concerts. Among these are the Montreal West Operatic Society,



the Lakeshore Players, the Arcadians Musical Society, the West Island Lyric Theatre and the Irish Saoirse Players. The McGill University Savoy Society (Gilbert and Sullivan), and McGill Players present public performances, as does Concordia University's Department of Theatre, Dawson College's Dome Theatre, and the National Theatre School located in Montreal.

"I see us as being the main English language cultural organization within the city," said Maurice Podbrey, founder and artistic director of the Centaur Theatre. Community support bears out his statement. During the past four years audiences have increased annually by 15 per cent. Supported by the Canada Council, the Ministère des affaires culturelles and the Montreal Urban Community Arts Council, the Centaur is confident of raising \$100,000 from the community.

Podbrey has attributed the success of the Centaur to its being creative and outward-looking. "Events of the last few years have brought us closer to the anglophone community which has felt threatened. The theatre has been able to play a progressive role," he said. Rather than providing escapist entertainment, the Centaur has offered works of substance, the most successful "Balconville" by Montreal playwright David Fennario.

Commenting on Montreal's theatrical scene, the artistic director of the Saidye Bronfman Theatre, Per Brask, said, "There is not much English language theatre in Montreal these days, but I believe there is room for much more. If we, theatres and audiences, collectively find that unique balance between audience/community support and theatrical excellence we could create a new era of healthy English language theatre in Quebec."

"The scope of the Saidye Bronfman Theatre is not so much local, but international," commented Saidye Bronfman Centre Public Relations Director, Rick Chamitov.

Part of the YM-YWHA network, the Saidye Bronfman Centre is an integral part of Montreal's Jewish community, yet its purpose when founded in 1967 was "for the cultural and educational benefit of the general public of Greater Montreal, without regard to creed, colour or nationality". Forty-thousand attend the Saidye Bronfman Theatre's season of four professional plays, and about 5,000 visit the centre's two art galleries. Its extensive programme of over 100 courses in fine arts, 50 continuing education courses, its school for the performing arts draw many more from Montreal's various communities. At the same time, the centre's integral Jewish character is expressed through the Yiddish Theatre and Harvey Golden Institute which gives course and lectures on aspects of Jewish life.

The Black Theatre Workshop, which also presents English language theatre, traces its origin to 1969 when the Drama Committee of the Trinidad and Tobago Association performed West Indian plays. Now the Workshop is a semi-professional theatre, presenting two major productions and one minor production each season in English at the Centaur Theatre. Artistic director and president, Clarence S. Bayne, said Black consciousness within the Canadian community is expressed in the current writing of Black Canadians. "We have one foot in the Caribbean and one in Canada," explained Bayne.

The Black Theatre Workshop has achieved critical and popular success. Among its best productions have been "A Raisin in the Sun", "The Gingerbread Lady" and "The River Niger".

### Libraries

The city's university and public English libraries are deeply rooted in its history. The first executive board of the Atwater Library, which was founded in 1828, included Sir James Kempt, Governor of Lower Canada; John Molson, famous merchant and pioneer of steamboat navigation; Louis-Joseph Papineau, French-Canadian nationalist and Speaker of the National Assembly. The library was originally part of the Mechanic's Institute of



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-Some Early Libraries with English Language Collections-

Founding  
Date

- 1779 - The Quebec Library, first public library in Canada.  
Founded by Governor Haldimand.
- 1796 - First public library in Montreal. Called Craig Library  
in 1811. Closed in 1843.
- 1824 - Quebec Literary and Historical Society.
- 1828 - Mechanic's Institute founded, included a library. Now  
the Atwater Library.
- 1842 - Mercantile Library Association, Montreal.
- 1843 - The Quebec Library Association.
- 1859 - Bank of Montreal opens library for employees.  
- Library Association of Knowlton founded.
- 1874 - St. Denis Club and Library established in Montreal.
- 1885 - Fraser Institute Library, now Fraser-Hickson Library,  
Montreal.
- 1898 - Sun Life Company opens library.
- 1899 - Westmount Library founded.
- 1900 - McLennan Travelling Library - grant received from  
McLennan family; operations began in 1901. Important  
resource to rural Quebec.
- 1905 - Haskell Free Library, Rock Island.
- 1929 - Montreal Children's Library, Montreal.

\* \* \* \* \*

Montreal, one of 300 across Canada which offered courses in mechanics - the forerunner of engineering. Its small library, the institute's focal point, later became the reason for its survival after schools and universities took over the institute's teaching role.

Over the years the library has adapted to the changing needs of Montrealers so that now, along with its 54,000 books, services include large print volumes for readers with poor vision, book delivery to people who are house-ridden and books-by-mail. The latter is rapidly expanding as a service to Anglophones living in rural regions of Quebec where few English library facilities exist.

The newest tenant in the building is the head branch of the Montreal Children's Library whose total membership is 5,432. This branch, as well as four others throughout the city, originated 52 years ago when Montreal's first free public library was set up for children. Through the years branches have opened and closed in various parts of the city in response to community needs. The Montreal Children's Library branches tend to serve low income areas which lack other library facilities.

For example, the Park Extension branch serves members who belong to the Greek or Italian community, and provides Greek and Italian books to adults. The Point-St-Charles branch and the Richmond Square branch in Little Burgundy serve English and French-speaking children. Many McDonald House branch members are from the Chinese and Portuguese communities. Services at the various branches include story hours, puppet shows, art classes and chess clubs.

Two other Montreal libraries were founded in the late 19th century. The 85-year-old Westmount Public Library now has 121,000 volumes in English and French for adults and children. Membership is approximately 10,000. The Fraser-Hickson Library dates from 1885 when an endowment was received from Hugh Fraser, a prominent Montreal businessman. In the 1950s, a bequest from Dr. J.W.A. Hickson of McGill University provided funds for the library to construct its current facilities. Included are



a large reading room, a 150-seat auditorium, a children's library and two listening rooms with a collection of 450 records. Opened in 1959, the Fraser-Hickson Library has a collection of 200,000 volumes which includes 30,000 French books, 20,000 children's books and 1,000 large print books. Open free to the public, the Fraser-Hickson is supported mostly by private funds.

Cost is a common concern of libraries as well as schools. CEGEPs and other Quebec government funded institutions now must pay retail prices for books as a result of recent government legislation. For libraries this has meant an approximate eight per cent increase in the steadily mounting cost of books.

One result of increased costs is that some institutions cannot plan very far ahead. The Atwater Library, for example, plans only on a 12-month basis. "Somehow each year we keep going," head librarian Heather Connolly said.

### Museums

Despite its size, the city has few museums. Best known is the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, which originated in the anglophone community and, largely government funded, is now administered by French and English-speaking Montrealers. McGill's Redpath Museum, once open to the public, is now limited to university use due to a lack of funds. With its collection on geology, zoology, botany, minerology and anthropology, the Redpath is Montreal's only museum of natural history.

Another McGill museum, the McCord, is open to the public. The city's only social history museum, it receives 40,000 visitors annually. The collection of iconography - prints, drawings, watercolours and paintings - provides an excellent architectural record of early Montreal, Quebec City and Trois Rivières. A unique pictorial record of Montreal's last century is preserved in the Notman Photographic Archives which consist of 350,000 glass plates and prints by photographer William Notman.

The quality of the McCord's costume collection and ethnography collection of native artifacts makes the museum unique in Quebec. It also has a collection of Quebec decorative and folk art such as furniture, textiles, wood carvings, wrought iron, china, glass, ceramics and silver. Four galleries are each based on a specific theme around which exhibits change during the year: costumes, the Quebec artisan; ethnography; and the French and English colonial periods.

#### Community Organizations

Among the institutions which have traditionally been involved with community organization has been the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). Founded in Britain, the YMCA movement spread to North America in 1851 when the first branch opened in Montreal. Since then the YMCA has pioneered a long list of activities and organizations: in 1892 it organized the first basketball league in the city; 1905 it sponsored evening education courses leading to the founding of Sir George Williams University which later joined with Loyola College to form Concordia University; in 1924 it set up Quebec's first evening high school; during the 1930s, under YMCA auspices, 4,017 community gardens at Point St-Charles and Verdun provided food for 16,000 residents. Youth crisis aid, camping, drop-in centres, community clinics and programmes for the handicapped, have also been initiated by the YMCA. Current programmes and facilities at Montreal's nine YMCA branches reach 100,000 Montrealers each year.

Downtown YMCA Director, Al Hatton, described the Montreal association as the "black sheep" of the international YMCA network because of its long history of involvement in social issues. Controversial at times, this policy has led the YMCA to help organize tenants' associations and other community self-help groups.

Facilities at the downtown branch include a 342-room co-ed residence, day care centre, track and indoor raquet and handball courts. The YMCA is funded through its own programmes and services and through Centraide. Explaining that government funds are only received for special programmes,



# Illustrated News

Vol. VI.—No. 11.

MONTREAL, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1872.

SINGLE COPIES, TEN CENTS.  
\$4 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.



MONTREAL.—NEW BUILDING OF THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.



Hatton said the YMCA must stay financially independent of government or its programmes will not survive in their present form.

#### Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)

The Montreal YWCA, too, has been an innovator over the years. Today, membership totals 12,000.

Founded in 1874, the Montreal YWCA was soon operating a women's residence, library and employment service. It pioneered several services such as the Montreal Diet Dispensary (1880); the Montreal Day Nursery (1886); the city's first free kindergarten (1893); physical education classes for women (1909); and nursing attendants courses (1921). The present seven-storey YWCA building on Dorchester opened in 1952. Facilities include a residence that accommodates 161 women, a swimming pool, sauna, gymnasium, cafeteria and day care centre.

