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### 1. Introduction

At a time when the province, country and world look toward the twenty-first century; at a time of shifting values and a time of the meetings of different cultures; at a time when the 10th bill changing the order of Québec's educational system has recently been tabled in the National Assembly, it is imperative to examine the relevance of Protestant education to our rapidly changing society.

It is through this examination that the Protestant Committee carries out its mandate, as contained in the law of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation.

## 2. Regulatory Powers

It shall be the duty of (the confessional committees):1

a) to make regulations to recognize confessional educational institutions as Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, and to ensure their confessional character;

(...)

- to make regulations respecting Christian education, religious and moral instruction and religious service in the educational institutions recognized as Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be;
- d) to make regulations respecting the qualification, from the point of view of religion and morals, of the managing and teaching staff in such educational institutions;

( ... )

f) ... to make regulations respecting the qualification of the teachers having charge of such (religious) instruction (Catholic or Protestant) in schools other than those recognized as Catholic or Protestant;

The Protestant Committee is continually being made aware of the changes within the Protestant community. The first regulations of the Protestant committee<sup>2</sup> were approved in 1967. However, not many years passed

<sup>1</sup> An Act Respecting the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (RSQ, c. C-60, s.22)

<sup>2</sup> The Ministère de l'Éducation was created in 1964, at which time the Protestant and Catholic Committees were reconstituted as part of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation.

before it was felt that they did not adequately respond to the actual situation. After a lengthy consultation a new set of regulations was drawn up and approved in 1975. The changes made at that time included writing a preamble to the regulation which set out the major aims and the underlying philosophy of Protestant education and the dropping of the requirement for "opening exercices".

These regulations were soon considered to be inappropriate. There was a growing awareness that many schools were choosing not to offer courses related to the Bible, and in fact the many students were growing up with little or no knowledge of the Bible. It was to remedy this and the lack of knowledge about religion in general that the Protestant Education Services (PES) with the support of the Protestant Committee embarked on the writing of a new moral and religious education (MRE) course. New regulations were drawn up to strengthen the obligation of the recognized institution to provide the Protestant MRE course.

The history of the work on these regulations is part of previous biennal reports. Originally approved in 1981 before the government tabled its educational reform project, the regulations were set aside until the completion of the political process. After Law 3 was nullified by the courts the regulations were reviewed and re-submitted to the Minister for approval. These regulations finally received government sanction on December 9, 1987, having in the previous eighteen months undergone minor changes to conform with government legal nomenclature and to accommodate the new regulations regarding technical-vocational education.

The modifications incorporated in the new regulation are as follows:

The new regulation charges the School Boards with the responsibility for ensuring that a school (institution) recognized as Protestant fulfills the requirements necessary for this recognition. It also provides for the school to be recognized for a period of five years.

The new regulation requires a school (institution) recognized as protestant to ensure that all students, unless specifically exempted, follow the Protestant MRE programme. The new regulation also permits religious teaching of a more denominational nature at the request of the parents; this, however is to be in addition to the regular MRE courses and providing that the Protestant nature of the school and the personal and religious ideological point of view of each student is respected.

The new regulation does not attempt to prescribe the content of the Protestant MRE programme, but rather it spells out the aims of the

programme. The new regulation is intended to address the Protestant school in a modern setting responding to the needs of its Protestant clientele, of a growing French Protestant population and of a multicultural society.

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The Protestant Committee has a responsibility to provide its public with information concerning Protestant schooling. The Committee exercises this responsibility by publishing a series of pamphlets.

At the request of the Associate Deputy Minister protestant the Committee updated a pamphlet titled: "L'école publique protestante de langue française". This pamphlet describes the nature of the French Protestant School and the objectives of moral and religious education within the school.

Shrinking school populations and isolated communities have led to the phenomenon of interboard agreements, where a board of one "confession" contracts to educate students belonging to the other "confession". In order to help Protestant students attending Catholic schools by interboard agreement, the Protestant Committee produced a pamphlet "Your Child in an Interboard Agreement", with the expectation that a copy of this pamphlet would be given by the Protestant school boards to parents at the time of registration. The pamphlet informs the parents of the confessional rights of the child and the manner in which these rights are safeguarded in the interboard agreement.

## 3. Recognition of Schools

It shall be the duty of (the confessional committees):
(...)

 to recognize confessional educational institutions as either Catholic of Protestant, as the case may be, and to revoke such recognition when necessary;

(...)

It is the tradition to recognize as Protestant all the schools belonging to each Protestant school board. This recognition has been effected by a general resolution that the Committee passes at the beginning of the school

year. However the new regulations which came into force this year stipulate that the period of recognition shall be for five years.

A school that is recognized as Protestant abides by the regulations of the Protestant Committee.

## 4. Approval of textbooks and curricula

It shall be the duty of (the confessionnal committees):
(...)

e) to approve, from the point of view of religion and morals, the curricula, textbooks and teaching material in such educational institutions:

( ... )

There is an implicit recognition that one of the ways the school may exert undue influence on its students is through the content of courses, textbooks and other materials used in the classroom. Democratic systems require that the community exercise some kind of control over the textbooks and literature to which the students are exposed at school. In the Protestant education system the Protestant Committee carries out part of this function on behalf of the community.<sup>1</sup>

The members of the Protestant Committee to whom books are given for review do not make any judgement on the pedagogical value of the book. Their task is to ascertain that the book is fair and honest; that it is free from material likely to be offensive or create prejudice towards racial, cultural or religious groups; that it does not seek to indoctrinate the students in particular racial, cultural or religious matters and that it does not endorse value systems judged to be harmful to the normal development of the students at the grade or age levels concerned.

In addition to the above, where a book or programme introduces religious traditions the reviewer ascertains, as far as is possible, the accuracy of the facts, especially those pertaining to the Protestant tradition; that Christian traditions are included in any multi-religious perspective and that the book makes a positive contribution to the student's knowledge and appreciation of the diverse moral and religious traditions of mankind.

Between September 1986 and August 1988 the Protestant Committee reviewed 600 textbooks of which 591 were approved for use in Protestant schools.

