

The Decline of the English School System in Quebec and what to do about it !

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Presentation to the Fall Professional Development Session of the Quebec English School
Boards Association (QESBA)
Montréal, October 26, 2013



The Decline of the English School System in Québec
Richard Bourhis & Pierre Foucher (2012)

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PDF version of Bourhis & Foucher (2012) is available on:

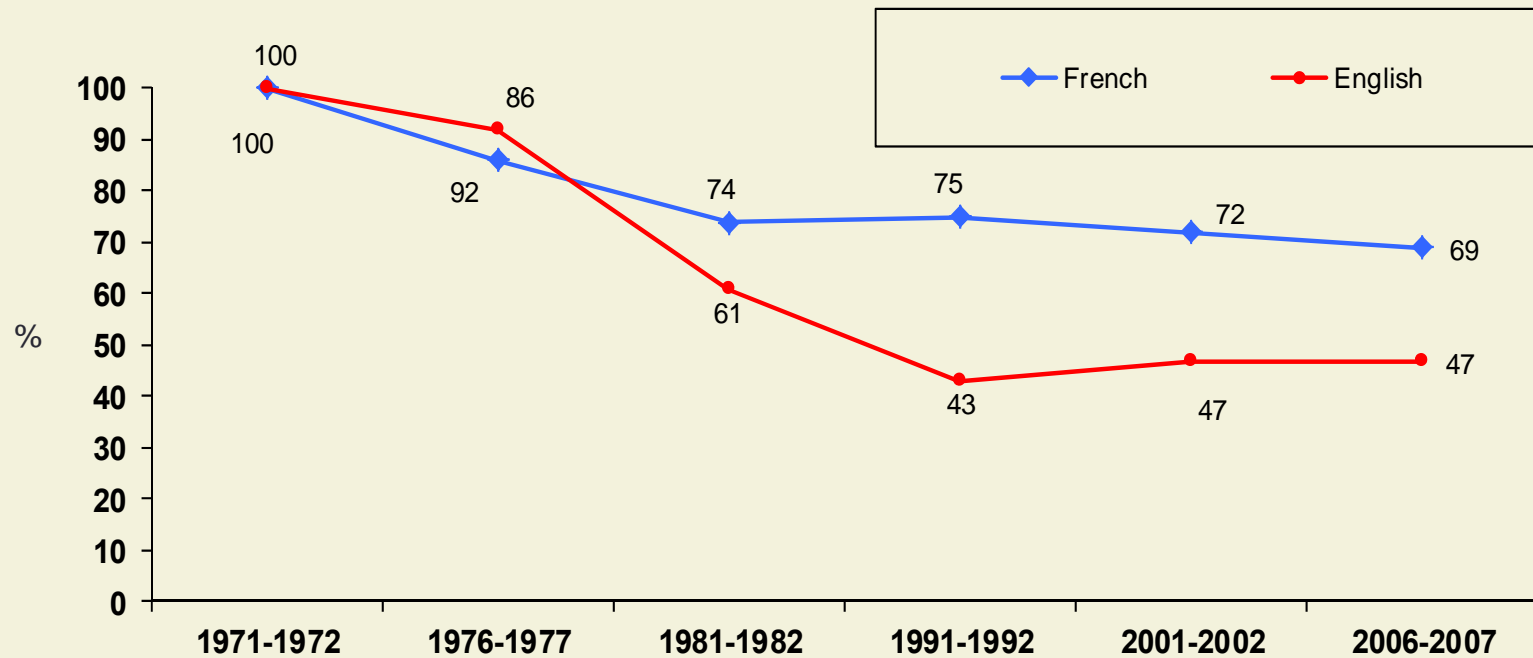
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Preamble

- Consider this talk as one of many *case studies* illustrating how and why a dominant majority decides to reduce the institutional vitality of a linguistic minority through government language laws
- This case study reminds us of the saying by Albert Camus:
- « La démocratie ce n'est pas la dictature de la majorité, c'est le respect des minorités »
- Linguistic minorities who allow their demographic and institutional vitality to decline will eventually cease to exist as distinctive linguistic communities
- Bourhis (2013) *Decline and prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec*. Ottawa: Canadian Heritage & ICRLM

3.1 : Number & % of students in pre-school, primary & secondary school systems in Quebec by French & English school systems (public & private): 1971-2007

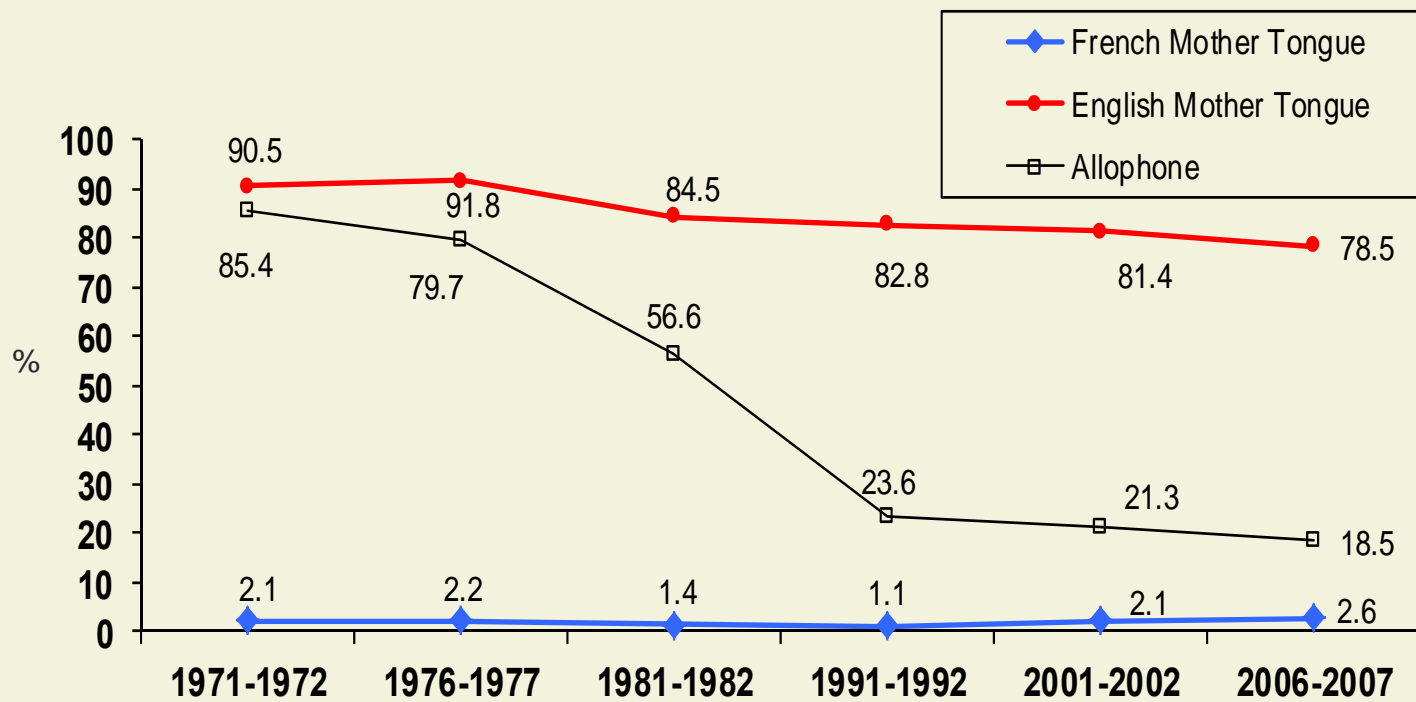
(Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport; MELS, 2008) (Bourhis, 2012)



◆ French	1,378,788	1,186,102	1,026,951	1,035,358	997,358	951,738
● English	256,251	236,588	155,585	111,391	121,225	119,508

3.3: Number & % of students in English pre-school, primary and secondary schools in Quebec by mother tongue: 1971 to 2007.

(Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, MELS, 2008) (Bourhis, 2012)

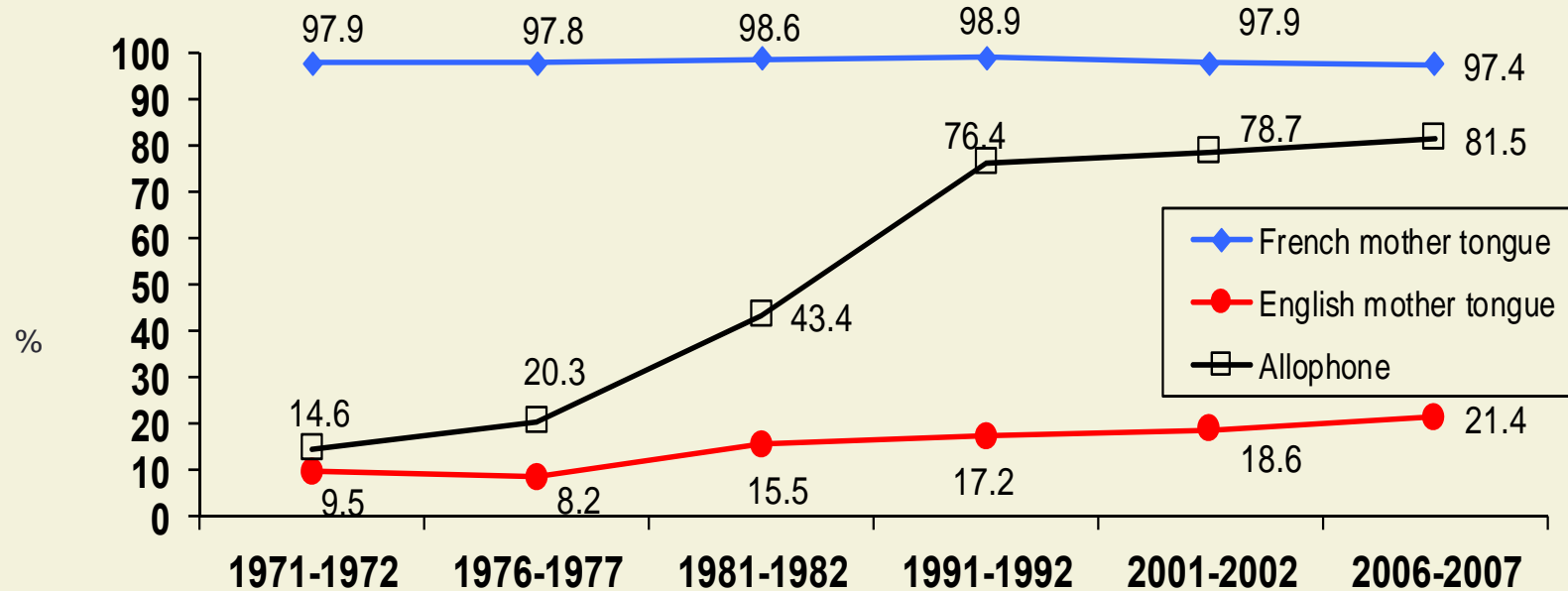


◆ French	28,700	26,012	13,839	10,361	19,505	22,101
● English	171,175	159,385	101,695	79,004	76,818	72,092
□ Allophones	56,376	51,080	37,264	19,508	22,199	22,057

PS: Mother Tongue (MT): First language learned at home as a child and still understood at census time

3.5: Number & % of students in French pre-school, primary and secondary schools in Quebec by mother tongue: 1971-2007

(Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, MELS, 2008) (Bourhis, 2012)



◆ French	1,351,212	1,158,822	975,897	951,220	893,105	830,339
● English	17,924	14,233	18,708	16,414	17,585	19,688
□ Allophone	9,652	13,047	28,595	62,995	81,831	97,285

What can be done about the decline of the English school system in Quebec ?

- You must do **ALL** in your **POWER** to reclaim English rights holders currently in French schools back to your English schools !
- You must maintain **ALL** English rights holders in English schools !
- As English School Board Administrators you must **BRAG** about the **success** of your English Schools !!
- English school boards are the **BEST**: 6 of top 10 performing school boards in Quebec are English !
- English schools have **lower drop out** rates than French schools
- English schools teach **as good** French proficiency as French schools

What can be done about the decline of the English school system in Quebec

- Continue making English schools more fun, dynamic and efficient than French schools : keep Anglophone pupils and recruit Francophone pupils through **Power of attraction !!!**
- English schools must must teach its students about **history of vital role of ESCQ** within Quebec society. Also teach the **right** of English speaking communities to stay and thrive in Quebec
- If French teachers have taught Québécois Francophone pride and need for sovereignty for 50 years, English teachers can begin teaching vital role of ESCQ in Quebec society now !

Current challenges to English school system

- In 2013, the PQ is stealing CAQ platform to **abolish School boards** to gain more Québécois Francophone votes in next election
- By abolishing school boards PQ **kills two birds with one stone:**
 -
 - 1. Steals Québécois francophone voters from CAQ to win **PQ majority rule** in next election
 - 2. It **eliminates** one of few institutions still in control of English speaking communities across Quebec: **English school boards !!**

Current challenges to English school system

- **Bill 14** proposed by Parti Québécois Government in 2013 designed to **close** another **loophole** in the Quebec Education System.
- **Under Bill 14 Anglophone rights holders pupils** who attend most of their primary & secondary school in **French** would **lose** the **right** to send their own **children** to **English schools**. Such former **rights holders** would be forced to send their children to **French schools** .
- Bill 14 has the intended effect of **further eroding** the English Schools System of Quebec.
- With a further decline of the English school system :
- fewer jobs for Anglophone teachers
- fewer jobs for Anglophone support staff
- fewer jobs for Anglophone school commission Administrators
- **Bill 14 is on hold until the Parti Québécois wins a majority vote in the next election...get ready for the ride !!!**

