

# **Impact of Quiet Revolution on Modernization of Education in Quebec**

*Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
for the award of the Degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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CENTRE FOR CANADIAN, US AND LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES  
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NEW DELHI - 110067, INDIA

Dated: 15.07.2019

**DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled **Impact of Quiet Revolution on Modernization of Education in Quebec** submitted by me for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree in this or any other university.

JYOTI

**CERTIFICATE**

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

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Supervisor



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## Preface

This study traces the growth of Quebec nationalism and its consciousness within the Canadian nation reflecting on its French-Canadian or Quebecois identity. This duality of the Canadian nation state has questioned the presence of a 'national' consciousness within the political, social and cultural fabric of province citizens' lives. Added to this are the ambiguities of the dual official languages that have been struggling to gain prominence in the political, social and cultural milieu of the province. It all came to a head in the 1960s in Quebec, which experienced deep social, cultural, political and religious changes known commonly as 'Quiet Revolution'. The growth of national consciousness impacted Quebec and the Catholic Church. While these political and social changes impacted education, health care and social services in Quebec, the reaction of the Church towards these changes was very serene. At the same time, Quiet Revolution, without much controversy transferred control of education from the Church to the provincial state of Quebec. This study explores the major social changes in the area of education--its modernization, democratization and secularization--leading to rise of new secular nationalism with easier access of education for all.

The study seeks to explore the nature and extent of educational reforms promoted by Quiet Revolution in Quebec; the reasons for modernization of education; and the reaction of the Church to the marginalisation of the Catholic educational institutions. It attempted to test whether Quiet Revolution was able to end elitism. At the same time it tried to co-relate educational reforms in Quebec to marginalization of Catholic educational institutions and explain the benign and peaceful reaction of the Church. Finally, it establishes the significance of the Quiet Revolution in changing the national consciousness in Quebec.

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## **Introducing the Theme**

Profound changes have taken place in the province of Quebec, Canada, in the decade of the 1960s, a period often described as Quiet Revolution. Like all genuine revolutions this revolution too penetrated deeply every aspect of polity, society, identity, culture, institutions and people. Prior to 1960, the Church practiced a basic monopoly over education. Bibby (1993) observes that in 1958, eighty-five percent of the population recognized as Catholic and eighty-eight percent of those Catholics attended mass every Sunday (Bibby1993: 6). An essential army of nuns, priests and brothers, numbering more than fifty thousand in 1962; Church's massive administration was overseen controlling Quebec's education (Hamelin 1984:162).

By 1970, the situation changed completely and Quebec State took over Church's work in schooling. The 'Quiet Revolution' meant that the State and not the Church was to be the embodiment of French nation in Canada (Bibby 1993:7). Changes of 1960s were experienced as a sudden shift. Church did not respond violently to both its loss of real authority and to its loss of management over the significant symbols of power, the educational institutions (Hamelin 1984: 162). By 1970, the control of the Church saw its nationalist movements evaporate completely. Remarkably, the Church responded relatively serenely to the secularization of Quebec culture. The priests and other religious officials, however, objected to the government's plans to secularize education, and the religious groups opposed the reforms. But Quebec society usually escaped the tragic cultural schism that marked Catholic nations such as France and Italy's movement into secular modernity. The Church in Quebec did not retreat into a 'Catholic ghetto', anathematize the new society, and works to restore the old order (Baum 1991:27). The most significant question was the Church's acceptance of French-Canadian nationalism and secularism. If the State of Quebec had the power to 'revolutionize' the reforms of 1960s, then the Church had the power to 'quiet' the revolution. Its reconciliation with the new nationalism helped determine the shape of Quebec culture and society after 1960 (Baum 1997: 31).

Quiet Revolution was a course of struggle on the part of Liberal politics. Liberals under the leadership of Jean Lesage led to modernization of educational institutions in Quebec. In order to modernize schools in Quebec and to attain more fiscal equality, the Liberal government had introduced various reforms which were most

significant. The modernization of education essentially constituted democratization or universalization of education--meaning access of education to all ending elitism. It also meant providing choices and free education. Secondly, modernization of education also constituted secularization of education meaning state control of education replacing Catholic institutions but allowing them to continue functioning because Quebec had a majority of Catholic population. The religious curriculum changed and was broadened to include secular subjects.

The secularization of educational institutions was part of modernization of education as control over education was removed from Church and put in a newly formed education ministry. An extensive program of this educational reform was conducted from kindergarten through university levels. A scheme of provincially funded junior universities or 'College of General and Professional Education' (CEGEPS) substituted the ancient ideology of 'Church-restrained' classical colleges. Quebec's educational reforms were a significant concern of the 1960's Quiet Revolution. There were changes in educational philosophy and practice causing shifts in Quebec society. At the most fundamental level, the educational changes of the sixties were philosophical in nature. As the point of reference for Quebec's identity changed from the past to the present and future, a new model of man and a new set of objectives were set for education. More visible were the changes in structures and institutions: new kindergartens, activist elementary schools, polyvalent secondary schools, post secondary CEGEPS and *L'Universite* of Quebec. At another level of structural change, the power of the Church in education was redefined and reduced, the Ministry of Education was created, regional school boards were established, and the teaching profession was reshaped. Great efforts were made by those directing the reform to preserve balance in the tensions between equality of opportunity and individual initiative, between rationalized planning and wide spread participation, between quality and quantity. The reforms of the 1960s however, went beyond purely managerial aspects of education. The primary importance was the transformation of French Canadian education from an elitist system serving a limited population to a broadly-based system embracing the school age population. On the eve of Quiet Revolution, only 9.5 percent of Quebec's five year old children were enrolled in kindergarten. By 1967-68, the percentage of children enrolled in kindergarten jumped to 62.9. Increases in secondary school were less pronounced but still significant. In

the year 1959-60, 61 percent of Quebec's 13-16 year olds were in school (Magnuson 1973:7).

In 1967-68, the percentage has risen to 96.1, a figure that was better only in Ontario. The rise in secondary school enrolment came with a subsequent increase in numbers of school students. In 1959-60, 10.2 percent of the 18-24 age groups were attending school. In 1967-68, the percentage of Quebec post secondary had climbed to 18.9, the highest percentage in any province that year. Looking at the university enrolment trends for the period, we find that Quiet Revolution opened wider the door of higher education for women. In 1959-60, women were less than 20 percent of full time university students in Quebec. By 1967-68, women comprised one third of almost Quebec university population (Magnuson 1973:9).

Thus, following Quiet Revolution as identities changed, so did cultures and institutions. Convents and Churches, which once were the citadels of authority, were set aside as monuments of history. This theology and history of the classical college became the sociology and information of CEGEPS; the triumvirate of doctor-lawyer-priest became that of bureaucrat-accountant-animateur. Parallel to these changes were shifts in the perceptions of individual people: teachers and students, politicians and bureaucrats, businessman and engineers, old and young. In one way, the Quiet Revolution was the breakdown of that particular consensus known as French Canada and the creation of diversity in life style among Quebecers. The relevant literature on the subject deals with Quiet Revolution and its impacts of modernization on education in Quebec.

## **Review of Literature**

This study examined how Quiet Revolution modernized Quebec's nationalism with its impacts on education and observed the reaction of the Catholic Church to its loss of power to the hands of provincial government leading to rise of new secular nationalism.

## **Causes and Consequences of Quiet Revolution**

In 1959, the death of Conservative Premier Duplessis and access to political power of the Liberal Party in 1960 ushered in Quiet Revolution. A fundamental shift in

consciousness in Quebec, the Quiet Revolution symbolized a change in the sense of identity, values, and aspirations of the province (Henchey1973:164). Before 1960, Francophone Quebec was secured to tradition, Church allegiance, and an elitist view of culture detached from financial issues. Now, the orientation was towards present and the future, the secular, and an egalitarian view of society committing to change with monetary control. The rapid secularization of Quebec culture during the 1960s has been thus explained by a scholar: “In every aspect except calendar time, centuries--not decades--separate the Quebec of 1980s from the Quebec of the year 1950s” (Guindon 1988:138). There is such a similar remark which was made about Quebec’s Church and its growth between the periods of 1960-1970. Prior to 1960s the Church had a virtual monopoly on schooling, social services, and health provided to French Quebecers who made up the majority of Quebec's population. Maurice Duplessis had proclaimed Quebec a Catholic province as a prime minister during the years1944 to 1959 and actively promoted State welfare (Bibby 1993:6) Much more detail about the Catholic structure and change in the structure has been provided by Gregory Baum (1991) in his book *The Church in Quebec*. But how all these changes took place especially replacement of Catholic institutions by government boards has been extensively discussed by David Seljak (1996) in his article “Why the Quiet Revolution was ‘Quiet’.” He also explains the reaction of Church in Quebec after 1960 to the secularization of nationalism. He examines in detail how the Quiet Revolution was without violence and how the Catholic leadership accepted educational reforms and secularization of Quebec nationalism.

There are four books written by four significant authors on Quiet Revolution. They are Glen A. Jones (1997), Simon Langlois (1992), Henry Milner (1986), Gregory Baum (2005). All scholars indicate that educational reforms were the major preoccupation of Quiet Revolution in sixties. Ann Dennis and John Lipkin (1972) describe more detailed changes in structures and institutions of new kindergartens, ‘activist’ elementary schools, ‘polyvalent secondary schools, posts secondary *Cegeps* and *L’ Universite du Quebec*. At another level of structural change, the power of the Church in education was redefined and reduced, the Ministry of Education was created, regional school boards were established, and the teaching profession was reshaped. Great efforts were made by those directing the reform to preserve balance in the tensions between equality of opportunity and individual initiative, between

rationalized planning and wide spread participation between quality and quantity. More or less, the structure held together during the tenure of Quiet Revolution. Henchey (1972) observes that as the decade of sixties began, Quebec had an educational system with unique characteristics. Public education was divided between two parallel sectors, one Catholic and largely French and the other Protestant and largely English. The Quiet Revolution produced major changes in the structure and institutions.

### **Impacts of Quiet Revolution on Education**

Glen A. Jones (1997) observes that the government of Quebec acknowledged that institutional resources are essential for the growth of province. Alphonse Marie Parent was assigned to head the Royal Education Commission in 1963 to explore Quebec's entire education scheme. The Parent Commission performed government hearings between 1963 and 1966, visited more than fifty schools across the province, interviewed more than 200 specialists, and visited educational institutions in other Canadian provinces. Democratization and access were key words which emerged from the report (Edwards 1990:165). Between 1963 and 1966; the Parent Commission created an enormous five-volume report and its suggestions reflected the new ethics that grew roots during 1960s in Quebec.

Milner (1986) notes that education was no longer deemed a luxury, but a right, and the State wanted everyone to have the same possibilities to take advantage of it. With this in mind, more emphasis was put by the provincial government on free schooling and constructing new schools. To attain these goals, it took control over it and started secularizing the institutional system. The State enforced many suggestions of the Parent Commission and implemented them. Under Paul Gerin-Lajoie a responsible Ministry of Education was set up in 1964. In what was known as Operation 55 the school boards were reorganized; from 1500 the numbers of Catholic boards were diminished to 55, with the Protestant boards set at number 9 (Magnuson 1970:2). School curricula were standardized and the traditional colleges were abolished. Comprehensive high schools called 'polyvalentes' were established at the secondary level, providing both general and vocational programs. In 1967, with the establishment of junior general and vocational colleges, or CEGEPS (college d'enseignement général et professionnel), Quebec was known for innovation for post-

secondary study. CEGEPS offered pre-university two-year programs and three-year vocational programs leading straight to the job market. Higher education access was promoted through a series of initiatives: free tuition expanded to the level of junior college (CEGEP); access to university was facilitated through a scheme of public loans and bursaries; and access to adult education expanded.

Part of this attempt to enhance access was the establishment of the University of Quebec (UQ) network in 1969. Like the CEGEPS, the institutions that make up the UQ network are situated in separate areas of the province, making higher education more available to all Quebecers, wherever they reside. The institutional system in Quebec had struggled to generate skilled educators until the 1950s. Many of them were teacher training college graduates called ‘normal schools,’ while the rest were members of religious orders that provided them with fundamental guidance, although sometimes this was not really sufficient. One of the Parent Commission's goals was to enhance teacher training, for which the government took responsibility.

Standard schools were substituted by standardized university programs for potential educators. Working conditions of teachers started to improve in 1960s. Teachers had been underpaid and not unionized until then, and women professors often had to give up their careers when they were married. Teachers became a major force in the trade union movement during Quiet Revolution, and the significance given to education by the government meant that they could make important profits in the 1960s and 1970s. The teachers’ union, now known as the Central Union of Quebec, is one of Quebec's major trade unions and an important force in Quebec culture. The Parent Commission report advocated that enrolment at the college level rise from 16 percent population to 45 percent and at the university-level be raised to accommodate 20 percent from the 7 percent in the year 1961 (Parent Commission Report 1961). They also had to harmonize the Quebec scheme to some extent with other European and North American schemes that had twelve or thirteen years of pre-university education. The colleges were expected to be comprehensive, that is, they would offer both pre-university and advanced technical programs within the same institution, bringing together what was a previously classical and technical stream. They were also to be public institutions, legally established as public corporations, although the first colleges to open were amalgams of private classical colleges, teacher training

institutions, and institutes of technology. They were to be free to all full-time students, providing equality of educational opportunity in one institution (Burgess 1987:109). The forecasted need for increased university places was responded with three preferred solutions. One was the maximum use of existing universities. The second was the establishment of limited charter universities which would provide undergraduate instruction. The third solution, in regions where it was impossible to establish a limited charter university, was the opening of centers of university studies which would provide the first and second years of university instruction in a sufficient number of basic disciplines and specialties. To deal with the development of research and graduate studies, the Commission recommended that adequate scholarships be provided to attract candidates to graduate school and that laboratory, equipment, and technicians be made available to researchers. To avoid the dispersion of resources, Laval, Mc Gill, and the University of Montreal were asked to develop graduate programs, and a provincial research council was to be set up to foster research. The universities were also to take on the responsibility of training teachers to ensure the adequate preparation of students entering university (Paltiel 1992: 166). To increase student access to university, the University of Quebec was established in 1969, with campuses in *Trois-Rivieres*, Chicoutimi, Rimouski, and Montreal (Magnuson 1980: 169).

To achieve more democratic management of the universities, the Commission recommended that there be greater participation in administrative councils and that faculty participate more extensively in administrative and educational decision making. Students were also brought into the decision-making process. The coordination among universities was to be responsibility of the newly formed conference of rectors and principals of the universities of Quebec (CREPUQ) initiated and funded by the presidents that is, the rectors and principals of Quebec universities. Thus, an active participative framework was envisaged within and between universities.

### **Secularization of Education and the Church**

Secularization is a term used to describe three different and sometimes inter-related phenomena. It describes a decline in religious mentalities among individuals as they become more 'rational', more concerned with the present world, and less trusting of

religious authority and explanations. It also addresses the process of ‘differentiation’, a term sociologists use to describe how modern societies create divisions between allegedly discrete realms of human activity. The most striking feature of the process of differentiation is how institutions concerned with education; culture, government and justice morally win their autonomy from religious authorities and claims to operate according to their own logic. Finally the theory of Secularization describes the ‘privatization’ of religion, that is, its movement from a shared and often compulsory public culture to a private form of subjectivity (Casanova 1994:139). The Catholic Church for many years before 1960 had imposed unanimous cultural and social values in most of Quebec Society. But there was an increasingly apparent decrease in these religious activities after the mid-1960s, priesthood abandoned by many clergy, the negligence of youth to Roman Catholicism, which marked the swift erosion of the cultural and social power of the Church. This erosion was marked in many ways: firstly, the deconfessionalization of many Catholic educational institutions; the creation of a new pluralist society through State-intervention; and the rise of this new secular “neo-nationalism,” economics and State power in place of a common religious faith; and, at the popular level, the replacement of Christianity with a certain secular value. Together, historians called these events “Quiet Revolution,” which marginalized the cultural and social function of Catholicism in Quebec's new culture (Gauvreau 2005:128).

Many factors have however combined to create a climate favorable to a spirit of reform in Quebec after 1960. One of these was undoubtedly the reform movement within the Roman Catholic Church inspired by Pope John XXIII which led to convening the Council, Vatican II in the year 1962 to 1965. In its declaration, Vatican II Council sets out clearly the responsibility of the state in matters of education “The duty of dispensing education, which belongs in the first place to the family, requires the aid of the whole of society. Besides the rights of parents and the educators to whom they confide a part of their task, there are definite obligations and rights which belong to the civil society, which is responsible for organizing what is necessary for the temporal common good (Lamontagne 1968:139).

Magnuson (1969) writes that the Quiet Revolution period saw the conservatism in Quebec politics, in social matters and in religion come tumbling down before the



cultural onslaughts of modernization, liberalism and secularism. Above all, this decade was marked by decline of Church as a centre of influence in temporal affairs. When one realizes that every precious major social movement in Quebec was initiated, developed, and maintained by clerical action, the extent of change is appreciated. Happily though, the Church's departure from the temporal sector was not accompanied by the excesses of anticlericalism that tore France apart in late nineteenth century (Magnuson 1969: 195).

Amazingly, the Church reaction for changing traditional base of education in Quebec was very serene. Quiet Revolution was not violent and Catholic Church also did not work towards a restoration of an old order (Baum 1991: 36). Baum (1991) in his work suggests that Martin's General theory of Secularization has used to explain the general spirit of compromise and pluralism evident in Church-State relations after the Quiet Revolution. Baum (1991) observes that the Priests and other holy officials object to plans of the rule to secularize education, and were against reforms that transformed their hospitals into government organizations (Seljak 1996). Quebec society generally escaped the tragic schism that marked the movement of a Catholic country like Italy and France into secular modernity. The Church in Quebec did not retreat into 'Catholicism,' working towards the old restoration plan. The reason for this was that many of the reform advocates were Church members. It has been commonly found that opposition to the government had its roots in the Church in Catholic societies the world over. Although Silent Revolution be encouraged by and advocated some complaints against religion, including anticlericalism, there was no big rejection of religion on behalf of modernization (Milot 1991: 54).

### **Period of Transformation**

The period of Quiet Revolution from 1960 to 1966 was of enormous change, a major transformation into a new Quebec from an old Quebec one. This was a period which was marked by extreme social and political changes in the province. In the previous decades historians and social scientists have observed that Quebec had been deliberating with the onset of change in province and thus give rise to understanding the Quiet Revolution. Paul Andre Linteau (1988) questions whether the Quiet Revolution marks any elemental schism with the past or endured an elemental stage in evolution of the new change in Quebec which began many years ago? Throughout

the 1960s, Quiet Revolution took mythic proportions, which presented a very simple study to scholars of previous experiences of Quebec and the change towards modernity that pitted the era of 'Great Darkness', the so called Duplessis era, against awareness of Quiet Revolution. The notion of revolution still affected historical perception and the creative restoration of that period. Fernand Ouellet opposes this interpretation of so called Quebec's history, reaffirming the rebellious attribute of revolution (Linteau 1988:74). Ronald Rudin (1998) who agrees with Ouellet, further criticized the new interpretations of Silent Revolution, claiming that it was simply an attempt to duplicate the Duplessis era. Quiet Revolution legitimized the rise of a new technocratic class in Quebec that developed its own identity. A new history of Quebec came into contact with that of the collectivity in which Quebec's Francophones and the technocratic class emerged as a new dominant elite. It has been stated earlier that Quebec's new elitist culture was imposed on them. Indeed, Quiet Revolution became the topic of discussion and controversy. Under the Duplessis government and the Union National, Quebec had evolved continuously at the expense of its own liberty and advancement. A huge number of demands were made when Duplessis died in 1959 and this was brought into picture with the election of Liberal Party of Jean Lesage in 1960. Suddenly the action of the government seemed to be the answer. The nationalization of hydro-electric power in the province and the modernization of educational institutions and improving of health and social services was the transformation which took place in Quebec. Throughout the province, Quebecers turned away from Catholic Church toward the State which combined with nationalism, produced a powerful force that forever changed the province. Masters in our own house, became the favorite slogan of the new Quebec. It was a time for transformation. The Liberal government of Jean Lesage, was defeated in 1966. With strong ministers and confidence to burn, Lesage's team promoted the welfare state and overhauled the education system in just six years. It enlarged the government's work exponentially and created Quebec's global presence, nationalizing the largest provincial energy companies to build a wonderful collective symbol, Hydro Quebec. This gave birth to a new political star--the ambiguous and charismatic Rene Levesque, the Minister of the Liberal Cabinet who was an energy policy architect. Fortin (2011) argued in *'The Issues of Inroads'* that the objectives which were set out in the light of 1960s were transformed in Quebec which are as follows: advanced the smooth level of schooling; increased the development of economy;

distribution of income extensively; raised the standard of living in comparison to other provinces; enhanced the economic position of francophone's compared to Anglophones.

With Quiet Revolution, Quebec enjoyed the growth and advantages in every aspect of public financial credit, an increased rate of growth in economy compared to other provinces, an extensive network of social services and health reforms, substantial development in educational reforms and institutions, increase in the annual population growth rate of two percent, an increase in social-democratic reforms, a dynamic yet dense society with strong families and extensive kin networks, with local colleges, cooperatives', communities, parishes and unions, and an increased standard of living with growth of Francophones (Fortin 2011: 91).

Granatstein and Norman (1999) argue that one of the most vicious periods in Canada's coming of age, as the country emerged into a contemporary, secular industrial State, occurred in Quebec in 1960. In addition, Quebecers moved from Catholic control to State--a movement linked to nationalism that created an effective force that permanently substituted the province with the popular slogan "Masters in our own house". This was an age of political and social disruption--a revolution silent in words alone.

Famous in his home province, Rene Levesque a liberal Cabinet Minister contrived to reach his position as a leader to the rest of Canada and prepared himself to be tough on Quebec and henceforth, to resist its demands most audaciously. The endless debate over the future of Canada, which reasonably began with Quiet Revolution, eroded and destabilized the country. Generally, it felt as if the Canada-Quebec discourse was the sum total of the country. The resistance of Francophone nationalism has usually acknowledged the worst side of English-Canadians, while in Quebec there were some scholars like Roger (1980) who observed two layers of citizenship, with the Francophones on top and everyone else far below. Outside the country, foreigners observing Lucien Bouchard's Party Quebecois, almost completely associate Canada with the Quebec problem. Quiet Revolution modernized Quebec and strengthened the Francophone Quebec's awakening brought on by the fact of French identity to the attention of Canadians across the country so that thousands of

families recognize their image. Challenged with the violence, danger and break-ups Quebec value their country more than ever before.

Baum (2007) believed that Quebec transition took place in every aspect of cultural, social and political changes. Many scholars like Gauverau (2005) have observed that Quebec also underwent cultural changes during Quiet Revolution in 1960s. The focus was on the resistance to the conservative provincial government and struggle for social justice which was initiated by the Catholic activists in the name of Church's social teaching. Gauverau's main focus was on the cultural transformation of Quebec society, by which his idea was to introduce the changes in structure and ethos of the family. He argues that a family is an institution where humans are taught to learn the basic ethics of society, how to respect the authorities, discover the social roles as men and women, and to work selflessly for the common good of society. Even women's transformation took place during Quiet Revolution. Gauverau further argues that women sought personal happiness in married life and thereby refused to accept Paul VI's encyclical *Humane Vitae* of 1968, which condemned the use of birth control pills. Here, Gauverau accused the ecclesiastical leadership and holds it responsible for the massive exodus of women from the Church of Quebec. The Church exercised controlled public behavior in the new pluralistic system of society in universal interest which occupied Vatican Council II.

Gauverau has also pointed out the new transition of the school system and structure in the Quebec province. He argued that in a secular society the Church came to a viable compromise between 1960 and 1965, and in the transition towards a new Quebec adopted the new idea that the State was directly responsible for the wellness of citizens, and the Church's role in educational schemes must be controlled thus fostering the secularization of Quebec society. It has provoked many debates among scholars with the newer concepts that arose during the Quiet Revolution in Roman Catholicism. Baum (2007) further believes that the cultural transformation concept of Gauverau was very small. He did not acknowledge that the Quiet Revolution created the circumstances enabling Quebecers to work in their own mother tongue, which was a major cultural shift. Nor did he point out that John Paul II, who organized a labor union, had a deep impact on Quebec society culture. However, in the sociology

of political science, Quiet Revolution was a significant cultural transformation with ‘effervescence.’

Gauverau’s book ‘*Catholic Origin in Quebec 1931-1970*’ talks of multiple phases of transformation in Quebec from cultural, social, and political upheavals to an entirely new Quebec with its own identity. Magnuson (1980) observes that in Quebec prior to Quiet Revolution (during 1930s and 1959), all the constitutional, educational and social spheres of Quebec were under the command of conservative leader. While Church controlled and influenced many aspects of the society, all major investments in Quebec came from the foreign countries. U.S. invested in iron-ore mining. During that time Catholic Church did not desire to move from agrarian society to an industrialized one. Because of this rejection, income difference levels between French workers and the white collar workers began to lead towards a welfare state. The major transformations which took place during Quiet Revolution in 1960, were the rapid decline of Roman Catholicism and the growth of educational system. Furthermore, victory of *Parti Quebecois* and with the passage of bill 101, the new language act which made the French an official language of province, went beyond secularization and the stabilization of the school system towards building of a distinct nation. Within these periods, three hundred years of educational tradition have been shattered by the events outside the school. During Quiet Revolution, like a pendulum of oscillation, society underwent extreme changes, from a priest-ridden to a national and anti-clerical society, which were committed to their own values of modernization. In other words, it was transformed from monolithic to a pluralistic society.

### **Rationale and Scope of Study**

The election of liberal government party headed by Jean Lesage in 1960 marked the beginning of Quiet Revolution. With the election of Liberal government of Jean Lesage there was emergence of a Francophone new middle class who believed in liberal forces of modernization and secularization. The period of 1960s saw a great uprising of Quebec nationalism. The rise of Quebecois nationalism was an attempt to change the rules of the game by making it easier for Francophones to play a greater role in Canadian politics. The Quiet Revolution was an era of diversity, the desire for catching up to accelerate and promote the growth of modernization in Quebec. The study is significant because this period between 1960 and 1970, was marked by major

social changes in every field especially related to education. The government of Quebec replaced the Catholic Church which controlled these institutions since their creation. Inspired by modernization and secular nationalism, the government of Lesage introduced a series of measures that radically redefined the role of the state. The modernization of schools essentially constituted democratization or universalization, meaning access of education to all and free education thereby ending elitism. While education was secularized, Catholic institutions continued to function even though state was in control and curriculums were secular.

An attempt has been made to examine how Quiet Revolution led to modernizing the education system and how democratization, universalization and secularization of the system of education took place with control over education moving to the provincial government from the Church, leading to rise of a new secular nationalism and easier access of education to all. The research is confined to the period of Quiet Revolution, 1960-1970.

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What was the nature and extent of educational reforms promoted by Quiet Revolution in Quebec?
2. How did Quiet Revolution modernize Quebec nationalism with its impact on education?
3. What were the reasons for modernization of education by Quebec State?
4. How did Church react to educational reforms that led to the marginalisation of the Catholic educational institutions by the State educational institutions?

Following hypotheses are examined:

1. Quiet Revolution modernized education providing access to all and ending elitism.
2. Educational reforms of the Quiet Revolution decisively marginalised Catholic educational institutions, yet the Church reacted with serenity.

The study is descriptive, examining various educational reforms that led to modernization of education. It seeks to explain how and why the Church allowed the state controlled educational institutions to supersede its own monopoly of educational institutions. Both primary and secondary sources are used. The primary sources

mainly include government documents and records such as Royal Commission reports, policy statement and speeches of political personalities and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and institutions. Secondary sources mainly include books, journals and newspapers articles, scholarly papers and other published material relevant for this study.

The thesis is divided into four more chapters. The second chapter focuses on the reasons and causes of Quiet Revolution in modernizing Quebec nationalism. The third chapter discusses the impact of Quiet Revolution on educational reforms, its main goal and objectives and the changes which took place in the 1960s. The fourth chapter deals with the secularization and democratization of education and how education was transferred from a church-based elitist system to a system with easier access to all students in Quebec after Quiet Revolution. The last chapter discusses the major findings of the study.

## Chapter II

### Causes and Consequences of Quiet Revolution

The previous Chapter introduced the “Quiet Revolution” generally associated with the 1960s in Quebec history. It is said to have followed by the end of the regime of Maurice Duplessis also known by some as the *Grande Noirceur* (*Great Darkness*), but underscored by orthodox scholars as characterizing a period of religiously and ethically pure Quebec (Johnson 1965). While it has been widely accepted that the era of the Quiet revolution concluded before October 1970, the continuous changes in Quebec society that followed has led scholars like Le Blanc to argue that the rise of the Quebec sovereignty movement during the 1970s is also a part of this period.

This Chapter begins by exploring the causes of Quiet Revolution. It examines how the State control of power took place with Quebeckers struggling for equal rights in “fields of education, health care and welfare services.” The consequent economic changes that came after the revolution are also discussed in detail, such as the development of industries like SIDBEC (Iron ore to steel), REXFOR (Forest) industry, hydro-power projects such as Hydro-Quebec and other iron and ore mining industries. These economic transformations took place along with the rise of French nationalism that had a unique Quebec flavour.