It shall be the duty of (the confessional committees):
(...)

f) to approve for religious instruction, Catholic or Protestant, as the case may be, the curricula, text books, and teaching material...
 ( ... )

The Protestant Churches are made up of Christian communities who believe in the supremacy of the Bible as the guide to faith and the way of life. The doctrinal differences between the Protestant Churches are the result of differing interpretations of the same Bible. Therefore Protestant moral and religious education in the public schools must be acceptable to all the Protestant Churches and in keeping with Protestant tradition, it must be acceptable to those who choose to associate themselves with the Protestant education system. Consequently, Protestant moral and religious education neither conveys a particular doctrine nor claims to cathechise the student. Its objective is to encourage the personal development of the student:

- 1) by providing a knowledge of the Bible;
- 2) by developing an understanding of the moral and religious values of the community in which he lives;
- 3) by fostering a respect for all religious traditions including his own;
- 4) by helping the student to become aware of the moral principles by which he acts;
- 5) by contributing to the development of the reasoning which he uses to reach moral judgements.<sup>1</sup>

Christianity is a major force in the cultural heritage of the West. The Protestant Committee believes that the school must acquaint the student with the Bible and provide information on the history and beliefs of the Protestant churches. There are other religions which are also part of our heritage, and other religions which make up the world's cultural heritage. Protestants believe that a knowledge of world religions is necessary, not only for a better understanding of other cultures, but also because we are led to a better understanding of our own.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Protestant Committee Regulation 1987, art. 7.

Similarly we believe that the roots of moral values and judgement are firmly embedded in religion and consequently we insist that education regarding the student's moral and sexual development should take place within the framework of the Protestant moral and religious education programme.

It is in keeping with the above philosophy that the new Protestant moral and religious programme has been created. The first courses were implemented on an optional basis in the schools in September 1981, and the programme will be implemented in all levels of schooling in 1990.

The English Moral and Religious Education programs and Teacher's guides were completed by 1986. Work continues on the French Teacher's guides, elementary levels 1-4 and secondary levels 1-3 having been completed and approved.

### 5. Advice

It shall be the duty of (the confessional committees):
( ... )

g) to make recommendations on matters within their competence ... to the Minister or Education or to the Minister or Higher Education and Science;

(...)

It has already been stated that education regarding the student's moral and sexual development should be part of the total moral and religious education programme. It is this premise that led the Committee to look at the implications of the current and spreading incidence of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Following a survey of the initiatives of the Protestant school boards and meeting with Dr. Catherine Hankins, Epidemiologist of the Montréal Regional Centre for Sexually Transmitted Diseases, the Committee transmitted advice to the Minister of Education on this matter. This advice was prompted by consideration of the rights of persons afflicted by AIDS, their right to work or to education and their rights to privacy, and the importance of a presentation of information on AIDS to allay the prejudice, anxieties and fears and to correct misinformation of participants in education.

The Protestant school boards have shown considerable initiative in their development of AIDS policies that are acceptable to their local communities.

The Committee recommended that the Minister encourage and support the Protestant school boards in the development and implementation of such policies. In addition the Committee recommended that the Minister urge each Protestant school board, if it has not already done so, to adopt a comprehensive policy on AIDS to be in place by 1989-1990 school year. Such a policy should include both a humanitarian approach to those afflicted by Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) as well as an educational program that gives information about the HIV infection, its means of transmission and the prevention of its spread.

Furthermore, since the Protestant Committee considers that sex education has a place within the moral and religious education programme, and because AIDS education touches on sex education, responsibility and morality, the Committee requested the Minister to take the necessary steps to ensure that this kind of instruction be incorporated within the framework of the Protestant MRE programme. The Protestant Committee will continue its reflection on this subject.

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The Minister of Education decided not to appeal the judgement that Law 3 was unconstitutional, but rather to redesign the law leading to the tabling of Bills 106 and 107 in the National Assembly. The Parliamentary Commission on Education received briefs on these Bills. The Protestant Committee, having previously made recommendations to the Minister in the form of presenting a brief on Bill 3, decided that it would again present a brief.

In this brief the Protestant Committee made the following statements:

"The Protestant Committee is of the opinion that the confessional structures as they currently exist serve the needs of the Protestant community and best preserve Protestants rights in education."

"The present confessional system allows for the administration of Protestant schools by those who subscribe to the principles of the Protestant tradition or have chosen to associate themselves with this tradition."

"To abolish Protestant school boards and force Protestants to reconstitute them, if at all possible, by the process of dissidence will deprive many Protestants of their rights." "Québec Protestant school boards have developed educational systems that have served their communities well. They have evolved by innovation and adaptation in response to community needs through the years."

"... The Protestant Committee, and many within the Protestant Community, cannot accept a language based system which retains the possibility of confessional recognition of individual schools. The transference of the issue of confessionality to the school level not only erodes Protestant rights to manage and control their own schools but will entail invidious competition between the two confessional groups, or a confessional group and another ethnic or religious minority for control and recognition of individual schools."

Given the Catholic majority of Québec it is the opinion of the Protestant Committee that the application of Bill 107 would lead to the continuance of a Catholic educational system, albeit with a new definition of adherence. In many regions of the province Protestants would be subjected to the catholic hegemony which the rights guaranteed by article 93 of the Constitution were designed to avert.

### 6. Consultation

Such committees may:1

a) receive and hear the requests and suggestions of associations and institutions and of any person respecting any matter within their competence;

(...)

There is a tendency to forget that the Protestant churches are an integral part of the Protestant educational community. It was due to the initiative of the Protestant churches in the last century that the protestant educational system developed. However since the setting up of the Ministry of Education the Churches have tended to have less involvement in Protestant education. As a result there is a lack of knowledge regarding Québec's educational system as a whole and the role of the Churches as well as the nature of MRE within the Protestant system.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An Act Respecting the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (RSQ, c. C-60, s. 23).

To attempt to address this lack the Protestant Committee has entered into a dialogue of information and sharing with the Protestant churches.

Protestant MRE is nondoctrinal, and informative rather than prescriptive regarding Christianity. Its courses dealing with the Bible and Christianity, other religions and moral and sexual growth are intended to complement the teaching of the Churches and at the same time to provide an understanding of the phenomena of religion and of the major world religions.

The support of the Protestant churches for the Protestant MRE programme is essential in a province where because the majority population is Roman Catholic the Catholic Church's influence in education remains strong and its control of the Catholic MRE programme is absolute.

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The Protestant Committee is by law made up of persons representing the Protestant churches, educators and parents, these persons being selected from the different regions of the province. In spite of its composition the Committee must be continually aware of the necessity of keeping in touch with all the partners in the Protestant education system.