MERCI **THANK YOU**

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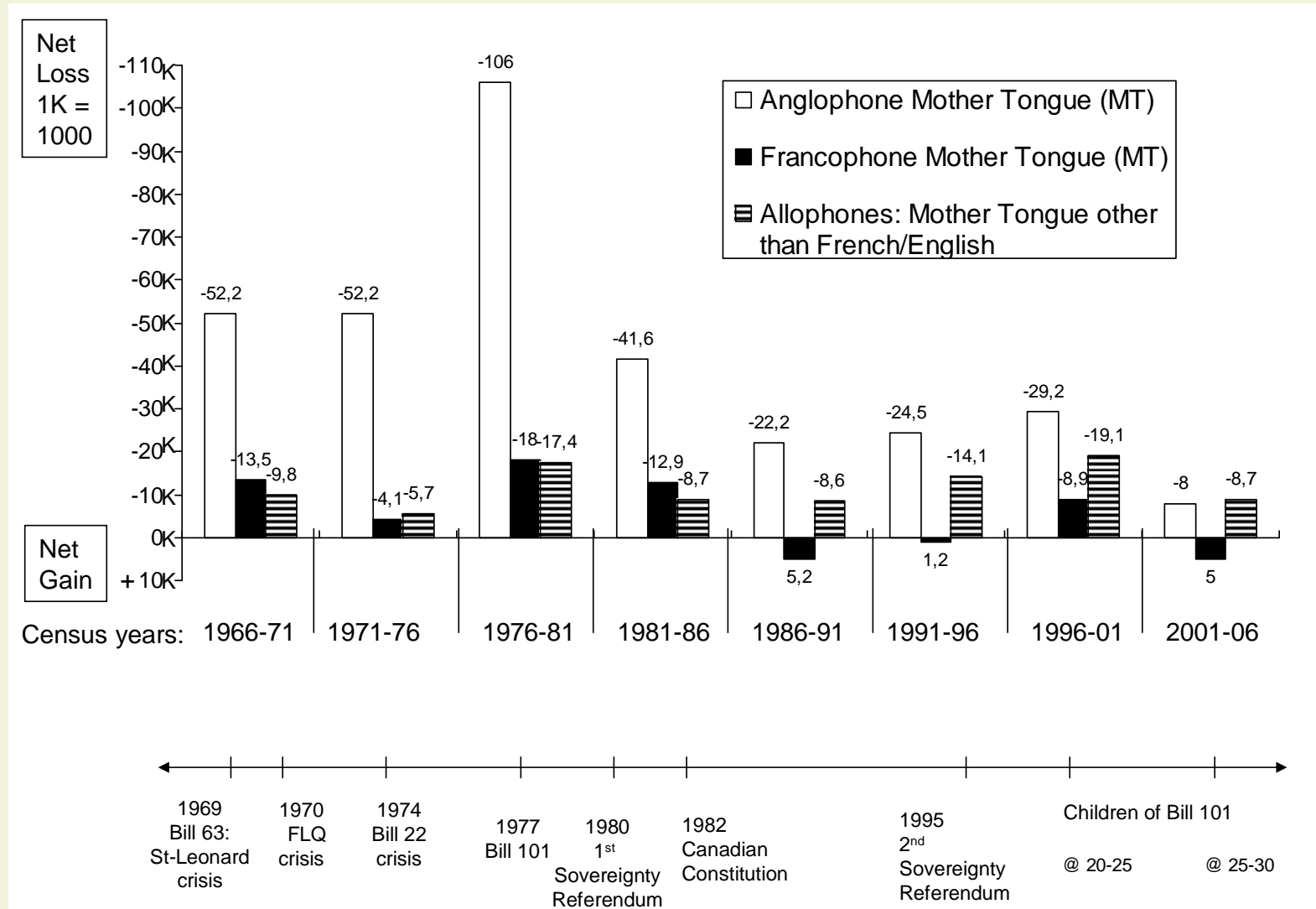
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2. Key demolinguistic features of Quebec population

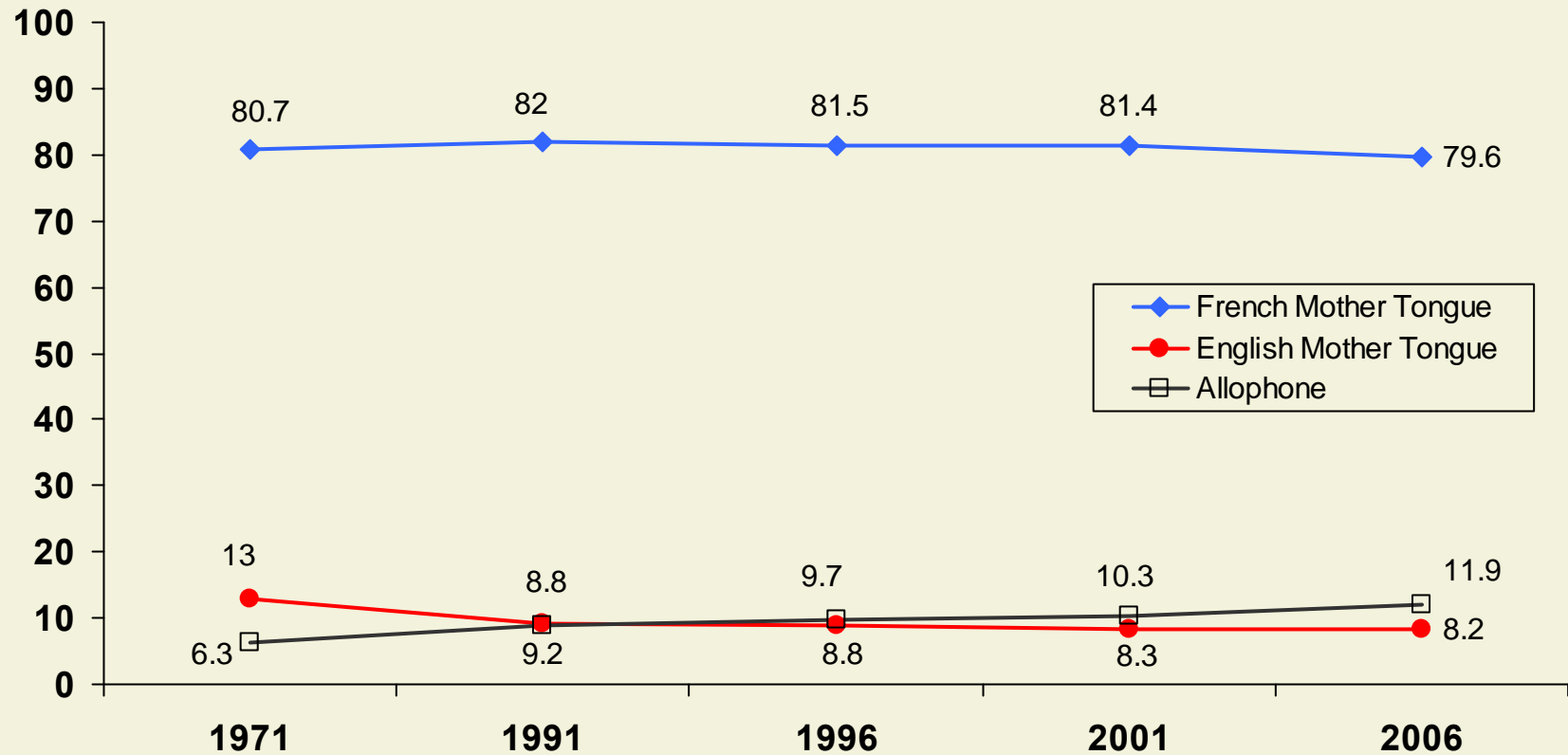
1. Demographic decline of English speaking community of Quebec (ESCQ) from 1971 to 2006
2. Success of Bill 101 in establishing knowledge of French as the shared language of the Quebec population

2.2 Net Interprovincial Migration of Anglophones, Francophones & Allophones in Quebec: Arrival-Departure = Net loss in thousands (K).

