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Royal Commission on  
Bilingualism and  
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Report of the Royal Commission  
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism  
Volume 2

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# Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency  
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed  
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit  
to your Excellency  
Volume 2 of our Final Report

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Ottawa, May 23, 1968



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## **André Laurendeau 1912-1968**

The death of a man always comes as a shock to relatives, friends, and colleagues. But rare are those whose death leaves a greater void because they were identified with a difficult and critical undertaking. André Laurendeau was such a man. He was one of those whose fate it is to change the course of events. By his very nature he seemed destined for literature, for the arts, and for the work of peace. But very early in his life he was led to play a decisive role in the cultural and political debates which are the reason for the Commission's existence.

André Laurendeau urged the appointment of a royal commission of inquiry on bilingualism in the federal Public Service and then agreed to become its co-chairman and chief executive officer, even though the Commission's terms of reference were much wider than those he had originally suggested. From the beginning, because his heart was in it, he devoted all his energies to the task of clarifying opinions and recommending to those in authority "what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership."

André Laurendeau was an unrelenting witness to the French fact in Canada; at the same time he was conscious of his responsibilities towards the whole country. He was the main-spring of this Commission and every one of us is indebted to him.

For him the final *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* was to be the corner-stone of a Canada in the making, of a new Confederation. He was convinced that if this work was to succeed, it must be rooted in history and reality; he believed it was essential to make every Canadian aware of its practical and attainable character. André Laurendeau was in the House of Commons when Prime Minister Pearson tabled Volume 1 of the *Report*. The unanimous approval of the party leaders, the welcome given to the recommendations, and the thoughtfulness with which the subject was debated were proof that his efforts had not been in vain.

At the time of his death, much of the Commission's work was done: the research, the broad conception of the *Report*, the detailed outlines for subsequent volumes, and the first drafts of several Books. He had been closely involved in the drafting of this one; he had given his assent to the recommendations in it and had intervened wherever necessary to clarify the basic concepts of a language régime on which education in a bilingual and bicultural country must be founded. André Laurendeau did not sign this Book, but it is his as much as ours.

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1. "French language and culture will flourish in Canada to the extent that conditions permit them to be truly present and creative." This concluding sentence of our first Book is also an appropriate introduction to the second Book of our final *Report*. Education is vitally concerned with both language and culture; educational institutions exist to transmit them to a younger generation and to foster their development. The future of language and culture, both French and English, thus depends upon an educational régime which makes it possible for them to remain "present and creative." In a minority situation education is even more significant, because the school can offer a cultural environment which the community cannot provide. This is the justification for a Book devoted entirely to the linguistic and cultural aspects of education in Canada.

2. We are not suggesting that education as such is a panacea. The school is only one of many institutions which must reflect our linguistic and cultural duality. Other institutions impose a structure on our economic and social life and their importance cannot be underestimated. Subsequent Books of our *Report* will deal with the problems of communication between Canadians in these institutions. Changes in education, however, will facilitate reforms elsewhere and are a prerequisite for some of the other changes which must be made.

3. Part 1 of this Book is concerned with the education of the official-language minorities in each province, whether Francophone or Anglophone.<sup>1</sup> Our terms of reference instructed us "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races."<sup>2</sup> The ideal of equal partnership is difficult to define and even more difficult

---

<sup>1</sup> Education as it relates to the other cultural minorities will be discussed in a later Book, in the context of the place of these cultural groups in Canada.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I.

to achieve. This is especially true in the field of education—here, aims and methods have always been the subject of controversy, and the concept of equal partnership injects yet another complication. In Part 1 we have tried to avoid dealing with the broader aspects of education. These are the responsibility of the provinces and we recognize that each provincial government is already trying to provide the best possible education for the children in its province. But there are official-language minorities in each province, and provision of the best possible education for these minorities requires special measures. Our primary concern, therefore, has not been with the educational opportunities for the linguistic majorities, but with the linguistic and cultural needs of the official-language minorities within each provincial system.

4. Part 2 of this Book deals with the teaching of French and English as second languages. Our terms of reference specifically instructed us “to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.” We have summarized the existing second-language teaching programmes, with the co-operation of the provincial departments of Education. Our recommendations will suggest how these programmes can be improved and supplemented.

5. In Part 3 we examine the image of the other cultural group which students may derive from their studies. Our mandate instructed us to report on the role of various organizations in promoting “a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country . . . and to recommend what should be done to improve that role.” Cultural duality is a basic aspect of Canadian identity and is therefore of fundamental importance. An awareness of this cultural duality is essential to an understanding of Canada. Our aim has been to ensure that all students will become more conscious of this aspect of our national identity.



### A. *The Implications of Equal Partnership*

6. The aims of education are as diverse as the aims of society itself, for in the final analysis they are determined by the values accepted by the society. The values stressed have varied greatly over the years—as the contrasts between Spartan and Athenian education or French lycées and British public schools will attest—but in every case they were consistent with the social purposes of the educational authorities. Any proposal for change in our educational systems must therefore be ultimately based on our view of what Canada is or should be.

Aims of  
education

7. Our terms of reference make it clear that the Canadian Confederation should recognize the principle of equality between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians. This concept of equal partnership is the mainspring of our terms of reference. As we noted in the General Introduction to our *Report*, equal partnership is an ideal, an absolute, which can never be fully or finally achieved. It is nonetheless possible to propose measures which can reduce the present gulf between reality and this ideal. Equal partnership must be seen as one of the fundamental values of our Confederation and all institutions should reflect and foster this equality.<sup>1</sup>

Equal  
partnership

8. Equal partnership in education implies equivalent educational opportunities for Francophones and Anglophones alike, whether they belong to the majority or the minority in their province. More specifically, it implies a special concern for the minority. The majority, by force of numbers, is able to develop its educational system in response to its own needs; The minority, on the other hand, can draw attention to its special needs but it must rely on the understanding and gener-

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 62-92.

**Importance of language**

osity of the majority if it is to have access to an educational régime which reflects these needs. Educational systems devised in the past to meet the requirements of the linguistic majority in the English-speaking provinces must be equally responsive to those of the minority.

9. Minorities, whether French or English, inevitably give priority to their own language. If the majority language is the sole language of instruction in the provincial schools, the survival of the minority as a linguistic group is menaced. Almost by definition a minority is exposed to a social environment in which the majority language is always present. The school must counterbalance this environment and must give priority to the minority language if the mother tongue is to become an adequate instrument of communication. Language is also the key to cultural development. Language and culture are not synonymous, but the vitality of the language is a necessary condition for the complete preservation of a culture. In the words of the recent Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, the Parent Commission:

The language of a group of people reflects the culture proper to itself: dominance of logic or poetic intuition, continuous or broken structures, semantic precision or rich imagery, it is according to these contrasting ideas that the character of a language becomes clear. It is the reflection and mirror of those who speak it, the vehicle of their thoughts and dreams.<sup>1</sup>

**Educational opportunities**

10. On the other hand, the objective of preserving language and culture must not be interpreted narrowly. An educational system should aim to give every student the opportunity to develop his special talents and skills. In terms of equality, this opportunity should not involve any sacrifice of the student's cultural identity. But, for practical reasons, minority groups because of their smaller numbers cannot always have equivalent educational opportunities in their own language—for example, a secondary school must have a large enrolment before it can offer a wide range of courses and programmes. Furthermore, education is not merely an end in itself: it is expected to serve some social purpose and to prepare the student for a productive adult life. As well as linguistic and cultural equality, equality of access to higher education and equality of economic opportunity are also educational ideals which must be considered.

***B. Linguistic Equality in Education*****Linguistic identity**

11. For a minority group, equal partnership means the possibility of preserving its linguistic and cultural identity. Living in a milieu

<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, III (Montreal, 1965), § 570.



where the other language and the other cultural group are omnipresent, those in the minority face serious difficulties in retaining the vocabulary, the ease of expression, and the modes of thought of their own tongue. These difficulties are compounded for their children, who are often exposed to the majority language from the time they are able to play outside. The gradual loss of the mother tongue is inevitable without some institution to give formal instruction in the language and to enhance its prestige by according it some social recognition. At the same time, minority-language schools can adapt the curriculum to stress the cultural heritage of the minority group. The importance of such schools can scarcely be exaggerated, and it is not surprising that both official-language minorities have been deeply concerned about the establishment of minority-language schools.

12. These minority-language schools should not be considered a concession to the minority-language group: for pedagogical reasons they are the most efficient and most effective way of educating the minority. Children can only be taught if they understand the language of instruction. This is so obvious that, even in most provinces where English is the only official language of instruction, French is permitted as the language of instruction in the early grades in French-speaking communities. In Quebec it is taken for granted that English-speaking children must be taught in English. Even after the students have acquired some knowledge of the language of the majority, they cannot be effectively taught if they follow the same courses of study as the majority. Many English-language provinces, for example, recognize the absurdity of enrolling French-speaking students in French classes designed to teach French to English-speaking students as a second language. Therefore they provide a separate course of study for the minority.

Cultural  
identity

13. It is equally absurd for French-speaking students to follow the programmes in English designed for English-speaking students. Anglophones have larger English vocabularies and a fuller acquaintance with orthographical peculiarities and idiomatic irregularities of the language; they can afford to spend more time on English literature. For French-speaking children, however, spelling, grammar, and composition must be laboriously learned and must be given a higher priority than the study of Milton or Shakespeare. The importance to the minority of learning the second language well only emphasizes the importance of a special programme designed to meet their special needs.

14. Even in the social sciences, the minority requires special consideration. It is almost a pedagogical platitude that education should start within the area of the child's experience and then proceed to the less familiar and the unknown. A child from the minority group—whether Francophone or Anglophone—obviously has a cultural heritage

and experience distinguishing him from the children of the other language group in the community, and his courses of study should reflect this difference. If these children are to be given an education appropriate to their linguistic needs and their cultural background, they cannot be enrolled in majority schools and treated as if they belonged to the majority.

15. If the Canadian Confederation is to develop on the basis of an equal partnership between the two main cultures, adequate schooling must be provided in the language of each. English- or French-speaking parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language, and this right should find concrete expression in the opportunities afforded them through the educational facilities of their province. It is taken for granted today that all children have the right to attend public schools. The principle of equal partnership implies an extension of this right—not only should children be guaranteed access to public schools, but English and French should have equal status as languages of instruction.

Equality in  
education

16. In theory this equality might be achieved by alternating the language of instruction within each school so that each child would receive half of his instruction in each language. In practice, however, such schools present serious practical and pedagogical problems. They are more difficult to administer and they demand a high degree of bilingual competence in the teaching staff. More important, the aim of such a dual-language school is to maintain a linguistic balance, but the school is only one of the institutions affecting the linguistic development of the child. Unless the same balance between the two languages can be maintained in the total environment, there is inevitably a danger of assimilation to the dominant language.

17. An alternative is to provide two separate educational systems, with English as the major language of instruction in one and French as the major language of instruction in the other. Such linguistic separation is already practised to some extent in various provinces. For the minority this separation is a potent aid to linguistic survival but it also poses some difficulties. Linguistic segregation may restrict the range of educational opportunities which can be provided for a scattered minority. It is also more difficult to ensure that the minority schools will maintain academic standards equivalent to those of majority schools. A separate educational system for the minority offers linguistic equality but it may not provide equivalent educational opportunities.

18. The emphasis on the linguistic and cultural needs of the minority must not obscure the importance of these other aspects of education. If educational opportunities are limited, students may not have the chance to develop their special talents and skills. This will involve a loss

not only to the individual students but also to their linguistic minority as a whole. In the long run, the vitality of language and culture depends on the contribution of individual members of the group. The preservation of a static society is an exercise in futility. The appropriate education for a minority-language student is one which combines the special linguistic and cultural objectives with the educational objectives already recognized in the majority-language system in the province.

### *C. Equality of Opportunity in Education*

19. In a less complicated world, the objectives of education were adequately realized in a simple schoolhouse setting which emphasized direct personal contact between teacher and student. Today the school and the whole educational system have left this romantic image far back in the last century. The modern school is a complex institution and is a part of an intricate and highly specialized system. Any kind of minority-language schools must be fitted into this school system.

Development  
of a system  
of education

20. The first elementary schools in Canada often involved little more than a teacher and a few pupils, and the equipment might be no more than a blackboard, slates, and textbooks. But the isolation of the one-room school was temporary. Provincial governments agreed to contribute to the cost of education and soon they were deciding the minimum qualifications for teachers. Next came provincial normal schools to train teachers. Minimum standards of achievement were imposed; these involved provincial inspectors, provincial examinations, uniform curricula, carefully planned courses of study, and eventually the meticulous and detailed regulations which today affect every aspect of school life, from the size and shape of classrooms to medical and dental care for the students.

21. The school cannot be thought of as part of a closed system, encompassing only teachers, inspectors, administrators, and planners who are directly associated with departments of Education. Parents are involved in the system in many ways. They may be in touch with their child's teacher, they may elect the local school board, they may pay school taxes, and in each role their attitudes affect school policy. Many citizens also come into close contact with the graduates of the schools as employers or supervisors or in institutions where further technical, professional, or academic training is provided. Again, these individuals are likely to form opinions as to what the schools are or should be doing and they may try to influence educational policy. The modern school system is not only intricate and complex, but it is an integral part of modern society and is expected to reflect the aims and aspirations of the society.

Education—  
a part of  
the changing  
social  
system

22. The most striking characteristic of the modern school is the amount of experimentation and innovation taking place there. Canada has changed radically during the last century and our ideas of the role of education have also changed. Indeed, the revolution in education—and revolution is not too strong a word—is not solely a Canadian phenomenon; the same transformation has occurred in other countries. Nor is the revolution ended. The rate of change has accelerated and today education is one of the most dynamic sectors of our society. Innovations are constantly being introduced—new subjects appear on the curriculum, new approaches are adopted for traditional subjects, tape-recorders and television have a place in the classroom, computers are used by school administrators and by students. And many more changes are yet to come. More radical reforms are constantly being advocated and the pressures for further changes are so great that our schools already seem old-fashioned, in spite of recent innovations. The modern school cannot be described in static terms.

23. We are therefore more concerned with broad trends in education than with details. It is essential to see the modern school system in perspective and to note the fundamental changes in our society which account for the continuing revolution in education. The changes are usually more obvious in the majority-language school system, because political authorities are likely to be more responsive to the needs of the majority, but the same trends are vital to any discussion of the educational needs of the linguistic minority. Innovation and reform are equally important for all schools; a school system for the majority or the minority must reflect the educational needs of its students today and must also be flexible enough to adapt to future changes in education. A static system would be an anachronism.

Universal  
education

24. The root of all change in education has been the extension of educational facilities to all children. The view widely held in the early 19th century—that education was the privilege of the few—has been superseded by the idea that everybody must be educated. This concept of mass education accounts for the gradual transfer of responsibility for education from religious institutions to the state. It also accounts for the bewildering complexity of our school systems. Schools today must provide an education appropriate for children of all capacities, interests, and social backgrounds, and they must provide this education for increasing periods of time as more children stay in school longer. In 1961, more than one of every four Canadians over four years of age was attending school or university; this is an indication of the importance we give to education and the educational costs we are prepared to incur.

25. Why have modern societies accepted these burdens? The demands of a technological society provide a partial explanation. Each of us can attest from his own experience to the technical complexity of our society. The days when the only specialists a man needed to consult were his doctor and his lawyer are long forgotten; today most households have an impressive list of professionals and servicemen to call upon. We are free to pursue our own specialized activities because we can assume that other people have the skills and the training to maintain the machines and the services on which we rely.

Education for  
a technological  
society

26. Our educational system has developed to provide the necessary specialists. In its early stages, the industrial revolution depended to a large extent on unskilled labour to carry out repetitive and monotonous tasks. Little education was needed for this work and even child labour could be used. Increasing mechanization and specialization have transformed the primitive factory into a highly sophisticated plant, where machines are substituted for manual labour and employees must have technical and administrative skills. Such skills depend on more than training on the job. They depend on a minimum of formal education—reading, writing, and mathematics—and on the understanding of some scientific and technical principles. This basic training is given in the schools.

27. The school has proved to be very flexible and responsive to the demands of our technological society. Elementary education could make children literate and, when the social benefits of literacy were appreciated, elementary education became compulsory. The success of this social experiment led to further demands on our schools. Secondary education, long confined to academic training for a few, became more diversified. Scientific subjects were added to the academic curriculum and commercial and technical programmes were introduced as substitutes. Compulsory education was extended, usually to the age of 16, with incentives to parents to continue the education of their children even longer. Now, with the increasing rapidity of technological change, more emphasis is being given to teaching fundamental principles than to imparting manual skills, because technology may make these skills obsolete.

28. Another factor shaping our modern school system has been the demands of a democratic society. In its simplest terms, the extension of the franchise gave a measure of political power to almost all adults and the electorate obviously had to be educated to use this power wisely. Democratic ideals, however, have had other and more subtle influences on modern education. John Dewey, for example, believed that democracy was based on respect for the worth and dignity of each individual. For him this meant that the school should respect the

Education  
for a  
democratic  
society

identity of the child. Each child should have the opportunity to develop his potential qualities; each child should be allowed to develop naturally and in keeping with his own interests. Education was to be a group activity, with children learning to live in a democratic society as well as accumulating formal knowledge. Dewey's ideas on "progressive" education are still controversial, but no one would deny that they have profoundly influenced the development of the modern school.

Cultural  
goals

29. Education has other values for the individual, not narrowly economic or political, but affecting the quality and scope of the individual's life. Modern educational systems are also expected to develop understanding, stimulate creative talents, and preserve and refine our cultural and moral heritage. Earlier generations subscribed to these goals for the élite, but universal education makes them accessible to all.

Specialization  
in the  
secondary  
programme

30. In recent years the impact of the varied pressures on our educational system has been most apparent at the secondary level. At the elementary level, compulsory education had a revolutionary impact, but a broad pattern has emerged. There is now general agreement on the basic skills and knowledge which all children should acquire. At the secondary level, however, the aims are still being questioned. The academic curriculum has a long tradition. The humanities have been joined by the physical and social sciences, but the changes have been gradual and the emphasis on intellectual development remains. But it is no longer assumed that all children should follow the academic programme—many and varied technical, commercial, and fine arts programmes have been developed, ranging in duration from one to five years. These programmes conform to the varying aptitudes and interests of children, but they are highly specialized and therefore restrict the child's opportunities for personal development and his choice of a future career. These specialized programmes are the subject of considerable debate concerning priorities in education. Broadly speaking, the advocates of specialization emphasize the needs of a technological society, while advocates of a longer common programme are more concerned with the aims of a democratic society.

31. The debate is not confined to Canada. Other industrial countries have also faced the dilemma of teaching fundamental skills and values to all students while at the same time offering a variety of specialized programmes. A similar trend is emerging even though the educational systems vary widely from one country to the next. The importance of this is obvious; our recommendations for minority education must be consistent with this development. For this reason a summary of what is taking place in some other countries will be helpful. Such a summary will clarify the issues now being debated and will also show how the debate is being resolved.

32. The United States has had long experience with compulsory schooling financed by public authorities. The changing concept of secondary education, however, can be illustrated by two reports of the National Education Association. The first report, prepared by a Committee of Ten in 1893, described the function of a high school in this way: "to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country—a proportion small in number, but very important to the welfare of the nation—who show themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain at school."<sup>1</sup> The second report, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, was published 25 years later in 1918. The attitude of this second committee shows how the concept of education had been transformed in the intervening years. An extended education for every child was now seen as "essential to the welfare, and even to the existence of democratic society" and the report recommended that secondary schools admit and provide suitable instruction for all students of secondary school age.<sup>2</sup> The "small proportion" who could profit by secondary education was now expanded to include all children.

Evolution of  
secondary  
education  
in the  
United  
States

33. The report of 1918 naturally envisaged diversified programmes in the secondary school to suit the diverse aptitudes, abilities, and aspirations of the students. At the same time it was concerned with the need for social cohesion and social solidarity. It objected to the invidious social distinctions associated with separate academic and vocational high schools, and saw social advantages in the mingling of all students in the same school. It strongly recommended comprehensive high schools, with all students studying some subjects together and sharing in the same athletic and social activities, but divided into separate groups for study of subjects with a more direct vocational orientation. Comprehensive high schools were thus expected to fulfil what might be called the vocational and the social aims of education.