Participation in programmes increased 20 per cent in 1981, according to executive director, Urve Mundi-Ford. They range from physical fitness to the Management Centre for Women. Recently, the YWCA received a Quebec government grant to develop a 24-hour rape crisis centre. It also has a resource centre to deal with sexual harrassment.

Mundi-Ford predicted that the future of the Women's "Y" will be financially very difficult but, in terms of services to women, it will be very successful. Twenty per cent of funds now come from Centraide, while the remainder is raised through programmes and services.

#### Media

Since 1979, The Gazette has been Montreal's only English language daily. Originating in 1778 as a French language weekly, La Gazette du commerce et littéraire, it became a bilingual paper in 1785 and, in 1867, began to appear as an English language daily called The Gazette. With the closing of The Montreal Star (which had its beginnings in 1869) in 1979, The Gazette became Quebec's principal English language daily.



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-English Daily Newspapers-

- 1778            -The Montreal Gazette began as La Gazette du Commerce et Littéraire, publishing in French as a weekly. By 1785 it was called The Montreal Gazette/Gazette du Montréal. In 1867 it was an English language daily known as The Gazette.
- 1811-1957?    -The Montreal Herald (absorbed by The Montreal Star in 1957?).
- 1860-1913      -Montreal Daily Witness.
- 1866-1888      -The Montreal Daily Post.
- 1869-1979      -The Montreal Star began as The Evening Star. It became The Montreal Daily Star in 1877. The Star closed in 1979.
- 1875-1922      -Quebec Daily Telegraph, Quebec City.
- 1897            -The Sherbrooke Record was established incorporating The Sherbrooke Gazette (1837), and The Sherbrooke Examiner (1879). It has been known as The Record since 1980.

\* \* \* \* \*

In addition to The Gazette, Montreal Island is served by about a dozen English and two bilingual weekly community newspapers. While the earliest of these papers date from the 1920s, most of them have been founded within the last twenty years. Their aim, in general, is the coverage of local and community affairs. Articles generally focus on the activities of municipal government, local associations, schools, sports and cultural organizations.

Among these paper is Pointe Claire's News and Chronicle, founded during the 1920s, with a paid circulation of about 29,000. The paper is distributed both on and off the Island of Montreal. The NDG Monitor and two bilingual newspapers - The Lachine Messenger and The LaSalle Messenger - are published by the same company which puts out The News and Chronicle. Distributed free of charge, The Monitor has a circulation of about 36,000; the LaSalle Messenger, 32,400, and the Lachine Messenger, 22,500.

The paid circulation of The Westmount Examiner (5,000), and The Town of Mount Royal Weekly Post (4,600) have each doubled in the past ten years. Founded in 1928 and 1940 respectively, the two papers are now owned by the same publisher. Newer community weeklies include The Nun's Island Journal, founded three years ago, and The Hampstead Journal, established less than one year ago. Both are distributed free to about 4,000 homes. The Suburban Newspaper when first published in 1963 had only one edition covering the Côte St-Luc area. Today it has eight editions, with a total circulation of about 55,000, distributed free of charge to residents in the Côte St-Luc, Hampstead, Town of Mount Royal, Notre-Dame-de-Grace, Westmount, Côte-des-Neiges, Chomedey, St-Laurent, New Bordeaux and Dollard des Ormeaux.

In terms of electronic media, English language radio and television stations are concentrated in Montreal where there are six AM radio stations, four FM radio stations and two television stations. One AM, one FM and one television station are maintained by the CBC, while the remainder are privately owned. Outside Montreal, the only other private radio station is CKTS in Sherbrooke in the Eastern Townships.



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-Weekly English Newspapers on the Island of Montreal-

- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| 1866-1879 | -Canada Scotsman.   |
| 1869-1870 | -Grinchuckle.   |
| 1870-1957 | -Family Herald. In 1937 it became The Family Herald & Star & Practical Agriculturist. In 1957 it was taken over by The Montreal Star. |
| 1870-1872 | -The Hearthstone.   |
| 1881-1885 | -Canada First.  |
| 1883-1884 | -The Pilot.   |
| 1887-1891 | -Canadian Workman Newspaper.  |
| 1890-1898 | -The Echo.  |
| 1892-1893 | -The Antidote.  |
| 1893-1905 | -Sunday Sun.  |
| 1897      | -The Canadian Jewish Times published until 1914 when it became The Canadian Jewish Chronicle.   |
| 1898-1908 | -The Westmount Observer.  |
| 1903-1907 | -The Lachine Weekly & Lakeshore Newspaper, Lachine.   |
| 1905-1951 | -The Standard.  |
| 1907-1915 | -The Westmount News.  |
| 1910-1913 | -The Montreal Tribune.  |
| 1925      | -NDG Monitor, Notre Dame de Grace.  |
| 1928      | -The Westmount Examiner, Westmount.   |
| 1940      | -Town of Mount Royal Post.  |
| 1957-?    | -Dorval Reporter.   |
| 1960      | -Lakeshore News & Chronicle, Pointe Claire.   |
| 1963      | -The Suburban Newspaper.  |
| 1978      | -Nun's Island Journal.  |
| 1981      | -The Hampstead Journal.   |

\* \* \* \* \*

Ethnic Groups

*Montreal's portrait reveals a character which is linguistically and culturally diverse. There is no typical Montrealer. A ride on the Metro or a stroll on downtown streets confirms that. Whereas French or English is most likely spoken, Greek, Italian, Vietnamese or any other language of the city's 80 cultural communities can also be heard.*

According to the Secretary of State's office in Montreal, there were almost 700 ethnic associations involved in activities such as recreation, mutual aid, theatre and folklore in Quebec in 1979. In the same year, the Quebec government publication, Répertoire des médias des communautés ethnique du Québec listed about 55 newspapers emanating from 32 different ethnic communities, published in English, French and other languages and originating mostly in Montreal.

In addition, in 1979, over 60 ethnic journals, newsletters and bulletins circulated principally in Montreal. Twenty-one communities received some radio programming mostly on CFMB (Westmount), CINQ-FM (Montreal), and Radio Centre-Ville (Montreal). There was also some Italian and Portuguese radio programming in Hull. Seventeen ethnic communities had weekly television spots on cable television networks.

In terms of religious organizations there were, in 1981, 39 Catholic ethnic parishes and missions; five Anglican ethnic parishes; 30 synagogues; four Greek Orthodox, and Armenian, Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox parishes, to list but a few.

Libraries play a key role for Montreal minorities. Some are located in parish offices or cultural centres, such as in the Hungarian, Armenian, Maronite, Lithuanian, Haitian and Japanese communities. Among the largest libraries are the 11,000-volume German Library located in the Goethe Institute of Montreal, and the 5,000-volume A.S. Pushkin Library located in the Russian Orthodox Cathedral, St. Peter and St. Paul. Montreal has one of the largest Jewish community libraries in North America. The Jewish Public Library's 150,000 volumes are in English, French, Yiddish, Hebrew and Russian.

Several Montreal communities, such as the Greek, German, Polish,



Armenian and Jewish, have private schools where their particular language and culture are taught. Many of these schools are assisted financially by the Quebec government. For example, the 470-pupil Armenian elementary school in Ahuntsic is administered by the Armenian Apostolic Church Sourp Hagop. Together the school and church, which has a membership of about 1,000 families, form a modern complex of buildings which also has offices for the Armenian weekly newspaper, a gymnasium and headquarters for other community services.

The Jewish Education Council in Montreal co-ordinates 11 day schools with nearly 6,000 students, eight high school locations, nine post-secondary Jewish study programme branches, a learning disability programme and Hebrew language classes.

Many communities are themselves linguistically diverse. About 40 per cent of the Italians in Quebec speak English as a first or second language; 25 per cent of the 110,000 Jewish community is French-speaking; and about 30,000 of Montreal's 110,000-member Black community consists of French-speaking Haitians. Nonetheless, the members of these and other groups have carved out a network of social and cultural organizations.

Immigration to Montreal by Italians began mainly in the late 1800s, continuing through this century except during the two World Wars. Today, the Italian population of about 150,000 has a widespread network of organizations, including eleven social services, six cultural associations, seven sports associations, five recreation centres, seven folklore groups, four weekly newspapers, two theatre groups, as well as radio and television programmes.

Montreal's first synagogue was established in 1768. By the end of the 19th century, the city had three synagogues, two Jewish newspapers - one Yiddish and one English - a Jewish day school and several social service agencies. One of the first Jewish communities established in North America, the Montreal community now has an extensive network of recreational, cultural, educational and social services.

The Montreal Greek community, first established during the 1890s, now numbers about 80,000 and lives in several communities throughout the

city and surrounding area. Members are unified by their language, culture and media, as well as an umbrella organization, the Hellenic Community of Montreal. Founded in 1912, it unites the Greek Orthodox parishes, the Ladies' Benevolent Societies, private schools, the Hellenic Cultural Institute, library facilities, senior citizens' clubs, Boy Scouts and social services. A sod-turning ceremony was held in 1981 for construction of the Centre Héliénique Communautaire, a complex which will have a 24-classroom school, gymnasium, cafeteria, auditorium and offices of the organization.

Montreal's Black community, with its population of about 110,000, is nationally and linguistically diverse. Consisting mainly of English-speaking West Indians, but including French-speaking Haitians, the Black community as a whole has about 53 associations, club and community groups.