Canadian Census: 1966 to 2006 (Bourhis, 2012)

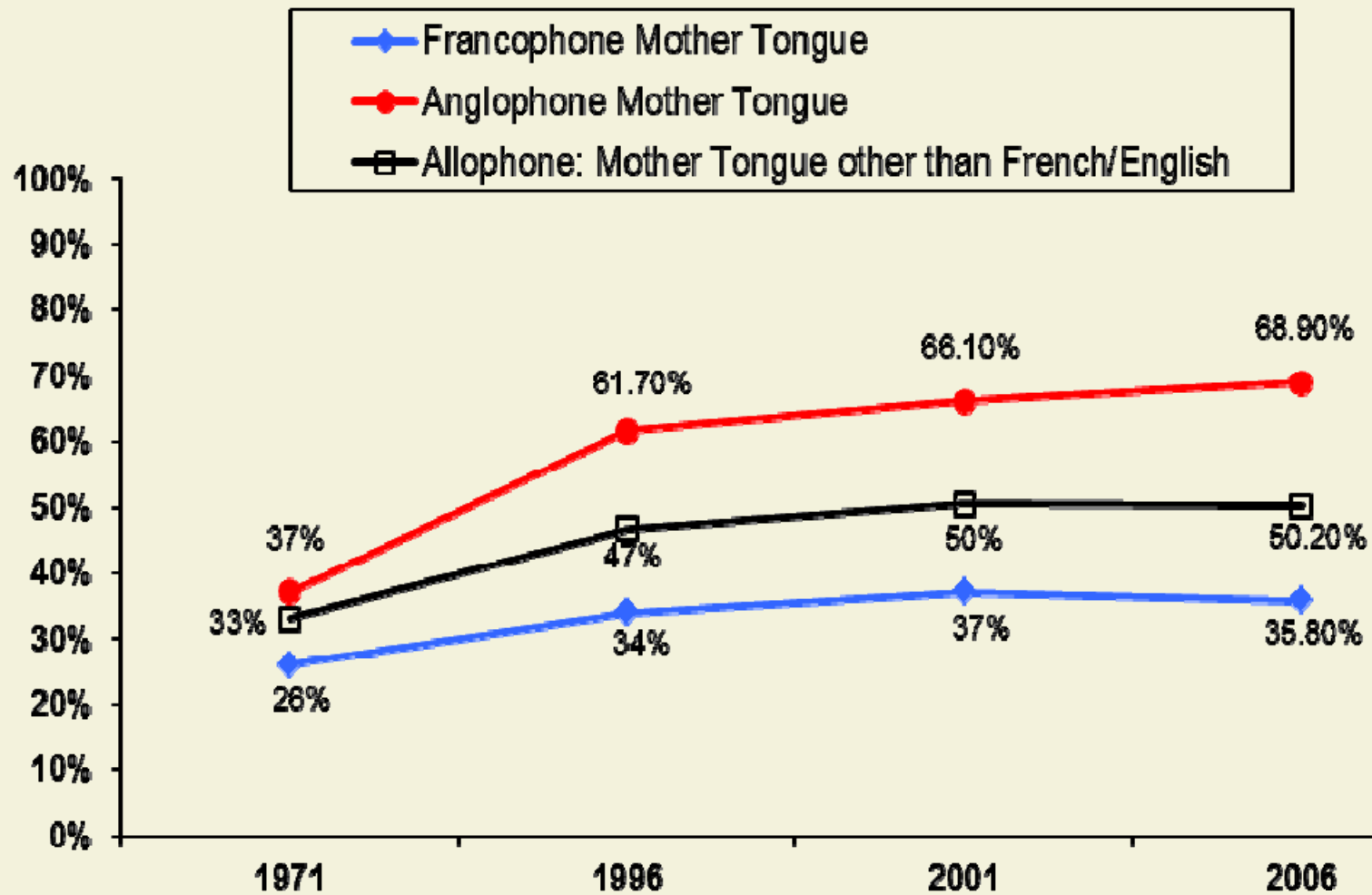


2.1 : Mother Tongue (L1) population in Quebec. Canadian Census: 1971 to 2006 (Bourhis, 2012)

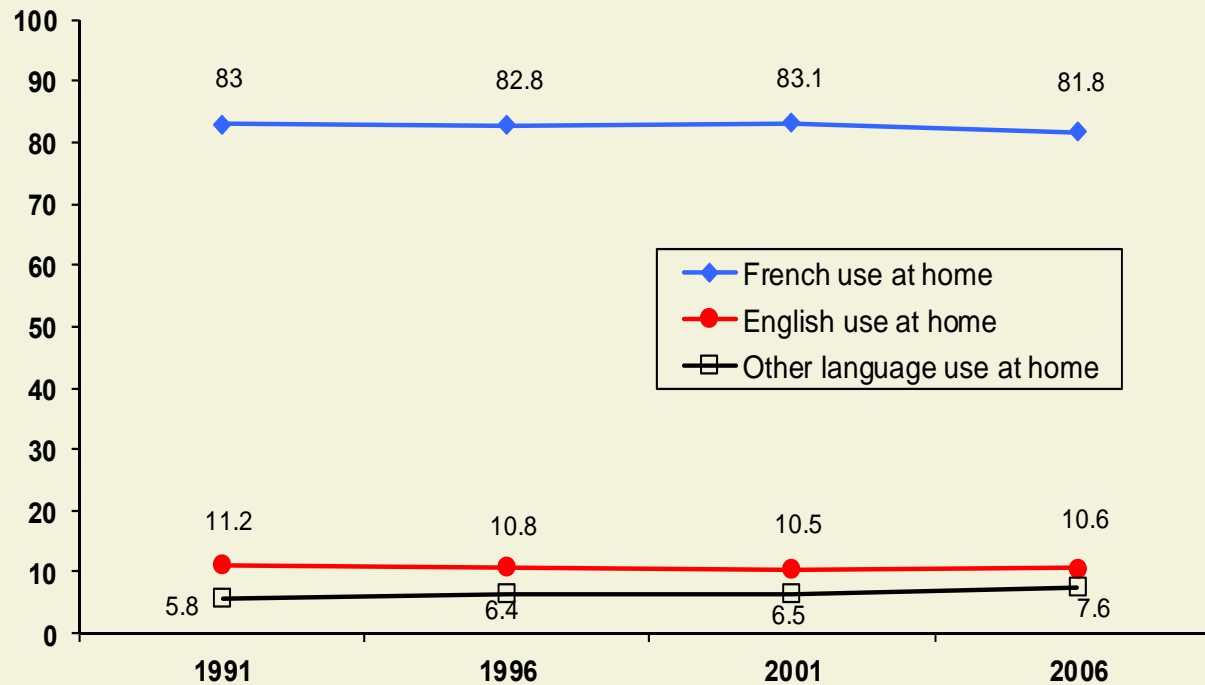


◆ French MT	4,860,410	5,585,645	5,741,435	5,802,020	5,916,840
● English MT	788,830	626,195	621,865	591,380	607,165
□ Allophones	390,415	598,445	681,285	732,180	866,000