34. The comprehensive high school is now widely accepted as the norm for secondary schools in the United States, and in most communities public secondary schools admit all elementary school graduates regardless of their academic rating or their educational goals. James B. Conant has summarized the main objectives of these schools: "*First*, to provide a general education for all the future citizens; *second*, to provide good elective programs for those who wish to use their acquired

<sup>1</sup> UNESCO, *World Survey of Education*, III (Paris, 1961), 130.

<sup>2</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education Bulletin 35, 1918, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, a report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education Appointed by the National Education Association (Washington, 1918), 29-30.

Evolution of  
secondary  
education in  
England

skills immediately on graduation; *third*, to provide satisfactory programs for those whose vocations will depend on their subsequent education in a college or university."<sup>1</sup> These objectives summarize the compromise between a general and a specialized education which the comprehensive secondary school is intended to provide.

35. In England the tradition of specialized secondary schools is more firmly established. Even there, however, the vocational and social aims of education have provoked widespread discussion and the structure of secondary education is being transformed. Reforms seemed necessary because secondary schools somehow had to provide suitable programmes for students who would otherwise have left school.

36. In the years between the wars, a consultative committee on secondary education produced a series of influential reports. It recommended compulsory education to the age of 15, and proposed that at the age of 11 all children should be classified on the basis of aptitude and achievement and directed to schools offering the appropriate programme.<sup>2</sup> The different kinds of secondary schools involved may be grouped in three broad categories: grammar schools, where the students are prepared for university entrance; secondary technical schools, where the academic programme is supplemented by technical courses, with the students going on to university or into industry or commerce after graduation; and secondary modern schools, where the programme is designed for students who are likely to find employment after graduation. The committee thus rejected comprehensive schools, in which all students would follow the same courses of study for some subjects.

37. The main recommendations of the committee were implemented by the Education Act of 1944, but the rigidity of the system caused some dissatisfaction. The major criticism was the difficulty of assessing a child's potential at "eleven-plus" and the difficulty of transferring students from one type of school to another if such a transfer seemed desirable. In 1965 the government was planning to encourage multi-lateral schools, with the "declared objective of ending selection at the age of eleven-plus and of abolishing separatism in secondary education."<sup>3</sup> Multilateral schools, offering two or more types of programmes, differ from comprehensive schools, where all students follow a common programme in some subjects; but there are now some comprehensive schools in England and there is keen interest although no consensus

<sup>1</sup> James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (New York, 1959), 17.

<sup>2</sup> Great Britain, Board of Education, *The Education of the Adolescent* (London, 1927), 140-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Education in 1965*, Report of the British Department of Education and Science (London, 1966), 10.



of opinion about this type of school.<sup>1</sup> But the trend towards larger and more diversified schools seems to be well established.

38. In France secondary education has also changed radically. In 1927 the minister of Education could say: "Our task, in fact, is constantly to create an élite."<sup>2</sup> The lycées and colleges of the inter-war years fulfilled this task admirably. The traditional classical curriculum had been modified to permit some combination of Latin, modern languages, and sciences, but admission to these schools still depended on rigid examinations. Other students attended schools offering vocational training.

Evolution  
of secondary  
education  
in France

39. The debate since the war has centred on the exclusiveness of the lycées, with the critics arguing that children of lower social and economic status were unable to meet the entrance requirements. Projected reforms centred on a common curriculum for all students in the first years of secondary education. The aim of the reform introduced in 1959, which established this common curriculum for the first two years, was explained in a publication of the ministère de l'Éducation nationale:

One of the key ideas of this reform is *orientation* on the basis of *observation*, introduced in the first two years of the secondary level. Children should not be forced into particular courses, long or short, in any particular school or any particular type of school, according to their family's social situation or the nearness of a particular secondary school, but should be free to follow their tastes and aptitudes. This is what has been called the "democratization" of education.<sup>3</sup>

The reform of 1963 went much further in establishing a common secondary school system. Collèges d'enseignement secondaire—really comprehensive schools—were established. At these colleges, all students follow the common programme for two years and then specialize in classical, modern, general, or technical studies for the next two years. Only then do students attend separate specialized institutions. According to the ministère de l'Éducation nationale: ". . . for the first time in the history of French educational institutions, all pupils graduating from elementary school will move up together to another school. Besides, since there are no difficulties in transferring from one stream to another, these institutions [secondary schools] are the ideal means for ensuring the pupil's successful adjustment."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, 15 to 18, Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education to the British Ministry of Education, I (London, 1959), 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in I. L. Kandel, *Comparative Education* (Boston, 1933), 707.

<sup>3</sup> France, Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, *La Réforme de l'enseignement, août 1963—juin 1966* (Paris, 1966), 1. See Appendix IV for original French version.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. See Appendix IV for original French version.

Similar  
trends in  
secondary  
education

40. It is apparent that in spite of the differences in the educational systems in these three countries, recent reforms all reflect similar trends at the secondary level. All students must stay in school longer. Specialized programmes are provided to suit the varied aptitudes and interests of the students but, to avoid rigid and arbitrary streaming, these programmes are often offered in the same school. These schools differ considerably from one country to the next, but they have some characteristics in common. Because of the number of streams and options, these schools have large enrolments—often more than 1,000 students. The school buildings are elaborate and complex and the teachers are specialists. Broadly speaking, comprehensive or multilateral high schools are the common response to the vocational and social aims of public education.

41. Secondary education in Canada is following the same pattern. The trend is for secondary schools to become larger and to offer a wider range of programmes. The changes now being introduced will be described in subsequent chapters of this Book. For the moment it is enough to note this trend.

Post-secondary  
trends

42. The pattern of post-secondary education is less easily perceived. It is only in recent years that large numbers of students have continued their formal education beyond secondary level and, although governments have encouraged this trend by a variety of incentives, there is no formal compulsion. At the moment the students have a bewildering variety of institutions from which to choose. The university is the traditional post-secondary institution, and universities have grown in size and complexity to meet the needs of a larger and more varied student body. Other institutions, such as technological institutes and community colleges, have developed but there is as yet no consensus of opinion about the role such institutions should play. They may become specialized institutions, clearly distinct from universities and attracting a different type of student, or they may become intermediate institutions between the secondary and university levels. A third possibility is that they will in turn become complex institutions offering both vocational and academic programmes, whose students may be prepared for the work world or for university education. One may hazard a guess that social pressures and the principle of equal access to higher education are likely to lead to composite institutions of this last type, but it is too soon to judge with any assurance.

43. Any plans for minority-language schools must take into account the modern trends in education. This means providing comprehensive schools at the secondary level. If there are too few minority-language students in a region to warrant a comprehensive school, some compromise must be found between the linguistic and cultural objectives

and the educational objectives common to all secondary schools. For minority-language schools it is important to devise a system flexible enough to enable students to benefit from the educational opportunities which are and will be provided in the future for the majority within a province.

#### *D. The Objectives of Minority-language Schools*

44. In Canada, the principle of equal partnership leads logically to the provision of minority-language schools, whether French or English. These schools are essential for the development of both official languages and cultures; they are the only means of providing Canadians of either language group who are in a minority situation with access to an education in their mother tongue. At the same time, it is in the interests of both the minority and the majority in each province to ensure that the academic standards in these minority schools are equivalent to those of the majority-language schools. In brief, the aim must be to provide for members of the minority an education appropriate to their linguistic and cultural identity, but one which will not isolate them from the mainstream of educational developments in their province.

45. We recognize that minority-language schools will not be equally feasible under all circumstances. Student enrolment will affect the provision of educational facilities. At the elementary level, classes of fewer than 10 students are likely to be prohibitively expensive. At the secondary level, with the proliferation of programmes and options, the problem is even more acute, so a separate school at this level might well be restricted to a simple programme, or might not be practical under any circumstances. Provincial departments of Education have limited funds at their disposal and must justify their expenditures on pedagogical grounds.

Practical  
conditions  
of minority  
education

46. We will be discussing administrative and pedagogical questions at length later in this Book. For the moment it is enough to note that while the right to an education in either official language should be an undisputed principle, it is also true that the degree to which this right may be exercised will be governed by what is practically feasible and what is desirable from the point of view of the parents and children involved.

47. The right to minority-language schools does not imply an obligation on the parents from the minority-language group to send their children to this school. In any community where both French- and English-language public schools exist, parents should have the option of choosing which school their children will attend. Obvious as this

The right  
of parental  
option

may seem to Canadians, the point should be underlined because parents do not have this choice in some officially bilingual countries.

48. This parental option has certain implications for minority-language schools. Parents who in the past have not been accustomed to receiving educational services in their mother tongue may very well be slower to take advantage of their opportunities than they would be where these services had traditionally existed. It will be understandable therefore if at first the enrolment in the minority-language school is small in areas where the option is new. Furthermore, the feasibility of such schools in specific districts may be governed to some extent not only by the number of children who speak the minority language but also by the number of children from the majority group who might be enrolled. A special problem will arise if many parents from the majority group want to send their children to the minority-language school to learn the second language. Their right to do so must be respected, but special measures will be required to ensure that the language problems of their children do not interfere unduly with the education of the children whose mother tongue is the language of instruction.

Both languages  
taught

49. Minority-language schools, it must also be pointed out, do not mean schools in which only French or only English will be the language of instruction. All Canadians should have some knowledge of both French and English, but for those who are in a minority situation an adequate knowledge of the second official language is essential. The second language will be taught as a subject in minority-language schools and it may also be used as a language of instruction in some other subjects. The minority language will be the normal language in these schools, but it may not be the sole language of instruction.

A fundamental  
principle

50. The fundamental principle, however, is unaffected by these implications. Anglophone and Francophone parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language. To implement this principle, minority-language schools will have to be provided. The nature of these schools must be carefully considered—the language of instruction, the curricula, the courses of study, the links with the majority-language schools, the administrative structure, the provision of teachers, textbooks, teaching aids, the financing. All these aspects must be clarified before our specific proposals for minority-language schools can be fully understood. The principle, however, follows inevitably from the idea of equal partnership. It is for this reason that we proposed in Book I that the principle should be enshrined as section 93A of the B.N.A. Act:

Every province shall establish and maintain elementary and secondary schools in which English is the sole or main language of instruction, and ele-

mentary and secondary schools in which French is the sole or main language of instruction, in bilingual districts and other appropriate areas under conditions to be determined by provincial law, but nothing in this section shall be deemed to prohibit schools in which English and French have equal importance as languages of instruction or schools in which instruction may be given in some other language.<sup>1</sup>

The present study is in a sense an elaboration of this recommendation.

51. Our recommendations in this Part will be primarily concerned with the education of the official-language minorities. Some of the recommendations will involve interprovincial co-operation; others will involve federal assistance to the provinces. All of them, however, will depend on provincial authorities for implementation. It is already the objective of these authorities to provide the best education possible in their province. We are convinced that greater concern for the linguistic and cultural needs of the official-language minorities is not only desirable but essential if this objective is to be achieved. We take it for granted, therefore, that the co-operation of provincial authorities is assured.

Provincial  
co-operation

52. In the discussion of the objectives of minority-language schools, we have stressed the educational needs of the minority. No minority schools could be justified which did not give this priority to the interests of the students who will attend them. At the same time, these schools are also important for the broader objective of developing the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two linguistic societies.

A Canadian  
objective

53. This means that the need for official-language minority schools may even extend to areas where the minority group is not yet well established. Large organizations such as the federal government and nation-wide corporations often find it desirable to move employees from one part of the country to another. The employees may find that promotions depend on this broader experience. Anglophones might be reluctant to move to Montreal if only French-language schools existed; certainly Francophones have refused transfers to Toronto because English is the sole language of instruction in Toronto schools. Geographic mobility is in the interest of national organizations and the individuals involved; it is also in the national interest. To the extent that minority-language schools would facilitate this mobility, they should be encouraged.

Need for  
bilingual  
citizens

54. In a country with two official languages, the need for bilingual citizens is apparent. Minority-language schools can make a significant contribution towards enabling Canadians to become bilingual. In areas where the minority is small or isolated, these schools may be the only means of retaining a knowledge of the mother tongue. Such schools

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, I, § 414.*

might also provide an opportunity for some parents from the majority-language group to have their children learn the other language. Such schools would preserve the existence of the non-dominant language and would also stimulate the interest of the majority population in acquiring the second language.

55. These schools would have great importance, moreover, as vital expressions of our cultural duality. They would symbolize in a concrete way the principle of equal partnership in areas where the existence of the other cultural group is easily overlooked. Such schools, in addition to the direct benefits to their students, would give the minority-language group a sense of being fully accepted despite their differences, and would give the majority a greater awareness of the minority language and culture. In some provinces, at the moment, it is difficult for citizens to realize that the other cultural group really exists; minority-language schools would heighten their awareness of our duality.

56. These arguments for minority-language schools have been couched in the broad perspective of the national interest, but they apply with equal force to all regions of the country. Each province is part of the federal union and each citizen is a Canadian citizen; if this country is to develop as a partnership of the two founding races, each province and each citizen must accept the implications of this partnership.

***A. Introduction***

57. The transformations in Canadian systems of education stem from the extension of educational facilities to all children. In every province the same trends are obvious. Children spend more years in school and the kinds of training available are becoming more diversified. These changes, however, have been extensions or modifications of the existing provincial systems. All the provincial educational systems had developed some unique characteristics and these are still reflected in the emerging educational structures. Our concern is with the place of the official-language minorities within the provincial school systems, but our recommendations cannot be divorced from the legacy of the past. An historical survey of minority-language education is a necessary introduction to a description of minority-language education in the Canadian provinces of today.

58. In the past, Quebec and the English-language provinces developed very different educational systems. Most English-language provinces in Canada have one educational system; education for French-speaking children is provided within that system. There is one minister of Education, one department of Education, one curriculum, and most of the laws and regulations affecting education apply to all provincial schools, regardless of language of instruction or the religious affiliations of teachers or students. Students are expected to attain academic standards established for the province and may even write the same province-wide examinations. Teachers' certificates are issued on the basis of criteria established by the provincial department of Education.

59. The provincial system may recognize differences in religion and language. Roman Catholic students may be given special instruction

**A uniform  
pattern in  
English-  
speaking  
provinces**

in religion and Francophone students may receive some of their education in French. Otherwise, the schools offering these special considerations resemble other schools within the province. Even "separate schools" in such provinces as Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Alberta are in fact public schools and are part of a single provincial school system.

Two  
separate  
systems in  
Quebec

60. In this respect Quebec is not a province like the others. When André Siegfried visited Quebec shortly after the turn of the century, he commented on the complete separation of English and French schools within the province: "From the point of view of the relations between the French Catholics and the English Protestants, the educational system of Quebec has produced the best results: the two sets of schools co-exist without fear of conflict or dispute, because they have no points of contact. The situation is exactly that of two separate nations kept apart by a definite frontier and having as little intercourse as possible."<sup>1</sup> Not only were the schools separate but they were part of separate and quite different educational systems. There were two reasons for this situation. First, Francophones preferred a separate French Roman Catholic system for their children because of the danger of close contacts with an alien and menacing society; by giving Roman Catholic churchmen a prominent role in education, they limited secular influences and prevented the development of a single educational system within the province. Second, concern of the Francophone majority for their own distinctive system of education also meant a willingness to give the Anglophone minority the freedom and the resources to develop a separate system according to its own values. This right has never been seriously questioned by the French Catholic majority and, in the words of an Anglophone educator, the result is "a model of understanding and respect for the dissenting opinion of others."<sup>2</sup> This respect for the language and religious beliefs of the minority is so firmly rooted that even today, when the educational system is being radically transformed, few suggest that French should be the normal language of instruction and nobody suggests that Roman Catholic attitudes should predominate in all provincial schools.

61. Our primary concern is with the educational facilities available to the English-speaking minority in Quebec. The development of these facilities, however, can only be understood within the provincial context. The educational system of the majority is unique in many ways, but we are chiefly concerned here with showing the contrast between the

<sup>1</sup> André Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada*, F. H. Underhill, ed. (Toronto, 1966), 64. Originally published under the title *Le Canada: les deux races* (Paris, 1906).

<sup>2</sup> G. Emmett Carter, *The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec* (Toronto, 1957), 15.



majority and minority systems in the province and with emphasizing the autonomy of the minority in educational matters.

### *B. French-language Education in Quebec*

62. The origins of the two systems of education go back long before Confederation, and the administrative structures established before 1867 survived with little change until the 1960's. Legislation to establish the central institution, the Council of Public Instruction, was passed in 1856. There was a minister of Education for a few years after Confederation, but this office disappeared in 1875 and, from then until 1964, an appointed superintendent was the chief executive officer. In theory the Council of Public Instruction was the equivalent of a department of Education, reporting to the cabinet instead of to a minister. In practice, the council scarcely existed as a corporate body; it was divided into two committees, a Protestant and a Roman Catholic committee, and these became virtually autonomous authorities for the two systems.

The  
beginnings

63. The ultimate political authority was almost never asserted and eventually the independence of the committees was deeply entrenched. The sharp distinction between the two school systems, based on confessionality, also explains the virtual disappearance of the Council of Public Instruction. By law, the council was to have jurisdiction over educational questions affecting both systems, while the committees had jurisdiction over confessional matters. In practice, it was almost assumed that all educational issues arose within a confessional context. The dominant role of the committees is illustrated by the fact that the Council of Public Instruction never assembled as a body between 1908 and 1960.

64. The Roman Catholic system of education differed significantly from the school systems in other parts of Canada. Elementary schools followed the usual pattern of local schools, with the costs shared by the provincial government and the local population, and with the traditional emphasis on reading, writing, and arithmetic. The normal link between the elementary school and the university, however, was the classical college—the central institution of the Quebec Roman Catholic system, but one without counterpart elsewhere in Canada.

65. As the name suggests, the most distinctive characteristic of the traditional classical college was the curricular emphasis on the classical languages and the humanities. For the first four-year cycle the student studied Latin and Greek as well as French and English; in the second four-year cycle he concentrated on the humanities and philosophy.

The  
classical  
college—  
a contrast  
to the high  
school

These colleges are the heirs of an educational approach going back to the Renaissance, and the advocates of this approach have always stressed the importance of general cultural education over specialization. To quote from a recent publication of the Fédération des collèges classiques:

What characterizes this classical tradition is concern for intellectual development, the ideal of the well-formed intelligence, facility in the manipulation of concepts, and the desire to discover basic principles. Such an education, despite the separation between the literature and philosophy programmes, provides *a fairly strict unity in both methods and goals*, since curriculum content is always viewed from the objective perspective of a general education, and priority has always been given to concern for integral, humanist education.<sup>1</sup>

66. The curriculum therefore differed from that of most North American high schools, with their greater emphasis on practical knowledge and specialization. It is probably true that for many years this contrast with other secondary education in North America was a source of pride and satisfaction to most French-speaking Canadians. It was generally agreed that the classical colleges reflected the distinctive needs and fostered the distinctive qualities of French Canadian society in North America.<sup>2</sup>

67. The significance of the classical college in the French-language educational system in Quebec rests on more than its humanist philosophy. These colleges were all private institutions, owned and administered by various religious organizations, and independent of the Catholic committee of education. At one time they were almost the only institutions offering French-language secondary education in Quebec, and graduation from a college was a prerequisite for admission to a university. The classical colleges were for many years the most striking illustration of the limitation of political authority and the pre-eminent role of the Roman Catholic Church in French Canadian education. They were also the basis of the distinctive character of this education.

Development  
of public  
secondary  
schools

68. While there were always voices speaking out for free education under government administration in Quebec, these reforms came relatively late—it is only within recent years that secondary education for the French-speaking Roman Catholics in Quebec has been radically

<sup>1</sup> Fédération des collèges classiques, *Notre réforme scolaire*, II: L'Enseignement classique (Montreal, 1963), 21. (Italics in the original.) See Appendix IV for original French version.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, L.-P. Audet, *Le système scolaire de la province de Québec*, I (Quebec, 1950), 225.

transformed. The changes have been in response to the demands of an industrial society, although the pressures for change have been diverse and the changes themselves have been piecemeal and gradual. One of the most obvious pressures has been the growing demand for public secondary education. The classical colleges were usually residential institutions and enrolment was restricted to a relatively small number of students. The classical system tended, in the words of one French Canadian scholar, to see its function as that of training "une élite professionnelle, jalouse de la culture qu'elle croit posséder."<sup>1</sup> The education authorities responded timidly to pressures for public secondary schools, and it was not until 1921 that an "école primaire supérieure" was opened in Montreal. This school extended public education to the tenth grade. At first this was seen as a continuation of elementary schooling, as the name suggested, and not as an alternative to the classical college; but within a few years these public secondary schools had multiplied and the programme had been extended to four and even five years. Probably even more significant was the decision in the 1930's to admit graduates of these public schools to the university science faculties.<sup>2</sup> Although these graduates are still not admitted to several faculties, the public schools now constitute a second system of secondary education, side by side with the classical colleges. The expansion of the public secondary schools has been almost phenomenal in recent years, the enrolment increasing from 60,000 in 1949-50 to more than 300,000 in 1964-5.<sup>3</sup>

69. The classical colleges were also affected by the increasing demand for educational opportunities. So many new colleges were created that in 1960 one out of every three classical colleges in the province had come into existence during the previous decade, and enrolment had almost doubled.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, the more rapid increase of enrolment in the public schools meant that the proportion of secondary students attending classical colleges declined in these years.