#### Causes of the Quiet Revolution

Prior to 1960s the government of Quebec was controlled by conservative Maurice Duplessis (1944-59), ruler of the union national party (*Union Nationale*). The shift of the population of rural Quebec to the city, and the need to establish large scale welfare, health and education establishments, the advent of a new middle class of experts and social scientists set the stage for increasing resistance to Premier Duplessis’ government during the 1950s. A vocal section of Quebec intelligentsia and two priests publically sided with the employees against the provincial government during the extended strike of asbestos employees in 1949 (Trudeau 1974:2). Although the strike was formal, there was a government split between the state and intelligentsia, expanding and deepening between some Church and State leaders. *Cite Libre*, a magazine established by Gerard Pelletier and Pierre E. Trudeau was the opposition mouthpiece. It was dedicated towards modernization of Quebec society



and heavily attacked the ‘cleric-nationalist’ ideology of the *Jesuit Relations*, an annual publication of the Jesuit missions in New France that had legitimized the Church-State relationships. This is what underpins the management and control of schooling, health-care and welfare of the Church. The new professionals have challenged the Church’s position and have been restless under the hierarchy’s paternalistic authoritarianism. By the year 1959, after the celebrated attack on *Union Nationale* political morality by Fathers Louis O’ Neil and Gerard Dion and the successful campaign by the University of Montreal’s professors’ association against the granting of the university charter to the *Jesuits*, the end of an era was in sight (Neill & Dion 1956: 2).

### **The Quiet Revolution**

Premier Maurice Duplessis’ death in 1959 was a trigger for a complete dismissal of the status quo. For nearly a quarter of a century, Duplessis had governed Quebec; his political tenure was defined by rapid corruption and quid pro quo relations with the Catholic Church and big business. With the opening of the political structure, newly formed political elite were elected with the slogans of Things must change, “Masters in our own house” and Now or never. Thus a decade of profound political, economic, social and cultural transformations began there that pulled the province of Quebec out of not only the influence of Duplessis and the so-called Great Darkness of the century, but also radical rupture with a traditional past. The construction of a contemporary Quebec with a welfare State and the secularization of social services regulated by the Church were among the structural modifications taking place. The Catholic Church’s institutional marginalization was followed by an exceptionally rapid social disenchantment. Churches that once thronged with individuals were sitting empty within years. Some were sold to developers who transformed them into condominiums or hotels; others were left to be re-dedicated to ‘cultural heritage’ locations (Seljak 1996: 27). Needless, to say that Quiet Revolution should not be seen as isolated from social movements, cultural changes and political events elsewhere in the globe that marked the 1960s. However in Quebec, these movements were very close, on the one hand, to the rejection of the moral authority of Church and its exercise of control, and on the other, to the ‘national question.’ ‘In that context, feminism was also articulated and conceived.’

The individual emancipation of women from patriarchal structures would be accomplished through the domestic emancipation of Quebec from the Church and federal influence in Ottawa. There is literature available that has dealt with how organizational changes such as separation of the Church and State impacted Quebec's collective identity (Breton 1988: 9 Dumont 1993: 11). The characteristic feature of Quiet Revolution was that it was an aesthetic revolt in which the new generation rejected the symbols of French Canada and its specific aesthetics in redefining national identity. The image of Quebec's spectacular secularization and the reconfiguration of the national identity during the Quiet Revolution remain incomplete without paying adequate attention to the revolt and the role played by iconic symbols themselves in the process. Since the 1990s, historians, social scientists, and observers have discussed the advent of modernity in Quebec society and the significance of the Quiet Revolution. As Paul Andre Linteau et al. states: "Did this Quiet Revolution mark a fundamental rupture with the past or was it an accelerated phase in Quebec's revolutionary changes that began many years earlier?" (Linteau 1988: 73). The Quiet Revolution assumed mythological proportions throughout the 1960s, producing a simplistic reading of Quebec's history and originality that pitted "The Great Darkness" of Duplessis era against the so-called civilization of the Quiet Revolution.

A crowd of young and dedicated French-Canadian scholars and journalists were centered on the newspaper *Le Devoir* and the monthly *L' Action Nationale* in Montreal. These attempted to reformulate and redefine the French-Canadian allegiance so as to reflect their obligation for building a contemporary and religious Quebecois nation-state. Indeed, liberalism and neo-nationalism, in various forms, set the stage for social, political, economic and constitutional struggles which engulfed Quebec and Ottawa in 1960s and 1970s as proponents of ideological currents that strove to attain and retain control over the levers of power, federal and provincial, in order to put their respective ideas into action. The term "Quiet Revolution" of the fifties was swept aside by "not-so-quiet revolution" of the 1960s (Gauverau 2005:3).

The image that was connected with Quebec's French Canadian individuals throughout the year 1940 and 1950 was that of a Church-ridden, rural society. Even the English-speaking Canadian journalists, educators and politicians acknowledged

that hundreds of thousands of French Canadians lived in cities and earned their living in industrial occupations. They concluded that the French Canadians would continue to be indefinitely servile. Secondly, the rarely articulated caveat was that as French Canadians joined the urban-industrial mainstream they automatically became less French Canadian. English-speaking Canadians thought that it was only a matter of time before the Catholic Church ceased to be a governing factor in lives of urban French Canadians of generally all classes.

The death of Premier Maurice Duplessis in 1959 and his successor Paul Sauve, in January 1960 was interpreted by many Canadians as the two final nails in the coffin of French-Canadian nationalism. The victory of Jean Lesage's liberal party was heralded as an end of the ancient regime and the beginning of "Quiet Revolution", whereby Quebec's outmoded and archaic socioeconomic and political institutions would be then fully modernized. Both the English speaking and French Canadians welcomed and supported overthrow of *Union Nationale* but generally for quite different motives and reasons. English speaking Canadians on the whole were elated by prospect that the dual process of urbanization and industrialization could proceed apace unobstructed by Church-nationalist, narrow-minded, inward looking, and outmoded scandalous government that had become more of a liability than an asset.

The Quiet Revolution meant something different to French Canadians and throughout the fifties and sixties concerned French Canadians interpreted the Duplessis era as the period of Great Darkness an era defined by political and social domination and enhanced foreign control over Quebec's economy. Beginning in the year 1960, Quiet Revolution increased its pace under the leadership of the Liberal team led by Jean Lesage, Rene Levesque, Georges-Emile Lapalme and Paul Gerin-Lajoie, to name only a few. Far reaching reforms took place in the areas of education, social-welfare, and hospitalization, and in essential services like hydro-electricity. Countless other reforms projects--for regional development, the renewal of governmental administration at all levels--flowed from the offices of senior bureaucrats, many of whom were recruits from Quebec's universities, the private sector and Ottawa. That the liberal regime proceeded very quickly in many fields was a clear indication that the true "Quiet Revolution" had already taken place in the young hearts and minds of a tiny but devoted minority of well-educated French Quebecers. To the astute

observer it was very clear that the seeds of change had been systematically and carefully sown and nurtured to fruition in precarious environment of post war years. What conjuncture of character and circumstances allowed ideological Quiet Revolution to occur? And what was the thrust and significance of this ideological renewal? Essentially, after World War two competing ideological currents arose to challenge the grip exercised over the existing clerical and secular elites by traditional French-Canadian nationalism (Cuccioletta & Lubin 2003:127).

### **Youth Protest in Quebec**

Axelord (1965) has observed that the revolt during this period against social and cultural patterns was superficial. High school children put away their hair oil and deserted barber shops, while their mothers remonstrated them in vain. “Flower children” who were dressed in fringes and beads displayed psychedelic colors. Blue jeans became the dress code of college students and non-students began to sport moustaches, beards and sideburns.

Drug culture and sexual experimentation flourished during that period. The associations of students called for the legalization of certain “recreational” drugs such as marijuana. The medical opinion was divided on this issue. Protests flourished and took root, often tended closely by the university professors. Political scientists and economists prepared research studies to show the extent to which Canada had become an American colony, and proposed various measures for buying or taking it back. In universities of Quebec, equal fervor was applied in proving that Quebec was a Canadian colony and to devise plans to liberate it. The protest in universities had political repercussions. In Quebec, where most of the intellectuals were strong nationalists, it also contributed to bringing the language question to the floor of the National Assembly and thus assisted in rise of *Parti Qubecois*. In Canada, it helped Pierre Trudeau, who appeared to challenge the establishment and who brought these new ideas to the fore, to win the Liberal leadership and federal election of 1968. Classes were abandoned by students, actively participating in university community. At Toronto University, for example, they protested against recruitment on campus by a manufacturer of napalm used by American military during the Vietnam War. This progress was more visible in part because students were now more numerous. Enrolments in university doubled during 1950s, and then tripled

during 1960s and 1970s. The parents of baby boomers, who had never finished high school, preached the virtues of a university degree as a key to a bright future.

According to Reids (1960) the provincial governments, convinced that the higher education would positively bring enormous benefits dramatically increased spending on universities and established new institutions. One of these universities was Simon Fraser University, situated near Vancouver, opened in 1965, enrolling 2500 students. In Ontario, York University admitted around 75 students in 1960, and a year later the province provided York 500 acres in north-west Toronto for building of a campus, Laurentian, Trent, Brock and Lake head universities were also set up at that time. Quebec established the public university of Quebec in Montreal with various regional affiliates. The University of Alberta, branch at Calgary became the separate university of Calgary in the year 1966. The federal governments which were making grants directly to these universities in 1951 began in 1966 to make contributions to the provincial governments for financing of the post-secondary education. All the government spending on universities increased sevenfold during 1960s.

### **Quebec in Transition**

The term “Quiet Revolution” is paradoxical as it deals with a revolution which was practically harmless and bloodless until the ‘October crisis’ of 1970s. Quiet Revolution was first used by a reporter, Brian Upton of *The Montreal Star* and then by Peter Gzowski of *Macleans*. The era, primarily between 1960-1970 coincides with the coming to political power of the liberal French premier Jean Lesage in 1960. This lends credence to the premise that revolution was slowly festered within confines of political protests which had been going on for a long time, rather than a direct confrontation. Matters came to head in the October crisis of 1970. The Quiet Revolution had historical precedents in the struggle between protestant Anglophones and catholic Francophones. Quebeckers were deeply suspicious of division of power in the federal system of governance.

With the death of Duplessis in 1959, Quiet Revolution wrought about significant changes within Quebec and economic and educational reforms were carried out. Lesage led his liberals to a sweeping victory in Quebec provincial elections in 1960 with the campaign slogan: “*faut que fa change*” (things must change). In the

elections of June 22, 1960, the liberals defeated the *Union Nationale* by acquiring 51.5 percent of vote of the public. In the year 1962 Lesage reaffirmed his popularity by winning another mandate with a new slogan of “Maitre chez nous” (Master in our own house) which was more overtly and self-assuredly nationalistic (Nardocchio 1989: 49). Rising tensions in the political circle led to the divisions between separatists. While other reformers of *Cite Libre* like Jean Marchand, Trudeau and Pelliter joined the ranks of federal politics in 1965, others like *Front de Liberation du Quebec* (FLQ) got involved in terrorist activities. The FLQ attacked symbols of English Canada that they saw fit to protest against the anti-Quebec policies. The fire of separatism was fanned by Charles de Gaulle when he visited Quebec where he called for ‘*Vive le Quebec libre*’ (long live Quebec). The matters came to head in 1970 when FLQ kidnapped the British diplomat James Cross and Cabinet minister Pierre Laporte was murdered. This led to ‘October crisis’ of 1970 and finally, Trudeau, the prime minister since 1968 was forced to adopt extreme measures like War measures Act and soon the Quiet Revolution ended.

The Quiet Revolution brought about rapid changes in social and cultural horizon of Quebec. It embodied within itself the traits of secularization and a welfare state, which led to a reorganization of powers of the provincial and federal structure. At the time, there was nationalization of hydro-electricity that started a protest by 5000 mine workers for nearly three months--called the ‘asbestos strike’. This gathered momentum when it was realized that ninety percent of Quebec’s natural resources were financed by foreign investment. Quebec was able to wrest power onto itself, which otherwise rested upon the federal government. Following that changes were noticeable especially in that of health and education. While both of these portfolios were under the auspices of the Church (the Roman Catholic) of Quebec earlier, with the victory of Jean Lesage, both came under the auspices of the provincial government. Though, it was often observed that in the conflict between provincial government and the Church authorities; a section of the Church was in support of secularization of the province of Quebec. David Seljak in his thesis points out “church reacted to secularization of Quebec society with relative serenity” (Seljak 1996:110). At the same time Quiet Revolution coincided with Second Vatican Council, whereby Church decided to distance itself from issues of governance. One

of the conventions of the Second Vatican Council was particularly relevant regarding Quiet Revolution.

The Second Vatican Council gave the ‘Pastoral constitution on the Church in the world of today’. It encouraged all catholic clergy to engage with the contemporary world an open mind and to incorporate changes with the new world. This event also played an important role in promoting Quiet Revolution amongst the rural agrarian francophone society of Quebec. In its desire for social change, the Catholic Church insisted that the Church be involved in the issue of nationalism in Quebec. They also wanted to keep contributing to the culture of Quebec which was rapidly changing socially as well in politically. In the words of Gregory Baum (1988) Quebec society avoided the tragic cultural schism that marked the movement into secular modernity of catholic countries like France. It was pointed out that there was no ghettoization of catholics and non-catholic’s during and post Quiet Revolution. A new set of middle class emerged which was well versed in Catholics Culture and values. However, this class was restive under the undemocratic practices of former premier Duplessis. While a segment of older Church agreed with the Duplessis regime, a large segment of Church believed in changes that were wrought in the social and political structure. This new middle class was well versed in catholic tenets and culture. At the same time, they needed a rational bureaucracy that look after services of state which was hitherto part of the Catholic Church’s duty that included education, social welfare and health institutions (Baum 1988:134). However, with time Church was unable to meet the surging demands from both the populace as well as drastic change in the modern contemporary world. A desire for change was felt both within and without the Church regarding the issues of health, welfare and education. Brother Jean Paul Desbiens spoke out against the discrepancies of education system in Quebec which had been prevalent in earlier times. According to Seljak, Quiet Revolution along with Second Vatican Council led to a “new concern for development and social justice among Quebec Catholics” (Seljak 1991: 115). At the same time Church in Quebec developed a “sustained ethical critique” (ibid) of contemporary society. On other hand, there were liberals who proclaimed a newer form of nationalism which include the unique identity of the populace of Quebec.

Gauverau (1962) observes that the World War II was a turning point in Quebec's contemporary history. Large-scale industrialization and urbanization assured the decrease of a fragile farming community and the demise of mythologized manner of life. The industrial economy with smoke-belching factories, its monopolistic and centralizing tendencies, had a predominant position in the province's growth and people's lives. The belief among Quebecois was that Quebec was a society where nothing changed or would change. Indeed, in the previous two centuries much changed though never at the cost of continuity. "Coined by clerical nationalist Abbe Lionel Groulx, the slogan '*Notre Maitre le Passe*' was a faithful reflection of historical reality.

During these two decades following the outbreak of World War II, Quebec society underwent such profound, pervasive and sharp socioeconomic changes that the fragile thread of continuity with the past was threatened with thorough destruction for the first time since the conquest." At the same moment, Quebec people experienced a drastic transformation and reconstruction of their daily life pattern. The citizens of Quebec at the same time practiced a vivid reshaping and reconstructing of the outline of their daily lives. The liberal party slogan *C'est le temps que ca change* (Things must change) in the 1960s election, signified much more than a desire for change of one set of political leaders for another. Most of the direct growth of change stemmed from the phenomenal growth of Quebec's population. With the increased birth rate, coupled with the influx of thousands of immigrants, Quebec experienced twenty-two percent increases in its population in 1940s and a whopping thirty percent in 1950s. The Quiet Revolution is often connected with politics through either sweeping state-intervention in the areas of education, health and social services, and financial governance during the 1960s. Successive Quebec governments have made numerous attempts to affirm superior constitutional authority vis-à-vis the federal government or through a project to support a vision of Quebec as a sovereign nation.

The data of Quiet Revolution can be refined into an imaginative structure including following elements of brutality, alteration of dominant myth of society, increasing affluence, unrest and rising expectations, inflection of the measure of societal development by political guidance, and growth of national awareness and



nationalism. This structure is believed to be able to be applied uniformly as a political phenomenon to revolutions (Johnson 1965:7).

Hopkins (1977) believes that Quiet Revolution period, as a premier, Johnson was an important personality. Yet, the revolt he was part of did not constitute a damaging political revolution beyond the ancient definition of constitutional science. Thus, the Quiet Revolution was the conclusion of the transformative process that started in the turn of the millennium when Quebec society started an unavoidable motion from a standard culture to a contemporary one. However, due to Johnson's considerate attempt, the structure of education continued to be modernized. The younger people continued to surge into a superior education system and to avail of the opportunities offered. He chose Jean Guy Cardinal as minister of education who created the community colleges. Development of the industrial sector was encouraged. He then, delegated Castonguay-Nepveu Commission to reform considerably the hospitable services. Quebec advanced to access more action of responsibility in areas within its constitutional control; it can be said that Johnson went farther than Premier Lesage in that field. He was part of the revolutionary picture. He developed further the affairs, themes and the infrastructure laid down by Jean Lesage. In doing so, he contributed the stimulus for the so called '*revolution tranquille*'. Johnson kept all Quebec's long run substitute open. His action enhanced the appearance that he was part of Quiet Revolution and that he was a conclusive character in the whole episode. Consequently, it can be validated that Daniel Johnson was part of the Quiet Revolution.

Hopkins (1977) observes that Johnson actively participated in the journey of Quiet Revolution. Johnson's priorities were distinct from those of his predecessor Jean Lesage in terms the decisions taken. In a sequential way he advanced educational reform, social well-being, industrial expansion, and Quebec's role in the universal society. All of these were essential to Quiet Revolution. To any civic analyst Johnson's jurisdicative record confirmed his revolutionary ideas. He was favorably disposed to the system of alteration which liberals had created and fulfilled the beliefs of the liberals. In a manner Johnson leaning towards what psychologists call "impression control" (Johnson 1965:5).

## **Nationalism: A Consequence of Quiet Revolution?**

The liberal government which was elected in 1960s was part of the transition that was taking place in Quebec over a time period. Lesage spoke about urbanization, industrialization, planning, and controlled projected public growth. Quebec came as an emerging power in the industrial sector; it established a well-known figure in the society.

According to Hopkins (1977), Quebec nationalism received impetus from Premier Johnson's role in education, his fiscal dispute with federal government and his views pertaining to Quebec's international character. This furthered the growth of Quebec nationalism. His government refined its articulation and was very much in step with his times. Education was an important tool in Quebec's national development. It was developed into a prime indicator for gauging the level of modernization and for projecting the province's image to the world. In all the aforementioned areas nationalism grew as a result of Johnson's activities. In the arena of international affairs Johnson added profoundly to liberal legacy, and stimulated the growth of nationalist feeling of Quebeckers. International activity was a concomitant part of the process of making Quebeckers look inward and outward. The liberals asked Quebeckers to define and redefine themselves and their society and Johnson did the same thing. He then, forced Quebeckers to question their national intentions and pretensions. In the field of international activities, he created a concrete legislation which gave Quebec, actual or potential involvement in the international arena causing Quebeckers to question their image and given role in the world. Faithful to their 1960s promise, the Lesage liberals advanced Quebec contacts with the entire world. In October, 1960, Lesage set up a department whose task was to inaugurate liaison between Acadians and other French Canadians within Canada and United States.

Quebec's nationalist origins can be traced back to the period before the Quiet Revolution. As has been pointed out, throughout the 1950s, opposition to the conservative-oriented Duplessis government expressed itself, but without political achievement. The political discourse centered on issues such as the role of the State, the behavior of federal provincial relations and institutional modernization, which destroyed conservative view of Duplessis time. The Maurice Duplessis ideology was a reflection of a rural and conventional idea of Quebec. The French-Canadians

survival was only possible through an attachment to their only real 'capital' which was language and religion (Dion 1978: 2). However, Quebec conservative nationalist discourse did not prevent modernization from taking place at the same rate as other provinces. Two-thirds of the population of Quebec already resided in metropolitan centers in the early 1950s, while the agricultural population made up only one-fifth of the population, declining further in the early 1960s. On the level of politics, conservative nationalism has been characterized with great regard for the political organizations established. Duplessis was a supporter of provincial autonomy in dealings with Quebec and Canada. He was convinced in the virtues of federalism as it established the boundaries of interference at each new level of government. The fact that this was only way to protect the culture and preserve the current social order in the province illustrates the willingness to preserve the political autonomy of Quebec. He opposed federal tax and social regulation measures on the basis of maintaining Quebec's freedom (Bourque, Beauchemin, Duchastel 1994: 3). There was no one to assume the intensity and speed of modifications affecting Quebec society. Quiet Revolution put an end to the grip of conventional nationalism on the political and social institutions ensemble. Scholars like Duchastel (1994) have observed that Quebec entered the age of modernity with the end of this nationalism. Therefore, it was surprising for scholars such as Bourque (1994) to see the emergence of a new nationalism soon thereafter, or more precisely a neo-nationalism, comprising antinomial democracy issues, statism and innovation. The new type of nationalism suggested a revised definition of the contemporary State of Quebec. The State would now be granted with new responsibilities which were earlier given to civil society institutions.

The need to adjust Quebec's social and economic structures to modern realities made the valuation of statistic features indispensable. The various State interventions required ideological justification in all fields of Quebec culture. This was imposed through a fresh, nationalist-themed speech: the Quebec State was described as the only institutional structure capable of promoting Canadians' well-being. Thus, Lesage, who drive Quebec Liberal Party to electoral achievement in 1960 and 1962, liked current Quebec as French Canada's political manifestation and even stated that it was supposed to play the role of "mother nation" for Francophones outside Quebec. French Canadians' identity was discovered not only in home country, but also in the

political climate that allowed them to advance their interests (Comeau 1989:4). Johnson, who won the Union National election in 1966, followed the same measures as the Lesage government, while expressing them in distinct terms. National duality was not dependent on citizens' ethnic origin, but on their culture.

According to ordinary evolution, this existence of a country must be guided by the establishment of a nation-state (Johnson 1965:4). The phenomena are prevalent in English-Canadian provinces where they accept loss of freedom because they understand that Ottawa established functional work for the majority. Since English-Canadians hold a national state that is consistent with the freedoms of the individuals it serves; the French-Canadian country can follow the same values. Therefore, Daniel Johnson marks a significant shift; Quebec nationalism was now based on territoriality from the definition that is fundamentally based on ethnicity. It was feasible to emancipate the French-Canadian country by appropriating the only tool that could act on behalf of the community, namely the state. Statistical projects were numerous throughout the 1960s, with few regions ignored. However, Quiet Revolution was characterized by these measures in the five main industries: the democratization of society, the pursuit of equality in education and medical access, the control of significant financial systems, the nationalization of hydroelectricity, the modernization of Quebec public services, and the emergence of sovereignist political movement (Rocher 2001:18).

Without the accompanying huge development of state apparatus, these reforms would not have been feasible, which contributed the needed assistance to implement the reforms. Labor strife, however, characterized Quebec society in this period, as did the emergence of sovereignist movements, of which some currents, though certainly minimal, led to violent behavior. Such violent acts, though the result of minor communities still influenced the collective perspective and led to the state's powerful reaction. In the 1960s, Quebec had a terrorist movement that culminated in the kidnapping of Quebec's labor minister and a British diplomat, Pierre Laporte. The former was murdered and the latter released later. Created in 1963, the self-proclaimed FLQ (Quebec Liberation Front) instigated countless terrorist activities such as Molotov cocktails to harm political power symbols such as military facilities, public offices, mailboxes where all nine individuals were murdered, including labor

ministers in 1970. This movement has related the struggle for national liberation to fight against oppression created by Anglo-Saxon financial and political organizations. Although it was later seen that the FLQ only had a handful of participants, the federal government still took advantage of the “October crisis” of 1970. The War Measure Act granted exceptional arrest and detention powers to the police, even though all elements of the political and social classes accused Pierre Laporte's kidnapping and murder. It was discovered that the FLQ had no organization and that its activities were mainly improvised and that it was never a political danger. However, its presence permitted those with political power to set up a disinformation campaign to suggest that there was a real danger to de-legitimize the sovereign movement (Laundreau 1990; Fournier 1998: 5). Among Quiet Revolution's main accomplishments were the health insurance plan and education system reform. However, mostly in the region of economic reforms, the nationalist character of state-intervention was observed. The government's avowed objective was to allow French-Canadians to allocate resources for their advantage to counter the financial dominance they were subjected to. Thus, in order to enhance the representation of French Canadians in the upper echelons of the entrepreneurial hierarchy, state-interventionism was less concerned with changing the recruiting methods of non-Francophone capital to broaden the financial basis of current French Canadian companies in fields where they did not exist (Roberts 1988: 5).

Quebeckers were dependent only on the government, the only significant institution that could compete not only on its own land, but also on the domestic and global scale. Two policies were implemented, establishing government enterprises in important economic industries, and supporting Quebecker-owned businesses. The state's new function did not grow without having a significant effect on Quebec's public services. In notable fashion, the size was expanded. About 28,000 people worked in Quebec's government services in the year 1955, and by the end of the 1960s the number rose to 70,000 (Boily 1986: 357). These controls of new state operations were driven by the planning, rationalization, discussion and professional values that ended the political favoritism that defined the previous period. A deep shift in perception and approach has characterized the attitude of the Lesage government towards the constitutional dossier. Provincial autonomy was described not as a means of restricting Ottawa's pernicious impact, but as a means of restoring

Quebeckers politically, economically and socially (Lesage 1959:26). This independent discourse then assumed a new direction: the need to maintain Quebecers' domestic character, giving priority to the need for domestic affirmation that needed the provinces to defend authority; powers were considered indispensable to the modernization challenge that Quebec was striving for. However, the discussions that focused on the federal stance to repatriate the Canadian Constitution to be accompanied by an amending formula contributed to the choice of Jean Lesage to embrace a distinct constitutional line. That is why the debate on the new division of powers and their expansion to Quebec took precedence over constitutional mechanics and repatriation and amending formula problems.

Ottawa's suggested Fulton-Favreau<sup>1</sup> formula was seen as a straitjacket and shut the door to any future expansion of Quebec powers. The constitution took a fresh turn in the parliamentary committee from 1963 to 1968. The witnesses who appeared before the panel suggested not just a sequence of constitutional amendments, but a rewriting based on the acceptance of the two founding nation's theory. If Quiet Revolution's government nationalism caused an increasing number of Quebecers to reconsider the division of powers, it also led to a political movement that progressively championed Quebec's sovereignty. The possibility had been mentioned by Daniel Johnson without ever concluding in favor of this alternative (Rocher 2001: 9). He therefore suggested the renewal of the two founding peoples' equality. It is a well-known reality that only within Quebec territory did French-Canada comprise a majority. It is regarded as normal that the parameters of a state are reflected by every cultural group that wishes to achieve a certain maturity. Thus, traditional ethnic nationalism gradually turned into a territory-based nationalism. Consequently, equality between French and English was not feasible, but for development in Quebec's constitutional powers, which were particularly pursued in the fields of social security, education, international relations and culture. However, preserving the initial constitution seemed impossible for Johnson because it no longer reflected the political truth. Therefore, a more radical step, consistent with the writing of the new constitution, was suggested. Johnson thought that Quebec would have no option but to opt for independence in the lack of a satisfactory contract. This ultimatum of independence, however, sometimes referred to French-Canadian citizens and sometimes to the territory of Quebec.

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<sup>1</sup>Fulton-Favreau Formula (1964-1965): named after David Fulton and Guy Favreau—under the formula, all provinces would have to approve amendments that would be relevant to provincial jurisdiction including the use of French and English languages, but only the relevant provinces would be needed to approve amendments concerned with a particular region of Canada.

However, this ambiguity was not broken by Johnson the premier, but by Rene Levesque, one of the cabinet's influential members, who obviously opted for Quebec's new political status. Levesque's move within the Quebec Liberal Party drives him to create the movement of the sovereignty association, which later became the Quebec Party. Significantly, the needs of the two groups were moving in two distinct directions: English Canada sought to rationalize, shorten, and consolidate central government powers, while Quebec's requirements were moving in the reverse direction (Levesque 1991: 7).

That is why Levesque suggested an association of sovereignty, which he respectfully considered as a suitable move for the two majorities to guarantee the circumstances needed for financial stability and to preserve an economic, monetary and customs union. The word nationalism that defined the Quiet Revolution era was based on state action dynamism. Quebec's state attempted to bring Quebec's social and economic development into its own hands through countless measures that attempted to confer the new status on French Canadians who had long been relegated to the lower echelons of society where they formed a majority. In this context, it is not surprising that the growth of state-interventionism and awareness of the state's power as a tool of socio-economic promotion led governments since the 1960s to call for powers to pursue the interests of competing options, some of which advocated the idea of building entire Canadian federalism, while others decided the concept of sovereignty with an economic league and Canada. These alternatives emanated from the same dynamic, although they presented different readings of the paths to be followed in order to strengthen Quebec society's social, economic and political foundations. These aspects need further attention on the worldwide level. Firstly, describing the era of the Quiet Revolution only in terms of modernization, resulting in the impression that Quebec society was defined by traditionalism and conservatism in the previous period. It should be observed that the 'true' Quebec was already in a time of modernity, despite the dominant nationalist ideology that put emphasis on these components. It is adequate to consider that a rate of urbanization and industrialization

among the highest in Canada has characterized the province of Quebec. In other words, for many centuries, Quebec society has been accessible to American cultural influences (Trepanier 1986: 7).

Conservative nationalism should not be considered as a precise reflection of the real nature of the pre--1960 socio-economic interactions in Quebec. Quiet Revolution's nationalist ideology was fundamentally expressed around the need for Quebec society to use state instruments to advance their interests. Therefore, this new definition of collective identity is organized around the state, seen as a significant tool of emancipation for the countries of French-Canada. In this context, it is necessary to understand the constitutional debate and the need for Quebec to acquire new fields of action in order to react more efficiently to its social, economic and cultural specificity. The Quiet Revolution allowed the realization of a juncture between statistical activity development and collective identity consolidation. State nationalism was not only the spur of reforms implemented throughout the 1960s, but it has also left an indelible picture of the 1970s nationalism. The word nationalism within the province of Quebec became a powerful political variable. By the mid-1960s, Levesque advanced Quebec's hypothesis about unique status or independence. He was a significant and strong figure in government at this moment. Within the liberal party, his remarks triggered turmoil. The fact that a strong cabinet minister put forward such proposals reflected the potency issue of nationalism. It even draws power holders' attention. Here, as opposed to French-Canadian nationalism, nationalism is referred to as Quebec nationalism. Johnson observed that Quebec nationalism rose during the changing liberal period, opportunities that enhanced Quebec's new self-expression, enthusiasm, and pride, and generated a dynamism that discovered its outlet or expression in Quebec nationalism. Quiet revolution introduced two basic elements of perceptual change, which were the development and enhanced articulation of "nationalist sentiment" and increased participation of government in citizens' life, as well as the spectacular rise in social planning and social services.