2.3 French – English Bilingualism in Quebec: Francophones; Anglophones and Allophones. Canadian Census : 1971 to 2006 (Bourhis, 2012)

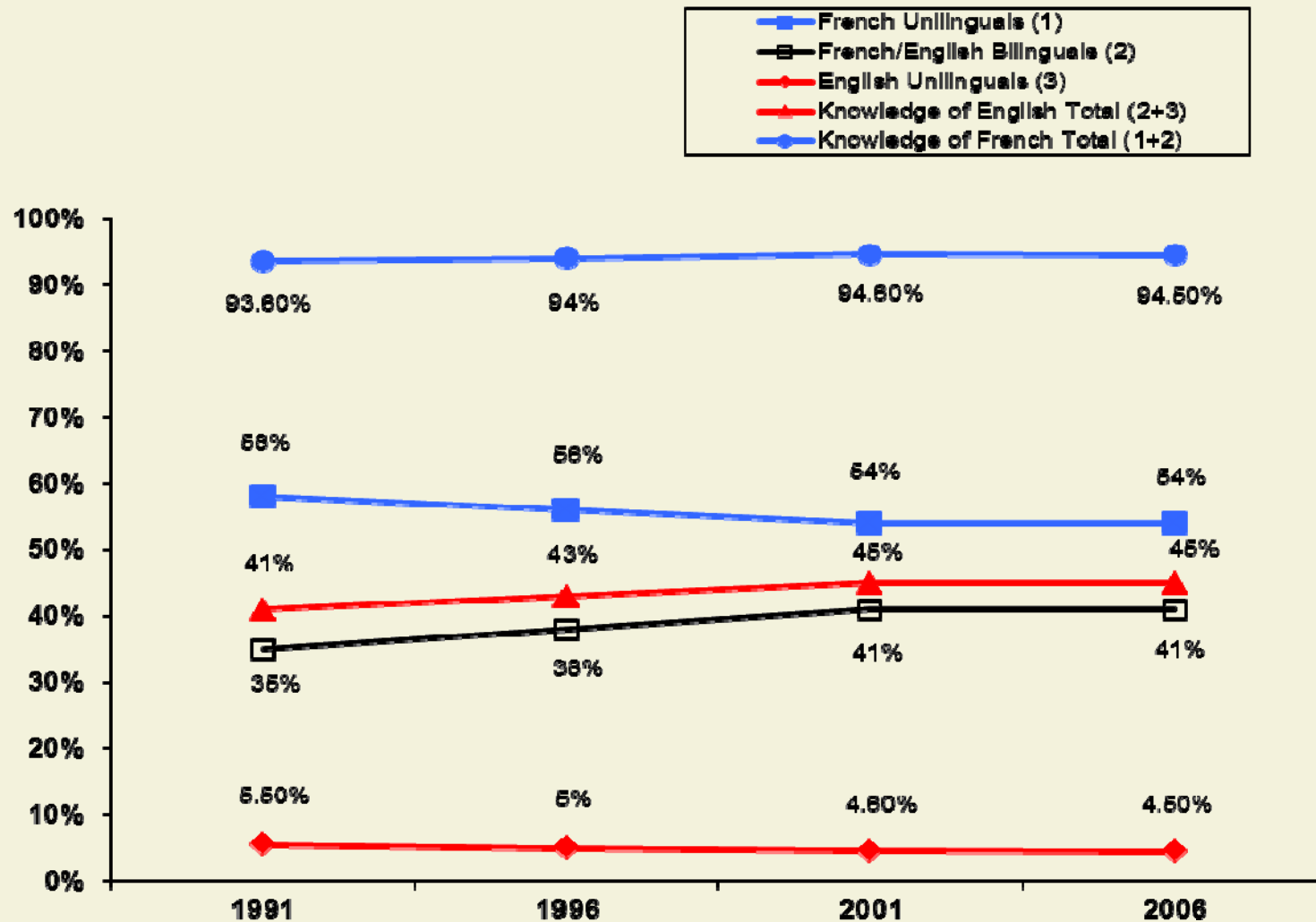


2.4 : Most frequent language use at home in Quebec population: Use of French, English & other languages. Canadian Census: 1991 to 2006 (Bourhis, 2012)



◆ French use	5,651,790	5,830,085	5,918,390	6,085,155
● English use	761,805	762,460	746,895	787,885
□ Other lang.	396,690	452,540	460,295	562,860

2.5 : Knowledge of French and English in Quebec Population: Canadian Census: 1991 to 2006 (Bourhis, 2013)



2. Reducing Access to English Schooling : from Bill 101 to Bill 104

1. Up to 1960s, Francophones, Anglophones, Allophones & Immigrants had **freedom of choice** to attend English or French public schools. However, only Catholics could attend French Catholic schools. Most non-catholic Anglophones & Allophones were assigned to English Protestant schools.
2. The Québec Liberal government adopted **Bill 63** (1969) and **Bill 22** (1974) to partially limit access to English schooling. These laws did not satisfy Francophone nationalists and displeased Anglophone & Allophone minorities
3. In 1977 the Parti Québécois adopted **Bill 101** ruling that the Francophone majority and international immigrants had **no right** to attend English schools at primary & secondary level (grandfather clauses applied to siblings)
4. **Bill 101** stipulated that Anglophone pupils could attend English schools if **one parent** had spent most of its primary schooling in English within Quebec and within Canada ('Canada clause' following court challenges).