In addition, Montreal's Indian, Pakistani, Sikh, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, German, Ukrainian, Chinese and Japanese communities have evolved their own social and cultural organizations, most of which carry out their activities in the mother tongue of their members, English and French.

On one hand, English-speaking Montreal consists of many ethnic groups which have tried to maintain their original culture and language. On the other hand, many of these groups, or significant parts of them, have integrated into Montreal's English-speaking milieu. The result is that they have enriched English-speaking Montreal's cultural mosaic.

### Rural Cultural Life

*While the off-island communities are not nearly so divided ethnically and culturally, each area has its own distinct character. The Eastern Townships, Quebec City, Pontiac and Gaspé offer different examples of historical and cultural development. Some regions have a cultural infrastructure to support its English-speaking community. The Eastern Townships, for instance, has Bishop's*



University, Champlain Regional College, several libraries and historical societies. In other areas, such as the Gaspé, resources are more scattered and fewer. Still others, such as the Pontiac and Hull areas, rely on Ottawa for their cultural nourishment. Furthermore, some off-island English-speaking communities are rural and some are urban. In other words, one can no more generalize about the off-island English-speaking communities than the Montreal English-speaking community. For this reason we have chosen to examine particular institutions, how they have developed and how they support the culture of rural and urban dwellers off the Island of Montreal.

### Education

Educational institutions are an important part of the cultural heritage of a society. The relationship between the survival of schools and the maintenance of a culture has already been discussed in an earlier working paper. However, there is another aspect of education which cannot be overlooked. Adult education, both formal and informal, is particularly important in rural areas. It is for some "a focal point for the community". Unfortunately, government norms often interfere with the effective implementation of adult education courses in areas where the population is scattered. Quite simply, not enough people can travel long distances to be in the same place at the same time. Yet, several organizations, unhampered by established norms, have traditionally responded to the educational and cultural needs of rural communities. Among these institutions and associations are the Macdonald College Extension Department, the Women's Institutes and the Quebec Farmers' Association.

The Macdonald College Extension Department has a long tradition in adult education and has contributed a great deal to the development of community life in rural Quebec through formal and informal education programmes and the assistance of rural organizations.

As an independent administrative unit within the Faculty of Agriculture

and School of Food Science of Macdonald College, the Extension Department has as its major focuses: community programmes aimed mainly at rural Quebec, extension education courses and information services. It is also the provincial base for several intra-provincial and national groups serving Anglophones in rural or semi-rural communities. Among these groups are: the Quebec Farmers' Association (QFA); the Quebec Young Farmers' Federation (QYFF), an autonomous organization serving young anglophone rural youth between the ages of ten and 25; and the Quebec National 4-H programmes. Together, the QYFF, the Extension Department and the Quebec 4-H programmes co-ordinate the national activities of English and French-speaking 4-H members in Quebec. As well, the Extension Department houses the headquarters of the Quebec Women's Institutes (QWI), and the Association of Quebec Regional English Media (AQREM), which was organized in 1979 to assist the regional English language press.

Since its creation in 1905, Macdonald College has been closely tied to rural Quebec: for example, in 1914 a Home Economics School was set up in response to requests from the Quebec Women's Institutes, and during the 1940s community schools for adults were set up in English-speaking centres.

Macdonald College began to expand its community endeavours during the late 1930s when it received a series of small grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. By the end of the 1940s, the Extension Department had influenced rural communities on three levels: through the formation of community schools, the development of educational films and the organization of groups around the Quebec produced CBC Radio Farm Forum programmes. These radio programmes, which were soon after produced nationally, provided a network for community participation and exchange of information through discussion groups which met weekly. Out of these Radio Farm Forums grew the Quebec Farmers' Association, incorporated in 1957 - the first province-wide association of English-speaking farmers in Quebec. As the interested public grew throughout the 1950s, the work of the Extension Department, through Radio Farm Forum, expanded its operations from the Eastern Townships to the Châteauguay-Huntingdon area, Argenteuil and the Upper Ottawa Valley.

Today, the Extension Department continues the tradition of linking



the university to institutions within the community. It also works closely with governments, agricultural business, community groups and schools.

In terms of education, the Extension Department organizes courses at Macdonald and at other locations in conjunction with groups such as the Quebec Farmers' Association and regional school boards.

The popularity of Extension Department courses has been underscored by an increase in enrollment in 1980-81. Moreover, education does not stop in the classroom. It extends to workshop and speaker resources and dissemination of research findings. The Macdonald Journal, with a 1981 circulation of about 3,975, is one of the principal technical information resources.

The Extension Department's communications and information network also provides a cultural support for rural Quebec. Their list of publications is quite extensive and they are most often the result of collaboration with other provincial agricultural interests. For example, the QFA Newsletter, The Advocate (circulation of about 5,000), is published in collaboration with the Extension Department and appears about six times a year. This is, at the moment, the only province-wide rural newspaper and is invaluable as a way of reaching English-speaking farmers across the province. The QYFF publishes a newsletter (circulation 2,500), called The News Spreader, and the QPPA, too, prints a small bilingual newsletter. Among its information activities, the Extension Department and the QFA co-ordinate the editorial content of the agricultural newsletter in English printed by the Ministère de l'agriculture, des pêcheries et de l'alimentation du Québec (MAPAQ). This newsletter, started in 1975, has grown to 5,500 copies. It was temporarily halted in 1980 but after patient negotiations between the Extension Department and the QFA and the government, it was revived in 1981. Today, it is the only English language publication with a regular and province-wide circulation emanating from a Quebec government ministry.

Information circulates not only in the trade press and rural newspapers, but through radio programmes and television at the provincial and national levels in both official languages. The Extension Department co-operates closely with CBC radio's Quebec Farm and Food Programme, Quebec A.M., CTV, and Radio Québec. It also has input into commercial and rural TV programming.

*Women's Institutes and the Quebec Farmers' Association are examples of English language organizations with province-wide networks that have both served specific communities and sustained the bridge between rural anglophone communities. Both of them have one thing in common - a commitment to rural adult education.*

The first Women's Institute was founded by Adelaide Hoodless at Stoney Creek, Ontario in 1897. One of the first Canadian adventures in rural adult education, the early Institutes emphasized the importance of Health and Home Economic Sciences. From their local roots, the Women's Institutes grew into a national and international organization.

The aims of the Women's Institutes at the turn of this century include the dissemination of information related to domestic economy, sanitation and nutrition, "with a view to raising the general standard of the health and morals of our people, or the carrying on of any line of work which has for its object the uplifting of the home, or the betterment of conditions surrounding rural life."<sup>4</sup>

The first Institute in Quebec was formed in Dunham in the Eastern Townships (1911). At the first provincial meeting at Macdonald College

-----

<sup>4</sup> Macdonald College Magazine, Vol. 1, 1910-1911, p.539.



in 1914, 33 clubs were represented. Under the urging of the Women's Institutes, Sir William Macdonald endowed a Home Economics School at Macdonald College in 1914 which has since been the headquarters for the Quebec Women's Institutes.

In 1980, 85 Women's Institute charters existed in most rural regions of Quebec.

Table 4-1

<u>Locality</u>	<u>No. of W.I. Clubs</u>
Abitibi	1
Argenteuil	10
Bonaventure	7
Brome	4
Châteauguay-Huntingdon	8
Compton	6
Gaspé	8
Gatineau	2
Magdalene Islands	1
Megantic	2
Missisquoi	4
Montcalm	1
Pontiac	7
Quebec	1
Richmond	8
Rouville	1
Shefford	3
Sherbrooke	5
Stanstead	5

Source: Quebec Women's Institutes' Annual Report 1980.

Some of the past concrete accomplishments of the Quebec Women's Institutes (QWI) include the development of rural libraries in connection with the McLennan Travelling Library and the Quebec Department of Education. During the 1930s they assisted the Provincial Department of Health in setting up Health Clinics. One of their best known activities was their participation in lobbying the Quebec government for the right for women to vote in provincial elections - a right finally won in 1940 (the right to vote in federal elections had been granted to women in 1918).

Activities at the local level include organizing scholarship funds; school fairs, such as the 65-year-old annual Stanstead County School Fair, produced in co-operation with the Lennoxville District School Board; and volunteers in different locations across Quebec to help upgrade the education of adults with five years schooling or less.

Unfortunately, the QWIs suffer from two major problems: recruitment and financing. The first is due to a decline in the number of Anglophones in rural areas and to the increasing number of women who take full-time jobs outside their homes and community. The second stems from the total dependence of the QWI on government grants for their operation, for which they must apply annually.

#### Quebec Farmers' Association

The Quebec Farmers' Association (QFA), with its professional and technical resources located at Macdonald College, is an organization aimed at stimulating community organization and leadership among the English-speaking rural community in Quebec. Education, information and social animation are the three main concerns of the QFA which represents English-speaking rural families at both the federal and provincial government levels, and to national and provincial rural organizations that have an influence on life in rural Quebec.<sup>5</sup>

-----

<sup>5</sup> QFA Annual Report, 1980-81.



Structured on two levels, the QFA consists of a provincially representative board of directors made up of two directors from each of its 12 local branches. The board, which meets five to six times per year, deals essentially with policy guidelines. The provincial office provides links with federal and provincial institutions such as the Secretary of State, the Quebec Ministère de l'agriculture, des pêcheries et de l'alimentation (MAPAQ), the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, l'Union des producteurs agricoles (UPA), and La co-op fédérée, among others. In addition, there were in 1980-81, 12 committees each charged with monitoring a specific area relating to agricultural and rural interests.

