

**A Study of Educational Policies and Programmes
for Immigrants and Minority Groups
in Quebec**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the
degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

AMIT RANJAN SHARMA



Canadian Studies Division
Centre for Canadian, US & Latin American Studies
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI - 110067
INDIA
2006



CENTRE FOR CANADIAN, US AND LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI - 110067

Date: 28 July 2006

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "A Study of Educational Policies and Programme for Immigrants and Minority Groups in Quebec" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

Amit Ranjan Sharma

AMIT RANJAN SHARMA

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Christopher S. Raj
Prof. Christopher S. Raj
Chairperson

Abdul Nafey

Prof. Abdul Nafey
Supervisor



Centre for Canadian, US &
Latin American Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067



Centre for Canadian, US &
Latin American Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There are personalities who simply by being what they are influence and inspire to do things that you never thought to do and to leave your imprints for ever.

At the very onset, I pay my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Abdul Nafey, for his invaluable and patient guidance, encouragement, scholarly ideas, and when need be severe criticisms of my work, during the course of this dissertation. He not only indicated towards mistakes but also helped in correcting them. I have been able to complete this strenuous assignment owing to his supervision and support.

I am also grateful to Prof. Christopher S. Raj for extending his invaluable knowledge to me during my course work. Prof. Raj and Prof. Nafey both of them raised deep interest for Canadian studies during my Master which I opted just as a pass time course. Their beautiful teaching methods made me opt for Canadian studies programme during my M.Phil.

I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to Mrs. V. Ragheshwari, librarian, Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute for providing me the adequate reading materials. She e-mailed me the articles and extended the date of book return in case of need. She is full of information there over the availability of reading materials there.

The contribution of my parents can not be discounted here. It was their faith in me which allowed a person to write M.Phil. Dissertation, from such a rural-background where getting a graduation degree is a big thing.

I would also like to use this column to thank Sharad, Manish, Ashutosh, and Anand for providing me basic technical and infrastructural support during my dissertation work. Last but not the least, I would like to give a pat to my memories about some individuals- Nidhi, Monika, Anchal, Shailaja, Payal, Prashant, Rahul, Shafiq and many more- who stayed with me during my M.Phil days with some sweet and sour experiences. They have left an indelible print over my memories and their company during last two years made the journey very short and interesting.

Finally all grace to God who gave me the courage- Just Do It.

Amit Ranjan Sharma

CONTENTS	Pages
PREFACE	i-iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
Chapter I: INTRODUCTION	1-32
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiculturalism Vs Interculturalism • Québécois as a minority in Canada and the minorities of Quebec 	
Chapter II: IMMIGRATION TO QUEBEC: PATTERNS AND POLICIES	33-62
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quebec Nationalism and Immigration • Demographic Profile of Quebec • The Educational System in Quebec: Evolution of a Secular Education System 	
Chapter III: EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN QUEBEC AND THE NON-FRENCH CULTURAL GROUPS	63-86
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • French Learning Programme: A Critical View of Bill 101 • English-Language Learning Programme in Quebec • PELO 	
Chapter IV: LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITIES AND COMMON CIVIC INSTITUTIONS	87-104
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Systematic Adaptation of Pluralism in Educational Institutions • Citizenship Education and Common Civic Institutions 	
Chapter V: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	105-109
BIBLIOGRAPHY	110-116

PREFACE

Preface

Man is a social animal, as described by Aristotle. It says that man always tries to look for its' social roots. This creates society, and men are inter-linked with each other under societal structure. The social interactions lead to the development of some common characteristics and habits among the members of the given society. This sharing of common characteristics are often seen in the prevalence of common language, common life-style, common food-habit and dress-pattern and often common religious beliefs. All of these do prepare the background for the cultural development of the habitats in that particular region. But the cultural characteristics of one individual or group or society may not often go parallel to those of other individual or group or society. This often leads to the cultural conflicts or clashes between two or more cultural groups, The positive cultural interactions between the two cultures indeed result in the cultural enrichment of both the cultural groups whereas the trend to have confrontationist attitude for other cultures, it often causes the clashes between the two groups.

Quebec claims to be a “distinct” nation. The claim of this “distinctiveness” is based over the fact that it had a separate language, separate culture and a separate set of institutions. But, Quebec has always been protectionist and exclusionist in nature where outsiders are not welcomed. The fear of survival made them constraint within the territories of Quebec province, where the life meant: French and Catholicism. Though, Canada has always been a hot spot for the immigrants, the Quebecers did never enjoy this trend. They developed a sort of hostile relationship with the immigrants while considering them as a threat of their own-existence. It was told, whenever an immigrant enters Quebec or Canada it reduces the proportion of Francophones in Canadian population. The greater affinity of immigrants for the English language made the Quebecers treat negatively with the immigrants from other backgrounds.

The dwindling rate of fertility and consequently negative rate of population growth in Quebec changed the Quebec attitude for the immigrants. Now, the immigrants were the new source of Quebec demographic and economic balances. The policies were amended to make them comfortable at Quebec. But, the Quebecers were not ready for one-single compromise. They wanted the French language to be the universal primary language of all Quebec citizens. The passages of Bill 101 made it mandatory for all recent immigrants to join french schools. This increased the proportion of francophones but, it also shown the rapidly dwindling proportion of the anglophones in Quebec population.

The immigrants are subject to join the French schools. But they had also the option to take classes under PELO or through the private or ethnic schools. These classes were intended to make the ethnic groups better understand and learn their own ethnic language and culture. The recent developments changed the Quebec government outlook over the educational policy. The emphasis was over, now, to create an educational system which accommodate every one. The French was the roof, under which all Quebecers could get the shelter irrespective of their ethnic, geographic, linguistic, racial and regional backgrounds.

The present study is basically sketches out the Quebec journey towards a secular and intercultural education system. In this quest, the associated features were dealt separately under separate sections or separate chapters. First chapter deals in length over the ongoing tussle between federal Canada and provincial Quebec over the issue of pluralism. Quebec rejects the notion of multiculturalism and responds it through its' own invention Interculturalism. The second section of the chapter attempts to figure out the minority position of Quebec in Canada. It goes through the evolutionary steps and in the later part, the Quebec treatment with its own minority groups are also highlighted. The second chapter starts up with the issue of immigration, the most important social-reality of Quebec and Canada. The issue of immigration to Quebec becomes important as the Quebec nationalists always saw the immigrants as the threat of Quebec existence. The second section of the section

points out the demographic reality of present Quebec since 1960. It describes how the changing institutional practices led to the decline of fertility rate in Quebec and the Quebec had to welcome the immigrants as an inevitable reality of present Quebec. In the last section, the Quebec education system has been described briefly through evolutionary stages since 1867.

The third chapter is a narrative one and it describes the three level structure of education system existing in Quebec: Anglophone, Francophone and Ethnic.

The last chapter is basically centred over the Quebec changing preference to citizenship education from ethnic education pattern. This show the recent preferences of Quebec government to create a national or universal force as Quebec Francophone Citizens,

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

MULTICULTURALISM VS INTERCULTURALISM

Human beings are culturally implanted and that society might include several cultures.¹ Canada is often described as a multicultural nation. What does it mean? What is the significance of being multicultural? The term 'Canadians are multicultural' says that Canadians are not of any single cultural background, race or heritage. Instead Canadians today reflect a vast diversity of cultural heritages and racial groups. This multicultural diversity is the result of incessant trends of migration towards Canada from diverse origins across the world since centuries. As a term, the word "multiculturalism" was used for the first time in 1957 to describe Switzerland but came into common currency in Canada in the late 1960s and at present, Canada and multiculturalism has become synonymous of each other.²

The Bill C-93 was passed as the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 and thus it became the first formal legislative vehicle for Canada's multiculturalism policy and hence Canada honoured herself as the first nation of the world to adopt multiculturalism as its official policy. This Multiculturalism Act of 1988 gives the Canadian state a universal power from which it accords special privileges to certain discriminated cultural groups and attempts to manage assimilation of differences.

The official adoption of multiculturalism in Canada did not result in a single stroke. It could see the day only through persistent and continuous inputs from various government agencies, racial-social-cultural groups. There were supports as well as oppositions to make the issue viable as per the social realities. The main emphasis was to maintain the cultural diversity against the general assimilationist approach. The Canadians also wanted to present a different picture compared to their counterpart, United States of America. The "melting pot" model of US was responded with "cultural-mosaic" model of Canada which is also known as "salad bowl" model. The basic ideal behind the said approach was to ensure the preservation, maintenance and development of all cultures in a free

¹ Joseph Raz, *Ethics in Public Domain*, (Ottawa, 1995)

² Marc Leman, "Canadian Multiculturalism", [Online: web] Accessed 10 April 2005 URL: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs>

atmosphere against the set norms to ensure common national and civic institutions through the fusion of different cultures into one.

The path towards the adoption of Multiculturalism in Canada starts with the passage of Canadian Citizenship Act in 1947 which signaled Canada's intention to stop identifying with its' mother country, the UK. Now every individual living, then, in Canada was a Canadian citizen. Canada was to be a separate society with a distinct destiny.³ The conditions aftermath Second World War led to an influx of immigrants from diverse origins to Canada and it too played an important role in making the Canadian immigrant policies in favour of pluralism. The Citizenship Act and new immigrants from different sources put a challenge before the Canadian policy makers to take a fresh look over their existing assimilationist and white centric immigration policy and it consequently brought many changes at the floor towards a more liberal outlook in the selection of immigrants.

In 1948, Canada adhered to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which applies to all human beings regardless of sex, race, religion, culture or ideology. The Fair Practices Acts of 1950s abolished discriminatory practices in public venues such as theatres and bars. The years of 1960 proved itself as the era of historic developments over immigrants and multiethnic affairs. The Canadian Bill of Rights of 1960 prohibits discrimination for reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex and it too sought to ensure equal rights for all Canadians. It also marked the changes in procedure for selecting immigrants with the abolition of racial discrimination provisions (as part of earlier existing Canadian Immigration Law) and for Canada, skills, now, counted more than nationality, colour or race.⁴

The growing resentment among Francophones to save their language and culture from being hegemonised by the dominant Anglophone culture required the Federal Government to look into matter. The government formed the Royal Commission of

³ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

⁴ Claude Bélanger, "Quebec Nationalism-Quebec History", [Online: web] Accessed 15 May 2006
URL: <http://www2.marianopolis.edu/quebechistory/events/natpart1.htm>

Bilingualism and Biculturalism to recommend measures to pacify the Francophones' discontentments. But while going through its' works, the Commission also met with the voices of 'other' groups. Their concerns and contributions to enrich the modern Canadian society and nation put the B&B Commission to recommend for a "multicultural framework for Canadian future within bilingual limit". The Book Four of B&B Commission (1969) exhibits the contribution of other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and it sought their integration to the core rather assimilation.⁵

Finally, on October 8, 1971, on the basis of the recommendations of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Elliott Trudeau announced in the House of Commons his government's commitment to the principles of multiculturalism within bilingual framework:

"There can not be one cultural policy for Canadians of British or French origins, another for originals, and yet a third for all others. For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any cultural group take precedence over another. We are free to be ourselves. But this can not be left to chance..... It is the policy of this government to eliminate any such danger and to safeguard this freedom"⁶

Trudeau introduced the Multiculturalism with the four declared objectives:⁷

- To support the cultural development of ethno cultural groups,
- To help members of ethno cultural groups to overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society,
- To promote creative encounters and interchanges among all ethno cultural groups,
- To assist new Canadians in acquiring at least one of Canada's official languages.

Since then, Official Multiculturalism has been enshrined in statutory and constitutional law as defining characteristics of Canada and has generated both supports and

⁵ Miniya Chatterji (2003), *Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec*, M.Phil. Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.

⁶ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

⁷ Ibid.

oppositions at both ends (left & right political wings) of the political spectrum. As per the further developments, the Federal Government appointed a (junior) Minister for Multiculturalism. The Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (later renamed as the Canadian Multiculturalism Council) was established in 1973 as an advisory body to the Minister. Though a federal initiative, most of the provinces had shown keen interest in adopting Multiculturalism through their provincial legislations. Saskatchewan became the first province to adopt legislation on Multiculturalism in 1974. At present six of the ten provinces- Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Nova Scotia- have enacted Multicultural legislation. In four provinces- Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec- Multiculturalism is implemented by an advisory council that reports to the Minister responsible for the Act.⁸

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) enshrined equality rights in the Constitution and acknowledged the multicultural heritage (section 27). In 1985, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism was established. The Royal Assent was given on 21 July, 1988 to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Following the Assent the Parliament had adopted the legislation with all party support thus Canada becoming the first country of the world to adopt multiculturalism officially.

In 1991, Canada tabled its first annual report of the implementation of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Same year, the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship Act got the Royal Assent and the new Department was officially established with Gerry Wiener appointed as the first full time Minister. The Liberal Government, 1993, announced that Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada would be split along its two main components: the multiculturalism would be merged with the Canadian Heritage Department established by the previous administration and the Citizenship programmes would be amalgamated with the newly established Department of Citizenship and Immigration.⁹

⁸ Claude Bélanger, "Quebec Nationalism-Quebec History", [Online: web] Accessed 15 May 2006
URL: <http://www2.marianopolis.edu/quebechistory/events/natpart1.htm>

⁹ Miniya Chatterji (2003), *Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec*, M.Phil. Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.

These were the important steps in institutionalizing the Multiculturalism in Canada. But multiculturalism at social and evolutionary levels can also be divided into three phases: Ethnicity Multiculturalism (1970s); Equity Multiculturalism (1980s), and Civic Multiculturalism (1990s & 2000s).¹⁰ The multiculturalism, despite severe criticism, keeps on enjoying the official status under successive government patronages. It has been seen as a panacea to cure many existing social cultural ambiguities of Canada. “Official Multiculturalism was originally envisioned as a strategy for bolstering national unity by a rethinking of Canada’s social contract. Ethnic minorities were no longer junior partners; rather they were a possible means of neutralizing Canada’s French-English rifts. There were also partisan politics of Multiculturalism was intended to shore up liberal strength in the west and in cities, to defuse Quebec nationalism, to thwart American cultural imperialism, and to transform immigrants and ethnic minorities in to loyal and law abiding citizens. Official Multiculturalism made a virtue out of a necessity; it parlayed a potential weakness (diversity) in to strength (unity), and it did so without necessarily revoking a commitment to social cohesion, national identity, domestic peace economic growth and global respect.” The multiculturalism got a huge positive response from a certain section of the society, ethnic minority groups, immigrants, etc. They stood strongly for the implementation of multiculturalism at official level with their arguments as:

1. Official Multiculturalism as a policy of the Canadian state is meant to overcome the predominant colonizing Anglo-French character of the State and make provisions to bring about fair and equal treatment of all communities which includes controlling and regulating the immigration flow from different parts of the world for sustaining the Canadian population at the current rate. It gave a new identity to Canada as a land of immigrant settlers celebrating ethnic plurality. It provides peaceful cultural interactions of different cultural groups of immigrants and natives. The government

¹⁰ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

was also to assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian society.

2. Official Multiculturalism is seen as a strategy for "living together with differences".¹¹ It has served well as a means for managing conflict on the foundation principle that people can live together as long as there is a unifying vision to "harmonize" their differences. Multiculturalism is mainly about balancing the nation's interests with those of social justice and cultural diversity. The diverse cultures are represented as equals in the public domain. Here people are accepted as "no less" Canadian for whatever their differences and enjoy the same citizenship rights, duties and entitlements regardless of their origin, creed, or colour. This multicultural ethic goes beyond mere co-existence or the tolerance of others. Emphasis instead is on constructively engaging diversity in a way that is workable, necessary and fair.¹² The government assures through Multiculturalism to promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in order to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.
3. Canada with the adoption of Multiculturalism, re-expressed its support (similar to its past trends) for the political principle that cultural diversity is a valuable and enriching quality of national life. The declared intent of the Multiculturalism was to ensure "that all Canadians could retain their historic cultural identities while at the same time sharing economically, militarily and in international affairs in the benefits of a larger nation."
4. The multiculturalism became an important tool for the ignorant groups other than white Francophones and Anglophones to feel themselves as equal part of Canadian state and society. The "dis-privileged" got a good mean in form of Multiculturalism

¹¹ Sonia V. Morris (ed.), *Multicultural and Intercultural Education: Building Canada* (Calgary, 1989)

¹² Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

as the focus of their struggles over resources. The powerless have learned how to turn the very tools that were designed to control them into means of resistance. The paradox of Official Multiculturalism have improved conditions for some minorities even while defusing potential threats to the state's stability.

5. It has challenged the universal citizenship norms of liberal democracy and has evolved a new democracy in which community cultural identities are protected by nation-state.
6. Trudeau's Multiculturalism was a sharp challenge to Canadian identity, in that it superimposed a One Canada perspective over the prevailing deux nations view. In other words, we can give full credit to Multiculturalism that raised the aspiration of other cultural groups within Quebec and outside. This finally resulted in defeats over two referendums for Quebec Separation. Thus, it prevented Canadian balkanization, otherwise other western and central provinces could opt for the same. Thus, it ultimately strengthened the central government and "One Canada" identity.
7. Multiculturalism presents a new vision of Canadian society, one which refused to sacrifice diversity in the name of unity and which placed the cultures of many groups on an equal footing.
8. For Anglophone Canadians, it filled a vacuum which was generated in due course of their fading British Identity. It is also considered as an attempt to appease Canadians other than Francophones or Anglophones.
9. As per the latest developments, the recent emphasis on good citizenship tries to foster a society that recognizes respects and reflects a diversity of cultures such that people of all backgrounds feel a sense of belonging and attachment to Canada. The recognition of differences comes by way of exchanges and sharing.

10. Now multiculturalism is not only about promoting differences, but it is also about eliminating disadvantages by removing prejudices and discrimination of all kinds.

These arguments were put forward to justify the federal act over multiculturalism. Some intellectuals and some big names also stood up to the defense of Official Multiculturalism. Their supportive arguments established a new school of thought favouring diversity and many associated branches of thoughts emerged out of the school. One famous political thought known as “Third Political Thought” or “Politics of Recognition” advocates for providing identity and dignity to all individuals on the basis of their cultural circumstances rather than providing them equality of opportunity. John Rawls, in his book “A Theory of Justice”, considered plurality as inevitable and beneficial due to different human understanding about good life through their power of rational reasoning, and it assists in the development of better individuals through cultural interactions with other ethnic communities.¹³ For Rawls, plural society remains stable as it adheres to moral and ethical principles of justice while still respecting cultural differences. Later, through his revised theory “Political Liberalism” he attempts to provide a practical principle of social co-operation by allowing to corner the smaller and tiny cultural groups at margins by molding them into core society though remaining principally as a liberal democratic society for larger groups.

Charles Taylor, a big name in cultural theories, also stands for the causes of diversity and he also advocates for the full implementation of multicultural ideals into practical life. In his book, “Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition”, he tries to look into many facets of pluralism. According to him, problem of managing cultural and racial diversity in modern societies lie in the public recognition of cultural differences.¹⁴ This makes ethnic cultures public as cultural differences are conceived as being part of an individual’s identity and integrity. Multiculturalism as a policy becomes important as it

¹³ [Online: web] Accessed 26 May 2006 URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/multiculturalism>

¹⁴ Charles Taylor and Amy Gutman, *Multiculturalism and “The Politics of Recognition”* (Princeton Univ., 1992)

provides individuals with recognition of their cultures and also gives them identity which makes Canada a nation of immigrants, and makes multiculturalism as an ideological construct for maintaining that diversity. In this way, Charles Taylor presumes that all cultures have equal value and for this reason, it is important for different cultural groups to be given some equal value. Recognition thus renders significance to a multicultural social system, where each group is able to preserve, its “identity” and enriches itself through interaction with other groups. If there, absence of recognition leads to social stigma and is “potent instrument” of one’s oppression. Taylor’s idea allows the State within liberal democratic culture to respect ethnic identities and encourage different cultural traditions in order to assist them in developing their potential for expression of the democratic ideals of freedom and equality leading to major cultural transformations as long as the basic rights of citizens are protected. Multiculturalism, thus, aims to construct a nation state that can represent and accommodate diverse conceptions of good life.

But multiculturalism has not all the smooth ways only it also faced some big oppositions. The left wing and right wing both opposed it in their own ways citing different reasons such as threat to national unity, not enough scope for all cultural groups to perform equally, etc. A good number of intellectuals, academicians, scholars also criticized it for many flaws. One of the major criticisms has been lodged by Quebecers as they saw it as an attempt to thwart their movement for distinct identity and autonomy. The major forms of criticisms can be noted as:

1. Official Multiculturalism was introduced largely as a political exercise as a pragmatic political programme rather than an exercise in humanitarianism. It was a response to pressing political conundrums rather than a compassionate nod to social justice.¹⁵

¹⁵ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

2. Canada has also been blamed for excessively glorifying itself in name of multiculturalism at international level. Today, diversity is the reality of almost every country. Diversity is the reality of almost every country! What is the need of praising itself for being diverse or multicultural? It enhances the query of readers about the reality what is being presented or what is not. Multiculturalism has become an official mythological modern story through which “Canadians tell themselves about themselves, with their government as the publisher”.¹⁶
3. Critics charge that one of the dangers of pursuing multicultural policies is that social and cultural assimilation can be held back. This can potentially encourage economic disparities and an exclusion of minority groups from mainstream politics. The fragmentation of society in several linguistic factions would ultimately lead to loss of public debate and democratic unity.
4. The recognition of “differences” may harm the ideals of one-Canada.
5. For French Canadians, Multiculturalism threatened to reduce them to just another ethnic group. Of all Canadian provinces, Quebec has been the least supportive of multiculturalism, due in part to a wide spread view that multiculturalism was implemented at the federal level to dilute the “two founding peoples” philosophy which had preceded it, thereby diminishing the place of the provinces French majority within Canada, and due in part to Quebec’s policy internally of welcoming people of all origins but insisting that they assimilate into Quebec’s French speaking society. It is to be noted that Quebec is also a pluralist society and it welcomes immigrants too. But it wants to keep all under single and unique French umbrella.
6. The federal multiculturalism policy costs Canadian one dollar each per year.¹⁷

¹⁶ Neil Bissoondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994)

¹⁷ [Online: web] Accessed 26 May 2006 URL: <http://www.mta.ca/faculty/arts/canadian-studies/english/about/multi/index.htm>

The Multiculturalism also witnessed high degree of criticisms from many scholars, as:

As per the words of Richard Day, multiculturalism is used as a means to reduce “recognition to demands for justice, autonomy, and the reform of existing social structures.”¹⁸ In his “Politics of Difference”, he asserts the point that the right answer for each cultural group to have public policies made to suit its’ specific needs. To make this possible, it is essential to let the cultural minorities able to control public policies affecting them either through devolution of political power or by granting them special status in relation to the process by which policies are formulated. Ayn Rand fears multiculturalism as a threat to individual freedoms and rights. She sees the world-wide ethnic revival of the late 1960s causes ethnic balkanization and this ethnic separatism leads to cultural and racial isolation of ethnic groups which is not conducive for the growth of modern industrial societies.¹⁹ It also limits the individual choices and an individual becomes dependent over the society for his/her own acts under social cultural norms.

The ideals of Multiculturalism also sometimes results in gender discrimination. It talks about freedom of cultural choices to all cultural groups. There are some ethnic or tribal or some cultural groups where women are not given equal status. They are yet to enjoy the fruit of modern democracy and human rights. The multiculturalism strengthens this rigidity and hampers the entry of fragrance of democracy and liberalism in such societies. Susan M. Okin, a feminist and political theorist, in her essay “Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?”(1999)²⁰ argues that a concern for the preservation of cultural diversity should not overshadow the discriminatory nature of gender roles in many traditional minority cultures, that at the very least, “culture” should not be used as an excuse for rolling back the women’s rights movement. Other feminists like Toni Morrison and Maxine Hong Kingston also expressed their concerns over the subject.