The state apparatus became more important to the people. Therefore, it became more interventionist. During this moment, pensions, health and other facilities were put in place. Consideration was given to long-term financial planning and growth. If



needed, the government even regarded becoming an industrial entrepreneur in some of the instances such as SIDBEC, the largest steel producer in Canada. All in all, the process that liberal government began causes a dramatic change to take place in the “worldview” of Quebecers. These two significant elements of the shift were the proliferation of Quebec nationalism and the participation of the government in Quebecers’ life and in the field of social planning. Through his actions related to Quebec's global personality and involvement through his fiscal conflict with the federal government, Quebec nationalism got an impetus from the education movements of Premier Johnson. In this section, it is pointed out that education is included as a significant instrument in Quebec's “domestic” growth. The education system was a sign of the determination of Quebec to modernize and gauge of how far society had advanced. It evolved into a prime social indicator to measure the level of modernization and to project the picture of the province to the entire globe. Nationalism arose in all of these fields as a consequence of the actions of Johnson.

### **Economic Reforms after Quiet Revolution**

Pierre Fournier (1978) observes that for twenty years Maurice Duplessis promoted a system that represented religious and traditional local elite of Quebec. This essentially rural fraction which had maintained its ideological and political hegemony, had delayed modernization of Quebec State and society. However, at the same time, industrialization and monopolization of Quebec economy were developing very rapidly. Duplessis always welcomed foreign capital by ensuring that Quebec would stay as a source of cheap and docile work, literally offering Quebec’s important wood and mining resources. His belief was “laissez-faire,” and that all economic derivatives come from private enterprise. Thus, the Quebec state played no important economic role. However, this changed when Liberal Party in 1962 returned to power under Lesage. The election was primarily a mandate for nationalization of the provincial electric company under the name ‘Hydro-Quebec’. The plan for nationalization was enacted by Rene Levesque, the minister of natural resources. Other reforms included the setting up of the General Investment Corporation (GIC) in 1963, the creation of Quebec Deposit and Investment Fund in 1965 and development of a steel complex by the state. These were major important elements of governmental society during the period of Quiet Revolution.

## Hydro-Quebec and Industrialization

Government corporations' purpose during the Quiet Revolution was to encourage Quebec business, promote resource extraction in hinterland areas, and add to Quebec's financial "liberation" as part of "*Maitre Chez Nous*" regional strategy. During the 1960s, this complex set of interactions involving regional and global investment; ideology and economic nationalism were argued. In the chosen resource frontier regions of Quebec, the State became an essential component of regional development. No new corporation such as Hydro Quebec was established during Johnson's tenure. No major advancement was initiated, nor large provincial corporations started. Rather, limited and short-range initiatives were conducted.

The 1960s saw a noticeable increase in the activity of State corporations in different regions and the economic sectors of Quebec in Canada. The State owned and managed companies became the provincial government's active instruments that sought to foster growth in the resource extraction industry, especially the frontier regions, in hydro-electricity, and in the indigenous manufacturing sector. During this period of 1960s the specific regions were selected by the state for investment and creation of regional and municipal industrial parks. The overall policies were aimed in overcoming regional and the sectoral unevenness and at restructuring capital and the productive industries in the province.

Bradbury (1982) observes that the circumstances of the growth in state involvement and the state corporations in the post-1960 period in Quebec were probably unique within Canadian provincial experience. Here, the main characteristics to note are the late arrival of corporations in Quebec compared to other provinces and the extent of their involvement in energy production, in finances, and in resource development. The State involvement in electricity production for instance occurred in 1920s in Ontario and in 1950s in British Columbia, whereas it was not until the year 1963 Quebec-Hydro, the gigantic State corporations responsible for dam building and hydro-electricity sales was established. The State involvement in the form of State corporations or the creation of infrastructure involvement is not unusual in the Canadian context. Both provincial and federal level state organizations have either taken part traditionally or given aid to the legitimatizing capital accumulation in resource based activities. There were several reasons for late arrival and involvement

of the state in Quebec. The state involvement per se, but especially in provision of social services, was traditionally subsumed by the Church's involvement in this field, much more so than in any other Canadian province. Indeed, the Church fought actively as a lobby to retain control of these services up to 1960s. It was not until "Quiet Revolution" in 1960s that there was an increased awareness and consciousness of backwardness in development, compared to province of Ontario, for instance. The successive provincial governments also showed an inclination and desire to exercise a greater degree of control within Quebec. There was also an attempt to catch up with other regions within Canada, especially in manufacturing and resource development. Of eleven major industrial firms in province of Quebec in 1973, including pulp and paper, aircraft manufacturing, aluminum processing and electronics with the total employment of 94,800 persons, only one company was owned by the Quebecois. Mostly, indigenous manufacturing firms were smaller than firms owned from outside the province. The average employees numbering of external firms were 8,618 in 1972 compared with 1,263 employees for Quebecois firms in the manufacturing sector. It was with the changing factors that "Quiet Revolution" was concerned during 1960s. Especially, the state and state corporations were expected to overcome some of the perceived problems of industrial base of regional economy and pattern of ownership of industry and capital which dominated prior to 1960s (Bradbury 1982: 46).

There are large number of interpretations of the meaning of the term "quiet revolution" and growth of the state involvement in Quebec. Most people suggest that it was aimed to create Quebec institutions operated and run by Quebecois for French Canadians and by French Canadians--a form of "*Maitre chez nous*" (Master in our own house). At the same time it aimed to modernize the economy and make it more like North America. With the expansion of state apparatus and bureaucratic classes in Quebec gained access to a level of government they could control. The key of this nationalist spirit and a bid to create an independent or semi-autonomous economy was placed in the hands of Quebec's state corporations. The State has developed its own business and current sectors such as steel and hydro-electricity generation have been nationalized. In 1960s, new alliances and linkages between the state and Quebec bourgeoisie were reinforced with the nature of economic reforms, that created own corporations (Bradbury 1957: 2).

Fournier (1978) observes that the nationalization of electricity in 1962 and the setting up of General Investment of Corporation (GIC) in 1963, the creation of Quebec deposit and Investment Fund in 1965 and development of a state-owned steel complex have been the most important elements of governmental activity in Quebec. Reids (1962) observes that in year 1962, after much heated debate, Rene Levesque persuaded Lesage to nationalize and merge with the Crown Corporation Hydro-Quebec private electrical power companies in the province. This gigantic utility company has made a huge and random contribution to the province's growth over the next two decades. This takeover of private electrical companies put a vital economic sector into the hands of the local bourgeoisie. With assets of more than \$10 billion and revenues of \$1.3 billion, Hydro-Quebec was the second largest utility in North America. The nationalization has also played a crucial role in the development of francophone managerial and technical elite. At the end of 1967, out of the top managerial jobs in Hydro, 297 were occupied by French Canadians. On the other hand, in 1962, only 12 percent of engineers at Shawinigan Power, the main private electrical company, were French Canadians. According to the words of Jacques Parizeau, Quebec's Finance Minister: "It was all an exciting period. All French Canadians who were supposed to be incompetent at Shawinigan Power all of sudden became very competent and active in Hydro". (Reids 1962:12). Moreover, Hydro's preferential buying policy furthered the development of Quebec-based companies.

In the wake of "Quiet Revolution" a number of significant changes precipitated which increased state involvement and especially growth of state corporations in resource extraction regions and industrial services sector. This nationalist spirit which was uncapped during this period heralded the state corporations in economic sectors of financing, electricity and steel. These institutions were created as an attempt to "liberate" Quebec economy and to give support to Quebeckers. The local foreign firms and external capital were invited to invest in resource extraction in the areas on the northern frontier regions and in backward areas of the province. State mechanisms including the state corporations were designed to be "engines of development" within boundaries of Quebec and especially in the frontier areas. The expansion in older regions with declining mining and forestry industries were encouraged by state corporations and investment. This new exploration, especially in conjunction with mining sites and with James Bay Hydro Quebec and development scheme, was also

engaged by the state in an attempt to open new regions for private enterprise firms. In some instances the “state engine” also utilized direct ownership and involvement of resource production and staples extraction through the state corporations. In the forestry sector REXFOR, a major state corporation, invested in infrastructure and attempted to rationalize production in the saw mill and pulp mill industry. In the iron and steel sector SIDBEC was created as a crown corporation to collect together several companies involved in iron ore mining, steel production, and in distribution and sales. It was argued in 1960s that in order for Quebec to lessen its dependence it required an iron and steel industry of its own, a viable staples extraction sector, and an indigenous manufacturing sector. In addition, hydraulic energy in the province’s river system was to be harnessed a much greater degree than it was before the 1960s. This was to ensure the supply of electricity for industrialization expected in the province, as well as to make the energy available for sale to Quebec’s neighbors. By 1979, Quebec had 21 government companies with assets representing a complete \$12.5 billion investment. They ranged from Hydro-Quebec, the electricity utility, to the corporations which promoted investments and research in minerals and petroleum, to others which has encouraged the small business sector, food provision, banking, and petty bourgeoisie, involved in finance, industry, commerce and infrastructure. After 1966 the expenditure exceeded those of all provinces, except Ontario, mostly because of state spending in crown corporations which were involved in hydro-electric dam schemes, forestry industry, and in mining and petroleum exploration (Bradbury 1982: 47).

Fourier (1978) further observes that SIDBEC which was created in 1964, has developed rapidly. In 1968, SIDBEC took over DOSCO, which is a British owned company and is now among the top twenty manufacturing companies in Quebec. The government invested several million dollars in the company, in addition to \$500 million which was being invested at Fire Lake to develop and explore a large number of iron and steel deposits. Like most of the state enterprises, SIDBEC was actively engaged in promotion of French-Canadian economic elite. According to the president of SIDBEC ten percent of SIDBEC-DOSCO’S managerial personnel were unilingual (English) in 1975, compared to thirty-five percent in 1968. According, to a pamphlet introduce by SIDBEC “top positions at SIDBEC were not only accessible to Qubeckers, but they were occupied mainly by francophone Quebeckers. People from

Quebec were in position to take control over an important company, and simultaneously of a vital sector of the Quebec economy.” It should be noted that one of the key elements in the policy of Quebec economic nationalism was the creation, in the 1960’s and early 1970s, of a very important network of state owned enterprises in Quebec.

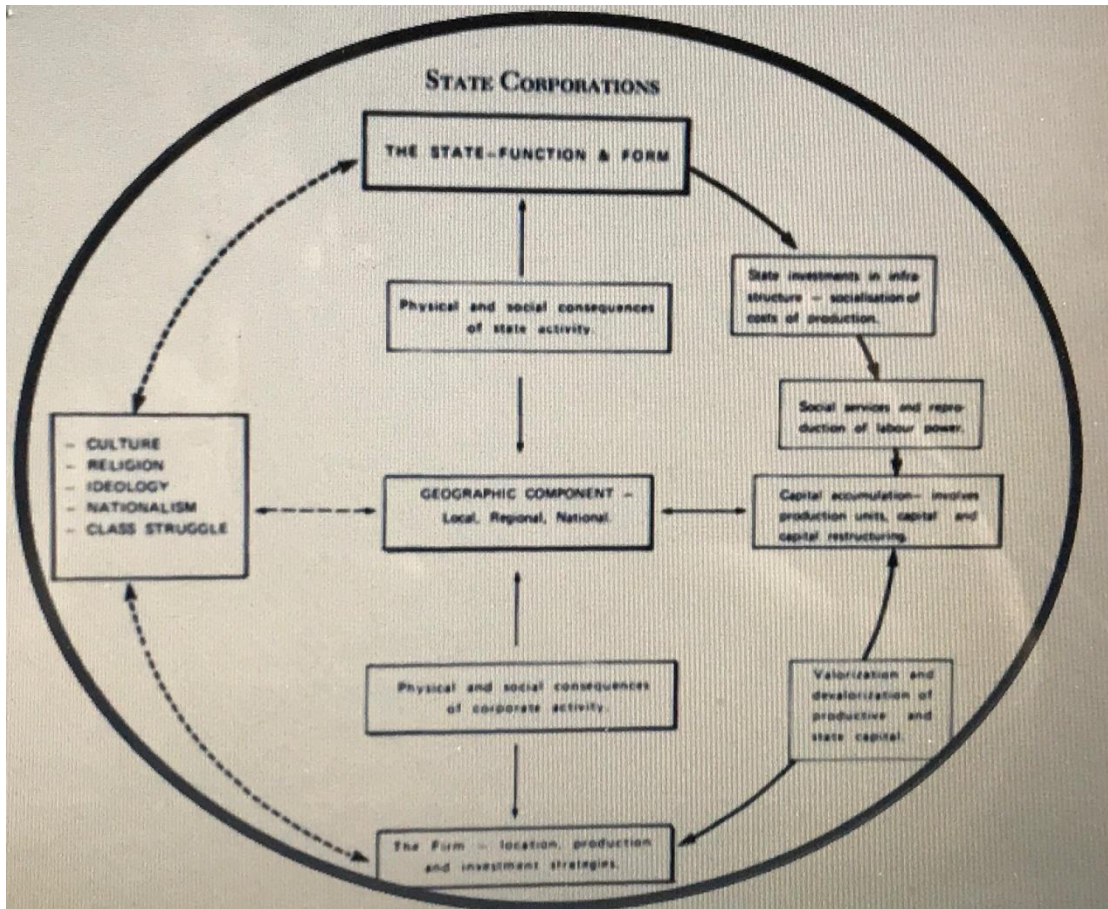
### **State Corporations in Quebec**

Bradbury (1979) observes that in Quebec the state corporations are a part of larger strategy of state involvement which is shown below in (Figure 1). The investments made through state corporations were directed into number of channels as part of the socialization of social costs of production. Here, state also provides social services which contribute to the reproduction of labor power. In Quebec the impetus of the state activity is derived from a mixture of the ideology of economic nationalism and the demands and pressures exerted on state by monopoly capital firms for state expenditures on infrastructure.

It is necessary to explain this, in order to understand the geographical impact on regions and local areas of forces such as restructuring processes of capital, ideology, culture and nationalism and act of State or their response for the need of capital restructuring. In Quebec there are number of issues which analyzes the various state activities. The first relates to attempts by the government to aid and facilitate the location of specific institutions on landscape. These can be firms in the productive sector or government facilities and utilities whose objective is to promote capital accumulation in the corporate sector. The second issue relates by the State to overcome outcomes of uneven advancement procedures and to relieve both regional and local economic fluctuations and crises. This is achieved by promoting location of plants in less privileged areas and by use of financial assistance in specific regions. The third issue relates to intermeshing of class interest and fractions of capital within state institutions. For instance, during 1960s pressure was strong in Quebec demanding state-intervention to protect and encourage Quebec monopoly sector. Hence, it was necessary to orient Quebec firms toward leader enterprises, such as bombardier, a regional manufacturing complex, in order that such firms could grow into monopoly stage or be more suitable for absorption by monopoly firms. (Bradbury 1979: 50).

Image 1

The Context and Components of State Activities



Source: Quebec Industrial development corporation annual reports, 1966-1979.

Here, the following section will examine several aspects of state corporations' activity in resource extraction regions in Quebec. The resource based activities demonstrate how the state operates in primary industry sector in hinterland region. The other corporations were active in hydro-electricity production (Quebec- Hydro) and in providing ancillary services in James Bay Development Region (SDBJ). The corporations which were involved further were in manufacturing sector, in food distribution, in finance and in sales. These combined corporations represent attempts to support small businessmen, monopoly capital, small industrialists, in addition to ideological function of support of Quebec bourgeoisie, "maitre chez nous," and Quebec nationalism (Bradbury 1979: 51).

The major state corporation in forestry sector is Recuperation Forest of Exploration and the Development of Forestry of Quebec (REXFOR) which has been created in

1971 as a provincial state corporation to promote recuperation of problem forests and industries and thus to further development and exploration of existing forest lands. As part of the regional program REXFOR was concerned with stimulation of industrial plants, forestry and silviculture in the frontier areas of Quebec shown in figure II below. In addition, the corporation attempts to stimulate forestry industry in the number of declining, backward, and older lumber, pulp mills region of province. During periods of 1970s to 1980s the corporations provided funds in the province for the location of new mills and replacement of outdated and worn out machinery (Bradbury 1979: 50). The number of private operations in Quebec, which were up to 85 percent dependent on pulp mills for employment, experienced economic difficulties between the year 1969 and 1972. The funds covered in these difficult periods were provided by REXFOR. In the year 1972, the government of Quebec signed an agreement with an IIT which involved financial assistance in conjunction with the federal government. The cost estimated originally in 1972 was \$165 million, out of which \$ 57.3 million came from the federal and provincial sources of which 63 percent of this from provincial Quebec government.

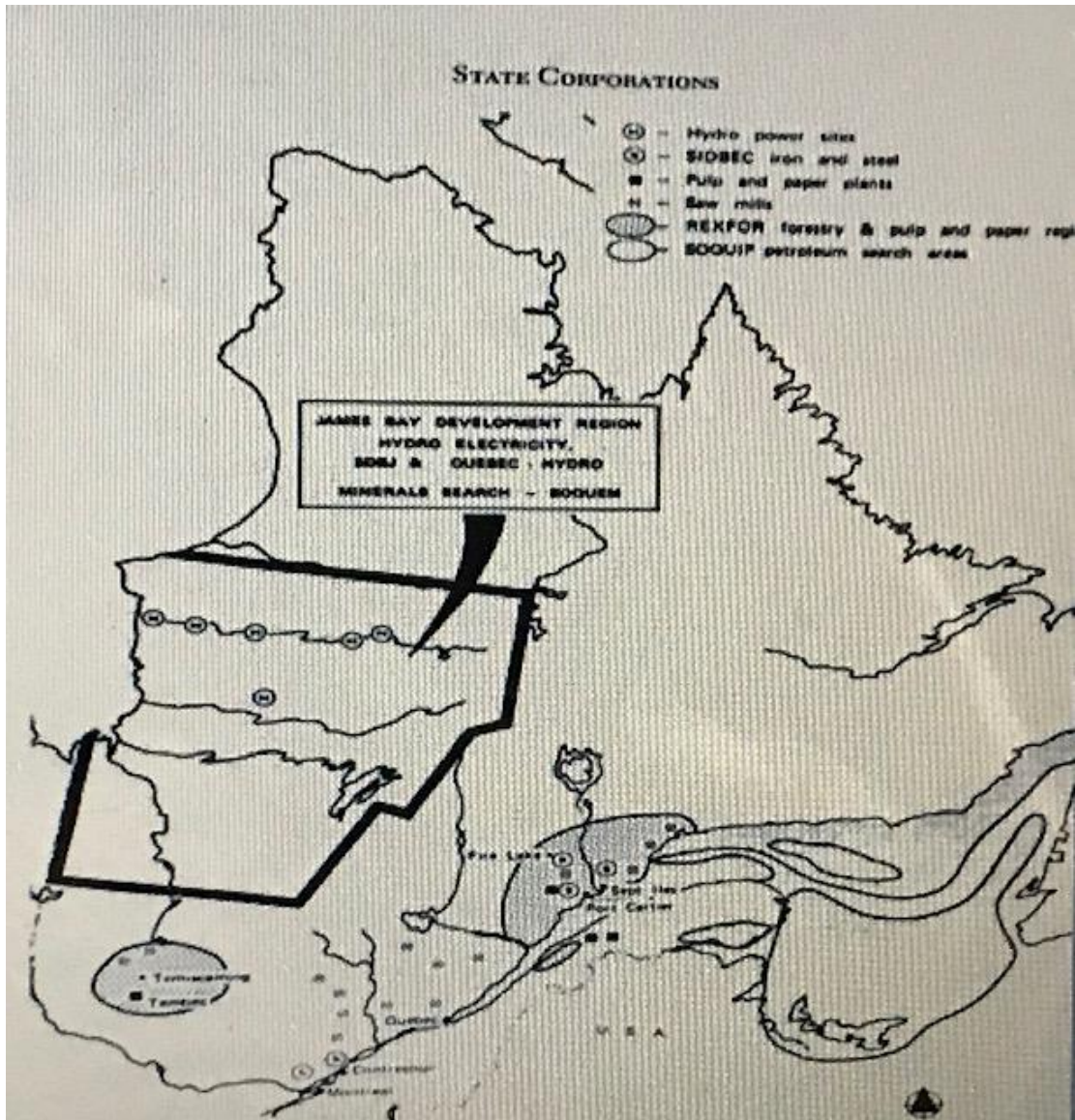




Source: <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/namerica/province/pqz.htm>

Image: 2

Location of State Corporations Activities in Quebec, 1979



Source: Annual reports and government documents, 1979.

The wood harvesting equipment worth \$ 19 million came from REXFOR. The year 1975 and 1979, IIT- Rayonier's operations in Quebec experienced a major financial crisis and the problems with supplies of raw materials. These mills closed down its entire operations at Port Cartier in loss and sold its land rights and timber concessions to companies in Quebec and Europe in 1980. The state corporation, REXFOR, had originally been responsible for the creation of a region of timber lands for IIT-Rayonier on north shore of St. Lawrence as shown in the figure. The government of Quebec granted the company almost exclusive rights to over 51,000 square miles of forest through the creation of a new land tenure entitled as Crown reserve forests (Bradbury 1979: 9).

In the year 1976, REXFOR administered state funds totaling \$ 17.8 million to finance and support sub regional forestry operations. The second variation of state, capital and class interests in forestry industry is apparent in the number of forestry related cooperatives in Quebec. Example of this particular operation is Temiscaming-Quebec Forest Products (TEMBEC). In the year 1972, a version of cooperative organization involving the state, pulp and paper union, and a group representing industrial capital was formed under the name TEMBEC. The town mayor, the union and the local townspeople brought pressure on provincial government to rescue the plant and the town by investing in pulp mill. The 38 percent of the capital for operation came from the company, 38 percent from union and the balance of 24 percent came from provincial government.

Between the year 1973 and 1976 the REXFOR Corporation invested about \$27.5 million in modernization of TEMBEC plant for production improvements. Also, REXFOR and TEMBEC negotiated the regulation of woodchips and wood fibers for a number of mills in the region near Baie Comeau on north shore of St. Lawrence river as shown in image above. In this way, the local control through a cooperative structure was put forward to provide employment and maintain the economy settlements in a region in decline after a major phase of construction of a series of hydro-electric dams.

The idea of SIDBEC emerged in the year 1960s when Quebec economy advisory council recommended the setting up of a steel making operation that would be lucrative in itself to support Quebec's financial goals. The government argued that

without an integrated iron and steel industry within the boundaries of province, the nationalist plans for regional development, unlike continued reliance on the external industrial input, it would never have been realized. This was followed by the publication in 1960 of the province's report advocating an integrated iron and steel industry. This decision had three objectives: firstly, to respond to the need of market; secondly, to create growth pole for secondary industry; and thirdly, to overcome supply fluctuations through the use of raw materials within Quebec. Hence, SIDBEC is a nationalist response to the felt need for less dependent industrial sector (Bradbury 1979: 61).

Bradbury (1982) says that initially SIDBEC operated as a government agency. In the year 1968, the state nationalized existing operation owned by Hawker Sidley Corporation in Quebec. In 1970s, SIDBEC integrated a number of processing plants involving the primary concentration and local pelletization of iron ore. After the year 1966 it became a partner in extraction operations in Quebec-Labrador trough. This was basically an attempt to gain access to raw supplies and to support private enterprise operations in the area of the province. In the year 1966, SIDBEC conducted studies to discuss location of an iron and steel industry. In March 1968, Dominion Steel and Coal company- including the three plants in Quebec and the one in Ontario (DOSCO), a major iron and steel company in the province of Nova Scotia, was absorbed by SIDBEC. This action of state represented significant reorientation of the regional activity in eastern Canada with the withdrawal of capital and development from Maritimes and its relocation to Quebec. In the year 1971, DOSCO changed its name to SIDBEC-DOSCO and a major steel plant was than inaugurated at Contrecoeur which was some 35km downstream from Montreal on St. Lawrence River. In city of Montreal SIDBEC created series of processing complexes which complemented major primary steel making at Contrecoeur.

Bradbury (1982) further states that in 1978, the Contrecoeur works produced 800,000 tons of billet and slab steel. Another Montreal subsidiary in 1973 (SIDBEC-FERUNI), together with scrap purchasing units, completed the integrated production capacity of state firm. The entry into the multinational phase was achieved through the creation of SIDBEC international division involved in selling iron ore concentrates and in collecting, selling and preparing light and heavy scraps steel. A

subsidiary of (SIDBEC-NORMINES) was than founded in the year 1974 to mine, concentrate, and pelletize Quebec iron ore. This subsidiary and mining projects on north shore were an integrated mining and primary processing unit as shown in the above figure. The new mines operation was at Fire Lake on north shore of St. Lawrence River 225 miles to south of the Fire Lake mine as shown in the figure above. These subsidiaries such as SIDBEC-NORMINES were composed of SIDBEC (50.1) percent, British government steel owned company (41.67) percent, and the Quebec-Cartier Mining Company (8.23) percent which is a subsidiary of U.S steel corporation. In the year 1977, the pelletizing plant, operating at 85 percent of its capacity produced 6 million tons of iron oxide pellets, operating at 85 percent of which 3 million were destined for SIDBEC steel plants in Quebec. These programs fulfilled the state's objectives of local ore extraction and production of steel within boundaries of the province. This growth did not occur without issues, however, and accumulated losses by 1979 were mainly due to operating losses on steel production and heavy investment in mining activities at dollar 45.7 millions.

In Quebec, the state played a significant role in any involvement with local and foreign industrial and mining capital (Bradbury 1974). By means of these state corporations a major attempt has been made to promote foreign investments in petroleum and mining. Thus, state played a comprador role between internal and external capital, and operated in support of local industrial capital which is served by state expenditures in research and infrastructure. The more direct involvement in the petroleum and mining sector of Quebec was obvious in two major crown corporations: the Quebec Petroleum Operations Company (SOQUIP), and Quebec Mining Exploration Company (SOQUEM). The former was created in the year 1965; which is a joint stock company whose sole shareholder is the government of Quebec. Between the year 1965 and 1976 SOQUEM engaged in a total of 25 joint and autonomous projects, each requiring a minimum outlay of \$5,000,000. Twenty- two of their projects were managed by SOQUEM. In the year 1977 and 1978 SOQUEM created two more major projects which were Dauphin Salt Mines of the Magdalen Islands and gold bearing mines at Abitibi in which SOQUEM purchased 49 percent interest. The Magdalen salt mine involved the expenditure of \$5.7 million on site preparation, construction of service buildings, and transport and the port infrastructure. The object of the salt mine project was to provide salt for domestic and industrial consumption for Quebec from within the boundaries of province.