A changing  
system

70. The changes were even more fundamental than enrolment statistics suggest. The curricula of the public secondary schools reflected the pressures of an industrial society. Students could follow academic, commercial, or technical programmes. There existed also a confusing

<sup>1</sup> Léon Lortie, "Le système scolaire," dans *Essais sur le Québec contemporain*, Jean-C. Falardeau, ed. (Quebec, 1953), 177.

<sup>2</sup> Public secondary school graduates were admitted to the École polytechnique and the École des hautes études commerciales before 1930, subject to certain conditions including a special entrance examination. Both these institutions are affiliated with the University of Montreal.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, V (Montreal, 1966), § 465, Table XVIII.

<sup>4</sup> *Fédération des collèges classiques, Notre réforme scolaire*, I: Les cadres généraux (Montreal, 1962), 37, Table 3.

variety of technical and trade schools, agricultural schools, and other specialized schools. The classical colleges, too, have responded to the pressure for a curriculum more relevant to the contemporary world.

Increased  
responsibility  
of government

71. Almost inevitably these changes at the secondary level were accompanied by the increasing responsibility of the provincial government. The costs of education have spiralled in Quebec, as elsewhere; even religious institutions have had to turn to the government for financial assistance, until now a large part of the revenue of the classical colleges comes from grants from the department of Education.

72. The increasing responsibilities of the government have developed gradually, but the trend is unmistakable. Indeed, the provincial Royal Commission on Education argued that only the state can organize, coordinate, and finance the educational system required in a modern industrial society, and its recommendations would significantly enhance the role of the provincial government in education.

73. This brief historical survey is intended only to show the unique characteristics of French Roman Catholic education in Quebec in the past. Our immediate concern is with the educational opportunities of the Anglophone minority in the province. The contrast between the two will reinforce the point that this minority has had a unique opportunity to develop a distinctive system, designed in terms of its special needs, until now almost unaffected by the educational system preferred by the majority.

### *C. Protestant English-language Education in Quebec*

A complete  
education  
in English

74. English is the mother tongue of fewer than one out of six Quebec residents. In many aspects of provincial life, however, English-speaking Quebecers cannot be considered a minority. There are corporations, institutions, and residential districts where they are in the majority, and many have found it possible to spend a lifetime in Quebec without ever using the language of the provincial majority. The educational régime is part of this almost paradoxical minority situation. At school the English-speaking children are not a minority group—they can attend English-language schools from kindergarten to university post-graduate level and these schools are part of a separate school organization, distinct from and different from the French-language schools in the province. The fact that the English-speaking children belong to a numerical minority does affect the schools in some ways, and proposed educational reforms may affect them even more. It remains true that Anglophones have access to complete educational opportunities in their own language

in the French-speaking province.<sup>1</sup> In the past, the Protestant school system has determined its own structure, established its own curriculum, set its own examinations, trained and certified its own teachers, and levied its own taxes.

75. The virtual autonomy of the Protestant committee accounts for the emergence of a distinct and different English-language Protestant organization of education. There was no minister of Education between 1875 and 1964 to co-ordinate the public schools in the province. The Council of Public Instruction was in theory responsible for the non-confessional aspects of public education but, ironically, the real significance of this council was that it did not interfere in education.

An autonomous system

76. Thus the Protestant schools existed, in Siegfried's phrase, "without fear of conflict or dispute," and jurisdiction over all Protestant schools was left to the Protestant officers of the department of Public Instruction and the Protestant committee.

77. The Quebec department was headed by the superintendent, who reported to the cabinet; the provincial secretary was answerable to the legislature for the department. The superintendent was appointed by the government and it was not until 1940 that the first career educator was chosen. As a full-time official he was responsible for the operation of the department, but he served also by law as chairman of the Council of Public Instruction and of the Roman Catholic committee. He was an associate member of the Protestant committee but usually did not attend. There were two senior officials, one Roman Catholic and the other Protestant, with the rank of deputy minister, the latter serving as the official link between the Protestant committee and the department and acting as secretary for the committee. This appointment was also made directly by the government, sometimes with and sometimes without consultation with the committee. For many years it was also customary for some Protestant members of the cabinet or legislature to serve as members of the Protestant committee. Obviously, the degree of autonomy depended on several factors—the policies of governments, the competence of officials, the relationship of language and confessional

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that education in Quebec is officially structured along confessional rather than linguistic lines, so that it is not entirely accurate to talk of English-language and French-language education. Prior to the reorganization under one administrative head in 1964, the Catholic committee was responsible for both Francophone and Anglophone Roman Catholics, and the Protestant committee for both Francophone and Anglophone non-Catholics. The system administered by the Catholic committee included a significant number of schools for Anglophone students, so that in describing the development of English-language education in Quebec it will be necessary to discuss the Protestant and the Roman Catholic schools separately. The system administered by the Protestant committee, however, was almost entirely an English-language system, because the overwhelming majority of Protestants in Quebec are Anglophones. It is within relatively recent times that an effort has been made by the Protestant school committee, whose responsibility they are, to provide adequately for Francophone Protestants.

groups, and basic educational needs. In general it may be said that educational policy was determined by the confessional committees, while the financial administration and day-to-day operation of schools was under the jurisdiction of the department.

Similarity  
to public  
schools in  
English-  
language  
provinces

78. The resulting system broadly resembled the public school systems of the English-language provinces of Canada. The classical colleges which played such a dominant role in the French Roman Catholic system in Quebec had no counterpart on the Protestant side. After completing a seven-year elementary programme, the Protestant student could attend a public high school for four years and might then continue his education at an English-language university in the province. The programme of studies for any single year differed to some extent from the equivalent programme in the public schools of other provinces, but the differences were not significant. A student could transfer from a Protestant school in Quebec to a public school in another province with no more academic inconvenience than a student moving from one English-speaking province to another.

The legal  
framework

79. The legal framework within which English-language schools are created in Quebec is somewhat complicated. Before 1964, Anglophones could choose the confessionality of their school. Ratepayers elected commissioners, who then provided a school, hired the teachers, and collected taxes. If the Protestants were a majority in the community, the school would come under the Protestant committee and follow the English-language Protestant programme although, if there was no other school in the community, the school had to admit all children of school age. Roman Catholic students would follow the majority programme but would be exempted from religious instruction and religious exercises. If the majority in the community was Roman Catholic, the first school board would naturally associate itself with the Catholic committee but would have to admit Protestant students, again with the religious exemptions.

80. If members of the Protestant minority preferred to send their children to a separate school, they had the right to establish a dissident school. The elected members of the minority board—called trustees to distinguish them from commissioners—could again provide a school and hire teachers. They could levy taxes on all Protestant property-owners, but were obliged only to provide an education for Protestant children in the community. If there was only one Protestant family in the community, the parents could arrange to send their children—and their taxes—to a Protestant school in an adjoining school district. A Roman Catholic family had the same rights. Thus, in a mixed community the dissident school might be either Protestant or Catholic.

81. Legally, it makes a difference if the Protestant school board is a commission or a board of trustees. The Protestant schools under a commission are considered common or public schools and must admit all students, regardless of religion, unless there is also a Catholic board, in which case they must admit all non-Catholic students. On the other hand, the Protestant school under a board of trustees—a dissident school—is only obliged to admit Protestant students. The word Protestant, however, has usually been defined broadly by the courts, and in practice it usually includes all non-Catholics who wish to send their children to a Protestant school.<sup>1</sup>

82. Schools in Montreal and Quebec City have a special legal status. Instead of common and dissident schools, there are two appointed school commissions, one Protestant and one Roman Catholic, in each city. The Jewish minority in Montreal, being neither Catholic nor Protestant, does not fit easily into this dual structure. The question of which system should be responsible for educating Jewish children, and the related question of which system should receive the tax revenue from Jewish property, came before the Council of Public Instruction in 1889, in one of its rare meetings, but no agreement was reached.<sup>2</sup> A *modus vivendi* was finally established between the Jewish community and the Protestant school board of Montreal. Subsequent legislation declared that Jews in the city of Montreal proper were to be considered Protestants in matters of education. In 1930, the Jews of Montreal were given the legal authority to establish their own school commission for Montreal but they preferred to continue the *modus vivendi* with the Protestant board. Today almost one-fifth of the students and teachers under the Greater Montreal Protestant School Board are Jewish, and since 1965 Jews have been represented on the board itself.

The Jewish  
minority

83. Another important question is the extent to which the Protestant committee has been free to plan the co-ordination of the Protestant schools of the province in order to create a coherent system and to adapt to the changing needs of the minority. In practice, the committee has had an almost completely free hand. The history of the consolidation of Protestant school districts provides a convincing illustration. This consolidation was important to the Protestant minority because, in areas of scattered or declining population, consolidated schools offered the only means of providing a separate education for the Protestant minority. More recently, the diversification and specialization of education, especially at the secondary level, have meant that modern educational facilities are only possible in larger school units. In 1908

Consolidated  
school  
districts

<sup>1</sup> R. Hurtubise, "Le système scolaire de la province de Québec," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 24.

<sup>2</sup> L.-P. Audet, *Histoire du Conseil de l'instruction publique de la province de Québec, 1856-1964* (Montreal, 1964), 108-14.

the Protestant committee took the initiative and asked for the authority to consolidate schools when the enrolment was small and to provide the necessary transportation for the students. The Council of Public Instruction supported the request and the government provided the necessary legal authorization.<sup>1</sup> Rural consolidation was followed by urban centralization in 1925, when the 11 Protestant school boards in Montreal were merged. In 1944, on the advice of the Protestant committee, the provincial government established central school boards in various areas of the province. In each case the initiative came from the Protestant committee and in each case the request was based on the special needs of the Protestant system. The Protestant minority has thus been able to transform its educational system with the consent and the co-operation of the provincial authorities.

Teacher  
training

84. The quality of every educational system depends in the final analysis on the quality of the teachers in the classroom. Here, too, the Protestant committee was given full responsibility for the training of teachers. The Protestant system was served by the English-language universities, and again this resembles the pattern in the English-speaking provinces. Certification, the permission to teach in the Protestant schools, could only be granted under the authority of the Protestant committee, thus providing yet another assurance of the autonomy of the minority system.

Finances

85. No educational system is independent, however, unless it is assured adequate revenue. Until recent years, local taxation provided the principal support for the school system. Protestant boards received the taxes from all Protestant property owners and, indeed, from most non-Catholics. Since the Protestant boards had the right to fix their own rates of taxation, they usually imposed higher levels than the Roman Catholics, who depended more on private institutions. The taxes on corporations were shared by the Protestant and Catholic boards, on the basis of the proportion of children of school age in each group in the community. Taxation rates have spiralled in the post-war years, but the costs of all education have increased more rapidly and the revenues of local boards have been supplemented by provincial grants. Government expenditure on education has risen sharply, especially in the 1960's, but the principle of financial equality has been respected. The same basic assistance from the provincial government is assured to all schools.

The issue of  
compulsory  
education

86. Inevitably there have been some limitations on the autonomy of the Protestant committee. Protestants and Roman Catholics in Quebec tended to be divided over the question of compulsory education, for example, with the former generally in favour and the latter opposed

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.



on the grounds that compulsory education would lead to state intervention in education. The issue was debated in the legislature as early as 1892, but no action was taken. In 1912 the Protestant committee proposed that education should be made compulsory for Protestants only, but this measure was defeated in the legislature. The French Canadian majority in the province was not prepared to allow such a significant divergence between the Catholic and Protestant systems within the province, and it was not until 1943, after the Catholic committee had accepted the idea, that school attendance became compulsory in Quebec schools.<sup>1</sup>

87. In most matters, however, the Protestant committee has had full control over the Protestant schools in Quebec and has shaped the system as it saw fit. It is generally agreed that the result has been a system that answers the needs of the Protestant community and provides public education of a high standard. In part this may be explained by the high concentration of the Protestant group in the metropolitan area of Montreal and by the higher average income of Protestant parents. For our purpose, however, the significant point is that an impressive English-language minority school system has been established in Quebec, through the public schools out of tax funds. It has been developed and administered by English-speaking Protestants for English-speaking children in the province, and has thus reflected the aims and aspirations of the minority. When we consider the history of the education of the French-speaking minorities in the other provinces, their desperate struggles to obtain small "concessions" for French-language education, and the enormous costs they have had to bear to provide anything resembling a complete education for their children in French, it will be apparent that the two situations cannot be compared.

A minority-language system designed by the minority

#### *D. Roman Catholic English-language Education in Quebec*

88. The position of the English-speaking Roman Catholic students in Quebec has been entirely different from that of the Protestants. For administrative purposes they came under the Catholic committee and therefore formed only a small minority within a predominantly Franco-phone educational system. The gradual evolution of what was virtually a third school régime—an English Roman Catholic régime—provides an interesting case study of minority education in Quebec.

A third educational régime

89. There was never any question about permitting English as a language of instruction. There had been considerable Irish immigra-

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, I (Montreal, 1963), § 35.

tion during the first half of the 19th century, and when the first Council of Education was appointed in 1859 it included one Anglophone Catholic member. The large degree of autonomy enjoyed by local school authorities ensured that where Anglophone Roman Catholics were in the majority there would be an English-language school. In the words of a leading French Canadian educator, C.-J. Magnan, describing the situation in 1932:

School boards decide the main language of instruction in each school by engaging either English-speaking or French-speaking teachers. Where English-speaking Catholics are in the majority, they run their own schools. Neither the government nor the department of Public Instruction intervenes in matters of language, except to maintain the rights of the minority, whether Anglophone or Francophone.<sup>1</sup>

As Magnan suggests, the language of instruction presented more difficulty in communities with both Francophone and Anglophone Roman Catholics. There the students were usually divided into separate classes or, when numbers warranted, into separate schools, and were taught in their own language. The principle that all children were entitled to instruction in their own language was never questioned, although it was sometimes difficult to put this principle into practice—in rural areas, for example. The importance given to the principle, however, can be illustrated by the instructions to Roman Catholic school inspectors. In 1912 the following order from the Superintendent of Public Instruction was circulated:

In some districts a certain number of Catholic schools are attended by French and English speaking pupils. You must insist upon the commissioners engaging teachers for such schools who are competent to properly teach both languages. A school where the majority of the pupils are French Canadians must be taught by a person who knows French thoroughly and who has a sufficient knowledge of English: while a school where the majority of the pupils are English or Irish Canadians must be taught by a teacher who knows English thoroughly and has a sufficient knowledge of French.

Whenever you find that a minority is not fairly treated you must let me know at once.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later the superintendent repeated this order with added force. The inspectors were instructed to “warn the commissioners that if they do not do justice to the minority in their municipality—whether it be French- or English-speaking—I will deprive the municipality of the

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<sup>1</sup> C.-J. Magnan, *L'instruction publique dans la province de Québec* (Quebec, 1932), 47. See Appendix IV for original French version.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec, 1912-3* (Quebec, 1913), 600.

Government grants.”<sup>1</sup> The repetition of these instructions suggests that the minorities in some municipalities needed protection, but the principle that any child was entitled to be taught in his own language was clearly established.

90. In addition to the question of language of instruction there was the equally important question of the curriculum. Initially, the English Roman Catholic curriculum followed the French Catholic curriculum very closely, and most textbooks were a direct translation from the French. Apart from the programme for the study of English and a special course in Irish history, Roman Catholic schools in Quebec differed only in the language of instruction. Anglophone Catholics were not completely satisfied. As early as 1899, for example, an Irish Catholic organization proposed the adoption of the textbooks in use in the separate schools of Ontario, a proposal which was rejected at the time.<sup>2</sup>

91. The structure of the educational system at the secondary level soon became of more crucial importance to the Anglophone Catholics. The central institution of the French Catholic system was the classical college. By the turn of the century there were English-language classical colleges whose graduates were admitted by English-language universities in the province. Many Anglophone Catholics, however, did not find the classical college entirely satisfactory. Anglophone Protestants could complete their secondary education at public schools in four years, whereas classical colleges required eight years. Furthermore, Anglophone Catholics were more directly affected by the new trends in English-language education among Quebec Protestants as well as in other parts of the country and the continent. There was a shift from the classical tradition to an emphasis on science and even technical training, as well as an increasing belief in the desirability of secondary education for all children. Many Anglophone Catholic parents began to feel that the North American high school was a more appropriate institution for secondary education than the classical college.

92. The divergence between French Catholic and English Protestant educational traditions posed serious difficulties for Anglophone Catholics. Changes came gradually and with remarkably little controversy, and a clear picture emerges of a shift from the French to the English pattern of education. In 1922, for example, Catholic High School—a religious, post-elementary educational institution—was refused recognition as a classical college because it had already broadened its programme to include subjects customarily taught in Protestant secondary schools. As the Matriculation Commission of the University of Montreal explained: “. . . a classical college is above all an institution for general

The curriculum

Influence  
of the  
English-  
language  
Protestant  
system

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1914-5 (Quebec, 1915), 608.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898-9 (Quebec, 1899), 382.

culture and not for premature specialization in the scientific or literary order. Consequently it cannot accept the idea of a scientific course which is annexed to the course of study with the proposed substitutions."<sup>1</sup> In the next decade, when the Catholic committee authorized the establishment of public secondary schools as well as classical colleges, the English-speaking Catholics went even further. Canon (now Bishop) G. Emmett Carter describes how the courses of study of the English Roman Catholic secondary schools were devised:

The high school situation was as follows: St. Patrick's in Quebec and D'Arcy McGee in Montreal were the main English Catholic public high schools of the province. In those days a great deal more latitude was given to local commissions than is permitted today, and in the first years of their operation these high schools followed a course of studies arranged by their own staff, patterned very closely on the McGill matriculation requirements and approved in a fashion by their own commissions.<sup>2</sup>

This programme was later revised by an English-speaking Catholic committee and the new programme received the official approval of the Catholic committee as a whole. At the secondary level, Anglophone Catholics had been allowed to design a curriculum most appropriate to their needs, even though in its broad lines it had more in common with the English Protestant than with the French Roman Catholic programme.

93. Changes at the elementary level soon followed. In 1937, when the French Catholic elementary programme was revised, an Anglophone Catholic sub-committee was appointed to adapt this programme for the English-language schools. This committee was given a wide latitude in preparing the programmes for religion, English, and French. It could propose minor revisions in geography and the history of Canada, but for the rest it was assumed "that the programme for the other subjects would remain the same for English schools as for French schools."<sup>3</sup> The Anglophone sub-committee objected to the restrictions imposed by these terms of reference, arguing that their educational problems were different and that they needed to develop a programme specially designed in terms of their peculiar needs.<sup>4</sup> The question was finally resolved after the new programme had been introduced in the English Catholic secondary schools. The decision was officially recorded in the minutes of the Catholic committee in 1944:

After hearing the remarks of Messrs. Michael McManus and Gerald Coughlin, the Committee decided to leave the English-language sub-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 1922-3 (Quebec, 1923), 366.

<sup>2</sup> Carter, *The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec*, 77.

<sup>3</sup> Comité catholique du conseil de l'instruction publique, procès-verbal du 5 octobre 1938, 30. (The document is in the Montreal Catholic School Commission Archives.) See Appendix IV for original French version.

<sup>4</sup> Carter, *The Catholic Public Schools of Quebec*, 77.

committee free to draw up the programme according to its own lights, as the French-language sub-committee does at present. The two sub-committees will then have to meet together and try to establish a common programme sharing the largest possible number of items. Each sub-committee will then report to the Committee on Curricula and Textbooks, which will in turn report to the Catholic Committee.<sup>1</sup>

Instead of a translation of the French Catholic programme with some adaptations, the Anglophone sub-committee prepared new courses of study which seemed more suitable for Anglophone Catholic students.