¹⁸ [Online: web] Accessed 26 May 2006 URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/multiculturalism>

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ ibid.

Brian Berry (book “Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism”, 2002)²¹ finds multiculturalism as a hurdle in the way of human unity. He says that some forms of multiculturalism can divide people when they need to unite in order to fight for social justice. The rightist groups see it as a utopian idea like other leftist ideas without any relevance. The conservative critic, Gunnar K.A.Njalsson views multiculturalism as a utopian ideology with a simplistic and overly optimistic view of human nature, the same weakness he attributes to communism, anarchism, and many strains of liberalism. Another renowned scholar Will Kymlicka, after 25 years experience of multiculturalism tells that multiculturalism aimed to make Canada a more inclusive and just society. But it has had the dire consequence impractical, encouraging ethnic separatism and mutual indifference. After his experience, he stresses over two basic criticisms. Firstly, it promotes ethnic separatism amongst immigrants. This view is equally held by Neil Bissondath in his “Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada” (1994)²² and by Richard Gwyn in his book “Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian” (1995)²³. The second criticism comes as the multiculturalism provides no principled basis on which to limit cultural diversity.

Kenneth McRoberts, Member, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, believes that it was disastrous for Canadian nationalism, as it offended Québécois and their dualistic vision of Canada as a bilingual and bicultural society. In “Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada”, Neil Bissondath argues that Official Multiculturalism limits the freedom of minority members by confining them to cultural and geographical ghettos. To him, the government’s view of cultures as being about festivals and cuisine is a crude oversimplification that leads to easy stereotyping. Reginald Bibby in his “Mosaic Madness: Pluralism without a Cause” argues that official multiculturalism is divisive force that is reducing national solidarity and unity. Daniel Stoffman’s book “Who Gets In” raises serious questions about the policy of Canadian Multiculturalism. He points out that many cultural practices, such as allowing dog meat

²¹ Brian Berry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Toronto, 2002)

²² Neil Bissondath, *Selling Illusions: the cult of multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1994)

²³ Richard Gwyn, “*Nationalism without Walls: The Unbearable Lightness of Being Canadian*” (Ottawa, 1995)

to be served in restaurants and street cock fighting, are simply incompatible with Canadian and Western Culture. He also raises concern about the number of recent immigrants who are not being linguistically integrated into Canada, i.e, not learning either English or French. He stresses that multiculturalism works better in theory than in practice.

But, the Multiculturalism Act was finally implemented and it gave a new recognition to Canada. The successive governments at federal and provincial levels followed the suits of the Multiculturalism Act and tried to amend it as per the local and contemporary realities. The implementation of the multiculturalism was done with its' outlines as:

“The Government will support all of Canada’s cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups that have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to Canada. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society. The Government will promote creative encounters and interchange among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity. The multiculturalism policy sought the federal government to take certain measures, as: dual citizenship, Government support for newspapers, television and radio in minority languages, support for minority festivals, holidays, and celebrations, acceptance of traditional and religious dress in schools, the military, and society in general; support for arts from cultures around the world; programmes to encourage minority representation in politics, education, and the work force.”²⁴

Though critical to multiculturalism policy of the federal government, Quebec government adopted the multiculturalism in its own way, Interculturalism. Through Interculturalism, Quebec also accepts the diversity as the reality of Quebec society against the popular belief of its emphasis over unique French culture. It allows the pluralism but conditioned under French language. It does mean that one is free to practice one’s culture and religion but one has to adopt the French language to become a better part of Quebec.

²⁴ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

Now, what is Interculturalism? Why did the Quebec give preference to Interculturalism over Multiculturalism? Why has it become necessary for Quebec to opt for it instead of its earlier advocacy, as it sounded from its' movement, of single French culture?

As defined by the encyclopedia, Interculturalism is the philosophy of exchanges between cultural groups within a society. Various states have intercultural policies which seek to encourage the socialization of citizens of different origins. These policies are often used as an instrument to fight racism, overcome prejudice and misunderstanding of others. It means an inherent openness to be exposed to the culture of the "other".²⁵ The exposition with the different cultures creates an atmosphere of dialogue and partnership and thus consequently an understanding of the cultures of the "other". Thus, Interculturalism breeds dialogue, which is of utmost importance in order to be able to look for communalities between that element of my culture and the culture of the other. Interculturalism is a very powerful tool in enhancing fusion, since when we look for our communalities; we are thereby doing nothing else but constructing the new world culture, which in itself is based on the fusion of all communalities of cultures. Difference will remain but those are the subcultures of the world culture.

In the terms of Quebec, Interculturalism is mainly concerned with the acceptance of, and communication and interaction between culturally diverse groups or cultural communities without, however, not implying any intrinsic equality among them. Diversity is tolerated and encouraged, but only from within a framework that establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Quebec. The policy seeks to integrate immigrants into the mainstream French-speaking society of Quebec on the basis of French, as the common public language of all Québécois. Here, all citizens are invited to participate in a common civic culture. Interculturalism is in this way consistent with the Quebec government's view of itself as the "national" government for all Québécois and whole of the Quebec's population as constituting a single and distinct nation. The goal to create a national or civic population under French nationalism is the

²⁵ [Online: web] Accessed 26 May 2006 URL: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/multiculturalism>

key word which differentiates Interculturalism from Multiculturalism. But the question arises: what were the reasons which caused Quebec to opt for Interculturalism? This can be traced from the evolution of multiculturalism at federal level to check the growing menace of Quebec separatist movements.

Guy Rocher presents four major reservations against the Multiculturalism which resulted in Quebec opting for Interculturalism:²⁶

- The Multiculturalism will jeopardize the future of bilingualism in the official language.
- It is a regrettable example of distinguishing between language and culture- one that will prove detrimental to French Canadians.
- This is not an adequate basis for nationhood. Canada could probably have gained a great deal culturally if it had retained the idea of two central cultural communities serving as a focal point around which the other communities could group and find support.
- The policy is a retrograde step in as it down-grades the idea of French Canadians as partners with the English speaking community in the country's sociological structure.

After him, this new way of viewing Canadian State favours the English-speaking community and adversely affects Francophones within and outside Quebec. Yet Quebec is officially a multicultural province. It rejects federal multiculturalism as irrelevant because of the following reasons:²⁷

- It contravenes the special status of Quebec as one of the founding (Charter) members of Canada.
- It undermines Quebec's right to manage its' own diversity.
- It violates the bicultural vision on which Canadian federalism has been constructed.
- It intrudes into Quebec's internal affairs.

²⁶ John R. Mallea and Jonathan C. Young (eds.), *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations* (Ottawa, 1984)

²⁷ Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Montreal, 2002)

- It treats ethnic minorities as if they had fully the same rights as the Québécois, and thereby strengthens the domination of English-speaking Canada.
- It amounts to a ruse to outflank Quebec's collective rights as a founding nation.

In the light of all such grudges for Multiculturalism, the Quebec government develops their own model- Interculturalism. Under Interculturalism, Quebec asserts itself as unmistakably a French-speaking society, as a democratic society in which everyone is expected to contribute to public life, and as a pluralistic society that respects the diversity of various cultures. Quebec is promising to protect the reality of cultural communities, to sensitize Québécois to the value of ethnic diversity, to promote the integration of minorities into Quebec society, to remove discriminatory barriers and promote equal opportunity to historically excluded groups, and to help allophones acquire competence in French.

The Interculturalism as policy of Quebec government was evolved through a series of legislative measures. In 1981, The Ministry of Cultural Communities and Integration set out its inter-cultural objectives by publishing a plan of action entitled *Autant de façon d'être Québécois* (Québécois).²⁸ The plan talked about the development of a strategy to: a) Develop cultural communities and ensure maintenance of their uniqueness; b) Sensitize francophones to the contribution of cultural communities to Quebec's heritage and cultural development; c) Facilitate the integration of cultural communities into Quebec society, especially those sectors historically excluded or underrepresented within institutional settings.

In 1984, the National Assembly of Quebec created the *Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'immigration* (Council of Cultural Communities and of Immigration).²⁹ The Council advises the Minister on the planning and implementation of government policies related to cultural communities and immigration. It also commissions studies and

²⁸ Miniya Chatterji (2003), *Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec*, M.Phil. Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.

²⁹ Ibid.

undertakes research on relevant issues. Quebec's inter-cultural orientation toward immigrants and diversity was further confirmed with the release at the end of 1990 of the White Paper, *Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* with three principles: a) Quebec is a French-speaking society; b) Quebec is a democratic society in which everyone is expected to contribute to public life; c) Quebec is a pluralistic society that respects the diversity of various cultures from within a democratic framework. To meet these obligations, the White Paper proposed a formal moral contract between immigrants and native-born Quebecers. Here Quebec's Interculturalism marks a distinction between Quebec's 'native born Quebecers' and 'immigrants'. This differs from the federal model where every immigrant ethnic group is equal before the Canadian multiculturalism. In other words, multiculturalism endorses an orbit or mosaic model where diverse cultures just to revolve around the central existing culture, whereas Quebec's Interculturalism is based on a tree-trunk model with off-shooting branches and roots must be nourished in francophone soil if the entire tree is to survive.

In common men's words, Multiculturalism celebrates the differences between cultures by distinguishing their uniqueness, while Interculturalism celebrates the likeness by dissipating the cultural barriers. It means Interculturalism reflects the "interaction" between the cultures involved, rather than just "having" a number (multi) of cultures involved...in Multiculturalism. Interculturalism is a philosophy of harmony and accordance. It endeavors to create new things through the means of interacting, merging and blending. It differs greatly from multiculturalism which celebrates the differences and the distinctiveness in cultures by making stark their uniqueness. Interculturalism mixes and harmonizes. Multiculturalism divides and distinguishes. Interculturalism is about creating new cultures with existing ones, and therefore is future oriented. Multiculturalism endeavors to cherish and celebrate the existing cultures, making it past oriented. Further, Interculturalism does not mean killing of cultures, it's about making something new with the integration of cultures. Think of an analogy of Japanese restaurant menu, the addition of Californian roll does not mean that we have to remove the good traditional Sushi from the menu. Today black American culture is popular due to the constant reinvention of the culture, and not due to its African roots.

Here, it is attempted to put a focus over the Quebec's struggle to keep its movement alive in response to the federal attempt to nullify the Quebec demand for special recognition, by its promise to give equal importance to all cultures. Hence, it becomes important for us to trace out the relevance of Quebec existence and its' demand in Anglophone dominated Canada. But it becomes also important to find out whether the minorities (Anglophones, Immigrants, Other ethnic groups) at Quebec are treated equally well what the Quebecers have been seeking from the Federal Government. If some people are fighting against discrimination and assimilation of their own culture, it raises the query of every one how they treat "others" in their own jurisdiction. It creates a paradoxical situation where one wants the dominance of its' own culture and language and at the other hand, one is also expected to respect and protect the cultures and languages of "others", so that, "others" could also enjoy the fruit of democracy and liberalism.

Québécois as a Minority in Canada and Minorities in Quebec

Quebec? Why Quebec? How Quebec? Till when Quebec? These are the questions not only in the minds of the other communities including anglophones, commoners but these questions also vibrate the minds and sentiments of French speaking groups in Canada. The story of French resentment starts with the "Conquest" in 1759, when the British forces under General James Wolfe routed the French forces led by Montcalm and annexed the French territory upto St. Lawrence River. This followed the end of famous seven years' war between the Britishers and the French. The Treaty of Paris was signed between the two countries in 1763 and the France gave up its sole inhabited North American Colony. This left the French speaking community in Canada under the feelings of double humiliation. First it gave them a deep wound of being a conquered people despite being the first colonizer in the nation. Secondly, it was also quite insulting for them as how easily motherland had cut them loose. The treaty of Paris left 70000 francophones at the mercy of the anglophones in Canada and they were now British Subjects. The Francophones were allowed to practice their religion, language and system

of land tenure but, they were not allowed to hold public office unless they converted to Protestantism. The brutal deportation of the Acadians from Nova Scotia caused a sense of fear of survival among French speaking community. Since then, the “*survivance*” has been the rallying cry of French separatist movement in Canada and the Anglophones are just like “*étrangers*” (foreigners) for the Francophones.

Till the mid of nineteenth century, the atmosphere was quite stable, where an Anglophone minority dominated a Francophone majority in Quebec. But being resentful of their low status and disturbed by the increasing number of non-French immigrants from Europe causing their numerical fall out in the region, hence under the fear of assimilation a number of Quebecois took up arms against the British in 1837-1838. The rebellion led by Louis-Joseph Papineau under the banner of “*Parti Patriote*”, failed miserably. Here ends one chapter of Quebec Nationalism which could be divided into two phases: Pre-1840 and Post-1840. In the pre-1840 phase, a new self-definition for the French speaking community in Quebec was needed to show their separate course of existence. Hence the notion of the ‘French Canadians’ was born. The expression did not merely say that there existed Canadians that spoke French. It affirmed the existence of a separate people, of a nation. Thus, the focus of “we, the countrymen” shifted from ‘Canadian’ to ‘French Canadian’. The very change of the description of the nation is a powerful signal of the desire of the nation to distinguish itself, to affirm its separate identity, to be wary of its integration and assimilation to the rest of the continent or the country. The period also witnesses the emigration of about 1 million French Canadians (about 40% of the Quebec population). Moreover, the scattered French population in the country also asked the nationalists to think how to create a nation-state. The territory was not defined and the population component was not unique anywhere in the favour of the French nation. The concept of survival and the need to look for their own territory, the French-speaking population started getting settled down in the province of Quebec in the quest of their own nation. According to Claude Bélanger, a Quebec historian at the Marianapolis College, “survival is a constant theme that runs through the period³⁰. The survival of the community against the assimilation plans of the Union Act, the survival of

³⁰ Claude Bélanger, *Events, Issues and Concepts of Quebec History*, (Marianapolis:1999)

the French minorities in the rest of Canada or in the ‘little Canadas’ of the United States; the survival of a small nation, ‘*un petit peuple*’ against the incredible pressure of the North American environment. The theme of ‘*la survivance*’ cannot be divorced from the realization of the minority position of the nation. French Canadians were not only a nation. They were a minority nation...”

But in the second phase of their struggle after 1840, debates were found to be focused on the three pillars of survival.³¹ The first of these pillars was Catholicism. The nation was a Catholic nation, with a Catholic mission, on a Protestant continent. Next came the French language as the second pillar, important as a cultural heritage inherited from the ancestors. Language was important because it was deemed that ‘*la langue est la gardienne de la foi*’ (language is the guardian of the faith). The third pillar was the institutions that served to distinguish the nation and separate it from the rest. These were the legal (French civil law), familial (large family system based on the traditional role of the mother) or institutional elements (seigniorial system, classical colleges, co-operative movement) that characterized the nation and had to be preserved if the nation was to last. The creation of Confederation brought many changes to the French nationalist movement. In 1867 modern Canada was created when the provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick confederated under the British North America Act. The constitution then adopted (and which lasted until 1982) provided for a strong central parliament in Ottawa and it guaranteed the rights of French Canadians. Section 133 of the Act recognized the use of French in the Quebec legislature and courts as well as in the federal courts and parliament. But in contrast, the provinces started taking anti-French measures. In 1870, New Brunswick, with its’ substantial Acadian minority in the Saint John Valley, abolished all Catholic Schools, and later Manitoba banned French schools. This led to violence in Quebec as they became more focused on the plight of French-Canadians outside of Quebec. This sentiment is epitomized by Quebec’s refusal to send

³¹ Miniya Chatterji (2003), *Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec*, M.Phil. Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.

troops to support Great Britain during the World War I until they “got their schools back”.

74-14435

The staunch Catholicism of francophones led the Quebecers to have an anti industrialization, anti-urbanization outlook towards their social and economic life. The agrarian approach resulted in the under development of the Quebecers. In contrast, the protestant anglophones became more technology oriented. The poor condition of Quebecers compared to their anglophone counterparts and the creation of Confederation which ended all visible possibilities of self-rule for the Quebec nationalists, brought an air of change and reforms among French speaking communities under the wave of liberalism. At the onset of 20th century, the Quebec society started changing from agrarian, Catholic and Conservative past to becoming increasingly urban and middle class. By 1970, the Quebec became the most urbanized province of Canada. The economic and business significance of English language due to its’ reforms oriented approach and the deteriorating conditions of French language in absence of any economic opportunity associated with the language gave endless opportunities to the nationalists to propagate against the anglophones for the pitiable conditions of the Francophones. The need to strengthen their own language, French, resulted in the creation of many civic societies which put special focus to the revival of french language with its’ economic significance. A group “*Société du bon parler français*” emphasizes the importance that the nationalists gave to the protection of the French language.

But the real changes were introduced with the starting of “Quiet Revolution” in 1960. The Liberal Premier Jean Lesage pioneered the Quiet Revolution with the aims to bring reforms to the social and educational infrastructure, controls on corruption, nationalization of power companies, and limiting the Catholic Church’s influence on politics and education. This starts a series of platforms adopted by various Quebec governments. But in the 1966 provincial elections, the “*Union Nationale*” returned back to power in Quebec and it changed the political equation. Earlier, the federalist Liberals were of the thought that any reforms could be completed within the current federal system, while the Union Nationale, though federalist, was a firm believer in gaining more



21



provincial power for Quebec. The then Union Nationale premier Daniel Johnson gave the slogan “Equality or Independence”. In 1967, the Liberals proposed a framework which talks about the status of “souverainete –association (associated state)”. As a further step, the Robert Bourassa Government took a position in 1970, reiterated in 1973 and 1976 which requested that Quebec be granted a distinct society’ status. The lefts’ entry to the scene also brought new phenomenon to the movement. As per the leftist perception, Quebec would never be able to realize its’ goals within the federalist system or within Canada, and began to push for independence from Canada. As a result, the separatist, Parti Québécois was formed, led by René Levesque. It was also around this time, at the 1967 World Fair in Montreal, that French President Charles de Gaulle closed a speech with “vivre le Quebec libre (long live free Quebec)”, drawing anger from the Canadian government and the adoration of separatist. It was then that the modern separatist movement began in earnest.³²

In the mean time, Quebec also witnessed a surge of extremism in the 1960s which branded a dark spot to their movement. The Front de Liberation Québécois (Quebec Liberation Front; FLQ) was founded in 1963 and it started the bombing campaigns. Their bomb planting was inspired by Marxian ideology and particularly by Cuban Revolution. The most (de)famous of their bomb planting is named as the bomb plantation at Montreal Stock Exchange. The FLQ got the maximum bad name when they kidnapped James Cross, British Trade Commissioner (later released), and Pierre Laporte, Quebec’s Minister of Labour (murdered). This forced Trudeau to take some hard measures in Quebec. He declares martial law in Montreal and suspended some civil liberties. Everybody (Francophones and Anglophones equally) sees the FLQ as a rogue band of extremists and they supported the hard acts of Trudeau.

Though these actions did not change much the reality of Quebec in Canada but, it paved the way for the declaration of French as the sole official language of Quebec in 1974. But as a whole, Quebec’s demands for political autonomy met with failure. For example,

³² Claude Bélanger, “Quebec Nationalism-Quebec History”, [Online: web] Accessed 15 May 2006
URL: <http://www2.marianopolis.edu/quebechistory/events/natpart1.htm>

Quebec's rejection of the Fulton-Favreau's 1964 proposal regarding the constitutional amending formula which granted a veto to all the provinces; the rejection of the report issued by the 1967 Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which Canada's bicultural status; the failure of the 1971 Victoria Conference which did not propose a sharing of powers compatible with the structure proposed by Quebec and the rejection of the P  pin-Robarts Commission report which proposed an asymmetrical federalism.³³

All of these fruitless negotiations led to the election of the sovereignist Parti Qu  b  cois in 1976, which promised to hold a referendum on Quebec sovereignty. They introduced many measures to strengthen and protect the use of the French language in the province. They made it the official language of Government and the Courts, as well as the language of business (all shop signs in Quebec must have French twice as large and twice as prominent than English). They passed the passage of Bill 101, restricting English-language education. It required that all immigrants moving to Quebec enroll in French-language schools with some exceptions, regardless of the language they previously spoke. Later, the referendum over Quebec sovereignty took place in 1980 with the purpose of giving Quebec a mandate to negotiate political sovereignty and economic association with Canada. The victory could ask the Quebecers to go for second vote to ratify it, but the sovereignists faced the defeat as forty percent of the Quebecers voted for the motion and sixty percent of the total Quebec voters were with the federalists.

Later, Ren   Levesque adopts a strategy known as the "beau risque (nice risk)" which believed that a political solution, short of separation would be possible with Canada. The new Constitution was adopted by the federal government in 1982. The new Constitution gave a place to "French" in its' lap but the nationalists were not happy as the people had not been consulted over the law. In addition, they also blamed the federal government for ignoring a resolution put forwarded by Quebec's National Assembly. Thus, they rejected the Constitution which was already ratified by the other provinces and territories of Canada. Following this repatriation, Quebec tried to negotiate Constitutional Amendments to its' favour. On June 1987, it asked Canada to adopt five clauses as part

³³ Ibid.

of the Meech Lake Accord, 1987 that would fulfill the conditions for Quebec's signature: recognition of Quebec as a distinct society; increased powers over the selection and settling of immigrants; participation in appointing Quebec judges to the Supreme Court of Canada; limitation of the federal government's spending power; and, recognition of a veto right for Quebec over Constitutional amendments. While the Accord was ratified by the House of Commons in 1987, the two provinces, Manitoba and Newfoundland, withdrew their support in 1990, and the Accord was dead.

The failure of Meech Lake Accord needed Quebec Government to form a Commission on the political and constitutional future of Quebec, known as Belanger-Campeau Commission. The Commission, after hearing the testimony of people, recommended in 1991 that the Quebec Government begin preparation for a second referendum on sovereignty to be held the following year, if no formal offer was made by Canada. At the other hand, the Federal Government proposed the Charlottetown Accord and a nation-wide referendum over the matter in 1992. The new Accord included Meech Lake Accord as well as a "Canada Clause" (providing for ethnic duality instead of bilingualism), a right to negotiate for autonomy with First Nations, and some other additions. However, this failed as 54% nation-wide opposition to the referendum and out of all provinces and territories, only New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Ontario and the Northwest territories approved it.

Meanwhile, the Bloc Québécois was founded with the aim to represent Quebec's interests in Canada's Parliament, just like Parti Québécois at the national level. Giles Duceppe became the first Bloc MP in the House of Commons following a 1990 by-election. The Bloc received instant success as it became the official opposition in 1993, when John Chrétien came to power. In addition, the Parti Québécois came back to power in 1994 with the promise of holding second referendum over sovereignty. This time, the sovereignist were stronger as three major groups, Parizeau's Parti Québécois; Lucien Bouchard's Bloc Québécois; Mario Dumont's Action Démocratique, were standing altogether to ensure the Quebec's political autonomy. The referendum took place on October 30, 1995. But, the federalist again won the battle, though by a narrow majority

(50.6% for 'no' and 49.4% for 'yes' to the referendum.). Parizeau blamed the defeat on money and ethnic vote. He later resigned and replaced by Lucien Bouchard.