One of the main resources of the local QFA units are the provincial regional school boards. In 1980-81, the QFA organized about 65 courses in different areas in conjunction with regional school boards and Macdonald College. The education programme also includes a speakers' circuit which has informed members on topics of interest from farm taxation to changes in family law.

Linked to education programmes are information and communications services, key components of the QFA. "It is necessary to supply information on laws since farming and production are becoming increasingly bureaucratized," said one fieldman. Pointing to Bill 90 (1981) - a zoning law regulating land use and development - as an example, he added that "the complexities are multiplied since most cases are so different they must be handled separately."

Among the information resources are local community newspapers, the QFA's tabloid, The Advocate, rural and community radio and television programming - all of which have an important effect on the cultural life of the dispersed English rural population.

The financial and human investment in communications does not only have information value but also "creates a sense of provincial unity," said the QFA executive-secretary.

While the QFA is a provincial association, its activities at the local level are of equal importance. Locally, fieldmen work within the branches.

The fieldmen's activities are well co-ordinated and they participate in leadership workshops regularly during the year and act as local animators in different regions of Quebec. The Fieldman Project is the core of the QFA community animator and leadership programme at the grass roots level. Each branch has a Fieldman's Committee which ensures that the local programme reflects the needs of that particular community since the challenges facing each community can vary greatly from one region to another.

Today, QFA members can take heart that there is some greater recognition of their needs in the anglophone community. The Lennoxville Campus of Champlain College will introduce an agriculture programme for Quebecers in the fall of 1982. The course will be academic and will have a practical side with summer sessions on farms. Farming techniques, management and investment will be focal points of the course.

#### County Fairs

County fairs and plowing matches have long been a cultural tradition for English-speaking rural Quebec. For example, the Sherbrooke Plowing Match is entering its 101st consecutive year. First held 156 years ago, the Lachute Fair is now organized by Francophones and Anglophones through the Argenteuil Agricultural Society. Ten thousand people visited the fair grounds in 1981. The smaller Ayer's Cliff Fair, begun in Stanstead County 136 years ago, celebrated its 111th consecutive year at Ayer's Cliff in 1981. The Shawville Fair, which is in its 125th consecutive year, was started in 1856 by William Shaw who secured a charter from the provincial government to establish the Pontiac Agricultural Society. In 1980, county fairs, with large anglophone participation, were also held in Ormstown, New Richmond, Cookshire, Rougemont and Coaticook, to name but a few.

#### Regional Newspapers

*One of the most important functions of institutions which attempt to educate, either*



*formally or informally, is the transmission of information. In this respect, the role of the rural media, both printed and electronic, is especially important. In addition to informing people, it brings scattered communities into closer contact with one another and with the mainstream of Quebec society.*

*Some newspapers, such as The Stanstead Journal and SPEC in the Gaspé, appeal to "captive audiences". Citizens in these areas have little access to Quebec-based, English language media. CBC does not yet reach certain parts of the Gaspé, the Eastern Townships, Pontiac or Southern Quebec.*

The English-speaking communities off the Island of Montreal are served by 15 regional newspapers, one of which is a monthly (The Townships Sun), and another a daily (The Record). Some of these newspapers have been in existence since the late 1700s.

The Quebec Chronicle and Telegraph, which now distributes about 6,000 papers, boasts that it is one of North America's oldest newspapers. The Chronicle's ancestor, The Quebec Gazette, appeared on June 21, 1764 as a weekly in both French and English. In 1838 it became a daily, publishing three days in English and three days in French. It returned to a weekly publication in 1874 and merged with the Quebec English language Chronicle in 1924.

Despite their importance, several regional newspapers are in fragile financial straits. With few exceptions, the declining English-speaking population has meant a decline in readership and circulation. This, in turn, has led several papers to expand trade areas and increase revenues by selling more advertising space. More advertising means less news. Furthermore, more advertising does not necessarily increase circulation. According to a journalist at The Lachute Watchman "most Anglophones can understand some French advertisements, so they read free French circulars

\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

-Weekly English Newspapers off the Island of Montreal-

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| 1794       | -The Quebec Gazette, later became the Quebec Chronicle & Telegraph, Quebec City.                            |
| 1845       | -Stanstead Journal, Rock Island.  |
| 1861-64    | -Pontiac Pioneer & Portage-du-Fort Advertiser, Portage-du-Fort.   |
| 1862-70    | -The Huntingdon Journal, Huntingdon.  |
| 1863-1912  | -The Canadian Gleaner, Huntingdon.  |
| 1864       | -The Gleaner, Huntingdon.   |
| 1865-69    | -Granby Gazette, Granby.  |
| 1869-71    | -The Yamaska News, St. Hyacinthe.   |
| 1869-1961  | -Coaticook Observer, Coaticook.   |
| 1870-81    | -The Lumberman & Three Rivers Echo, Trois Rivières.   |
| 1870-72    | -The Farmer's Journal, St. Hyacinthe.   |
| 1871-78    | -The Sherbrooke News, Sherbrooke.   |
| 1872-77    | -Argenteuil Advertiser, Lachute.  |
| 1872-1960s | -Pontiac Advance, Bryson.   |
| 1873-1882  | -The New Dominion, Ormstown.  |
| 1874-75    | -Richmond Tribune. It became the Richmond Guardian in 1875.   |
| 1875-78    | -The Quebec Star, Quebec City.  |
| 1877-79    | -Hull News, Hull.   |
| 1877       | -The Watchman & Ottawa Valley Advocate was published from 1877 to 1935 when it became The Lachute Watchman. |
| 1878-1924  | -The Bedford Times, Bedford.  |
| 1879-99    | -Despatch, Hull.  |
| 1880-1914  | -The Alpha, Arthabaska.   |
| 1881-83    | -The Review & District of Bedford Intelligencer, Waterloo.  |
| 1883       | -The Equity, Shawville.   |
| 1882-88    | -Cowansville Observer, Cowansville.   |
| 1883-84    | -The Farmer's Advocate, Huntingdon.   |
| 1884-86    | -The Huntingdon Advocate, Huntingdon.   |
| 1885-88    | -The Independent Times & County of Stanstead Advertiser, Stanstead Plain.                                   |



\*\*\*\*Historical Notes\*\*\*\*

Weekly English Newspapers off the Island of Montreal

- |            |   |
|------------|---|
| 1885-1919  | -Magog News & Stanstead County Advocate, St. Jean.                                    |
| 1885-87    | -Missisquoi Record, Stanbridge East.  |
| 1887-95    | -The Independent, Lachute.  |
| 1888-91    | -Ormstown Record, Ormstown.   |
| 1890-93    | -The Enterprise, Huntingdon.  |
| 1891-1970s | -Granby Leader Mail, Granby.  |
| 1891-93    | -Huntingdon News, Huntingdon.   |
| 1891-92    | -Châteauguay Times & District of Beauharnois Advertiser, Ormstown.                    |
| 1894-99    | -News & Argenteuil County Advocate, St. Jean.   |
| 1895-97    | -Argenteuil County News, Lachute.   |
| 1895-1979  | -Buckingham Post, Buckingham.   |
| 1895-1932  | -The Ormstown Bulletin, Ormstown.   |
| 1895-1923  | -The Enterprise, Magog.   |
| 1896-99    | -The Granby Mail, Granby.   |
| 1897-1904  | -Ottawa Valley Advocate, Bryson.  |
| 1899-1935  | -The Bedford News & Missisquoi County Advocate, St. Jean and Bedford.                 |
| 1899-1901  | -The Megantic Gazette, Rectory Hill.  |
| 1900-09    | -The Advance & Gatineau Beacon, Hull.   |
| 1910-12    | -The Three Rivers News, Trois Rivières.   |
| 1933       | -Rouyn-Noranda Press, Rouyn-Noranda.  |
| 1939       | -Val d'Or Star, Val d'Or.   |
| 1949       | -The Lake of Two Mountains Gazette became The Victory in 1952, Lake of Two Mountains. |
| 1951       | -Hudson Gazette, Hudson.  |
| 1962-80    | -Aylmer Reporter, Aylmer.   |
| 1972       | -Low Down to Hull and Back, Chelsea   |
| 1975       | -Spec, New Carlisle.  |

\* \* \* \* \*

that come to their doorsteps and no longer bother buying English newspapers with the same advertisements and no news." Lower circulation has also caused local English businessmen to advertise increasingly in French newspapers and circulars. The tough competition for advertising is one of the main reasons why The Watchman's circulation has declined from 3,400 ten years ago to 2,855 in 1981. Fortunately, the picture is not uniformly bleak.

Founded in 1897, the antecedents of The Record lie with The Sherbrooke Gazette, which began appearing during the 1830s. Known until 1980 as The Sherbrooke Record, the newspaper's subscriptions have had their ups and downs. Yet its uninterrupted existence and current profitability indicate its importance as a regional news medium for the scattered and shrinking English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships. In fact, the change of name to The Record was a recognition of the wide-ranging distribution of the newspaper (7,600 subscriptions) to about 90 communities. The six full-time reporters, ten stringers and 50 others who send in notes from their communities, contribute to the success of The Record, which emphasizes local and regional news.