As the implementation of the new MRE programme progressed it seemed appropriate to bring together those responsible for this implementation so that they could share with the Committee and with each other their successes and their difficulties. Consequently the Protestant Committee arranged meetings with the MRE consultants and with the Directors of Educational Services of the Protestant school boards.

In spite of identified problems, some with solutions at the local level and others which might be topics for future study by the Committee, it was evident that the ultimate success of the new MRE programme lay with the support accorded to it by the school board's administration both at the school and the board level.

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The Protestant Committee does not have a mandate to speak for the community but it does have an obligation to discover community opinion before it speaks. The completion of the Protestant brief on Bill 107 was preceded by a meeting with the leaders of the Protestant education associa-

tions and Churches in order to solicit their comments on a preliminary version of the brief and to hear their opinions of the Bill. Following that meeting the Protestant Committee met to determine the final version of the brief.

### 7. Research

Such committees may: 1 (...)

b) cause to be carried out such studies and research as they deem necessary or useful for the pursuits of their objects;
 ( ... )

The rapid changes in the political educational scene over the last twenty-five years make it difficult to grasp the flow and sequence of events that began with the setting up of the Ministry of Education in 1964 and continue right up to the present. The Committee wished to record these changes and to show the effect of these events, together with the growing immigrant population and expanding French Protestant churches, on the Protestant school boards and the composition of the individual school populations.

The Committee mandated a retrospective underlining the major political events, laws and regulations that have brought the Protestant system from prior to 1964 up to present day. This report, which the Committee adopted, makes up the second part of this biennial report.

### 8. School visits

The following persons shall be school visitors for the whole of Québec a) The members or the Superior Council of Education and of its committees and commissions (...).<sup>2</sup>

The Protestant Committee considers that its main work for this decade is the new MRE programme. To this end it decided in 1983 that it would plan a series of rotating visits so that each school board region was visited once every three years. The purpose of these visits was to talk to teachers and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An Act Respecting the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation (RSQ, c. C-60, s. 23).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Education Act, (RSQ, c. I-14, s. 21-22).

administrators and to discover how the courses were being received and whether there were any problems of which the Committee should be aware.

The present three year cycle of visits began in 1986. Over the past two years the Protestant Committee has visited schools in the territories of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montréal, Lakeshore School Board, Gaspesia Regional School Board, District of Bedford Regional School Board, Eastern Townships School Board, Richelieu Valley School Board and the South Shore Regional School Board.

It would appear that the courses are fairly well addressed in the elementary schools. In the high school there is a tendency to consider MRE in competition with subjects (such as science, extra French second language) which appear to be more relevant to the students immediate educational plan.

Parents expect the school to contribute to the student's personal development and yet, paradoxically, resent time taken from academic or vocational subjects.

The new programme seemed to be well received by teachers at all levels, and it was encouraging to note their success in its implementation.

### 9. Conclusion

The Protestant Committee is part of both the past and the present. The origins of the Protestant and Catholic Committees predate Confederation; by the last quarter of the nineteenth century these committees had almost total responsibility for their respective systems. Today, while the Ministry of Education takes responsibility for the whole system, the Protestant and Catholic Committees retain their jurisdiction over the "confessional" nature of their respective systems and in particular over their religious education programmes.

Protestant education does not attempt to lead students to a confession of faith. Rather it provides an education rooted in and transmitting Protestant values. It transmits a cultural and religious heritage which springs from the Judeo-Christian tradition. It equips the student with the knowledge of the Bible, of Christianity and of religion necessary not only for participating in Québec society but also for interpreting the religious imagery expressed in literature.

The Protestant Committee carries out its mandate convinced that the centrality of the student is primordial and that the school milieu should be a place where opportunities are provided for moral, spiritual and intellectual growth.

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# Appendix

Twenty-five Years Later: Confessionality and Schooling

It is now twenty-five years since the appearance of the first volume of the report of the Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, popularly known as the Parent Report. It would seem appropriate, therefore, to look back and see what elements of stability and change there have been during that period, particularly as they affect the confessional aspects of the school system.

## Confessionality and the Canadian Constitution

The confessional aspects of the school system of Québec have their basis in article 93 of the Constitutional Act of 1867 (the British North America Act). Dependent upon the point of view of the observer this basis has been viewed as a hindrance to change or as a safeguard for minority rights. It is, therefore, imperative that we should understand the scope of article 93, which reads:

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

- 1 Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:
- All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissentient Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Québec:
- Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissentient Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act of Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education:
- 4 In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such Case, and as far only as the Circumstances of each Case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section.

Under the Constitution educational legislation within the bounds of the province and for provincial purposes falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Assembly. It is to be noted, however, that certain of the federal powers enumerated in article 91 of the Constitution act as constraints upon this provincial power. These include:

- (1) the right of the federal government to legislate in fields of federal competence the Armed Forces, penitentiaries, and the Indians;
- (2) the right of the federal government to legislate in territories which have not yet been erected as provinces;
- (3) the right of the federal government to legislate in allied fields not properly educational radio, television, films, books;
- (4) the right of the federal government to involve itself in activities which extend beyond provincial bounds technical and university education;
- (5) the right of the federal government to sign international education agreements.

Under the provincial power outlined in article 93 the National Assembly may institute a general system of education applicable to the whole province. This legislation is subject to the constraint of respecting the confessional rights and privileges possessed by Law by Protestants and Roman Catholics at the time of the Union of 1867. Jurisprudence has defined a number of terms found in subsection one of article 93: the rights and privileges must have been written in law at the time of Confederation, this therefore refers to the Education Act as it appears in the Consolidated Statutes of Lower Canada, 1861; a class of persons refers to Protestants or Roman Catholics; the rights and privileges have to do with religion and not with language or race.

The second subsection of article 93 extends the rights and privileges granted in the 1863 law on Separate schools in Upper Canada to the dissident schools of the province of Québec.

The two subsequent subsections of article 93 deal with the right of appeal to the Governor General in Council (i.e., the Federal Cabinet), the Federal government's power of disallowance of provincial laws, and the power or the Federal parliament to pass remedial legislation to alleviate discriminatory aspects of provincial educational legislation when the province does not act. The guarantees of federal intervention in the provincial jurisdic-

tion were added to the Constitution at the London Conference in December 1866, largely at the insistence of Alexander Galt, a Québec Protestant.