2. Reducing Access to English Schooling: from Bill 101 to Bill 104

1. In **2002** Parti Québécois adopted **Bill 104** to close the **'loophole'/'brèche'** allowing Allophone and Francophone pupils to attend full fee paying English **'bridging schools' (écoles passerelles)** for a year, to then gain access to free **English public schools**. It was estimated that **400-500** pupils per year used 'bridging schools' from 1997 to 2002
2. In **2007** Allophone and Francophone parents challenge Bill 104 in **Quebec Court of Appeal**. In **2008** they **won** their case on grounds of **Article 23** of **Canadian Constitution**
3. In **2008**, Liberal Government challenged the Quebec ruling in the **Canadian Supreme Court**. The **Québec Attorney General** submitted its Brief to the Supreme Court defending Bill 104 on grounds **French language was threatened in Quebec**.
4. We conducted a **Thematic Analysis** of this Quebec Attorney General Brief defending Bill 104 (Bourhis & Jaspal, 2012)

2. Reducing Access to English Schooling: from Bill 104 to Bill 115

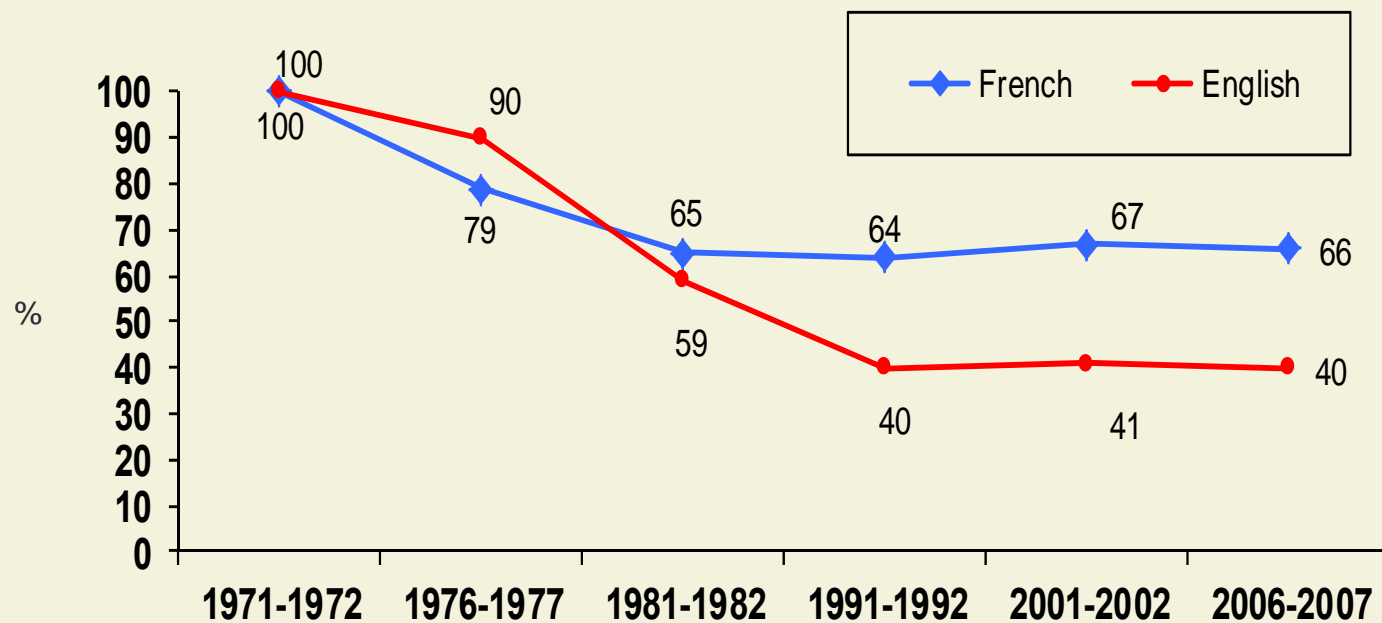
1. In October 2009 **Canadian Supreme Court** ruled that Quebec had right to preserve French language but gave Province one year to craft a **new law** to limit access to English Schools without violating Article 23 of Canadian Constitution.
2. **Bill 103** was proposed by Liberal Government & held Parliamentary Commission during 2010.
3. Leger poll in May 2010 showed that **61% of Francophones & 87% of Allophones & Anglophones** want their children to have more access to English Schools (Montreal Gazette, May 11, 2010)

2. Reducing Access to English Schooling: from Bill 104 to Bill 115

1. **Bill 115** based on Bill 103, was adopted by Quebec government in time for October 2010 deadline.
2. **Bill 115** allows Allophones & Francophones to attend English public schools after studying **3 consecutive years** in private non-funded English schools. Four public servants from Quebec Education Ministry (MELS) use a point system to determine if pupil was engaged in « **legitimate educational pathway** »
3. **Bill 115** makes it almost **impossible** for an Allophone or Francophone « **non rights holder** » pupil to attend English school. Quebec Minister of Education Michèle Courchesne stated on June 3rd 2010 « **I won't deny that the objective is to have as few as possible (approved)** »

3.2: Percentage of students in pre-school, primary and secondary schools by language of schooling (public & private) on Island of Montreal: 1971-2007

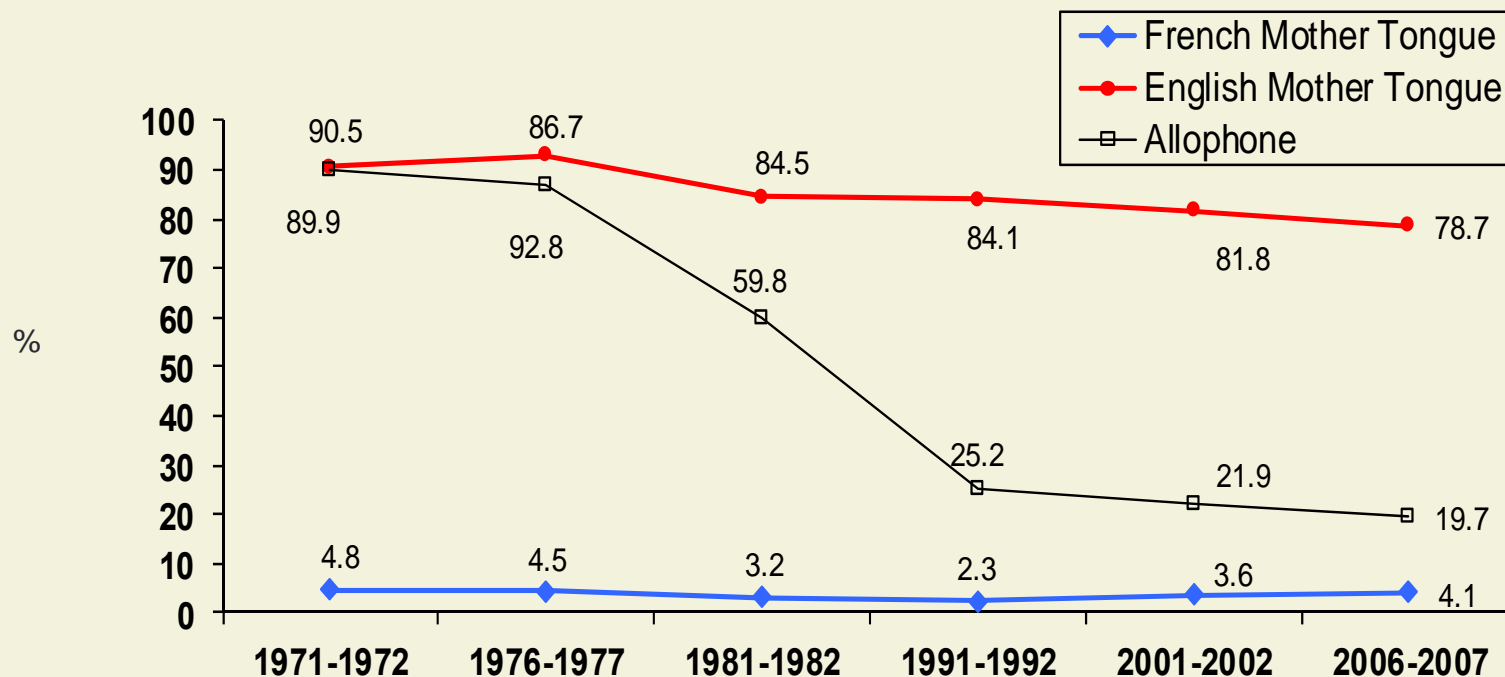
(Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, MELs, 2008) (Bourhis, 2012)