**Table 1****SOQUEM- Location of operations and Patterns of Investments in Quebec Minerals Sector**

Project name & Location	Partner Organization	SOQUEM & Interest	SOQUEM contribution 1977	SOQUEM Accumulated Contribution upto 1977	Exploration/ Production Type	Year starts
Madeleine Islands(MacLaine & Dauphin)	–	90	\$554,058	\$5,618,206	Salt Mine	1978
–	Nd	–	\$41,744	\$763,217	Iron Chromium	1968
Saint-Urbain (Charlevoix)	Tiron Chemical Corporation	50	\$20,106	\$382,916	Metals to Chemicals	1971
Saint-Honore (Chicoutimi)	Copperfield Mining Corporation	50	\$7,069	\$60,005	Rare Metals	1974
Silverstack (Abitibi)	Silverstack	49	\$23,710	\$1,068,797	Base Metals	1972
Brompton (Estrie)	Nd	Nd	\$32,137	\$104,992	Base Metals	1975
Esperance (Abitibi)	Nd	Nd	\$39,649	\$39,649	Base Metals	1976
Graven (Abitibi)	Nd	Nd	\$73,182	\$116,183	Base Metals	1974
Mathieu (Abitibi)	Nd	Nd	\$14,622	\$14,622	Base Metals	1976
Mc Kenzie (James Bay)	Nd	Nd	\$67,637	\$83,910	Base Metals	1975
Spectrometrie (Haut-Saguenay)	Nd	Nd	\$50,132	\$203,981	Uranium	1975
Crevier	Nd	Nd	\$102,880	\$307,396	Uranium	1975

Sept-Lieux (James Bay)	Union Miniere Exploratio ns & Mining Ltd.(UME X)	50	\$65,059	\$303,583	Base Metals	197 3
Saint-Armand (Estrie)	Rio-Tinto Can. Exploratio n Ltd.	90	\$21,389	\$130,275	Uranium Search	196 9
Victorian (James Bay)	Gulf Minerals Ltd. & Hydro Quebec	33-1/3	\$288,997	\$314,699	Uranium Search	197 4
Lac Indicateur (Northern Quebec)	Rio-Tinto Can. Exploration Ltd.	40	\$51,196	\$239,860	Uranium Search	196 8
Vanier (James Bay)	Societe de Development de la Baie- James (SDBJ)	49	\$89,531	\$151,438	Base Metals	197 5
Normetal (Abitibi)	SDBJ	49	\$85,950	\$85,950	Base Metals	197 6
Manic (North Coast)	Instituto Nacional de Industria	50	\$652,464	\$682,660	Uranium & Base Metals	197 6
(Laurentides)	James Bay Co. Mac Laren Ltd	50	\$50,104	\$50,104	Uranium	197 6
Camae (Abitibi)	Noranda Mines Ltd.	40	\$5,626	\$154,588	Base Metals	197 3
Waite (Abitibi)	Noranda Mines Ltd.	40	\$113,448	\$199,542	Base Metals	197 4
Vauze (Abitibi)	Noranda Mines Ltd.	40	\$2,448	\$113,813	Base Metals	197 4
Mouska (Abitibi)	Noranda Mines Ltd.	53.2	\$31,324	\$237,761	Base Metals	197 3

**Source:** SOQUEM-Annual Reports, 1976-78.

(nd-no data)

Bradbury (1974) further says that this exploration company is essentially a development-promotion state corporation involved in joint enterprises in production and search of minerals in Quebec. In the year 1978, 50 percent of SOQUEM's expenses were used in the development of existing discoveries while only 36 percent were involved in exploration and acquisition of additional mining rights and interests. For example, in 1978 the regional spread of SOQUEM's focus embraced parts of North West Quebec (52 percent), the Saguenay, Lac Saint- Jean, and North Shore (27 percent), New Quebec (16 percent), and Appalachian region (5 percent). The table 1 further shows details of the spatial organization of SOQUEM as well as types of partnerships which exist with private enterprise and location of mineralization. Here, the objective was to expand frontier regions of Quebec, to reinforce the growth of external capital and to build up knowledge of the mineral stock inside the boundaries of province. This petroleum company, SOQUIP, also supported the efforts of capital by supplying research, finance and expertise and by supplying the opportunities for the joint ventures in petroleum developments in Quebec. This was formed in the year 1969. In years, between 1970 and 1977 SOQUIP invested a total of \$ 31 million in exploration of which 68 percent or \$21 million was in Quebec. The major achievements which have been made were the discovery of natural gas near Quebec city and in province of Alberta. This petroleum company was formed to promote systematic exploration of frontier areas and the previously little or unexplored sedimentary basins in Quebec. As on March 1973, SOQUIP held a total of 35.1 million acres in Quebec. It has explored the petroleum signs in 13.7 million acres in conjunction with the eleven private companies, and in addition, it has explored 28.3 million acres by itself. By the year 1976 and 1977, the corporation has extended its mandate to general resource use policy, the long term energy supplies and development of hydro-electricity. The state enterprises of this nature in Quebec are a hybrid of private and state enterprise, pursuing regional and national goals whilst at the same time trying to remain financially viable, or at the very least financially solvent. In the period between 1970 and 1977, SOQUIP invested \$31 million in the exploration of petroleum and of this amount \$21 million that is 68 percent was spent in Quebec. Further, \$6 million was spent in maritime provinces (19 percent) and \$4 million in western Canada (13 percent) (Bradbury 1982: 57). The company took the search to the hinterlands of the province, and into the seabed of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and into Magdalen Islands' region as shown in figure 2. In Quebec a



natural gas reserve of 10 billion cubic feet at St. Flavian near Quebec City was discovered. SOQUIP's investments in Quebec and in Maritimes had not produced revenues in the year 1978. These various energy reserves, owned and operated outside the region ostensibly belonging to provincial crown corporation in Quebec, are pipelined to Quebec. Here, the interaction occurred with number of international oil and gas companies operating in the province of Alberta, some 2000 miles to the west of Quebec. Hence, within province of Quebec there has been a penetration of new state corporations into the rural and backward areas, especially into older, declining resource extraction areas and into frontier zones especially in the mining and petroleum sectors, and in James Bay development region. Here, steel industry, extraction and primary processing plants were located close to the source of raw materials, while steel manufacturing units were constructed close to city of Montreal. This success of steel industry needs further research, but it is clear that objective of "maitre chez nous" (Master in our own house) entered into development rationale of Quiet Revolution.

### **Social Planning and Welfare Policy**

The social welfare policy delivery system before Premier Daniel Johnson's period (1966-68) reflected decelerated growth (Rocher 1965). His actions were conservative and incompatible with his own stated assumptions to some extent. But generally, the system was improved by Johnson, and his activities continued to advance Quiet Revolution. To analyse correctly Johnson's actions, one must review some of the main social service developments under Jean Lesage produced by liberals. In essence, the whole social system was simplified. They modernized government services and implemented universal social programs and interventions that were far-reaching. In 1960s, they set up a universal hospitalization plan based on Claude Castonguay's suggestions. His reports suggested a universal scheme backed by contributions from both the federal and provincial governments. The Department of Health has been upgraded and its immunization and tracking patterns were improved. Government preventive drugs have also been upgraded. Lesage set up a Pension Plan in 1965 for Quebec. It was Canada Pension Plan's provincial corollary in Quebec. This program in Quebec was universal to all, compulsory, and based on population contributions. The scheme was transferable, providing geographical and occupational mobility to

Quebeckers. Thus, it was true to say that the State of Quebec became a servant of public requirements under Lesage's administration.

During Quiet Revolution's early phase Johnson who succeeded Jean Lesage, opposed the expenditure of endless civil measures taken during that time. He disputed the universal nature of many inventions and price sharing. He criticized to the hospitalization system because it was a universal arrangement that served those who were able to provide it for themselves. He always disapproves the fact that people, even those who didn't need to be, was covered and levied. He thought the taxation characteristic of the scheme formed a "new" poor to provide free and "superfluous" ancient wealthy coverage. Johnson criticized Quebec Pension scheme for its repetition and damaging economic impact. Dupont-Committee's Report had explored the effect of the plan on the economy that he endorsed. He asserted, 'Small companies had to contribute to their staff's plan after all.' To him, everyone was taxed unnecessarily to provide a service that was not needed by all.

Rocher (1965) further observes that Johnson had favored what one would call distributive honesty in the field of social service. It was more viable and adopted by him economically. However, Johnson did not change universality, gross expenditure or cost sharing in the region of social service after succeeding Lesage authority. The programs have been retained but few new schemes have been developed and there has been a decline rate of innovation in the social welfare plan. Hospitalization plan was not changed, however, and there was no introduction of a means test. The program's global nature has not altered and some of the economic quarrels between Quebec City and Ottawa have happened over the facet of cost sharing and the nature of the provided services. Ultimately, "toto" was retained the hospitalization system. The plan for Quebec has not been changed. Indeed, in April 1967, when Quebec Family Allowance Act proclaimed, Johnson launched his own universal social system. To promote the scheme, the people were taxed and the beneficiaries got the advantages without having to demonstrate the necessity. But the scheme had a version of selective justice and it widely supplied resources for families with kids of school age up to the age of 16. This has helped people with low incomes and bachelor adults earning less than \$4000 a year and those responsible for raising a family. The Quebec Housing Corporation Act was created a law in the year of June 1967. This

was a restricted plan to help build low-cost homes. This act gave the Minister of Finance power to establish \$500,000 capital to secure civic allowance assured for the acquisition and improvement of property and construction in manner that aided low-cost housing. This amount was meager, but some municipalities, particularly urban communities in Montreal and Quebec, took advantage of the duty. Although the change was traditionalist, in the field of social service it was necessary. As mentioned previously, Johnson has not adjusted the social service sector gross spending.

The figure shows the social welfare expenditure in thousands of dollars and the percentage distribution of social service expenditure which is relevant to cost of 1963 and 1969.

**Table-2**

(Expenditure of the province of Quebec)

Social Welfare Expenditure	Thousands of dollars
1963/1964	130.4
1964/1965	156.2
1965/1966	207.5
1966/1967	230.8
1967/1968	350.2
1968/1969	413.2

**Source:** Quebec year book 1972. p.817.

**Table-3**

(Expenditure of the province of Quebec)

Percentage Distribution of Social Service	Expenditure Related to Budget
1963/1964	11.9
1964/1965	10.9
1965/1966	11.2
1966/1967	10.9
1967/1968	14.0
1968/1969	14.9

**Source:** Quebec year book 1972. p.818.

All in all, programming and innovation in the social service strategy slowed down, resulting in fewer fresh programs being installed. In general, the pace of social planning policy and development decreased during the Silent Revolution, industrial growth renounced and the actions took by Johnson during that period in the area of social services were well planned and brought an enormous change in Quebec. Nationalization electricity, general investment corporation, state control iron and steel production and mining are significant developments during Quiet Revolution. In addition, the state corporation set up by the government stimulated industries preventing their decline especially the lumber pulp production in Quebec.

Social health measures took place during that time and major problems have been addressed, but more conservative methods have been used. These methods were adopted that were more compatible with the philosophy and tradition of the long-standing *Union Nationale Parti*. In the early years of the Silent Revolution, Johnson did not stop the course of development that began. Indeed, violence is neither subjected to the formal political rhetoric nor comprised of political culture domination that allowed Quiet Revolution to pursue the two main elements of Quebec nationalism and social health measures. (Johnson 1965:9).

### **Conclusion**

In the above chapter the various causes and consequences of Quiet Revolution is analyzed. One of the main consequences of the Revolution was 'new nationalism'. The chapter discusses modernization of Quebec nationalism with the development of new industries such as SIDBEC, DOSCO, Iron and Steel Industry and equal rights for workers among other changes resulting in a 'pure' Quebec. The next chapter examines the impacts of Quiet Revolution on education with its new reforms and the changes which took place thereby.

## **Chapter III**

### **Impact of Quiet Revolution on Education**

The 1960s is considered as a watershed in the history of Quebec, for it was during this decade that traditional culture of Quebec was challenged and changed. Religion and the social mores were contested by the cultural onslaught of modernization, liberalism and secularism. The decade was marked by decline and domination of Roman Catholic Church as a centre of influence in temporal affairs including education. The uniqueness of Quiet Revolution was that though there was a departure of the Churches from the temporal sector, it was not accompanied by excesses of anti-clericalism which tore France in late nineteenth century. Nor was there demise of the temporal church as a result of the government design to remove the ecclesiastical voice from public affairs. Though, ironically the Church in Quebec saw its power neutralized by modern society's most effective weapon, public indifference. In this sense, the Church as a temporal authority was declared expendable in the scheme of things and was pensioned off (Seljak 1996: 23). Quebec history yielded to an emerging secularism and loss of Church domination, which was a major impact of the Quiet Revolution.

Quebec's decision to travel the road of secularism and modernization has had the effect of thrusting the political State into a position of greater authority and power. As the evolving state inherited responsibilities and social leadership of the declining Church, the structures of society assumed a more public character. Another major impact of Quiet Revolution in the late 1960s was the emergence of powerful public authority in establishment of civil marriage, divorce courts, public medical health scheme and education. One can say that the private and religious person of Quebec in the past gave way to the public and the secular person of Quebec in the present. The growth of State power was observed as most dramatic in education where the public authority displaced private authority. The establishment of the Department of Education, in the year 1964, as the responsible agency for all education in province of Quebec confirmed the fact. The reforms of 1960s, however, went beyond purely managerial aspects of education. The primary importance was the transformation of French Canadian education from an elitist system serving only a limited population to a broad-based system embracing the total school-age population. Before 1960,

Quebec school system suffered the distinction of having the lowest pupil retention rate in Canada, but by late 1960s the holding power of Quebec schools was among greatest in the country (Jones 1997: 4).

The present chapter makes an attempt to analyze the history of Quebec's higher education scheme and the reforms that contributed to enhance the performance of education in the province. Education in Quebec has always been a site of social and political transformation; most lately, the reassessment of the role of schooling in the province disclosed a tension between ideologically opposed concepts of higher education as a private good or government service. The debate on education in Quebec has been particularly fierce in Quebec, raising questions about the reforms, financing, quality of access and educational philosophies relevant to modern education systems across Canada and entire globe.

### **Parent Commission Report**

This section discusses the creation of Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education. According to scholars such as Buteau (1962) one of the main occurrences of Quebec's political and social revolution was the establishment of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in 1961. The release of its Report, frequently referred to as the Parent Report after chairman, Mgr. Alphonse Parent initiated an educational reform that continues to this day in its vital characteristics. Mgr. Parent who expired in October 1970 was of the view that it would take ten to fifteen years to implement the Report's suggestions. It was then a suitable moment for an inventory of the outcomes as seen by the commissioners themselves and by some important staff in the provincial policy making of education.

Parent Report was made with a motive to formally recognize Quebecer's rights to have equal possibilities for greater schooling and better research programs in Quebec. The creation of an accountable Ministry of Education, and the principle of versatility directed at eliminating existing parallel systems that prevented any form of academic reorientation was a part of its suggestions. The implementation of secondary level comprehensiveness and the development of a multi-purpose post-secondary level represent the Report's important breakthrough as these inventions were likely to

encourage company and technological careers so badly required to boost the economy of Quebec.

When the liberal government came to power in 1960s, reforms in education were given higher priority (Lamantagne 1968). To that end, a Royal Commission was charged with responsibility of monitoring the State Education in Quebec and recommending appropriate changes. An Act of Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec, sanctioned on 24<sup>th</sup> March, 1961 (Bill 31 of the 1960-61 session), established Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education under the chairmanship of Parent. The mandate of the Parent Commission was clearly set out in Part I of the Act: “To study the organization and then financing of education in province of Quebec, to report its findings and opinions and submit recommendations as measures taken to ensure the progress of education in the Province” (Parent Commission 1961: 21).

The work of the Commission was divided into following broad categories: To set up the Ministry of Education and to determine scope and powers of a Superior Council of Education; to decide what kind of educational system would be best for Quebec; examine carefully existing system and the other systems of education; explore the teaching methods and coordinating them with current thinking on child psychology; finance the reforms and providing for their continuation.

These broad categories listed above gives the impression that the Commission’s work was organized systematically and carried out well. The most difficult element was the suggested establishment of a Ministry of Education. It intended to remove education, one of the most significant portfolios, from the protection of a nominated superintendent in order to lay it beneath the aegis of an elected accountable education minister who would have to clarify and defend his policies and choices. However, to prevent any pitfalls of a scheme that was unsuccessfully attempted in the nineteenth century, the suggestion for one minister to direct one education scheme had to be accompanied by an allowance for cultural and religious differences. These consecutive four principles formed the Report's seminal ideas: Firstly, the institute should focus mainly on the student and on the sequence of parent-student-teacher rather than on administrative, structural and curriculum issues. Secondly, Quebec's colleges should be viewed from a universal view in the sense that they should be open

and tailored to everyone, regardless of creed, cultural origin, gender, language, and age. Thirdly, society as a whole should be accountable for teaching young people's costs. Private companies have almost solely borne this burden for too long. Fourthly, the Parent Report showed that attention should be given in Quebec to the late social dynamics resulting from irreversible urbanization procedures and the creation of new organizations. In the first portion of the report, which dealt primarily with principles and designs, these four ideas were included. Because of this, the first portion is of higher standards than the following volumes that have already become outdated as they outline more practical administrative information that no longer suit the rapid development of the new instructional schemes. In particular, the significance of the different components of the report relies on the importance of the stages and issues that have developed since 1964 through the classroom. Nevertheless, its fundamental value was a fresh kind of humanism and the trend towards democratization of education and coordination that permeated the report. A suggestion that started a motion towards a fresh perspective of the social function of education in Quebec was to entrust education, such as trade and agriculture, to a minister who was accountable before the National Assembly and the public. The importance of the report was the unique issue that was not and could not be drawn to sophisticated academic studies and careers for that section of the college clientele. The report has three exceptional characteristics: first, the main concern to promote an individual student's welfare, displayed throughout the different suggestions for improving school equipment. Secondly, the seriousness shown in breaking down the strict restrictive circumstances prevailing in most academic environments and in enabling individualized classroom patterns. Thirdly, the realistic approach to addressing the issues of school administration and proposing a golden mean between extremely centralized and extremely de-centralized models examined by commissioners in different areas of the globe. Furthermore, the economic solution proposed by the commissioners demonstrated their sensitivity to the dual need to relieve their relatives from some of the burdensome expenses while encouraging them to be strongly interested educational consumers. The Report's essential value lies primarily in emphasizing the need to humanize institutional education and align school activities with the requirements of Quebec's modern and future lifestyles. The insistence on wide training and its cautious reminder that the children will become adults in practically unknown occupations, showed the Commissioners foresight. Lastly, the fact that the



last report of the Education Council, the Educational Activity, developed a theme initially developed in the Parent Report demonstrated the significance of the Report (Baron 1962:24).

Baron (1962) observes that the second stage of growth that of educational reform theorizing started with the publishing of the technical and vocational educational committee's two-volume report. The technical-vocational education committee, chaired by Tremblay, the person who was recognized as the architect of the Department of Education of Quebec, was to have a significant effect on the tone and direction of the educational amendments of the Province. This required to examine the entire technical-vocational education operational framework and to report back to the Royal Commission of Enquiry, the report of the Committee did not slim down phrases. Therefore, planning, direct participation of government and enhanced standards were needed. Several less important reports were prepared by commissions on continuing schooling, physical learning and leisure time, while others supplied key data that Mgr. used in preparing five volumes, parent and his commissioners. This Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, commonly referred to as the Parent Report, suggested a structural reform strategy. Aware of the issues caused by growing numbers of learners, by the scientific and technological revolution influencing the Western world, by altering living circumstances throughout North America, and by accelerating the change in intellectual attitudes, the commissioners called for the development in Quebec of a centrally directed college scheme that would guarantee equality of opportunities for fundamental education for all; improved accessibility; and schooling in a changing Quebec culture. The Report laid out in detail its plan for a Department of Education and a recognized college system that brought the learner from pre-school to university with a multitude of permutations and consolidations offered by extensive colleges, institutes and a range of possibilities for continuing education. Also discovered in countless corollary elements dealt with in the study was the organizational pattern that ran so strongly throughout these suggestions. It seemed possible to address every issue through appropriate planning and guided activity from the issue of involvement to all means of education. Coming as it did in the genesis of the Quiet Revolution; the Parent Report was a good illustration of the attitude to schemes that seemed to underlie the spurt of reform activity in transforming Quebec. The change was based on

comprehensive master plans that allegedly took all possible eventualities into consideration. Further studies were added to the already remarkable inventory of reform suggestions as one volume after another of the Parent Report emerged and as suggested amendments received government hearings. These studies have often been extended from the newly established Department of Education with current ideas. Of particular note was the series of 'Education Documents,' which offered precise discourse on comprehensive learning, common and vocational education colleges, and funding for education. While all this took place, other studies complemented the job of the Parent Commission and lately established Education Department (Blanc 1960: 21).

### **Implementation of Parent Commission and its Evaluation**

A reorganized education system was one of the principal institutional accomplishments of Quiet Revolution and resulted from a reform which aimed to modernize and democratize the school system. The Quebecois government created the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec known as the Parent Commission in 1963, to tackle the problems of its education scheme. The Parent Commission's work took place over a three-year period and involved comprehensive gathering of data through government hearings, specialist views, and site visits to organizations across Quebec and other provinces and nations (Edwards 1990:2). Ultimately, the Parent Commission had two suggestions for reforms; first, a cabinet minister should be assigned to provincial government and made accountable for supervising all elements of schooling; second, a Superior Education Council should be set up to act as an advisory body, helping to create the priorities set by the Minister of Education. This report approved that "college level enrolments be increased from 16 percent of the population to 45 percent and that university-level places be increased to accommodate at least 20 percent from 7 percent in attendance in 1961" (Jones 1997: 165-166).

This report also recommended that a unified college sector, *Colleges d'Enseignement general et professionnel*(CEGEPs)be created. CEGEPS would then start at grade 11 and it was anticipated that each CEGEPS would offer three-year sophisticated technical training programs leading to workplace and two-year pre-university programs aimed at preparing learners for general education or specific university

skills. These pre-university programs were the only way Quebecers could access the province's higher education. Not only the Parent Commission analyzed the financial consequences of growing involvement in higher learning; it also recognized and appreciated 'cultural diversity', which is humanistic, technical, scientific and cultural, and the necessity to instill distinct ways of perceiving reality in learners ' (Jones 1997: 168).

One manifestation of the mandate was that teacher training started to include psychology in their curriculum so that teachers could comprehend students' growth and assist them develop into critical thinkers with a complicated knowledge of culture. According to the second volume of the Report, the seminars, group conversations, private and joint initiatives were to be used by university educators to offer instruction as activists, the vibrant atmosphere that would require learners to express themselves and participate (Jones 1997: 179).

Kattackal (1976) points out that the Parent Commission Report was the one received by the government of the province, and as a result some of its recommendations were implemented without much delay. The recommendation of the Commission that Department of Public Instruction be amalgamated with the Department of Youth to create a new Department of Education was implemented in 1964. Superior Council of Education was formed with its various committees to act as a public consultative body to advise Minister of Education. In accordance with the recommendation of the Parent Report, the old systems of fragmented regional and local school commissions were replaced by a uniform administrative structure made up of school committee, Council of School Development and Regional Commission. In keeping with the recommendations of the committee with regard to programs of studies and organizations of schools, six year elementary programs followed by five year secondary programs were set up. Besides, there was a new kind of institution, called an 'institute' to begin with and later named as *College d' Enseignement General et Professionnel* now commonly called CEGEPs that was established to provide a two-year post secondary program leading to the University entrance.

Buteau (1961) points out that the fundamental concepts of the Parent Commission Report were recognition officially of the right of Quebecers to provide them with equal opportunities for higher education and better citizens of the province, to

establish a responsible Ministry of Education. The introduction of polyvalent post-secondary schools constituted a significant breakthrough because of innovations which promoted business technology in career advancement which was needed badly to invigorate the economy of Quebec. The appointment and coordination of the Minister of Education was one of the Report's specific tasks. Its objective was to overcome fallacious elitism and to promote universal accessibility through learning at all levels with an articulated network of organizations. The report implemented many changes in Quebec with the appointment of Minister of Education. It overcame the fallacious elitism during Quiet Revolution; it promoted universal accessibility for various levels of education; introduced the post-secondary and pre-university programs; the ministers must reach agreement on goals that were not only consistent with contemporary trends in education, but also adapted to Quebec's own economic and social development patterns. The most significant and fundamental proposition that worried the urgency of setting up a system was universal, diversified and with continuous learning for Quebecers. The system was essential to improve existing situations in schools with unfair equipment, insufficient resources and restricted services for a big part of the population.

Many of the recommendations of the Report regarding elementary and secondary education were not actualized in the spirit with which they were formulated:

There were two reasons: firstly the commissioners' overlooked the sociological and psychological consequences of reducing elementary education to six years; secondly, the effects of the centralization of secondary education. The Ministry was too hasty in building up large schools designed to give priority to the administrative aims rather than to the well-being of students and teachers. This deleterious effect of the present impersonal atmosphere was so flagrant that the Minister, supported by Superior Council, had to proclaim humanization of the schools as a slogan for the school year 1971-72 in Quebec. The second area of concern was that the teachers should be given more assistance in developing their competence, more freedom, greater powers of decision-making, and more recognition by administrators and parents. Finally, *CEGEPS* did not develop according to expectations. The heavy three year program in certain professional branches compared with two year program for pre-university students seems to have contributed, together with inadequate projections of student vocational choices, to mar original intent in introducing this intermediary level in Quebec (Buteau 1961: 23).

## **The Superior Council of Education**

The second important recommendation of Parent Report was the introduction of Superior Council of Education which acts as an advisory and consultative body to the Minister. The Council was so formulated as “the keystone of a vast system of consultation through which the actions that the Department of Education has the duty to undertake in the interests of true progress in Quebec Education may become deeply rooted in every level of society and in every region thus to attain its objectives, the Department of Education has to meet an immense challenge” (Superior Council of Education; 1966: 9). For educational policies to be efficient, participation was a crucial factor. The first annual report of the Council (1964-1965), entitled *Participation in Educational Planning*, began with the changes which gave rise to certain disorder causing confusion, distress and anxiety. The rapid urbanization and industrialization came with new and innovative ideas which were identified as a contributing factor in socializing movement during Quiet Revolution. Education became one of the foremost duties of State and

“thus education required guidance and hence were under the State Control. One of the latter’s basic tasks consists in making provision for drawing up the plan, accepting it and putting it into operation according to the pre determined stages. Moreover, major decisions in the field of Education have a political side and in modern society, education is at the centre of everything. It engages the future of the nation as well as that of each citizen and the financial demands for Education has become very significant” (Superior Council of Education 1966: 11).

The Superior Council brought down the barriers between educational sectors and to reduce the distances, which were often seen to paralyze communication. The philosophy led to the organization of Council with four Commissions appointed to study issues in the field of elementary, secondary, technical and vocational, and higher education and two confessional committees (Catholic and Protestant) were the watchdogs for all religious aspects of education. In higher education, there was variety of problems which were examined in the first year of Council. The Commission of higher Education listed various problems which require a study, some of which are as follows: university autonomy and academic freedom; relations between the universities and State; rules and Standards of admission to colleges and universities; appointment of various faculties in colleges and universities; equivalence

between Canadian university faculties and those who were abroad; requirement of professional licensing bodies in international teaching.

There was a special Committee reporting to the Council on pre-university and vocational education which recommended establishments with dynamic social climate in which fifty percent to seventy percent of Quebec adolescents from the age of fifteen to nineteen years would take different programs while able to meet each other in the institutions. The report detailed steps to the establishment of *CEGEPS*, starting with the formation of public corporations consisting of the local groups and organizations. Hence, the first step of recommendation of Superior Council was both far reaching and practical (Superior Council of Education 1966: 12).

According to Jones (1997) the ministry of the Higher Education Council remained to represent the spirit of the Parent Report, even though the former had already been led by five distinct ministers and the latter had two presidents. Similarly, with the exception of the restructuring of school systems in Montreal, the gradual coordination of all academic levels in Quebec and the regionalization of school administration followed the instructions provided by the Report. This scheme essentially developed consistently across the province according to the report's fundamental design. While there were some variations, deviations, and amplifications arising from the need for adaptation, these related to modality rather than fundamental ideas. These commissioners have been sufficiently realistic to understand that public opinion tends to distort the original intent of their suggestions. This explained why some suggestions are not implemented, but generally the development is in line with the proposals, at least from the point of view of administrative structures. The congruence can be clarified by the reality that in 1961 Paul Gerin Lajoie was the principal promoter of the Parent Commission Report and was the first education minister in 1964. These distinctions can be ascribed, at least in part, to the different scheduling boards established by the Deputy Minister within the Department of Education. These seemed to be counterchecks to the Superior Council at first example, and their institution was a source of significant anxiety to the commissioners for a time period. In the other areas, the Protestant and Catholic committees, the only two bodies with regulatory powers proposed by the Commission, have not contended their perquisite as much as they might have been

able to do, the emerging *CEGEPS* did not match the report's intention, and it is only much later that attempts were made to streamline universities.

It might be possible to line up the two sequences of positive and negative components. First of all, the ministry was created according to the design of the records. Secondly, the democratization of education was accomplished to a large extent, taking into account innovations such as free textbooks in elementary and secondary schools, tuition-free pre-university education, enhanced economic support in the form of loans and bursaries, extensive programs commonly accepted at the secondary and post-secondary levels, the completion of an educational focused program and increasing parental involvement in school board affairs. Third, ongoing schooling expanded and served an increasing clientele of all ages across the province. Fourth, teacher training institutes merged with colleges. There were also some adverse aspects that the ministry was itself a unified structure, but it failed to unite Quebec society's pluralistic and multi-ethnic aspects.

An overview of the instructional scheme in Quebec was provided in the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education report. It was agreed that the various geographical, historical, political, social, economic, religious and the cultural forces influence and affect the character and development of the educational systems in different parts of the world. Canada or Quebec was no exception. In spite of this stifling political conservatism, by mid 20<sup>th</sup> century several voices were raised in certain quarters for altering status quo and moving towards a more modern society in Quebec. This impact of various forces in Quebec came to be termed as 'Quiet Revolution' and in political terms, the liberal party which was led by Jean Lesage, symbolized some of the elements of this quiet revolution. The majority of people in Quebec desired change for the better. The liberals who won the provincial election in June 1960 undertook to bring about peaceful revolution through the instrumentality of education as one of the chief weapons. For achieving these goals altogether, the liberal party enacted a series of laws, collectively known as *Grande Charte de l'Education* (Magna Carta of Education).

However, as Magnuson (1970) writes: "These laws were so designed to solve the most pressing educational problems--to repair rather than reform education." The Parent Commission's suggestions reflected the contemporary value that Quebec took

hold in the 1960s. Schooling was no longer regarded as a luxury, but a right, and the State wanted everyone to have the same possibilities to take advantage of it. With this in mind, the provincial government has put higher emphasis on free education and advance school building. The government took control of the institutions and started secularizing, to attain all these goals. Many of the Parent Commission's suggestions have been enacted by the government.

First twelve francophone CEGEPS were opened in 1967, with the additional eleven in the subsequent year, accommodating thirty-eight thousand students. With these developments of CEGEPS, the universities of Quebec were to reduce their undergraduate programs from four to three years. This was done especially to free them to focus on the development of graduate research and teaching. The fourth and final volumes of the report had recommended that research money be made available and the alumni be called upon to aid in education. Soon after the release of the report, the two Catholic universities, Montreal and Laval, were secularized, in 1965 and 1970 respectively. A scientist was appointed as a rector at University of Montreal which assured attention to the development of science and technology programs. The democratization recommended by Parent Commission was echoed in sixties in the demand of students for representation of the governing bodies of universities and CEGEPS (Edwards 1990:169).

At Mc Gill University, some of the students were elected to serve on Senate, and by the end of the decade, were providing the evaluations of their professors' teaching. At Dawson College, the students were members of the Board of Directors and the student unity was reflected in the student's protests and movement of October 1968. Fifteen francophone CEGEPS were occupied by students. At the University of Montreal students' boycotted classes and at Mc Gill students passed resolutions in support. In 1969, the major concern for students was that a second French university in Montreal was not open in time to receive the expanded cohort of students graduating from the CEGEPS. To increase access to university, the University of Quebec was formed in 1969, with its campuses in *Trois-Rivieres*, Chicoutimi, Rimouski and Montreal (Magnuson 1980: 170).