94. The distinction between French- and English-language Catholic programmes inevitably led to separate English-language sections in other parts of the Roman Catholic educational system. Little attention had been paid to the training of teachers for English-language Catholic schools before these curriculum changes. Almost concurrently with the new programmes, English-language sections were established in some of the French Catholic normal schools and, in 1955, the St. Joseph Teachers College was established as a separate English-language normal school. The primary responsibility for selecting textbooks and for setting and marking examinations was also being delegated to Anglophone Catholics. They traditionally had representation on the Catholic committee and on many of the Catholic school commissions, and in Montreal, where most of the English-speaking Catholics are concentrated, the Montreal Catholic School Commission had an English-speaking Catholic as associate director-general of studies responsible for the administration of English-language Catholic schools. Thus, the principle of instruction in English for English-speaking Catholic students has led in the last 30 years to the development of an organized and almost separate system of English-language Catholic education in the province of Quebec. This evolution was possible because the French Catholic majority accepted this principle and the innovations in the Catholic system which put the principle into practice.

Teacher  
training and  
administrative  
independence

<sup>1</sup> Comité catholique du conseil de l'instruction public, procès-verbal du 3 mai 1944, 18. See Appendix IV for original French version.

*A. The Broad Trends*

95. The provincial educational systems in Canada differ from province to province, for within each province education is marked by unique historical traditions as well as by the structure of the provincial society. In spite of these differences, the English-language provinces have developed systems which have much in common. There has been a trend towards secular control of education, with public authorities accepting increasing responsibility in this area. This responsibility has usually taken the form of financial assistance at the beginning. Public authorities have inevitably been involved in determining which institutions were eligible and, eventually, in supervising curricula and academic standards and imposing social and economic goals.

96. It is important to emphasize this last fact, because the decision in the English-speaking provinces not to provide for the special educational needs of their French-speaking minorities has had fateful consequences. The main reason put forth in defence of this policy has been the need for a centralized administration and uniform academic standards. The avowed aim was to ensure equal opportunities in all parts of the province, but the insistence on one uniform English-language system of education resulted effectively in a denial of equal opportunity for the Francophones. Uniformity is not an end in itself: rigid uniformity may defeat the aim of equal educational opportunities if the students do not fit the majority pattern.

97. The existing educational systems in these provinces evolved gradually, but each major innovation was seen in the context of the provincial majority, and the appeals of the French-speaking minorities to provincial authorities fell for the most part on deaf ears. Starting from

Lack of concern  
for French-  
language  
minority

a different option—that is, respect for the right of members of the official-language minority to an education in their mother tongue—it would still have been possible to achieve administrative efficiency within one system through two régimes. In the past, provincial authorities in the English-speaking provinces have failed to take account of this elementary fact.

98. Schools for Francophones were established in many English-speaking provinces, usually because the authorities were lenient in not enforcing regulations, or because they modified the regulations in such a way as to exempt the minority. These schools were exceptions to the provincial pattern, but they were nowhere part of a distinctive and separate system.

99. We do not propose to survey the history of French-language minority schools in Canada. It is necessary, however, to provide some historical context in order to make the present situation in each province comprehensible. We shall therefore refer to some of the major innovations in English-language provincial school systems in the past and show their effects on the French-speaking minorities in those provinces.

### *B. The Historical Context*

Early  
developments  
towards  
a system

100. Public education was only beginning to take shape in British North America at the time of Confederation. Education was still primarily a local responsibility. The one-room log schoolhouse was still typical and the essential qualifications of the schoolmaster were that he could read and write and set a good moral example. Pedagogical methods were far from sophisticated—the rod often providing the incentive if the child's natural thirst for knowledge was too quickly quenched! Nonetheless, many fundamental decisions about the nature of the public school system had been made or were at least foreshadowed. In what was to become the province of Ontario, the traditional view that education was the privilege of the few had been successfully challenged by the revolutionary idea that every child had a right to an elementary education. This new principle had raised questions of financing schools, of the roles of church and state in education, of minimum academic standards, and of the language of instruction. The system was not clearly outlined by 1867, even in Ontario, but the pattern was emerging—and the Ontario pattern was of special significance because Ontario often served as a model for other provinces.

Public  
financing  
of  
education

101. The trend towards a public system of education can be illustrated by changes in the financing of elementary education. Local schools at first depended on fees paid by the students' parents. The idea that all children should be able to attend such schools led to the

conclusion that school costs should be shared by the community, and the usual method of collecting the necessary funds was a property tax. In Upper Canada, school property taxes were not yet compulsory, although local school boards had the legal right to levy such a tax. The fact that most school boards exercised this right is evidence of the widespread acceptance of the idea of public education by 1867. The provincial legislature also made a grant to local schools; the amount was small but inevitably it involved government officials in local school affairs. There was already a system of inspection, there were regulations about school books and curricula, and a normal school had been established for training teachers. Elementary schools were still primarily a local responsibility but a province-wide public school system was taking shape.

102. Local school taxes and legislative grants had already raised the controversial question of the respective functions of church and state in education. The first schools had been church schools. Religious denominations had varied opinions about the importance of a literate laity, but all denominations recognized the need for an educated clergy and had established elementary schools and also higher institutions of learning—such as grammar schools, classical colleges, and universities. When public elementary schools were established it was taken for granted that they would be Christian institutions. Moral training was considered at least as important as “book-learning,” and morality was considered inseparable from religious faith. The difficulty was that there were many forms of Christianity and communities could not provide separate schools for each denomination. The majority principle could not be invoked because denominational divisions were too intense.

103. The compromise acceptable to most parents was schools which were Christian but non-denominational. Unfortunately, it was not easy to isolate a common Christian heritage from denominational doctrines. For most Protestants the common basis was the King James version of the Bible, but this was unacceptable to Roman Catholics.<sup>1</sup> The profound religious division between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the 19th century accounts for the emergence of two types of schools—one non-denominational and one Roman Catholic. The decision to have both systems supported by property taxes was a difficult one for many Protestants to accept, but this compromise was adopted and then confirmed by the Separate School Act of 1863. For Ontario the compromise became part of the Constitution in 1867.

The role  
of the  
church

Two  
systems

<sup>1</sup> See C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education, An Historical Study* (Toronto, 1959), 15-6.



Local  
language  
option

104. The confessional question overshadowed the language question in the schools in these years. The language of instruction was determined by the local authorities, which meant that children from minority groups could be educated in their own language. It was taken for granted by majority and minorities alike that all children should learn English; this doubtless accounts for the fact that no formal language requirements were enacted. This pragmatic attitude towards language is illustrated by a minor incident which occurred in the county of Essex in Upper Canada in 1851. Some French-speaking parents complained to the Council of Public Instruction, the forerunner of the department of Education, that the local teacher could not speak English. "Your memorialists," they wrote, "have discovered that French instruction alone availeth them next to nothing at all, being an ornamental rather than a useful requirement for the inhabitants of this country." The Council of Public Instruction, however, refused to intervene. English was not a requirement for a local teaching certificate and so there was nothing to prevent a local school board from hiring a unilingual Francophone teacher.<sup>1</sup>

Certification  
of teachers

105. The trend towards government supervision of publicly supported schools inevitably encroached on this local autonomy. In the debate on the Separate Schools Act of 1863 it was argued that local certificates should be abolished and that all teachers in separate schools should have certificates from the Council of Public Instruction. The argument was based on the grounds that "so long as the public money was granted to these schools, Parliament had a right to demand that they be efficiently managed." This requirement would probably have disqualified many of the teachers in French-speaking communities, since this certification did depend on passing examinations in English. As a compromise, individuals who were qualified to teach in Lower Canada were exempted from this regulation. This meant that French-speaking teachers could be hired by Upper Canada school boards, and instruction in French was still possible in publicly supported schools.<sup>2</sup>

Religion  
rather  
than  
language

106. In the years immediately after Confederation, educational reforms continued the trend towards a more centralized school system, with provincial departments of Education imposing more uniformity on local schools. The rights of Roman Catholics within a provincial school system still remained the most controversial issue, and the question of language rights was seldom raised directly. Francophones were directly involved in these controversies because they were Roman Catholics and only indirectly because they were French-speaking. To

<sup>1</sup> C. B. Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto, 1917), 14-23.

<sup>2</sup> Sissons, *Church and State*, 47-8.

the extent that the Francophones sensed a threat to their survival as a cultural group, they seem to have seen the threat in religious rather than linguistic terms.

*C. Schools Controversies in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in the 1870's*

107. The relative insignificance of language in the schools controversies of the 19th century is illustrated by the debate over the New Brunswick Common Schools Act of 1871. Before this date local school trustees in New Brunswick had the authority to impose a property tax to finance a public elementary school. The statute of 1871 went further, by abolishing school fees and compelling trustees to levy a property tax; the aim was to ensure that elementary education was accessible to all students. The most controversial feature of the legislation, however, was the declaration that all tax-supported schools must be non-denominational. No reference was made to the language of instruction.

New Brunswick

108. The confessional issue provoked debates at the provincial and federal levels. There is no doubt that most people in New Brunswick supported the principle of non-denominational schools—subsequent provincial and federal elections gave little encouragement to separate school supporters. Roman Catholic advocates of separate schools, unable to persuade the governments, turned to the courts. Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act stated that no provincial statute was “to 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.” Denominational schools clearly existed in New Brunswick at the time of union, but these schools had no special legal status; they existed by custom and not by law. The Privy Council consequently declared that the Common Schools Act did not affect any existing legal right or privilege of denominational schools and so upheld the legislation. After 1871, public schools in New Brunswick were officially non-denominational. Roman Catholic parents had to pay the public school tax, even if they sent their children to private Roman Catholic schools.

No legal status for denominational schools

109. In practice the effect of the law was tempered after 1875 by informal concessions—“a gentleman’s agreement.” Priests and nuns could qualify for teachers’ certificates without attending normal school in Fredericton and could wear clerical garb in the classroom; religious instruction was permitted in the school outside regular school hours. The result was that, in predominantly Roman Catholic communities, public non-denominational schools might have clerical teachers teaching only Roman Catholic students and giving religious instruction in the

classroom. It may be questioned whether such schools differed significantly from the confessional schools existing before 1871.

Religion  
rather than  
language

110. To Canadians of today the surprising fact is that there was no discussion of the language of instruction to be used in these non-denominational public schools. French was undoubtedly used as a language of instruction in schools in Acadian communities at this time, and the Common Schools Act implicitly accepted this situation. The most vocal opponents of the Act were Irish Roman Catholics. The Acadians also opposed the new legislation—in fact one of the most publicized incidents provoked by the legislation occurred in the Acadian community of Caraquet, where two men were killed in a riot—but it is not easy to assess Acadian opinion because the Acadians were not yet a self-conscious or organized minority. There was no Acadian bishop, no Acadian politician, playing a significant role in provincial or federal politics at this time. What is more, Acadian opposition can be explained on religious grounds and there is no evidence to suggest that language was seen as a significant issue.

Language not  
the main issue

111. French continued to be used as a language of instruction and its use was tacitly approved by the department of Education after 1871. A Francophone inspector was named for Acadian districts and some French textbooks were approved. Normally, teachers' certificates were issued to candidates who wrote the required examinations in English, but by the end of the century it was possible to qualify in French for a special certificate without even being tested for a knowledge of English.<sup>1</sup> These Acadian schools were expected to be bilingual, with English superseding French as the language of instruction in the higher grades, but it was not until relatively recently that the language of instruction became a controversial issue in New Brunswick education.

Prince Edward  
Island

112. The same emphasis on confessionality rather than language can be seen in the Public Schools Act of Prince Edward Island in 1877. Again, this legislation provided for tax-supported non-denominational schools; it went even further than the New Brunswick legislation by stipulating that, if the public school did not have a large enough enrolment, parents in the community who sent their children to a private school would be liable to a fine. As in New Brunswick, the Roman Catholics protested against the Act, but without success.<sup>2</sup>

The language  
issue

113. The issue of French as a language of instruction, however, was indirectly involved because there had been a special provision in the Act of 1868 for the certification of Francophone teachers. Acadian

<sup>1</sup> Based on René Baudry, "Les Acadiens d'aujourd'hui," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Chap. XI, 61-9.

<sup>2</sup> The comments on the Prince Edward Island School Act of 1877 are based on L. Lapierre, "Federal Intervention under Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Chap. II.

schools in the Rustico area had employed Acadian teachers and had used French—and hence Roman Catholic—textbooks authorized for Quebec. Bishop McIntyre argued from this example that Roman Catholic schools existed by law. The attorney general of the province pointed out that these French-language schools were not denominational schools by law, whatever they might be in practice, and that French could continue to be a language of instruction under the Act of 1877. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the attorney general was not sincere. The government of the Island was opposed to tax-supported Roman Catholic schools but it was not opposed to the use of French as a language of instruction in public non-denominational schools. Bilingual public schools continued to operate after 1877.

#### *D. The Manitoba Schools Controversy*

114. One of the most bitter schools controversies was provoked by provincial legislation in Manitoba in 1890. Prior to 1870 there had been no laws covering education; the federal statute which created Manitoba in that year reflected the demands of the inhabitants of the Red River settlement—of whom slightly more than half were French-speaking—and guaranteed the right to denominational schools which existed “by law or practice.” In the following year the provincial government established a dual system of education, with separate Protestant and Roman Catholic sections under two superintendents, Protestant and Roman Catholic, similar to the Quebec model.

In the beginning, a dual system

115. The years that followed saw a large influx of Protestant Anglo-phone immigrants, many from Ontario, who were determined “that Manitoba must be made British and that a ‘national’ school system should be the agent to accomplish the task.”<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, in 1890, at the same time as the official use of the French language was abolished in the legislative assembly, the civil service, and the courts, the dual system of education was replaced by a non-denominational system under a single board of Education.

An official non-denominational system

116. The religious and racial controversies of central Canada in the 1880’s, including the agitation over the execution of Louis Riel and over the Jesuits’ Estates Bill,<sup>2</sup> played their part in this legislation. The justification given by the provincial government, however, was that the Roman Catholic schools in the province were inferior and that the regulations governing teachers’ qualifications and academic standards

Contributing causes

<sup>1</sup> W. L. Morton, *Manitoba: A History* (Toronto, 1957), 245.

<sup>2</sup> See Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* (Toronto, 1955), 421-5, for a summary of the Jesuits’ Estates controversy.

should be uniform throughout the province. Certainly the difficulties involved in developing a school system in sparsely settled districts were very great; consequently, there was a tendency to view anything which perpetuated differences as undesirable. In this context the rights of French Catholics, recognized in the Manitoba Act, were seen by the now substantial Anglophone majority as "special privileges" which overtaxed the educational resources.

Legal  
decisions

117. Appeals against the legislation were made to the Manitoba Courts, which upheld the legislation; to the Supreme Court of Canada, which unanimously reversed the judgement; and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which overruled the decision of the Supreme Court. The Manitoba School Act was upheld on the grounds that the rights to denominational schools which had existed prior to 1870 had not been revoked. Parents could still send their children to private religious schools, as they had done in the days of the Red River colony. The difference, however, was that now no denominational school could claim a share of the school taxes, and Roman Catholic and Protestant parents alike would now be taxed to support public, non-denominational schools. In a subsequent decision, however, the courts recognized that publicly supported denominational schools had been established in Manitoba between 1870 and 1890 and that the federal government could restore this privilege to the Roman Catholic minority. After prolonged indecision the federal government introduced a remedial bill in 1896 to re-establish Roman Catholic separate schools, but the session ended before the bill was passed and in the ensuing election the Conservative government, which had introduced the legislation, was defeated. The Liberal government under Laurier preferred compromise and in 1897 the provincial government under Greenway agreed to allow Roman Catholic teachers to be hired to teach classes of Roman Catholic students and to allow religious instruction at the end of the school day. This Laurier-Greenway compromise left the single non-denominational public school system intact, but the concessions to Roman Catholics within this system eliminated the most serious grievances of the religious minority.

118. In constitutional terms, the denominational issue was the only issue—because the constitutional guarantees referred only to denominational schools. In political terms, however, the religious issues cannot be separated from the language question. By the 1890's French-speaking Canadians had become more conscious of the double role of separate schools in maintaining their cultural identity. Roman Catholic schools not only separated Francophone children from Protestants, but in many communities they also separated them from Anglophones. The language was considered the guardian of the faith—children who con-

tinued to speak French were more likely to remain good Roman Catholics. Language was now seen also as a second—and to some even as an equally important—ingredient of French Canadian cultural identity. Separate schools in French-speaking communities, being both Catholic and French, were doubly significant to the Francophone minority. This helps to explain why the Anglophone Roman Catholic bishops of Canada were prepared to accept the Laurier-Greenway compromise, however reluctantly, but the Francophone bishops continued to oppose the settlement until Rome recommended submission.

119. The decade of the 1890's can thus be seen as a period of transition in French-English relations in Canada. Controversies over language in the past had been peripheral, but from this time on they were more central to the broader issue of cultural survival. In the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island school questions, the arguments on both sides concentrated on the denominational issue. French was used in the schools both before and after the crisis. In the Manitoba schools question, however, both confessionality and the use of the French language were menaced. The Laurier-Greenway compromise had included a specific guarantee that where 10 of the pupils spoke the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils should be conducted in French (or such other language) and English upon the bilingual system. This regulation became impossible to implement with the arrival in Manitoba of substantial numbers of immigrants speaking a variety of languages. In 1916 the provincial authorities unilaterally rejected the bilingual system of the Laurier-Greenway compromise, insisting that English must be the only language of instruction in provincial schools. French disappeared as a language of instruction, along with other languages.

120. At the same time a crisis developed in Ontario over the use of French in the public schools there. The controversy over Regulation 17 illustrates the shift in emphasis to language, with denominational questions being raised only indirectly. Language had become the central issue in the schools controversies.

#### *E. The Ontario "Bilingual" Schools Question: Regulation 17*

121. The controversy in Ontario which came to a head with the enactment of Regulation 17 in 1912 centred on the nature and purpose of the so-called "bilingual" schools. These were the schools in which the French-speaking minority was educated, and in which some French was used when schools were primarily local institutions. It was logical to teach French-speaking children in French because this was the

Transition in  
French-English  
relations

language they understood; it was logical to teach them English because it was useful to know the language of the majority. With the need to develop a provincial school system, decisions had to be taken concerning the place of the education of the Francophones within this system. Because the option of cultural duality in English-speaking provinces was not accepted, the possibility of developing two administrative streams, as in Quebec, was not envisaged. Instead, a single centralized administration was created with the objective of imposing uniform provincial standards.

The place  
of the  
French  
language

122. The continuing extension of provincial supervision and control led in time to an attempt to regulate the language use in schools for the French-speaking minority. It was decided that English would replace French as the language of instruction as soon as the students understood English. This attempt to regulate language use in the schools for Franco-Ontarians inevitably provoked bitter disputes. It not only raised the question of the survival of the language in Ontario, it also raised the question of the place of French language and culture in Canada.

The role of  
"bilingual"  
schools

123. The first regulation on the language of instruction in Ontario schools, issued in 1885, stated that English was to be taught in all provincial schools, and teachers' certificates in the future would require a knowledge of English grammar.<sup>1</sup> The provincial opposition criticized the government over the next few years for not definitely insisting on priority for English in Francophone communities where, it was argued, English was taught as a foreign language if it was taught at all. The debate coincided with the Riel crisis and the discussion of the Jesuits' Estates Bill and may be seen as another manifestation of the cultural division of the era. By 1890 the provincial government had further defined "bilingual" schools by stating that English was to be the language of instruction and communication "except so far as this is impracticable by reason of the pupil not understanding English." Otherwise, French-speaking students were to follow the same courses of study prescribed for all public schools in the province, except that additional instruction in the French language was authorized.<sup>2</sup> The implication was that "bilingual" schools were English-language schools in which French could be used in the early years of school and could be taught as a supplementary subject. A similar definition of "bilingual" schools was adopted in the Maritimes by the turn of the century.<sup>3</sup> The demand from some elements of the Anglophone majority that French be eradicated from the schools was rejected, but the "bilingual" schools

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario 1950* (Toronto, 1950), 395-9.

<sup>2</sup> Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools*, 68.