The young generation of Quebec does not meet now any such ill treatments over cultural issues. Speaking French at public places is no more a sign of fear for them. Hence, the issue of separatism does not pull them into as earlier, it used to be. The poor performance of Bloc Québécois in 2001 elections made Bouchard resign and he was substituted by Bernard Landry. But, he, too, lost the provincial elections to the liberals under Jean Charest. Everybody thought this as termination of the Quebec Separatist Movement. But the recent success of Bloc Québécois in Federal elections asked the critics to rethink about it. As the federalists are claiming for the complete success over the Quebec's separatist movement, the Parti Québécois and the Bloc Québécois both say that the sovereignty question is not off the table and will wait until the time is right before holding another referendum.

The referendum over the Quebec autonomy can be seen as the accumulation of all tensions erupting out due to the francophones' minority status in Canada. At present, the Quebec nationalists protest mainly over the Canada's refusal to acknowledge its' multinational character in the Constitution. The Canadian government is engaged in a process of nation building with the emphasis over individual rights enshrined in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This limits the scope of a distinct society like Quebec. This single civic identity is considered as the biggest threat to Canada's multi-national character. Apart from the common civic approach, the process of nation building in Canada results in the recognition of the culture of every new immigrant in the country. This threatens the position of Quebec as a distinct culture and society. They have also been protesting over the Canada's refusal to grant Quebec full power over Cultural (language, religion, culture, communications) and economic (manpower-training, unemployment insurance, regional development) matters. The Quebec nationalists also complaint over the federal interference in the matters, ought to be exclusively reserved for the provinces, of education and health. They do also want to curb the federal spending

power and they are for greater decentralization. Their major struggle is to get the Canadian recognition of Quebec as one of the founding peoples of the country.

However, the Canadian government contradicts the charges of discriminating French language. It states that it has implemented a bilingualism policy, which states that the entire country is officially bilingual. Though officially multicultural, it officially promotes the integration of immigrants into either one of its two official linguistic communities. How can the federal government be accused if most of the immigrants opt for the English language.

The results of both the referendums prove that because of the many close, mutually advantageous economic, political and social ties already existing between Quebec and Canada, separation of Quebec from Canada is not desirable by the citizens of Quebec themselves. For the common Quebecers their interest lies in protecting their identity, language and distinct society, a continuation of their quest for survival against the 'threat' imposed by the dominant anglophone society. Political independence is less important to them, as long as the French Quebec identity is preserved. The French language being a predominant factor of the Quebec identity, the preservation of the French language thus holds utmost importance, not the political separation. They also have accepted cultural diversity and the enrichment it brings and have better considered it as an advantage to identify with both Quebec and Canada. However, they are for the linguistic integration of the immigrant groups in Quebec as it increases the population of French speakers in Quebec and strengthens the Quebec position as a distinct society within Canada.

The Francophones are as the minority groups in North America and in Canada too. Today, they account for 19.5% of total Canadian population. In Canada, they are at meagre number or as minority in all the provinces except in Quebec and in New Brunswick. In Quebec, they account for over eighty per cent of the total population. But the question of calling them as a "minority" is a complicated proposition. Quebecers like to believe that they are one of the three 'founding nations' of Canada, the other two being the

Indigenous people and the Anglophones. It brings in the complexity of the definition of minorities in the context of Quebec. The term 'minority' is complicated in itself, apart, due to its' normative restricted implementation as it is applied to national, ethnic, religious, linguistic groups only and it is not related to other disadvantaged groups such as women, children, aged, etc, neither for that matter does it cover indigenous people. If one takes the numerical strength in account, then one faces a very complicated question, what is the status of minority groups and immigrant groups in Quebec when the Francophone Quebecers themselves are a minority in Canada. If Quebec has been seeking special rights and recognition against the historic discrimination to their culture and language, what are they going to do to provide amicable atmosphere to the minority and ethnic groups including immigrants in their own territory! The minorities of Quebec, have they been given special rights at the equal level, what the Quebecers have been seeking from the dominant Anglophones? These minorities, are they minorities within minorities? All these questions become very pertinent, when one starts studying about the status of immigrant and ethnic groups in Quebec. Understanding the position of the immigrant groups and ethnic groups in Quebec would hence lead to an understanding of what are the status, problems, challenges, and factors leading to government policies for the immigrant and minority groups in Quebec.

The official figure of the Quebec population in 2005 (estimated) is 7,598,800.³⁴ The Francophones constitute eighty two percent of the total population. Hence, they form the significant majority of the Quebec territory and their claim over the land as a 'distinct society' can be justified with the consideration of their numerical strength. The Anglophones are the second significant groups in Quebec as they form 7.9% of the total demographic strength. But numerically, the Allophones (majority of them are recent immigrants from diverse origins) are having the second highest population at 9% and any policy making requires to look for their concerns before its' implementation. The share of Aboriginals are very insignificant as they are only 1% of the total population. The Inuits and Hurons are the Aboriginal groups who give

³⁴ CCSD's Stats and Facts: Demographic Profile of Canada", [Online: web] Accessed 10 April 2005
URL: <http://www.ccsd.ca/factsheets>

representation to the Aboriginals in Quebec. Though, the bilinguals (who can speak French and English both, in Canadian context) were earlier a scarce phenomenon in Quebec. But, today they have registered their strength and they were about 0.8% of the total population as per the Census of 2001. Today, they are about one per cent of the total population and their growing number is attributed to the reasons which ask them to avoid the grudges of both of the linguistic groups, French and English, and to take a middle-path by acquiring the acquaintance in both the languages.

Earlier, the Francophones were having high fertility rate and they had been enjoying a numerical dominance, though politically dominated by the Anglophones, in Quebec. But, the waves of modernism, entering in the phase Quebec society changed the scene. The recent developments strived the Quebecers to lead a different life-style which often not go in the lines of the Catholic order. One of the changes was their adaptation to the birth control programmes against the wishes of Catholicism. This resulted in the significant drop out of their birth rate. At present, the total fertility rate of the Quebec is 1.48 which is quite below than the globally envisaged rate of 2.1 and it is the lowest in Canada. Consequently, it resulted in the loss of population weight to the Quebecers. This had some other consequences too. The increasing dissolution and the assimilation of the Francophones in other provinces of Canada due to their minor presence had already presented the Quebecers a good example. The dwindling proportion of the Francophone population at Quebec gave them the same fear of getting assimilated into dominant Anglophone cultures. This created a very complex situation for the Quebecers as they had to maintain the Francophones' dominance at Quebec which was not possible with the present birth rate of Francophones at Quebec. They wanted a unique citizenship with single language and, to some extent, single culture under the banner of Quebec Nation. So, the entry of immigrants from diverse sources to make them a majority was not acceptable to them too, as this was leading to the diminishing of their proportion to the total population of Quebec. The immigrants' more affinity towards the English language also developed a negative outlook for them in the minds of the Quebec nationalists. The Aboriginals were

already in very less number. Hence, the Quebecers did not take their presence with much attention.

At present, the Quebec government has been facing three important problems at demographic lines in regard to its' cultural questions:

- Its' declining birth rate since 1960s.
- The growing number of immigrants who are more inclined to English language due to its' economic and business significance. In last thirty years, the new immigrants have caused more than 50% of total population growth of Quebec.
- The Quebec government's attempts to linguistically integrate other cultural groups have created a sort of menace among immigrant and other ethnic groups. This has led to an exodus from Quebec towards other provinces. This inter-provincial emigration needs careful handling. Integration of its' immigration is necessary for Quebec otherwise, it would drive the immigrants to other anglophone provinces, or worse, still, it would lead to the anglicization of existing francophones.

Quebec has also recognised the importance of immigrants for its' socio-demographic-economic developments. The Quebec government has also been welcoming the immigrants but wants them at certain conditions. The immigrants becomes very important from Quebec point of view as they are loosing their demographic strength as proportion to total Canadian population. Their minority status have always feared assimilation. Secondly, as per the Canadian Constitution, the principle of "representation by population" is in operation. It means that the province with more population will have more representation in the House of Commons while the province with the lesser population will have lesser representation. The decreasing rate of population growth of Quebec will lead to proportionally fewer members in the House of Commons for Quebec. It pretends to the loss of political weight for the Quebec as well as Quebec looses the voting strength in the Federal Parliament too. Hence, both culturally and politically, the Quebecers feel threatened by the possibility of its' assimilation into the anglophone Canadian society. To eliminate this fear, the

Quebec government demanded a fixed 25% of total seats in House of Commons reserved for Quebec only as a part of Meech Lake Accord. It also asked for a special 'veto' status in parliament for itself only. Both the demands were discarded by other provinces so, the federal government too.

The Quebecers discovered out the idea of 'integration' of the immigrant groups to ensure the proportionate growth of the Quebec in comparison to other provinces of Canada as well it ensures the enough Francophones in Quebec. The quebecois integration is not complete "assimilation". Rather, the Quebec shows special thrust for the linguistic integration of the immigrants. It coined the term "interculturalism" to ensure the linguistic integration of all minority groups including immigrants while all were free to practice their own other cultural practices. It asked for common language, common nation, common citizenship, etc.. Another step which may be counted in this regard, it officially passed the passage of Bill 75 which created the Quebec Ministry of Immigration. It was a mahor earmark in Quebec's struggle to retain its' linguistic and cultural distinction. The introduction of Bill 101 made it mandatory for all the arriving immigrants to join the French Schools, with some exceptions, to ensure the francisation of the new people. Apart from this, it keeps on demanding fiercely to the federal government about its' right to select its' own immigrants.

Though, Quebec government claims to be more liberal and dynamic in approach towards minority groups under the 'intercultural' policies. The Quebec's integration approach is seen as less assimilationist as its' major focus is over linguistic integration of the minorities. In Quebec, the assimilation rate of immigrants is 40%, a rate lower than that in other provinces due to Quebec's specific emphasis is on linguistic integration in lieu of overall integration. Hence, this explains the low rate recorded of immigrant assimilation in Quebec. But what this also indicates is Quebec's priority of emphasizing on linguistic integration rather than overall integration. But after the failure of Meech Lake Accord, the harsh attitude of the Quebec government towards the First Nations brought a lot of criticism for the government. The multiculturalism pushed the Aborigines to seek special rights as the

Quebecers had been demanding, put them at confrontation with the Quebec government which was not ready to entertain any idea or dream of separate identity. In addition, the bigger push to learn French by the government towards the 'other' groups enhanced the high inter-provincial migration to neighbouring anglophone provinces. There, they could learn a language which was economically more viable and there were lesser or no push to learn a language. The high inter-provincial migration rate caused the diminution of the population and it also raised the chances of (new) Francophones to get anglicised as a trend. The Quebec has always claimed that its' English speaking community has always had the right to maintain and develop its' own institution, especially in the fields of health and education. But, most of the anglophones regarded the measures taken by Quebec to protect French, as excessive and it has often been against the Anglophones' interests.

The Quebec nationalism was the result of the continuous fear to get assimilated. Hence, their basic emphasis was over the 'protection' of their own language and it was not, as such, assimilationist in nature. Despite several protesting voices over Quebec cultural policies and inspite of some strong sovereigntist nationalists, Quebecers, however in general, showed a good deal of tolerance and acceptance of those who came and settled among them. In fact, in many respects, the immigrants were less discriminated against here in Quebec than they were elsewhere in Canada. For example, immigrants who were blacks, were subjected to segregated schools in Ontario and Nova Scotia, but they suffered no such discrimination in Quebec. The Quebecers generally put forth an accomodating attitude towards immigration, yet their desire to maintain its' distinct society. The diversity could pose a danger to their hypothesis of 'distinct Quebec', but this did hardly cause any change in their accomodating behaviours towards the immigrants. The refusal of two referendums over political autonomy shows their wish to be an integral part of Canada while maintaing the distinct nature of their own society.

The Quebec government attempts to francisize the allophones and anglophones have started yielding affirmative results. Earlier, 80% of new immigrants were acquiring English as their primary language but, the recent measures have reduced this

inclination to 50%. This has, overall, increased the number of French speakers in Quebec. Most critics, however, do agree that linguistic assimilation of immigrants does seem to enjoy a high priority for the Quebec provincial government, and that various measures adopted by successive Quebec governments- both sovereignist and federalist- have slowed down the tendency of immigrants to integrate into the English-Speaking Community. However, this is constantly counteracted by the economic, political, cultural and linguistic pressures to which new Quebecers feel themselves constantly threatened.

The system of education has been the major thrust area for the purpose of linguistic integration of the immigrant and minority groups in Quebec. The subsequent chapters highlights the provincial government's attempts to attain a common civic educational institution while going through a series of reforms in education system.

Chapter II

IMMIGRATION TO QUEBEC:
PATTERNS AND POLICIES

IMMIGRATION TO QUEBEC: PATTERNS AND POLICIES

Immigration has been a very significant issue in Canadian political sphere. The growing number of immigrants, about 30000 per annum, to Quebec alarmed the Quebec nationalists to take some strong measures in order to prevent the dilution of French Culture under the growing menace of diversity and multiculturalism. The Allophones' greater preference for the English due to its' economic and commercial viability developed a sort of confrontationist attitude for them in the minds of the Quebec nationalists. The growing emphasis over the establishment of an independent and autonomous Francophone state, Quebec, made the immigrant and other cultural groups conscious about their linguistic rights. The Newton's Third Law works here, and the immigrant groups and minorities also generate the consciousness and consolidation to protect their own language and culture. Though the Anglophones were subjected the most of the nationalists' grudges for their being at dominant position despite the minority status. This resulted in the inter-provincial migrations of the Anglophone Community towards the anglophone province.

In this chapter, it has been first attempted to analyze the existing relationships between the Francophone nationalists and the immigrant groups. The chapter in the first section also traces the evolution of the immigration in Canada with some focus over Quebec immigration situation. It is attempted to put lights over the Quebec nationalists' claims to have a greater share in the selection of their own immigrants. The next section deals with the demographic characteristics of Quebec. This includes the demographic composition of various groups in Quebec in the evolutionary way till present. The section also deals with the problems associated with the demographic imbalances due to lower-fertility rate, immigrants' issues, and inter-provincial migration, a big concern for modern Quebec society. The education has been the principal tool to be assigned the role of cultural hegemony over recent and small cultural groups. This is seen as the first and the foremost way to ensure the linguistic integrity of the Nation, being hypothesized.

Quebec Nationalism and Immigration

Canada is, historically, a country of immigrants. Many inflows from Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin Americas over the centuries shaped Canada as a cultural mosaic, where all communities are viewed as equals and their diversity is considered as a process of cultural beautification to the society by respecting the differences of others. Though the Norse were the first Europeans to arrive in Canada, the French were the first to establish their hegemony over the upper part of North America, modern Canada dates back to 16th century A.D. But their supremacy over the territory ended with the British “Conquest” in 1759 and France ceded all their North American territories to the Britishers by the Treaty of Paris in 1763. Since then, the Francophones have been fighting for the protection of their language and cultural tenets against the anglophone dominance. The Quebec Nationalism took birth over the quest of “*survivance*”. The fierce Quebec Nationalists have had a single objective to ensure the political and military autonomy of Quebec from Canada. They were just for the economic alliances with Canada. In order to attain the common characteristics of the nation-state, the Québécois were not for the entry of immigrants to Quebec. They just wanted the white catholic francophones to enter their land as it would enhance the numerical strength of Francophones in Canada. According to the nationalists, every time that an immigrant landed in Canada, the proportion of French Canadians in the country decreased accordingly.

The years of 1960 proved to be a milestone in the history of Quebec and Quebec nationalism. The inception of “Quiet Revolution” marked the break up of Quebec conservative past and it paved the way for reforms and liberalizations. The Quebecers also started opening their mind to welcome new ideas and institutions. They started saying good-bye to Catholic influence over education and politics. This also resulted in Quebecois’ adaptation of family planning system and the institution of marriage also started getting replaced by ‘co-living’ relationships. All of these caused a down fall in the total fertility rate and consequently, negative growth rate of population. The

fast phase of industrialization and urbanization needed a strong human force to keep up the pace of growth. At this juncture, the very need for immigrants arises first and foremost out of the province's incapability to naturally reproduce itself. Now, they had the requirement of immigrants not only to strengthen the Francophones' population but, they also needed them as a skilled labour to enhance the province's economic productivity and performance and to maintain the demographic balance of the territory. Now, there was no more 'no' to immigrants irrespective of their origin, colour, race or religion.

If we go back to past, a different attitude for the immigrants used to exist in Canada and also in Quebec. Before 1896, very few immigrants came to Canada. Canada was, then, far more a land of emigration than immigration, as thousands of Canadians left the country for the United States where industry was in need of cheap labour. Before 1896, Canada was considered as "The Last Best West" and it was preferred the least.³⁵ The immigration was a mixed federal-provincial jurisdiction. But, the situation changed with the need of labourers for the construction of Canadian Pacific Railway in 1896. The inception of 20th century brought many changes at economic levels in Canada. The increased opportunities in the territory attracted a bulk of immigrants to Canada. Here, Canada, though looking for human force, was very selective in choosing the new settlers in the country. Till 1945, they were allowing immigrants on the lines of Anglo (French) conformity. Though they adopted "open door policy" during the period of Great Depression (1929-39), the liberalization was over the number of immigrants not over the origin. In the early years of 1900, the Canadian government planned the Prairie farm settlement to make the National Policy function appropriately. To achieve the objective, they needed economically "self-serving" immigrants and the official slogan was quite clear 'only farmers need apply'. Here, the immigrants, moving towards eastern industrial cities to compete with Canadians, were considered as "bad immigrants". Other than this, the Canadian

³⁵ Claude Bélanger, "Canadian immigration policy lecture outline", [Online: web] Accessed 15 May 2006 URL: <http://www2.marianopolis.edu/quebechistory/readings/Canadianimmigrationpolicylectureoutline.htm>

immigration policy was perfectly assimilationist and racist. The Anglophones had the preference for the White, Anglo-Saxons, Protestant (WASP) whereas the Francophones had the preference for the White, Francophones, and Catholic. Section 38 of the Canadian Immigration Act of 1910 gave the Canadian Government the power to prohibit the entry "of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada". People from "warm countries" were deemed unsuited for immigration to Canada. Before 1945, the Anglo (French) conformity pattern created three sorts of categories of the immigrants in Canada.³⁶

- a) "Preferred Category": British and Americans, West Europeans
- b) "Acceptable Category" (although not "preferred"): East Europeans (Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, etc.) South Europeans (Italians, Greeks, Spaniards, etc.). They were to be accepted if they settled down in the West. A regulation of 1923 classified following countries as "non-preferred" : Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. By this regulation, immigration from these countries was limited to agricultural and domestic workers and sponsored immigrants.
- c) The "Non Preferred" and "Not Acceptable" category: Members of visible minorities. Each of these groups faces prejudice and discrimination by Canadians and their government. Laws and/or regulations are issued to prevent their coming to Canada. . These immigrants do jobs that nobody else in Canada wants to do.

However, the situation changed after 1945. The post World War II brought a surge of immigrants and refugees from developing countries to Canada. The passage of Citizenship Act, 1947 also changed the situation and the Canadians were no more a British citizen, rather Canadian citizens. This also led to a series of socio-legislative measures which were intended to reduce the socio-political discrimination against the visible minorities and the non-preferred and non-acceptable immigrants. At the same time since 1960s, the selection process has become more focused on attracting young

³⁶ Ibid.

skilled workers to this country on the point basis. Now, there was an ongoing shift of immigrants from traditional source countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States, and Western Europe towards arrivals from Asia, Latin America, and Africa and there was, since 1980, increasing international competition for skilled labour for both permanent and short-term employment. This became particularly important in the early 1990s when the country faced high unemployment rates and slow growth, but continued to admit immigrants in the range of 200,000 or more a year. This has created a new set of problems of immigrant adjustment, integration, and fiscal stresses. The new topics include questions about the annual levels of immigration; that is, is 1% of the population (approximately 300,000 per year) the optimal level of inflow? Should we be concerned whether over 80% of all arrivals head for just three cities - Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver? Should we be concerned about the declining diversity in the composition of arrivals? Finally, how has post-9/11, with all its security implications, affected who should and who should not be admitted

Immigrants arrive to Canada under different classes representing different programmes of objectives. The three broad classes are: Family Class immigrants who enter on the basis of family relationships; Independent Class immigrants selected on the basis of a point system that reflects occupational skills, experience and likely adaptability to Canadian society; and Convention Refugee Class immigrants who are admitted on the basis of Canadian laws governing refugee admissions and likely adaptability to the Canadian environment. These are generally called family (reunification) class, economic class, and refugee class immigrants.³⁷ Major concerns of immigration policy, then, are the *relative* numbers of immigrants to be admitted under these classes.

In contrast to Canadian anglophones' approach (gradually turning moderate and more flexible in acceptance) to immigrants from diverse origins, the Quebecers shown a different attitude towards immigrants. The ultramontane nationalists saw immigration as a great threat to the existence of Quebec. Their entry into Quebec was interpreted

³⁷ Steven Gliberman, *the immigration dilemma*, (Vancouver, 1992)

as an attempt to assimilate the Francophones by consolidating the strength of the Anglophones. Here, one touches one of the most sensitive elements of the nationalist thinking of the ultramontane period. It has been the subject of considerable debate with eyes focused not on advancing our knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon, but rather to obscure it, deny it or else play it up for political reasons. When studying the attitude of the French Canadian nationalists toward immigration in general, it should be remembered that at no time in the period under question was there ever a desire in the federal government to present immigration to the people of Quebec in such a manner that it would appear that immigration made a positive contribution to the preservation of their nationality. On the contrary, the federal government conducted its immigration policy oblivious to the goals of the people of Quebec. This is especially striking when, otherwise, it is very evident that it reflected very well the desires of English-speaking Canadians on immigration. Thus, one should not be surprised that there was not a very positive response to immigrants in Quebec. One should also note, and ponder, the minority position of the people of Quebec. Thus, in analyzing the attitude of Quebec, or of the ultramontane nationalists, to immigration, as per the words of Belanger, the minority situation of the nation should be kept in mind.

The new changes in the Quebec government's policies over immigration appeared in late 1960s. The dwindling birth-rate of Quebecers and its' inability to manage the human resource of its' own forced them to look for more and more immigrants. The industrial and economic requirement necessitated the Quebecers to forget their old path to look for white catholic francophones only. Thus, skills were more important than the race to ensure the pace of development in the region. However, the ultramontane nationalist ultimate aim was to ensure the Francophones entry only. The complexities, hence caused, were resolved by pioneering a new way: to let the immigrants practice their own religion and other cultural tenets except language. It was decided to make French as the universal primary language of Quebec. The immigrants were supposed to acquire French language in order to ensure common citizenship, common nationhood, and ultimately, common language at Quebec.

Hence, French was considered as an instrument of Quebec's 'distinct' identity that unifies all Quebecers without any discrimination. They termed their language promotion policy as "Interculturalism".

The importance of the immigrants can not be denied even by the fierce nationalists. But, they wanted the freedom to select the immigrants for Quebec by themselves. They were against the federal hegemony to decide the entry of immigrants into Canada and Quebec.

The nationalists believed that the provincial government could better understand the local conditions and so, they might better search the ideal immigrants to the region. So, they wanted the total say of provincial governments over the selection of immigrants, language and cultural policies. As the question of existence and the number of immigrants were inter-related, this made the Quebec government to look for more francophones as immigrants. Their fear gets weight with the facts that for every new immigrant whose mother tongue is French, there are ten whose mother tongue is English.³⁸ In 1969, out of total 5 million new immigrants, 3.8 million used to speak English whereas 1.18 million were French speakers and 0.6 million were bilinguals. The declining proportion of Francophone community in Quebec forced the Quebec nationalists to put their demands over freedom to select their own immigrants strongly. To make this true, they put five demands before the Federal government as the necessary conditions for the Meech Lake Accord. "Increased powers over the selection and settling of immigrants" was one the five demands for the Accord. The Quebec government wanted the Federal government to grant Quebec full power over cultural (language, culture, communications) and economic (manpower, training, unemployment insurance, regional development) matters. It was at the insistence of Quebec to a large extent the powers with the greatest incidence on culture, language and society were given to the provinces beyond the grasp of the Anglophone majority.