## **Educational Reforms in Quebec Society**

Educational reform has preoccupied many policy makers, analysts and educators for many years in Quebec, as various 'waves of reform' have swept in and out of the field of education. In this section, an attempt is made to analyze the various reforms of educational governance in Quebec. The concern for schooling has been highly politicized and has acquired a nationalist tone as a consequence. Learning was marked as vital to Quebec's social and modern development; right from the inauguration of the revamping scheme in 1960. Considering the educational changes that affected some people's conservative views, it had achieved nationalist overtones and Johnson tried to do a "volte face" to encourage the growth of the school system.

Lajoie (1989) who was the advocate for the Bill 60 indicates that the system of education had undergone profound modifications during 1960s as a part of a movement towards modernization and democratization. Though the education level was highly increased, the ideal of democratization was not attained entirely. After the reorganization of public sector, there was a resurgence of the private education, particularly at secondary level. The current educational system is one of the principal institutional achievements of the Quiet Revolution and this resulted from a reform whose aim was to modernize and democratize the school system. This reform eventually took place when the baby-boom cohorts were reaching the school age. Although, the essential part of the restructuring of education took place between the creation of Royal Commission of query on schooling, in the year 1960, and with it the creation of University of Quebec, in December 1968. This commission published its reports, which was known collectively as "Rapport Parent", between the year 1963 and 1966. The creation of commission has been the result of various analysis, observation, opinions and criticisms which was published by an increasing number of persons and the groups during 1940s and 1950s regarding the low level of education of the population, and the poor performance of many schools, and inconsistency of the educational system during that period. The first initiative was the Commission of Inquiry on the constitutional and fiscal problems, which was created in 1953. To take initial corrective measures, the government duly assigned responsibility for financing education, to the *Ministers de la Jeunesse* in 1960s (Lajoie 1989:27).

The government created the Ministers of the Education in 1964, without waiting to hear all of the Commission's recommendations, thus setting underway a series of institutional and administrative changes. Two of the public educational structures, however, were left intact at both primary and secondary levels: the Catholic and Protestant school boards. The educational institutions had several objectives and in area of general secondary education by replacing *college classiques* which were then considered to be elitist and outdated in their way of teaching. In addition, CEGEPS has integrated vocational training programs. Those were of two types, firstly those which were retained from institutions that were replaced by CEGEPS for example nursing schools, and the new programs designed to respond to labor markets requiring more highly qualified human resources. Various numbers of CEGEPS adopted vocational programs which were based on main economic characteristics of their regions. These institutions were intended to encourage the certain degree of equality among students. The crowning achievement of these reforms was the creation of university of Quebec in 1968. Previously, these universities were located in only a few major centres. In order to promote higher education access; the Quebec's University was set up in various outlying centres, as well as in Montreal, where it was only one French-language university, though there were two English-language universities. Most other components were added on at a later stage. Several of these institutions were through integration into the universities of teacher training, which earlier had normal schools (Audet: 1971; Mellouki: 1989:266).

Langlois (1992) observes further that over a period of eight years, Quebec school system was completely remodeled. The previous system which was characterized by a scattering of jurisdictions, by very unequal accessibility to various institutions, and frequently by lack of consistency, was replaced by another system based on the modern concept of education, with greater accessibility, consistency between the components, a reduction in their number and variety, yet a powerful coordinating structure--the Ministry of Education, established in 1964. This institutional restructuring was then accompanied by various administrative measures which were aimed mainly at democratizing and of streamlining the school system. An effort was then made to reduce number of school boards, so that each would be sufficiently larger to offer an optimal range of wide services. At the same time, this network of regional school boards were completed and made responsible for occupational and

general secondary education; with local school boards in charge of the primary education.

The state was made the principal source of funds and financing of these schools was modified. This enabled many underprivileged regions to offer the same range and quality of services as did the wealthier ones. In addition to these, the governments adopted financial assistance for private teaching establishments. This has been the result of the reforms which aimed to democratize and modernize the education system of Quebec. The essential part of the restructuring took place between the creation of the commission on learning in 1960 and the Quebec's university in December 1968. This Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education was so created because of the criticisms and the opinions which were expressed by increasing number of persons and groups during 1940s and 1950s regarding the lower level of learning, the poor performances of many schools, and the inconsistency of the normal education system. To constitute initial disciplinary measures, the government assigned duty for education financing, to the provincial government which was previously authorized to Ministry of Youth in 1960. Without waiting to hear all the Commission's recommendations, the government created the Ministry of Education in 1964 thus setting out the institutional and the administrative changes. Two public educational structures, however, were left intact at the primary and secondary levels: which were the Catholic and Protestant school boards. In 1967, the government developed College of General and Vocational Education (CEGEPs) and these establishments had various objectives in the field of education. They reformed the general secondary education by replacing classical colleges, which were considered to be elitist and outdated in teaching. In addition, these CEGEPs organized vocational training programs which were generally of two types, the ones which retained from institutions that were replaced by nursing schools, and the new programs which were designed to respond to the labor market requiring highly qualified human resources. There were a number of CEGEPs which adopted vocational programs based on the economic characteristics of their regions. These organizations were intended to encourage a certain degree of equality among students. For example, there were certain number of basic courses taken by all students and the combined regional school boards (polyvalentes), within the regional school boards offered both general and vocational education. Both these kinds of education had a common core program.

Many courses were disaggregated and passing by subject was instituted to allow for every individual trajectory. At the same time, adult education was widely available, to provide adults with access to general or occupational training which they had not achieved earlier. One major final modification was establishment of the financial--assistance measures for students to improve access for post--secondary studies. Correspondingly, the Ministry of Education set up financial and the academic provisions for professional development of teaching personnel and froze the university tuition fees.

Unger (2013) observes that the reforms of the education over the previous half century have sought to tackle the consequences of transforming the system from an elite system to a mass education system that now provides almost common schooling to one and all. Recently, the role of education has disclosed a separate, intellectually opposed notion of higher education held in control by liberal government, university teachers, students, and other citizens of Quebec. In particular, the 1972 decision of the Charest government to increase tuition fees dramatically underlined Quebec's conflicting conviction on whether higher education was a private activity or a public service. It raised questions on its financing, availability and quality. This ongoing discussion on higher education and the university's role in society has been particularly strong and challenged in the province of Quebec, and as this chapter argues, it raises issues of access, financing, quality, and the educational philosophy relevant to modern education schemes in the province.

Quiet Revolution created a secular province based on an egalitarian philosophy that thinks in terms of the modernity of change and education. Quebeckers created a powerful artistic and cultural identity during that moment. Continued achievement and evolution of cultural and political events needed a higher educated population, and higher education restructuring became a main objective of educational reforms in Quebec. Before the Quiet Revolution, the province's post-secondary education scheme was a patchwork of organizations that pictured restricted access, elitist institutional philosophies, and highlighted differences towards education. Higher education confronted four main problems identified in the past as well as in the future: how to increase access to post-secondary education from the enterprise of government high schools; reorienting post-secondary education away from classical

and general studies to the new priorities of science and commerce and technology; establishing a consistent post-secondary education scheme that would incorporate a range of organizations and eliminate the disparities between French and English structures; and how to achieve all of these without inviting chaos and conflict between strong vested organizations of Church, colleges and conservative French and English elites (Henchey 1987: 100). Quiet Revolution influenced Quebec's higher education system through strong commitment towards higher education, the creation of a free, unified college sector—*College d'enseignement général et professionnel* (CEGEPs)—and a mutual knowledge of the significant role played by cultural and educational organizations in the defense and preservation of Quebec society in a predominant manner (Sorochan 2012: 6). Access to learning was recognized as a significant problem in greater schooling as Quebec's population increased in 1951 and 1961 by nearly thirty percent (Jones 1997: 231).

Magnuson (1970) observed that on the verge of the silent revolution in the year 1959-60, only 9.5 percent of Quebec five years old were enrolled in kindergarten. By the year 1967-68, the percentage of children which were enrolled in kindergarten had jumped to 62.9. The dramatic increase in number and percentage of pre-schoolers is partly traceable to a greater willingness of French-Canadian family to share with the school some of its traditional rearing functions. Increases in the secondary school enrolment were less pronounced but significant. In the year 1959-60, 61 percent of Quebec 13-16 year olds were in school. In 1967-68, the percentage had risen to 96.1, a figure which was bettered only by Ontario. With rise in secondary school enrolment came a subsequent increase in number and percentage of postsecondary school students in Quebec. In the year 1959-60, 10.2 percent of 18-24 age groups were attending school on full time basis. In 1967-68, the percentage of Quebec post-secondary students climbed to 18.9, the highest percentage in any single province that year. Looking at these university enrolment trends, it may be observed that Quiet Revolution opened the door of higher education for women. Thus, by 1967-68, women comprised almost one-third of Quebec university population. Coupled with the expanding school population were the creation of new schools and the reform of existing ones. In early 1960s, public secondary school education became a reality with abolition of fees. The decision to reshape the secondary schools along comprehensive lines brought Quebec high schools in line with those in rest of North

America. Furthermore, an entirely new institution came into being in 1967 with establishment of public, postsecondary colleges or CEGEPS (*colleges d'enseignement general et professionnel*), saw the public supplant the private authority at this level. Inserted between those of secondary and higher education, though separate and independent of both, CEGEPSs embraced the comprehensive school principle by offering pre-university and technical programs of study. In the first year of operation there were twelve CEGEPs serving around 14,219 students. In the year 1971-72, there were 36 institutions with a total student population of 74,616. Finally, the establishment at the end of the University of Quebec, the province's first full-fledged public university with the branches in Montreal, Trois Rivers, Chicoutimi, and Rimouski was yet another example of state expression and involvement in higher educational level that heretofore had been the preserve of private authorities.

Magnuson (1970) further pointed out that although the reforms of 1960s did not tamper with dual denominational character both of Catholics and Protestants of the public elementary and secondary education--a status that was protected by section 93--it would be misleading to suggest that public education in Quebec remains essentially religious. The legal niceties aside, and ignoring the continued provision for religious instruction in Catholic schools, Quebec public education became both secular in spirit and tone. The Church was the loser in the "cultural revolution" of 1960s because, among other things, it was unable to meet demands of a society which was bent on educational expansion and on making education available to all. The far reaching educational reforms of the 1960s were marked by emergence of the state as dominant authority in Quebec education, by development of a full-fledged popular system of education, and by building of a 6-5-2-3 educational ladder, representing four distinct levels—elementary, secondary, post-secondary, and university. One of the visible trends in Quebec education was the drift towards centralization as reflected by the government attempts to impose a greater measure of control and direction over schools at all major levels, and by the legislative action to replace small administrative school units by the larger ones. A brief look at university developments, Department of Education practices, and school board reorganization, illustrated this trend. The era of "rugged individualism" for Quebec universities was over. There was no doubt that the universities suffered a reduction in institutional autonomy at the hands of provincial government. What remained to be decided was

the extent of government intervention in the university affairs. All the universities of Quebec are heavily subsidized by government grants, which led to closer government scrutiny of university budgets. In 1964, when Quebec Department of Education was established, its sponsors saw it less as a move to vest educational power in a central authority than as a step to bring order to a chaotic educational set up. There was a growing suspicion that the policy of order is a euphemism for the educational centralization by concentrating the power and authority in the Department of Education. The schools in Quebec were flooded with Departmental directives and circulars, nominally described to explain the sectarian educational polity. The Quebec school reform of 1960s among other things, changed formal classroom procedures and teacher centered schools. In its place the reform called for a child-centered school free of the restraints of traditional school organization. But as the power accumulated in the Department of Education and regulations were issued in the name of uniformity and equality, it became increasingly difficult to visualize how the aims of the child-centered school could be met, implying as they do, freedom of action and flexible classroom organization. Another example of the educational centralization was reflected in the government policy to abolish small school boards, a trend, incidentally that was at work throughout North America. The rationale of such policy was the belief that the small administrative units lack the size and financial base to support schools with adequate educational programs.

### **Re-organization of School Systems in Quebec**

Hopkins (1977) observes that in constituting organizations of schools, a society delineates itself. Bill 60 was first received in 1963, within Quebec legislature. It was then asserted beginning with some features released in the first decision of Parent Commission Report. Bill 60 had proposed for a ministry accountable for education. Gerin-Lajoie who was minister for Education was a proponent of the bill in assembly. He was the foremost advocate and it was he who gave authority of contriving the bill through chamber. Liberals had consented to the reform and Gerin-Lajoie forwarded it to them but opposition developed. Gerin-Lajoie contended that Quebeckers' audaciousness was only an obstacle to the growth of the modern education system in Quebec. The French-Canadians presented what they valued in creating a contemporary educational framework. The fight grew and Gerin-Lajoie changed his

hopes with time. The bill was then detached; re-examined, ensuring Quebec's religious nature. When bill was brought back to the house, the performance of Protestant and Catholic delegates were expanded so that some texts and teachers were denied by these corresponding commissions. It maintained confessionalism, which was mainly consistent, and finally passed the bill 60 which emerged as Department Education Act. This act delegated education minister who was accountable for encouraging learning and supporting young people in preparing and planning their future, and thus ensuring the advancement of institutional organizations. The minister was also obligated to create educational patterns and to set up common schools, technological institutions, trade schools and other instructional organisations except a university or training center. The Superior Council of Education Act assigned an entity, to cooperate with the Minister of Education with whom a Catholic committee, a Protestant commission and boards were to be affiliated to make suggestions to such councils concerning multiple fields of education. (Superior Council of Education 1969: 71).

Dion (1978) points out that Daniel Johnson acknowledged the significance of CEGEP stratagem. His outlook was reformed though; he desired the bill to be passed. Johnson controlled the advancement of the bill with extreme caution and discussion, and concluded that gathering opponents would take time and effort to win. To take the reading of Bill 21, Johnson heavily overcame the constant intraparty difference. Tables 1 and 2 below show the education expenditures during Johnson years in dollars and the education expenditures in percentage. Thus, Johnson took an active part in the development of entire education system.

**Table 4**  
**Education Expenditure (in dollars)**

Years	Approximated in thousand dollars
1963/1964	332.8
1964/1965	393.8
1965/1966	463.7
1966/1967	541.6
1967/1968	655.8
1968/1969	733.2

**Source:** The Expenditures in Education (1964) p.432



**Table-5**

Education Expenditure (in Percentage)

Years	Percentage of Total Outlay
1963/1964	30.2
1964/1965	27.4
1965/1966	24.9
1966/1967	25.6
1967/1968	26.2
1968/1969	26.5

**Source:** The Expenditures in Education (1964) p.433

It is significant to note that within the capital preferences, education maintained its number three place. Johnson also launched efforts on two other institutional undertakings that succeeded after his death. One of them was the University Council Act, which established a council to advise the government on the efficiency and role of Quebec schools. "The Council's main function was to advise the Minister of Education on the needs of higher learning and university research and to advise him on the steps to be taken to meet those needs." This move sought to make higher learning more aware of the needs of society and the community that supported it. For a group that had earlier been very skeptical and suspicious of any need for higher education, this action was quite an adjustment. The Quebec University Act was another kind of educational undertaking that began during Johnson's years and came to materialize after he died, which set up a Francophone multi-campus university in Quebec to illustrate the maturity of Quebec education and the sophistication of the entire educational network. The University of Quebec had an important image and character of a nationalist. Again, for a group that had earlier been skeptical and suspicious of higher education in specific, and of education in general; the action was quite an adjustment. Johnson should also pointed out he was a strong supporter of scholarship to Quebec students and created good public support and table 3 and table 4 elaborates it in a wider sense.

**Table- 6**

Financial Assistance of Students from Colleges

of Quebec (1961-1967)

Year	Number of scholarships	Average value of a purse	Total annual amount
1961-1962	\$6,658	\$213	\$1,395,500
1963-1964	\$9,300	\$230	\$2,140,000
1964-1965	\$10,600	\$245	\$2,597,000
1965-1966	\$12,000	\$260	\$3,120,000
1966-1967	\$13,350	\$275	\$3,671,000

**Source:** The financial needs of Education Quebec (1964) p.460

**Table-7**

Loans and scholarships to Quebec

University and colleges students

For year (1967-1968)

	No. of scholarships	Average value of a purse	Value of loans & grants
Universities	\$16,940	\$860	\$4,561,269
Cegeps	\$6,123	\$510	\$1,637,270

**Source:** The Financial needs of Education Quebec (1964) p.461

It may be relevant to examine whether Premier Johnson's educational scheme as it was embodied in the budgetary and legislative movements was compatible with the earlier scheme's programs and stance. His act was complementary to that of the Lesage government in the education industry. He also constructed an institutional foundation laid down by the previous administration. Johnson helped modernize Quebec's education and committed to expand and improve the functioning of both system branches. Thus, by preserving assistance for the conversion of the educational network that included establishment of CEGEPS and the University of Quebec,

Premier Johnson contributed to nationalism growth in Quebec through his attempts to expand one of the main means of self-expression and development of society.

Gauverau (2005) observes that the Silent Revolution was certainly linked to politics, either through a far-reaching campaign of accelerated State intervention in the 1960s in the fields of education, health services, economic administration through its frequent application to the acrimonious attempts of successive governments in Quebec to assert greater constitutional authority vis-à-vis the federal government for promoting Quebec's vision as sovereign country.

### **Education System in Quebec**

Quiet Revolution re-conceived Quebec's greater education as an egalitarian scheme that worked to produce activist, educated citizens capable of a nuanced perception that was critically complicated of the culture in which they participated.

While Quebec's greater education system's history is distinct from any other province in Canada due to its triad of faith, social civics, and speech, it was also unique in its financing structure compared to the rest of nation and many jurisdictions. Under BNA Act, the administration of province and not the federal government was accountable for education. On the one side, the constitution lists provinces and districts as guardians of post-secondary schooling; on the other side, in the authority of the federal government, anything deemed crucial domestic interest is regarded. The federal government started to deliver scholarships directly to colleges and universities after World War II. Quebec saw this as a move that side stepped up provincial government, thus infringing its autonomy; therein it objected federal scholarships by guiding universities in province to refuse fellowships, which, in turn, enhanced provincial financing for education by the Quebec government, but the economic implications of the absence of grants were nevertheless profound.

Under new political management in Quebec, an agreement was reached whereby the federal government agreed to transfer resources to the provincial government of Quebec in the form of tax reductions and to allow it to decide on the distribution of those resources. The tax reduction model was implemented to all provinces and territories in 1967, but the rate of growth for post-secondary education exceeded the projected program expenses dramatically. Provinces received deposits in the very first

year that surpassed the federal projections by forty percent; the federal government saw a thirty percent rise in payments in the second year with each subsequent year. This uncapped tax-reduction model proved unsustainable, and the federal government, in response to rising costs, arbitrarily capped the growth rate at fifteen percent per year in 1972 (Jones 1997: 181).

During the late 1970s, an array of financing agreements with the federal government followed, but generally the federal government cut financing public programs includes post-secondary learning. Education has been a simple industry to target in many other respects because it has been financed by combining federal and provincial fellowships and other consumer fees. However, Quebec was different amid province in resisting passing on to students the cost of federal funding cuts. Unlike the other nation, the Quebec government recognized schooling as a short-term and long-term investment, making it a priority in its public expenditure. In Quebec in recent decades, social philosophy has become increasingly complicated and has continued to play a role in economic decisions related to post-secondary education in Quebec (Jones 1997: 185).

Conaghy (1996) observes that during the period of Quiet Revolution there were many voices which were lifted as a result of the upheavals that were caused by social and political development. Some of the participants wanted schools contribution to a more pluralistic and egalitarian society, while others concerned were trained experienced employees to increase Quebec's global economy competitiveness. Amid the different opinions, the need to react better to diverse student populations, such as physically and mentally disabled, minority ethnic groups, talented students, etc., was a single man reason provided to redefine the educational mission of colleges. The Parent Commission thinks that major improvements have been made in access to education over the previous thirty years, as the Commission's work has helped create free, compulsory public schooling in Quebec. However, diversity in the political, social, economic and cultural weather has made educational reform undeniable in recent years.

The main themes highlighted in the report reflect today's Quebec culture, which is generally: All sections of Quebec society have access to schooling; curriculum overhaul; the enhanced programs for teacher education; improving programs for adult

learning; curtailing support for private education; raising the profile of vocational education; decentralization of powers and raising the decision-making skills of teachers in general; whether to retain denominational schools or change them with secular ones; and finally financing these institutions.

Conaghy (1996) observes that it was difficult to steer clear of Quebec's raging political controversy. Parti Qubecois members are the ruling party in Quebec, have been determined to regulate all elements of schooling and make Quebec a province that is entirely pure Quebec. There is no doubt that the political and cultural factors would influence educational reforms in Quebec as the concerns of two founding individuals, the English and the French, have been expressed.

### **Liberal Educational Reforms**

The periodization of Quiet Revolution has also been described as between the years 1960-1966, during which Liberal Premier Jean Lesage brought rapid but non-violent change in Quebec. Some scholars like Blanc with a mind to historical continuity point out that the Union National, when it returned to power in 1966, continued the reforms, as did the Liberals under the leadership of Robert Bourassa after 1970. *Parti Qubecois* also had some agenda of reform that was implemented in 1976-1980. It is also believed by many that Quiet Revolution, in spite of many pauses lasted for two decades.

Reids (1960) points out that Liberals in power acted to end electoral corruption. They cleaned up the petty patronage practiced by the preceding governments. Early in its mandate, the provincial government set up a royal commission to examine Quebec's educational system. Then it established a provincial ministry for education, asserting the state control over a sector in which church had hitherto played a powerful and crucial role. Paul Gerin-Lajoie, the minister of education, reorganized province's hundreds of school commissions into 55 regional districts. The government built up many large 'polyvalent' secondary schools, revised curriculum, improved teacher training, and broadened access to educational facilities. The church retreated: in fact, it had very little choice, since it did not possess the huge financial and human resources which have to be devoted to schooling in the wake of Quebec post war population explosion. Although these educational reforms constituted a very

significant part of Quiet Revolution, changes pervaded almost all of the sectors of Quebec society.

The perceptions of Quiet Revolution have varied considerably. Many scholars as Magnuson (1970) viewed it as the birth of a modern Quebec society, thanks to these major reforms carried out in the field of education, political life, social services and the economy sector. In 1960s, this breathless pace of change upset many conservative Quebecers. The disadvantaged citizens in the urban areas felt bypassed by the major thrust of the Quiet Revolution, and large scale spending on education field, and this rapid growth of civil services did little for them. In rural area of Quebec, where hundreds and thousands of schools had been closed and children were being transported to long distances by bus to large, the impersonal institutions, discontent was rife. After Lesage was defeated in 1966, he complained that “education beat us.” Dale C. Thomson (1972) confirmed that change in this sector has “generated more discontent than satisfaction.” Quiet Revolution engendered big government and bureaucracy, which was often insensitive to the needs of individual and higher spending brought increased taxes. A very small vocal minority also attacked Lesage, doubting government’s continuing commitment to the reform. The radical nationalists viewed Lesage’s objective of greater autonomy for province as insufficient. They almost favored separation, with creation of an independent, more interventionist, Quebecois state.

In 1967, the first twelve CEGEPS were opened and the following year, eleven more opened. These CEGEPS were developed from a mixture of current higher education organizations, each with its own legislation, employees, and philosophical learning. Student unrest mirrored the administrative unrest with an unwieldy system within the institutions as enrollment numbers ballooned above scope and in 1968, 4000 students were denied university admission due minimum space. In 1968, this resulted in a mix protests, occupations and strikes that closed 15 CEGEPS for almost a month. The learners’ desire extended the facilities at university, more CEGEPS student governance, and universities to completely demolish tuition fees. The government then reacted with plans to expand the university industry and generate greater communication between universities and other higher education industries to the demonstrations. These various reforms were introduced in 1969, followed by tripling

enrollment in three-year technical programs over the next decade and doubling in two-year pre-university programs (Henchey 1987: 103). The number of university teachers rose from 4500 to 6500 to accommodate enhanced scholar enrolments and budget from \$121 million to \$622 million (Jones 1997: 2).

In 1979, the University's Council, one of the main advisory bodies in Quebec, generated a study that guided the next sequence of provincial higher education reforms in the province. The Council recognized the repetition between college and university programs because specific universities, primarily Laval and McGill, continued to give Newman's spiritual liberal schooling (1873/1976) ideal despite there a laity that this was the CEGEPS ' planned role.

Other universities, however, adhered to their proposed role and offered education that was more specialized and economically driven. The Council also observed that in 1969, 61 percent of teachers had become more unionized than zero; it feared that this unionization would introduce the potential for barriers in the scheme. Most importantly, the Council found that universities did not fulfill the mandate set out by the Parent Commission to provide a critical examination and understanding society. Education access has greatly enhanced, as demonstrated by enrollment rises, but the quality of education has deteriorated with those rises and a range of positions once performed by people, such as teachers who have become centralized as part of a bigger administrative system. The 1979 study of this Universities' Council finished with three goals for universities in Quebec; firstly, for universities to change conceptually from a quantitative accessibility model to a qualitative accessibility model; secondly, for universities to maintain the quality of schooling in the face of economic constraints; and thirdly, for each college in Quebec, to prioritize better spend. In the 1980s, Quebec's higher education was defined by continued growth in post-secondary enrollment, which began to exceed the available resources of the education system. In addition, to it a 1981-82 economic recessions struck the province; Quebec's higher education strived with enhanced numbers of students and minimum resources. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, higher education participation had exceeded the goals set at both CEGEPS and university levels by Commission. Quebec's universities had high deficits that appeared financially unsustainable to the government of Robert Bourassa, who later decided to increase tuition fees.

Magnuson (1980) observes that the growth of State power was most dramatic in education where the public authority has displaced private authority. The establishment of Department of Education in 1964, as the responsible agency for all education in the province confirmed the fact. However, the educational reforms of 1960s went beyond purely managerial aspects and of primary importance was the transformation of French- Canadian education from an elitist system serving very limited population to a system embracing the school age population. Before 1960s, Quebec school system has suffered of having the lowest rate in Canada, but by late 1960s, this holding power of Quebec schools was greatest among all other countries. It is pointed out that only 9.5 percent of Quebec five year olds were enrolled in kindergarten in 1959-60 and the percentage of these children has jumped to 62.9 by 1967-68. The dramatic increase in number and percentage of pre-schoolers was partly traceable to a greater willingness of French-Canadian families to share with the school some of its traditional rearing functions. The increase in secondary school enrollment was less pronounced but significant. In 1959-60, only 61 percent of Quebec 13-16 years was in school whereas in 1967-68 it has risen to 96.1 which were better than other provinces in Quebec. And with increase in the secondary school enrollment came a subsequent increase in the number and the percentage of the post-secondary school students in Quebec. The public secondary education became reality with abolition of fees in early 1960s and the decision to reshape the secondary schools along the comprehensive lines, brought Quebec high schools in line with those of rest of North America.

Quebec's education was a period of consolidation and stabilization, following up of fundamental educational reforms of the Quiet Revolution. Opposing this outlook is a heraclitian notion of reality which sees change as the stuff of the contemporary life in Quebec and has implied that education may continue to undergo reform. Any projection of things to come cannot discount either of the postures, but before attempting to predict the educational wave of future, it behooves readers to look at developments in the larger society.

Milner (1960) noted that Quebec education was a political preoccupation. Since the earliest days the province has jealously guarded its constitutional prerogatives in that domain and Quebec's modernization process, the Quiet Revolution was identified



above all these with dramatic changes in the field of education, that was initiated. But one of the key elements of educational reforms of 1960s still died unborn, killed by powerful coalition of conservative forces. The public education in Quebec was still locally controlled by ‘confessional’ school boards, one network for both Catholics and Protestants. While this system was able to adapt at times to the pressures from changing social environments, it continued to maintain the unreal obstacles and placing authority in the hands of strong but often unrepresentative groups of two school communities. It was the long-felt need to remove these barriers that prompted attempts at reforms in the past twenty years, including the most recent attempt. This unwieldy, outdated, and expensive structure was the result of piecemeal educational reforms which was introduced in past twenty years after repeated failure to restructure the school system along the non-confessional lines. The Bill 62, which was introduced by Union National government in 1969, and Bill 28, drawn up by liberal administration two years later, was sought to replace confessional board in Montreal area with neutral ones as had been recommended in mid sixties by the celebrated Parent Report but both bills were withdrawn after much heated debate. Parents, teachers, and administrators at elementary schools created a pluralistic educational environment to serve communities, which included immigrant groups from many backgrounds as well as the other universities. Much watered-down reforms were welcomed in educational institutions but the immediate hopes for reversal--both from the courts and within the political sphere were really not great. The ruling came into being when Quebec headed into an election period, the outcome of which would spell a new era whether it resulted in the election of Liberal Party or even in the re-election of *Parti Qubecois*. (PQ). The reform process was once again in abeyance and the confessional system remained firmly in place at the culmination of the process in which, ironically, informed Quebec public opinion generally observed the system as an anachronism, of the little sense in today’s world and a handicap for modern community which Quebec was becoming. A profound change announced in the ‘White Paper’ and so hotly debated was very much out of fashion.

The educational reform was not consigned to the waste basket of history the more and would to deny importance of ideas on nature of education, and of democracy, that profoundly influenced political developments during 1960s and early 1970s when the ‘power to people’ was the rallying cry. Although, it soon became evident that such

slogans were easier to shout than to practice in reality, something of that vision still remains--the concern that have structures significantly affecting people's lives which should encourage rather than inhibit people in asserting control over those structures. Though, more muted the aspirations that institution be cast on human scale so that people whose needs they serve were able to take responsibility for articulating those needs and thus identifying the means for satisfying them was very much alive. That was the original Laurin plan which was sought to achieve in reforming the structure of Quebec's educational system.