<sup>3</sup> G. Rawlyk, "Acadian Education in Nova Scotia," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

were nonetheless expected to graduate English-speaking students. In the words of the Ontario minister of Education responsible for the first language regulations, "... we can better assimilate the people and the language of other nationalities by generosity than by coercion."<sup>1</sup> The Orange Order in Ontario, however, was agitating for more draconic measures—in the words of the *Orange Sentinel*, "It is this refusal to assimilate that makes the French Canadian so difficult to get along with."<sup>2</sup>

124. The fact that there were few protests from Franco-Ontarians at this time may have been due to the lack of provincial organizations and effective spokesmen. But one significant development did occur. In 1890 most of the schools for Franco-Ontarians had been public schools, but by 1910 the majority had become separate schools.<sup>3</sup> The shift suggests a search for greater security as well as growing consciousness of cultural identity.

125. The new regulations were not rigidly enforced, and French remained the major language of instruction in many of the "bilingual" schools. The real crisis had its origins in the years around 1910, provoked in part by the renewed interest of the provincial government in educational reform. The department of Education showed more interest in supervising provincial schools and, among other steps, asked F. W. Merchant, Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools, to investigate the "bilingual" schools in the Ottawa valley. Merchant reported in 1909 that "the atmosphere of the schools is undoubtedly French," although he attributed this to a lack of trained and experienced teachers. His recommendation was merely to improve teacher training.<sup>4</sup> At this stage there was nothing to suggest an official campaign against these schools at the government level.

126. In the years after 1890 there had been a steady influx of Francophones into Ontario and they now numbered more than 200,000—many of them concentrated in the Ottawa valley. Their sense of cultural identity had also been fostered by the often bitter disputes with Anglophone Roman Catholics over control of the parish or the separate school. Some Irish Catholic clergymen feared that French Canadian insistence on the use of French in the schools would endanger the separate schools in the province; in 1910 Bishop Fallon of London, for example, stated that he wanted "to wipe out every vestige of bilingual teaching, in the public schools of this Diocese."<sup>5</sup> This rivalry with their

The schools  
crisis

Language  
rather  
than  
religion

<sup>1</sup> Cited in M. Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue, 1910-1916" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Queen's University, 1964), 15. (Speech by G. W. Ross, March 8, 1889.)

<sup>2</sup> Cited in *Ibid.*, 7. (*Orange Sentinel* for Nov. 3, 1910.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> Cited in *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>5</sup> F. A. Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario, A Documentary Study* (Toronto, 1964), 243.



co-religionists gave language a heightened significance, because the disputes were based on language and not religion. The Franco-Ontarians were also disturbed by a legal decision in 1904 which disqualified Ontario teachers who had only Quebec teachers' certificates. The judgement declared that the pre-Confederation agreement permitting teachers from Lower Canada to teach in what was now Ontario was valid only for certificates issued prior to 1867. The result was that teaching orders from Quebec could no longer staff the minority-language separate schools of Ontario. By 1910 Franco-Ontarians were convinced of threats to the existing schools and, conscious of growing numbers and cultural solidarity, they were no longer satisfied with a mere defence of the status quo. The Association canadienne-française d'éducation d'Ontario proposed a new definition for "bilingual" schools. It resolved that French should be a language of instruction and communication, with French textbooks and French examinations, and in effect insisted that "bilingual" schools should be predominantly French rather than English.

The  
broader  
issue

127. Most Anglophone Ontarians had accepted the "bilingual" schools as schools in which the use of French was permitted as a stage in converting to instruction in English. They had been concerned because the regulations to this effect were ignored and that, in fact, little English was taught. Now, however, the Francophones were demanding that these regulations be rescinded and that French be accepted officially as a language of instruction. The debate was clearly centred on the place of the French language and culture in Ontario, and the two opposing concepts were on a collision course.

A second  
inquiry

128. The government postponed action by again asking F. W. Merchant to investigate all the minority-language schools in the province. His report, tabled in 1912, confirmed his earlier appraisal. He found these schools "on the whole, lacking in efficiency." Some students were not acquiring an adequate knowledge of English, although he blamed this more on the teachers' lack of training than on a deliberate defiance of the law; of the 538 teachers he saw, only one had a first-class certificate and only 58 held the second-class certificate which the department of Education considered the acceptable minimum qualification for teachers. Merchant still approved using French as the medium of instruction in the first years of school; his major recommendation was still to improve the training of the teachers.<sup>1</sup> The decision of the government was announced a few months after Merchant's report, in the form of Regulation 17.

Regulation  
17

129. Regulation 17 reaffirmed the policy of 1890 more explicitly and more rigorously. English was to become the sole language of instruction

<sup>1</sup> Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue," 67-71.

after the third year, and the study of French as a subject was limited to one hour a day. To ensure compliance with Regulation 17, a dual system of inspection was instituted, with both English and French inspectors visiting the "bilingual" schools. As far as the government was concerned, there was no question that these were to be schools in which English was the dominant language. Both provincial parties officially supported this concept, although many critics wished to exclude French entirely from Ontario schools.

130. The Franco-Ontarians denounced Regulation 17 as a deliberate and obvious policy of assimilation, and mounted a vigorous campaign of resistance. The conflict was bitter, with Irish Catholics supporting the legislation. French Canadians in Quebec indignantly protested against this denial of educational rights to the French-speaking minority in Ontario, pointing to the educational rights accorded to the English-speaking minority in Quebec. Franco-Ontarian school trustees, teachers, and students refused to comply with the regulation and, with financial assistance from their compatriots in Quebec, tried to conduct French-language schools despite the law. The dispute was further embittered by the crisis over conscription during the war, which also set Anglophones against Francophones.

Franco-Ontarian  
resistance

131. Regulation 17 remained the law of the province for some 30 years, but soon after the war a *modus vivendi* which eased the crisis was tacitly accepted. In 1927, Merchant once more produced a report on the "bilingual" schools, this time in co-operation with Judge Scott and Louis Côté. This report continued to stress that all students should acquire an adequate knowledge of English, but it also argued that the teaching of French should not be neglected. The more conciliatory tone of this report was reflected in the changes in the minority-language schools in the following years. Special courses of study were prepared for the teaching of French as a subject and French textbooks were prepared for other subjects in the earlier grades. A normal school was opened at the University of Ottawa to train teachers for the "bilingual" schools, and Francophone inspectors took over most of the supervision of these schools. Legally, English was still the language of instruction and communication after the third grade, but in practice it was not unusual to find French used in all the elementary grades. The failure to resolve the conflict, however, resulted in what might be called a "non-system" of education for Franco-Ontarians. These schools operated in isolation; they were not part of the English-language system of education in the province, and they lacked the planning, the guidance, and the co-ordination essential to an adequate educational régime.

A *modus  
vivendi*

### *F. Summary*

132. This brief summary of crises over "bilingual" schools is by no means complete or comprehensive. No mention has been made, for example, of the gradual elimination of French as a language of instruction in the Northwest Territories before 1905 and the confirmation of the existing school system when the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were formed in that year. The survey does, however, illustrate the broad historical trends which explain the education of the French-speaking minorities today. In all the provinces except Quebec, English became the dominant language of instruction and, when instruction in French was permitted, it was considered an exception to the general rule. It is obvious that a difference in the view of the nature of the country was fundamental to the disputes over education. When these provincial governments set out to establish certain academic standards in education, they did not recognize a necessity to provide equally for the needs of both linguistic groups. The French-language minority was expected to adjust to an English-language system of education, and ultimately to the language itself. The French-speaking minorities, on the other hand, had expected that their language rights would be respected and that they would have the means to develop an educational régime suited to their needs.

133. The resulting clash between the linguistic minority and the provincial authorities meant a loss to both groups—principally, of course, and tragically, to the minorities themselves, because their schools were disrupted and their education suffered. When the provincial authorities encountered strong opposition to the law, they agreed to certain concessions or closed their eyes to evasions of the law. But this was a far cry from providing the resources to enable the French-speaking minority to be assured of an adequate education in their mother tongue. As a consequence, educational standards in the minority-language schools were frequently low, and the obstacles to continuing their schooling in the French language discouraged many from completing their education. Since it is in the interests of the whole society that all its members receive an adequate education, the loss in human resources was incalculable.

134. It is clear, therefore, that the objectives of official minority-language schools must be clarified and must be accepted by both groups if disputes are to be avoided. The ultimate aim must be the best possible education—one that will foster the use and development of the mother tongue and, at the same time, ensure an adequate knowledge of the majority language. Provincial governments have insisted on establishing educational standards for all public schools, and they should continue

to accept this responsibility. Since it is to the advantage of both the minority-language group and the majority to have high educational standards, there need be no dispute over the principle, but there will need to be an equal respect for both official languages.

135. It should also be noted that these past crises involved only elementary schools. As we shall see in Chapter V, we are a long way from overcoming the problems and clarifying the aims of official minority-language schools, even at the elementary level, although provincial authorities have become more conscious of the requirements of the French-speaking minorities and are more willing to meet them. Today, however, education at the secondary level is considered necessary, so the question of minority-language public education is now extended to this level. Secondary education for the linguistic minority is already a topic of discussion, and changes now being introduced in the secondary programmes in some provinces are an attempt to meet this situation. This survey of the past may help us to resolve some of the difficulties with a minimum of confusion and controversy.

*A. Elementary Schools*

136. When English-speaking children first go to school in Quebec today, they will almost certainly go to an English-language school. If, in exceptional cases, their parents enrol them in a French-language school so that they will learn French, this is the result of a parental decision; English-language schools are available. If the children live in Montreal, the provision of these schools presents no problem to the educational authorities. Almost three quarters of the Quebec population of English mother tongue lives in metropolitan Montreal—nearly half a million. It is therefore relatively simple to provide elementary school facilities for the children. Some of the children will live further from an English-language school than if they lived in an English-speaking city, but this is a relatively minor inconvenience. The situation is complicated to some extent by the denominational structure of the school system in Quebec, because Anglophone Roman Catholics and Protestants attend different schools, but again, for the Montreal metropolitan area, there are enough students in each case to make it relatively simple to provide English-language schools for both Roman Catholic and Protestant children.

Elementary  
English-language  
education in  
Montreal

137. Outside Montreal it is not always so easy. In some communities and some rural areas there may be only a few Anglophone families and some of these families may be Protestant and others Roman Catholic. In these special circumstances it may be difficult to provide one—to say nothing of two—English-language elementary schools. In spite of these difficulties, however, the principle that Anglophones have the right to be educated in English has been respected.

Outside the  
Montreal area

138. The Gaspé area offers an illustration of the school facilities provided in districts where the population is scattered but nonetheless

The Gaspé area  
an illustration

includes Anglophone Protestants and Roman Catholics as well as Francophone Roman Catholics.

139. In a working paper prepared for the Commission, a comparison was made of schools administered by the two consolidated Roman Catholic school districts of Péninsule and Baie-des-Chaleurs and the consolidated Protestant school district of Gaspé, which covers almost the same territory.<sup>1</sup> In the 1965-6 school year, the Protestant school commission provided an elementary education for some 1,640 English-speaking students. The enrolment varied from almost 500 students in Chaleur Bay, where there were three schools and 18 classrooms, to 18 students at Chandler, in one school with two classrooms.<sup>2</sup> In every case, however, the students attended an English-language school and were taught by an English-speaking teacher. In the same school year the two Roman Catholic school commissions were responsible for more than 4,000 students at the elementary level, including approximately 3,000 Francophone Roman Catholics and 1,000 Anglophone Roman Catholics. The number of French-speaking students under a local school board ranged from 622 at Gaspé to 17 at Grande Grève, and for the Anglophones, from 186 at Chandler to six at Cap d'Espoir. In every case the English-speaking Roman Catholic students were taught in their mother tongue in a separate class, although frequently their classroom was in a school building which also included classrooms for the Francophones.

140. This dispersal of the total student body of this region into what are virtually three school systems obviously poses administrative and academic problems. In some cases one teacher in a single classroom had students ranging from six to 13 years of age. The division of the student body along religious lines, however, has been fundamental in the educational system of the province, and the division of Roman Catholic students into Francophone and Anglophone groups is taken for granted. The administrative difficulties are no less a problem in Quebec than in the English-speaking provinces, but they are obviously not insurmountable.

### *B. Secondary Schools*

Secondary  
English-language  
education in  
Montreal

141. The problems posed by English-speaking children at the secondary level are more complex. Education becomes more specialized at the secondary level and the students in any one grade may be

<sup>1</sup>Jean-Yves Drolet, "Étude des conditions faites aux étudiants anglophones dans les régions du Québec où la population canadienne-anglaise est peu nombreuse," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

<sup>2</sup>Two of the local school boards actually administered their elementary schools independently (123 students in all) although they came under the consolidated school district at the secondary level.

separated into academic, commercial, and vocational streams. In addition, average enrolment drops as children leave school. For the metropolitan area of Montreal, the large number of English-language Protestant and Roman Catholic students makes it possible to provide diversified educational programmes at the secondary level. These students may have to travel some distance in order to attend a school suitable to their religious faith and which provides the appropriate type of secondary school training, but such schools are available.

142. It is less feasible to make these diversified programmes available in many communities outside Montreal. What happens, for example, in a community where the Anglophone minority includes only a small number of children of secondary school age, and these children include both Roman Catholics and Protestants? Again using Gaspé as our example, we find that the principle of English-language schools for English-speaking children is still rigorously respected. In the 1965-6 school year there were 530 English-speaking students at the secondary level in Protestant schools in the area, and 339 in Roman Catholic schools. In all there were 12 schools offering instruction in English at the secondary level.

Outside the  
Montreal area

143. The educational facilities provided for such a small and scattered group are necessarily limited. In most cases, English-speaking children attend a school offering both elementary and secondary education. If they are Roman Catholics they may attend a school where there are parallel classes in French for the Francophone Catholics of the district. In some of these schools there are no laboratories; none of the schools offers technical or commercial programmes. There are plans for further consolidation of secondary schools in Gaspé, but many students already travel considerable distances to go to school. Even by combining Anglophone Protestants and Roman Catholics in the consolidated schools, the numbers are probably too small to envisage composite high schools offering all the options available in urban schools. In spite of the many problems involved, Anglophones can attend English-language schools in areas such as Gaspé, even though their numbers are small—but the size of the population places inevitable limitations on choice of educational programmes.

### *C. Recommendations of the Parent Commission*

144. It is not easy to describe the place of English-speaking students in the educational systems of Quebec today, because the entire structure of education is being radically transformed. In 1961, the provincial government appointed a Royal Commission on Education to study "the organization and financing of education in the province." The

Parent Commission, as it is commonly called, submitted its report in five volumes between 1963 and 1966. Some of the recommendations of the Parent Commission have already been adopted and others are still under discussion. The changes envisaged by the commission are so sweeping and so comprehensive that if they are all introduced it is impossible to say with any certainty how they will affect the English-language educational institutions in the province. Our comments and our conclusions must be considered in the light of this fact.

The principle of  
a single provincial  
system

145. The Parent Commission was not directly concerned with the education of the Anglophone minority. Its recommendations covered the structure of education in the province and one of the underlying assumptions was that all schools should fit into a single administrative system. The recommendations of necessity involved some recognition of the distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant students and between Francophone and Anglophone students, but these distinctions were not to contradict the basic principle of a single provincial system designed to provide similar and equivalent educational opportunities for all children in the province.

The need for  
reforms

146. The commission concluded that major reforms were needed. The role of education was seen in the broad perspective of its importance to citizens living in a modern industrial society:

It is universally understood that the society of today—and even more that of tomorrow—makes unprecedented demands on education. For modern civilization to progress, and progress is a condition of its survival, every citizen without exception must have adequate schooling, and a very considerable number must receive advanced instruction. Hence the educational crisis is one aspect of a far-reaching crisis in civilization. A new world is emerging and seeks to fix its own image in terms of the educational reforms urged from every quarter. In such a world education faces problems on four major fronts; the explosive increase in the number of students, the current scientific and technological revolution, changes in living conditions and an accelerating shift in intellectual attitudes.<sup>1</sup>

147. These problems weighed heavily on the province of Quebec because, according to the commission, the educational system there had failed to respond to needs of a modern society. The aims should be to make education available to all children, to ensure that this education is appropriate to the needs and capacities of each student, and to prepare each child to earn his living and to assume his responsibilities as a citizen. Provincial reforms, however, had been delayed or frustrated by the fragmentation of education in the province, by the divisions between Roman Catholic and Protestant, French and English, academic and technical, public and private, and elementary, secondary, and

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, I (Montreal, 1963), § 83.



university levels. Given this situation, there could be no effective planning and no way to implement any plan which attempted to meet the needs of a modern society. How could the successive levels of education be co-ordinated to allow students to choose the programme best suited to their interests and abilities? How could programmes of studies be designed, tested, and revised? How could teachers be trained for the reformed system? And how could the money be found for a post-elementary student population which was expected to treble in size within 20 years? For the commission, the answer was obvious. It was essential that the fragments be integrated into a unified provincial system.

148. The commission concluded that such a system could only be established by the provincial government. According to the commission:

The role of provincial government

Private initiative certainly is unable effectively to carry out such ambitious objectives or suffice for so many tasks—construction, geographic allocation, co-ordination, recruitment of personnel, finance. Individual associations and establishments are each inclined to envision the educational problem from their own special point of view. The government must place these problems within a general perspective. The task cannot be entrusted to private agencies or individuals, however devoted they may be. To do so would result in the neglect of some areas. A master plan is needed, an orientation united to serve the common good, a general economy for the whole system which will avoid duplication, focus effort and establish budgetary priorities aimed at a better or more extensive use of present resources. This task of organization and finance properly belongs to the political authorities responsible for the common good.<sup>1</sup>

149. The commission therefore recommended that all educational services should be grouped in a single government department and that this department be given full authority over the entire system of education. The new department would be responsible for the co-ordination and unification of all parts and levels of the system, including all types of institutions—private and public, Roman Catholic and Protestant, French and English.

Recommendations for a new system

150. The commission then proceeded to discuss the co-ordinated and unified system which this department of Education should establish. The proposed system can be simply outlined. The typical student would attend kindergarten for one year, elementary school for six years, and secondary school for five years. The secondary schools would be comprehensive, with the orientation of the student towards academic, technical, or commercial programmes beginning in the third year. More radical was the proposal for a separate level of study interposed between secondary and higher education. The institutions which the com-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 125.

mission recommended would also be comprehensive, offering a two-year programme with a variety of options permitting students a degree of specialization appropriate whether they intended to find employment or go on to university. The commission then went on to the programmes of study at these various levels, discussing not only the broad aims and methods but also the pedagogical principles which should underlie the course of study for each subject. Great importance was given to the training of teachers.

Respect for  
diversity

151. In the final two volumes, the commission dealt directly with confessional, linguistic, and cultural diversity and proposed principles and safeguards at the school level which would respect this diversity within a unified administrative system. It is here that the immediate and obvious problems of the Anglophone minority arise, although almost every section of the Parent Commission report directly affects minority-language education in the province.

The moral rights  
of the English-  
language minority

152. The commission did not question the long-established right of the English-speaking students to be taught in their own language. It noted the fact that nothing in the B.N.A. Act obliged the province to provide English-language schools for the minority but went on to say that "in Quebec, the English-language schools have made secure for themselves a right to exist, which no one today, as far as we know, would think of contesting." Indeed the Commission went even further and instead of a reluctant acceptance of these schools it argued that they were a precious asset not only to the minority but to the province as a whole:

They satisfy needs which the English-speaking minority can rightly consider legitimate. They have even established within the school system of the province a noteworthy educational tradition and have made valuable cultural contributions to the society of Quebec as a whole. Therefore we believe that the English-language public schools should not only continue to exist, but that they must also progress in their own fashion.<sup>1</sup>

Wherever there were enough English-speaking students, the commission took it for granted that they would attend English-language schools. Outside the metropolitan areas this would not always be possible, especially at the secondary and post-secondary levels, and English-language classes would then have to be provided side by side with French-language classes in the same school. The right of Anglophones to be taught in their own language is so firmly embedded in the traditions of Quebec that such an arrangement could be taken for granted by the commission.