³⁸ Charles M. Beach, Alan G. Green and Jeffrey G. Reitz (eds.), "Canadian Immigration Policy for the 21st century", [Online: web] Accessed 14 June 2006
URL:<http://jdi.econ.queensy.ca/publications/immigrations.htm>

However, Quebec has its' own sets of problems in dealing with the immigrants. To deal with the declining proportion of French communities in Quebec and to check the higher affinity of Quebec immigrants for English, the Quebec government took several measures to ensure the immigrants' adaptability to French language. The introduced the Bill 101 in 1977 which mandated all recent immigrants to join French schools with very few exceptions. In addition, the passage of Bill 75 created the Quebec Ministry of Immigration. It was a major earmark in Quebec's struggle to retain its' linguistic and cultural distinction. The Quebec provincial government tried all possible measures to enhance the total number of French speakers in the province. But, their action did not result in all positive results. At one hand, it increased the proportion of Francophones to the total population of Quebec, but it also enhanced the inter-provincial immigration from Quebec to other provinces. The Quebec lost on an average 17,000 persons per year due to its' French promotion policies.

The Quebec government contradicted the blame of suppressing other groups' rights. They claimed of protecting Protestant Anglophone Schools in Quebec. But, the Anglophones saw their actions as excessive and too much French addicted. The Quebec government also presented the table of assimilation rate of immigrants to the main society as a proof of their being more immigrants' friendly. In Quebec, the assimilation rate of immigrants is 40%, a rate lower than that in other provinces. It showed that Quebec's specific emphasis is on linguistic integration in lieu of overall integration. Hence, this explained the low rate recorded of immigrant assimilation in Quebec. But, inter-provincial immigration became one of the most important concerns for the Quebec Provincial Governments. Integration of its' immigrants was necessary for Quebec, otherwise it would drive the immigrants to other anglophone provinces, or worse, it would, still, lead to the Anglicization of existing francophones.

At this point, the Quebec policy makers faced several difficulties in shaping immigration policy for Quebec while taking note of following conditions:

- Quebec faced a difficult task of needing to, firstly, formulate its' own selection criterias for prospective immigrants to meet its' specific needs of attracting French speaking immigrants.
- Quebec needed to strive to achieve the optimum number of selected immigrants.
- It needed to develop its' own specific immigrant integration policies for the non francophone immigrants entering Quebec. To achieve the goals, provincial control over immigration policies was felt necessary- because in this way it could succeed in boosting the proportion of the francophone population in Canada, thus ensuring the survival of the special status of the francophone society in Canada.

At policy levels, the Ministry of Cultural Communities and Integration set out its' inter-cultural objectives in 1981 by publishing a plan of action entitled- *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* (Québécois: Each and Everyone). The plan talked about the development of a strategy to: develop cultural communities and ensure maintenance of their uniqueness; sensitize Francophones to the contribution of cultural communities to Quebec's heritage and cultural development; facilitate the integration of cultural communities into Quebec society, especially those sectors historically excluded or underrepresented within institutional settings. In 1984, the Quebec National Assembly passed legislation creating the *Conseil des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration* (Council of Cultural Communities and of Immigration). The Council advises the Minister of the planning and implementation of government policies related to cultural communities and immigration. It also commissions studies and undertakes research on related issues. Quebec's inter-cultural orientation toward immigrants and diversity was further confirmed with the release of white paper at the end of 1990.

Though the Quebec nationalists always demonstrated harsh attitude towards the immigrants in general, the people of Quebec showed a good deal of tolerance and acceptance of those who came and settled among them. In many respects immigrants

were less discriminated against here than they were elsewhere in Canada. Blacks were subjected to segregated schools in Ontario and Nova Scotia, but not in Quebec. The Université de Montréal accepted far less Jews than McGill University did. Further, when a Jewish student was accepted at the Université de Montréal, he/she was treated with far more dignity, and with more equality, than he/she would have been at McGill. The Université de Montréal stood fast, and with much dignity, against the mounting cries of those that wanted it to abandon its tolerant policy. Jewish schools and a Jewish hospital were opened in the province with legal sanction and grants from the provincial government. Nowhere else in Canada were Jewish institutions financed by the government.

Finally it could be said that the provincial measures had augmented the proportion of French speakers in Quebec but it has also created a fear among other communities resulting into their inter-provincial migration. It has also resulted in more immigrants adopting French as their primary language.

Demographic Dynamics of Quebec

Diversity is a truth now, attached with most of the countries and provinces and Quebec is not one of the exceptions. The formulation of population policies does seem a very difficult task due to the diversity. Today, China is the only country in the world which has a defined policy framework over birth rate, emigration, immigration, settlement etc. They were able to establish strict norms and coercive measures to check the high population growth rate and this was all possible for China because of having communist regime at the helm and single-party system. But this becomes quite complicated task when one starts formulating demographic policies in a democratic regime where one is asked to ensure the individuals' rights and freedoms and the community rights before taking any final decision. It results in the shaping up of conflicting objectives and these are often difficult to precise. In addition, the means

of acceptable actions to all are either inexistent or less efficient. The results of the actions taken are many times less than the cost incurred to realize the goals. But a province, such as Quebec, the situation is not very tough due to the homogeneity of the majority of the population and hence, the lesser probability of resultant internal conflicts.

As per the estimated figure of 2005, the Quebec has 7.59 million population out of which, Francophones are 82% of the total population. The minority groups include Allophones (9%), Anglophones(7.9%), Aborigines(1%), and Bilinguals.³⁹

Francophones:

Quebec's francophones account for 19.5% of the Canadian population and 90% of all of Canada's French-speaking population. Quebec and New Brunswick are the only provinces where the francophone population is not declining. This decline is unlikely to stop due to the older age of the Francophone population, high rate of intermarriage with anglophones as well as the failure to pass the French language to the younger generations.

Anglophones:

The 8% of the Quebec population whose mother tongue is English resides mostly in the Greater Montreal Area (60%), where they have a well-established network of educational, social, economic, and cultural institutions. There is also a historical English-speaking community in the Eastern Townships and the Outaouais region bordering the province of Ontario has a great proportion of anglophones as well. Although the role of English for international business and external communication purposes in Quebec can hardly be challenged, both the absolute number and the share of native English speakers has dropped significantly during the past forty years (from 13.8% in 1951 to just 8% in 2001). This decline in is likely to continue in the nearest future.

³⁹ "Current language demographics of the Canadian province of Quebec", [Online: web] Accessed 21 June 2006 URL: <http://en.wikipedia/freencyclopedia/quebec/language-demographics-of-quebec.htm>

Allophones:

Quebec allophones account for 9% of the population of Quebec, however 88% of this population reside in the Greater Montreal. The Allophones in Quebec, comprises some 30 different linguistic/ethnic groupings. the majority are products of 20th century immigration. There are 6.3% Italians, 2.9% Spanish speakers, 2.5% Arabic speakers, 1.7% Chinese, 1.5% Greeks, 1.4% French Creoles, 1.1% Portuguese, 0.9% Vietnamese, 0.8% Polish, and so on. In 2003, Quebec accepted some 37,619 immigrants. A large fraction of these immigrants originated from francophone countries and countries that are former French colonies. Countries from which significant numbers of people immigrate include Haiti, Congo, Lebanon, Morocco, Rwanda, Syria, Algeria, France and Belgium.

Aboriginal Peoples:

Aboriginal peoples in Quebec are comprised of a heterogeneous group of about 71,000 individuals, who account for 9% of the total population of Aboriginal peoples in Canada.⁴⁰ Approximately 60% of those are officially recognized as "Indians" under the federal Indian Act. Nearly half (47%) of this population in Quebec reported an Aboriginal language as mother tongue, the highest proportion of any province. The following table shows the demographic situations of Aboriginal peoples in Quebec:

Table 1: Distribution of Aboriginals & Their Language Preferences

People	Number	Linguistic family	Region of Quebec	Language of use	Second language
Abenakis	1,900	Algonquian	Mauricie	French	Abenaki
Algonsquin	8,600	Algonquian	North East	Algonquin	French or English

⁴⁰ Statistics Canada (Ottawa:2001)

Atikameks	4,900	Algonquian	North	Atikamek	French
Crees	13,000	Algonquian	North	Cree	English
Malecites	570	Algonquian	St. Lawrence South shore	French	English
Micmacs	4,300	Algonquian	Gaspésie	Micmac	French or English
Innus	13,800	Algonquian	North Coast	Innu	French
Naskapis	570	Algonquian	North East	Naskapis	English
Hurons	2,800	Iroquoian	near Quebec City	French	English
Mohawks	13,000	Iroquoian	near Montreal	English	Mohawk
Inuit	8,000	Eskimo-Aleut	Arctic	Inuktitut	English

Source: Statistics Canada (Ottawa: 2001)

Multilingualists:

Between 1971 and 1996, the proportion of native francophones who claimed to know English, too, rose from 26% to 34%. The proportion of native anglophones claiming to know French, too, rose from 37% to 63% percent over the same period. Among allophones claiming a third mother tongue in 1996, 23% also knew French, 19% also knew English, and 48% also knew both. On the whole, the 1971 to 1996 period showed a progression towards better knowledge of French; by 1996, 2.6% of the population (182,480 persons) were trilingual in French, English and Spanish

Table 2: Evolution of Linguistic Groups in Quebec⁴¹

Evolution of the language populations in Quebec									
Mother Tongue / Year	1951	1961	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
French	82.5%	81.2%	80.7%	80.0%	82.4%	82.9%	82.1%	80.9%	81.2%
English	13.8%	13.3%	13.1%	12.8%	11.0%	10.3%	9.6%	8.3%	8.0%
Allophones	3.7%	5.6%	6.2%	7.2%	6.6%	6.8%	8.3%	10.7%	10.0%
Bilingual	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.8%

Source: Statistics Canada (Ottawa: 2001)

The federal language law and regulations seek to make it possible for all Canadian anglophone and francophone citizens to obtain services in the language of their choice from the federal government. Ottawa promotes the adoption of bilingualism by the population and especially among the employees in the public service. In contrast, the Quebec language law and regulations try to promote French as the common public language of all Quebecers, while respecting the constitutional rights of its anglophone minority. The government of Quebec promotes the adoption and the use of French to counteract the trend towards the anglicization of the population of Quebec.

The Process of Anglicization and Francization:

Until the 1960s, the francophone majority of Quebec had only very weak assimilation power and, indeed, did not seek to assimilate non-francophones. Although the

⁴¹ Statistics Canada (Ottawa: 2001)

quantity of non-francophones adopted French throughout history, the pressure and, indeed, consensus from French-language and English-language institutions was historically towards the anglicization, not francization, of allophones in Quebec. Only a high fertility rate allowed the francophone population to keep increasing in absolute numbers in spite of assimilation and emigration. When, in the early 1960s, the fertility rate of Quebecers began declining in a manner consistent with most Western societies, Quebec's anglophone population -- like elsewhere in Canada -- maintained its relative proportion within the total population and kept on growing in absolute numbers, while Quebec's francophone majority (and the francophone minorities in the rest of Canada) experienced the beginning of a demographic collapse: unlike the anglophone sphere, the francophone sphere was not assimilating allophones, and lower fertility rates were therefore much more determinative.

Quebec's language legislation has tried to address this since the 1970s when, as part of the Quiet Revolution, the francophone majority of French-Canadian origin chose to move away from Church domination and towards a stronger identification with state institutions as development instruments. Instead of repelling non-Catholic immigrants from the French-language public school system and towards the Protestant-run English system, for instance, immigrants would now be encouraged to attend French-language schools. The ultimate quantifiable goal of Quebec's language policy is to establish French as Quebec's common public language and thus to avoid the decline of the community.

That goal has not been reached as successfully as hoped. After almost 30 years of enforcement of the Charter of the French Language, approximately 49% of allophone immigrants -- including those who arrived before the Charter's adoption in 1977 -- had assimilated to English, down from 71% in 1971, but still more than double anglophones' 21% share of the province's population. This leads some Quebecers,

particularly those who support the continued role of French as the province's common public language, to question whether the policy is being implemented successfully. The phenomenon is linked to the linguistic environments which cohabit Montreal -- Quebec's largest city, Canada's second-largest metropolitan area, and home to a number of communities, neighbourhoods, and even municipalities in which English is the de facto common language. The anglophone minority's capacity to assimilate allophones and even francophones has thus compensated for the outmigration of anglophones to other provinces and to the U.S..

A number of socio-economic factors are thought to be responsible for this reality. They include: the historic role of the English language in Canada and the U.S.; its growing influence in the business and scientific world; the perceived advantages of learning English that result from this prominence and which are particularly appealing to allophones who have yet to make a linguistic commitment; the historic association of English with immigrant Québécois and French with ethnic French-Canadian Québécois, which plays into linguistic and identity politics; and the post-industrial clustering of anglophones into Montreal and away from regional communities. These factors go not only to allophone immigrants' direct linguistic assimilation, but also their indirect assimilation through contact with the private sector. Although the Charter of the French language makes French the official language of the workplace, the socio-economic factors cited here also often make English a requirement for employment, not only in Montreal, but even outside of it, particularly given the growth of free trade and globalized business.

The result is a largely bilingual workforce. Francophones are compelled to learn English to find employment, anglophones are pressured to do the same with French, and allophones are asked to learn both but, in reality, start with one of the two, mostly English but more and more French. In 2001, 29% of Quebec workers declared using English, either solely (193,320), mostly (293,320), equally with French (212,545) or

regularly (857,420).⁴² The proportion rose to 37% in the Montreal metropolitan area. Indeed, the majority of Montrealers are bilingual and move easily between French and English-speaking social milieux. Outside Montreal, on the other hand, the proportion of anglophones has shrunk to 3% of the population and, except on the Ontario and U.S. borders, struggles to maintain a critical mass to support educational and health institutions -- a reality that only immigrants and francophones usually experience in the other provinces. Unilingual anglophones are however still on the decline because of the higher English-French bilingualism of the community's younger generations.

Three factors have been influencing the present demographic profiles of Quebec: (a) Declining Birth Rate, (b) Immigration to Quebec, and (c) Inter-Provincial Migration.

The declining birth-rate is attributed to the very low rate of fertility and the detachment of the Quebec society from the institution of the marriage. The total fertility rate which is 1.46 at percent (2005) in Quebec, is the lowest in Canada and it has caused a sense of fear among Quebecers of population desertification. The Quebec has witnessed a reverse patterns in matter of birth rate, from very low to very high (1875-1965) and again to very low. Before 1875, the Québécois had a declining pattern of fertility ratio. But, it started gearing up after 1875. From 1910-1940, Quebec had a fertility rate 50% greater than that of Ontario. The trend started changing after 1960. The 'Quiet Revolution' of 1960s brought the new ideals of modernism into the Quebec society. They started going away from the clutches of Catholic Churches. The family planning was no more considered as a way to hail. The small family system started getting popularised and the institution of marriage was rapidly started getting replaced by the new trend of 'co-habitation' and 'free union'. The resultant low fertility rate, 1.60 in 1986, is 25% less than the global

⁴² Ibid.

replacement level of fertility (2.1).⁴³ It has caused two serious consequences which may lead to many other serious impacts including the total collapse of the population:

- a. **Population getting Oldish:** The increase in life-expectancy at birth is generally considered as a positive impact of declining death rate. But in reality, wherever the life-expectancy at birth has touched 70 or 75 years of age, it has simultaneously been associated with the fall of rate of fertility. It also creates a lopsided pyramid of age where the old aged persons have a greater proportion in the total population:

Table 3: Distribution of Population of Quebec between three groups of Age (0-19, 20-64, 65+..) based on three estimated levels of fertility rate in 2040 and the present rate of fertility (1986). Note: the life of expectancy at birth:78.5 years and there is no migrations.

Age Groups	1986 (1.6)	2040 (1.17)	2040 (1.75)	2040 (2.10)
0-19 years	27.5%	11.9%	20.0%	24.7%
20-64 years	62.8%	53.7%	53.4%	54.1%
65+years	9.7%	34.4%	26.6%	21.2%

Source: Bureau de la Statistique du Québec, table not published.

The estimated level of fertility, even if it remains at medium level, there would be more old people than the young people. It will have some other consequences too. First of all, this will increase the number of dependent persons over young working population. Even if, the TFR remains at 2.1, the dependency ratio is going to be multiplied by 2.5 times in 2040 than 1986. It will create the extra financial burden over the workers. It is also going to increase the government's expenses over pension many times. In 1986, the total allocation of pension was 6.8% of total salary. But, it is to augment to 15.6% in 2041 if the TFR is 2.1 and

⁴³ Alain-G. Gagnon, *Québec :État Et Société* (Montreal: 1994)

to 20.3% if the TFR is 1.5.⁴⁴ The old aged population will also increase the government's expenditure over health. At present, the government is spending 6.6% of the Gross Domestic Product over Health. This is expected to increase by 100-160% with the increasing number of old aged persons. These impacts will cause considerable increased financial burden over the state. In addition, the old persons are more inclined to old values and conservatism. They are generally against to the changes and more inclined to religious dogmatism. It will lead to an inactive and backward looking but big proportion of the population. Their immobility also leads to the immobility of the active population. They stay fixed and immobile geographically and professionally in order to give support to the older persons of the family. They just go far away from innovations and thus the society returns backward from the path of development.

- b. Downfall of Population:** The insufficient birth rate can not be compensated by a positive immigration. The decreased fertility rate shows its' result with delay. In Quebec, the TFR is below replacement level since 1970 but, the population will start showing diminishing trend only after year 2000. Here, migration does not play any compensatory role since the net migration have been negative. The trend shows its' impact differently over different groups. The children in school starts getting diminished since 1970 only. The young adults, at the age of marriage and procreation, shows a declining trend after 1985 whereas the retired and old persons first experience high growth rate and the declining trend only after 2030. This means an upward trend for the life-expectancy at birth. The present fertility rate can have many disastrous consequences. If it remains stable at 1.6 (as in 1986) the poulation is going to be reduced to 4 million in 2086. At the rate of 1.8 (average TFR of the Western societies), Quebec is going to loose its' population by 7% per decade. But at 2.1, the population is expected to reach at 8 million and it is expected to maintain the level further.⁴⁵ The negative population growth will hamper the economic growth as the economy will loose the stimulating elements

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

due to fall of demands for the consumerable goods. It also causes less public and private investment. Overall, the economy becomes less productive.

The recent development of public detachment from the institution of marriage has also led to the negative growth of population. The trend started appearing since 1970 in the western world and Quebec, traditionally a conservative and family value respecting society, could not keep itself untouched. A strong trend of divorce appeared around 1968 with the removal of a related law. Like Canada, about one-third of the recent marriages end up in divorce in Quebec. The present Quebec society distinguishes itself with the popular trend of 'free-union' and 'co-habitation'. The present trend was even supported by a survey in 1984, conducted over the women between 18-49 years. The youngsters, today, no more want to get married. This has led to a significant fall in the birth rate and poor bringing up of the children. As per the two studies of Statistique Canada (1984 & 1990), 36% of total children, born between 1987-1989, were born from non-married parents in Quebec whereas this is at 15% in rest of Canada. Today, 5 out of 6 children are having their parents staying together but freely. 43% of Canadian children (born between 1981-83) of co-habiting parents saw their father-mother getting separated before they attain the age of 6. In Quebec, there are about one-fifth of families having young children who are deprived of one of their parents, most of the time, father. The Statistics Canada (1990) shows that free-union has resulted into average fertility rate of such couple at 1.1 whereas if married, it would have been at 1.8. The Canadian National Child Care Study, 1992 shows that the monoparentage leaves numerous children and their mother in the poverty. Among the monoparentage family having kids less than 13 years old in Canada, two-third of all such families are living a life below poverty line whereas this is only 12.6% (five-times less) in case of such families but with two parents.⁴⁶

As conclusion, the family system has experienced a true revolution in last 20 years. One gets married very less. In case of marriages, the divorce takes place in 1/3rd of the cases. Now, the system of 'free-union' has well replaced the institution of marriage as it gives one a space of multiple attempts and choices. It is less demanding and easy to

⁴⁶ Ibid.

get rid off. But, most of fathers forget their responsibilities, the elementary ones and abandon their family in poverty and at the courage of mothers.

The international immigration is another factor which Quebec looks with optimistic eyes. This has played an important role in maintain the demographic balance of Quebec. In recent years, a strong surge of immigration towards Quebec has resulted and around 20,000 immigrants, on an average per annum, has moved in and settled down here. But, the trend is not certain and this has also lead to the change of ethnic composition of the Quebec population. In 1870, one out of five Québécois were of British origin but at present, they are one out of tweleve. This loss have been compensated by the gains of other groups. The city of Montreal shows the real ethnic variations.

The recent immigrations have taken place mostly from the third-world countries. Their share in total immigration to Quebec was negligible before 1970, but since, their proportion have augmented rapidly and, in the recent years, their number has reached upto 70% of total immigration. These new immigrants are in the process of rapidly modifying the ethnic texture and policies of Quebec government. This has also affected the linguistic composition of the region. Out of the total foreign immigrants (average 20,000 annually between 1966-86) arrived in Quebec, 25% were anglophones, 33% were francophones and about 45% were speakers of other languages. 50% of the total immigrants left Quebec within 20 years of their arrival while favouring the English against French. 70% of those who were speaking a third language chose English instead French. But, the situation changes after 1985 with the new arrivals opting for French thanks to Quebec government's special measures.

The inter-provincial migration has become a major concern for the Quebec government than the international immigration. The Quebec has lost 17000 Québécois on an average per year between 1966-86.⁴⁷ This counts at one-third of the total natural growth.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Table 4: No. of Inter-Provincial Immigrants Between Quebec and Rest of Canada (based on maternal language), 1966-1986(average per annum)

Maternal Language	From Rest of Canada to Quebec	From Quebec to Rest of Canada	Net Migration for Quebec
English	7200	19800	-12600
French	6800	9200	-2400
Others	900	3000	-2100
Total	14900	32000	-17100

Source: Alain-G. Gagnon, 1994

The shown table describes that all sections of the Quebec population, including Francophones, have been leaving Quebec though, the non-francophones are abandoning the province many more times than the francophones. The exodus is blamed over the Quebec provincial governments' pressure over the non-francophones to acquire French language. The Parti Québécois' coming to power in 1976 and the passage of Bill 101 have intensified the outward movement of the non-francophones particularly of anglophones. This loss have resulted in the augmentation of Francophones' proportion to the total Quebec population but it has threatened the population collapse of Quebec too.