In attempting, to make sense of the subject, so complex and controversial, an attempt has been made to keep to the essential. However, a fair degree of detail was included because the particulars were indispensable for an understanding of politics in Quebec education. This continuing debate over the reform of Quebec's educational structure was of interest to educators and students, but not to them alone. For them, it provided an especially poignant case study of the process of attempting to reform the public education structures so as to overcome the obstacles they face and confront the forces opposing those changes. For the non-specialists interested in Quebec and its future, all the issues which were encountered were the strands of religion, language, tradition and modernity, the constitutional constraints and political will, the educational philosophy and political expediency. An attempt is made to reveal the pattern that oriented Quebec's cultural and political destiny as an old confessional pattern which shaped the reality of Quebec for over a hundred years.

Reids (1960) examines that the provincial governments, convinced that the higher education would positively brings enormous benefits in the society of Quebec which dramatically increased spending on universities and established new institutions. One of these universities was Simon Fraser University, situated near Vancouver, opened in 1965, enrolling 2500 students. In Ontario, York University admitted around 75 students in 1960, and a year later the province provided York 500 acres in North West Toronto for building of a campus. Laurentian, Trent, Brock and Lake Head universities were also set up at that time. Quebec established the public university of Quebec in Montreal with various regional affiliates. The University of Alberta, branch at Calgary became the separate university of Calgary in the year 1966. The federal governments which were making grants directly to these universities in 1951

began in 1966 to make contributions to the provincial governments for financing of the post-secondary education. All the government spending on universities increased sevenfold during 1960s.

## **Conclusion**

The chapter deals with the impact of Quiet Revolution on education focusing on the major reforms in 1960s and the changes that took place in restructuring an entirely new Quebec society. The chapter justifies the extent of educational reforms that transformed Quebec completely into a new province. Various educational reforms have been examined and the contributions which was made by provincial government for financing the needs for public education providing easier access with loans and bursaries at both level of kindergarten to the higher studies of post-secondary education. The next chapter focuses on secularization and democratization of education and how it reached the general public after being held by a Church based elitist system with ease.

## Chapter IV

### **Secularization of Education and the Church**

Quebec was often a distinctive society in its profound liberation from the religious organizations in the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution between 1960 and 1970s. This was a period during which Quebec experienced major social, economic and educational reforms. Though, the activities of Roman Catholic Church had declined in countries like United States, Spain, Germany, and France, Quebec makes a distinctly interesting case to reflect on question of the institutional secularization as there was an instant connection between the Church and the other service allocation, including education and health care. Quebec, which was referred to as the “priest-ridden province” due to its close affinity with the Catholic Church experienced a remarkable decline in its influence. What accounts for the marginalization of Roman Catholic Church during the period of Quiet Revolution? The strength of worldly rewards contributed to the decline of the Church. During the period of Quiet Revolution it was difficult for Quebecers to find inspiration in the Church which persisted with ancient conservative institutional practices in an era of deep cultural and social changes, and a dramatic increase in secular possibilities in a growing consumerist society. Along with the election of a liberal government on 22 June 1960, a cultural explosion took place which was named the Quiet Revolution (Gagnon & Sara Bournet: 1997:2).

This chapter examines the reaction of the Catholic Church to its loss of power; the rise of new secular nationalism and rapid secularization that took place in Quebec society; and the democratization of education from a Church based elitist system to easier access for all during and after Quiet Revolution. The chapter describes the universalization of education with its transfer to the provincial government with relative serenity with which the Church reacted.

#### **Secularization, Modernization and the Quiet Revolution**

Secularization is a term which has been used to describe three different and sometimes inter-related phenomena. It describes a decline in religious perception among individuals as they become more ‘rational’ and concerned with the present

world and less patient and trusting of religious authority and their explanations. It also addresses the process of 'differentiation', a term which sociologists use to describe how modern societies have created divisions between allegedly discrete realms of human activity. The most striking feature of the process of differentiation was how institutions concerned with education, culture, justice, morality and government won their autonomy from religious authorities and claimed to operate according to their own logic. Finally, secularization theory describes the 'privatization' of religion, that is, the movement from a shared, and often compulsory, public culture to a private form of subjectivity (Casanova 1994:22). Many conservative Catholics are fond of saying that 'the church is not a democracy.' Like most of the modern institutions it is a hierarchy.

Education secularization was a latest occurrence in Quebec. Secularization was a broad and malleable word with different and controversial interpretations and applications in public education. Moreover, while secularization of education has efficiently addressed some problems related to the treatment of religious minorities in public education, these modifications has created difficulties for religious minorities themselves. Education was commonly supervised by churches in Quebec before 1960s' Silent Revolution. During that moment, the Roman Catholic Church operated a majority of schools as the majority of population was Catholic. Unless, 1964 that the Quebec state started administering a scheme of public schools in the province (Bumstead 2004: 376).

In 1960s during Silent Revolution, the institutional system in Quebec began to alter, with decrease of cleric control associated with the consequences of modifications in Vatican II. Bill 60 was enacted in 1964, bringing education to the provincial government and establishing the Ministry of Education (MEQ). Nevertheless, the religious and linguistic lines of school boards were split apart. In 1966, the Parent Commission recognized that pluralism religion was increasing in the province and that it would have to be extensively resolved in Quebec. Quebec schools were also meant to explore secular world views as follows: Dignity For liberty of religion and values; Public school neutrality; Concern about student's spiritual growth; Common guidance on spiritual care and community participation; Single ethos and religious programs on culture (Bumstead 2004:376).

Zubrzycki (2013) observes that the period of 1960s in Quebec was marked by structural change. Crucial among them were building up of an advance provincial welfare State, and *laicization* of social services such as education, medical care, and welfare, taken over by State. The institutional marginalization of the Church was followed by a fast secularization of society, characterized by strong criticism of the Church; a dramatic decrease in religious practice; and even an important incidence of priests renouncing their vows to re-enter secular society. Within ten years, there were now nearly vacant churches that once thronged with individuals several days a week. Some churches were sold to builders who converted them into taverns; others were converted from conventional locations into cultural heritage only. These changes happened just within the Church, during Second Vatican Council, when it critically reassessed its position in contemporary culture, facilitating its withdrawal from the political and social spheres. As religious practice collapsed, so did fertility; in 1959, Quebec had the largest birth rate in all Canadian provinces. However, by 1972, it had the lowest, with less than half of what it was in the late 1950s. While the typical French Canadian female in Quebec had four kids on average in 1957, fertility had fallen to 2.09 kids per female by 1970, which was below the 2.1 population replacement level needed (Christiano 2007: 34).

Zubrzycki (2013) observes that Guy Rocher, has claimed that one of the key factors in Quiet revolution initiated and consigned the declaration of intellectuals for secularism. The authors like Baum (1997) argued for the necessity of an explicit legislative recognition of Quebec's secularism, and inherent prohibition for the state representatives to wear conspicuous religious signs. The authors also demanded Quebec's *de facto* secularism be instituted *de jure* and justified the demand with historical precedents, and historical imperatives. If this idea of a secular state predates the Patriots, one cannot claim that it was a defensive reaction against recently arrived minorities. Thus, secularism is part of Quebec's historic landscape and its recent achievements define the modern Quebec (Dumont 1986: 23). They insisted that secularism was not a rejection of pluralism but rather an essential condition for it. It was the only way for equal treatment of all convictions because it neither favors nor accommodates atheism any more than religious faith. Hence, pluralism was neither that of minorities nor that of majority. It was also a necessary condition for gender equality. Yet, religion, it turns out, was present not only in lives of 'others' but also as

a skeleton in Quebec's closet that was often experienced as phantom limb pain. While framed in media and certain political circles as a competition between the secular majority and religious minorities, discussion among many scholars like Behiels and Jacques Rouillard (1966) reveals that what was at stake was as much about Quebec's religious past as it was about its present religious landscape and the challenges it poses for a self proclaimed secular society. This discussion about the growing visibility of religion in public sphere became a debate about the very identity of Quebec which reinvented itself some years ago with the wholesale rejection of its Catholicism. Analyzing the challenges of Quebec's religious 'present' allows one to cover the grips with their religious past and dealing with limits of social and historical change. The case of Quebecois is also helpful to think about the meaning and stakes of religious pluralism and secularism in contexts which is very different from that of United States or France. Courtney Bender's (1965) analysis of this specific context in which pluralism emerged and is defined in United States was an important intervention because in spite of being context specific, those normative templates were exported with the pretention of universality.

Baum (1997) examines that in the past, many sociologists accepted the theory of secularization, according to which increase of modernity inevitably follow the waning of religion. Surprisingly, for many sociologists religion has again, for better or the worse, become a social force in several parts of the world. In addition, fundamentalist movements have emerged in all the world religions. It is commonly said that Quebec shifted lately to cultural and political modernity. Before 1960, the provincial government, shielded the limited religious and political pluralism, pre-modern cultural values and refused to view the State as accountable for the population's social development. This had no education ministry, no welfare ministry and no civil service ministry. Maurice Duplessis, the Quebec Premier during most of the years between 1936 and 1959 defended this tradition in an unblended fashion. Maurice wanted private societies to organize education, health services and social welfare. Catholic Church at that time was pleased to fulfill this role. It assumed full responsibility for organization of schools and colleges, hospitals and health care centers', and assistance to the needy. Consequently, the existence of the institutional presence of the Church became omnipresent. But English-speaking Quebecers, about 20 percent of the population were not displeased with this policy of the

government. This policy allowed them to organize their own institutions without government interference. The cultural power of Church was enormous in the given situation and it defined the cultural identity of Quebec as opposed to North America's protestant and secular culture. In its resistance to pluralism, it requested unanimity within its own ranks and endorsed government. Church was sustained in its activities by the faith of the vast majority of people. Their ardent piety produced a culture of solidarity and thus mutual aid. This intense faith inspired vast number of young people to become priests, sisters and brothers who were dedicated to serve in their own society and the field of overseas missions. The profound loyalty to the Church may seem like an anomaly in middle of the twentieth century. Yet whenever, people have been conquered by empire and must struggle for its collective survival, the church became easily a symbol for its collective resistance. This happened everywhere in Poland, Ireland and Quebec (Dillon 2007: 121).

There were signs indicating in 1940s and 1950s that the unanimity in Catholic Church was seriously being challenged. Joseph Charbonneau, the Archbishop of Montreal has broken ranks with other bishops in his support of non-confessional institutions and interventions in favor of worker strikes (Hamelin 1984:11). This review *Cite Libre* directed by the intellectuals relying on liberal catholic thought coming from France criticized what is called the 'cleric-nationalist', corrupt and the undemocratic regime of Duplessis (Dion 1956: 55-60). The two priests, Gerard Dion and Louis O'Neil, published a manifesto "*The Denunciation of Duplessime*" in 1956 which criticized Duplessis' reactionary policies and advocated democratic and egalitarian ideas which had a tremendous public impact. It sold over 100,000 copies. It also got broad commentaries and support from the journal. It also served to distance the Roman Catholic Church from the Duplessis government and solidly anchor it on the side of the province's progressive forces hard at job attempting to alter circumstances and modify Quebec (Dion & O'Neil 1956: 2). On examining these activities and events in these two decades, historians have come to recognize cultural social currents that prepared the Quiet Revolution.

Baum (1970) examines that Quebeckers thought of themselves as gifted and autonomous people with great energy and sense of ideas, and the will to construct their own society. To follow Emile Durkheim's (1996) vocabulary designating as



'effervescence' the collective experience of people at dramatic turning-points of their history, one may say that for Quebeckers the Quiet Revolution was a time of effervescence. People wanted to catch up with contemporary culture, be open to pluralism, express themselves free of censorship in art and literature, engage in democratic decision-making, and create a contemporary institutional system that would qualify learners to progress in science and technology. These cultural upheaval officials also want to free themselves from the English-Canadian elite's financial denomination and thus assume full accountability for their own Quebec culture. At the same time, the people acting in Quiet Revolution were Quebeckers who ceased to think of themselves in ethnic terms as part of the entire French-Canadian nation. Now they thought of Quebec as their own nation, defined in terms of their citizenship rather than ethnicity. Quiet Revolution initiated a gradual process of secularization and the supporters of this revolution blame Church for having both defended the regressive reign of Maurice Duplessis, thereby entering the Quebec into North America modernity. This regime is now referred as '*la grand noirceur*' (The Great Darkness). Their intention was generally to secularize Quebec's self-perception and to replace the religious myth or story which has defined Quebec's place and destiny in past with the secular self-definition of people eager to discover its talent, power and originality.

Moreover, when Liberal government eventually created ministries of education, and social services, and secularized the ecclesiastical institutions that had been serving these purposes, the Catholic Church lost a great deal of power and its influence in society. Only in the schools did the bishops retain a certain hold, even if it was no longer under their direct control. Many Catholics welcomed these first two steps of secularization. At the same time, the Second Vatican Council in the year (1962-65) championed a fresh openness to modernity, upheld the autonomy of secular organizations, encouraged ecumenical Protestants relationship, expressed respect for religious pluralism, and encouraged the laity to become accountable actors in society. Many Quebec Catholics rejoiced in this new teaching and became ardent supporters of changes brought about by Quiet Revolution.

Seljak (1996) examines in detail the reactions of Catholics to the Quiet Revolution by studying the positions adopted by Catholic papers, Catholic reviews, Catholic

organizations and important Catholic spokesmen, which was both clerical and lay. Seljak has shown that while at first only minority of Catholic activists supported cultural transformation, by end of 1960s the strong majority of Catholics, including cleric and priests, adapted with the new culture. Many of them actively supported the new Quebec. Those conservative Catholic organizations which resisted these changes and hoped that the cultural revolution could be reversed became increasingly smaller. At the same time Church remained uncertain about its future. While it had lost its cultural power and the institutional presence, majority of its members still remained ardent believers, many of them were eager for a quiet revolution in the Church itself. Moreover, it became evident that by end of 1960s, growing number of Catholics had become indifferent to their faith and disassociated themselves from their parishes. The first two stages of secularization which was observed by scholars like David and Glen (1960) were welcomed by many Catholics, seemed to produce, in a manner that was not anticipated, a growing secularization of people's personal consciousness.

In David Martin's theory of secularization, Martin (1988) argues that the religious history of a society will help determine its political life after the society modernizes. Martin then explains that in many other contexts (Poland and Ireland are best known), Catholicism became the basis for national identity and solidarity. Baum suggests that Martin's general theory of secularization can be used to explain the spirit of compromise and pluralism evident in Church-State relations after Quiet Revolution. Casanova (1994) argues that decline of religious mentalities and the privatization of religion predicated by dominant theory of secularization has not occurred. Only the word secularization as a function of differentiation has been proven to be a 'structural trend' in modernizing societies. The process encourages agents and institutions to operate in their own specialized spheres according to the logic of their own rational operations, which was free from barriers imposed by 'irrational' religion, tradition and custom (Casanova 1994: 40). While Church reaction to secularization of Quebec society was peaceful, at each stage in this two-step process it protested privatization of Catholicism. Gregory Baum argues that the Second Vatican Council, redefined the position of Church to modern society, accepting the sovereignty of political society and state, affirming rights of individual consciences in political matters, and thus calling Roman Catholics to participate in important political debates of their societies (Casanova 1994:71). In Quebec the decisions of the council rendered unworkable the

conservative nationalism of catholic traditional groups, allowed liberals and radicals to be critical of the old Church and the old Quebec while remaining Catholic, and has inspired Catholics to redefine the public role of the Church (Seljak 1996:135). The Catholic hierarchy established a Royal Commission style on public inquiry into the Church's relationship to the new society in 1968. In 1971, Dumont Commission published a multi volume report which closed the door on the old style semi-established religion but at the same time also rejected the privatization of Catholicism which it labeled as a religious 'no man land'. The Church had a public role in new society, the commission concluded, even if this new role would be radically different from the earlier one (*Commission d'etude* 1971: 129). In 1970s, the Church's new public role in Quebec was mostly visible defined by its social teaching on a wide variety of justice issues, ranging from the rights of aboriginal people, immigrants, welfare recipients, workers' rights and women to inequality, and the environment (Rochais 1984: 135).

This definition of modern Catholicism was made possible only by the fact that Catholic Church had come to define its relationship with Quebec society at a time when international Catholicism had to accept the modern values of democracy, the power of people for self courage and integrity. The emergence of faith and justice movement along with second Vatican Council within the Church allowed Catholics in Quebec to engage in significant debates of culture as Catholics, without resorting to the post-modern modes of public religion (Baum 1991; Seljak 1995: 145). This is an excellent example of much broader phenomenon described so well by Casanova—an example which should lead to a rethink by scholars; the categories of public and private, rational and ethical, universal and particular which permeate political culture and social-scientific models of secularization.

### **Secularization of Quebec Society**

Many authors such as Baum (1991) in Quebec have assumed that the period between 1960s and 1970s underwent institutional secularization of the Quiet Revolution which arose out of intense change in the minds of people. However, Neil Nevitte and Francois-Pierre Gingras (1984) contested the extent to which the population had adopted the rational and modern world view which has animated many reforms of the Quiet Revolution. Their argument was that an elite has sought first to declericalize

Quebec's social institutions and then to secularize them. The people's mentalities have followed the process of secularization (Nevitte&Gingras 1984; 1983).

Baum (1991) noted that many observers of Quebec Catholicism are puzzled by the speed with which the secular spirit has spread in this intensely religious society. Many scholars like Casanova (1994) argue that there were several historical beliefs for this rapid secularization in Quebec society. The accord of silent revolution and second Vatican council in early 1960s allowed engaged Catholics for support to modernize Quebec society, comprising the secularization of its collective self-understanding and the ecclesiastical institutions which served education, social welfare and health services. The Catholics advocated, in accordance with Vatican Council, the autonomy of society and its escape from tutelage of the Church. Yet the sudden disappearance of Church from people's collective identity and their social existence produced an unexpected secularization of personal consciousness. This involved the rejection of religion which was undoubtedly a resentment against the Catholic Church which has enjoyed excessive power in past and kept the people in cultural unanimity. This reaction is commonly found in societies where the Catholic Church had been deeply intertwined with government and dominant culture. Quebeckers rejoiced in this new rationality which rescued them from the religious teaching that had controlled their lives, and they were now not willing to embrace a new religious teaching, even it was more humanistic. Another factor was the rapid secularization that had a powerful impact on quiet revolution on the self understanding of Quebeckers who were filled with energies capable of transforming the self perception of people. While most of the cultural changes were gradual and involved more than one generation, the quiet revolution, due to its effervescent character, transformed the consciousness of the generation involved in it.

Further Baum (1991) observed that quiet revolution introduced the welfare state into Quebec society. The Quebec government saw itself as the principal agent of promoting the well-being of Quebec society and encouraging the benefit of citizens, their culture, their security, and their sense of identity, and thus fulfilling some of the functions formerly exercised by Church. In Baum's (1991) opinion, therefore, the rapid secularization of Quebec society was a singular event, of which it was difficult to find historical parallels. Still, the debates over Church pastoral and political

orientation clearly demonstrate that Quebec's Catholic Church was an interesting, open, lively, and pluralistic community. This political modernization of Quebec in 1960s meant that the close identification of French Canadian identity with the replacement of Roman Catholic faith introduced a new secular nationalism. The conservative Catholics first condemned the new nationalism; by 1969 some conservatives accepted the new society and even supported its state interventionism. The important Catholic groups, including the hierarchy, the most dynamic organizations, and largest publications came to accept the new society.

Richard Ares (1970) argues that the secularization in Quebec society mainly took three forms. Firstly, clericalization or restoration of clergy from important post in social bureaucracy with other qualified lay professionals. Secondly, the deconfessionalization that meant opening up of more unions, clubs, cooperatives and associations to every citizens regardless of religion, dropping reference to the doctrine of Church in their respective charters, and no longer accepting a chaplain from the local bishop. Thirdly, dechristianization of Quebec society to say restructuring phenomenon on secular ideologies brought the privatization of religion.

Before 1960, Church took conclusive role in Quebec society and exercised control on learning, medical care and welfare that French Quebecers were permitted to provide. Duplessis' government has declared Quebec a Catholic province that actively promoted the welfare of Church and superseded the Quebec government's own monopoly of powers. Church accepted status and occupation was legitimized by broad nationalism religion; that linked a traditional, clerical version of Catholicism to the integrity of French-Canada. Twenty years later, Church was in very different state, and the state has taken over its duties in the fields of learning, health protection, and community-services. The Quebec society became ideologically and religiously pluralist. The Catholics percentage attending mass plummeted from eighty-eight to thirty-eight percent in the two decades. The massive secularization and drop in religious practice was accompanied by secularization of nationalism in Quebec. The promoters of Quiet Revolution believe that the state has the obligation to address what it saw as their disadvantaged position vis-à-vis English Canadians living and working in Quebec and the economic inferiority of province in comparison to Ontario. For them State and not Church, were 'to be politically expression for French-

Canada' to use Premier Jean Lesage's term or 'the embodiment of French nation in Canada'. Thus, Church has to respond to both her loss of authority and her loss of command over the significant symbols, values conducted by traditional nationalism, the first social teaching of the Church; a nationalism which saw the faith as an essential component of French-Canadian identity and solidarity. After 1972 no nationalist group promoted Catholic political culture according to the dictates of social culture in Church. Now no one envisioned being Quebec among others as a Catholic State (Guindon 1988:16). Remarkably, the reaction of church towards Quebec society was relative serene.

Warren (2012) observes that before quiet revolution Church controlled the administration of schools, hospitals, newspapers, generous organizations, patronage unions, youth federation, and social business amid others. In this sense, for purely religious reasons, people who became priests certainly did not do so. Many were sought within the Church's internet of exercises with known positions. For instance, Canon Lionel Groulx embraces a religious vocation because he wished to be a teacher, a position nearly closed to lay people (Gisele Huot 1984: 676).

According to Colette Moreux (1969), a sociologist who challenged a large amount of French Canadian Catholics in the 1960s, when one of their children joined the priesthood, parents had unholy reasons to be happy. Being a priest would offer a prestigious place to their son and long-term financial safety and excellent work in society (Moreux 1969:331). Conventionally the secular act of Church has traditionally been so prominent that historians and sociologists have defined French Canada as a 'nation-Church' rather than a nation-State (Perin 2001:95). The embeddedness of the French-Canadian nation in the fold of the Church was dictated by different services given by clergy and religious institutes. If scholars speak of a 'nation-Church' to define French Canada, the Church itself was an 'ethnic religion.' French-Canadian nation's symbols, stories, rituals and festivities were frequently drawn from the repertoire of the Church, including the patron saint of French Canada (John the Baptist) and the messianic mission—the Manifest Destiny of Franco-Canadians in America. Historically, in what Meunier and Wilkins-Laflamme (1971) call "cultural religion," French-Canadian national identity and Catholic faith overlapped. The Franco-Canadian priest was a person of significance in the village,

the educated, well-fed who enjoyed a high authority and prestige. One sociologist remarked on 'Priests,' benefit from the uncontested and supreme prestige... "Their authority in the world of spiritual domain extends in concrete and strictly human domain of business where society awards them importance and responsibility as in the domain of spiritual affairs" (Falardeau 1945:69). In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, social services supported by the provinces were increased that broadened the clergy's scope. It was discovered more convenient and less expensive by the government of Quebec to delegate civil society administration to clerical organisations (Bourque; Duchastel 1989:85). Therefore, Church did many of the things that contemporary governments do, from healing the sick to healing the poor, a situation that took away Church from its evangelical goal. The involvement of Church in welfare was depicted by the fact that in 1965, only 6.8 percent of over sixty-five thousand members of the female institutes of religion were engaged in contemplative work; the rest were committed in learning, medical and welfare (Lessard & Montmigny 1965: 295). It has been depicted in the table below:

**Table-8**

Women institutes distribution according to the principal function in 1965

	No. of Institutes	Percentage	No. of sisters	Percentage
The contemplation	18	10.2	1,897	2.9
Mission	08	4.3	2,566	3.9
Health care	13	7.1	3,836	5.9
Education	80	43.6	30,855	47.2
Education & health care	33	18	22,301	34.2
Social services	16	8.7	969	1.5
Domestic needs	15	8.1	2,824	4.3
Total	183	100	65,248	100

Source: Marc A. Lessard and Jean-Paul Montmigny, "The Census of Religious Sisters of Canada," 295-296.

For the male Catholic congregations, the situation was more pronounced; only 2% were engaged in contemplative operations. The increase of the welfare state in

Quebec in the sixties reshaped the bonds between the Church and the Canadian-French country. Increasingly, operating on secular terms, on state-intervention, Quebec Catholic intellectuals jumped. Hitherto, when the provincial government took over the sectors of education and health care, the Church administered the social shift that sparked a radical redefinition of the place of the Church in society.

The Church has lost its reputation by dividing these religious and secular spheres and isolating the clergy within the restricted parish and Church borders. Psycho-analysts, social traders and medical doctors trained at the university provided science to the ills of society as a panacea. Those people who wished to dedicate their lives to their fellow citizens' well-being found chances with provincial administration and social institutions that expanded quickly in every direction (Laurin 1996: 96). The ratio of total Quebec population over fifteen years old to religious personnel is shown in below table:

**Table-9**

Ratio of the total Quebec population over 15 years old to religious personnel

Year	Ratio of catholic pop./total number of Priests	Ratio of catholic no of pop/sisters	Ratio of catholic. No of pop/ bros.	Ratio of catholic pop./religious personal
1901	437	122	602	80
1910	500	96	428	66
1921	478	92	419	63
1931	450	69	361	49
1943	456	70	308	48
1951	452	72	370	50
1961	457	78	398	53
1971	674	123	735	85
1983	1054	174	1595	126
1991	1215	216	1738	153
2001	1738	317	2525	222

**Source:** 1901 to 2001 Canada Ecclesiastical of the Catholic Church Annually, Montreal, Publicity B.M Advertising Inc.



This rise of welfare state in sixties has reshaped the bonds in Quebec between the Church and French-Canadian nation (Laurin 1996: 102). On strictly secular terms, Quebec catholic intellectuals rose on the bandwagon of Keynesianism and state intervention. When the provincial regime took over the education and health system, which the Church had administered, this social shift ignited a radical redefinition of the place of the Church in the province (Laurin 1996; Rousseau 1983:248).

Dumont (1990) observed that it is of no surprise that those dedicated to teaching, medical and social facilities were the communities most impacted, while those dedicated to missionary work and contemplation arose. The sisters and brothers who obtained a university degree were more likely to leave their community because they had mixed up with secular culture but were also exposed to fresh streams of thought as many admitted they could join a vibrant secular job market more readily and earn decent living. In this transition aspect from a religious vocation to a secular career, if not a governmental one, seemed natural (Allaire 1984: 282).

Baum (1991) argues that the devastating cultural schism that marked the movement into secular modernity was avoided by Quebec culture. In Quebec, Church did not recede into 'Catholicism', imprecate the new society, and work towards revival of old order. Quiet Revolution corresponded with the amendment of the Second Vatican Council and the appearance of faith and justice mobility in Church (Baum 1991:47). Casanova (1994) contends that Council laid to rest and any dreams of religious endowment, i.e., it was essential to use State authority to impose a Catholic religious possession on a community. The redefinition of the Church came at a timely moment for Quebec Catholics and as the State of Quebec declared its autonomy from Church, "the Church itself affirmed the autonomy of political culture, the liberty of individual consciences in all political issues, and the need for people to engage in significant discussions and initiatives of their own communities. Because of this coincidence, Baum contended that Quebec Catholics might be critical of their ancient Quebec and religious nationalism". In the spirit of diversity, reform and great resistance, Quebec Church and state learned to accommodate with peace and modernity (Casanova 1994: 71).

Nevitte and Gingras (1984) observe that one of the reasons that scholars like Martin (1988) have not looked at Church in Quebec after 1960 very closely was that they

have been guided by theories of modernization which presuppose that as societies move into modernity they have become more rational, utilitarian, functional and secular. They have forgotten that religion continues to be important to modern societies. In Quebec State, this perspective was tied to the mythology of Quiet Revolution itself. After 1960, the story goes that as religion ceased to be important, that was when Quebec became modern society. While the quiet revolution was an important landmark in Quebec history of modernization process, Quebec had been a modern society for some time. If Quiet Revolution has created confusion over the role of religion in the process of modernization, then the nationalist debates in Canada have compounded that confusion by disagreements over the relationship of nationalism to the journey of modernization. After World War II, it was commonplace in Canada and West to identify nationalism as a remnant of our pre-modern heritage. Nationalism, like other religions was an obstacle to humanity's development to the fully rational, functional, and humanitarian society. More recently, some sociologists studied nationalism in depth and rejected this view and argued that nationalism is not a regression to pre-modern forms of identity but one of the cornerstones of the modernization project. The desire to take Church actively as a component of modern society, modern Quebec in particular, has its roots in the wide spread confusion over the concept of secularization (Nevitte&Gingras 1984: 22).

Furthermore, Seljak (1996) points out that that this does not mean that "the Second Vatican Council and the emergence of the movement of faith and integrity were the immediate causes of the Church's recognition of the new community and of new nationalism" (Guindon 1988: 104). This new stance of the international Church was instead a necessary--but not sufficient-- condition for Quebec Church's reconciliatory position. It allowed Catholics in the Church who supported quiet revolution to remain faithful Catholics while undermining the position of conservatives who dreamed of an old Quebec. This fact says that Quebec society did not suffer the cultural schism which has marked the modernization of other Catholic countries such as France, Italy, and Mexico (Milot 1991: 62). Guindon (1960) says in his one of the essay *'The Social Evolution of Quebec Reconsidered'* which was well ahead of its time in its assimilation of both the Church's appearance in Quebec society and roots of the quiet revolution. This historical analysis provided by eminent Quebec historians, NiveVoisine, Jean Hamelin and Andre Beaulieu, for Catholic Church's Commission

of study on the laics and the Church in 1971 also employed this framework. It has also served as the basis for the useful multi-volume history of Quebec Catholicism edited by NiveVoisine. Martin's approach has encouraged a reading of religion and nationalism in society from the perspective of historical sociology (Mills 1959: 35).