Several authorities contend that these federal powers to intervene in provincial affairs are now obsolete. The courts are viewed as the proper forum to decide ultra vires acts and minority rights. One argument is that it is not likely that a federal Prime Minister will erode his power base by opposing the political will of an elected provincial government of one of the more populous provinces. Another argument which has been put forward refers to the 1883 Judicial Committee assertion "that provincial legislatures are not subordinate to the Federal parliament, but sovereign equals" (J.R. Mallory, *The Structure of Canadian Government*, 1975).

A new element in the picture since the repatriation of the Constitution in 1982 is the Canadian Charter of Rights and Liberties. Several groups in Ontario challenged in the courts the provincial government's decision to extend full funding to Roman Catholic separate schools for pupils in the senior grades of secondary school. This challenge was made on the basis of the freedom of religion and the equality provisions contained in the Charter. In June 1987 the Supreme Court of Canada upheld the power of the province to make confessional arrangements based on article 93 of the Constitutional Act. Article 29 of the Charter reads:

Nothing in this Charter abrogates or derogates from any rights or privileges guaranteed by or under the Constitution of Canada in respect of denominational, separate or dissident schools.

The judges reasoned that the adoption of the Charter did not invalidate earlier constitutional guarantees. Therefore confessional arrangements made under article 93 do not violate the equality provisions of the Charter because the Charter does not apply.

There was also concern in Québec about the possibility of a legal challenge to the confessional arrangements in education on the basis of the equality provisions of the federal Charter and the Québec Charter of Personal Rights and Liberties. The Parti Québécois government had passed a general law in April 1982 and had included a clause in all subsequent legislation exempting all the provinces's laws from the Charter. The Liberal government did not follow this practice. However, warned by the Commission for Human Rights that the three education acts would not withstand such a challenge the government at the urging of the Catholic Committee adopted Law 131 on December 19, 1986. This law invoked the notwithstanding clause of the provincial Charter to shelter the rights and

privileges of Catholics and Protestants from judicial challenge. The government contended that these were well-established collective rights held by a majority of citizens which has been embodied in the agreement of 1964 between religious and government authorities.

## **School Board Reorganization**

The Parent Commission recommended in 1966 that no confessional character be acknowledged by law to school boards and college boards (vol. 4 Rec. 2) and that a single regional school commission administer all education, Roman Catholic, Protestant or non-confessional, in the French or in the English language, within the boundaries of a given area (Vol. 4 Rec. 37). These recommendations resulted from a concept of the school board as the representative and interpreter of the central authority. Confessionality was to be a local decision made at the school level by the parents and the legal measures which gave the confessional committees the power to recognize schools as Catholic or Protestant should be repealed (Vol. 4 Rec. 13).

Thus began a debate on school board structures which has continued to the present day. The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation voted in favor of recommendation 2 while the Catholic Committee resolved that it was not opposed. The Protestant Committee accepted non-confessional status for Cegeps but held that School Boards "must continue to maintain confessional status in order to maintain the character of Protestant education, its confessional nature, as well as to guarantee continued public interest and participation in Protestant education at the administrative level". The Protestant Committee was ready to accept "juridical recognition of French and English schools but not a unified system" (Comment on Rec. 15). It was also ready to accept non-confessional education "within the existing framework of confessional schools" (Comment on Rec. 1), but not the loss of its power to recognize schools as Protestant.

The debate itself has had two different levels on which it has continued. The first is a discussion of the merits of the various proposals, the advantages and disadvantages of unified, or linguistic boards versus confessional boards. This has encompassed the demands of pluralism, the question of duplication or fragmentation and the constitutional guarantees accorded Protestants in particular. The second level is that of the ideological and sociological vision of Québec and the type of school board that best sets forth the Québec reality.

According to Pierre Beaulieu (Les Éditorialistes montréalais et la restruction scolaire, 1966-1972) at its core the debate is political and social. Unified

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replace 44.

school boards are "tied to a vision of Québec which while recognizing (is sure expension) linguistic and cultural duality also sees that English-speaking Québeckers are a minority and French-speaking Québeckers are a majority". Linguistic school boards are "tied to a vision of Québec which fixes on the linguistic and cultural duality without taking account of the numerical significance of each group". Proponents of linguistic boards are often accused by their opponents of furthering Canada's bilingual policies in Québec and of perpetuating the two solitudes.

Page Commission set up as a result of English dissatisfaction with Parent IV

Each succeeding government attempted to cut the Gordian knot of school board reorganization. The Union Nationale government, which succeeded the Liberal government in 1966 received the report of the Pagé Lenguage SBs Commission in 1968, which recommended multi-confessional language 3 dissident reports boards for the Island of Montréal. Nine French and four English boards were to administer five types of education (French Protestants were ignored). Only the Montréal Star, among the English newspapers, advocated unified boards; the rest opted for linguistic boards. The issue, however, became embroiled in the question of cultural relations and which language group was to assimilate immigrants. Thus the following year Jean-Guy Cardinal de 1969 tabled Bills 62 and 63. Some observers have suggested that the Union Nationale government expected English support for Bill 62 as a payoff for Bill 63 which was adopted in October 1969 and allowed freedom of choice of the language of education. Bill 62, which would have instituted on the unified ses Island of Montréal eleven non-confessional boards with confessional and non-confessional internal structures, died with the government's defeat in the 1970 election.

The Liberal government passed Bill 27 which regrouped more than 1 100 Confessional 3Bs off-Island boards into about 250 confessional school boards. Bill 28, how- 191 Ses and 63 RS6s ever, which was a revised version of Bill 62, that provided for parallel unified SBs English and French structures within unified boards, eventually had to be withdrawn. The Montréal Star, which had approved of Bill 62, was critical of the leaders of the English community and their stance in favor of linguistic boards and deplored the weaker powers of the Island School Council in Bill 28. Pierre Fournier and others suggest that English opposition to unified boards and to a strong Island School Council was couched in terms of cultural survival but had more to do with economic and political power. An opposition amendment would have restricted English schooling to children of persons whose mother tongue was English. The only successful regrouping of Island school boards was Bill 71 (1972) which maintained Cartessiand Ses the confessional status quo, reducing the number of Montréal Island school boards from thirty-three to eight, and gave the Island School Council the task of suggesting a plan for reorganization. Fears of the rapidly falling

From 335Bs to 85Bs

<sup>\*</sup> A Political Analysis of School Reorganization in Montreal (Mcade MAThesis 1971)

birth-rate led the Liberal government to pass Bill 22 providing for the integration of non-English speaking immigrants to the French-speaking population.