◆ French	271,753	214,876	177,704	172,762	181,713	178,086
● English	154,338	138,144	90,898	61,955	63,812	61,002

3.4: Number & % of students in English pre-school, primary and secondary schools on Island of Montreal by mother tongue: 1971 to 2007

(Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, MELS, 2008) (Bourhis, 2012)

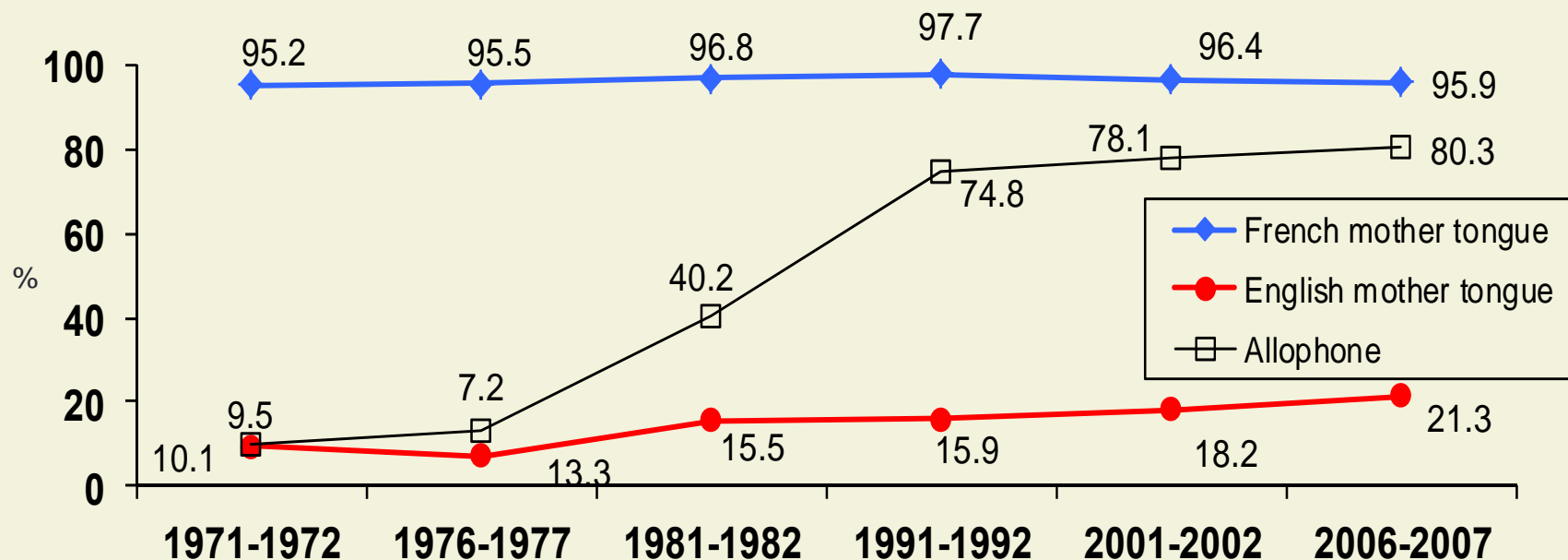


◆ French	12,180	9,394	4,811	2,814	4,087	4,203
● English	92,911	85,373	54,691	43,161	42,079	39,878
□ Allophones	48,617	43,377	31,172	15,908	17,572	16,837

PS: Mother Tongue (MT): First language learned at home as a child and still understood at census time

3.6: Number & % of students in French pre-school, primary and secondary schools on Island of Montreal by mother tongue: 1971- 2007

(Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, MELs, 2008) (Bourhis, 2012)



◆ French	256,535	201,554	146,632	117,233	109,712	99,133
● English	9,783	6,661	10,051	8,153	9,384	10,825
□ Allophones	5,435	6,661	20,929	47,323	62,556	68,807

Table 1: Number of primary & secondary pupils in private and public schools according to language of instruction in Quebec: 1998 - 2007 (MELS, 2008)

	1998-1999	2001-2002 Adoption of Bill 104	2004-2005	2006-2007
PRIVATE SCHOOLS: TOTAL	102,844 (100%)	108,387 (100%)	118,441 (100%)	124,108 (100%)
Semi-funded private schools				
French schools	85,216 (82.8%)	89,814 (82.9%)	100,804 (85.1%)	105,281 (85%)
English Schools	10,644 (10.3%)	10,917 (10.1%)	11,310 (9.5%)	11,194 (9%)
Non-funded Private schools				
French schools	4,700 (4.6%)	4,702 (4.3%)	3,108 (2.6%)	3,750 (3%)
English schools	2,284 (2.2%)	3,134 (2.9%)	3,219 (2.7%)	3,873 (3.1%)
PUBLIC SCHOOLS: TOTAL	1,036,763 (100%)	1,008,276 (100%)	978,614 (100%)	947,002 (100%)
French schools	932,005 (89.9%)	900,192 (89.3%)	868,719 (88.8%)	840,798 (88.8%)
English schools	102,541 (9.9%)	106,914 (10.6%)	107,787 (11%)	104,201 (11%)

4. A Paradigm shifts for Francophone/Anglophone group relations in Quebec

- Québécois Francophone nationalists invoke **threat** to **French language** from the presence of the **English language** in Quebec and North America
- Québécois nationalist invoke this threat to the **French language** as **justification** to **erode** the institutional vitality of the **English speaking minority** in Quebec
- The Bill 104 to Bill 115 **saga** on access to English schooling illustrates how the Francophone majority at the Provincial level can use its minority status at the Canadian level to justify undermining the educational system of the English speaking minority within Quebec

4. A Paradigm shift for Francophone/Anglophone group relations in Quebec

- The English speaking communities of Quebec are **not** responsible for the substantial **status** and **spread** of the **English language** in the world including within Quebec
- Eroding the status and institutional vitality of the **English speaking minority** in Quebec will never be sufficient to **neutralise** the **drawing power** of the English language in Quebec
- Though the English language is not threatened in Quebec, there is strong evidence that the **vitality** of *English speaking communities of Quebec* (ESCQ) is **declining** demographically & institutionnally

4. Paradigm shift for Francophone/Anglophone group relations in Quebec

- **Paradigm Shift:** Québécois Francophones must admit they are the **Dominant Majority** within Quebec Province. This implies that they need **not** portray Anglophone and Allophone minorities as linguistic/cultural **threats** to the French majority, but as cultural, linguistic & economic **assets** for the Province of Quebec.
- As a **dominant majority**, Québécois Francophones have the **responsibility** to **protect** and **enhance** the institutional vitality of its **historical national minorities**: namely the English speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ) and its First Nations.