Westhues (1976) argues against the assumption that one can understand decisions of social institutions by studying the change in religious mentalities of individuals: "To extent that social change results from actions of well-organized elites, pressure-groups and social movements rather than from the summed attitudes and behavior of individuals, research based on random samples of individual citizens which bears only tangentially on theoretical problem" (Moreux 1969: 420). The studies of this belief and attitudes of the faithful and extent to which this position has been accepted were needed. Collette Moreux (1969) concluded that Catholicism had become almost virtually indistinguishable from the French Canadian identity. This kind of attitude has still prevailed among many Quebeckers who wanted Church to provide important rites of passage such as weddings, baptisms, and funerals but who do not practice faith. More importantly French Quebeckers support the Catholic religious instruction for their own children despite the fact that they themselves lead fully secular lives (Milot 1991:36).

No work has been done on the contribution of women to French Canadian or Quebecois nationalism. Though, nationalists considered women as important for the survival of the nation. In fact, the women were considered so important to the nation that Groulx and the other religious nationalists has promoted a system of *'family institute'* to educate women into their proper roles of housewives, mothers, guardians of morality, the faith, and the nation (Brookwell 1981:326). It was undeniable that women played an important role in maintaining Catholicism as an important element in French-Canadian life.

Moreux (1969) argues that the women were instrumental in promoting various forms of pious practices at home and oversaw family devotions and played an important role in creating the link between nation and the Church. The Church was able to become important in the incorporation of Franco-Canadian country largely because of its control over the social bureaucracy of Quebec. The Church then became a social institution "during that period of transition when the poor, the sick, and ignorant as

Everest C. Hughes once put it, no longer belonged to their kin and did not yet belong to state” (Guindon 1988: 133). If the identification of the French-Canadians with Church was based on everyday experiences of their Church services--in the field of education, health care and social aspect-- then it is important to study how much of this work was done by women. The Church’s ethical reflection on the nationalism in 1960s and 70s did not change this fact.

Couture (1994) argues that Quebec nationalism is ‘religious’ in the purpose that it orients people to the new absolute reality, redefining ‘the sacred’ in secular terms. The sociologist who has studied the theories of nationalism argues that the nationalism has been fundamental to modernization (Couture 1994: 21).

### **Modernization of Quebec Society**

The modernization theory hopes to explain the radical transformation of every aspect of societies as they shifted from traditional communities to modern societies. Modernization theory has been widely debated in sociology but remains foundational to the discipline (Nisbet 1966: 42). In the book ‘*Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis,*’ Kenneth Mc Roberts outlines a very pragmatic approach to the modernization theory which he applies to Quebec society. Mc Roberts (1988) argues that the categories of traditional community and the modern society have been conceived as the ideal types, that is to say the heuristic devices which were not found in reality but aid in analysis. Many scholars such as Toland (1968) have failed to agree on which characteristics distinguish a traditional community from modern society, and so Mc Roberts argues that it is best to describe the criteria of one’s judgment in more general terms: “the traditional society is more likely to be rural and agrarian than urban and industrial; status is more of likely to be based on inscriptive ties than on achievement; values are more likely to be particularistic and religious than secular and universal; the social structures and social roles are more likely to be integrated with each other than differentiated” (Roberts1988:12).

Academics have found it useful to divide the process of modernization into social, political and economic dimensions in order to organize the wide diversity of changes which modernity entails. The theory of modernization assumes that social, political and economic changes promoted and are inspired by changes in understanding,

behavior and attitudes of individuals (Roberts1988:13). The four of the most important characteristics of social change are usually listed as urbanization, education and secularization, and the growth of mass communication networks. Economic modernization was usually measured quantitatively and was defined in terms of growth. Industrialization is a key indicator of the economic growth and social change since it require structural changes (such as urbanization) and the changes in individual psychologies. These characteristics of political modernization were the subject of debate since early studies tended to use the criteria of liberal democracy as the basis for definitions of political modernization (Roberts1988:16). Mc Roberts proposes on relying on Karl Deutsch's description of political modernization:

“a growth in proportion of the population which is politically relevant, more scope and penetration of the government activities, usually through the instrument of a larger, more of skilled bureaucracy; more generalized recruitment of political elite; a style of performance and the communication by political elite which is more open and less tied to non political structures; and finally, greater participation into politics, in the minimal form of voting but more importantly in form of joining political organizations, being in touch with political communication networks, or working for political goals by legal or extra-legal means. These elements were reduced to the three criteria: expansion of state, popular mobilization and the popular participation. What these theories of modernization have failed to do so far is to provide a convincing theory which would link the dimensions of social, political, economic and psychological change” (Mc Roberts 1988:11).

Instead of positing such a theory, Mc Roberts applies the method and objectives of historical sociology to his understanding of developments in Quebec to suggest particular set of inter-relations between these dimensions. Deutsch argues that the modernization had broken down the old networks of social, political, economic and psychological identity and solidarity in Quebec. These new networks defined themselves according to their world of shared meanings. The community of shared meanings became the basis for a preferred circle for the sharing of property, opportunities, and trade. Further, social mobilization in form of increased communication the structuring of markets, urbanization, literacy, wage labor and internal migration pushed these communities to develop into the modern states. As these nation states expanded, they ran into other communities of shared social communication which they could not assimilate (Deutsch 1969: 56). In the study on secularization of Quebec society, scholars such as Mc Roberts (1988) have assumed

that after 1960s, Church ceased to be an important social actor and that Catholicism was emptied of its political significance.

This is not to say that some scholars such as Gibson (1960) who believe that nationalism has replaced religion are completely unaware of their differences. This emergence of nationalism did depend on the existence of a religious form of solidarity, identity, and social organization. The rise of nationalism often did entail secularization roles, the educational institutions, and the identities created by religious communities. Moreover, religion continued to influence political and national life of many societies in Quebec. It adapted to new societies and continued to play an important role, even if it was not a dominant role ascribed in the past. Hence, David Martin's theory of secularization is very useful as a starting point in describing the complexity of relationships between religion and nationalism in modern world of Quebec.

### **Martin's Theory of Secularization**

In General Theory of Secularization, Martin has offered the most important comparative sociology of Roman Catholicism. Martin, proposes and demonstrates that religion affects the manner in which a traditional society moves into modernization. In general Martin argues, the manner in which Protestant societies moved into modernization produced pluralism, tolerance and democratic cooperation of different interest groups. Martin speaks of a 'cumulative legitimation' of society: by this he means that different sectors of society, whether secular or religious, economic classes or regional groupings, while possibly in conflict with one another, have their own way of legitimating society as a whole. Martin explains that to understand how people participated in and reacted to the modernization of their societies, one must observe the social location of Church, its organization, its doctrines, and the religious self-understanding of population. The book concerns itself largely with the general social and political configuration of societies; the work is readily applicable to the issue of nationalism and includes a discussion of national identity (Martin1978:106).

Martin (1978) argues that Protestant societies tend to be marked by internal division and sectarianism; they have engendered a culture of pluralism. When these societies

modernized, no Church could impose its creed on the whole population. The fact promoted federalism which is a loose affiliation of Church and state, an acceptance of religious liberty and the democratic political forms. The state which has emerged was legitimated cumulatively, in other words, by the acceptance of arrangement of the various groups and sections of the society--even if it was on very different note. These societies did not demand any conformity to a single state religion. On other hand, Catholicism has traditionally understood itself as the religion of the whole. It was religion which was presented as an integrated whole to be accepted in its personnel, political, economic, religious, and social teachings. The modernizers in Catholic societies could not define themselves easily within their tradition and so generally defined themselves against Church. These Catholic societies were marked with great cultural schism, with liberals on one side and conservatives on other. Thus, Martin argues that the monolithic and global religious imagination and the organization of societies generated monolithic and global modernizing ideologies.

According to Martin, religion helps to explain the configuration of social forces in a modern society. In the secularization theory, Martin notes that scholars such as Durkheim (1979) like to talk about 'universal process' of modernization as in the case of Quebec. These universal processes were not iron-clad laws which each society must follow but rather they represent the tendencies that societies will follow 'all things were being equal'. But things are not equal ever. Martin immediately qualifies the general theory with an understanding that the historical, geographical, and 'accidental' factors help determine the religious configuration of a society. For example, the geographical fact of the channel protected English Protestantism from Catholic attack and the important battles and revolutions such as English national war, American war on sovereignty, and the French reformation determined how these civil societies modernized. Such accidents of history are important. The geography of the St. Lawrence Valley, its extra ordinary winters, the location of natural resources, and abundance of waterfalls, for example (Hydro Quebec) all has shaped the history of Quebec.

Baum (1986) believes that Martin's theory sheds light on modernization of Quebec society. Canada is really a 'mixed society' with proportions between Protestants and Catholics which was similar to those of Germany, Switzerland and Holland, and thus

Martin's analysis of mixed societies was appropriate for understanding Canadian society. French Canadians understand themselves as people, and Quebec society regard itself as cultural, social and political embodiment of this people, even if important minorities of French Canadians lived in other provinces and only a substantial minority of English-speakers resided in Quebec.

Barnes (1961) observes that "since the English conquest, the Quebec Roman Catholic has been most important single agency for defense and perpetuation of French-Canadian heritage in North America. Though, it's commanding position is unchallenged, the Church has long shared its authority with elites in economic and political spheres. Other elites however, have by no means competed with the Church. Indeed, though interchange and cooperation among elites have been characteristic of French-Canadian society." Quebec Catholicism has been so well adapted to the traditional Quebec society that it hardly hopes to benefit from any social change. It has therefore faced great problems in coping up with the urbanization, industrialization and secularization. It must either come to terms with new forces or combat them effectively. Quebec Catholicism in short, faces problems which has confronted European Catholicism in nineteenth century. Perhaps in no country of the world are Church and its representatives held in high regard among all elements of population as in Quebec. Thus an examination of Catholic response to social change in Quebec will indicate its reaction to the transition of an urban, industrial society, under optimum conditions. It also indicates the difficulties of combining the old and new in the same institutions. In Quebec as elsewhere Church wishes to disseminate its doctrines as widely as possible; its organizations adapt its social teachers to the actual problems of province. Thus, the social doctrine of Church offers readily available documentation of the religious attitudes towards the changing conditions.

### **Catholicism and Social Change in Quebec**

Gibson (1960) observes that during Duplessis era, though very few clergymen held election office, the huge number of Quebecois Catholics ensured that they did not need to hold office to have a formative influence on the policy developed within that province. Many scholars such as Dumont (1971) believe that this intimate relationship between Church and State was responsible for trapping Quebec in a protracted infancy, as it failed to modernize at the same rate as other parts of North



America. During the period of Quiet Revolution of early 1960s, the Catholic Church was forced to release its grip on Quebec allowing the province to enter the modern world. However, the spark that was to illuminate 'Grand Noieceur' (Great Darkness) was being kindled for decades before it finally burst into flame during the 1960s. Many ideas fundamental to Quiet Revolution were first formulated by lay organization within the Church itself. Furthermore, the changes implemented during 1960s, in Quebec were protected by modernization within global Catholic community. This would prevent any possible return to sort of ultramontanism which was prevalent in Quebec society. Thus, dynamic transformations within Catholic Church inspired parallel transformations in the structure of Quebec society.

However, like other Catholic Action groups before them, the editors of *Cite Libre* did not promote a revitalization of Catholic faith for its own sake, but were also interested in effecting social change. For editors of *Cite Libre*, the most important aspect of Quebec society that was in most desperate need of reform was the prevailing model of Church-state interaction. Using two of the central tenets of Catholic Action movement, the irreconcilable conflict between generations, and the superiority of a personal understanding of religion to formulaic piety, they developed a critique of Duplessis' era that would in large number inspire the rhetoric of quiet revolution. They have believed that Duplessis' regime was emblematic of the hollow Catholicism they saw being practiced in Quebec. Therefore, they advocated for a departure from the system that promoted clerical domination in the political life of the province. They believed that a new generation of leaders should replace uncritical obedience to the dictates of the clergy with a sensitive and intellectual response to the problems of the modern world. Nonetheless, their conception of the world would be informed by a thorough understanding of the Church's teachings. Thus, far from demanding a secular state, the *cite librespites* envisioned a society that would be more deeply Catholic. However, this Catholic ethos would not be imposed upon the polity by a domineering Church; it would develop organically because the people who guided the creation of state policy would be led by profound Catholic convictions.

Gibson (1960) observes that as these ideas reached the communities at large through vehicles like *citelibre*, Quebec society was caught up in dramatic cultural and political transformation: quiet revolution. Under the leadership of Jean Lesage, the

structure of Quebec's society underwent drastic alteration. These number of changes implemented aimed at creating the sort of distance between the Catholic hierarchy and the state that the *cite libres* had advocated for. For example, by creating first provincial ministry of education the Lesage government made Catholic teaching orders which had overseen education in Quebec for many centuries, redundant. It also gave the government the power to favor the sort of education they thought most necessary for youths who would live in modern industrial world. The training in technical careers, like engineering, superseded the classical education provided by Church. The climax of transformation of Quebec coincided with period of radical change within global Church of Roman Catholic. During II Vatican Council, convoked in 1962 by Pope John XXIII, Church as a whole began process of re-establishing its position in modern world. It was evident that many Catholics desire a Church whose structure involved greater cooperation between clergy and laity. This nature of politics developed during the council made it equally apparent that highest authorities in Church were ready and willing to develop a model that would allow just that. By creating an atmosphere that provided an opportunity for greater lay involvement in the sacramental life of Church, the council also articulated the laity's right to participate in her salvific mission. According to pronouncement of the council, all people of Catholic Church guided by Holy Spirit could help to teach the message of Gospel. Thus, relationship between clergy and laity was modified. Where it was dynamics' and authority there was now to be one of cooperation and collaboration.

Further, Gibson (1960) observes that this development of a model for more equal interaction between clergy and the laity within the Church was matched by a new philosophy to guide the relationship between Church and state. This old practice was prevalent especially in historically Catholic societies like Quebec, whereby Church authorities could have shaped the policies of state by exerting a direct influence on the political choices made by the laity, was unequivocally denounced. This council has affirmed that the lay person must have the right to act in secular sphere according to the dictates of its own conscious, which was free from ecclesiastical interference. So the Church as defined by second Vatican Council gave its members the freedom to participate in the political life of the modern and democratic state.

In Quebec, Dumont Commission, which was completed in early 1970s, employed the new ideas in order to re-define duty of Catholic Church in province. This development of a global policy for democratization of Church hierarchy meant that any return to a clerical society like the previous generation was impossible, even if there were some conservatives who pined for it. However, Quebec Catholics were glad to observe that official Church policy agreed with the ideas that they had been developing for nearly forty years. According to Dumont Commission, Church was first and foremost a communion. In this communion, laity and the clergy were called on to support and encourage one another as they strove towards a common goal: salvation and adapting their behavior to agree with their new role as '*compagnon de route*' on the way to heaven the bishops in Quebec, though many of them were conservative, refrained from suppressing the developments of more liberal and experimental pious practices within the parishes of diocese. Similarly, II Vatican Council's insistence on the people's right to form opinions regarding the political issues autonomously, self-professed Catholics could be found to endorse opposing sides of the every important question, thus making it impossible to reduce 'Catholic position' to an absolute opposition to the values of modern, post Quiet Revolution society. Thus, by adopting the ideology formulated during second Vatican Council, the Dumont Commission validated more liberal ideas of Church's role in society that had been emerging in Quebec.

The careful inspection of Catholic Church in Quebec during Duplessis years reveals that any representation of it as a monolithic institution uniformly opposed modernization cannot be accepted. Indeed, many ideas that informed the policy of quiet revolution were first formulated in organizations composed of Quebec's lay population, and especially of young, Catholic Quebecois. Furthermore, changes which were made during quiet revolution were safeguarded by modernization within global Catholic Church. So, 'great darkness' of ultramontanist in Quebec was not dispelled by sudden flash of light at beginning of 1960s. This spark of light that burst into flame during quiet revolution had been stuck within Church itself.

Barnes (1961) examines that the 21st century, which extremely increased Quebec's pace of industrialization, found provincial academic and religious organizations insufficient to deal with vast industrialization-related issues. Quebec's education

system's primary objective was to provide a classical education aimed at further studying for priesthood, medicine or law. This objective is still commonly recognized as evidenced by the small amount of French-Canadians pursuing business, engineering, or science research. The clergy of Quebec have served the French-Canadian people admirably in many fields of practical affairs, and have been noted for their knowledge of the inhabitant's problems. This education of the clergy emphasizes the overall emphasis on classical education, and the social studies received little attention.

### **Church Secularization and Education**

Baum (1986) points out that the role of the Church in the historical context of Quebec was not without uncertainty. On one side, the creation of dominant Catholic ideology helped people to withstand assimilation and failure; it created an independent cultural identity that served as resource for political struggle. At the same time, a similar Catholic ideology prevented Quebecers from keeping up with modernization of education, and from competing with English-speaking Canadians in society. This same ideology, were so much at odds with North American life, which created in Quebecers a sense that they felt different. While they acknowledged this difference with spiritual pride, they were also aware of the shadows of self-doubt. They felt sometimes like a people caught in the past, who were far behind modern developments. In a particular sense, they were in search of a new, more contemporary self-image, which was a carrier of Quiet Revolution.

Baum (1986) points out that the premier of Quebec 'Duplessis' from the mid- thirties to mid fifties was the acknowledged 'boss' of Quebec society, who developed a philosophy of 'anti-statism'. He permitted the Catholic Church, which gave him considerable support, to be ideological guide of province. Despite the advanced conditions which were created by Quebec industrialization, his desire was the involvement of Church in the field of education, health and welfare services. Duplessis was a reactionary premier, and despite his claim to be a nationalist, he never intervened to rein the exploitative practices of foreign corporations; in fact, he gave invitation to them for Quebec recommending its cheap and pacified labor force.

Duplessis always opposed the creation of the union and denied the participation of the State in all public services, particularly hydroelectric power. As Duplessis vehemently opposed social change, having become the defender of predominant Catholic ideology, has restrained secular religious minorities, and has threatened to sabotage their holy control. This convergence of different trends gave Catholic Church a power and presence in a large Quebec society, which has few historical parallels. With funding by the provincial government, the Church was completely responsible for the system of education, from primary schooling to university levels, for the need of hospitals and other social services, and for the assistance of destitute and poor. Though, Church and State were separate legally, in fact actually the Church was involved deeply in ordering and promoting social life and exercised considerable influence on all government decisions, not least by being the principal source of public ideology.

With the fall of Duplessis's party and election of liberal government on 22<sup>nd</sup> June 1960, a new political modernization of Quebec society started (Baum 1986). This new government regarded itself as one of the principal agents in promoting Quebec society. This produced a dramatic effect both on educational system, public welfare, and health care as well as on economic life of people. This new government has attempted to curb the authority of 'foreign' corporations, to encourage French-Canadian-owned and managed companies in every aspect of commercial and industry living. These changes have been followed by an extraordinary excitement, a newer pride in being French-Canadian, and a cultural creativity explosion. There were great changes in education where in the past Church has shown more interest in cultural and religious instruction rather than preparing people for participation and competition in technological society.

Quebecers were feeling that they were not prepared for the needs of the new modern society. For the French-Canadian elite--the doctors, lawyers and owners of the small manufacturing and commercial enterprises--the Church devised a classical education of very high quality. These elite were to make Quebec society the bearer of a higher, more spiritual civilization compared with the business civilization characteristic of North America. This new government created ministry of education. It aimed at creating a population of Quebec which was well trained in scientific and

technological matters. It secularized the universities and created newer institutions of higher education to prepare Quebecers to play a more active role in Quebec society.

Baum (1986) further points out that as a result, the Catholic Church has been excluded from many tasks over the previous years from which it has exercised control. Rapid secularization took place. This new secular nationalism with a liberal and little later with a socialist perspective became a new public philosophy. The Church has experienced a huge membership loss. It was curious that how quickly vast number of Catholics who were trained and often fervent in disciplined religion, shed faith in their ancestors.

While Catholicism was noticeable in Quebec culture--in its historical memories, it became a minority in its government symbols, its architecture, in the religious names of villages, cities and organizations--practicing Catholics. In an article, *Les Catholiques* Raymond Lemieux, (1982) a sociologist at Laval University, has written that practicing Catholics represent nearly forty percent of population. The studies of attendance in Church and sacramental participation showed that that the practice of religion is very uneven. The significant variable seems to be the stability of the community. Under the impact of Vatican II, the sixties saw the huge creation of base communities in the large cities, especially in Quebec and Montreal which declined drastically. The ancient Catholic ideology was recovered by new, secular philosophy of self-determination with a double focus; one focused on modernization and political involvement; the other focused was on preserving national identity, enhancing Quebec culture, and creating a new French existence in North America.

Baum (1986) elaborates finally that Bishops in Church did not fight modernization, nor did they identify themselves with conservative sector of population, as the hierarchies in many of the Catholic countries. Instead Bishops took time to reflect and following the spirit of Vatican II sought a newer definition of the Church's mission in society. In 1968, they selected a study commission which was made up of pastors, social scientists and theologians who presided over by Fernand Dumont, a layman and well-known Quebec sociologists whose task was to examine Church's identity crisis and to make proposals for new directions. By 1973, when three volumes Dumont Report were published, the original enthusiasm for renewal and creative experiment declined greatly. The report had considerable impact. The report

recommended that the Church recognize the inevitability of political modernization and cultural pluralism and resign itself to the loss of its prestige and institutional power which justifies my fourth question of this thesis. It asked the Church to abandoned the idea that Quebec was still a Catholic culture in which the Christian faith, like French language and other historical memories, could be handed on from generation to generation. The Church should charter a new course, redefine a new role in Quebec society, and remain present as one of the moral voice amongst several thus to build a modern Quebec. For, this the report argues that the Bishops must rely on help and cooperation of the entire Catholic community. The Parishes had to become centers of discussion, allowing people to express what Jesus Christ meant to them, what significance discipleship had for them, and how they conceived of the place and function of the Church. The Church was not simply a given; it was a social and religious project, in which the entire community believe under the leadership of bishops. The report had a wide impact, it created a new spiritual climate; and created discontent among progressive Catholics who saw more clearly what the Church was and what it could be. To this day, the report remains an important ecclesiastical document.

Seljak (1996) observes that by 1970s, the position had changed completely; the Quebec State had taken over the Church's work in schooling, health maintenance, including welfare services. Quiet Revolution symbolizes that the French-nation representation in Canada was now the State and not Church. While Quiet Revolution's origin could be seen in rapid economic growth and increased State power, these changes of 1960s were experienced as a dramatic shift in the field of education as well. Thus, the response of Church was silent to its loss of authority and its loss of control over the significant principles that religious nationalism performed. By 1970s, there was no nationalist group that sought to promote Catholic political culture or to transmute Quebec economy in obedience with Church learning. Quebec was not considered as a catholic state now and hence the control over schools, hospitals welfare services, and the Church leadership evaporated completely. Surprisingly, the Church reacted to this secularization of Quebec society in education in a relatively peaceful manner. Certainly, bishops and priests objected to the governments' plans for the secularization of education and the religious communities opposed these educational reforms which turned their hospitals into public

institutions. But generally, Quebec society escaped this tragic cultural schism which marked the movement into secular modernity of several Catholic countries.

In Quebec, the Church has not withdrawn into 'Catholic ghetto' which anathematizes this new society, and work towards restoration of the old order. The reason for this was that many members and supporters of the reforms were from Church. In these Catholic societies, it was natural that opposition to regime had its origins within the Church. The important question which arises here is how Quebec avoided the old days of cultural difference which was experienced by France, Italy, Spain, Mexico, and other Catholic countries. Even though, Quiet Revolution was influenced by and encouraged some criticism against religion even anticlericalism, there was no immense refusal that was seen on behalf of modernizers. Constantly, there was only twenty-nine percent of Catholics who appeared for mass on each Sunday, and most restrained their Catholic individuality and contended on Catholic religious education for their children. Quiet Revolution also agreed with the reforms of second Vatican Council, which completely altered Church's definition, and appearance of faith and justice movement in late 1960s and 1970s (Baum 1991: 43). Casanova (1994) argues that council abandoned any perception of religious organization, that is, use of state power to dictate a Catholic religious proprietorship on society. That just as Quebec State was seeking its sovereignty from Church, it believed in freedom of individual principles in political matters, and need of people to be involved in important debates and projects of their societies. Because of this coincidence Baum (1991) argues that Catholics in Quebec could be critical of old Quebec and its religious nationalism, and still had to remain good Catholics. Despite misunderstandings, personal grievances, and heated disagreements, the Quebec Church and state learned to cooperate and compromise in spirit of reform, pluralism, and tolerance. The Second Vatican Council and the emergence of faith and justice movement were the direct causes of Church's acceptance of new society and new nationalism, but these developments in secularization of education and other areas of hospitals and social services allowed Church to become more open to compromise and undermined the position of Catholic conservatives who dreamed of a renewal of an old society.

Seljak (1996) says that one of the most important issues was the Church's acceptance of the secularization of French-Canadian nationalism. If Quebec State has powers to



make the educational reforms of 1960s 'revolutionary,' then the Church had the power to make revolution 'Quiet'. Its compromise to new nationalism has helped to determine the shape of Quebec culture and society after 1960. While British North America Act implicitly gave Catholic Church a semi-established status in the province of Quebec, the two most important motors of modernization, democratic political structures and capitalist economic institutions, remained outside of its control. Consequently, despite its important role in Quebec society, Church was most often in a position of reacting to the social change. Besides multiplying their institution which led to secularization of education and other aspects of communal services the Church promoted the growth of labor unions, farmers' cooperatives, credit unions, pious leagues, radio and television, shows, films, newspapers and Catholic Action groups for the workers, students, women, farmers and nationalists. The project was encouraged by Pope Pius XI, who founded the Catholic Action movement to encourage these Catholics to form 'intermediary bodies' or voluntary associations to meet between individuals and state bodies. The conservative Catholics dreamed that these bodies would eventually reclaim all those functions in society that had been wrenched from Church's control.

Seljak (1995) observes that while other people met the demands of industrialization and variation with curriculums of what sociologists Karl Deutsch has called 'nation-building,' French-Canadian nationalists embarked on contentious programs of 'church-building' with the goal of establishing a 'nation-Church' rather than a 'nation-state.' "Though, state intervention was determined in many projects such as those of education, French-Canadian nationalists usually preferred to resolve conflicts by creating religiously inspired social structures rather than appealing to state power. For example, Church's corporatist response to the Depression, the actions of state were limited to those realms where the first agents of society (the family and church) were as yet incapable of fulfilling their responsibilities. Typically, the French-Canadian nationalism was marked by certain *anti-etatisme* and *apolitisme*. Because, it was rooted in a profoundly conservative, clerical, and Catholic triumphalism, this nationalism could be xenophobic, repressive and intolerant, as evidenced by its crusades against Jews, socialists and Jehovah's witnesses in name of religious and national solidarity. Despite the anti-modern discourse which authors like Baum (2005) employed, this bureaucratic revolution ironically promoted modernization of

French Quebec society including that of Church and French-Canadian nationalism. Modernization was really problematic for the Church but the critics drew its attention to gulf between the modern, multi-cultural, industrial, and urban reality of Quebec society and a conservative Catholic ideology centered on rural values, ethnic solidarity, religion and rejection of politics and state. These critics including those who participated in Catholic Action movements, grew suspicious of traditional nationalism and some even rejected nationalism altogether” (Seljak 1995:127). These rapid changes of 1960, known as Quiet Revolution, grew directly out of the society that was formed in Quebec after 1987.

Gauverau (2005) observes that Quiet Revolution, in its most explicit sense, represents a series of political, educational, social and economic reforms initiated by rational government of Premier Jean Lesage between the era of 1960 and 1966:

“The quiet revolution has been irrevocably associated with politics, either through a far reaching campaign of accelerated state intervention during 1960s, in the areas of education, economic management, health welfare, and social services, through its frequent application to the acrimonious attempts of successive Quebec governments to assert the greater constitutional authority vis-à-vis the federal government, or through the project to promote a vision of Quebec as a sovereign nation” (Gauverau 2005:125).

The historical consensus also has a religious dimension and scholars have long been enthralled by extremely rapid decentralization of Catholicism as a governmental presence and as a system of public and intimate values during 1960s. Quiet Revolution was seen as an era of extensive secularization, if not de-Christianization, of a community that desires its Catholic personality continuously in the early 1960s. These political reforms of 1960s, were generally accepted, compelled a rapid deconfessionalization of Quebec society, with the Church withdrawing from its main educational and social services in the aspect of a political state that had acquired the expertise and a will to exert an increasing primacy over social and economic developments of Quebec in the name of rationality, competence, and efficiency. Of equal significance, the identification of Quiet Revolution with politics rendered it synonymous with rise of secular ‘neo-nationalism’ whose network dwelled on the 18<sup>th</sup> economy, language, authority, rather than a universal religious faith. In these few years, the expansion of the state has certainly depreciated the social and cultural role of Catholicism inside Quebec society. By 1960s, because of its very traditional

character, and its alliance and clericalism with political conservatives, Catholicism had become increasingly unpopular with rising middle class of professionals, administrators, and academics devoted to secular and technocratic ideals of economic progress and political modernization.

Since 1970s, a second interpretation took place which could loosely be termed as 'revisionist,' that has been oriented to study of economic structures and processes, thus sought to place Quebec society within the framework of modern liberal capitalism. Thus, emphasizing the modern pluralist character of Quebec society, it locates the roots of Quebec's modern values in nineteenth century, rather than in sudden discovery by intellectuals of post-war social realities. By denying any particular significance to the period of World War II, it renders as increasingly problematic the 'orthodox liberals' in the historiography canon of Quiet Revolution which has separated Church and state and in which Catholicism found its social role usurped by the new secular elites.