Since 1845 the weekly Stanstead Journal has been serving the "international community" of Stanstead-Rock Island, which straddles the Quebec-Vermont border. Printed in Vermont, most of its 2,800 readers (an increase of 1,700 since 1951) are English-speaking Townshippers.

Newspapers whose decline in readership have followed a corresponding decline in the English-speaking population include The Val d'Or Star and The Rouyn-Noranda Press. The circulation of The Val d'Or Star, the oldest newspaper in the region dating from 1939, fell from about 1,700 during the late 1950s to about 300 in 1981. Similarly, the circulation of The Rouyn-Noranda Press was halved from 2,500 in 1960 to 1,300 in 1981. Yet these papers, now owned by francophone publishers, are still going. The Val d'Or Star, for example, owned by the same people who run the Echo du Nord, uses the same offices and administrative staff as the Echo, thus avoiding overhead costs. Several pages of the newspaper, in fact, are simply translated from the Echo. In this way, the English-



speaking communities of northwestern Quebec are able to keep abreast of local news.

One newspaper which exemplifies community information is SPEC, published in Gaspé. Funded by the Secretary of State, SPEC was developed to inform the people living along the coast. "SPEC is probably the best thing to happen to the Gaspé coast," said Cynthia Dow of the Committee for Anglophone Social Action. Since its origins in the mid-1970s, SPEC has grown from a monthly to a weekly publication. It is the only indigenous newspaper in northeastern Quebec, and has a current circulation of about 3,600.

In recognition of the need to maintain the English language rural press and to deal with the problems of falling circulation, the English language regional newspapers banded together in 1979 to form the Association of English Language Regional Media (AQREM).

Despite its declining population base, rural English-speaking Quebec has an essential need for information. While the CBC and local radio and tele-communications' programming have, over the past several years, begun to meet these needs, they cannot provide the depth or the follow-up to issues of local importance. It is in these areas that local newspapers, which allow continuous community and individual participation, are more flexible.

AQREM, funded largely by the Secretary of State and to some extent by the Quebec government, has given regional newspapers both moral and, where possible, financial support. It has carried out workshops on journalistic techniques, administrative methods, lay-out and distribution, and has helped with the training of future journalists.

Table 4-2

Members of the Association of English Language  
Regional Media (AQREM)

Name	Region Served by Newspaper
-The Aylmer Bulletin	Aylmer and district.
-The Equity	Shawville & entire municipal county of Pontiac
-The Gleaner	Châteauguay Valley (Valleyfield, Cornwall, Northern New York)
-Hudson Gazette	Hudson and area.
-The Lowdown to Hull and Back News	Low Hull (Gatineau River Valley).
-The Post	Buckingham Gatineau, Thurso, Val des Monts.
-Quebec Chronicle Telegraph	Quebec City (Ste-Foy, Sillery), also Shannon Val Cartier (Camp Val Cartier, CFB), Stoneham, Lévis, Loretteville, Ste-Anne-de-Beaupré, Ste-Etienne-de-Lauzon.
-Rouyn-Noranda Press	Rouyn - Noranda.
-The Record (daily)	Eastern Townships
-SPEC	Gaspé Peninsula
-The Stanstead Journal	Stanstead, Rock Island, Sherbrooke, Lennoxville, Stanhope, Magog.
-The Townships Sun (monthly)	Southern Quebec.
-The Val d'Or Star	Val d'Or.
-The Victory	Ste-Eustache, Ste-Thérèse, Deux Montagnes, Rosemère.
-The Watchman	Lachute, Hawkesbury, Ste-Emile-de-Suffolk, Lac Manitou-Sud, Ste-Adèle, Lafontaine, St-Jérôme.

Source: Macdonald College Annual Report, 1981.



### Radio and Television

*The newspapers are particularly important since Quebec-based English language radio and television programming are only beginning to emerge in many rural areas of Quebec.*

There is some English language community radio programming in Quebec. For example, Radio Gaspé, a community station set up in 1978, has offered a daily English hour from 6:30 p.m. to 7:30 p.m. since 1980. A second community radio station, which offers some English language programming exists in the Magdalene Islands and a third, Radio Bonne Aventure, expected to be on the air by the autumn of 1982, has actively begun to recruit members. This station has been described as a French language community network open to the English and Micmac communities. The English are hoping for 15 per cent of the air time.

Radio Pontiac is a bilingual station operating out of school facilities donated by the Pontiac School Board. Licensed in 1980, it is one of the first radio stations in many years which has received authorization to broadcast in both English and French. Serving the needs of Anglophones and Francophones alike, it provides a Quebec-based alternative to English language Ontario-based broadcasts which permeate the air waves in the region. At present, the station broadcasts from 7:00 a.m. to 12 noon in French, noon to 5:00 p.m. in English, and 5:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. in French. Truly a community undertaking, the station is at present run entirely by volunteers and the programming is determined by the listening public through community representatives.

Important as these community endeavours are, there has been a noticeably slow development of CBC English language, Quebec-based programming, particularly in rural areas. Several years ago, the CBC consented to extend its English language services to the roughly 200,000 English-speaking people living outside the Montreal area. A chain of 33 transmitters was built across the province from Blanc Sablon in the northeast to James Bay and Rouyn-Noranda in the west-central part of the

Table 4-3

CBC Radio - English Services, Quebec: Stations on the Air			
<u>Production Centres</u>	<u>Quebec Community Network</u>		<u>Since</u>
-Montreal - CBM-AM	Chapais	CBMD	26.02.70
-Quebec City - CBVE	Gagnon	CBMG	19.01.66
	Gaspé	CBMH	12.01.67
<u>Satellite Network (QCN &amp; CREE)</u>	La Tuque	CBME	22.11.66
-Fort George - CBMP	Lebel-sur-Quevillon	CBMK	02.04.70
-Nouveau Comptoir - CBMW	Malartic	CBMN	16.02.68
-Mistassini Station - CBVS	Mégantic	CBMO	17.08.71
-Magdalen Islands - CBVM	Murdochville	CBMJ	02.09.67
	Schefferville	CBDN	28.11.65
<u>Canadian Forces Stations</u>	Senneterre	CBMM	15.12.68
-Moisie - CFRM	Val d'Or	CBML	04.08.67
-Mont Apica - CKMA			
<u>Network Affiliate</u>	<u>HPRTs (AM on FM)</u>		
-Sherbrooke - CKTS	Chicoutimi	CBJE	03.10.73
<u>Ex-CBO (Ottawa)</u>	Trois-Rivières-	CBMZ	21.07.78
-Maniwaki - CBON	Shawinigan		
	Baie Comeau	CBMI	28.05.79
<u>Projected on Air (1983)</u>	Sept-Îles-Port Cartier	CBSE	22.12.78
-Escuminac	Harrington Harbour	CBMU	08.01.79
-New Richmond	La Tabatière	CBMT	08.01.79
-New Carlisle	Old Fort Bay	CBMV	08.01.79
-Port Daniel	St-Augustin-Saguenay	CBMX	08.01.79
-Chandler	Rivière St-Paul	CBMY	08.01.79
-Percé	Fermont	CBMR	15.03.79
-Gaspé	Blanc Sablon	CBMS	02.04.79
-Matagami	Sherbrooke	CBMB	.81
-Waswanipi	Thetford Mines	CBMC	.81
	Fort Rupert	CBMQ	.81
	Chibougamou	CBMF	.81
	Noranda		.81

Source: Updated from a report from: Director of Coverage Planning,  
CBC English Services, Quebec, March 1, 1980.

province. Not all of the proposed stations have opened, and the amount of English language programming is, in certain areas, quite limited. The English Quebec community network began to expand between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s when 13 low output stations (LPRTS) were set up to receive AM service from Montreal. In 1978-1979, twelve FM stations (HPRTs) were set up to receive Montreal AM services.



In 1981, several more stations including Sherbrooke, Thetford Mines, Fort Rupert and the Town of Gaspé, were, for the first time, plugged into the English language Quebec AM community network. Unfortunately, other areas with substantial English-speaking communities, such as New Carlisle and Richmond and part of the Eastern Townships, will not receive any English language broadcasts until 1983 at the earliest.

### Television

The development of English language CBC television in Quebec is as complex as that of radio. Since 1976 there seems to have been an effort to introduce more Quebec-based English programming throughout the province. There are, at present, about 18 transmitters which rebroadcast programmes originating in Montreal.

Table 4-4

CBC Television, English Services, Quebec.

A. <u>PRODUCTION CENTRE</u>	<u>Since</u>
Montreal - CBMT	10.01.54
B. <u>REBROADCASTS OF CBC-6 MONTREAL</u>	
-Saguenay - Lac St-Jean	20.12.76
-Trois-Rivières-Shawinigan	15.03.78
-La Tuque	01.06.79
-Sherbrooke	21.01.79
-Thetford Mines	21.01.79
-Baie Comeau	12.12.79
-Sept-Iles-Port Cartier	03.07.78
-Schefferville	03.07.78
-Harrington Harbour	08.01.79
-Old Fort Bay	08.01.79
-St-Augustin-Saguenay	08.01.79
-La Tabatière	08.01.79
-Rivière St-Paul	08.01.79
-Blanc Sablon	02.04.79
-Magog, Alma, Thetford Mines, Sherbrooke	.81

Source: Director of Coverage Planning, CBC English Services, Quebec, March 1, 1980.

There are several stations which receive one hour of Quebec-based programming. The balance of their programming enamates via satellite from CBC North, which broadcasts in English and Inuktituk.