A co-ordinated  
system

153. The problem of the cultural orientation of the courses of study for English-speaking students required more consideration. As we have

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, IV (1966), § 160.

seen, both English-language Protestant and Roman Catholic schools have developed their own curricula. The commission was sharply critical of the confusion within the provincial educational system resulting from such diverse and unco-ordinated courses of study. Children of the same age studied different subjects or approached the same subjects in different ways, depending upon whether they were Anglophone or Francophone, Protestant or Roman Catholic, or even depending on the institution they attended. They might also require a different number of years to complete elementary, secondary, or post-secondary education. The commission proposed co-ordinated systems with similar courses of study for all students at each level, and with programmes of the same duration leading to equivalent diplomas. Few would deny the right of the provincial government to co-ordinate its educational system in this way. The problem, however, was whether it would be possible to distinguish between the cultural values of Anglophone and Francophone groups within such a co-ordinated system. English-speaking students might be taught in English, but could the new courses of study reflect their cultural identity and their cultural needs?

154. The commission foresaw little difficulty in co-ordinating the programmes of study for Anglophone and Francophone students. It rejected any distinction between the aims and methods of teaching such subjects as mathematics or the physical sciences to Francophones and Anglophones, and recommended that the programmes in these subjects should be the same regardless of language or confessionality. The teaching of Canadian history presented more difficulty, because the commission found it natural for Francophones to give more time to the era of New France and for Anglophones to be more interested in the post-Conquest period. Even here they recommended that the programmes "be the same, as far as outline is conceived, in French Schools and English Schools."<sup>1</sup>

One basic  
programme  
of studies

155. The teaching of French and English as subjects obviously required completely different courses of study. Even for the language programmes, however, the broad outlines were similar. The commission attached great importance to the teaching of the mother tongue, whether English or French, because such teaching "is at the very root of culture and education."<sup>2</sup> And, although it contrasted the problems involved in teaching English or French in North America, most of their proposals were applicable to the teaching of either language. And in both types of schools, either French or English was to be given priority as the second language taught, although English might be introduced later in the French-language schools because French, being a minority language

Mother-tongue  
and second-lan-  
guage teaching

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, III (1965), § 856; Recommendation 272.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, § 631.

in North America, is more vulnerable to anglicisms. For all students the second language was to be taught essentially as a mean of communicating with their compatriots.

156. In general, then, it is apparent that the commission assumed that the curriculum content should be similar for all students in the province. This is not to suggest that the cultural differences of the two groups were ignored.

Respect for  
cultural difference

157. The cultural values of each group were to be respected and fostered, but this was to be achieved not so much by differing curricula as by the emphasis on the teaching *of* the mother tongue and the teaching *in* the mother tongue. Minority-language schools in Quebec would reinforce the English Canadian culture, not because they would teach different subjects or teach subjects differently, but because they would teach in English and would give high priority to the teaching of English as a subject.

158. The commission did not attempt to outline in detail courses of study for all the subjects to be taught. It did, however, assess the special contributions each subject could make to the development of the student and suggest the most appropriate methods of attaining these objectives. In each case the commission assumed that the objectives would be the same for Francophone and Anglophone students; it recommended that the courses of study be based on the same pedagogical principles and that there be continuous contact and close co-operation between the two educational streams.

Recommendations  
for equivalent  
diplomas

159. Consistent with these recommendations, but even more radical in its impact on the existing systems, was the recommendation that educational programmes of the same duration should lead to equivalent diplomas. Elementary school consisted of seven grades in both the Roman Catholic and Protestant systems; the commission recommended that this be reduced to six. The changes recommended for the secondary level were more drastic. The commission proposed a secondary level which would be a direct extension of the elementary, with a five-year programme in which a system of options would permit specialization and streaming within a comprehensive secondary school. Students would then go on to the two-year comprehensive institutes<sup>1</sup> and from there to the university or to the work world. This proposed structure would not radically change the existing English-language schools in the province. Comprehensive high schools have already been introduced, and the combined length of the primary and secondary programmes would remain unchanged. The two-year pre-university programme of the institute has no counterpart in the existing order but, as the commission noted, the institutes would relieve the English-language uni-

<sup>1</sup> These institutes have been established under the name "General and Professional Colleges"—Collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel (CEGEP).

versities of the heavy enrolment in the more elementary courses now offered. The impact of the new structures would be much greater on the existing French-language régime in the province because the classical college, so long the control institution, would be completely transformed.

160. This co-ordinated sequence, with its four levels of institutions—elementary, secondary, institute, and university—is obviously complicated by the linguistic and confessional divisions within the province. The Parent Commission recognized English and French as languages of instruction. In addition, it recognized the traditional distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant students. Indeed, it went even further and argued that these two confessional categories were no longer inclusive enough to encompass all students, and it recommended a further category which it called non-confessional. Wherever possible, there would be schools providing a linguistic and religious atmosphere appropriate to the student. Since in each official-language group there would be some students in each of the three religious categories, this could mean up to six types of schools. These recommendations demonstrate the determination of the commission to propose an educational system that would reflect the cultural diversity within the province, in spite of the evident administrative complexity. Even the obvious need for an integrated and co-ordinated system had to be shaped in such a way as to recognize and protect the various cultural groups.

Cultural and linguistic diversity within a co-ordinated system

161. The solution proposed by the commission was to recommend that, wherever warranted, separate elementary and secondary schools should be provided to meet the linguistic and religious preferences of parents, although there was to be a unified administrative structure into which all these schools would be integrated; this structure would be neutral as far as language and religion were concerned. The recommendations dealing with the administrative structures will be discussed later; the immediate question is how the divisions at the elementary and secondary levels would affect the Anglophone minority.

162. In an ideal situation the proposals would provide the parents with a wider choice of schools than now exists. Anglophone parents would be able to send their children to Protestant, Roman Catholic, or non-confessional English-language schools.

163. But this diversity would not always be possible. The commission went on to explain: "However, we have maintained that the right of everyone to an education of the best possible quality has priority over the demands of pluralism; the state can agree to diversify education in parallel sectors only if at the same time it is able to ensure equally and for all the education they require."<sup>1</sup> The commission believed that

Priority for a high standard of education

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, IV (1966), § 246.

one of the prerequisites for a good education was a school with an adequate library, audio-visual aids, and a gymnasium—a school where students in each grade could be grouped in classes according to their capacities and interests. Inevitably this means schools with large enrolments. At the elementary level, for example, it can be assumed that every village would have an elementary school, but if this school is to provide the quality and kind of education considered desirable, a minimum enrolment of 700 might be required. At the secondary level the commission suggested a minimum enrolment of 1,000, and for the two-year institutes the suggested minimum was 1,500. If these proposed figures were rigidly adhered to, it clearly would be impossible to provide the six different types of schools discussed, except in a metropolitan centre such as Montreal.

Suggested  
compromises for  
confessionality

164. The commission suggested certain compromises to meet situations where enrolment would be insufficient to justify duplication of schools at the elementary and secondary levels. It suggested, for example, that non-confessional schools at the elementary level might be opened with a minimum of 200 students and non-confessional secondary schools with a minimum of 500 to 600 students.<sup>1</sup> Where the enrolment fell short of these minimums, it argued for a system of tolerance within the existing school. Students would be exempted from religious instruction and religious observances on the request of the parents, and teachers would have to respect the religious convictions of the minority. The institutes—which because of their size would almost certainly include students of different religious beliefs—would not have a confessional character, although religious instruction could be offered.

Language rights  
take precedence

165. The division on the basis of language did not permit such compromises. The commission took it for granted that English-speaking children should be taught in English and any suggestions for grouping students together were based on this assumption. Even the traditional separation of Roman Catholics and Protestants might be modified in order to achieve the necessary enrolment for English-language instruction. As an example of the attitude of the commission we can cite the following paragraph:

In several parts of the province where the density of the English-speaking population is very low, recourse should be had to special solutions in order to conform to the requirements of secondary education. The bi-confessional school—common to Roman Catholic and Protestant—will certainly be one solution deserving consideration. Under certain circumstances, the flexibility of programmes may make it possible to offer separate courses to two different groups of students, and then to unite them for secular studies. Certain prayers can be recited in common, others being

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 125.

repeated in silence by individual students at the beginning of class. Administration of the institution can be entrusted jointly to a Roman Catholic and a Protestant principal and the same division of functions would apply to engaging teachers and selecting text-books and teaching materials. In a number of towns and regions throughout the province, this solution would permit the establishment, with mutual respect for divergent religious beliefs, of truly excellent English-language secondary schools.<sup>1</sup>

166. Thus, for all students in the province, regardless of language or creed, the commission recommended the same sequence from elementary school to university; within that sequence, the same subjects would be taught and the programme of study for each subject would be similar. Within this uniform curriculum, however, the Anglophones would have schools conforming to or at least respecting their individual religious beliefs. And in all cases the students would study their mother tongue as a subject and would be taught in their mother tongue. There can be no question that the Parent Commission recommendations thus far are a clear and unequivocal recognition of the moral right of the Anglophone minority to have schools which respect their cultural identity.

167. Public schools, however, cannot be isolated from an administrative system: there must be a central authority to plan and supervise the programme, to ensure that trained teachers are available, that buildings, equipment, and teaching aids are provided, and that money is found to meet the costs of education. In the past the Protestant schools were part of an almost completely autonomous system and Anglophone Catholic schools had been conceded a comparable autonomy in practice. This autonomy was seen as a guarantee that English-language education in Quebec would be responsive to the distinctive needs of the minority and would continue to reflect its distinctive aspirations. The Parent Commission, however, has directly challenged this autonomy. It advocates a co-ordinated and integrated system encompassing all schools—Protestant, Roman Catholic, and non-confessional; French and English. Under the proposed system the provincial government would not devolve its authority upon the Protestant and Catholic committees.

168. The commission intended that the major decisions on education would be made by the provincial government, and major recommendations of the commission dealing with the central administrative authority were more concerned with a unified system of public education than with protecting cultural diversity. The first of these recommendations was that there should be "a Minister of Education, whose function shall be to promote and co-ordinate educational services at all levels."<sup>2</sup>

A unified  
administration

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, § 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I (1963), § 143, Recommendation 1.

All the administrative organizations would then be consolidated in a department of Education responsible to this cabinet minister. The commission also suggested that this department should be organized in three divisions, respectively responsible for teaching, administration, and planning. Instead of an English-language Protestant school system under a separate director, Protestant schools would thus be an integral part of the provincial system. Even the advisory Superior Council of Education which the commission proposed would not be divided along religious or linguistic lines, but would function as a united body. The rigid separation of Protestant and Roman Catholic at the administrative level was to be a thing of the past.

Safeguards for the  
official-language  
minority

169. This did not mean, however, that there were no safeguards to ensure that the minority point of view would be adequately represented. The commission recommended the appointment of an associate deputy minister whose primary concern would be the Protestant schools within the system. A distinction would also be made between Protestant and Roman Catholic schools within the divisions of the department of Education where it seemed appropriate. Many of the administrative services would be common to all schools, but in the teaching division of the department there would be a separate curriculum section for Protestant schools and a separate section responsible for examinations and for inspection in these schools. The commission was concerned that "obviously such provisions involve the danger of allowing autonomous administrative bodies to grow up within the Ministry,"<sup>1</sup> but it believed that close liaison between the Protestant and Roman Catholic officials within the department and the final authority of the deputy minister and minister would ensure the desired co-ordination.<sup>2</sup>

Bill 60

170. The provincial government has already acted on these recommendations. The first section of the Parent report, which proposed a department of Education, was tabled in April 1963. Bill 60, which was to establish this department, was introduced two months later but was subsequently withdrawn and reintroduced with some amendments at the next session of the legislature. The amended bill became law in March 1964. The bill inevitably provoked wide-ranging discussion be-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, I (1963), § 159.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that this representation of the minority within the department refers to Protestant rather than to English-language schools. This reflects the constitutional guarantees to the minority in the B.N.A. Act, which refer to confessional rather than linguistic divisions, and the traditional emphasis on confessionalism in Quebec education. In the context of the commission report, however, and also in the context of education in the past, Protestant is often used almost as a synonym for the Anglophone minority. A strict interpretation of the recommendations would suggest that Anglophone Roman Catholics might have no representation within the department of Education; the commission clearly intended, however, that English-language Catholic schools would come under the Protestant sections of the department when the common language made this appropriate.



cause it accepted the principle of a co-ordinated system of education with a minister of Education and a department of Education and so would radically transform the existing systems. Although the principle seems to have been generally accepted, many fears were expressed that the confessional character of education was not adequately guaranteed.<sup>1</sup> The amendments to the original bill were a response to these fears and in its final form the unification of the Protestant and Catholic systems was not as complete as the Parent Commission had proposed.

171. The newly created department of Education has a minister and a deputy minister. Instead of one associate deputy minister, there are two, and "under the authority of the minister and deputy minister and having regard to the need for co-ordination in the Department, each associate deputy minister shall be responsible for the guidance and general direction of the schools recognized as Catholic and Protestant, as the case may be."<sup>2</sup> Similarly the Superior Council was to have a membership reflecting the major religious divisions in the province; it was to be supported by Protestant and Roman Catholic committees whose primary responsibility was to supervise the religious and moral aspects of education, including teachers' qualifications, curricula, and textbooks. Bill 60 thus gives more direct representation to the confessional aspects of education than the Parent Commission had proposed. It nonetheless affirms the principle of a co-ordinated system of public education and the main divisions of the department of Education are not along confessional or linguistic lines.

172. It is not surprising that many English-language associations and individuals expressed misgivings about the proposals of the Parent Commission and the details of Bill 60. The minority in Quebec, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, was reasonably satisfied with its educational system and the demands for reform had come from the majority. As Léon Dion observed in his study of pressure groups and Bill 60, "being generally of the opinion that the present system of education for Anglophones in Quebec is satisfactory, it was normal for the spokesmen of this group to incline predominantly to favour the status quo."<sup>3</sup> Given a situation in which the minority had separate and almost independent school systems in practice, they were naturally apprehensive about a co-ordinated provincial system.

173. The recommendations of the Parent Commission, however, went far beyond administrative reorganization at the departmental level.

Reaction of the  
English-language  
minority

The rights of  
parents

<sup>1</sup> For the discussion see Paul Gérin-Lajoie, *Pourquoi le Bill 60* (Montreal, 1963), and Léon Dion, *Le Bill 60 et le public* (Montreal, 1966).

<sup>2</sup> Act to establish the Department of Education and the Superior Council of Education, S.Q. 1964, 12-13 Eliz. II, c.15, s.1.

<sup>3</sup> Dion, *Le Bill 60 et le public*, 80. See Appendix IV for original French version. See also Léon Dion, *Le Bill 60 et la société québécoise* (Montreal, 1967).

The commission had proposed a variety of schools—French or English, Protestant, Catholic, or non-confessional. For each of these elementary or secondary schools there was to be a school committee elected by the parents of the students. This committee would determine the linguistic and confessional character of the school and would cooperate closely with the teachers; its responsibilities would be pedagogical rather than administrative and financial.

Regional  
commissions

174. The key administrative bodies would be the regional school commissions. These regional commissions were justified on much the same grounds as consolidated school boards in most parts of Canada. The many advantages of consolidation are almost self-evident. The radical innovation proposed by the Parent Commission was not the consolidation of school districts but the recommendation that each regional school commission should administer all the schools in the region, whether English or French, Protestant, Roman Catholic, or non-confessional. The commission argued that only in this way could all groups within a region be assured of comparable educational facilities. Linguistic and confessional minorities would benefit from the specialized facilities which only a regional commission responsible for a large number of schools could provide. This is particularly important in parts of the province where the minority is widely scattered; no minority regional commission would be able to provide all these services. The proposed regional commissions would also simplify the financial administration. There would no longer be any necessity for separate tax-rolls for Protestants and Roman Catholics, nor the complication of allocating taxes collected from corporations, and all taxpayers within the same region would be taxed at the same rate. The Parent Commission admitted that the Protestants would have less administrative autonomy than under the existing system, but it argued that minority rights would be adequately protected. Each of the local school committees would participate in the election of the regional commission, so the official-language minority would normally be represented on the commission. The surest guarantee for the linguistic minority, however, was the previous experience of the Anglophone Roman Catholics under the existing Catholic school commissions:

Indeed, experience has shown that English-language Roman Catholic education was able to attain its present stature thanks to local school commissions administering both French and English schools. In many places, one or more English-language classes were inaugurated in French schools; wherever the English-speaking population was large enough, the school commission built an English-language Roman Catholic School at the most convenient location. Although there are no provisions to that effect, except in Montreal, the English-speaking population has generally been represented on commissions as a result of more or less explicit agreements. Past experience in the Roman

Catholic sector therefore leads us to believe that in Quebec a single school commission administering both French-language and English-language schools offers sufficient guarantees of mutual respect on the part of the two linguistic groups and makes it possible for us to recommend that the regional commission be vested with jurisdiction over all public education both French and English. In view of the low density of the English-speaking Roman Catholic and Protestant population outside the Montreal area, this will most certainly be the only way of ensuring English-language instruction of equal quality in many portions of the province.<sup>1</sup>

175. Language, however, is not the only issue at stake and it may not be the most important cause of uneasiness for the Anglophone minority. It is true that the proposed changes do not provide a specific legal guarantee of the right to instruction in the English language, but there is no such guarantee under the present system. For English-speaking Protestants, however, the administrative recommendations of the Parent Commission do imply significant changes in their educational régime. In the past, the Protestant school system has been treated fairly and even generously. Protestant boards had the right to establish the tax rate to be levied on properties of the Protestant school supporters; the boards often levied taxes at a higher rate than the Catholic boards and, because the average assessment of their supporters was higher than the provincial average, the property tax revenue was considerably greater. Under the proposed reorganization of the regional school commissions, this separation of Protestant and Catholic school revenues would disappear. All property owners in the region would pay the same tax rate and the revenues of the regional school commission would be uniformly expended regardless of the linguistic or confessional character of the schools involved. There is some concern among the minority that, while this policy may raise the academic standards of the Roman Catholic schools in a region, it may at the same time lower the standards of the existing Protestant schools.

176. It would be misleading to discuss this apprehension solely in the context of the Parent report. The recommendation for a single school commission for each region is still no more than a recommendation and may not be adopted by the provincial government. But the equalization of per-student revenues on a regional and even a provincial basis is already government policy and, whatever the eventual administrative structure will be, the disparity between Protestant and Roman Catholic schools will disappear. The new policy is already being implemented and there is no likelihood that it will be reversed.

177. Equalization is an almost inevitable result of the spiralling expenditures on education in recent years. The local property tax

Implications of  
a uniform tax rate

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, IV (Montreal, 1966), § 252.

provided 80 per cent of school revenues in the province until the end of World War II. Actual revenues from this source have significantly increased since that time, but the proportion has declined until now this tax provides less than half the revenue of provincial school commissions. The balance comes mainly from provincial grants. The higher costs of education and the willingness of provincial governments—in Quebec as elsewhere—to meet these costs, reflect the increasing awareness of the social and economic benefits of education. Instead of being purely a community responsibility, education is now seen in the context of provincial interests. The ultimate purpose of provincial grants for education is to improve educational standards within the province, but they are also designed to equalize educational opportunities throughout the province.

178. Few people would question the necessity of provincial grants to supplement the revenues of school commissions; nor would they challenge the principle of financial equalization in the province. It is inconceivable that any representative of the minority would argue that the provincial government should provide a better education for the minority than for the majority. The concern that the educational standards of the minority may decline, even temporarily, during the process of equalization is legitimate, but it can hardly justify continuing disparity. In any case the recommendations of the Parent Commission and the many statements by government spokesmen should allay this concern. The government has declared its vital concern with raising educational standards to the highest possible level and has stated that it intends to provide the large sums needed to achieve this goal. There has been no suggestion that the revenues of Protestant schools will be reduced.

179. It is nonetheless true that, if single regional school commissions are established, the Protestant minority in a specific region will no longer be able to increase the expenditures on minority education unilaterally. Such an increase in the local tax rate would only be possible if the majority on the regional commission agreed, and the benefits would be shared by English- and French-language schools alike within the region. In principle, however, this is no different from the situation in consolidated school districts in other provinces. The underlying assumption that only a majority should impose such a policy does not seem incongruous.

#### *D. Summary*

180. In summary, the educational structures within Quebec are undergoing radical changes and, until the new structure is complete,

nobody can speak with assurance about the educational régime which will be available to the linguistic minority. The virtual autonomy of the Protestant school system has already been compromised to some extent by Bill 60 and will probably be restricted even more as the policy of a co-ordinated provincial system is extended. The changes will also affect the English Roman Catholic schools in many ways. None of these changes, however, implies the elimination of English-language schools and, indeed, the continuation of these schools within the emerging system is taken for granted and need not be questioned. Our concern is to what extent the linguistic and cultural identity of the minority is likely to be recognized and fostered by the new educational system in the province.