Seljak (1996) elaborates that a 'fresh middle class' emerged from university-trained learners in the enormous bureaucracy that Church has developed after World War II. While trained in Catholic culture and values, members of this clerically dominated bureaucracy were socialized into rational, contemporary, and democratic values at the same time. They were therefore uneasy with Duplessis regime's conservative and undemocratic methods and with Church's complicity in those practices. Their requirements were bureaucracy rationalization overseeing schooling and other social duties. They also requested education democratization also asserted against their 'clericalism,' which was understood to be the highest positions reserved for Church representatives. Consequently, both against the Catholic Church and against the Anglophone company elite, this fresh nationalism was described (Roberts 1999:149). These elites 'rise in power was ensured when the Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ) went to power in June 1960. Although inspired by secular regenerated nationalism, a number of measures were taken by the Lesage government that thoroughly defined the role of the state. PLQ, overwhelmed by education, preventive measures, and welfare services, and by nationalizing hydroelectric facilities and creating crown corporations, attempted both to expand government impact in the economy and to enhance the presence of French-Canadians at the upper economic levels. At a

tremendous level, the state bureaucracy risen by 42.6 percent between 1960 and 1965 (Guindon 1988: 134). And the Lesage government embraced these modifications, mostly satisfying the interests of new middle-class and Francophone company individuals, some seeking to foster a more democratic, humane and therefore participatory society. These liberals have implemented more progressive labor laws and significant reforms of social welfare. The followers of the instructional reforms of government attacked both traditional religious nationalism and the liberalism *laissez-faire*. They developed a fresh political nationalism that was firmly secular, state-centered, and optimistically oriented towards Keynesian liberalism or even social democracy (Guindon 1988: 42). While accepting these reforms of education, Catholics tried to discover fresh methods to adapt the structures of the Church and Catholic thoughts towards newer concepts. In 1960s, in the very prominent title of the book, *Les insolences de Frere Untel*, the bishops accused of attacking standard French Canadian nationalism (Hamelian 1984: 239). However, led by Cardinal Paul-Emile Leger, the bishops embraced Quebec society's urbanization and reluctantly abandoned the policies of colonization and corporatism, the traditional paternalistic attitude of the bishops, obedience to Rome, moralizing spirit, and the confusion between Catholicism and the ideology of the conservative remained untouched. By 1970, these bishops had mainly reconciled with Quebec State independence, the freedom of individual consciences in political issues, and the legitimacy of advance nationalism. In many areas of Church, this early opposition and subsequent bishop reconciliation were paralleled (Guindon 1988: 136).

Finally, Seljak (1996) observes that without the coincidence of the Silent Revolution with the Second Vatican Council, there been no compromise. The redefinition of this Church's relationship with modernity in the province of Quebec had three direct implications. First, it took wind from the sails of the rejection of new culture by the conservative. It has rendered traditional nationalist project impossible--because the hierarchy of the Church has now rejected its designated position as the spiritual and cultural rulers of the modernity assault. Secondly, it enabled Catholics--and even priests and Bishops--to promote some Quiet Revolution initiatives despite their educational laicizing agenda. Finally, it prompted a fresh concern among Quebec Catholics for growth and social justice. This Council revealed the advance direction that Pope John XXIII laid down for Catholic social teaching in the field of education.

Catholics have attempted to stay relevant to the culture of Quebec and engage as Christians in their society's significant struggles. The cotemporary social teaching, along with Catholic Church reflections in Latin America, would lead in the 1970s to the movement of belief and integrity. Influenced by this teaching, Quebec Church could create a continuous ethical criticism of the new culture and nationalism while affirming its liberating elements. Together, these advances intended that Quebec society prevented painful cultural discords between modernizers and Catholics, both reformist and profound, marking Catholic communities (Roberts 1991:169).

There have been different responses within Quebec Church to the new culture and its new nationalism. Many Quebecers have no interest in Vatican II pious reforms than they were in the quiet revolution's instructional reforms (Roberts 1991: 171). Rural Catholics, for instance, stayed faithful to conventional religious nationalism and continued supporting union nationalism. When that party embraced the PLQ--like political program, many of those electors moved to the Social Credit Party's provincial wing, the *Ralliement Creditiste*. The ralliement struggled with autonomy and even absorbed two openly independent parties, and while its conservative followers were federalists, the party rulers sought autonomy to safeguard the traditional system defined by religious nationalism from secular, modernizing, and federal state incursions (Linteau 1989: 128).

Seljak (1996) suggests that Groulx (1965) observes that these conservative Catholic autonomy movements found allies in Church in *Monde nouveau*, the journal of the Pius XI Sulpcian Institute, which was part of the theological faculty at the University of Montreal. *Monde nouveau* released an argument devoted to separatism in July 1965. Inspired by the refusal of new nationalism by Lionel Groulx, publisher Pere Guy Poisson advised Catholic activists to seize control levers for the new independence movement because 'independence created without Christians risks being produced against Church' (Poisson 1965: 7). What was all essential about Catholic nationalist organizations and the political parties that attempted to redefine Quebec's culture in the 1960s along lines of Catholic teaching was that almost all of them vanished in 1970. Nationalist movements had failed earlier in the twentieth century because they were meaningless politically. When the Catholic nationalist organizations disintegrated in the 1960s, no new Catholic organizations arose to take

their place because they had become meaningless both religiously and politically. In opposition to the new democratic culture, the Church no longer wished to describe its government presence. Conservative Catholics who denied readjusting this new society have restricted their conceptualization of Church's public presence to their position in the new school scheme, pastoral services, charity, community festivities, and some single problems of ethical debate such as abortion, and sexual integrity. On the domestic issue, they stayed silent. Not everyone who dismissed this new society and its nationalism left government. Many conservatives accepted this new state after a long struggle with its changes in educational reforms while maintaining their fidelity to ancient nationalism. Particularly, most significant voices were those of Francois-Albert Angers and Jesuit priest Jean Genest who in the pages of *l'Action nationale* attacked the alleged anti-clericalism of the Quiet Revolution. They asserted that this state development was a new type of dictatorship and infringement of the Church's freedom. Angers states in 1965: The individuals are masters in none when the state is master in every domain. The phrase: "We are State What we have not ceased to repeat here, in the biggest burden of rubbish ever suggested to put individuals to sleep and offer dictatorial green light to all the ministries of government that were, definition, budding little dictators" (Gernest 1970: 182). Angers and Gernest even dismissed their arguments in nationalist terms: without Church facilities, the country was certainly doomed to state tyranny on the one side and moral disintegration on the other (Gernest 1970: 184).

Seljak (1995) argues that *Jesuit* journal also took the stance. Pere Richard Ares was railed as a breach of the democratic rights of French Canadians against these educational reforms. Ares discovered Bill 60, which pledged for a particularly threatening secularization and modernization of the school system. Editorial titled *Le bill 60 et la démocratie totalitaire* in 1964 asserted that liberal democracy could become totalitarian because it attempted to eliminate all state-individual intermediary bodies. Of course, these bodies included a Church which, he argued, had been established by Quebec's Catholic families and had willingly placed in charge of education, health, and social facilities (Ares 1964:65). These had been led by technocratic elite, total democracy would sweep away such democratically built, organic organizations and replace them with huge, dehumanizing factory-schools that would produce world people who would nonetheless be neutral in mind and heart '

rootless and interchangeable' (Ares 1965:35). The country was in danger of losing culture, values and religious orientation without these Catholic schools. By the late 1960s, the efficacy of advance political nationalism lastly transformed these conservatives. They had converted their conservative principles into an ethos of communication that continued to encourage the Quebecois national movement, the Action journal national, and a major constituency within the Quebec's Parti (PQ). In Church, Catholicism has insisted on maintaining a government position and rejecting religion privatization. They insisted that Church is concerned with the domestic issue and that it continues to contribute to the culture of Quebec. Conversely, they requested the secular nationalist organizations acknowledge the distinctive contribution that Catholicism produced in the form of community ethos in Quebec culture. The conservative Catholics were unable to rally the remaining Church behind their cause. There was Catholic presence on both sides of the problem for every significant problem, from the discussion on educational reform to abortion. It was therefore difficult to define Catholicism with the refusal of the new culture as conservative. For instance, to modernize Quebec society and academic reforms were continuously endorsed by Dominican journal contributors *Maintenant*. Because of Church's role in promoting the Duplessis regime, contributors to *Maintenant* linked their critique of Old Quebec to a critique of Old Catholicism (Bradet 1963:254).

They rejected ultramontanism, which placed Church over 'the world' that is both State and civil society, the clergy over laity, and spiritual over material, demanding respect for political society's autonomy, recognition of individual conscience rights, more of democratic structures, and dialogue inter-religiously. These *Maintenant* authors claimed that modernity and new nationalism had a spiritual significance because they enabled people to take responsibility for themselves and their faith, and henceforth promoted autonomy and freedom, circumstances that made religious engagement meaningful. In September 1967, *Maintenant* has announced itself in favor of independence and socialism and citing this economic domination, *Maintenant's* editorial team stated that only state-intervention would allow French Quebecers to engage in their society's definition. This nationalism, while rooted in the French-Canadian truth, could not be isolationist; independence had to be a first step in Quebecers ' opening to a fresh level of involvement in the contemporary globe (Harvey 1967:237).

When most of the editorial team was substituted in 1969 and Pere Irene Desrochers became editor, this Jesuit Journal altered dramatically. This new team dismissed their predecessors' conservatism and embraced new society. It has become more sympathetic to the increasing movement within the Church of belief and justice. The relationships devoted themselves "to the theme of freedom, a term of religious, social, and political significance." Holy, these topics of democratization of academic reforms in the Church, freedom of conscience, and fresh types of Christian expression were promoted by the Jesuits (Desrochers 1971:335).

Magnuson (1970) observes that this decision of Quebec to travel the road of modernization and secularism has had the effect of thrusting the political state into a position of greater power and authority. As an evolving state inherited the responsibilities and the social leadership of declining Church, the structures of new society in education sector assumed more of public character. The establishment in Quebec in the late 1960s of civil marriage, divorce courts, and a public mental health scheme, testify to more powerful public authority. Scholars like Mc Roberts (1988) observe that the private and religious man of Quebec's past gave way to the public and secular man of Quebec's present. Quebec's private colleges obtain some financing from the government of Quebec for each registered kid, and in Quebec they make up to 10 percent of the primary school population; and about 25 percent at secondary level.

## **Conclusion**

While public schools are formally identified as 'secular', the role of religion continues to be divisive despite religious freedom and equality among students in Quebec schools. The hope that change in prevailing ethos in public schools from the protestant Christian to the liberal and secular would create greater inclusivity is being challenged by robust faith based education sector including publicly funded Roman Catholic separate schools. This chapter has attempted to describe how secularization of education took place during and after the Quiet Revolution. This chapter argues that the Quebec society moved into the modernization phase without generating cultural schism that on the whole has defined the Catholic societies. Martin's General theory of Secularization has been taken into consideration to explain the general spirit of compromise and pluralism which was evident in Church-State relations after the



Quiet Revolution. The failure to take religion seriously has been discussed in the chapter as a component of modern society; particularly Quebec's roots of the widespread confusion over the concept of 'secularization.' This chapter addresses the question of the Catholic Church's reaction to the educational reforms during the Quiet Revolution that have supposedly marginalized Catholic educational institutions in favor of state based educational institutions.

## Conclusion

The “Quiet Revolution” which broke out in 1960 in the Canadian Province of Quebec and continued for a decade till 1970 was a unique revolution in 20<sup>th</sup> Century as there was no violence and bloodshed in the conflict between State and Catholic Church unlike the tragic cultural schism accompanied by the excessive of anti-clericalism that tore apart France and Italy in the in the earlier century. Nevertheless under the leadership of the newly elected Premier Jean Lesage in 1960 and later Daniel Johnson (1966) conservatism in politics, in social matters and in religion came tumbling down before the cultural onslaught of modernization, liberalism, and secularism of “Quiet Revolution” Before the Quiet Revolution Church controlled the administration of schools, hospitals, newspapers, generous organization, patronage unions, youth federation and social clubs amidst others.

Out of over 65,000 members of female religious institutes in 1965 only 6.8 percent were engaged in contemplative work; the remainder of it was employed in education , health and social services. Similarly only two percent of Priest out of 1595 were engaged in contemplative work. The entire Roman Catholic Church dominance as a centre of influence in temporal affairs ended during the decade of Quiet Revolution. However, Catholic Church did not react violently and there was not “ghettoization” of Catholic and non-Catholic during the “Quiet Revolution.” Moreover, the Church did not work towards restoration of the old order. Hence a major research by Quebec scholar observed “Church reacted to secularization of Quebec society with relative serenity.”

The present study examined why the Church did not react violently but acted with relative serenity and reconciliation.

The study thus started by positing two research hypotheses:

*Quiet Revolution modernizes the education providing access to all and ending elitism.*

*The Educational Reforms of Quiet Revolution decisively marginalized Catholic education institutions yet Church reacted with serenity.*

As stated earlier, Quebec society escaped the tragic cultural schism which marked movement into secular modernity in catholic countries like France and Italy. The climax of transformation of Quebec coincided with the period of radical change within the global Roman Catholic Church. During the second Vatican Council convoked in 1962-65, the Church as a whole began process of re-establishing its position modern world.

Second Vatican Council advocated a new openness to modernity, defended autonomy of secular institutions, accepting the sovereignty of political society and state, affirming rights of individual consciences in political matters, fostered ecumenical relations with Protestants, express its respect for religious pluralism and urged lay people become responsible actors in the Society. The coincidence of Quiet Revolution and Second Vatican Council in early 1960s allowed engaged Catholics for support to modernize Quebec Society, comprising the secularization of its collective self understanding and the ecclesiastical institutions which has served education, social welfare and health services. In Quebec the decisions of the Council rendered unworkable the conservative nationalism of Catholic traditional groups, has allowed liberal and radicals to be critical of the old Church and the old Quebec while remaining Catholic and inspired Catholics to redefine the public role of the Church. The Catholics recognized that the Second Vatican Council laid to rest the use of State power to impose Catholic religious ownership of a society. The redefinition of the Church came at an opportune moment for Quebec Catholics as the Quebec state was declaring its autonomy from the Church, and the Church itself affirming the autonomy of political society, the freedom of individual consciences in all political matters, and the need for citizens to involve themselves in important debates and projects of their own society. Therefore, Quebec Church and state learned to accommodate. The “Quiet Revolution” symbolized that the state and not Church was the representation of French nation in Canada.

The newly formed political elite was elected with the slogan of “Things must change” “Master in our own house,” and “Now or never. Thus there began a decade of political, economic, social and cultural transformation in Quebec. Indeed, State intervention in five important sectors marked the Quiet Revolution. These are: the democratization of Society; the pursuit for equality in the access of education and

health; the control of major economic structures: the nationalization of hydro-electricity; modernization of Quebec public services; and the emergence of sovereignist political movement.

The growth of state power during the Quiet revolution was observed as most dramatic in education where the public authority displaced private authority by universalization of education. The creation of Royal commission of Inquiry on Education in 1961 proved to be one of the major events of Quebec's political and revolution. The publication of its report, common referred to as Parent Report after Chairman Alphonse Parent, launched the education reforms. The fundamental concepts of the Report were; the official recognition of the right of Quebecers to have equal opportunities for higher education and better study programs in Quebec, the creation of a responsible Ministry of Education, and the principle of versatility, that aimed at doing away with the existing parallel systems which precluded any kind of academic reorientation.

The establishment of the Department of Education, in the year 1964, as the responsible agency for all education in province of Quebec confirmed the fact. The reforms of 1960s, however, went beyond purely managerial aspects of education. The primary importance was the transformation of French Canadian education from an elitist based system serving only a limited population to a broadly-based system embracing the total school-age population observes. This meant that education was no longer considered to be a luxury, but rather a right and the government wanted everyone to have the same opportunities to benefit from it. With this end in mind, the provincial government placed greater emphasis on free education and the building of new schools. To achieve these objectives, it took over control of the educational system and began secularizing it. The thesis thus validates the first hypothesis.

The government also allowed civil service unionization and took steps to increase Quebec's control over the economy of the province and then nationalized the production and distribution of electricity, how it worked to establish the Quebec Pension Plan. The Quiet Revolution era in Quebec was an unbridled economic and social development and generally paralleled comparable trends in the West. Because of its influence on contemporary nationalism, the quiet revolution has spread beyond Quebec's borders. Quebeckers have been excellent inroads into both federal

government and domestic policy structure and direction. Moreover, by virtue of Quebec's recognition and advancement, certain facets of the welfare state as they developed in Quebec in the 1960s have become nationalized. This period of quiet revolution was enacted by Jean Lesage's liberal government, who was elected to the provincial election in June 1960, shortly after the death of Premier Duplessis, whose reign was known by some as the Grand Noirceur (Great Darkness), but considered by the conservatives as epitomizing a religiously and culturally pure Quebec.

The maintenance of status quo of the rules of society has always remained the prerogative of the majority power in any political society. In case of Canada the French-section of the Canadian society has been voluble in raising their voices and opinions about the modernization of province with every related aspect of schooling, health and social services. The government has been successful in bringing about the social and political changes in society which were based on the cultural values and aesthetics. The whole concept of nation was based upon cultural nuances which shared cultural aesthetics and rituals necessary to create a feeling of nationalism among people. Quiet Revolution act as an important tool in building up of modern Quebec and had a great impact on its political, social and cultural landscape. The cry for separatism and independent Quebec was heard everywhere. Various reforms in the province of Quebec were laid out which were implemented and are discussed in chapter 3 of the thesis.

Thus it may be stated that Quiet Revolution has been influential in evoking a sense of nationalism in the province since 1960s. The research questions that this study are as follows:

What is the nature and extent of educational reforms promoted by Quiet Revolution in Quebec?

How did Quiet Revolution modernize Quebec nationalism with its impact on education?

What are the reasons for modernization of education by Quebec State?

How did Church react to Quiet Revolution educational reforms which led to the marginalization of the Catholic educational institutions by the State educational institutions?

All these questions have been examined thoroughly and all the changes in the political and social spheres and their effectiveness in garnering a sense of nationality and national consciousness have been reflected upon. The people of a province made the changes where Church took an active part in modernizing Quebec. The effects of Quiet Revolution were thus very profound in shaping an ethically new and pure Quebec. There were many issues that led to these changes such as growing unemployment within the educated class that created a furore after the Quiet Revolution in 1960s in Quebec. While the issue of language had been the primary reason for growing unrest among Quebecers and the protests against federal government, other issues which were of great concern was welfare measures and separate and distinct ideologies that gradually entered into the conscious minds of people, especially in the predominantly French speaking province of Quebec. The reforms as a result, were also introduced within the changes that were taking place. Thus, we see that Quiet Revolution brought many political and social upheavals in province portraying the spirit of nationalism that has evolved with time.

Here, an attempt is made to point out that how these primary changes influenced provincial government to take more direct control over the fields of health care and education, which was previously been in the hands of Church. How the governments constituted ministries of health and education, widen public services, and made enormous investments in education system and sectarian infrastructure is examined carefully in the above chapters.

Quebec's position as a leading province for more than a century has witnessed changes to the inbuilt environment and social structures of Montreal, Quebec's leading city. The quiet revolution has extended beyond the borders of Quebec by virtue of its influence on contemporary nationalism. Quebecers made great inroads into both the structure and direction of federal government and national policy. Moreover, certain facets of welfare state, as they developed in Quebec in 1960s, have become nationalized by virtue of Quebec's acceptance and promotion.

It needs to be noted that in this globalised world, the internet has become an omniscient presence which transfers information and news at great speed. Therefore, the political disturbances in any part of world get reported immediately and thus have immediate reactions. This immediacy is reflected in Quebec's political and cultural modifications. Before 1960s, Duplessis, the leader of Union National Party, controlled Quebec government, and not all the Catholics supported Duplessis--criticized by some Catholic unions and clergy, including Montreal Bishop Joseph Charbonneau--but he was supported by majority of small town and rural clergy. Some individuals also quoted slogans *Le ciel est bleu, and l'enfer est rouge* "The heaven is blue and hell is red", the latter accused often of being pro-communist.

Various leading newspapers such as *Le Devoir* and the political newspaper *Cite Libre* were Duplessis government's intellectual forums for critics. Foreign investors have mainly developed the province's natural resources. The U.S.-based Iron Ore Company of Canada created an example of mining ore. Asbestos Strike discovered Quebecers miners united against a foreign nationalist corporation in the spring of 1949. Monsignor Charbonneau, Montreal's Bishop, the Quebec nationalist newspaper *Le Devoir*, and a small group of intellectuals were among those who supported miners. The majority of Francophone Quebec lived below the poverty line until the second half of the twentieth century. Political activists like Felix Leclerc described this writing phenomenon as "Our people are their own country's water boys." Duplessis' death in 1959 quickly followed by his successor Paul Sauve, triggered Quiet Revolution in many ways. Liberal Party led by Jean Lesage and campaigning under slogans *Il faut que ca change* (things have to change) and *Maitre chez nous* (Masters of our own house), a sentence coined by *Le Devoir*. It is usually recognized that the revolution ended before the crisis of October 1970 and the researcher examined how the culture of Quebec altered dramatically, particularly with the rise of sovereignty movement evidenced by the election of sovereignty political party. Although, some changes in the province of Quebec might influence and relevant in the globalized world, it is observed that these new social and political changes is essential for its survival in this world of instantaneous images. At the same time Quebec, is able to fulfill its role as a medium of transferring these new changes by the state in modernization of a new Quebec.

The researcher has made an attempt to define how Quebec has made education as an area of provincial responsibility. Usually because of small profile of formal schooling and higher expenses involved, greater schooling was available only to a minority of French-Canadians until quiet revolution. By 1960, there were over 1500 school boards, each accountable for its own programs, textbooks and diplomas recognition according to its own criteria. In addition to that scholar has examined how Quiet revolution modernize educational reforms and how education took hold from an elite based system to an easier access to all has been analyzed in the given chapter of educational reforms in brief.

Quebec modernization politically during 1960s meant that there was the close connection between French-Canadian identity and Catholic Church whose believe in faith was replaced by new secular nationalism. By analyzing David Martin's 'A General Theory of Secularization' the researcher examines that the Church lost its own power in the hands of provincial government which later gave rise to new secular nationalism and has validated my second hypothesis.

Here, the researcher has examined the Martin theory to analyze the relations between religion and nationalism. The theory is much more important as it illustrates the variety of relationships between the Church and state and between Catholicism and nationalism. Some of the conservative Catholics which had condemned the new nationalism accepted this new modern society of Quebec even supporting the state interventionism. The most important Catholic groups and the other organizations with the largest publications accepted the new society. They were inspired by Second Vatican Council reforms which were for the general public, affirmed the Quebecers rights for social justice and self-determination. The effect of Vatican Council was very much profound on Church. The Church has created an ethical critique towards society and its new role in the province. The researcher has analyzed that what these Catholics were looking was in a way to define the presence of Church in public of Quebec society.

Until the hydro Quebec project was finalized, the provincial government of Quebec demanded economic benefits against the federal government project which was going to flood a major part of Quebec land. The federal government provided economic transfer and a major portion of hydro-electricity. This has paid the way of



industrialization in Quebec at the same time generated employment opportunity. This change helped Quebec to modernize its education and health system which was in primitive stage in the hands of Catholic Church.

Subsequently, while most of Canada and the United States enjoyed a long period of prosperity and modernization, Quebec's economic growth was slower. The level of formal education among Quebecers was quite small; as compared to 36% of English Canadians, only 13% had completed grade 11. Under the pseudonym of Frere Untel, Jean-Paul Desbians directed one of the scathing assaults on the education scheme, the publications of the book *Les insolences du Frere Untel* (1960) whose ten thousand copies were sold over quickly and has been pointed out in the chapter has left a significant impact on the Quiet Revolution.

In 1964, with Paul Gerin-Lajoie who the first minister of education was appointed. While some schools maintained their Catholic or Protestant character, they became secular institutions in practice. The reforms included compulsory schooling were raised from 14 to 16 years, free education until grade 11, recognition of school boards standardization of school curricula, and replacement of classical schools by *CEGEPs*, which was publicly funded by pre-university colleges. The Alphonse Marie Parent chaired a committee set up in 1961 which has been examined in the chapter 3 and made suggestions that ultimately led to several reforms, the most significant of which was the secularization of education scheme.

Three different and inter-related phenomena have been used to define the term secularization. It describes a decline in the religious mentalities among several individuals as they become more rational, more concerned with present world, and less trusting of religious authority and explanations. It has also addressed the process of 'differentiation', a term which sociologists use to describe how the modern societies create divisions between allegedly discrete realms of the human activity. Quebec and secularism are inter-related to each other in Canadian political imagination. The implementation of the secular vision of Quebec society has always been a political debate over last decade. The politicians of Quebec on the left and right, federalist and sovereignties alike, observe the religious neutrality as key element in the province's political culture. The Anglophone and politicians in rest of Canada have an uneasy relation with efforts of Quebec to legislate public secularism.

However, there is legitimate concern for the rights of religious minorities in Quebec who wish to wear the religious attire in public. The theory of secularization which describes privatization of religion, its movement from a shared and often compulsory public culture to private form has been examined briefly.

After the mid 1960s, there was clear decline in religious practice. The clergy's abandonment of the priesthood, the youth's indifference to Roman Catholicism, marked the fast erosion of the cultural and social power of the Church which has been analyzed widely in the preceding chapters. This erosion was marked in many ways; the deconfesionization of many Catholic institutions and organizations; the creation of a new pluralist society through state intervention; the rise of new secular nationalism, the power of state instead of a common religious faith; the replacement of Christianity with more secular values. These developments altogether is termed as 'Quiet Revolution' by many historians, who decisively marginalized the cultural and social role of Catholicism within the society of Quebec which has validates further the second hypothesis of the thesis.

One of the reform movement within the Roman Catholic Church inspired by Pope John XXIII which led to convening the council, Vatican II in 1962 to 1965. In its declaration, Vatican II has sets out clearly responsibility of the state in the matters of education and the duty of dispensing education, which belongs in the first place to the family, requires the aid of whole society. Besides that the right of parents and family which belong to civil society, and is responsible for organizing what is necessary for temporal common good.

The study pointed out that how Quiet Revolution modernized Quebec nationalism with its impacts on education, discussed briefly in the given chapters. It has been observed and examined carefully how the reaction of Catholic Church took place to its own loss of power in the hands of provincial government which has given rise to new secular nationalism and how the education has moved from an elite class to common people with easier access to all students thereby ending the concept of elitism which has validated my first hypothesis of this thesis.

A study of Quiet Revolution has been examined thoroughly with its impacts on modernization of education with all the changes in political, cultural and social spheres in Quebec.

It was found that the impacts of Quiet Revolution on modernization of education, essentially universalization and democratization changing the elite based education access to all and secularizing education in terms of changing the curriculum from religious focus to new secular subjects and state control of education has been substantial. The influence on education has been profound both during the Quiet Revolution and after that. On the other, Quiet Revolution has a great impact on political, cultural, and social landscape of Quebec. The cry for separatism and independent Quebec was louder during that period. The Church has been part of the political protest of province as well as part of the fabric society which has been working to modernize education providing easier access to all the ills of contemporary society. This also answers the research question of “whether Quiet Revolution modernize the education providing access to all thus ending elitism” and has been elucidated in chapter 2 of this thesis.

Quiet Revolution actively promoted secularization in the field of education, modernizing and bringing political and social reforms in Quebec. While numerous difficulties and hurdles are present in secularizing education, the Church accepted with these socio-political changes and peacefully without any violent tendencies. Thus Quiet Revolution really was ‘quiet’ without any destruction of society.

The study examined the various causes that gave a new shape to the society of Quebec with modernization in every aspect of education, welfare and social services. The development of new industries such as SIDBEC, DOSCO, REXFOR and other steel and iron industries bought a new Quebec in the world of globalization. The Church too played an active role in giving a new definition to Quebec and accepted all the major reforms which took place in the province.

With time, the significance of the Quiet Revolution in bringing about political, cultural and social changes towards developing a new Quebec and evoking a spirit of nationalism has been further emphasized.

Eventually, the Quiet Revolution was an important landmark and historical event in the life of Quebec people. The Quebec people's life was transformed primarily by empowering them with literacy for all through universal and free education, thereby ending the discriminatory elitist education of the Catholic Church. Indeed, the Quiet Revolution, by its reforms, ended the dominance and control of education and welfare institutions of the Catholic Church. This process was facilitated by the transformation of Global Catholicism through the Second Vatican Council's pronouncements directing the Church to be open to modernity and concede to the autonomy of secular institutions; to uphold the sovereignty of political societies and states; to observe ecumenical relations with Protestants; and to respect religious pluralism. Significantly, the Church did not react or oppose to reforms of democratization, modernization, liberalism, and secularism. Therefore, the Quiet Revolution was marked by unique phenomena of not being violent or bloody, unlike other revolutions in France and Italy, and the Church learned to accommodate and reconcile but not seek to restore its dominance. The Quiet Revolution also transformed the economic life of the Quebec people by facilitating opportunities for university education and professional skills without gender discrimination, thereby equipping them for various job openings in various nationalization projects that the Quebec state undertook. Finally, the Quiet Revolution's emphasis on secularism led to the rise of Quebec nationalism, reflecting separatism by two groups of the Liberal Party: one seeking a separate identity within the federal structure based on French language and province; the other seeking independence for Quebec. Pierre Trudeau, who was part of the reformers' group and who became Premier in 1968, took the extreme measure of the War Measures Act to end the separatist independence movement led by the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ) in 1970. Thus, the Quiet Revolution remained primarily a reformist movement focusing on democratization, modernization, liberalism, and secularism.

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