Educational System in Quebec: Evolution of a Secular Education System

The Quebec Education System has been facing a very strange dualism in its' objectives. Under the phase of democracy and liberalism, the Quebec provincial government has its' open policy to promote and protect the cultural diversity of its' citizens. This promotion of ethnic diversity hampers the Quebec's struggle to have their own autonomous State where the French is the symbol of common civic system, common institutions, common educational system, common language, etc... At one hand, Quebec provided immersion or welcome classes where the cultural integration of the immigrants is the sole objective but at the other hand, it also had, till 1998, Programmes of the Ethnic Language Learning (PELO) where one could pursue the academic curriculum in his or her own ethnic language through ethnic schools, running particularly for some particular ethnic groups only. This PELO was also promoted with the goal of making one, from some other cultural group, better understand the traits and specialities of some other ethnics and some other cultures. The Quebec educational curriculum has been trapped under the two contradicting goals. The pedagogy was under dilemma whether to maintain and promote the cultural diversity of the students of other ethnic groups. or to guide them to the path of cultural and linguistic (more emphasized) integration. The presence of ethno-cultural groups has created a more diversified classrooms. This diversity, more visible at Montreal, has created a traumatic situation for the Quebec teachers and instructors to instruct in a class full of diversity. The compromise at one level leads to the loss of others. If the teacher lightens the linguistic bolts to make the immigrant students better understand the subject, it is complained by the native students that their academic level has been compromised in order to facilitate the multicultural students to the regular classes. If the teacher maintains the normal level, the immigrant students feel uncomfortable to grasp the class activities due to their little linguistic skills. But, as a whole, the new objective of the education policies in Quebec is the systematic adaptation to the diversity and this approach touches altogether the whole aspect of academic life.

The modern education system of Quebec evolved on the Canadian federal pattern after the creation of Confederation in 1867. the education was, then, a provincial

affair and the educational priorities were generally to be determined by the provincial customs and institutions. The religious body had the ultimate and major say in the policy making. The British North American Act envisaged the dual composition of the Quebec Education system on religious lines. The schools were divided into two confessional streams, Catholic and Protestant, where Catholic means French speaking and Protestant refers to English speaking. Different Confessional school boards, within their jurisdiction, could levy school taxes in order to manage education costs. It caused the differences in the educational level based on the economic prosperity of a region. The poorest regions used to provide limited services whereas the richest regions used to offer better ones. The economic and political dominance of anglophones led to the levying of higher taxes over them and it, consequently, led to the better education system for the anglophones. Until the 1960s, Catholic public schools were limited to elementary institutions, while the Protestant system had both elementary and secondary schools. The Catholic children or French-Canadian children, willing to continue their higher studies, were to go to “*cours classiques*” (classic classes) under the direction of the Catholic Church.

The Quiet Revolution proved to be a milestone in eliminating the differences between the two groups. The Quebec government decided in 1960s to modernise its public structures, including the domain of education. The Quebec government gave a mandate to a royal commission, chaired intentionally by a bishop, Monsignor Alphonse-Marie Parent, to suggest new directions for education. The Parent commission report, published in 1963, recommended major changes, inter-alia the creation of a Ministry of Education and the opening of Catholic, French high schools, instead of *cours classiques*.⁴⁸ The educational system was revamped: the new Ministry of Education rapidly became one of the ministries with the highest budget and public Catholic high schools mushroomed throughout the province. The ministry

⁴⁸ Miniya Chatterji (2003), *Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec*, M.Phil. Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.

had two deputy assistant ministers, one nominated after consultation with the Catholic committee and one after consultation with the Protestant committee, both committees being part of the Superior Council of Education. Taking note of the ongoing developments in the Catholic system of education, the anglophone Protestant system of schooling also started modifying its' own system. They started offering education in French out of their own will and thus, created a new type of school: Franco-Protestant.

The declining birth-rate of Francophones in Quebec needed to compensate the demographic loss through immigrants. The immigrants who were seen as a federal plot, before 1960, were, hence, being seen as a tool to maintain the linguistic and demographic equilibrium of Quebec. Before the Quiet Revolution, the non-Catholic children were barred from entering the Catholic schools and, hence, from learning French. But, the changing demographic features, where Allophones were growing rapidly in number day-by-day, made the Quebec nationalists understand the significance of immigrants for the social-economic development of the province. They were now also regarded as the only saviour to reverse the trend of diminishing french-speaking population in the province. So, they were the new ray of hope to avoid the dilution of Francophones in Quebec. Now the immigrant children were obliged to enrol in French-speaking schools, either Catholic or Protestant. Bill 101, the French Language Charter of 1977, had a major clause: every new arrival had to learn French and Catholic schools had to open their doors to immigrants if they did not want to fade away due to the low number of French-Canadian children. This can be marked as the first step in the secularization of the education system in Quebec. Later, both the Confessional boards, Catholic and Protestant, were substituted by the linguistic boards-French and English.

The creation of Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal in 1965 was proved as an important step to ensure the secularization of the education system. This Board had given the right to non-Protestant to vote on it and out of twenty five commissioners,

five were to be Jews.⁴⁹ This was to be a partially elected Board. The upliftment of the new immigrants gave them a voice to register their apprehensions at socio-legislative level. Such immigrants' parents of school going children of other religions and cultures did not want their children to be forced to follow Christian prayers, rituals, and customs. They wanted a secular education free from continual references to Christian theology, and wanted a say in the educational system. One famous example is related to the entry of Jews in Canada or Quebec. When they emigrated to Quebec during the World War II, it was very confusing what religious recognition to be given to the Jews. Finally, they were decided to be considered as Protestant for the payment of education tax, as different religious body had different rate of taxes but they were not provided with any such particular right in the return. A Jews student was refused a scholarship by the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (CEPGM) by not considering the student as a Protestant. The reasoning was quoted from a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada, in 1911 which made it statute that the Jews were protestant "as a matter of grace", not as a right.⁵⁰ This kind of integration without providing equality of rights was the source of the emergence of private day schools or ethnic schools. These various schools were supported by private funds alone. During the 1970s, a period of major educational initiatives, the Bourassa government gave the status of 'public interest' to private confessional schools-Jewish, Armenian, Greek-Orthodox, and, since 1985, Muslim-thus entitling them to public subsidies. These institutions used to receive state funds and subsidies upto 60% of the total cost of pursuing Québécois curriculum and the linguistic and religious studies of the ethnic groups had to be sponsored by the community itself.⁵¹

There were four systems of schooling, developed in Quebec by the end of 1970 instead of earlier existing two systems of Franco-Catholic and Anglophone-Protestant. The new development included: French-Canadians were having Franco-Catholic Schools; Western Anglo-Saxon Protestants were pursuing their education at Anglo-Protestant Schools or Specific Segregated Schools; Catholic non-francophone

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Marie Mc Andrew, *Immigration et diversité à l'école: Le Débat Québécois Dans Une Perspective Comparative* (Montreal: 2001)

⁵¹ Ibid.

immigrants used to visit Anglo-Catholic Schools or in some cases, Franco-Catholic Schools; the non-Catholic immigrants had two options either to go to Ethnic Religious Schools or to follow Franco Protestant Schools, established by the Jews who refused to distinguish between their language and religion and led to the creation of fifth type of School as Franco Protestant in Quebec.⁵²

Earlier, the religious schools were not opening their entrances to the immigrant students and used to maintain a discriminatory outlook for other groups. But the changing demographic situations made them open their arms for the new groups. The introduction of Bill 101 mandated every new immigrants, with certain exemptions, to join the French schools. This restructured the trend of school going in Quebec. Now the French-Canadians continued going to Franco-Catholic or Franco-Protestant Schools and the Anglophones (WASP) to Anglo-Protestant Schools. Now there were two categories of immigrants and the descendants of immigrants, one who arrived before 1977 and one who came after 1977.⁵³ The former had the choices to visit any of five systems of schooling. But, in general, they used to give preference to four types of schools more or less but generally they used to keep distance with the Franco-Catholic Schools. The immigrants who landed Quebec after 1977, had the options to join either the Franco-Catholic Schools or Franco-Protestant Schools. Very few among them used to visit Ethnic-Religious Schools. The passage of Bill 101 popularised the Franco-Protestant Schools very much as most of immigrants preferred their offsprings to go to these schools. This also shown the reducing importance or declination of the religion in education system as the Quebecers had shown their greater keenness for secular schools instead of religious schools. The special pressure over the immigrants to make their children acquainted with the French language put heavy burden over these students to learn his native language (for his own ethnic preference), French (Bill 101), English (due to its' economic viability) and sometimes fourth or fifth language for individual reasons apart from other subjects of general nature. All these resulted in the augmentation of the proportion of the French

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

speaking persons in Quebec. Today, 95% of total Quebec population can speak French due to the implementation of Bill 101.⁵⁴

But the idea of French promotion was not basically to propagate the French language, but to integrate the nation on linguistic lines which the Quebec nationalists were striving for. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms of 1975 outlawed the discriminatory trends from the Quebec education and political system. However, there were certain government steps which shown a biased approach against the immigrants. But, these cases were very few and used to be discarded at certain level. The Quebec Charter went one step further and tried to respect the due cultural demands of ethnic groups, named as *accommodement raisonnable* (reasonable accomodation). An example of *accommodement raisonnable* would be to put a Muslim worker on a Sunday shift rather than making him work on Friday. This approach, emanating from a philosophy that respects people for what they are, can hardly be written in legal terms. But in this way Quebec showed a fair flexibility in religious and cultural interference in education, while the emphasis grew on strengthening the francophone population of Quebec by the province's stress on linguistic integration.⁵⁵ This also included the change in Quebec government's policy over immigrant selection. The knowledge of French was made as a part of selection procedure points. The immigrants coming from different backgrounds and thus to learn French, as per Bill 101, created a very strong diversity in French schools in Quebec.

The educational reforms of 1998 ended the role of theology in the educational matters. The secular and pluralist education system was the word of the day. Instead of Confessional School system, the schools based on linguistic characteristic were formed in lieu of Catholic or Protestant schools. Instead of earlier existing five school systems, there were only three systems now: French Schools, English Schools, and

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Ethno-Religious Schools. This can be added to the recommendations of *États Généraux Complémentaires* of Quebec, 1998 which asked the curriculum and educational programmes responding to the needs of a pluralistic Francophone population.⁵⁶ The teaching and administrative staffs were supposed to show the ethnocultural diversity of the student population. Its recommendations also asked to instil self-confidence in the students. In addition, it was suggested that provincial structure should be put into place to represent the concerns of the ethnoculturally different francophones.

At present, Quebec has four levels of education: elementary, secondary, college, and university.⁵⁷ Children are admitted to elementary school at six, and school attendance is compulsory until the age of 16. The official language of instruction at the elementary and secondary levels is French. English-language instruction is available primarily to students whose father or mother received elementary instruction in English in Canada. Approximately 10% of students receive instruction in English in Quebec. Elementary school is usually preceded by one year of full-time kindergarten for five-year-olds. Some children from underprivileged backgrounds may have access to half-time kindergarten from the age of four. Elementary school lasts six years. The school year is made up of 180 days of classroom teaching. A normal school week consists of five full days and 23.5 hours of teaching. Students who experience learning difficulties or who have behavioural problems or minor disabilities are integrated into regular classrooms. Students with more significant problems attend smaller specialized classes.

⁵⁶ Claude Bélanger, (2000) "The language laws of Quebec", [Online: web] Accessed 15 May 2006 URL: <http://www2.marianopolis.edu/quebechistory/events/natpart1.htm>

⁵⁷ "SAIP-1998- Reading and Writing- Quebec", [Online: web] Accessed 20 Apr. 2006, URL: http://www.cmec.ca/pcap/rw_98_le/pages/QCE.htm

Secondary school lasts five years and is divided into two levels. The school week is made up of five days and must include a minimum of 25 hours of educational activities. The first level (years 1 to 3) focuses on the teaching of basic skills. At the second level (years 4 and 5), students continue with general education, but may also take optional classes that allow them to explore other avenues of learning before reaching the CEGEP level. Requirements for a secondary school diploma are set by academic regulations.

Students wishing to undertake vocational training are usually required to complete a number of general-stream courses in their language of instruction, in their second language, and in mathematics, at the level of the fourth year of secondary school. Starting in year 5, students can thus begin vocational training leading to a specialized trade. An experimental program allows students to begin vocational training in year 4 and pursue the required general education concurrently. Requirements for a vocational school diploma are set by academic regulations. Thus, the majority of 13-year-old students are enrolled in the second year of secondary school, the majority of 16-year-olds attend the fifth and last year of the secondary level, and a few are starting their CEGEP programme. In 1997-98, a total of 926,207 students were enrolled in 2,700 elementary and secondary public schools managed by 158 school boards.⁵⁸

Hence, the general conclusion can well be drawn that the Quebec has gone a long way to eliminate the clerical elements from its educational affairs and it endorses the idea of pluralism and diversity. The Quebec government almost succeeded in achieving the linguistic integration of the Quebec citizen. The attainment of common civic institutions can be marked as the ideals of present Quebec movement. From Confessional education system to a common education system with French at the top can be described as the Quebec Educational Voyage which has been further described in the subsequent chapters.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Chapter III

EDUCATION SYSTEM IN QUEBEC
AND NON-FRENCH CULTURAL
GROUPS

Educational System in Quebec and The Non-French Cultural Groups

As discussed in the previous chapter, the system of schooling is the most appropriate way to make penetrate the cultural elements in the bodies and minds of individuals of other cultural groups. Though Quebec nationalists were for the establishment of French-Catholic schools only, traditionally three systems of schools used to exist in Quebec: the French schools under the influences of Catholic Church; the English schools normally for Western, Anglo-Saxon Protestants; and. Ethnic schools for 'other' cultural groups. Here, most of the francophones were part of the first type of schools but, francophones from protestant or other religious backgrounds were not finding themselves in a comfortable situation there. Same conditions were being faced by the Catholic or Non-White Anglophones in the English Schools. There were ethnic schools for other cultural groups or immigrants with significant representations. Every new immigrant entering Quebec had to make a choice out of three.

The changing situation, after 1960, necessitated the Quebec government to take some immediate steps to enhance the number of Francophones in the province. The dilution of Francophones outside Quebec and the coming of immigrants from non-traditional sources to Quebec, leading to the decreasing proportion of the Francophones there, caused a sort of anxiety among Francophones to protect the future of French in Quebec. This resulted in the demand for having some strong legislation to make the immigrants adopt French language instead of English. The passage of Bill 101 introduced by the Parti Québécois not only make it mandatory for the new arrivals to learn French but, this also increased the Francophones' population to over eighty per cent. The introduction of Bill 101 faced many criticisms. This was seen as an attempt to marginalize the anglophone community in the province. But the Bill 101 was preceded by many attempts at social and legislative levels to protect the French

language in common use at Quebec and this was the accumulation of all the steps which were taken in the past to ensure the protection of French in Quebec.

French Learning Programme: A Critical View of Bill 101

In 1867 Quebec entered Confederation with a rather complex denominational school system that was constitutionally preserved by section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867, and which featured the protection of the denominational school rights of exactly two Christian denominations, Roman Catholics and Protestants.⁵⁹ Almost from the beginning this arrangement proved awkward. The immigration of significant numbers of Jews in the decades after Confederation strained schools that were explicitly either Catholic or Protestant. The first laws governing the use of French in Quebec were passed early in the 20th century. The first was the Lavergne Law, passed in 1910, which required that tickets for buses, trains and trams be printed in both French and English. In 1937, the government of Premier Maurice Duplessis passed a law requiring the French text of Quebec laws to prevail over the English.⁶⁰ It was reasoned that the French would better reflect the intent of the lawmakers. Anglophones in Quebec resented the law and it was repealed the following year. The socio-political changes after 1960 resulted in the passage of some Bills related to the promotion of French language in Quebec. These Bills include: Bill 63, Bill 22 and the most important, Bill 101:

Bill 63

The *Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec* was passed by the Union Nationale government of Jean-Jacques Bertrand in the fall of 1969. The Bill attempted to resolve a number of issues: the St-Léonard school situation, where a francophone majority on the local school board had enacted that all children whose mother tongue was not English would have to go to French schools despite the

⁵⁹ David Young and Lawrence Bezeau (Feb. 28, 2003), "Moving From Denominational to Linguistic Education in Quebec", [Online: web] Accessed 20 Apr. 2006 URL: <http://www.umanitoba.ca/publications/cjeap/articles/youngbezeau.html>

⁶⁰ Ibid.

opposition of most of the parents of Italian-speaking children who wish to send their children to English schools, the general demand by francophones for a more French Quebec and the recognition of minority rights. The bill, while promoting the teaching of French in English schools and making available to immigrants French classes for a better integration into the Quebec milieu, fell short of the demand of the majority of francophones who would, seemingly, have favoured the elimination of the freedom of choice of parents to send their children to English schools and to restrict access to such schools to the children whose mother tongue was English. Not only did the bill not implement the linguistic policy that most Quebecers seemed to have wished but, in reality, its substance was to guarantee to all in Quebec the right to choose the language of instruction for their children. The effect of such a clause was to accelerate the rate of integration of the rapidly increasing population of allophones to the anglophone group and, thus, to potentially threaten the position of dominance of French in Quebec, especially in the context of the rapidly diminishing birth rate of francophones in the province. The intense discontent which resulted from the passing of this bill led to the appointment of the Gendron Commission to study the status of the French language in Quebec and in 1974 to the passing of the *Loi sur la langue officielle* (Bill 22). The passing of Bill 63 was instrumental in the defeat of the Union Nationale government at the polls in 1970 and in the demise of that party from the political landscape of Quebec.

Bill 22

The *Loi sur la langue officielle* was adopted by the National Assembly of Quebec in 1974. Bill 22 was passed to solve the problems which arose after the passing of Bill 63. The Liberal government of Robert Bourassa attempted to reconcile the promotion of the French language in Quebec and the protection of minority rights. The law proclaimed French as the official language in Quebec, set up a Régie de la langue française to supervise the application of the bill, imposed on all public institutions the duty to address the public administration in French, made French the official

language of contracts, forced corporations to give themselves a French name and to advertise primarily in French in Quebec as well as to seek a certificate of francization which could only be obtained when it was demonstrated that the business could function in French and address its employees in French. On the subject of schools, it maintained the freedom of choice for the language of instruction, but subjected the entrance into English schools to those children that a test showed had knowledge of English. Thus, all those who were anglophones would have access to English school; the bill also guaranteed the existence of an English language sector of education. While the bill required the use of French in a number of instances, as outlined above, it also usually permitted and safeguarded the use of English as well; thus, for example, contracts could also be in English, and even solely in English if this was the request of both parties to the contract. Bill 22 came sharply under attack from extremists on both sides of the language barrier, some francophones arguing that it did not go far enough in the protection and the promotion of French, while many anglophones felt that it went much too far. The application of a language test to young school children was especially resented by many for a variety of conflicting reasons. Anglophone rejection of the bill was especially widespread. An anglophone petition bearing more than 600,000 names (nearly the entire anglophone community) was drafted in 1976 and large numbers of anglophone abandoned the Liberal party in the elections of 1976, despite the fact that they were traditional supporters of that party and that the main opponent of the Liberals was the Parti Québécois. They voted instead for the moribund Union Nationale and contributed, by their voting behaviour, to the election of the Parti Québécois. The discontent generated by bill 22 not only contributed significantly to the defeat of the Liberal government but, as well, to the resignation of Robert Bourassa from the leadership of the Liberal Party.

Bill 101: Charte de la Langue Française (Charter of French Language)

The passing of Bill 22 by the Bourassa government in 1974 became an important issue during the Quebec elections of November 1976. The bill had come under attack

from the anglophone community and from those, in the francophone community, who thought that the bill did not go far enough. Once in power, the new government of the Parti Québécois led by René Levesque first issued a white paper on language and then introduced Bill 1. This was later revised as, Bill 101, titled “Charte de la langue française (Charter of French Language)”. The bill, as it was passed in the summer of 1977, proclaimed French as the official language in Quebec for just about every facet of life in the province: government, judicial system, education, advertising, business, contracts, etc. For example, the bill required that all advertising on billboards be done in French only and that all commercial signs in business establishments be in French alone. All public administrations and businesses had to address their employees in French. All government agencies were directed to use the Official language in their dealings with corporations and other governments in Canada. Government Ministries and Agencies, as well as professional associations in Quebec, were to be known by their French name. The laws of the province were to be enacted in French although an English translation might also be made (and indeed continued to be made after bill 101). English education was to be restricted mostly to those already in the system, their siblings, those temporarily posted in Quebec or whose parents had themselves received an English elementary education in the province. While the bill was very prescriptive in several respects, it showed considerable flexibility in connection to businesses, especially head offices of international and national corporations centred in Quebec. While francization programmes were instituted for businesses, they were limited to businesses of more than 50 employees.

The debates around bill 101 have never abetted and seem endless. The law has received very bad press outside of Quebec and anglophone Quebecers have never accepted it. They believe that the bill was designed essentially to eradicate English from the face of the province, that many of its provisions are unduly harsh, unfair, and in violation of basic human rights. They reject the view that French is a threatened language and that it requires strong legislative protection. They demand that their language be considered equal and be allowed full visibility. Their

perception of the bill is sharpened by sometimes plainly petty application of it by overzealous bureaucrats, called “the language police”.

By contrast, the bill has received widespread support from the francophone community. It views the bill as an essential protection against the increasingly pervasive spread of the dominance of the English language in North America, indeed the world. Many remember the days when French was insignificant as a language of achievement and promotion in the province, when discrimination was rampant, and when businesses did not provide fair and adequate services in the French language. What many anglophones view as an instrument of oppression is seen by many francophones as the thunderous expression of their right to live in French in one corner of North America. Indeed, it is of significance that the name of the law is *Charte de la langue française*; it conveys for many the same dedicated support one would offer to a Charter of Rights. Thus, both communities have a deep sense that they are right and that the other side is wrong. Both react as endangered minorities fighting for their very existence and appealing to the other side for understanding. Only few are able to discuss the subject without becoming emotional.

Many retailers were upset by the new law. Morton Brownstein, owner of a Montreal shoe store, took his case all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada.⁶¹ In 1988, the court said that English could not be prohibited altogether, but that requiring the predominance of French on commercial signs was a reasonable limit on freedom of expression. The public reaction in Quebec was swift and forceful. Confronted with the angry demonstrations of those defending Bill 101, Robert Bourassa – back from the political wasteland for his second tour as premier by then – came up with a compromise. Invoking the “notwithstanding” clause to override the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Bourassa introduced Bill 178. It decreed that only French could be

⁶¹ CBC News Online (2005), “Language Laws in Quebec”, [Online: web] Accessed 15 May 2006
URL: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/bill101/>

used on exterior signs while English would be allowed inside commercial establishments.

But in the provincial election of 1989, four members of the new English rights Equality party were elected to the National Assembly. And in 1993, the United Nations Human Rights Committee ruled that Quebec's sign laws broke an international covenant on civil and political rights.⁶² "A State may choose one or more official languages," the committee wrote, "but it may not exclude outside the spheres of public life, the freedom to express oneself in a certain language." Reacting to these events, Bourassa, in 1993, introduced Bill 86, which allowed English on outdoor commercial signs only if the French lettering was at least twice as large as the English.

A number of changes, in addition to above mentioned case, have been effected to the bill. Some were made because provisions of the law have been found to have violated articles of the Constitution or, after 1982, the new Canadian Charter of Rights. Other changes were made willingly by the majority in an attempt to resolve issues as they arose and to show good faith. The most significant of the changes have dealt with the language of legislation (now issued in both English and French), access to English schools (enlarged to guarantee access to English school to all those that have received their education in English in Canada), and with the language of signs (where English is now acceptable provided that French be given priority).⁶³ Some of these changes were incorporated in a bill issued in 1993 by the Liberal government of Robert Bourassa (Bill 86). Another bill (42) guaranteed to anglophones health and social services in their language. Some of that should have gone a long way to lessen

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ ⁶³ David Young and Lawrence Bezeau (Feb. 28, 2003), "Moving From Denominational to Linguistic Education in Quebec", [Online: web] Accessed 20 Apr. 2006 URL: <http://www.umanitoba.ca/publications/cjeap/articles/youngbezeau.html>

tension on the linguistic front. However, guarantees of social services in a language at a time when governments are cutting so many social services altogether are perhaps not guarantees at all. So the battle goes on.