CSIM 1976 4types of SB Clangloom) The elections of December 1976 brought the Parti Québécois to power. In May 1977 the Montréal Island School Council sent its study on reorganization to the Minister. It recommended a modified version of the status quo and a stricter language law. Notre-Dame-des-Neiges School sought the non-confessional status recommended by this report. Bill 101 which was passed in August 1977 further restricted access to English language schooling and led to a growth of the French Protestant sector, because earlier English second language training and a different approach to religious teaching proved attractive. Both the Green Paper and the Orange Paper skirted the question of school board reorganization, although the Green Paper did take notice of the possible decline in the number of school boards through integration of elementary and secondary structures. The issue of confessionality, however, was never far from the surface. The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation published its advice on confessionality in August 1981. Aware of the results of the Superior Court ruling against Notre-Dame-des-Neiges School's request for non-confessional status, the Council recommended encouraging pluralist and confessionally-shared schools and the institution of and option between MRE and ME in Catholic schools. The advice rejected as solutions the retention of the status quo, the replacement of confessional boards by a neutral system and the addition of a network for others. The government's White Paper in 1982 proposed integrated non-confessional boards linked to the regional county municipalities, with linguistic status on Montréal Island and unified status elsewhere. The subsequent Bill 40 would have given all boards (composed exclusively of parents) linguistic status but omitted all mention of integration. This is turn was transmuted into Bill 3 which passed in December 1984 and instituted integrated linguistic boards throughout the province. The Superior Court ruling of June 25, 1985 struck down this act.

Throughout the long debate, indeed even while Volume 4 of the Parent Report was in preparation, school boards were undergoing reorganization. Operation 55, which was to make secondary schooling available to all, commenced in September 1964 and established 55 Catholic regional boards and 9 Protestant regional boards for secondary education. At the same time there was a fusion of numerous small boards. Then in 1965 local school boards were authorized to delegate their powers and duties to regional school boards. From close to 1 800 school boards in 1960 the number dropped to 1 565 in 1965 then to 1 252 in 1970. Bill 27 (1971) and Bill 71 (1972) effected further reductions so that by 1975 there were only

254 school boards. Recent trends to integrated boards, although they have sometimes carved up the larger regional boards have continued to reduce the number of school boards to 234 in 1985. See Annex — Table 1: Number of School Boards.

Bill 107, introduced in the National Assembly on December 15, 1987, is congruent with the Liberal Party platform calling for linguistic school boards, a position publicly advocated by Mr. Ryan since 1968. The Minister has stated that he will seek assurances of the legal validity of the proposed change from confessional to language-based school boards. Such an action may also invoke the possible amendment of article 93 of the Constitution. In addition, the Minister intends to continue to encourage the voluntary integration of school boards, facilitating where necessary the process when it is blocked by the opposition of a local board.

## **Defining the School**

The Green Paper (1978) focused on the role of the school; it attempted to discuss the ultimate objectives of education, the functions of the school and its environment. It delineated the functions of the school in terms of it being a place for learning and teaching, a place of education and a place of cultural integration. Both the elementary and secondary school were discussed and hypotheses proposed in terms of their orientations, organization, learning objectives, pegagogy and educational supervision and educational programme and evaluation. This meant that the status of the school "should be defined in order to invest it with the means to achieve the objectives of its educational plan". This involved specifying "the administrative, if not the legal, status of the school … the rights and duties of the school authorities, the role of the parents and educational personnel and the relationships between the school and the school board".

The Orange Paper (1979) set as its first task "to define the school, i.e., to recall certain of its basic characteristics and the general conditions under which it must operate and develop". It went on to discuss the aims and objectives of public education, the "educational project" of the school, participation of parents and the school community, and improving the quality of education under the headings: curriculum, measurement and evaluation, teaching material, pedagogical innovation and the organization of the three levels of compulsory schooling.

An amendment to the Education Act (Bill 71, 1979) defined a school as "an institutional entity, under the authority of a principal, or a person in charge

if there is no principal, designed to provide education to pupils in an organized manner, in whose activities the pupils, teachers, other members of the staff and parents participate" (Art. 32.1). The same amendment instituted an Orientation Council to determine the educational project of the school.

The White Paper (1982) proposed a new distribution of functions and responsibilities making the school "the pivot of the school system" with increased responsibilities. In order to achieve a decentralization towards the school it was proposed that each school become a corporation within the meaning of the Civil Code with legal status, granting powers in specifically educational and pedagogical matters and in particular the power to determine its educational project as well as the power to manage human, material and financial resources. The school would have "a voice in the process of selection, placement and evaluation of its staff" including "the power to choose the principal... and to recommend or refuse the renewal of his contract" every five years. Each school would be responsible for presentation to the school board of a staffing plan and would administer its own budget. Certain schools would be granted English-language status in keeping with rights guaranteed by Bill 101. An elected school council would replace the Orientation Council of Bill 71.

Bill 40 (1983) attempted to redefine the school as "an educational institution under the authority of the school council, designed to provide education to pupils, within the scope of its educational project, and which exercises its activity in collaboration with the parents, the school staff and the pupils (Art. 28). The school would be an entity established by the school board for a period of five years, governed by a school council where parents were in the majority. Three consultative committees one for parents, one for staff, and one for secondary students might be instituted. The Conseil supérieur de l'éducation pointed out that the Bill confused functions and powers and did not clearly indicate the province of the school council and that of the school principal.

Bill 3 (1984) tried again to redefine the school as "an educational institution under the authority of a principal, designed to provide education to pupils, within the scope of its educational project and to furnish adults with the educational services determined by the school board" (Art. 52). A

It may be noted that the only previous definition of a school is that which appeared in the Protestant Committee Regulation (1975). The preamble describes a Protestant school as "a group of pupils under a principal or head teacher appointed by a board elected by citizens deemed in law to be Protestant; its curricula are those laid down for Protestant schools by the Department of Education".

school council, with a majority of parents, would decide on the educational project of the school and its confessionality, and would inform the school board of its personnel and services needs, as well as adopt a budget. The latter, however, was subject to the school board's approval.