Table 4-5

CBC Satellite - Northern Services

	<u>Since</u>
-Fort Rupert	08.04.78
-Magdalen Islands	01.08.79
-Gaspé	22.12.79
-Fort George	15.12.79
-Nouveau Comptoir	15.12.79
-Mistassini Station	15.12.79
-Murdochville-Chibougamau	.81

Source: Director of Coverage Planning,  
CBC English Services, Quebec.  
March 1, 1980.

There is, at the moment, an engineering survey to investigate the feasibility of introducing satellite reception for other areas including New Richmond, New Carlisle and Chandler along the Gaspé coast by 1983. For an installation fee of \$100 and a service fee of \$15, Anglophones in these towns, too, will be able to receive the CBC North package. In the meantime, residents in neighbouring Bonaventure County continue to pick up New Brunswick programming.

The year 1983 will also, if all goes according to schedule, bring English language broadcasts to Val d'Or, Noranda and the Magog-Cowansville area, as well as the southeastern corner of the Townships whose anglophone residents do not yet receive any Quebec-based English language television broadcasts.

Churches

*As well as being spiritual meeting places, churches have been a focal point for community activities and have contributed culturally and*



historically to Quebec's English-speaking society. Although they have experienced a decline in their powers and influence, they act as a source of community organization even in today's secular world.

Like other English language institutions, churches have had to adapt to demographic and social change. With an increasing number of francophone Protestants, some - such as the Chalmers-Wesleyan Presbyterian Church in Quebec City - have introduced French language services. The Anglican Synod of Quebec has evolved a French language liturgy and is trying to train more bilingual ministers. In response to declining populations, more and more United Churches and Anglican Churches, such as the Golden Valley Church in Val d'Or, are merging their facilities and services.

The Churches of Quebec have deep historical roots. The congregation attached to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Quebec City, for example, is now entering its 223rd year. It is the oldest Presbyterian congregation in Canada.

The importance of organized religious institutions in Quebec stems from their early influence in Quebec society. Often the initiators of early health and social service institutions, they established and ran schools and universities. In addition, the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican Church (from the 1760s) had the power of civil administration. In registering births, deaths and marriages, they were among the earliest census-takers in Quebec. Also, for a long time the Catholic parish structure was the medium for information dissemination from the government.

Culturally, some churches, such as the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity (Anglican) in Quebec City, present concerts and choir music. In addition, the

Cathedral's court yard houses artisans during the summer months. Commissioned in 1800 as a result of efforts by Dr. Jacob Mountain, the first Anglican Bishop in Quebec, it was completed in 1804. Styled after St. Martin's-in-the-Field, London, it has had some architectural influence on other Quebec churches.

The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity is the mother church of the Diocese of Quebec, established in 1793. Today, the Diocese covers about 450,000 square kilometres, consists of about 97 churches and counts 12,000 Anglicans on its rolls.

The Cathedral is self-sufficient and meets most of its operating costs through endowments and donations from the thousands of visitors (500,000 in 1981) who pass through its doors. However, in 1979, an Association of Friends of the Cathedral set to work to raise supplementary funds for large scale restoration and renovation.

The financial squeeze has followed a decline in the number of Anglicans, mostly English-speaking, in the Quebec City area. Until recently there were four Anglican Churches around Quebec City. There are now two churches and two missions. While the Cathedral and churches are self-supporting, they must provide funds for the two missions. The Cathedral must also support several other missions in the Diocese of Quebec from Schefferville in the north to the United States' border in the south. All this for and with a declining population base.

Demographic and social changes have affected the Anglican Church in many ways. In response to an overall decline in its population base, several Anglican Churches now share facilities and services with United Churches. This is possible because of the similar beliefs of the two religions. In the Diocese of Quebec, there are five shared ministries at Trois Rivières, Schefferville, Shawinigan/Grandmère, Saguenay/Lac St-Jean and Sept-Iles.

There are also several shared ministries outside the Diocese of Quebec. The Golden Valley Church in Val d'Or, which has a congregation of about 100 families, is one such example. Val d'Or is in the Anglican



Diocese of Moosenee and the United Church's Manitou Conference. Anglican and United Church services alternate on a weekly basis.

Even with these adaptations the future of the Anglican/United Church endeavour is in doubt. The Church is a focal point for women's organizations and weekly meetings, but most of its regular patrons are elderly; the English-speaking population in the area continues to decline; and it is increasingly difficult to recruit ministers.

The Irish Catholic community in Quebec City, like many other English-speaking Catholic communities in Quebec functioned and flourished during its early years within francophone institutions. Their earliest services were held in churches which served French-speaking Catholics and their first schools were run by Francophones.

The Irish Catholic community in Quebec City has had a long history. The earliest recorded celebration of St. Patrick's Day in Quebec City took place in 1765. By 1817, the Irish Catholic community submitted its first petition to the Bishop of Quebec for an English-speaking Catholic clergyman. The English Catholics finally consecrated their own Church - St. Patrick's - in 1833 and in 1856 their parish was formally established. It was one of the first "ethnic parishes" in Quebec. Until that time, the English-speaking Catholics were part of the oldest parish in Quebec - Notre Dame de Québec - which received parish status in 1644. From 1822-28, the Basilica was placed at the disposal of Irish Catholics who attended mass as a separate congregation.

Today, there are two Irish Catholic Churches in Greater Quebec City: St. Patrick's and St. Vincent. St. Patrick's also has a chapel in Sillery - St. Stephen's. The Town of Shannon, near Quebec City, still largely Irish Catholic, is served by St. Joseph's Chapel which is linked to Ste-Catherine's Church in Portneuf.

The original St. Patrick's Church (now only a hollow frame which surrounds a parking lot) was a focal point of community activities; it was

the centre for a Chapter of the St. Vincent de Paul Society for the Relief of the Poor; Holy Family Societies, Temperance Society; choir; and St. Patrick's Catholic and Literary Institute. From the 1850s the community began to fill out its institutional structure from schools to labour unions and mutual aid societies, such as the Quebec Ship Labourers' Union of the 1860s. Schools, in particular, were an outgrowth of the Catholic Church: they were administered by the Church which also supplied the teaching staff. In 1884, a boys' school was set up, but not until the 1930s did girls obtain separate facilities in the Leonard School. Until then they were located in English classes in French schools - a tradition stemming from the 1820s when the Ursuline Nuns opened an English class for Irish girls. In 1956, the first English Catholic High School for boys and girls opened in Quebec City.

St. Lawrence College was set up in 1956 as a classical college for English Catholic boys - one of the few English language classical colleges in Quebec aside from Loyola College in Montreal. Today, it is the St. Lawrence Campus of the Champlain Regional CEGEP. The fact that this facility was in place when CEGEPs were set up, during the late 1960s and early 1970s, ensured Quebec City an English language CEGEP.

### Libraries

Libraries are an important cultural support. Throughout the province, English-speaking communities have had a tradition of setting up libraries - public and private. For example, the Quebec Literary and Historical Society was founded in 1824. Private until recently, it is, at the moment, the only English language library in Quebec City.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries many public association libraries were set up in the Eastern Townships. Until the early 1960s, libraries in the Townships were run by, supported and developed mainly for the English-speaking population. Some of these libraries still exist in Asbestos, Lennoxville, Magog, North Hatley, Rock Island, Sutton and Waterloo.