The French-Language Learning Programme in Schools

The need to attract more immigrants towards the francophone groups, it was argued that the system of education could be the best way to bring these new arrivals to French fold. If someone gets entry at the most initial level, his integration to french community will be stronger. In the process to get enrolled the children of immigrants to French school, it was felt that a basic training was needed to equip the non-francophone students before they get enrolled into main stream. This led to the creation of “Les Classes d’Accueil” (The Welcome Classes) in 1969, aimed solely to provide elementary training to the non-francophone kids to get acquainted with the main provincial language⁶⁴. This was the incipient stage of the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101). The Welcome Classes were optional for immigrant groups whereas the Language Charter made it mandatory for them to get enrolled in French schools only. At that time, the immigrant groups were less diversified and the number of languages spoken other than French were very few. Hence, it was easier for the authority to integrate the other groups into french fold. However, in reality, things occurred differently. Despite the fact that the immigrant society was less polarized, the ethno-linguistic relationships were still marked strongly. This became quite visible when the “quiet revolution” tried for the economic and linguistic uniformity of all the Quebecers during 1970s. The growing pressure over allophones to learn French put them at very extreme hostility with the nationalists. At one hand, there were francophones belonging to French-Canadian ethnicity and who have never shared their academic institutions with other groups, nor they ever exercised the integrational function to enlarge their base while, at the other hand, the francophone

⁶⁴ Marie Mc Andrew, *Immigration et diversité à l'école: Le Débat Québécois Dans Une Perspective Comparative* (Montreal: 2001)

characteristic was often very little known to the Allophones. The new arrivals were, in fact, selected by the Federal Government. Hence, their inclination was more for getting submerged to the Anglophone community. The process of Francization of immigrants in the public life was actively opposed by them.

In fact this was something completely political. The idea was to reduce the influence of English from the heads and minds of other cultural groups in order to, as blamed, wipe out the Anglophone community from the province in name of so-called socio-linguistic fragility of the French and the Francophones. The said integration of the immigrants is visualized at two levels: the regions, like Montreal where there were significant proportion of the immigrant groups, were equipped with the Welcome Classes where a new arrival can easily attain the native language. But there were also some regions where, the immigrants were very less in number. Here, the provincial government adopted the policy of direct insertion. It means throwing some non-swimmers directly into water either to “swim or sink”.⁶⁵ Thus, the idea was to put the new-comers directly into French schools which could often end up their educational growth under such circumstances. The welcome classes were thought to make a normal immigrant student acquire the new language in 10 months and with a reduced ratio of teacher and pupils, one can sufficiently acquire the basics of French to perform satisfactorily in regular classes. The French learning by the new arrivals is conceived as a structured and systematic process, aiming the development of the habit of communication in French and the mastery over educational language. But, in reality, it was aimed to initiate the process of making adopted the recent immigrants to the cultural realities of the host society. In the classrooms, the ultimate emphasis was over the French language learning. Even in the mathematics class, the priority was given to the French learning and here, there used to be no role for the languages of ethnic origins. The prescribed pedagogy always insisted over the usage of French and the translations were principally discouraged.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Despite the planned and systematic aspect of welcome classes, there exists a common problem for the new arrivals. This explains the growing period of stays of the students at welcome classes. They are often not able to complete their course within stipulated time framework (The Latif Report, 1988).⁶⁶ This is generally attributed to their weak relationship with the native francophones. This academic failure leads to their marginalization permanent at the academic level and the partial integration of the new arriving students in the regular classes. To resolve the problem the Ministry has offered additional language classes as a support to these groups for the first two years in order to compete properly with the general classes. Another problem is related to the teacher. The welcome classes are full of diversity, whereas the regular classes are supposed to be homogenous. But at present, the regular classes are also full of diversity and a teacher has to confront the problems of this diversity, though he is not at all specialist of this trade. Apart from this, it also indicates about the absence of immigrant students in all such schools. In 1999-2000, at Montreal, only 22% of schools received students for welcome classes. This representation shows a big difference between the existing immigrant population and those who are in the welcome classes. The welcome classes assign special responsibility to the teachers as they are expected to ensure the linguistic integration of the immigrant groups in the French language and culture. This notion gets strengthened with the inherent objective of Bill 101 which states that the ordinary class should be the principal place of academic integration and intercultural education. But the poor performance and the failures of immigrant students in welcome classes hold back this goal to be realized. On an average 33.7% of immigrant students leave without obtaining diploma. 48.4% of them finish it late.⁶⁷ The linguistic integration programme of Quebec also faces the opposition from the native francophones. They blame the institution for not giving enough attention to the francophone children. Their progress, too, get retarded in order to equate the immigrant pupils with them. Hence, they face the brunt of immigrants' integration inform of the degradation of their own study. Finally, it can

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

be well explained that the principal fundamentals of the French learning programme of Quebec is to necessarily ensure the linguistic integration of new arrivals and to establish a close link between the welcome classes and the regular classes.

English-Language Learning Programme in Quebec

English is the most spoken language of North America. The Anglophones of Canada were the ultimate victorious of the battle with the Francophones during 18th century A.D in Canada. This started the continuous struggle for the dominance between the two linguistic groups. The linguistic rights of both the groups were recognized by the section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867. This section accorded the denominational privileges to the two groups. It established two set of institutions to promote the education in the nation: Anglo-Protestant Schools and Franco-Catholic Schools. The English language learning means the system of education for the White- Anglo-Saxon-Protestants only. The French language learning programme was meant for the White-Catholic-Francophones only. Other cultural groups like immigrants or Aborigines were not considered as suitable to learn these languages. The ultimate battle was between the French and English language only. They have different patterns of educational programmes. For example, as above mentioned, the higher tax collection from the Anglophones put the Anglo-Protestant Schools at more prosperity. Hence, these schools were capable of providing education upto secondary level to the students whereas the Franco-Catholic schools were able to cultivate its' students upto primary level only.

The Anglophones were, numerically, in minority in Quebec but, they were very strong in terms of economics and commerce. Their prosperity was the result of the industrial and technological developments that were adopted by the Anglophones since the beginning. But the Francophones kept themselves limited to their traditional agro-based economies. The Catholicism was not allowing them to opt for the

advancements. This resulted in the field of education too. The Anglophones were having more stress over science subjects, mathematics, geography, etc., whereas the French-Catholics in Quebec were focusing over the theology, literature as part of their *cours classiques*. So, both systems of education were principally influenced by their religious instructions only. Although the system of education was a provincial jurisdiction, it had no 'say' in decision making and the separate board of these two schools used to decide their own course of action. This segregation also resulted in the perfect cultural isolation between the two groups. These corresponding sub-systems resulted, at first hand, in a very high competition between the two groups. The immigrants or some other groups were generally kept segregated from these institutions.

The changes started appearing since the middle of 19th century, when the immigrants from Ireland created a new system of education based on Anglo-Catholic pattern. This Anglo-Catholic system gradually became the centre of attraction for all non-francophone Catholics, particularly the Italians and the Portuguese, especially after the Second World War. These immigrants got attracted to the Anglophone schools due to its' large accessibility. They were also got distracted with the French schools as being overpopulated and these schools were not welcoming them properly too. The next problem arises with the coming of Jews who wanted a system away from the Catholic or Protestant systems. These Jews were accorded Protestant status but without any such rights. Their Protestant status of Jews initiated a change in the educational system of the Anglo-Protestants. Before this, the Anglo-Protestant system of education was less opened for the non-Catholics or neutral. But the difference of Jews from WASP and some other academic and religious practices made the Jews at difference with the Anglo-Protestants. This integration without the equality of rights was the reason for the emergence of private schools of religious characters. These establishments became very popular among the old immigrant groups. The Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Muslims were the principal groups related to the ethnic or private schools. As per an estimation of 2000, over fifty per cent of Greek students

and over three-fourth of the Jews students visits the schools controlled by their own proper community.

The economic and commercial viability of English language within and outside Quebec, before 1970, always attracted the maximum number of immigrants and allophones to have a command over English language. The immigrants or allophones' inclination towards the Anglo-Catholic Schools can be traced out from another reality. The selection of immigrants, then, was completely a federal subject. The Federal government had the sole privilege to select the immigrants for whole of Canada and including of Quebec. The Federal government, in general, was the seat of power for the dominant Anglophones. Hence, the selections of immigrants were done as per the majority anglophones' criterias and priorities which may often contradict the provincial customs and realities. For example, the Quebec always have had a strong preference for the francophones as the immigrants in the province but the Federal government used to select, as per their own priorities, the immigrants who had greater affinity with the anglophones.⁶⁸ This was the principal reason behind the Quebec insistence over the immigrant selections, language of education and communication and other cultural issues to be strictly a provincial subject. It was one of the demands strongly made by Quebec during subsequent Constitutional and legislative agreements.

In 1969, about 89% of the allophone students were enrolled in Anglo-Catholic schools. But the situation got changed in 1970, when the declining fertility of the Franco-Catholics changed the Francophones' attitude towards the immigrants. The immigrants were now seen as the potential francophones and the attempt was to stop them getting condensed over anglophone nuclei. The historic rivalry between the two linguistic groups was also the reason of harsh attitude of Francophones towards the

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Anglophones. Though the Anglophones were in minority in Quebec, their socio-economic dominance was also one of the reasons of odd relationships between the two. All these resulted in the Quebec Francophones' actions to reduce the anglophone proportion to the total population of Quebec. They also wanted to prevent the immigrants' preference for English over French. The Bill 101 was passed by the National Assembly of the Quebec Province as a panacea to cure all problems of anglophones' dominance. The Bill 101 made it mandatory for all the immigrants, coming after the promulgation of the law, to join either Catholic or Protestant but French schools only. The exemptions were given to the Anglophones who were already in English school at that time; those in anglophone schools at the time of adoption, their brothers and sisters were also eligible for the English education; the children of whose either of the parents had achieved a primary education in English at Quebec (later extended to whole Canada.) were also entitled to take admission in French schools only; the natives, handicapped children or the children whose parents were living in Quebec temporarily, they could also join English Schools.

The adoption of Bill 101 starts the writing of the end chapter of Anglophone presence in Quebec. The Anglophones were about 13% of total population of Quebec in 1971 and presently, this has been reduced to approximately 8%. The mandatory French school enrollment of immigrants reduced the number of fresh entrants to the anglophone schools. Earlier, 89% of total allophones used to join anglophone schools but this was reduced to 50% within the ten years of adoption of Bill 101. As an open objective, the Bill 101 was not aimed to affect or hamper the anglophones or allophones' presence in the province. It was, basically, intended to grasp the recent immigrants to francophones' fold and to prevent them from joining the anglophone schools. The Quebecers' harsh attitude towards the anglophone minorities was the reason behind the inter-provincial migration of Anglophones from Quebec to other anglophone provinces. All these led to a great reduction in the number of anglophone population in the province and thus, their number as the proportion of total population has drastically been reduced in the land of 101.

The introduction of Bill 101 also marked the official departure of the state from the clutches of religious influence over cultural and educational matters. The confessional denomination of the education system was giving place to the linguistic denomination. The Catholic and Protestant words did not have as such significance during 1990s. The declining denominational cleavage and the increasing linguistic cleavage in the society asked the government to take some necessary steps. In the lines of reform, a Commission, "États Généraux de Société" was formed. The commission went for a large scale public opinions and surveys. Through interviewing members of the board hierarchy, and examining texts, articles, government documents, and newspaper accounts, the Commission recommended for the scrapping the system of denominational education from the province. The idea of linguistic boards was reexamined. This particular study called for the implementation of linguistic school boards throughout the province, including Montreal and Quebec City. According to the report, "confessionality must be unlocked at all levels of the system, so that all students can be taught the shared values that we as a society wish to embrace" The Parti Québécois government of Lucien Bouchard recognized that such a plan could only be achieved through a constitutional amendment, even though the separatist administration indicated that in no way did this decision represent an acceptance of the Constitution Act, 1982. As a result, Education Minister Pauline Marois announced the government's intention through Bill 109 to seek exemption from the denominational restrictions in section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867.

Despite objections from some religious groups, the Quebec National Assembly on April 15, 1997 gave the proposal of scrapping the denominational system of education a unanimous vote of approval. After public hearings in 1997,

month later by a vote of 51-17, the last stumbling blocks to removing the right to denominational education in Quebec had been cleared, and, on December 31, 1997, the Constitution Act, 1867, was amended, by inserting the following after section 93. "93A. Paragraphs (1) to (4) of section 93 do not apply to Quebec." As such, denominational rights and privileges ceased to apply to Quebec. This eliminated all denominational rights and privileges respecting education in the province of Quebec. Consequently, Quebec abolished denominational school boards, replacing them with English-language and French-language boards. Provisional councils were established to assist in the transition from a denominational to linguistic structure, and, on June 30, 1998, these councils ceased to operate. On July 1, 1998, the province's 137 Roman Catholic and 18 Protestant school boards were replaced by 60 French language and 9 English language school boards which guaranteed free choice between moral education and Catholic or Protestant religious education.

In fact, the most difficult and controversial changes to the education system were those which were ancillary to the actual replacement of denominational school boards with linguistic ones. These were unrelated changes that the Province of Quebec chose to implement concurrently including the amalgamation of same-language school boards serving adjacent geographic areas and the imposition of severe budgetary constraints on boards. The move to a linguistic system, and the consequent elimination of denominational divisions in teacher organizations were relatively non-controversial, both among politicians and the general public. What little controversy that did exist concerned not the protection of religious rights, but the protection of language rights.

The reforms of 1998 ended the clerical monopoly from the education sector. The hard measures taken by the successive Quebec governments diminished the numerical strength of the anglophones in the region drastically. This also affected the natural

growth of the English Schools in the region. The downward growth of English-speakers in the region led to another movement in the support of the promotion of the English language in province. The Quebecers want the English language to stay there as an inseparable elements from the Quebec society. There were many reasons which made stand up the Quebecers for the protection of the Germanic language:

- The first line of protests came from the francophone parents only. Their protest plagued the entire system over their demand to have access to English schools taking note of its' economic significance beyond the territory of Quebec. In the most recent case, which began on June 15, 2000, a group of Montreal parents launched a challenge to the Charter of the French Language, arguing that they must be afforded the right to send their children to English schools in order that they may become fully bilingual. It signaled the no-ending of tensions surrounding the language issue from the educational landscape of Quebec.
- Another protest was launched by the Francophones only. They wanted to be a good majority class, instead of being an oppressor. The Larose Commission was constituted to study the issues pertaining to the English language. According to the Larose Commission, Quebec needs a new charter or constitution to officially recognize French as the province's language of citizenship. But in their view English also merits respect as the language of Quebec's official "national minority." Anglophones would have guaranteed access to judicial services, health care, social assistance programmes and education. "We're trying to say to the anglophone community that your place in this society is recognized, that your future is assured," said one of the 11 commission members, Dermot Travis, president of the non-governmental Forum Action Quebec, which aims to promote dialogue among all Quebecers.

- The job prospects in English as bilingual or outside Quebec led to the recommendation that French pupils improve their English. As it stands now, children attending English schools must learn French from the first grade. Yet francophone pupils wait until the fifth grade before taking English classes, which tend to be of rather poor quality. As a result, only about 38 percent of French Quebecers are bilingual. It's as if they have been lulled into complacency, convinced that in the land of 101, English isn't necessary to earn a living. But not only do their job prospects plummet the moment they step outside of Quebec, but the competition is already heating up within as bilingual and trilingual allophones grow in number.

But the nationalists denounced these demand by the describing the state of French "precarious" because there are still too many people who speak English in the privacy of their homes. Immigrants may use French in the workplace or at school but they switch immediately into English at home or when socializing. For these hard-liners, integration amounts to assimilation and anything less than that is treason.

The present scenario of English Education in Quebec can be viewed as the present arrangement. In Quebec, all elementary and secondary school students must study French or English. Identical time is allotted to either French or English that is at least seven hours per week in elementary school and approximately five hours in secondary school. Starting in September 1999, the time set aside for language instruction will be significantly increased. For students attending school in English, the study of English is compulsory at all levels of elementary and secondary school and the study of French as a second language begin in the first year of elementary school. It should be noted that many anglophone parents choose to send their children to french immersion classes as of the first year of elementary school; these students only start English language arts instruction in year 3.

The Ministry of Education determines the curriculum content for language, as it does for other compulsory programs. The curriculum for students attending school in French, at both the elementary and secondary levels, stresses reading and writing skills involving both literary and everyday texts, as well as oral communication. The curriculum for students attending school in English is different and integrates reading, writing, and oral communication, while stressing the integration of literary, written, oral, and media discourse.

If the father of Bill 101, Camille Laurin, wanted to mould newcomers into good neo-Québécois, the result is disappointing.⁶⁹ The Bill 101 generation learns to speak French, but still keeps an open mind towards North American culture, while holding on to its own maternal language and values. These young people and their parents generally accept the principle of French dominance in Quebec. It is now the time for the Québécois to assume their role as a well-established and respected majority, not a threatened minority. The white, French-stock, Catholic paradigm has been shattered and replaced by a multiracial, multi-religious and multilingual one. It is time for less coercion and more incentives.

Le Programme D'Enseignement des Langues d'Origine (PELO)

As discussed in the previous sections, the need for educational programmes for the communities other than Anglo-Protestant and Franco-Catholic was felt due to the non-acceptance approach of these two linguistic groups for other ethnic groups. The first in the series were the Catholics from Ireland. They were the English-speaking community but, their faith was in Catholicism. Hence in order to distinguish themselves with the two charter groups, the Anglo-Catholic Schools. This school

⁶⁹ Filippo Salvatore (2001), "vive a trilingual quebec", [Online: web] Accessed 20 Apr. 2006 URL: http://www.unesco.org/courier/2001_07/uk/education.htm

became one of the most popular institution which attracted students from all Non-Francophone Non-Protestant groups. The second in the line was with the coming of Jews to Canada. The Jews were given the Protestant status to pay the confessional taxes in terms of education but, they were not entitled for the equal rights. They were denied scholarships for not being pure Protestant and they were even quoted by the Supreme Court of Canada, in 1911, as Protestant as a “matter of grace”. Hence, the integration of Jews into Protestant society while denying them equal rights led them to establish their own community schools, known as Franco-Protestant Schools. This school left behind all the ethnic schools and private academic institutions in terms of popularity. These two schools led to the creation of many community and ethnic schools under the control of old ethnic-immigrant communities. The Armenians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Mussalmans all started running their own community schools with their private funds. In 1970, most of the ethnic children used to go to the schools controlled by their own community.

The passage of Bill 101 divided Quebec in two parts. The Francophones of the province were striving for the linguistic universalization of Quebec. Others (Anglophones, Allophones, Natives) shown an unprecedented solidarity against their cultural and linguistic suppression. They rejected the nationalists’ notion of ‘French is getting assimilated’ under the English dominance. The Parti Québécois at the power decided to break up, as accused, this Anglophone-Allophone solidarity. Hence, they introduced the “Programme d’Enseignement des Langues d’Origine (PELO)”, (Programme for the Studies of Ethnic Groups’ Languages) in 1977. They argued their action as an attempt to establish the linguistic order in the province. This introduction also recognizes the role of state to promote the liberalism of linguistic pluralism. The government initiates its’ actions while publishing its’ agenda over linguistic and cultural issues in the White Paper published in March, 1977. This paper was followed up by the French Language Charter. The Paper declares the government’s intentions to support, henceforth, the study of languages and cultures of ethnic immigrant origins at all the levels of education system. The government provides them an

opportunity to reclaim their own languages and cultures instead of fighting their rights for the protection of anglophone institutions. This can be well interpreted as an attempt by the ruling party and majority class in their own interests to detach Allophones from the anti-French protest of Anglophones. The spokespersons of the protesting groups against excess Francization quote PELO as a government attempt to break up their strategic alliance so that the broken forces could easily accept the Francization of the system. Some of them, even, blamed the Parti Québécois for playing the divisive political card so that the ethnic communities vote for the separation during future referendum.

The 25 years of PELO experience shows that the objectives which were presented at the time of the introduction had no effect at all. These institutions and programmes as curriculum of the school has very passive role. They are just as a silent player in the institutions. The PELO sometimes even create competition with the schools of their own communities. The findings falsifies the policy makers' claims that the French Language Charter is not for the assimilation of the linguistic groups, it is just for the establishing a common language for the public life and that the common language, French, is to help the development of ethnic or origin languages.

The PELO was also seen as a Quebec attempt to get international recognition and fame for promoting the ethnic languages in the academic programmes. This could also be taken as an imitation to Ontario's "Heritage Language Programme (1977)". The same year, the European Community's Directive was adopted over the subject and United States of America had been successfully engaged in promoting bilingualism at education system since 1960. The same year, it was Quebec Minister of Education, Camille Laurin, who presided over the Conference of the Education Ministers of Canada, and he actively discussed the paper of PELO there.

The officials said the PELO as an agent which would enhance the intercultural relationship of ethnic groups and it would also ensure the easy academic integration of immigrant students with the main courses. The international researches here show that the learning of the language of origin favours the learning of the host's language as a vehicle to understand the first language. This also enhances the students' feelings of belongingness to the schools. This programme had certain positive elements too. It assures the funding of ethnic languages and cultures learning programme which is unique in Canada. The first four languages of ethnic groups-Italian, Portuguese, Greek, and Spanish- get special preference. But, the culture taught there, was of the immigrant and ethnic groups' culture in Canada and not of their own country of origin. It marks another drawback of the programme.

Though not a failure, the programme could not achieve a remarkable success at least in qualitative term. It succeeded in attracting some students. It reached the maximum strength, during the 1990s, of about 7000 in 14 languages. 80% of them were Italians. But the recent trend shows the diversification of this trend and more recent groups are entering in the scene (Spanish, Arabic, languages of South-East Asia). The lower turnout at the PELO is attributed to the existence of ethnic schools where the immigrants want to send their children for better intimation with their own proper language and culture. The absence of recognition of the course taken as language of origin by the Ministry of Education of Quebec (MEQ) also adds to the distance of immigrant students from this course. The time management, particularly at French schools, becomes very difficult for the students as no specific time-table is generally prepared. The schedule of two and half hours is generally fixed before or after the class hours and taken as an extra-curricular activity. It increases the burden over the students. It shows the non-seriousness on the part of decision making body. So, it results in the negative feature in the eyes of immigrants. The learning of ethnic language also becomes difficult as most of the immigrant children's families have been living here since last two-three generations and they have better command over English and French than over their own language of origin. The Quebec procedure

also prohibits the second language learning (language of origin) at the same time when one is in the process of learning the host language. This goes against the international research which says the learning of host language becomes easy when one learns it through his or her mother tongue.

The PELO allowed the access of learning other cultures and languages since 1988 to other cultural groups. They argued for the decision as it would enhance the inter-cultural dialogue and understanding. This saw some sort of resistance from the concerned communities. But, this did not bring many changes. Only Spanish and Italian groups witnessed a growth of 10% in their strength after the new measure.

Despite some oppositions and constraints, the PELO has received appreciations from the immigrant parents. It is in general consensus that everybody has the desire to maintain a sort of link with their own culture and language. The more importantly, the programme has created very little controversy in its share. This becomes significant when one compares this phenomenon with the introduction of other cultural or religious diversity programmes in Quebec. It has registered only one big protest which created the *Commission Scolaire Sainte-Croix* (CSSC) in 1988 which dealt with the problem of integration of other religious groups in the classrooms. This dealt with the problems of Arabophones who were for the sex-segregated system of education and their own location of residence.