Although Bill 107 defines the object of the school as the provision "of education to the pupils, other than adults, while respecting their individual values" it does not attempt to define the school as such. Clearly, however, the school is under the authority of the principal and is bound by the basic school regulations, the program of studies and the decisions of the school board. It carries out its mission according to an educational plan whose specific aims and objectives are determined by the orientation committee. This Committee is an advisory body to the principal and the school board. Parent members of the Committee must at least equal the number of other voting members.

## The right to Exemption from MRE

The Parent Commission in 1966 traced the basis of religious liberty in Ontario and Québec to two acts of the Union Parliament, the 1851 Act revoking provisions relating to the construction and maintenance of rectories for Anglican clergy and the 1854 Act stopping payments to Anglican clergy. These acts were by their very nature constitutional and probably could not be repealed without the consent of the Federal Parliament. In the commission's view this basic freedom was reinforced by the BNA Act. Today, we would have to add the two charters (Federal and Québec) of human rights as enlarging or consolidating this freedom. The commission went on to say that the 1851 Act had "opened the way for the conscience clause, to which, on occasion parents have successfully appealed before the courts in order to withdraw their children from religious instruction dispensed in public schools which was not in agreement with their own convictions". Nevertheless, the commission recommended "that the law expressly recognize the right of all parents whose children attend confessional institutions to request that their children be excused from religious instruction and exercices".

The Protestant Committee pointed out that this had been the practice in Protestant schools for a long time. Indeed, from 1888 onwards the Regulations of the Protestant Committee had recognized the right to exemption. For example, the 1888 Regulation read: "Religious instruction shall be given in all public schools, but no person shall require any pupil in any public school to read or study in or from any religious book, or to join in any

exercise of devotion or religion, objected to in writing by his or her parents or guardians."

In 1967, the case of a candidate for a Catholic normal school, who was a declared agnostic, raised the question of exemption from the religion program and examinations. The Catholic Committee declared that it had no objections to the substitution of another equivalent program. The Superior Council endorsed this recommendation. In an advice on school confessionality in 1981, the Superior Council recommended that in any Catholic school in the province it be possible by regulation of the Catholic Committee to offer all pupils a choice between religious instruction and moral instruction. Further, the Council recommended that in the Education Act there be an article guaranteeing parents and pupils the freedom to choose religious or moral instruction which conformed to their convictions, and the freedom to participate or not in pastoral activities, as well as an article guaranteeing teachers the right to teach, or not to teach confessional religious instruction.

Amidst discussion about the government's plan for school reorganization the Catholic Committee responded with changes to its regulation in April 1982. While continuing to maintain that the exemption clause was not discriminatory in itself, the Catholic Committee found that the possibility of an option between Catholic religious instruction and moral instruction was compatible with the concept of a Catholic school and preferable in the current context. Although application was permitted between 1982 and 1985 the option clause became obligatory only in September 1985.

The Protestant Committee, which had revised its regulation and was seeking Cabinet approval, debated on several occasions the replacement of the exemption clause by an option clause. It decided to maintain the exemption clause because there was no difficulty in its application and because the principle of exemption was important to several groups in the Protestant milieu. It was also held that the new Protestant MRE course did not seek to indoctrinate pupils and therefore that exemption would not be necessary. This has been borne out by the very low number of requests for exemption.

## **Demographic Changes in the Confessional System**

At the same time as the Parent Commission was advocating changes in the school system and Operation 55 was consolidating school boards into larger regional organizations, other changes affecting the clientele of school

boards were under way. During the school year 1965-1966 several school boards had reached agreement for the schooling of English-speaking Roman Catholic pupils within the Protestant system. The two confessional committees met and agreed on a number of principles to govern such agreements, namely,

- a) that the staff appointed must agree to, and in fact, respect the religious beliefs of both groups at all times;
- b) that the principle of equitable representation for each of the participating religious groups be respected in the appointment of staff;
- c) that students receive moral and religious education in conformity with the regulations of the respective confessional committees;
- d) that rights accorded to the religious minority not be prejudicial to the rights of the majority with respect to exercises of faith and the teaching of moral and religious education;
- e) that there be a common curriculum for use in French language schools as well as English language schools.

The following year Mr. Paul Gallagher, a Catholic member of the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, wrote to the Chairman pointing out the implications of such agreements in terms of equality of opportunity, the participation of parents and the maximum participation in the sharing of facilities and personnel. The Superior Council adopted the following principles on July 7-8, 1966;

- a) that at the time of engagement of teaching and administrative personnel greater emphasis be placed on professional competence than on other factors;
- b) that agreements be elaborated and ratified after a full consultation with the parents of the students involved;
- c) that agreements be for a predetermined number of years and be formulated in such a way as to encourage rather than inhibit the growth of cooperation;
- d) that school boards signing agreements shall retain active and continuous involvement in the operation of these schools;

e) that the agreements provide for the establishment of a school committee of 5 to 7 members along with the principal and a representative of the teaching staff. The committee will represent the parents and citizens of the region served by the school and will act as a consultative body in school policy concerns.

Based on these principles a standard form of agreement was established by ministerial instruction. These ententes placed large numbers of English-speaking Roman Catholic students in Protestant schools and a smaller number or French-speaking Protestant students in Roman Catholic schools. The changes brought about by the institution of agreements for the schooling of children in their own language may be seen by examining the tables presented in annex.

The issue of the integration of immigrants into the English community through English schooling rather than into French community was raised in the late 1960s. Early in the 1970s the effects of a declining birth rate were obvious in the French schools and there were concerns that French Canada would become a declining proportion of the Canadian population. The enactment of language legislation (Bill 22 was adopted July 31, 1974 and Bill 101 was adopted August 26, 1977) to direct newcomers to Québec into French-language schools contributed to increasing plurality in the Catholic system and the growth of the French sector of some Protestant school boards. On the other hand, the emigration of English-speaking people to other parts of Canada, and the desire of many English-speaking parents who remained in Québec to have their children educated in the French language contributed to the declining numbers in English language schooling. All of these were factors in the evolution of the clientele of the confessional school boards.

#### Conclusion

If one were to seek the elements of stability within the education system of Québec, they would be found in the confessional structures which continue to be the basis of organization for schooling. In spite of the long debate on educational structures the real changes in organization were those which took into account the underlying confessionality of the school system. Operation 55 (1964), Law 27 (1971), Law 71 (1972), agreements for the education of pupils in the schools of a school board of a different confession, and the integration of local and regional school boards all succeeded because of their confessional basis.