181. One point is clearly established. The English-speaking minority has been given official status within the department of Education and the Superior Council of Education. Although this legal recognition is based on religion rather than language, it is clear that Protestant will be equated with English-speaking when the language needs of the Roman Catholic Anglophone minority are involved.

182. A second point is also clearly established. The right of the minority to English-language schools has not been questioned. The Parent Commission suggested minimum enrolments which would close some schools. At the same time, however, the commission assumed that the principle of instruction in English for English-speaking students could be adhered to in almost all cases by special transportation arrangements, by grouping Anglophone Protestant and Roman Catholic students, and by establishing English-language classes in majority schools where necessary.

183. It is less easy to decide whether the English-language schools in the future will adequately reflect the distinctive cultural needs of the minority. The new administrative structures will ensure that Anglophone officials will be involved in the administrative planning and in preparing any new programmes, but they do not guarantee that decisions will reflect cultural differences apart from language. There is no guarantee, and there can be no guarantee, because nobody can define such cultural differences with any assurance. What is more, cultural differences cannot easily be dissociated from language. It may be, as the Parent Commission suggests, that language is the central element in cultural identity and that the structures of thought and the emotional content of the language are the basis of cultural distinctions. When it is remembered that language teaching includes a study of the literary heritage of the cultural group and when, in addition, the course of study for history is intended to acquaint students with the history of their society, there is certainly some assurance that the minority

English-language schools in Quebec will preserve and foster the cultural identity of this minority.

184. The Parent Commission has dealt directly with the question of the need for the minority to learn the language of the majority in Quebec, and no doubt this aspect of minority-language education in Quebec will be of increasing concern to educators in the English-language régime. Minority-language schools for the Francophones in the other provinces have been expected to graduate bilingual students or at least to give their students a solid knowledge of the majority language. It appears obvious that the English-speaking student should be similarly equipped to participate in Quebec in the language of the majority.

185. The historical survey in Chapter III was intended to be only an introduction to the school systems in English-speaking provinces. We do not propose to describe these systems in detail. Our aim is to analyze the educational opportunities for the French-speaking minorities in the various provinces outside Quebec. We are well aware of the many changes which have been undertaken and other changes which are in the planning stage to increase the educational opportunities for the Francophone minorities outside Quebec. But these proposed reforms are of very recent date. Without a clear picture of the severe restrictions which up to the present time have been placed on French-language education in most English-speaking provinces, and of the confused situation in others, it will be impossible for English-speaking Canadians to understand the seriousness and the urgency of the need for reform. Recent evidence of a change in attitude on the part of most of these provinces towards the educational requirements of their French-speaking minorities is impressive, but the following description will show how far-reaching and profound the changes will have to be if the intention to provide an adequate French-language education is to be realized.

186. The departments of Education in the English-speaking provinces have never based their programmes on the right of Canadian parents to educate their children in the official language of their choice. Each of the provinces responded to the needs of the minority group in its own way. Those concessions allowed in the English-speaking provinces were made in response to persistent pressures from the Francophone minorities. The result was a lack of co-ordination and very limited opportunities in French-language education in these provinces.

187. One illustration of the confusing variety of educational patterns for the French-speaking minorities is the use of the term "bilingual

"Bilingual  
schools"

schools." Theoretically, any school in which the two languages are used might be called "bilingual." A "bilingual school" where both French and English are languages of instruction might have two parallel streams of students, with each stream studying in only one language, or it might have a single stream with all students studying some subjects in one language and some subjects in the other. The range of possibilities is so great that the term "bilingual schools" can only be broadly defined. In Canada, however, the term is often used officially, with the implication that a specific type of school is being referred to. The term is applied in English-speaking provinces to provincial schools in which the students are French-speaking; it suggests that both French and English are normal languages of instruction. In fact, however, English may be the sole language of instruction, with French being used only during those periods assigned to the teaching of French as a subject, or French may be the sole language of instruction with English being used only to teach English as a subject. Such schools can hardly be considered bilingual. Many of these so-called bilingual schools fall between these two extremes and, for these schools at least, the term is more appropriate. The classification of these schools becomes even more difficult, however, because the use of French and English may vary from one "bilingual school" to the next within the same province and from one grade to the next within the same school. Not only is the term vague, but it may also be misleading because it is often assumed that there is a uniform language pattern within "bilingual schools." We propose to substitute the term "minority-language schools" in discussing the régime of the future, in order to avoid confusion.

An unresolved  
question

188. The French-speaking minorities have expressed increasing dissatisfaction over the last few years and, as a result, the provincial governments have introduced new measures or policies. At the same time, the evidence of dissatisfaction and the many recent innovations are salutary reminders that the controversy over the place of the minorities within the existing school systems has not yet been resolved. Therefore, the first step towards understanding what needs to be done is to examine the present situation within the existing systems.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. Ontario

189. The *modus vivendi* that followed the disputes over Regulation 17 permitted the use of French as a language of instruction without clearly defining the nature of "bilingual" schools. Even today it is impossible to speak with assurance of the extent to which French is

<sup>1</sup> However, we would point out that, because the situation is fluid, some changes may be overlooked or their implications may not be fully understood.



used in these elementary schools in Ontario, because each school establishes its own pattern. There have been changes in recent years and a greater use of French as a language of instruction has been permitted in both elementary and secondary schools. This toleration and even encouragement of French has had obvious limitations. French-language schools or classes could not be an integral part of a provincial school system which remained oriented towards the education of the English-speaking majority. Either the system would have to be restructured to give adequate recognition to both languages, or the French-language schools and classes would have to be organized into a separate French-language system.

190. On May 30, 1968, the provincial minister of Education introduced legislation which he could legitimately describe as "historic."<sup>1</sup> The bills to which the minister referred provide for French-language schools or classes at both the elementary and secondary levels. Instead of an almost clandestine *modus vivendi*, French is to be permitted as the legal language of instruction in elementary schools, and for the first time it will also be permitted as the normal language of instruction in secondary schools. The legislation is intended to ensure that French-speaking students will have the opportunity of receiving their education in French. It thus accords with the principle enunciated in the first Book of our *Report*—that Anglophone and Francophone parents should have the right to have their children educated in their own language—and represents a significant forward step.<sup>2</sup> But we must add the cautionary reminder that the legal recognition of French as a language of instruction does not ensure an adequate system of education for the Francophone minority.

Radical  
legislative  
changes

191. In order to examine the present system in Ontario we must describe the educational opportunities that have been available to the Francophone minority in the past, while noting the changes already foreshadowed by the new legislation. Some of our conclusions will necessarily be tentative because a new régime of minority-language education, while clearly taking shape, is still embryonic. We believe that our description will suggest many areas where careful planning is still required before the educational opportunities for the minority will be adequate.

### 1. Elementary schools

192. When French-speaking children first go to school in Ontario, the probability now is that they will go to a "bilingual" school. There

"Bilingual"  
schools—a local  
decision

<sup>1</sup> Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, May 30, 1968, 3638-42. After signing this Book of the *Report*, the Commissioners approved certain textual additions in order to take into account relevant legislation and other events occurring after May 23, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, I, § 389.

has been no law stating that these schools must be provided; the decision has been up to the local school boards. Since Franco-Ontarians are concentrated in certain regions, the likelihood is that these schools will exist, but where the proportion of French-speaking children is small or where the Francophones are recent immigrants, French-speaking parents have had no recourse but to appeal to the goodwill of the school board. These boards were often reluctant to establish "bilingual" schools. If the appeal fell on deaf ears, the parents had to send their children to English-language schools or pay for a private school. Since these isolated Francophone parents were seldom numerous enough or rich enough to support a private school, this alternative was little more than a theoretical possibility.

193. New legislation, to take effect in 1969, will end this dependence on the goodwill of the local authorities. In future, when 10 or more Francophone ratepayers submit a written request and when there are enough students to justify it, the school board is required to provide classes or even a school in which French will be the language of instruction.<sup>1</sup> What in the past has been a privilege will in future be a legal right.

A confused  
language  
situation

194. At present, a "bilingual" school differs from the other elementary schools in the province in that the children are taught in French for the first few grades at least. This is essential if the children are to be taught anything at all—French may be the only language they know, and it is almost certainly the language they know best. But the teaching of English as a subject begins in the first grade and in theory English gradually replaces French as the language of instruction in the following grades as the child's knowledge of the second language increases. French is taught as a subject to the end of elementary school and is allotted the same amount of time as English in the course of study. If the transition to English as the language of instruction reflects the assumption that a high competence in English is a prerequisite for advanced education or success in the work world in Ontario, one would expect a carefully developed course of study for teaching English to French-speaking children. Instead, these children follow the programme designed to teach English grammar, composition, and literature to Anglophones; the only difference is that they begin the programme at a later grade. Thus French-speaking children have been expected to study French at a level roughly equivalent to the French taught in the French-language schools in Quebec, to study English at a level comparable to the English taught in the English-

<sup>1</sup>The Schools Administration Amendment Act, 1968. A separate class is to be provided if a minimum of 30 students at the primary, junior, or intermediate division can be grouped into a class.

language schools of Ontario, and to make the transition from French to English as the language of instruction in all the other school subjects. The "bilingual" schools of Ontario obviously present a challenge to both the teachers and the students.

195. In practice the pattern often breaks down. Even when English textbooks are used and examinations are written in English, the teacher often finds that problems are better understood if explanations are given in French. The teachers may not even be conscious of the fact that French becomes the language of instruction. As one example of this, a sociologist who attended classes in one "bilingual" school reported that "instruction in science was carried out in English but students were unable to ask or answer questions in English despite reprimands from the teacher. The names of even the simplest materials such as 'salt' had to be translated as the class proceeded."<sup>1</sup> Under these circumstances a science teacher who wants his students to learn about science will be inclined to teach in French. This situation is most likely to arise in areas where there is little or no contact with English, as for example in some rural communities in northern Ontario. The continued use of French as a language of instruction doubtless also reflects the determination to protect the mother tongue by retaining it as long as possible as the language of communication in the school.

196. In any case, the variety in language use within "bilingual" schools makes it almost impossible to summarize the existing situation. By Grade VIII, children may be taught every subject except French in English or, at the other extreme, they may be taught every subject except English in French. The probability is that most textbooks will be in English, most tests will be written in English, but that both French and English will be used in the classrooms.

197. The new legislation will bring some order into this confusion. Instead of "bilingual" schools, the minority will have French-language schools. The language of instruction will be French for all subjects. English as a subject of instruction will be obligatory from Grade V. In introducing this legislation the minister also referred to work now being done within the department of Education to prepare English courses specially designed for French-speaking pupils.

198. Children attending a "bilingual" elementary school, or one of the proposed French-language schools, will almost certainly be enrolled in what is officially known as a separate school. These are Roman Catholic confessional schools in which approximately half an hour each school day is set aside for religious instruction, and in which the teachers may be nuns or priests as well as laymen. The time allotted

"Bilingual"  
and separate  
schools

<sup>1</sup> Richard A. Carlton, "Differential Educational Achievement in a Bilingual Community" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967), 103.

to other subjects is reduced to make room for religious instruction and for French, but otherwise the course of study is similar in separate and public (or non-confessional) elementary schools.<sup>1</sup> There are a few exceptional "bilingual" schools in Ontario which are not separate schools. Most of these schools are in rural areas where all the students are Roman Catholics and the "bilingual" school has been classified as the public school of the district almost by historical accident.<sup>2</sup> Public "bilingual" schools offer French as a subject as do the separate schools, but there is no time allotted to religious instruction.

A difficult adjustment

199. Elementary school is only the first phase of education in Ontario. English-speaking children almost automatically go on to a public secondary school. The transition involves going to a different school with different teachers, but the curriculum is a continuation of the elementary course of study. For French-speaking children graduating from a "bilingual" and separate elementary school, the transition may not be so easy. These children have been attending a school in many ways isolated from other elementary schools in the province. When they arrive at a public secondary school it may be far more difficult for them to adjust to the new system.

200. This is partly because of the religious environment of the separate schools. Religion is taught as a subject in separate schools, but probably more significant is the fact that many of the teachers, even in other subjects, are nuns or teaching brothers. The courses of study are little different from those of the public elementary schools, but the environment is different. For a Roman Catholic student, the presence of religious orders in the school seems almost part of the natural order of things. The public secondary school, with its non-sectarian philosophy and its exclusion of the clergy from the staff, is in sharp contrast. Not only is the environment different, but to many Roman Catholic parents it seems hostile. For the first few weeks at least, the secondary school is a much more alien environment to the graduates of separate schools than to those who have attended non-confessional elementary schools.

201. There has been another factor complicating the adaptation of French-speaking children to public secondary schools. English is the normal language of instruction in these schools and the teachers usually cannot speak French. If the children do not understand an explanation, there will be no resort to their mother tongue to clarify the meaning. A teacher may even conclude that the children are dull or backward,

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<sup>1</sup>Not all separate schools are "bilingual," for Anglophone Roman Catholics in Ontario may also attend confessional elementary schools.

<sup>2</sup>In Welland, for example, the "bilingual" school is administered by the public school board at the request of the Francophone community.

instead of realizing that they do not fully understand. And even if he is bilingual, a teacher cannot go into detailed explanations for the benefit of the French-speaking children alone because he has also to consider the other members of the class. Even if these children speak English well, it is their second language and they are certain to encounter some difficulties. A year or two may pass before they are able to compete on almost equal terms with their English-speaking classmates. For some Francophones the challenge and the feeling of isolation may be too great.

202. The problem of language is further complicated by psychological factors. Most Francophone parents are satisfied to have their children learn English well, but at the same time they are concerned that they know French. These parents know that language is a skill which must be acquired and then retained by constant use. For many of them the predominance of English at the secondary level has been a matter of deep regret, if not resentment. This attitude has almost certainly affected the attitude of the student towards the secondary school.

The parents'  
attitude

203. The new legislation is intended to eliminate the language difficulties involved in the transition of Francophone students from elementary to secondary school. The aim is to establish French-language secondary schools in the province. English will be a compulsory subject, but all other subjects will be taught in French. In several centres, the local school boards have already taken steps to implement this policy and some French-language secondary schools opened in the fall of 1968, even though the legislation only comes into force in 1969.<sup>1</sup>

204. The secondary school may still present obstacles for the French-speaking student. A crucial question—but one which is very difficult to answer with confidence—concerns the academic standards in “bilingual” schools and in the proposed French-language elementary schools. When French-speaking children arrive at the secondary school, will they be as well trained in mathematics or science or history as the graduates of English-language elementary schools? Or will the fact that they have attended a “bilingual” school for eight years mean that they are academically handicapped by comparison with their fellow students at the secondary level? The place of language and religion in the school is unquestionably important to Francophone parents and children, but these two aspects of school life must be seen in relation to the academic function of the school and the necessity of a solid grounding in other subjects.

Academic  
standards in  
“bilingual”  
schools

<sup>1</sup>Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, May 30, 1968, 3642. The official title of the legislation is *The Secondary Schools and Boards of Education Act, 1968*.

205. There is no easy answer to this question of academic standards because the problem is complex. Academic aptitude and achievement tests are standard tools for assigning students to classes or even to school programmes, but they are not an adequate measure of a student's previous schooling. Academic achievement is not determined by the school alone. Research has shown that social or economic factors also affect the work of a child in school. In general, students in rural schools, students from lower income groups, students from large families, or students whose parents have had little formal education will be less successful in school than the average. Only an analysis which takes such factors into account can throw any light on the question of whether the "bilingual" elementary schools in Ontario have provided an education inferior to that offered in the other elementary schools of the province.

The Carnegie  
study

206. Fortunately there is some data bearing on these questions for a selected group of students in Ontario. The Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School began with every student enrolled in Grade IX in the public and private schools of Ontario in 1959 and followed the careers of these students through secondary school. As part of this study, every student was given a battery of tests to measure academic aptitude and achievement in English and mathematics. The data were analyzed for us by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.<sup>1</sup> The analysis classified the students on the basis of the chief language spoken in the home. Of the 82,500 Grade IX students involved, 71,819 came from Anglophone homes, 4,850 from Francophone homes, and 5,831 from homes where neither English nor French was the chief language.

207. The tests themselves were standardized tests prepared for Ontario schools. The Canadian Academic Aptitude Test (CAAT) had three parts: verbal, mathematical, and non-verbal reasoning. The Canadian English Achievement Test (CEAT), also in three parts, was designed to test reading achievement, knowledge of grammar, and effectiveness of expression. The Canadian Mathematics Achievement Test (CMAT) tested arithmetic computation, knowledge of arithmetical terms and concepts, and arithmetic problems of measurement. Each of the nine parts was to be completed in half an hour. It is also important to note that all the tests were in English.

208. The results showed that students from Anglophone homes scored slightly better than those from homes where neither French nor English was the chief language, but in all the tests the students

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<sup>1</sup> This information is taken from A. J. C. King and C. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

from Francophone homes received scores significantly lower than either of the other two groups.<sup>1</sup> This stark fact presents a disturbing picture of the academic level of French-speaking students in Ontario. Since the Carnegie study includes almost all the Grade IX students in Ontario in 1959, one would expect a random distribution; instead, all the tests proved to be much more difficult for the Francophones than for the other two groups.

209. There is no reason to assume that these students were intellectually inferior. The language barrier is one possibility, but there is some evidence that it is not a decisive factor in explaining the marks of the French-language group. Francophones scored almost as poorly on the non-verbal academic aptitude test (CAAT III) and the mathematics tests (CMAT) as on the English achievement tests (CEAT). Furthermore, in a study prepared for the Commission, the mathematics achievement tests (CMAT I, II, III) were administered to students in the English-language and "bilingual" schools in a Northern Ontario community, with the tests translated for the "bilingual" school students, and again the marks of the French-speaking students were much lower.<sup>2</sup>

210. There are other possible explanations. We have noted that many socio-economic factors have a significant effect on academic achievement. By and large, the French-speaking students in Ontario are associated with socio-economic factors adversely affecting this achievement. Their parents are likely to be less well educated, with smaller incomes and larger families, than the parents of other students in Ontario. It is also possible that the attitude of Francophone parents and children towards education is different—that they might be less convinced of the importance of education or might have a different expectation from their education. It may, however, be true that French-speaking children attending "bilingual" elementary schools, isolated in so many ways from the other elementary schools in the province, have been less well prepared academically. We must inevitably return to these various hypotheses because it is only by analyzing the causes of the academic backwardness of Francophones in Ontario that we can arrive at recommendations to remedy the situation.

Socio-economic  
factors

<sup>1</sup> For the first two academic aptitude tests (CAAT I and CAAT II), more than 80 per cent of the Francophones fell below the mean for all students and more than half of them were in the fourth quartile. For the "other-language" group, slightly more than half fell below the mean and close to the probable 25 per cent were in the fourth quartile. Even on the non-verbal tests (CAAT III), where a knowledge of English was less important, the performance of the Francophone groups was markedly inferior to that of the other two groups. Similar results emerged from the other tests. On both the English tests (CEAT) and the mathematics tests (CMAT) the distribution of the scores of the "other-language" group was approximately the same as for the Anglophone group, but the scores of the Francophone group were concentrated in the lower part of the scale.

<sup>2</sup> Carlton "Differential Educational Achievement," 215, Table XIII.

## 2. Secondary schools

A difficult transition

211. For young Franco-Ontarians, as well as for their parents, the transition to a secondary school has seemed to involve many hazards. As Roman Catholics, they may have had a suspicion that a secular school depreciates the importance of religion in daily life. As Francophones, they may have had the feeling that the school, because it offered most of its instruction in English, depreciated the importance of French as a living language. French-speaking students have been less adequately prepared for their secondary studies than their English-speaking classmates, so apprehensions about the new school have often been reinforced by a sense of inadequacy or even inferiority.