Today the PELO has been a very important governmental question. It ensures the academic integration of the immigrants and other cultural groups to the main system. It also provides an opportunity for the inter-cultural mixing-up of the different cultural groups. It also offers an opportunity to majority Francophones to learn the language and culture of other groups and it enriches their cultural understandings. In addition, it ensures the academic success of the immigrants through this programme

at main level. It also enhances the linguistic understanding of whole of the population and it provides them a better cultural understanding. In many cases, it has worked as a factor of ethnic revival for the third generation whose first and second generations have forgotten their own culture of origin. But, it also describes the hidden story of the difficulties faced by the teachers and the schools to provide the inter-cultural education to the immigrants. The establishment of equilibrium is really a tough task for these administrative and academic staffs.

In this chapter, it has been attempted to show the systems of education for three major groups in Quebec. The Bill 101 for the Francophones, the fearful condition of existence for the Anglophones and the PELO for the Allophones. In the next chapter, it will be tried to find out the development at educational level to accommodate the cultural pluralism in a single programme instead of having many systems creating ambiguity. The reforms of 1998 can be seen as one of such measures.

Chapter IV

LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL
DIVERSITIES AND COMMON CIVIC
INSTITUTIONS

Reforms of 1998: Linguistic and Cultural Diversities and Common Civic Institutions

Education has been considered as the best tool to remove social prejudices based on the physiogeographic differences. It brings awareness in the individuals' minds and perceptions and he becomes able to recognize the artificially created differences in the society. For some, it is the only panacea to cure all social evils. It has been the primary medium to promote the intercultural values in the minds of human beings. The modern nation-states have used the education and educational system to infuse the ideals of diversity and democracy in the basic behavioural approach of its citizens. *“Selon les conceptions les plus courantes, en effet, l'éducation interculturelle doit permettre à des jeunes (et adultes) non seulement de se côtoyer paisiblement mais d'interagir positivement et de s'enrichir mutuellement de leurs différences et de leur complémentarité et, surtout, de prendre conscience de leur <<commune humanité>> à devenir conscients de leur destin commun”* (As per the present conception, the inter-cultural education permits the members of a society not only to stay peacefully side by side but it also provides the opportunity of positive interactions as well as of mutual enrichment among the members of the society).⁷⁰ Thus, education and educational system have been assigned great responsibility to assimilate the cultural differences in its lap at the entry point of the students and later at the time of exit, the system is supposed to mould these pupils as the citizens who respect the social differences, who know to live with differences, who believe in the system of common institutions and common citizenship. The education pacifies all agitations emanating out of socio-cultural differences.

In Quebec, the promotion of pluralism in education was never an easy task in compared to other western countries and provinces. The Quebecers were the firm believers of unique language, unique culture, unique institutions, unique religion and

⁷⁰ Marie Mc Andrew, *Immigration et diversité à l'école: Le Débat Québécois Dans Une Perspective Comparative* (Montreal: 2001)

thus, unique system of education. The Franco-Catholicism system was considered as the only suitable model for the spread of education in Quebec. The fear of assimilation in the dominant anglophone society put the Quebecers in a closed society where outlets and inlets were almost absent for the outsiders or other cultural groups. The theme of "*la survivance*" (survival) always put them at fixed to interact with other cultural groups. The French language and Catholic institutions were the only areas which could provide some common platforms to an immigrant or outsiders to get a warm welcome at Quebec. But others, they were not wanted.

This was the preferential choice of Quebec to promote French-education system in Quebec. But they were being dominated by the Anglophones in Canada. Though the Anglophones were, numerically, in minority in Quebec their dominance was also quite obvious in Quebec as being the ruling class of Canada. They followed the educational system on the Anglo-Protestant pattern. This school was a little flexible in accommodating other cultural groups. But still, their primary concerns were for the White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants. Under these educational systems, the other minority groups were not feeling comfortable. They were looking for a system which could provide them the education on their own cultural-linguistic-religious lines. This led to the establishment of ethnic, segregated or private schools which were more or less to re-link the particular ethno-linguistic groups to its' own lineages. Some of these ethnic schools include, the Anglo-Catholic schools established by the immigrant groups from Ireland, the Franco-Protestant schools establish by the Jews, etc... These schools received very sound backing from their community in form of private funding or by sending their kids to these schools. But this popularity had its own drawbacks. The need to learn French was inevitable if one had to stay at Quebec. The economic and commercial worth of English language could also not be ignored, so, the English-learning was also necessary. The learning of a third language as their own ethnic language used to give the pupils a big task to learn three languages at time.

The socio-political situation at Quebec started changing after 1960. The Quiet Revolution paved the way for reforms in socio-political institutions of Quebec. The

most important feature of these changes was to neutralize the effects of religion from educational and political institutions. The principal emphasis was to accommodate “others” in French fold in order to compensate the diminishing Francophones’ population in Quebec. The fear of existence due to their own population collapse asked the Quebecers to maintain the vacuum by integrating “others” in their society. The changing dynamism of immigration also led to the entry of many new groups of immigrants to Quebec. The changes in immigrants’ racial and regional compositions and the compulsion to welcome them in Quebec strongly asked the Quebec government to secularize its socio-political environments. The Church was to loose its’ ‘say’ in decision making processes.

The first step of secularization of the education can be marked with the establishment of ethnic and private schools by the minority groups. These schools were partially (60% of total cost) funded by the government agencies for following the Quebec curriculum whereas the cost of ethnic and linguistic studies of the minority groups were to be totally borne out by the establishing agencies only. The Bill 101 can be seen as another major step to universalize the educational system where French was desired to be the common medium of instructions for all new immigrants. This adoption was described as an attempt to attain the goal of common nation, common language and common citizenship. The protesting voices against francization were responded with the adoption of PELO where the government was to patronize the ethnic languages. The Chancy Report (1985) was an important milestone to vision the representation of minority groups in the decision making activities of the educational policies. This was a blue print to introduce the elements of neutralization in the educational system. The educational reforms of 1998 were the ultimate step to eliminate the religious schooling system from the educational programmes and policies. The four major school boards-Anglo-Protestant, Anglo-Catholic, Franco-Protestant, and Franco-Catholic- were terminated and were replaced by the French School Board and English School Board while allowing the continuation of the existence of private ethnic schools.

Systematic Adaptation of Pluralism in Educational Institutions

The adaptation of diversity in educational programmes and policies was a very rapid process in Quebec compared to other societies. The schools which were promoting mono-culturalism and mono-linguistic programmes till date, just in a stroke, these schools and teachers were asked to provide the multicultural and multilinguistic education. The teachers, till date, who were habitual of teaching a homogenous class, they were, now, to cope up with the diversity and differences. They had to treat all of them to make them a citizen of Quebec beyond their cultural and religious identity. This goes beyond the educational curriculum and it requires several other skills to make the diversity acceptable to all. "*L'adaptation systématique au pluralisme s'étend non seulement au curriculum formel des écoles, mais aussi et surtout à leur curriculum caché*".⁷¹ (The systematic adaptation of pluralism does extend not only to the formal curriculum of the schools but it goes upto their hidden curriculum too). In addition, the ethno-cultural representation in the pedagogic programmes and materials and the adaptation of subsequent educational rules and regulations have also aroused many interesting controversies. The implementation of such programmes was largely derived from the diverse Canadian and international experiences.

Chancy Report: First Attempt to Secure Diversity in Educational System and Programmes

Since the inception of 1980, the educational society of Quebec started taking conscience of the necessity to introduce the religious and cultural diversity elements as the integrated part of the institutional framework of educational system. This evolution got concretized with the inclusion of cultural minorities as the part of provisional targeted teaching materials being prepared by the Quebec Ministry of Education (MEQ). This inclusion further led to their adaptation to various educational commissions on the pattern of new reality of the immigrants. This normative

⁷¹ Ibid.

evolutionary trend also got a big boost with the publication of first opinion of *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation* (CSE), Council of Higher Education, over the question. This path breaking publication was titled as *L'éducation interculturelle* (Intercultural Education) and it adopted a perspective for the maximum opening of educational system to the diversity.

But the real beginning is marked with the publication of the report "*L'école Québécoise et les communautés culturelles*" (the Quebec School and the Cultural Communities), popularly known as the Chancy Report. This report can be really termed as the beginning of the phase of systematic adaptation of pluralism in the educational programmes and policies. Although most of the recommendations of this report were over the specific services to the newly arrived students, but its' single emphasis was over the "intercultural education". The report talked about the transformation of educational policies and programmes, teaching materials and instruments of evaluation, initial training and perfection of the teachers, recruitment of candidates from cultural communities to such posts, struggle to remove systematic struggle to racism and of the larger participation of allophone parents. The report presented five important objectives in its documents:

- Social recognition to all irrespective of their culture of origin,
- Provision of equal opportunity of education to all while taking care of the cultural differences of each and every one,
- Elimination of ethnic and racial discrimination,
- Support to the social-dialogue between the persons of different cultural backgrounds, and
- Recognition to the value and recognition of every culture.

It emphasized over the interactions between two principal groups: the French community and the Cultural communities. It believed that more one culture opens its heart for the Other(s), the more reciprocated adaptation occurs and this often leads to the creation of a new culture based on the cultural fusions. The pioneer work of Chancy commission over inter-ethnic relationships was on the lines of present requirement but its' principal recommendation of intercultural education was never completely put into operation by the ministry. The liberal government who was in power from 1985 to 1994 continued to privilege the cultural groups by offering better services. But as a whole, the government left this matter to local dynamics to define and to care its' actions over the systematic adaptation of pluralism in the schools.

The years of 1985-98 witnessed many small-big measures over the issue of diversity in the educational system. During this period, a series of public, community and professional reports were produced by various educational and concerned commissions; most of them were based over the recommendations of Chancy Report. At the ministry level, the significant developments were hovering over the developments in teaching materials and programmes. To aim the equality in the class room teaching, the training and perfection of the teachers were also required and this goal was to be attained through the augmentation of the number of participants or personals from cultural communities in the core of diverse educational commissions.

Les écoles a plus de 25% de concentration ethnique se verront également octroyer des budgets spéciaux leur permettant, entre autres, d'engager des agents de liaison ou de milieu. Ceux-ci oeuvrent au développement de relations harmonieuses entre les parents et l'école au primaire, ou entre les élèves au secondaire. The schools having over 25% of ethnic concentration were provided with special budget to recruit a special liaison officer over the subject. As a whole, all these developments were designed to establish a harmonious relationship between the parents and the schools

at the primary level and to develop such harmony among students at the secondary level. In 1995, the MEQ made it must for all the universities seeking future recruitment of teachers to have a formal training over the question of intercultural education in its curriculum. At local level, various projects were taken into operation as per the local requirements. These folkloric approaches were based over the local requirements to resolve the tensions and conflicts among the youngsters of different cultural backgrounds. Une telle enumeration de mesures gouvernementales ou locales pourrait donner l'impression que les ecoles pluriethniques, au debut des annees 1990m avaient definitivement pris le virage interculturel ou qu'elles pratiquaient desormais "le multiculturalism comme partie integrante du curriculum. These governmental and local measures were able to establish the impression, since 1990s, in multi-ethnic schools that the multiculturalism was to be as an integral part of their curriculum.

But all these measures proved itself fruitless, as the ministry programmes were lacking the determinist approach. Various educational commissions' policies were even contradictory in practice due to their different cultural outlooks. For example, the policies of Catholic sector were more or less confined to the Quebec reality and were, yet, intending to go for linguistic and cultural integration of the immigrants. In contrast, the Protestant sections were influenced by the dominant anglophone trends - multiculturalism and anti-racism - of Canada. All such cases made the individuals ask the question over the role of such institutions in the project of integration of new arrivals in the Quebec society. Now, the interventionists were more concerned over "till when/where" in terms of multicultural education rather than over "how". This issue was resolved with the publication of "*l'Enonce de politique en matiere d'immigration et d'integration*" (the policy over the matter of immigration and integration) which notably formulated a moral contract specifying the respective rights and responsibilities of the new arrivals in the host society.

The years of 1990 are well recognized with the regular interventions from various governmental, provincial and community groups which marked various shifts at policy level. All these efforts were made to define the contents of public culture or common civic culture. At the practical side, the ministry used to produce a model over the maintenance of cultural and religious diversity in the schools whereas various educational commissions will develop the policies and programmes of negotiations in case of conflicts as a local phenomenon.

The Educational Reforms of 1998: A Global Strategy

“La Politique d’Intégration Scolaire et d’Éducation Interculturelle” (The Policy of Academic Integration and Intercultural Education), better known as the Educational Reforms of 1998 was the most significant step in bringing pluralism to the Quebec educational institutions. The most important development of this reform was to eliminate the role of religious institutions from the shaping up of the educational programmes in Quebec. This ended the Franco-Catholic, Anglo-Protestant, Anglo-Catholic and Franco-Catholic schools. These schools were replaced by the French Schools and English Schools. The Quebec government allowed the existence of Ethnic and Private schools in order to recognize the cultural and linguistic rights of minority groups. But the ultimate goal was to achieve the single language acquaintances to all Quebec citizens. The reform of 1998 was, in fact, an accumulation of all the past attempts to universalize the Quebec education system since 1960s. The Quiet Revolution saw its’ victory in bringing institutional reforms and in neutralizing the religious influences from the educational programmes and policies with the governmental acceptance to the diversity in educational institutions with the Passage of Educational Reforms of 1998.

En lien avec les grands principes du contrat moral de l’Énoncé de 1990, on y définit l’éducation interculturelle comme le << savoir-vivre ensemble dans une société francophone, Démocratique et pluraliste >>. (The Reforms of 1998 also stand by the

moral principles of 1990 which define the intercultural education as a way to know how to live together in a francophone, democratic and pluralist society). The French-learning agenda was kept strategically with three objectives: the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in different uses; the training of personals; and the adaptation to the curriculum and academic life. This included two measures. The first was to recruit suitable candidates from the cultural communities and their proper training to make them perfect as per the heterogeneous classroom situations. This step was considered very important taking note of very unequal success rate of immigrant students compared to the native students. In order to keep the teaching force up-to-date, it was asked to establish a network of exchange over the intercultural education.]

It had established very clear principle - <<*L'ouverture à la diversité ethnoculturelle, linguistique et religieuse doit se traduire dans l'ensemble du curriculum et de la vie scolaire*>>. (The opening to the ethnocultural, linguistic and religious diversity intends to include the curriculum and the academic life all together). The said principle explicitly stated that Quebec province had a single cultural values and it was to be exposed in all spheres of academic life and curriculum. The document also dealt strategically with the concepts of intercultural education and citizenship education in a pluralist context. The equilibrium was put over the common values and to the recognition that the diversity constitutes an integral part of the education system. The document tries to redefine the term "culture" which was getting more complex day by day. It also abandons the cultural relativism theory as the limits and constraints in the way of pluralism. Instead it established fundamental democratic values in the functioning of school education. The limits of institutional adaptation were also clearly and explicitly defined. It talked about respecting the diversity as one of the common values which ensures the theory of *vivre ensemble* (living together) to get functional.

The reforms of 1998 had a very positive impact over the intercultural education in the province of Quebec. But it also began many controversies over the inclusion and mode of inclusion of pluralism in educational system. This also raised the eyebrows of many for greater recognition to one ethnic group compared to other ethnic groups. This also included the conflict over the limit of recognition to diversity as francophones started complaining that the new system was keeping them in ignorance. The minority's rights were recognized while their interests were being compromised in name of bringing diversity. They just wanted to know the limits and time framework of such adoption. But as a whole, the Policy was able to touch both the Francophone and Anglophone networks and it was able to contribute in an accrued recognition of the legitimacy of the intercultural education and in keeping the diversity on run in academic ambience. It was also able to provide necessary tools and leaderships in other regions than Montreal where diversity was a distant subject to be pursued. Hence, the Educational Reforms of 1998 was able to touch whole of the province to provide equal treatment to its' diversified citizens. It was for the inclusion or integration of all. None were left excluded.

The recent developments in Quebec over intercultural education were to look for an indigenous model which would be free of French model as well as English-Canadian model. *Bien que son développement soit d'abord endogène, l'approche québécoise a aussi été définie en relation et en contraste avec les deux paradigmes opposés qui dominaient au Canada anglais et en France, deux sociétés qui nous influencent en éducation comme dans d'autres domaines.* (Although the development, here, was indigenous, the Quebec educational approach was generally defined in relation and in contrast with the two opposing parameters which dominated in English-Canada and France, two societies that have been influencing Quebec in education as in other domains). The English-Canadian model basically developed a community model that favoured the maximum adoption of the diversity in the school. This model was based over the conception of common identity where the group belongingness is the central theme. The French Jacobinism model, in opposition, postulated a sort of neutrality of educational institutions. It generally relegated the community identity and the cultural

belongingness to the back seat in the setting up of the educational framework. As per the Jacobinism model, the cultural influences were something for private affairs rather than something of public affairs. The Quebec system needed the development of third path to avoid the confrontationist developments in educational system. As to be noted, the contrary models of English-Canadian system have always been the centre of Quebec choices. As per the traditional rivalry, the Anglophones' actions were always seen with susceptible eyes in Quebec and consequently, contrary trends were always there. But the recent need to develop a pluralist system which could take care of French Canadians as well as English Canadians. In addition, the presence of diverse immigrant groups also needed an inclusion in the subsequent academic developments. All these factors asked the Quebec policy makers to take a middle path which could get the endorsement of all Quebecers irrespective of their cultural-linguistic or religious backgrounds. It was to be a Quebec educational system instead of earlier existing ethno-religious systems. The basic need was to introduce a citizenship education which was to accommodate all. The citizenship education can only remove the basic hatred and conflict from among the different groups. The citizenship education system was for establishing the French language as the common language of all Quebecers while respecting the cultural-ethnic-religious characteristics of every Quebec citizen.

Citizenship Education and Common Civic Institutions

This is with the publication of *l'Avis du Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation* (CSE) in 1983 that the word intercultural education made its' official appearance in Quebec. But it was in use since early 1960s. For example, *Le Centre Interculturel Monchanin* was created in 1963 and the use of Interculturalism by the centre proved itself as the pioneer milestone in the practice of intercultural approach. This Interculturalism was to demarcate the Quebec educational system from the dominant Anglo-Canadian multicultural approach. This trend was observed with the official adoption of *la Politique québécois du développement culturel* (Quebec policy of cultural

development). It had also to show a retrograding effect over the French system of education in order to establish the quebec system of education. The quebec system of education was to keep its clutches free from both the extremes in order to accommodate others.

The real surge in the practice of intercultural education came with the inception of 1980s. There were many innovations in the field of intercultural education which were against the ongoing trends. The recommendation of CSE and the Chancy Report were two major instruments to promote the cultural diversity in the educational system. The CSE asked the educational system to include at least 25% of its' student strength from targeted minority groups. The Chancy Report was for the inclusion of representatives from minority and immigrant groups in the educational policy making bodies. It believed that a person from some cultural community can well understand the needs and problems of the community. His representation in policy making can bring better results for the said community. These documents contained several measures under the sub-title of intercultural education. The CSE in its work also distinguished between the concepts of *l'accueil d'intégration* (approach of integration) and *l'accueil d'acceptation* (approach of acceptance).

The quebec approach over anti-racist, intercultural and multicultural education goes beyond the normal position and it is here marked by the ideology of fusion. The ethnic diversities, the intercultural exchange, the rapprochement with the majority Francophones, and the struggle against the racism were some important constituents of the intercultural practices. As per the definition of Ouellet over intercultural education in 1984, *il s'agirait d'«un effort systématique pour développer parmi les membres de la majorité comme de la minorité une meilleure compréhension des différentes cultures, une plus grande capacité de communiquer avec des personnes d'autres cultures ainsi que des attitudes positives à l'égard des autres groupes de la société»*. (the intercultural education talks about a systematic effort for developing

a better comprehension of different cultures among the members of majority class as well as minority class, a bigger capacity to communicate with the persons of other cultures in order to develop the positive attitudes in this regard for other cultural groups of the society). In brief, the quebec approach over intercultural education was to promote more and more dialogues among different communities and cultural groups. It wanted the development of positive attitudes among the community members.

In the line of these developments, the recommendation of CSE (1987), titled as “*Les défis éducatifs de la pluralité*” (the educational challenges to pluralism) represented the strongest incarnation over the diverse attributes over intercultural education in the precise pedagogic objectives, touching all of the academic disciplines. It was there presented in totality of intercultural education as the *l'éducation tout court* (very brief education) while showing how this could play an essential role in the artistic, intellectual and personal formation of the students.

There used to exist a specificity of intercultural education when we take the case of Quebec in comparison to other francophone countries or societies as well as other anglophone provinces of Quebec. Quebec mandated all cultural communities to get integrated under the system of common language, French, in an affirmative way. The beginning of 1990s changed many aspects of intercultural education in Quebec under the effects of domestic and international debates over the topic. This was characterized among Francophone groups, particularly with the Catholic academic commissions, by the gradual replacement of cultural paradigm by the civic paradigm and it also resulted in de-legitimacy of the essential communal identity. One of the first debates was focused, since 1980s, over the practice of cultural relativism and provision of special rights to some particular groups. These debates were concentrated over the necessity to have cultural egalitarianism and the necessity of their interaction in a statute of formal equality. It wanted to eradicate all sort of

differences. The second finding was over the mal-adaptation of foreign cultural groups to the reality of co-existence as part of common political community. In their view, the philosophic reflection over the articulation of pluralism and of the citizenship should be made an integral part of intercultural education, in a context where the migration is permanent. It provides the immigrants a choice of acculturation in a new society.

In order to reject the notion of cultural relativism during 1990s, the definition of common curriculum was introduced. The issue of common curriculum which was to be shared by all the students equally was to raise numerous debates. One witnessed the multiplicity of terms being utilized for designing this reality: *culture publique commune, culture civique commune, et plus récemment, patrimoine pluriel* (common public culture, common civic culture and very recently, plural motherland). It was always very easy for the policy makers to introduce the changes at common civic culture due to its' restrictive implications whereas the implementation at the levels of pluralist motherland was a matter of more caution as it used to touch the whole of the academic activities. It became quite pertinent in the cases where the ethnic compositions were quite stronger. The confusion between the civic culture and the ethnic majority culture of pluralist motherland had been considered as a real danger and it followed a series of reports and publications from various public and community organizations. In the opinion of some, they considered this ambiguity as inevitable and suggested that the motherland should be composed not only of civic culture but also of various elements of societal and institutional characteristics of majority culture. This could be well seen with the influence of majority class over the prevailing common principles of socio-democratic institutions of modern world grace to their historic and demographic weight.

If the minorities can feel threatened by a civic perspective which serves nothing but to mask the dominant culture, this change of minorities' attitude raised the resistances

from the majority class. In fact, the return of dichotomy perspectives where the cultures of diverse groups are accommodated as distinct realities. It does offer an attractive perspective for academicians and scholars. It is often complaint by the majority class that “*la culture québécoise n’est plus enseignée dans nos écoles*” (the quebec culture is no more taught in our schools). The interventionists attributed this situation to the supposed dominance of ethnic cultures, the negative effect of badly designed intercultural education and all these trends led to the emergence of new civic debate which tended to reduce the specificity of Quebec in its proper jurisdiction. The trend to establish itself as a plural culture by Quebec has also created a sort of difficulty in the behaviour of majority francophones to present themselves as host or welcoming community. The academicians or scholarly trend to define the culture from basic materials and folkloric elements also underestimated the clear dominance of norms and values of host society in the explicit and implicit curriculum of the schools. Hence, the majority francophones started complaining over the excess diversification. The quest to have a democratic and pluralist system of institutions has, at present, been forcing the system to delink itself from its past heritages. The said ignorance has been causing the discontentment in the minds of Francophones and it has been one of the main reasons of the occurrence of conflicts between the native and immigrant students.