The issue of language, on the other hand, has been one of the elements of change within educational structures during this period. It has been bedeviled by opposing visions of the sociological basis of Québec which translated into fierce debates over freedom of choice of the language of education, the testing program associated with English language education being restricted to those whose mother tongue was English, and certain of the provisions of the Charter of the French language. The Superior Court ruling, which determined that Law 3 (1984) was ultra vires, points up the difficulty of basing educational structures on a language basis, and mentions the possibility that in the future "the Roman Catholic majority may succeed in gradually reconfessionalizing the schools".<sup>1</sup>

The decline in the number of pupils enrolled for English language instruction affects many Protestant school boards, particularly those outside of the Montréal metropolitan area. Even within the latter area the demand for French immersion classes is strong and withdraws large numbers of pupils from regular English classes. Similarly, the increasing number of Protestants seeking French language instruction points up the diversity of the Protestant educational community. The provision of quality education will require closer cooperation with our Roman Catholic colleagues even while seeking to preserve a Protestant approach to education, and in particular the moral and religious dimensions of education.

Superior Court judgement nr. 550-05-005691-854. decision of the Honorable Justice André Brossard, June 25, 1985, p. 20. (Translation)



Table 1: Number of School Boards

	1960-1961	1965-1966	1970-1971	1975-1976	1980-1981	1985-1986
Roman Catholic	1 526		1 102	219	213	201
Protestant	272		150	33	31	29
Multi- Confessional				2	4	4
Total	1 798	1 565	1 252	254	248	234

Table 2: School Registration for Protestants by Language of Instruction

Pupils in Public Schools	1981-1982	1982-1983	1986-1987	1987-1988
French English Other	7 094 49 386 717	7 625 46 771 709	11 827 37 237 423	13 135 36 186 505
Pupils in Private Schools	57 197	55 105	49 487	49 826
French English Other	710 2 048 4	1 946	2 035	751 2 048
	2 762	2 597	2 747	2 799
Totals				
French English Other	7 804 51 434 721	8 275 48 717 710	12 539 39 272 423	13 886 38 234 505
	59 959	57 702	52 234	52 625

Table 3: Protestant Registration by Confessional School Boards

	1975-1976	1981-1982	1982-1983	1986-1987	1987-1988
French language of instruction					
Catholic S.B. Protestant S.B. Special Status B.		3 487 2 738 869	3 674 2 989 962	4 309 5 854 1 664	4 572 6 723 1 840
Private Schools		710	650	712	751
English language of instruction					
Catholic S.B. Protestant S.B. Special Status B.		818 45 837 2 731	1 179 42 869 2 723	1 173 33 650 2 414	1 212 32 407 2 567
Private Schools		2 048	1 946	2 035	2 048
Totals					
Catholic S.B. Protestant S.B. Special Status B.	2 915 80 454 1 614	4 305 48 575 3 599	4 853 45 858 3 685	5 482 39 504 4 077	5 784 39 130 4 407
Private Schools	1 192	2.758	2 596	2 747	2 799
Total	86 175	59 237	26 992	51810	52 120

Table 4: Composition of Protestant School Board Clientele

1987-1988	7 732	39 130	35 822	82 684
1986-1987	9 538	39 504	32 187	81 229
1982-1983	10 485	45 858	29 242	85 585
1981-1982	10 886	48 575	29 754	89 215
1975-1976	17 834	80 454	31 362	129 650
	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Other	Total

Table 5: English Language Instruction

	1975-1976	1981-1982	1982-1983	1986-1987	1987-1988
Protestant School Board	127 344	81 724	77 352	65 146	63 959
Catholic School Board	102 222	61 577	26 605	43 199	41 023
Special Status School Board	1 435	3 362	3 303	3 010	3 036
Subtotal	231 001	146 663	137 260	111 355	108 018
Private Schools	11 580	9 236	9 326	9 251	9 227
Total	242 581	155 899	146 586	120 606	117 245

Table 6: Clientele Receiving Instruction in English by Confessional School Boards

1987-1988	7 209	32 407	24 343	63 959		37 336	1 212	2 475	41 023	374	2 567	95	3 036
1986-1987	8 591	33 650	22 905	65 146		39 574	1 173	2 452	43 199	388	2414	208	3 010
1982-1983	10 160	42 869	24 323	77 352		53 126	1 179	2300	209 95	505	2 723	75	3 303
1981-1982	10 597	45 837	25 290	81 724		58 413	818	2 346	61577	547	2.731	84	3 362
	Protestant School Boards Roman Catholic	Protestant	Other	Subtotal	Catholic School Boards	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Other	Special Status Boards	Roman Catholic	Protestant	Other	

## **Chronology of Events Related to Education**

1953-1956	(Tremblay) Royal Commission on Constitutional Problems – 5 vol. report 1956;
1958	Ministry of Youth and Social Welfare established;
1959	Death of Maurice Duplessis; Paul Sauvé, Premier;
1960	Death of Paul Sauvé; Antonio Barrette, Premier;
June 22, 1960  Oct 5 1960 Study Comm offer on Agricus  March 24, 1961	Election of Liberals - Jean Lesage, Premier, "C'est le temps que ça change."  pricultural Education  Jen. 10, 1941 Study Committee on Technical and Vocational Education.  (Parent) Royal Commission on Education established; to report by 31 Dec 1962; Bill 3 of Feb 28, 1963 extended reporting date to Dec 31, 19
1962	Ministry of Cultural Affairs established; (Tremblay) Report of Study Committee on Technical and Vocational Education; (Ryan) Report of Study Committee on Adult Education;
November 14, 1962	Re-election of Liberals "Maîtres chez-nous";
April 1963	Volume 1 of Parent Report published;
May 13, 1964	Bill 60 – Ministry of Education and Superior Council of Education established.  Paul-Gérin Lajoie, Minister of Education – May 1964 to June 1966;
September 1964	Operation 55 – regional school boards and comprehensive high schools;
October 1964	Volumes 2 & 3 of Parent Report published;
May 11, 1965	Regulation 1 – 6 yrs. elementary, 5 years. secondary: child-centred program, continuous progress, active learning, polyvalent secondary school;
1965	(Bélanger) Royal Commission on Taxation published; (Robert Bournessa) Kindergarten classes organized;