Bishop's University, Lennoxville

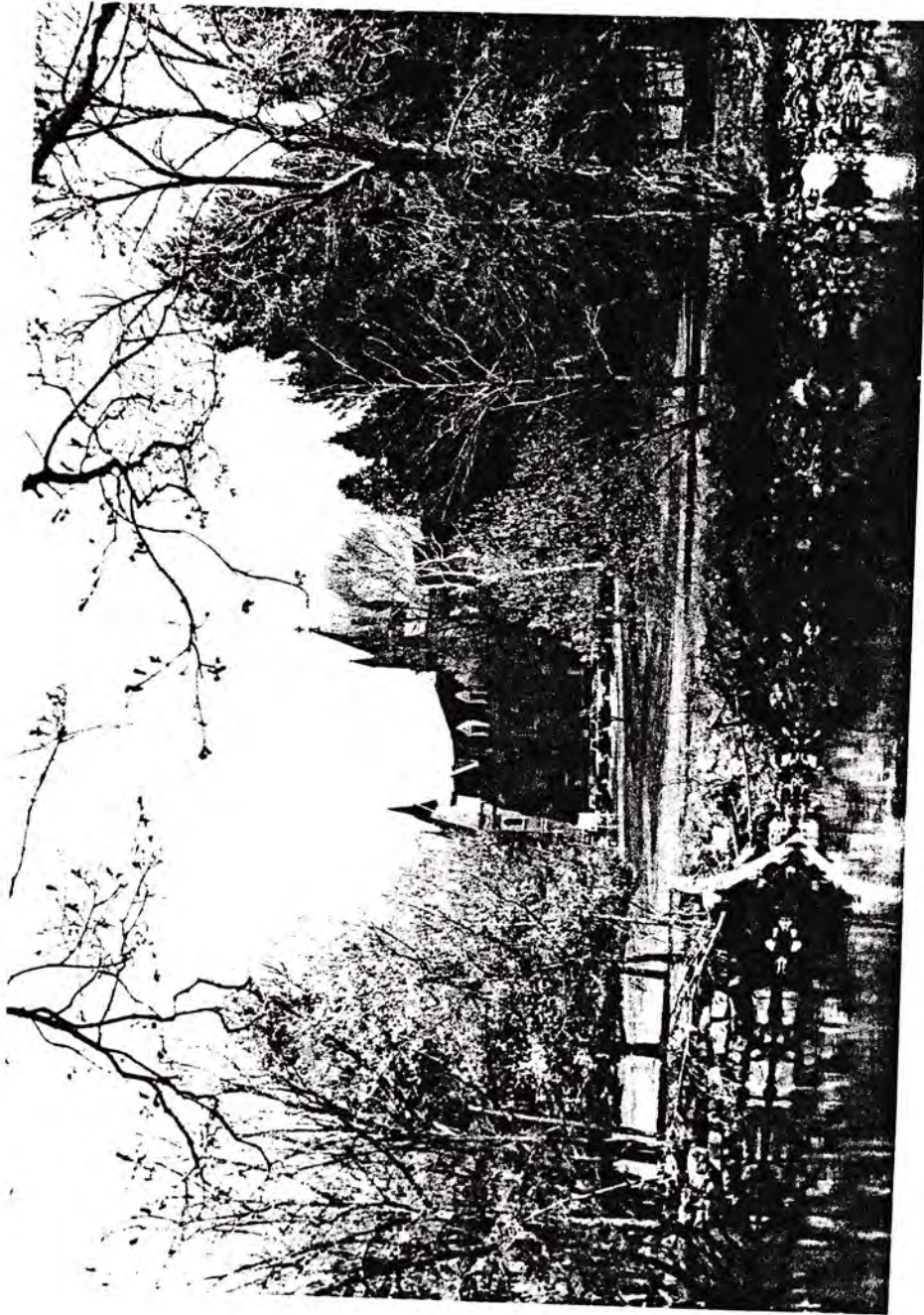


Photo by Barbara Verity

However, given the cost of books and maintenance of facilities, subscription fees for members, donations and revenues from other library activities are no longer sufficient to run libraries. The Bibliothèques centrales de prêt (BCP) were set up by the Quebec government during the late 1970s to offer professional library service to municipalities of less than 5,000. Quebec also gives grants to municipalities over 5,000 to support existing libraries or to create new ones. In 1980-81, BCPs received \$4,088,000 from the Quebec government. Contributions to libraries are also available from municipal and, when libraries apply, federal sources such as the Canada Council. The BCP book collections are rotated on a quarterly basis in municipalities which voluntarily contract the service. But, according to a study on libraries in the Townships,<sup>6</sup> the generous financial aid programmes of the Ministère des affaires culturelles and the organizations of BCPs - while important for communities with no service - do not fit in with the existing English library facilities, which have a tradition of independent library service.

The Bibliothèque centrale de prêt de l'Estrie (BCPE) Inc., which serves the Townships, has been operating since 1979. In 1980, it had about 112,000 volumes, 66,000 of which were inherited from the McLennan Travelling Library collection, donated by McGill University, and about 40,000 French volumes acquired since 1978. The McLennan Travelling Library, endowed by the McLennan family and subsidized by McGill University since 1910, was an important service to public and school libraries of the area. By the time the service ceased in 1978, the Travelling Library's Bookmobile reached Abbotsford, Ayer's Cliff, Bromont, Bedford, Bury, Cookshire, Cowansville, Danville, Dunham, Granby, Lennoxville, Magog, North Hatley, Richmond, Sawyerville, Stanbridge East and Waterloo. Its freight service supplied books to libraries in Asbestos, Mansonville and Sutton, and mail deliveries served a reading group in

---

<sup>6</sup> Christina Richards, Library Services for English-Speaking Townshippers. 1981.



Farnham and individuals in outlying areas.<sup>7</sup> By 1978, McGill University could not by itself maintain the service and the 66,000 book collection was donated to the BCPE.

Unfortunately, the guidelines of the transfer were not clear. Some old patrons of the Travelling Library, for example, no longer fall within BCP guidelines - Cowansville, Magog, Granby and Asbestos are larger than 5,000 and so they cannot participate in the BCP network. Citizens in municipalities which chose not to join the BCP network no longer have access to the McLennan Travelling Library collection (North Hatley, Sutton, Knowlton, Lennoxville and Waterloo).

In 1980, the Bibliothèque centrale de prêt de l'Estrée served about 40,000 people in 30 municipalities through 24 libraries. Since the proportion of Anglophones in these municipalities is about ten per cent of the total population, and since acquisitions are based prorata on the linguistic composition of the population, English language acquisitions are few. This will probably remain the case since the French language collection has a lot of catching up to do in order to serve Franco-phones adequately.

Some anglophone areas have benefited from the evolution of BCPs, particularly where, previously, library resources were limited. Several years ago, the Gaspesian Cultural Association, a precursor of the Committee for Anglophone Social Action, tried to set up libraries in various anglophone villages along the Gaspé coast. The most successful of these libraries was the one in New Richmond which, once it was fairly well established, was taken over by the municipality.

The New Richmond Library did not become part of the municipal government without certain guarantees. Its organizers stipulated that they could withdraw their books anytime they felt that they were not fairly treated by the municipal government. Other stipulations regarding the running of the library included provisions for at least one Anglophone on the board executive and one English-speaking volunteer to work during the evenings.

---

<sup>7</sup> Christina Richards, Library Services for English-Speaking Townshippers. 1981.

-Some Historical Societies-  
-With English-Speaking Participation-

- La Société Historique de Montréal: Composed mostly of francophones but equally open to anglophones.
- Compton County Historical Society and Museum.
- Brome-Missisquoi Historical Society.
- The Historical Society of the Gatineau, Old Chelsea.
- The Eastern Townships' Historical Society, Sherbrooke.
- The Pontiac Historical Society, Shawville, founded in 1960.
- The Société Historique de la Gaspésie, founded in 1962.
- Quebec Literary and Historical Society (Quebec City).
- Aylmer Heritage Association (Aylmer)
- Châteauguay Valley Historical Society.
- Westmount Historical Society (Montreal).
- Eastern Townships Heritage Association.
- United Empire Loyalist Association (Townships).
- Lennoxville-Ascot Historical Society (Townships).
- Stanstead Historical Society (Stanstead).
- Historical Society of the Argenteuil (Lachute).
- Gatineau Community Association (Gatineau).
- Le Comité Culturel du Pontiac.

\* \* \* \* \*



### Historical Societies - Museums, Regional Displays

Historical societies, too, help to maintain the cultural contributions of Anglophones and embody an appreciation of local history. In so doing they often form a bridge with their francophone counterparts. There is a movement to link the local history and "patrimoine" of both groups of Quebecers. In 1980, the Quebec government distributed \$500,000 to 133 heritage projects.

In the Eastern Townships alone there are about nine active historical societies that record, preserve and display local history. Financial support at the municipal and provincial levels, as well as private funding, enable these societies to function.

The Missisquoi Historical Society, for example, located in Stanbridge East, was founded in 1898 and incorporated in 1976. Many old manuscripts and documents are housed in the Cornet Mill Museum, which was built in 1830. An annexe to the Museum was built in 1981 with donations from Champlain Industries, the MacDonald Stewart Foundation, the Samuel and Saidye Bronfman Family Foundation, municipal and members' contributions. An active core of the 600 members attend meetings of other historical associations - local, regional, national and international.

Among the activities of this historical society are guided tours of the area and the documentation of local history. Members have contributed to the writing and publication of a 15-volume series on the history of the county. With a grant from the provincial government, the society is hoping to translate the series into French.

The cultural identity of Gaspesians as a whole has been the focus of La société historique de la Gaspésie since its founding in 1962. The historical society began as half Francophone and half Anglophone. From 1963 to 1976, the society published a bilingual revue - La revue d'histoire de la Gaspésie. Since 1976, this revue has been published in French only. The society, since 1976, has also directed the Gaspé

Regional Museum, through which approximately 30,000 people pass each year - 20 per cent Anglophone and 80 per cent Francophone - according to the museum's director.

Other historical societies have launched bilingual programmes. The Historical Society of the Argenteuil, for example, formed in 1939, recently initiated a bilingual educational programme to recount the history of the county.

There is also a revived interest in the history and indigenous culture of the Gatineau area. The Historical Society of the Gatineau's main objective is to assemble historical data on the area, as well as to preserve local artifacts, publications and buildings of interest. Similar activities are carried out by the Pontiac Historical Society, founded in 1960.

Museums are also responsible for collecting artifacts and arranging displays dealing with local culture. Associated with the Brome County Historical Society, the Canadian Vintage-Wireless Association and the Musical Box Society International, the Communications Hall of Fame in Sutton, Quebec, displays a collection of early electrical and communication artifacts.

Other museums in the Townships include the Colby-Curtis Museum in Beebe and the Barn Museum, both run by the Stanstead Historical Society; Brome County Historical Society Museum; the Cornell Mill Museum (Missisquoi Historical Society), and the Lennoxville-Ascot Museum.

Amateur productions and travelling road shows have contributed to the greater appreciation of anglophone culture. For example, "As We Were", a photographic history of the Townships, 1860-1940, initiated jointly by Townshippers' Association and several school boards, toured all elementary and secondary schools in the Eastern Townships Regional School Board, Lennoxville District School Board and the St. Francis School Board, as part of a Life Long Ago Workshop.



Similarly, the Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA) in the Gaspé organized an art exhibit of anglophone artists in the Gaspé area. This travelling road show toured every English community from Matapédia to the Gaspé. About 1,300 people visited the exhibit and CASA hopes to follow up this cultural event with other programmes.