The citizenship education also included the trend to suppress the cultural and ethnic identity of students. This action was instructed to be implemented over the basis of a hypothesis developed after some social-psychological and anthropological surveys conducted by some American and French agencies which shown that the younger generation was no more showing its enthusiasm in declaring its’ own identity. The auto-definition of their own identity generally used to contain many informations over their personal qualifications like name, age, sex, family description, qualification, preference and interests. In this auto-presentation one generally avoids using their ethnic identity. Hence, it was instructed to the teachers to not impose this criterion over the ethnic students to give them a privilege of having a sense of belongingness

with the local climate instead of feeling secluded with their own cultural community. Hence, the new system denounced the pedagogic activities based over the rigid definition of cultural characteristics of the students. It was seen as an act which proving itself disadvantageous to Quebec needs and advantageous to the needs of the countries of origin of the ethnic students.

One another aspect needed the attention of policy maker was that of group consolidation in secondary schools of Montreal. The context of polarization or group consolidation based on the ethnic and cultural lines generally used to be an important factor when there were some sorts of clashes or conflicts taking place between two individuals or groups. These conflicts, quite frequent in the secondary schools of Montreal, used to create permanent segregated and isolated groups based on the cultural-religious or national lines. This was just against the basic ideals of Interculturalism or pluralist education. Hence, the intercultural education was assigned the task to restrain the different cultural objectives getting surfaced at community level. The intercultural education had to prepare the grounds where these ethnic students could cross the cultural barriers and they were to be a student of Quebec rather than a student from whatever cultural-national background. The breaking up of the cultural background will prevent the further ethnicisation of the students and it will be more a quebec citizen than a student from some particular background. This would be an attainment of the ideal quebec citizenship. But, this idea of Quebec citizenship saw a negative trend with the native aboriginals who were more concerned for the protection of their group rights in lieu of the individuals' rights and freedoms.

It is to be noted that the quebec intercultural education system is based on the quebec Interculturalism theory and this theory tries to establish a direct link between an individual and the state and further an active interpersonal relationships between the individuals. It gives priority to the individuals' freedoms and rights over the

community or collective rights unlike the federal Canadian system. The citizenship education of Quebec derives its source and inspiration from this model only. Today, as per the Quebec, Canadian and international experiences, the citizenship education today represents a dynamic field where the large scale consensus is must. This is a multiform approach where the experimentation and the new methods of research dominate. The need to have big consensus with many new experimentations makes the citizenship education a very difficult task to be achieved in terms of its objectives and its priorities.

One of the first objectives of the citizenship education falls over its' apparent capacity to assure the enough sensitization of the students in order to make them accept the legitimacy of the diversity, the promotion of the individuals' rights, the struggle against individualistic discrimination. All these become must for the development of positive attitudes between various groups. This education sometimes creates hurdles in the way of the protection of group and ethnic rights. But, the recent experiences in the United States of America and Canada have proved that the groups' rights can be assured equally when taking care of individual freedoms and choices.

The citizenship education is considered as the best educational method to ensure the participation of all. But, it also had some limitations. *En Autant que l'accent soit mis sur la dimension participative et l'apprentissage de l'exercice actif de la citoyenneté, l'éducation civique paraît également susceptible de contribuer au développement des attitudes et des compétences nécessaires au vivre ensemble au sein d'une société pluraliste. Lorsque des faiblesses existent à cet égard, elles paraissent davantage liées aux différences de culture scolaire qu'à la problématique spécifique de l'éducation à la citoyenneté.* (Although the accent was put over the participative dimension and the learning of active exercise of citizenship, the civic education seems equally susceptible of contributing in the development of the necessary attitudes and the competences to live together in the heart of a plural society. When the weaknesses exist in this regard, it seems more linked to the differences of

academic culture than the specific problem of citizenship education). Hence, here, one doubts over the competency of citizenship education to contribute in the development of positive attitudes of individuals to learn to live with the differences in an adequate way.

But, the citizenship education is the reality of Quebec at present. If it has to survive, if it has to get the respectable proportion of the productions and resources, it has to render positive respects and rights to all its' citizens. The citizenship education is one of the best way in the development of harmonious intercultural relations and in the resolving of inter-community tensions at the public spheres.

Chapter V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Education has been the most important tool to bring awareness in the human lives. It is the education that keeps an individual linked to the society of outside. Education brings changes and it ensures the development of overall perspective of a person, an institution, a society or even sometimes of a nation-state. The language has been considered as the most important vehicle to carry out the agendas of education. It has helped, in the past, to establish empires. The loss of language has often been followed by the destruction of the civilization. The level of linguistic enrichment of a language shows the richness and grandeur of that linguistic zone. The richer the language, the richer the region and poorer the development of language, it is always accompanied by an underdeveloped region.

The importance of language learning was well understood by the Europeans of middle-ages. They discovered the new lands under the new lights emanating after the Renaissance. They established their hegemony over the newly discovered territory and the said colony was soon to be further colonized by changing the mode of life-style of the native people. The system of education and the language learning were two of the most important means to infuse the colonial tastes in the native bloods. The great ancient civilizations like India were attempted to be de-constructed in order to provide a space to the foreigners. The vernacular systems of education were destroyed and the modern system of education was introduced in India. The official language of education, government and judiciary was substituted in a single stroke from Persian to English. All such tactics were taken to make feel the common native people to be a part of the ruling-colonial powers. As the result, this feeling was never to go against the interest of the imperial forces.

The battle of languages in Canada and in Quebec can be seen as an attempt from both the dominant forces-anglophones and francophones- to establish their hegemony over each other. The anglophone dominance over Canada was interpreted as a threat to the existence of French language, French culture, and French religion (Catholicism) by

the hardcore nationalist Francophones and they always cried their foul over the dilution of Francophone population inside and outside Quebec. The subsequent imposition of French language in name of Interculturalism in Quebec was seen as an attempt to remove other groups from the land of French language in North America. This fear gets confirmed with the inter-provincial migration of Quebecers towards other anglophone provinces. Quebec has been losing approximately 17000 of its' population on an average per annum as a result to the trend of inter-provincial migration. The Quebec government has also been accused of suppressing the freedoms and rights of anglophone population at its' home and this is well evidenced from the rapidly shrinking proportion of the anglophone population in Quebec's total population.

The first chapter has outlined the basic cultural insinuations-multiculturalism of Federal Canada (anglophones) and Interculturalism of francophones of Quebec- of both the charter groups in Canada. The federal Canadian adoption of multiculturalism was taken as an insult to Quebec demand of greater autonomy and recognition. The Quebecers saw the adoption of multiculturalism as a conspiracy to dilute the separatist Quebec movement. But in contrast, the ethnic communities, aboriginals, and immigrant groups extended all their support for the adoption and promotion of the multiculturalism in Canada. The official passage of the Multiculturalism Act, 1988 made Canada the first country in the world to officially adopt the principles of diversity in its' institutional framework. The implementation of multiculturalism brought big appreciations from across the world. This appreciation was also accompanied by some staunch criticisms from some big academicians and scholars. Some accused the official multicultural policy of not being introduced for the humanitarian cause but it was adopted with some political reasons. So talking big humanist agendas through the multiculturalism policy was considered as non-sense as it was not implemented with the explicitly said agendas, it had contained some hidden political ambitions to ensure the Canadian unity from getting devastated of Quebec separatism. Some also found the multiculturalism policy as something which goes against the unity of Canada. The raising of ethnic and aboriginal aspirations might

create some other strong(er) parallel movement on the pattern of Quebec separatism. The state sponsoring of ethnic aspirations promotions could sometimes even endanger the Canadian identity. The Canadian multiculturalism was also seen as an instrument which recognizes the individuals' exploitation, gender discrimination and the promotion of dogmatism and fundamentalism in name of groups and cultural rights. The Quebec responded the federal multiculturalism with a new theory of Interculturalism. The Interculturalism recognized the group identity and rights but it gave preference to individual rights over the community rights. Interculturalism established a direct relationship between an individual and the state and it also assured dynamic interactive relationships between the individuals. Individual plays a greater role than the community does. The common citizenship was dreamt through this individual centric pluralism under single-language domain. The second part of this chapter traces out the conditions of immigrant and minority groups in Quebec. The study becomes important as Quebec, as a minority culture, has been struggling for the protection and promotion of its cultural-linguistic rights. Then it becomes a matter of curiosity how does this minority group treat with the minorities of its own house.

The second chapter focuses over the immigrant issues and the trends of immigration to Quebec. It shows how the dwindling fertility rate has forced the Quebec government to redraft its immigration policy. It explains the change of trends from white-centric francophone Catholics to new groups of immigrants from diverse origins. The shift in approach became mandatory with the new demographic and economic changes. The fear of assimilation into anglophone fold made the Quebecers to look for the immigrants as the new potentials to save their demographic collapse. The chapter also highlights the increasing threat of age-population ratio with the increasing proportion of ageing population in overall population. This indicates the increasing economic burden over the working population and their decreasing proportions too. This also causes increasing financial burden over the state in form of pensions and health care services. The lopsided age-based demographic imbalances are generally attributed to the Quebecers' decreasing consent for the marriage. The

greater affinity for the co-habitation and living-in relationships led to the collapse of fertility rate greatly and it is expected to cause some demographic catastrophes in long run. The present chapter also describes the demographic compositions of different groups. In the last section, a basic introduction of the evolution of education system in Quebec has been presented. The Quebec education system describes the adoption of pluralism in one of the most communally oriented educational institutions under the aegis of new reforms. The acceptance of diversity in the educational system and the elimination of religious components mark the Quebec acceptance to pluralism.

The third chapter is basically a description of the educational system of Quebec. First of all, the french education system, in fact the Franco- Catholic system, has been explained through an evolutionary way. The Franco-Catholic system was basically running to ensure the protection and promotion of French language and Catholic religion in Canada. The BNA Act, 1867 recognized the right of the institution to run its own academic institutions and it was the centre of French resistance to English dominance. The Quiet Revolution of 1960s asked the Catholic elements to leave the system. The Bill 101 was introduced to ensure the francization of all quebecers. The reforms of 1998 reformulates the government's emphasis over the francization of all quebecers, but it takes diversity into its' lap. The English educational system, Anglo-Protestant system, was running in parallel to the Catholic institutions. But the Franco-Anglophone rivalry led to a harsh attitude of Quebec government towards these institutions. Earlier, most of the immigrants used to visit the English-schools due to its' flexibility and economic viability, got a set back with the mandatory provisions of Bill 101 to attend all new immigrants only French schools. This led to a significant drop in the enrollment at English schools. The ethnic schools were also set up taking note of the uncomfortable situations in the majority's schools. The ethnic schools were also added by the specific classes for the immigrant groups in the majority schools. The establishment of PELO which followed the implementation of the Bill 101 was seen as a Quebec attempt to thwart the Anglophone-Allophone unity against the ongoing Quebec struggle for political autonomy. The PELO provides the

opportunity to the ethnic groups to have re-introduction with their own native language and culture.

The fourth chapter basically examines the various traits of present educational system which was developed in the light of Reforms of 1998. The reforms of 1998 ended the religious monopoly from the education system and policy making. It established the linguistic boards in lieu of earlier existing confessional boards. The inevitable reality of growing diversity in Quebec necessitated the Quebec government to look for the citizenship education which ensures the protection of individual freedoms and rights. It accepts the norm of common institution, common language, and common citizenship.

To conclude, the demographic trends had been one of the principal reasons which forced the changes at institutional policy making in Quebec. The rapid fall of total fertility rate to 1.46 against the standard requirement of 2.1 caused a threat to the Francophone Quebec existence in Canada. This also led to the change of Quebec behaviour towards its non-traditional sources of immigrants. The race, regions were no more the decisive factors to allow immigration in Quebec and the skill became more important than any other quality. The negative rate of population growth made Quebec dependent over the new immigrants groups for its' demographic balances.

The changing composition of Quebec population introduced new approaches in the policy framework of Quebec. It was no more restrictive. It developed an inclusionist approach instead of yesterday's exclusionist approach. The citizenship education is adopted at the institution level to ensure the acceptance and inclusion of all. The present Quebec educational and other institutional systems are no more self-centric, it has opened its heart. Now it welcomes all with skills.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCE

“Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Strategic Policy, Planning and Research”, *Facts and Figures 2000: Immigration Overview*. (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2001).

Commission Royale d’Enquête sur d’Enseignement dans la Province de Québec: Rapport, (Quebec: Conseil superieur de l’éducation, 1983).

Immigration Act, (Ottawa: Ministry of Public Works and Government Services, 1976).

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report. Vol.3A. (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1969).

Statistics Canada, (Ottawa: Census of Canada, 2001).

L’Office des Migrations Internationales, (Quebec: OMI, 1989)

The Long Road to Reform: Restructuring Public education in Quebec (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s Univ. Press, 1986).

Operation of Canadian Multiculturalism Act: Annual report 1991/1992 (Canada: Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1993)

Demographic Profile of Canada: Canada’s Population 2001-2004 (Ottawa: Canadian council on social development, data from Statistics Canada’s CANSIM,2005).

Citizenship and Immigration Canada—Expenditure plan-1994-95 (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Management Development, 1994).

“*A project of the UNESCO World Decade for the Cultural Development*” (Calgary: Proceedings of a conference held in Calgary, Alberta, Oct.22-23, 1989).

Helly, Denise, *L’Immigration Pour Quoi Faire?* (Quebec: Institut québécois de recherché sur la culture, 1992).

SECONDARY SOURCE

BOOKS:

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen and Gabriel, Christina, *Selling diversity: immigration, multiculturalism, employment equity, and globalization*, (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002).

Adleman, Howard, Borowski, Allan, Burstein, Meyer and Foster, Louis, *Immigration and Refugee Policy: Australia and Canada Compared* (Toronto & Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

Bannerji, Himani, *The Dark side of the nation: essays on multiculturalism, nationalism and gender*, (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2000).

Banton, Michael and Safran, William, *Multiculturalism: A Policy Response to Diversity*, (Ottawa: Management of Social Transformations UNESCO, 1995).

Beach, M. Charles and Green, Allana, *Policy Forum on the Role of Immigration in Canada's Future-Policy Forum Series 15*, (Kingston: John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy, Queen's University, 1988).

Bélanger, Claude, *Events, Issues and Concepts of Quebec History*, unpublished manuscript, (Marianapolis: 1999)

Benoit, Gendreau, *Les Systèmes Scolaires* (Montreal: Méridien Vision Global, 1991).

Berlot, Jacelyne and Jacob, André, *Intervenir Avec Les Immigrants et Les Réfugiés Interethniques* (Montreal: Méridien Vision Global, 1991).

Bissoondath, Neil, *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1994)

Brooks, Stephen, *Canadian Democracy: An Introduction* (Canada: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Brooks, Roderick, *Culture: Canada up close*, (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1993)

Burnet, Jean R., *Migration and the transformation of cultures*, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1992).

Charon, Milly, *worlds apart: new immigrant voices*, (Dunvegan, Ontario: Cormorant Books, 1989).

- Cohen, Joshua, Howard, Matthew and Nussbaum, Martha C (eds.), *Is multiculturalism bad for women?: Susan Moller Okin with respondents* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).
- Dirks, Gerald E., *Controversy and Complexity: Canadian immigration policy during the 1980s*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995)
- D'Oyley, Vincent and Shapson, Stan M., *Innovative Multicultural Teaching* (Toronto: Kagan & Wood Limited, 1998).
- Fleras, Augie and Elliott, Jean Leonard, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada (2nd ed.)*, (Scarborough, Ontario: Nelson Thomson Learning, 2002)
- Foster, Lorne, *Turnstill Immigration: Multiculturalism, Social Order and Social Justice in Canada* (Toronto: Thomson Educational Publishing Inc., 1998).
- Gagnon, Alain-G., *Québec: État Et Société* (Montreal: Editions Québec/Amérique Inc., 1994)
- Globerman, Steven, *The Immigration Dilemma* (Vancouver: The Fraser Institute, 1992).
- Guindon, Hubert, *Quebec Society: Tradition, Modernity and Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988).
- Hawkins, Freda *Critical Years in Immigration: Canada and Australia Compared* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
- Hryniuk, Stella M, *Twenty years of multiculturalism: successes and failures*, (Winnipeg: St. John's College Press, 1992)
- Hutcheon, Linda, *Splitting Images: Contemporary Canadian Ironies*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991)
- Isajiw, Wsevolod W., *Understanding diversity: ethnicity and race in the Canadian context*, (Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing, 1999).
- Jean Dumas and Alain Bélanger, *Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada 1995: Current Demographic Analysis*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1996).
- Jean-Pierre, Rogel, *Le défi de l'immigration*, (Québec: Institut Québécois de Recherch sur la Culture, 1989).
- Kahn, Linda, *Schooling, Jobs and Cultural Identity: Minority Education in Quebec* (New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1992).

- Katz, Joseph, *Education in Canada* (Vancouver: Douglas, David & Charles (DD&C), 1974).
- Kehoe, John, *Achieving Cultural Diversity in Canadian Schools* (Ontario: Ontario, 1984).
- Kelly, Ninette and Trebilcock, Michael, *The making of the mosaic: A history of Canadian immigration policy*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998)
- Kogila, Moodley A. (ed.), *Beyond Multicultural Education: International Perspectives* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1992).
- Kohli, Marjorie, *The Golden Bridge: Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939*, (Canada: Natural Heritage Books, 2003)
- Laperriere, Anne, *Canadian issues: Immigration and ethnicity in Canada*, (Montreal: Association for Canadian Studies, 1995).
- Li, Peter S., *Destination Canada: immigration debates and issues*, (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Maclure, Jocelyn, *Quebec identity: the challenges of pluralism*, (Montreal/ Kingston: McGill Queens Univ. Press., 2003).
- Magnuson, Roger, *A Brief History of Quebec Education: From New France to Parti Québécois* (Montreal: Fides, 1985).
- Mallea, John R. and Young, Jonathan C.,(eds.), *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984).
- Malouin, Marie-Paule, *Ma Sœur A Quelle École Allez-Vous?, Deux Écoles de Filles à la Fin du XIXe Siècle* (Montreal: Fides, 1985).
- Marrocco, Frank N. and Goslett, Henry M., *The 2000 annotated immigration act of Canada*, (Scarborough: Carswell Thomson Professional Publishing, 1999).
- McAndrew, Marie, *Immigration et Diversité à l'École: Le Débat Québécois dans une Perspective Comparative* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montreal, 2001).
- Morris, Sonia V. (ed.), *Multicultural and Intercultural Education: Building Canada* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1989).
- Nwoye, Joseph and Sehlaoui, Abdelilah Salim, *Multicultural Education: Diverse Perspectives* (Victoria: Trafford Publishin, 2001).

Ouellet, Fernand and Pagé, Michel, *Pluriethnicité, Education, et Société: Construire Un Espace Commun* (Quebec: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture, 1991).

Pal, Leslie A., *Interests of State: the politics of language, multiculturalism, and feminism in Canada*, (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984)

Porter, Gordon L. and Richler, Diane *Changing Canadian Schools Perspectives on Disability and Inclusion* (Ontario: The Roeher Institute, 1991).

Richard, Antony H., *Postwar Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).

Rose, Baaba Folsom, (ed.), *Calculating kindness: Global restructuring, Immigration and Settlement in Canada*, (Canada: Fernwood, 2004).

Siemerling, Winfried, *Writing ethnicity: cross-cultural consciousness in Canadian and Quebecois literature*, (Toronto: ECW Press, 1996).

Stewin, Leonard L. and McCann Stewart J.H., *Contemporary Educational Issues* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., A Longman Company, 1987).

Stoffman, Daniel, *Who gets in: what's wrong with Canada's immigration program- and how to fix it*, (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 2002).

Taylor, Charles and Gutmann, Amy (ed.), *Multiculturalism: examining the politics of recognition*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994)

Taylor, Mike, *The Truth about Immigration: exposing the economic and humanitarian myths*, (Canada: Karma publisher., 1998)

Traill, Catharine Parr, *The Canadian Settler's guide*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969).

Turp Daniel, "What does Quebec Want?" , *Quebec Sovereignty: A legitimate Goal*, (Montreal: IPSO, 1999).

Young, Jon and Levin, Benjamin, *Understanding Canadian Schools: An Introduction to Educational Administration* (Scarborough: Thomson Nelson, 2002).

Articles:

Abley, Mark, "Spoken Here. The Mohawk Community of Kahnawa: Ke Near Montreal Takes a Page From Quebec's Language Legislation" *Canadian Geographic* (Ottawa), Vol.123, Issue 5, Sep.-Oct.2003, pp.78-86

Lamarre, Patricia, and Arman, Francoise, "Success in French is More Difficult for Allophone Junior College Students" *Canadian Press News Wire* (Toronto), 2000

McAndrew, Marie and Janssens, Rudig, "The Role of Schooling in the Maintenance and Transformation of Ethnic Boundaries between Linguistic Communities: Contrasting Quebec and Belgium" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 36, 2004, pp. 61-83

.....and Lamarre, Patricia, "The Integration of Ethnic Minority Students Fifteen Years after Bill 101: Linguistic and Cultural Issues Confronting Quebec's French Language Schools" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 28, Issue 2, pp. 40.

..... and Marc, Verlot, "Aménager Diversité Culturelle, Langue et Education: Un regard Comparatif sur le Québec et la France" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 36, 2004, Issue 3, pp. 10-24.

Meintel, Deirdre, "Transmitting Pluralism" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 34, 2002, Issue 3, pp. 99-120.

..... and Sylvie Fortin, "Introduction: The New French Fact in Montreal: Francizaion, Diversity, Globalization" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 34, 2002, Issue 3, pp. 1-4.

Patricia, Lamarre, Paquette, Julie, Kahn, Emmanuel and Sophie, Ambrosi, "Multilingual Montreal: Listening in on the Language Practices of Young Montrealers", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 34, 2002, Issue 3, pp. 47-75.

Piché. Victor, "Immigration, Diversity and Ethnic Relations in Quebec", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 34, 2002, Issue 3, pp. 5-27.

Symons, Gladys L., "The State & Ethnic Diversity: Structural and Discursive Change in Quebec's Ministère d'Immigration" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* (Calgary), Vol. 34, 2002, Issue 3, pp. 29-46.

Wilson-Smith, Anthony (ed.), "The Long Way Home: Quebec's Painful, Bitter Language Wars Seem to be Over and Both Sides Won" *Mclean's Toronto* (Toronto), vol.116, Issue 21, May 26, 2003.

Unpublished Research Material:

Chatterji, Miniya (2003), *Immigration and Minority Groups: Trends in the Multicultural Policies of Quebec*, M.Phil. Dissertation, New Delhi: Jawaharlal Nehru University.

Webliography:

www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/lo-ol/pubs/plan/1996-99/appends.htm

www.equality.qc.ca/recimm.htm

www.findarticles.com/10/articles/mi-qa4014/is_200301/ai-n9314957

www.immigrationwebcentre.com/new-media.html

www.umanitoba.ca/publications/cjeap/articles/youngbezeau.html

www.cpa.ca/cjbsnew/1996/ful-edito.html

www.parl.gc.ca/information/library/PRBpubs

www.culturecanada.gc.ca