March 3, 1966	Regulation 2 – examinations and secondary education courses;
March 30, 1966	Regulations 3 & 4 – post-secondary education and licensing of teachers;
March 1966	Volumes 4 & 5 of Parent Report published;
June 5, 1966	Election of Union Nationale — Daniel Johnson, Premier; Jean-Jacques Bertrand, Minister of Education, June 1966 to October 1967;
February 17, 1967	Bill 25 – Legislated end of Teacher strike and established provincial negotiation framework;
June 2, 1967	Regulations of Confessional committees;
June 29, 1967	Bill 21 - Cegeps established; Jean-Guy Cardinal, Minister of Education, October 1967 to April 1970;
March 22, 1968	Regulation 5 – Teacher scholarity and classification;
June 1968	Death of Daniel Johnson; Jean-Jacques Bertrand, Premier;
1968	Saint-Léonard language dispute;
November 1968	(Pagé) Report on School reorganization on Montréal Island;
December 9, 1968	(Gendron) Commission of Enquiry on the place of the French language and on linguistic rights in Québec;
December 18, 1968	Bill 88 - Law on Private Education;
1969	(Rioux) Royal Commission on the Teaching of the Arts;
November 4, 1969	First signed Provincial Teacher Contract;
November 28, 1969	Bill 63 – Law Promoting the French Language – choice of language of instruction;
November 1969	(Bill 62) – Reorganization of Montréal Island School Boards – not enacted; Howard Report on constitutional rights in education;

	April 29, 1970	Election of Liberals "Québec au travail" — Robert Bourassa, Premier; Guy Saint-Pierre, Minister of Education, April 1970 to February 1972;
	October 1970	October Crisis;
	January 13. 1971	Regulation 6 - Amount of French instruction required;
	April 27, 1971	Regulation 7 – Organization of Elementary and Secondary Education;
	July 10, 1971	Bill 27 – Regrouping of School Boards outside Montréal Island, establishment of school committees and parent comittees;
	September 1971	(Bill 28) Regrouping of Montréal Island School Boards – withdrawn December 1972; François Cloutier, Minister of Education, February 1972 to August 1975;
	May 16, 1972	Regulation 7 amended;
	August 2, 1972	Regulation 2 replaced;
	December 15, 1972	Second legislated Provincial Teacher contract;
	December 21, 1972	Bill 71 – Montréal Island Regrouping – Montréal Island School Council and eight confessional school
R	port of Gendran Commission	boards; on the Position of the French Language in Quibee (Favoured untified system)
	1973	Teacher Classification dispute; Re-election of Liberals;
	1974	Commel Report on elementary school boards with fewer than 3 000 pupils;
	June 4, 1974	Regulation of Catholic Committee;
	July 31, 1974  Crequired a sub June 1975	Bill 22 - Official Language Act; fixent knowledge of English to reserve instruction in that language) Consultation on "Toward a New Method of Managing";
	June 27, 1975	Charter of Personal Rights and Liberties;

**April 1980** 

1975-1976 Study of reorganization by Montréal Island School Council; Jérôme Choquette, Minister of Education, August-September 1975; Regulation of Protestant Committee; Raymond September 10, 1975 Garneau, Minister of Education, September-December 1975; Jean Bienvenue, Minister of Education, January 1976 to November 1976; 1976 Copex Report - Children with Learning Difficulties; June 23, 1976 Regulation 7 amended; October 20, 1976 Second signed Provincial Teacher Contract; November 14, 1976 Election of Parti Québécois - René Lévesque, Premier; Jacques-Yvan Morin, Minister of Education, November 1976 to November 1980; May 20, 1977 Montréal Island School Council Report on Reorganization; Bill 101 - Official Language Act (Charter of the August 26, 1977 French Language); 1978 Green Paper: Primary and Secondary Education in Québec: Québec - School Boards Conference - changes in February-March 1979 financing of boards; Orange Paper: Schools of Québec: Policy Statement 1979 and Plan of Action; Notre-Dame-des-Neiges School Status debate; Bill 30 - established School Committee, Parents Committee, Parent Representative on School Board; Bill 57 - Municipal Taxation Act - set ceiling on School Board real estate taxation powers; Bill 71 – defined school, role of principal, rights of parents to be consulted, educational project, and instituted Orientation Councils;

underprivileged areas;

L'école s'adapte à son milieu - Policy on schools in

	May 20, 1980	Referendum on Sovereignty-Association; Camille Laurin, Minister of Education, November 1980 to March 1984;
9	February 1981	Régimes pédagogiques;
	April 13, 1981	Re-election of Parti Québécois "Faut rester fort";
¥	August 1981	CSE - Advice on Confessionality and the Schools of Québec; (advocated establishing "planalist" or "confessionally-shared" schools
	April 17, 1982	Bill 62 – inserted notwithstanding clauses in all laws of Québec;
	June 1982	Bill 111 – cut salaries of government and paragovernment personnel; White Paper: The Québec School, a Responsible Force in the Community; Camille Laurin speech: The School Principal, a Person in Charge;
	June 1983	(Bill 40) Act respecting Public Elementary and Secondary Education - not enacted; t centrality of the school and greater parental participation)
	September 1983	CSE – Advice on Restructuring the School System; Yves Bérubé, Minister of Education, March 1984 to December 1984;
	December 1984	Parliamentary Commission hearings on school board reorganization;
	December 20, 1984	Bill 3 – Act respecting Public Elementary and Secondary Education; Supreme Court struck down parts of Bill 57; François Gendron, Minister of Education, December 1984 to December 1985;
	June 9, 1985	Bill 29 – Confessional school boards on the Island of Montréal and the CSIM;
	June 20, 1985	Bill 39 – Scission of Ministry of Education and Ministry of Superior Education, Science and Technology;
	June 25, 1985	Superior Court ruling invalidating Bill 3 (1984);

Resignation of René Lévesque; Pierre-Marc Johnson, September 29, 1985 Premier, October 3, 1985; Election of Liberals - Robert Bourassa, Premier; December 2, 1985 Claude Ryan, Minister of Education, December 1985; CSE - Advice For a Fair Evolution of School Jan. 23, 1986 Structures in Québec; Estates-General on the Quality of Education; April 2-5, 1986 Bill 131 - specified the Government's power to December 19, 1986 establish régimes pédagogiques. Notwithstanding clauses were invoked to protect confessional arrangements; Bills 106 and 107 introduced to National Assembly; December 1987 Regulations of the Protestant and the Catholic December 9, 1987 Committees.

CONSEIL SUPÉRIEUR DE L'ÉDUCATION

QCSE005424