### Theatres

While there are many amateur productions off the Island of Montreal, there are only two professional theatres, both of which are located in the Eastern Townships. These theatres, the Piggery and Festival Lennoxville, which attract audiences from all over Quebec, form a bridge between other areas of the province and the Townships.

The Piggery Theatre, North Hatley, began about 20 years ago. It is housed in a former piggery barn which has been converted to a theatre. Plays are presented during the summer to audiences from the surrounding area and Montreal, as well as tourists. Musicals, or light entertainment, are the usual fare, and several French language productions have been held over the years.

In 1980, Festival Lennoxville was the third largest summer festival in Canada after the Stratford and Shaw Festivals. Formed in 1971, it is the largest one producing exclusively Canadian plays. The language of presentations has been in English, but plans for the 1982 season include one bilingual and two French language plays. Located in Lennoxville's Centennial Theatre, the Festival played to 20,000 people - many from other parts of Quebec - during the months of July and August, 1980.

Despite support for the Festival, by 1980 it had accumulated a \$96,000 deficit, which caused the cancellation of the 1981 season. In recognition of the same problems faced by other theatres in the country, the federal government instituted, in 1980, the Deficit Reduction Programme for Performing Arts Organizations. Once the Arts Organization raised one-third of its deficit, through private funding, the federal and provincial governments each made an equal contribution, eliminating the remaining two-thirds of the deficit.

In order to eradicate the remaining third of its debt, Festival Lennoxville cancelled its 1981 season and held a successful benefit concert in September of 1981. This public show of support will allow the theatre to re-open in 1982.

### Community Organizations

*Renewed interest in local and regional culture (a rediscovery of roots and development) is but one way in which some anglophone communities have reacted to social and political change in Quebec. Anglophones are also meeting the challenge of change through the evolution of regional community organizations which represent Anglophones and express their institutional needs. Among these organizations are the Pontiac Social Planning Council, the Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA) in the Gaspé; the newly-formed Châteauguay Valley English-Speaking Association; the Voice of English Quebec and the English-Speaking Townshippers' Association.*

### The English-Speaking Townshippers' Association

The founding of Townshippers' Association was stimulated by a mini-summit held in the area (one of a series in Quebec), by Camille Laurin in 1979. At that time, about 300 Townshippers presented a brief on the particular social and economic problems facing them. Today, there are about 6,000 members of the organization.

The goals of the Townshippers are to promote the interest of the English-speaking community in its area; to strengthen its cultural identity; and to encourage the full participation of the English-speaking community at large. The territory covered is large and the interests are quite diverse. Current membership is divided into several Regional Tables which allow each local area to have input into the organization



without having to travel vast distances. Each Regional Table has about five task forces, or interest committees, dealing with education, job opportunities, health and social services, heritage and the arts and participation in Quebec society. Local surveys are made by the Regional Tables to find out the state and needs of Anglophones in these areas of concern.

This information has formed the basis of several documents such as briefs presented to the Regional Health and Social Service Boards explaining the lack of services in English in the Townships; a study on the accessibility of English language services at the Sherbrooke General Hospital, the only tertiary care unit in the area; a study on library facilities; and a study on toponymy (names and signs).

Action-oriented Townshippers are involved in finding the solutions to their problems. In 1980, the Townshippers' board came out strongly in favour of improved French language instruction in the English schools. In 1981, they held a symposium on education which included such workshop topics as the fate of small schools and French as a second language.

Townshippers' were essential in setting up Aide communautaire Lennoxville et environs - a voluntary organization established jointly with the Eastern Townships Regional School Board. The aim of this operation is to co-ordinate existing health and social services, especially as far as the elderly and handicapped are concerned: e.g. Meals on Wheels; a transportation network to help those unable to use public transport to get medical care or to shop; a telephone network to provide a check-in with those who need it; and visits to shut-ins and elderly people.

There is a feeling among Townshippers that Bill 101 has done more harm to rural anglophone communities than urban communities. But the cultural revival among English-speaking Townshippers and their active involvement in social, political and economic issues signifies that they are prepared to defend their heritage.

### The Committee for Anglophone Social Action

The Committee for Anglophone Social Action (CASA) was founded in 1974 and incorporated in 1975 initially to launch the newspaper SPEC. After much time and effort, SPEC became a weekly publication for the area and operated under the direction of Sea Coast Publications. CASA is now in the process of exercising its broader mandate of promoting and facilitating the development and preservation of anglophone culture on the Gaspé Peninsula, particularly in the area between the Towns of Gaspé and Matapédia.

In the past, CASA's activities have included cultural and heritage promotion, the publication of a local history, and the compiling of an inventory of English institutions and organizations in the area. More recently, CASA has held a conference on educational problems in the Gaspé and a profile on the economic and social situation of Anglo-Gaspésians.

Like other rural organizations, CASA has had to deal with the distance between villages and their isolation from one another. A second difficulty is that, unlike the Townships for example, the Anglo-Gaspésian communities do not have a strong sense of regional identity. There is a strong local culture in some areas - New Carlisle has its dances and handicraft shops, Wakeham and Shigawake have their annual homecomings. But, overall, there is a rivalry between the towns which makes the building of a regional identity quite difficult. This is a symptom in other areas as well, such as the Lower North Shore and the Pontiac. At the same time, the takeover of several institutions by the municipalities and the institutional regionalization policies of the Quebec government have led to a decline in community participation in the development of many of the region's institutions. A low level of bilingualism and a mistrust of complex structures have led many people, particularly older Gaspésians, to withdraw from participating in government sponsored institutions. Thus, "regionalization" at the government level is one process which is inhibiting the development of a regional Anglo-Gaspésian identity.

Other reasons for this phenomenon is the high rate of emigration of



Anglo youth. Many of the best educated youth are leaving the coast to seek employment opportunities elsewhere. The result is a leadership vacuum and a vacuum in responding to changing needs. For example, "there are some municipal councils which have a majority of anglophones, where the mayors are English, but they tend to be about 20 years behind the times in terms of regional development. There aren't too many leaders - new ones will have to be produced in order to cope with more complex forms of administration," said one CASA member.

*In short, while similar demographic and economic problems have affected English language cultural institutions outside Montreal, historical developments and the degree of isolation have affected rural areas differently. Some are better equipped to defend their interests than others. Some are even enjoying a cultural revival. Although each region must be viewed and analyzed separately because of social and economic differences, common problems have led to the beginning of a province-wide English-speaking identity. The training and development of community leaders to guide these organizations and formulate solutions to problems are central to their success.*

### Summary and Conclusions

- Overall, cultural institutions have been affected by decreasing financial resources and a declining population base necessary to support them.
- As in the case with other institutions, such as education and health and social services, there is a great degree of difference in the number and strengths of the institutions which support culture on the Island of Montreal and elsewhere.
- Montreal's English-speaking community, characterized by its ethnic diversity, still maintains a large number of cultural institutions, which have, by and large, begun to adapt to the changing social and cultural realities of Quebec, while still maintaining an English character. In fact, it is in the area of cultural institutions and activities that a bridge has been formed between French and English-speaking Quebec.
- Off the Island of Montreal, the situation of cultural institutions varies: some areas, such as the Eastern Townships, are better equipped to sustain English language institutions; other areas, such as the Gaspé with a more dispersed community have fewer and more scattered resources; still others, such as the Pontiac, have historically looked beyond the borders of Quebec for their cultural fulfilment and have only recently begun looking at themselves within the Quebec context.
- A province-wide English identity is beginning to emerge. While each particular geographic area maintains its distinctiveness and tries to evolve solutions to its particular problems, organizations are developing which aim to co-ordinate responses to the needs of the English-speaking community as a whole.
- Governments, both federal and provincial, play an active role in promoting heritage and sustaining cultural institutions, be they schools, libraries, universities, newspapers, theatres. But more often than not, particularly off the Island of Montreal, government sponsored cultural institutions (e.g. Regional Cultural Councils)



are considered Francophone, with the result that these institutions have not really penetrated English-speaking communities. Rarely are the government appointees to the boards of cultural institutions English-speaking. Most of the information regarding cultural programmes and grants is in French only.

-Finally, Bill 101 sign legislation, which limits the public display of the English language, has been a thorny issue for most English-speaking people. The need, with some exceptions, to change the names of firms, institutions and streets has led to a feeling among many members of this community that their presence is being denied.

Post-Script

At present, the English-speaking community in Quebec finds itself experiencing the results of a conscious decision among Quebec Francophones to survive within the North American social and cultural context. Moreover, the social and political affirmation of Quebec Francophones has occurred at the same time as the modernization, centralization of public and parapublic organizations. English-speaking Quebecers, caught in a tide of social, cultural and political changes, must now deal with all of these processes for all have affected the nature and structure of Quebec's English language institutions.

In order to ensure its survival and effectively respond to the challenge of change, English-speaking Quebec must evolve its leadership, identity and philosophy within a province-wide framework. No longer can it respond to problems on merely a piecemeal or ad hoc basis. It must mobilize its creative resources and formulate explicit strategies and policies in order to maintain its cultural integrity. What are the rights of English-speaking Quebecers? What institutions are needed to maintain these rights and services and allow them to flourish? Must present institutions themselves be transformed in order to develop and sustain English language culture and provide adequate services as well as fit into the Quebec society as a whole?

It is hoped that the preceding four Working Papers will contribute to the debate which will eventually lead to answers to these questions.



alliance  
québec

Suite 501, 1411 Crescent, Montréal, P.Q. H3G 2B3 (514) 849-9181