4. A Paradigm shift for Francophone/Anglophone group relations in Quebec

- Thus Québécois Francophones must **help** the English school system **thrive** rather than seek its **demise** via laws that reduced access to primary & secondary schools
- **Increased access to English schools** is a key measure needed to limit the current erosion of the English school system in Quebec.
- This means allowing more students to enter English school system such as: English speakers from anywhere in Canada and internationally from countries where English is an official or national language

4. A Paradigm shift for Francophone/Anglophone group relations in Quebec

- Québécois Francophones must **graduate** from a **dominant majority** with a **besieged minority mentality** to a dominant majority with a **secure mentality** that accepts its **responsibilities** towards its **vulnerable minorities** including Anglophones, Allophones and first nations
- Many dominant majorities in other parts of the western world have made this transition in the last decades and it is time for the dominant Francophone majority to do likewise.

4. A Paradigm shift for Francophone/Anglophone group relations in Quebec

- Quebec Anglophones and Allophones as linguistic & cultural minorities have proven they **accept** the imperative of maintaining the status and use of French in Quebec .
- Quebec Anglophones have also **proven** they will continue to defend their **collective rights** as a permanent **historical national minority** within Quebec.
- **Second Paradigm Shift.** Using **individual rights** to defend the ESCQ is no longer sufficient or effective. Francophones in rest of Canada (ROC) used collective rights to defend themselves. Whenever necessary, the ESCQ must also invoke their **collective rights** to defend their existence as a **distinctive national minority** within Quebec

5: The Quebec Attorney General Brief to the Canadian Supreme Court

1. In 2008 the **Quebec Attorney General** submitted a Brief supporting Bill 104 to the **Supreme Court of Canada**.
2. The Brief was drafted by Chief **Justice Honorable Bernard Roy** in the name of the **Minister of Education the Honorable Michèle Courchèsne**
3. The **Quebec Attorney General** commands the **FULL** financial & administrative power of the **state** for drafting the **Brief**.
4. The Brief was crafted with the full support of top ranking public servants working in the **Quebec Ministry of Justice** and the **Ministry of Education (MELS)**. Five top private lawyers also helped draft the brief.

5. The Quebec Attorney General Brief to the Canadian Supreme Court

1. The **Quebec Attorney General** Brief was supported by the **Canadian Attorney General** invoking the jurisdiction of Provinces in matters of Education
2. The Brief supporting Bill 104 was written in French & contained **139 clauses** (39pgs). This is the **corpus** used to conduct the **thematic analysis** (Bourhis & Jaspal, 2012)
3. Other supporting documents were pertinent laws, rules, jurisprudence and articles, school enrollments statistics produced by the **Quebec Ministry Education (MELS)**, a report from **l'Office québécois de la langue française**; Statistics Canada analyses and a report on Quebec demolinguistic trends.

5: Citizens & Association contesting Bill 104 in Canadian Supreme Court

1. Private lawyers **contesting Bill 104** were Brent Tyler in Montreal, Ronald Caza and Marie-France Major in Ottawa.
2. **Ronald Caza** is the lawyer who successfully defended the **French Montford Hospital** Case in Ottawa in 1990s.
3. **Brent Tyler** successfully contested numerous Bill 101 clauses in Quebec and Canadian Courts from 1980s to 2000
4. These lawyers represented 26 Montreal parents of whom:
23 were Quebec **Allophones**:
2 were **Québécois francophones**
1 was a **Quebec Anglophone**.

5: Association contesting Bill 104 in Canadian Supreme Court, 2008

Bill 104 was also **contested** in the Supreme Court by the:

- Quebec English School Board Association,
- Quebec Association of Independent Schools,
- Quebec Provincial Association of Teachers,
- Commissaire aux langues officielles/Commissioner of Official Languages
- Association franco-ontarienne des conseils scolaires catholiques

The **Brief** submitted by the Caza and the Tyler law firms included citizen testimonials, expert and legal statements and demolinguistic analyses.

A thematic analysis of the Caza-Tyler brief will be conducted in a future study

5: Thematic analysis of the Brief supporting Bill 104 submitted by the Procureur Général du Québec in 2008

Throughout the Brief the **Quebec Attorney General** depicts **parents** sending their children to **'bridging schools'** as:

1. « *ceux dont la richesse personnelle permet de se forger un droit constitutionnel par le biais d'un séjour dans une EPNS* » (clause 118)
2. Without specifically naming **Allophone parents** , negative terms are used to describe the **actions** of **parents** who use 'bridging schools/'**écoles passerelles** as: *'astuce'; 'stratagème'; 'échappatoire'; 'utilisation détournée' de la loi; cette forme déguisée de libre choix'; 'acheter le droit constitutionnel'*
3. These **negative terms** serve to construct the actions of **bridging school** parents as **devious** and contrary to the **egalitarian values** of Quebec society.

5. Thematic analysis of Quebec Attorney General Brief

- Five rhetorical themes were identified in the **Quebec Attorney General Brief** supporting Bill 104:
 1. **Conflating past and present threat to Québécois French community vitality**
 2. **Threat and geo-political unit of analysis: from continental threat to provincial threat**
 3. **Conceptualisation of bilingualism as assimilation to English**
 4. **Invoking equality values to legitimise Bill 104**
 5. **Invoking Quebec provincial boundaries as sacred ground of Québécois national jurisdiction**
- This **rhetoric** focuses on **threats** to the **French language** and to the **Québécois people** as a **perpetual besieged minority** in North America. These themes are often found in the discourse of the **Québécois Nationalist movement**.

5. Thematic analysis of Quebec Attorney General Brief

The FIVE rhetorical strategies identified in the Brief reflect **dominant centric discourse** produced in the name of the **Québécois Francophone dominant majority**.

Quebec **Anglophone** and **Allophone** minorities are not specifically mentioned in the brief . However such people are depicted as **individuals** who **do not share the egalitarian values** of the Québécois mainstream and **threaten** the vitality of **Québécois Francophones** by sending their children to ‘bridging schools’.



The Brief uses rhetoric which seeks to **politically silence** the **voice** of Quebec Anglophone and Allophone minorities who are portrayed as ‘**Trojan horse**’ elements **diluting** the linguistic /cultural **authenticity** of the **Québécois Francophone nation**

5. Thematic analysis of Quebec Attorney General Brief

- Never in the Brief is there mention that restricting access to English schools has the effect of **eroding** the **institutional vitality** of the Anglophone minority of Quebec
- Never in the brief is there mention of the **declining vitality** of **Anglophones** as a **national minority** in the Province.
- That some **Québécois Francophones** also use 'bridging schools' remains **unspeakable** and such '*black sheeps*' – '*brebis galleuses*' are never mentioned in the Brief.
- Never in the Brief is there mention of the **responsibility** of the **Francophone majority** to **respect** or **protect** the **rights** of its declining **Anglophone national minority** or of its vulnerable **Allophone** and **immigrant** minorities