A response to the needs of Francophones

212. The Ontario department of Education has made some attempts in recent years to adjust the standard secondary school programme to more adequately fit the needs of French-speaking students. French as a subject is now taught to French-speaking students in a more advanced programme, and many of the textbooks and readings are the same as those used in Quebec. This special French, or *cours de français* as it is called to distinguish it from the French taught to Anglophones, is not compulsory for Francophones; many of them are doubtless tempted to take the simpler French course in order to raise their average mark in school. It is an indication of the importance of the mother tongue to French-speaking parents and children that, in spite of this temptation, a large number of French-speaking students take the *cours de français* when it is offered.<sup>1</sup> In 1961 the Ontario department of Education granted permission to secondary school boards to have Latin taught in French, and in 1966 this permission was extended to geography and history. Schools in some 40 communities now offer instruction in French in some or all of these subjects. The implementation of this policy was, however, still subject to local school board option. To the extent that the school board authorized it, French-speaking students could follow the *cours de français*, study these other subjects in French, and write their examinations in these subjects in French. When this occurred, it was evident that the secondary school more nearly approached the definition of a "bilingual" school.

A question of standards

213. In view of the difficult transition from elementary to secondary school, it is not surprising that the work of the French-speaking students as a group has often been less satisfactory than the work of English-speaking students. If all the Francophones were in separate classes,

<sup>1</sup> During the 1966-7 school year, 8,739 students were enrolled in the *cours de français* in the secondary schools. This does not include the 5,750 students in Grades IX and X where these grades are offered in "bilingual" schools administered by a separate school elementary school board. These figures were cited by the Hon. W. G. Davis, Ontario minister of Education, in a speech given in Toronto on November 29, 1967.



special attention could be given to this group, but the problem of uniform academic standards remains. Should all students be expected to compete on equal terms by the end of Grade IX or should special concessions be made to the Francophones? A teacher in one such school described the unofficial policy to an investigator:

Our policy is to be very lenient at the end of Grade Nine. My first promotion meeting really shocked me: all those [low] figures getting through. In my second year, with two other teachers, I organized all the Grade Nine to pass eighty per cent of the *grade*, not the *class*—why fail a kid with forty-five per cent in Grade Nine A1, for example, and pass a kid in Grade Nine A4 with an average of twenty-three? Well, we couldn't do it. The bottom twenty per cent was all French. . . . In one class last June eight-three per cent failed in a French-speaking class. Marks were raised from the twenties to the fifties: some were failures because of language, not mental abilities. We "juggled" and got seventy-three per cent passing.<sup>1</sup>

This accommodation for French-speaking students is obviously necessary whenever the alternative is to fail them all. On the other hand it may merely postpone the problem from one grade to the next, unless a special programme is designed to raise the academic standard to the level of the English-speaking students in the school.

214. Designing such a special programme is likely to be beyond the capacity of the staff of a secondary school, preoccupied as they are with the full-time job of teaching the existing curriculum. The difficulties are even greater with the recent changes in the secondary school programme. Under the "Robarts Plan" there are now three different streams at the secondary level—general, commercial, and technical—with a total of eight different programmes, varying from one to five years in length. At the end of Grade IX, students are expected to choose the programme best suited to their interests and their abilities. This proliferation of streams makes it more difficult to keep the French-speaking students in separate classes in Grade X.

215. This choice of programme in Grade X has other implications for French-speaking students. The choice of programme is a choice of career. It is possible to transfer from one programme to another after the choice is made, but such transfers are complicated and may even involve repeating a grade. Guidance counsellors and teachers who advise students and parents on what seems to be the most suitable programme are certain to be influenced by the results of various achievement and aptitude tests and by the student's school work. For those French-speaking students who have been handicapped by the fact that they had to work in a second language or by the transition to the

Limited career  
choices

<sup>1</sup> Carleton, "Differential Educational Achievement," 307.

secondary school, the chances of entering the five-year academic programme have been significantly reduced.

216. What then happens to these children? They may be lucky. They may know enough English to adjust relatively easily to a system in which English is the main language of instruction. They may have gone to one of the better separate schools or may be exceptionally bright, and they may benefit from special attention in their first year in the new school. It is unlikely, however, that they will ever reach Grade XIII or go on to university. They may find that even the challenge of a less academic programme is too great, and the combination of frustration and a more permissive environment may lead to idleness or even rowdiness.

217. The proposed French-language secondary schools are a direct response to this unsatisfactory situation. Instead of tinkering further with the standard secondary school programme by adding more subjects to the list of those which may be taught in French, the government has decided to establish French-language schools. It will provide composite secondary schools in places where the enrolment will be large enough, and French-language sections within a school where a separate institution is not justified. English will be a compulsory subject, but all other subjects will be taught in French. English-language schools will still be able to offer the *cours de français* and to teach Latin, geography, and history in French if there are enough Francophone students to form a separate class. The minister of Education has defined as the objectives of this legislation "a complete command of the French language and culture" as well as "a complementary and adequate knowledge of English."<sup>1</sup>

218. These proposed schools could go far in eliminating the barriers to secondary school education for Francophones in Ontario. The full range of programmes—general, commercial, and technical—will be taught in French. The schools will not be confessional but they were initially recommended by a committee which included representatives of Francophone educational institutions, and the general support of the Francophone minority for these schools seems assured. The problem of ensuring academic standards equivalent at both the elementary and secondary levels to those of English-language schools of the province remains, as does the need to adapt certain courses to reflect the cultural needs of the minority.

Grades IX and  
X in the separate  
school system

219. The transition from the elementary to the secondary level is complicated in Ontario, however, by the extension of elementary school to Grade X in some communities. This unusual arrangement goes back to the days when secondary schools were less common and trans-

<sup>1</sup> Legislature of Ontario, *Debates*, May 30, 1968, 3642.

portation was less efficient. Elementary school boards were allowed to administer "classes" to the end of Grade x because the alternative for the children in many communities was to leave school at the end of Grade VIII. This special arrangement has almost disappeared in the public school system but it has survived to a greater extent in the separate school system because it has made it possible for Roman Catholic students to continue their education in a denominational school for two more years. French-speaking students continuing their education under the administration of an elementary school board have had the added advantage of prolonging education in a "bilingual" school where the teachers could speak French and where French was likely to be the language of communication outside the classroom. The attractions of this arrangement are so great that they have existed even in urban communities where public secondary schools were available. In rural areas, Grades IX and x may have been taught in the same building as the separate school elementary grades. In urban areas, however, it is more likely that these grades would be taught in a private secondary school, usually a denominational school, with a grant from the separate school board to cover the cost of these two grades but with subsequent grades financed by private donations and fees.

220. For Francophone parents the extension of the elementary system has been an attractive alternative to public secondary schools, but the decision to postpone the transition to the public school system has implications for the child which may not be fully appreciated. It is probable that the academic standards in these grades are much lower than in the public secondary schools. The funds come from the elementary separate school boards which have limited financial resources, whereas the public school boards levy property taxes and receive government grants for secondary school students. Teachers' qualifications are also inferior, with many teachers holding only elementary teachers' certificates. Even more serious is the fact that these grades are almost completely isolated from the developments in the secondary school system. They are administered by the elementary separate school board, which means that neither teachers, principals, inspectors, nor administrators have any formal contact or association with their counterparts in the secondary schools. The traditional division in the department of Education between elementary and secondary education accentuates this separation. Changes in teaching methods and the use of new techniques and equipment are usually introduced in secondary schools long before they are adopted in the Grades IX and x administered by the elementary separate school boards. The number of students involved is by no means negligible—some 20,000 in 1964—but the number is small compared to the enrolment in these two grades in the public secondary

schools—123,512. It seems fair to say that these 20,000 children are an almost forgotten group in the provincial education system.

221. Educational reforms in Ontario have accentuated and even aggravated this isolation. Secondary schools have been consolidated because a large student body is required if a school is to offer the many programmes now considered necessary for an adequate secondary school system. Specialist teachers and special laboratories and equipment can only be justified if enough students enrol in these special classes. Experts suggest that the optimum size for a composite secondary school today is about 1,500 students and the estimates are constantly being revised upwards. In rural areas these arrangements can never provide the diversity of secondary schools because there will be too few students in Grades IX and X. The same is true to a lesser extent for the private schools which teach these two grades under a separate school board. The number of students involved is much larger in urban communities, but the private schools have not been consolidated and their students are usually dispersed among a number of schools.<sup>1</sup>

222. The "Robarts Plan," with its general, commercial, and technical programmes and its eight streams, is therefore unworkable when Grades IX and X are continued in the elementary system. With rare exceptions the students attending these schools must follow the academic programme. They can enjoy the advantages of a denominational and a bilingual atmosphere, but only at the cost of sacrificing the diversity and variety of educational opportunities offered by public secondary schools. Those students for whom a commercial or technical training would be more appropriate have no choice.

A more difficult  
transition

223. And what happens after the additional two years? The shift from the denominational "bilingual" school to a public secondary school, which would have presented some difficulties two years before, is now much more difficult. Students wishing to continue in the academic stream have had to adjust to the new atmosphere and the predominance of English, and have had to do so at a more advanced academic level. The special consideration which might be given to them in Grade IX is less easily provided in Grade XI. And in terms of academic preparation, the two additional years in the elementary school system almost ensure that the children fall even further behind the students in the public schools. Unless these French-speaking students are very gifted, their chances of passing at the end of the year are slim. If, on the other hand, they prefer to follow the commercial or technical programme, they have to repeat Grade X, because they have to begin studying the specialized commercial or technical subjects at that level. Whether they continue

<sup>1</sup> In 1964, for example, only one city school in Ontario administered by an elementary separate school board had more than 600 students enrolled in Grades IX and X, and the average enrolment in city schools was less than 200 students.

in the academic programme or transfer to a commercial or technical programme, they probably have to repeat a year. Faced with this situation, there is a strong possibility that they may become school drop-outs.

224. As an alternative to transferring to a public secondary school, French-speaking students have been able to continue their education in a private school. There have been many of these private Roman Catholic schools in Ontario, usually operated by the diocese or by a religious order. The fees—probably averaging \$200 a year for each child—were low when compared to many private schools, but nonetheless would be a significant burden on most family budgets. Many of these schools, however, did not offer Grade XIII, and so once again the academic progress outside the public secondary school system was blocked. Francophone parents may accept the proposed French-language secondary schools as an alternative to these private confessional schools. As long as Francophone students continue to Grade X in schools administered by elementary school boards, however, the transition from the elementary to the secondary level will involve complications.

Private schools

### 3. *A comparison of secondary school careers*

225. This gloomy picture of the education of French-speaking children in Ontario can be substantiated by statistical evidence. The Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College, discussed above, began with all the students enrolled in Grade IX of the public, private, and separate schools in Ontario in 1959. It then traced the secondary school careers of these students until they dropped out of school or graduated. At our request the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education compared the careers of students coming from homes where English, French, or a language other than English or French was the chief language used. The analysis provided some startling statistics. Of an average group of 100 students from Anglophone homes, 13 completed Grade XIII after five years of secondary schooling. For those from homes where neither English nor French was the chief language, 17 out of 100 graduated after five years. For those from Francophone homes the figure was three! And this shocking rate of attrition is by no means confined to the final years of secondary school. Two years after the Carnegie study began, 52 out of an average group of 100 Anglophone students and 60 out of 100 "other-language" students were in Grade XI, but only 38 out of 100 Francophone students had reached this grade.<sup>1</sup> This might have been explained by a larger proportion of Francophones who had been forced

Attrition rates

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, Table 1.

to repeat Grade IX or X but were still in school and might yet complete their secondary education. Unfortunately the statistics do not support this possibility. Two years after the Carnegie study began, 76 of 100 Anglophone students and 76 of 100 "other-language" students were still attending school, but only 57 of 100 students from the Francophone group; by the fifth year the numbers were 47, 48, and 23 respectively. No matter how the data were analyzed, we were led to the same conclusion—that the rate of attrition of students from Francophone homes is disastrously high when compared with other Ontario students. The tragic reality behind these figures is that, of the French-speaking students in Ontario who entered Grade IX in 1959, less than half went to secondary school for more than three years and less than half reached Grade XI.<sup>1</sup>

**The socio-economic factor**

226. What is the explanation? One possibility is the socio-economic factor. Children are more likely to drop out of school if they come from rural areas or small communities: over 32 per cent of the Francophone group were attending schools in communities of less than 6,000 population, compared to 25 per cent of the Anglophone and 15 per cent of the "other-language" groups.<sup>2</sup> Children are more likely to drop out if their parents have had little formal education: 68 per cent of the fathers and 65 per cent of the mothers of the Francophone group had not attended secondary schools, whereas the comparable figures for the Anglophone group were 39 and 32 per cent and, for the "other-language" group, 57 and 60.<sup>3</sup> Children are also more likely to drop out if their father's occupation is lower on a socio-economic scale: the fathers of the Francophone group were more concentrated in farm occupations and less concentrated in professional or executive occupations than the other two groups.<sup>4</sup> And finally, a child is more likely to leave school prematurely if he comes from a large family; more than half of the French-language students come from families with five or more children, compared to about one-quarter of the students in the other two groups.<sup>5</sup> These factors have no necessary connection with the language spoken in the home, but in each case the Francophone group was disproportionately affected. The Carnegie data showed that the concentration of the Francophone students in the less favoured socio-economic categories did account in part for this poorer academic record, but that these factors do not provide a full explanation.<sup>6</sup> For example, of the Francophone students in Grade IX, 58 per cent came

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, Table 2.

<sup>2</sup> King and Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," Table V.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Tables VI and VII.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Table IV.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Table IX.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Tables IV-IX and XLVIII-XCV.

from families of five or more children, compared with 26 per cent of the English and 23 per cent of the "other-language" groups.<sup>1</sup> Five years later many of these Francophone students had left school, but those that remained still formed 49 per cent of the group.<sup>2</sup> If family size had been a major factor in the higher rate of attrition of the Francophone students, this percentage would have been much smaller.

227. Evidence from the study suggests also that the poorer academic record of the French-speaking students cannot be explained by the attitudes of the students or their parents to education. A student's career in school is likely to be affected by the importance which the parents and the child give to education. The attitude will doubtless reflect to some extent the factors already discussed—such as the educational level of the parents—but it will also reflect aspirations not solely determined by such factors. Of the students in Grade IX, three out of every four expected to complete secondary school; the ratio was the same in each of the three language groups.<sup>3</sup> The parents were slightly less optimistic, but again there was no significant difference in the attitudes of the parents for the three groups of students. This uniform pattern is modified slightly but not significantly by differing plans for post-secondary education, because a higher proportion of the parents and students in the Francophone group saw some kind of vocational training or a job as the next step, rather than a university education.

Attitudes not  
a factor

228. Academic factors must also be considered. As we have seen, the Francophone group in Grade IX was rated far below the Anglophone or the "other-language" group on the basis of the tests of academic aptitude or of achievement in English and mathematics. However one accounts for the results of these tests, it seems logical to assume that the Francophones suffered an academic handicap and that this handicap would be reflected to some extent in the poor academic record of the group through secondary school. The analysis of the data supported this hypothesis. Students from the other two groups with low scores on these tests also had a similar high attrition rate. To the extent that the results on the Grade IX aptitude and achievement tests explain the secondary school record of the Francophones, we are forced back to the problem of why these students did not do better on these tests. The education they had received in "bilingual" separate schools and the transition to English-language public schools are obviously of crucial importance. However, the distribution within the French-language group based on these test marks did not change significantly over the five-year period. We are led to the conclusion that the test results

Academic  
factors

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Table IX.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Table XCV.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II, Table 3.

Teachers' ratings

were related to subsequent achievement but that they do not fully explain the secondary school record of the French-language group.

229. We have been discussing the backgrounds, the attitudes, and the academic records of the students. The Carnegie study also provides some data on the teachers' evaluations of these students. The teachers rated their students on the basis of reliability, co-operativeness, industry, physical stamina, energy, and the probability of completing Grade XIII. In each category, the Francophone group was consistently placed below the Anglophone group, with the "other-language" group receiving the highest ratings. Such subjective evaluations are difficult to assess. If the teachers' judgements were sound, it suggests that the Francophones as a group lacked some of the qualities which favourably affect scholastic achievement. On the other hand, it is possible that the French-speaking students had cultural characteristics distinguishing them from the other two groups and that the teachers were judging them by standards not entirely appropriate. The analysis of the data gives some support to this second hypothesis because, although higher ratings were usually associated with a more prolonged secondary school career, there was a lower correlation for the Francophone group between these ratings and the retention rate than for the other two groups.

Francophones—  
the least consistent  
group

230. This difference in the correlation between teachers' ratings and achievement for the Francophones and the other two language groups was only one example of what proved to be a general rule. When the subsequent school career of the student was correlated separately with the various socio-economic factors, with the data on attitudes, and with the achievement on aptitude and academic tests, it was discovered that in almost every case the Francophone group seemed to be less consistent than the other two groups.<sup>1</sup> Even when the results of the achievement tests in English and mathematics administered in Grade IX were correlated with actual school marks in these subjects or with the same tests administered in Grades X and XI, the correlations for the French-language group were significantly lower. Taken together, all these correlations produce a consistent pattern. The factors usually linked with

<sup>1</sup>There was a much higher correlation for the Anglophones and the "others" than for the Francophones between the number of years spent in secondary school and the scores on each of the aptitude and achievement tests. Only two correlations did not follow this pattern. When the years spent in secondary school were correlated with the age at Grade I and the age at the time of the Carnegie study, it was found that older students tended to leave school sooner. This pattern was more consistent for the English- than for the French-language group but the correlation was higher for both of these than for the "other-language" group. The explanation for the connection between age and school success seems to be that children who are older than their school companions are more likely to leave school, and this tendency is accentuated by the repetition of a grade at the elementary level. For some reason the "other-language" group did not conform as closely to this pattern as did the English- and the French-language groups. With this exception, however, the Francophones had lower correlations in every case.



secondary school achievement are less reliable indicators for the Francophones than for the other two language groups.

231. This observation was supported by a "multiple discriminant" analysis, a statistical technique used to analyze the three groups of students in terms of the factors which differentiated between the composition of these groups. In comparing the Francophone and Anglophone groups over the five-year period, the most consistent factors which discriminated between these two groups were the physical stamina and energy ratings by the teachers, the year of birth, the student's impression of his parents' plans for his education, and the score on one of the mathematical achievement tests (CMAT III). In comparing the Francophones with the "other-language" group, the most consistent discriminators were the co-operation rating, the physical stamina and energy rating, the father's occupation, and the parents' plans for their child's education. The fact that the same factors discriminated between these groups for each year of the five-year period suggests that the differences between these groups remained almost constant during this period. The students who withdrew did not affect the balance between the three groups. This means that none of the many factors we have analyzed can account for the much higher attrition rate of the Francophone group.

232. There are factors which might explain the apparent inconsistency of the French-language group but for which the Carnegie study provides no data. It is possible, for example, that there is a connection between religious affiliation and school achievement. We can safely assume that the Anglophone group included students of many religious faiths, whereas the Franco-Ontarian students would be overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. However, a significant proportion of the students in the "other-language" group would also be Roman Catholics,<sup>1</sup> so that it seems unlikely that the high attrition rate of the Francophone students can be explained by their religious affiliation. It is regrettable that the data does not show whether students attended "bilingual" or English-language, separate or public, elementary schools. We can assume that most of the French-language group attended "bilingual" separate schools, but it would have been helpful to compare the records of students from "bilingual" and English-language separate schools, and to compare these in turn with those students from public schools. We are left with the

Possible  
explanations

<sup>1</sup>D. G. MacEachern, Carnegie Study of Identification and Utilization of Talent in High School and College, Bulletin No. 1, *Twenty Questions; A Quick Look at 90,000 People* (Toronto, 1960). For this "other-language" group, the major languages listed were German, Dutch, Italian, Ukrainian, and Polish, in that order. All of these categories would include a significant proportion of Roman Catholic families, and some would be predominantly Roman Catholic.

The cultural  
factor

possibility that the apparent unpredictability of the Francophone group may somehow be linked to their "bilingual" separate school background.

233. The French-language group may also have followed a different pattern because of their special cultural background. Language or religion cannot fully explain the differences because the "other-language" group was remarkably successful in school. It is surely significant, however, that the French-speaking minority is unique in its success in preserving its cultural identity. For generations it has survived in Ontario as a cultural group; it is French-speaking and Catholic but it is also a society with organizations and institutions which help to maintain and reinforce its distinctive outlook. Other minority groups in Ontario strive to preserve their cultural heritage, but it is generally conceded that the Franco-Ontarians have been the most successful in preserving a distinctive cultural milieu. It is this fact which almost certainly lies behind the uniqueness of the French-language group in the Carnegie study.

234. There can be little doubt that the attitude of Franco-Ontarians towards the public school system of the province has been ambivalent. The Carnegie data show that Francophone parents and children thought that a secondary school education was desirable—in this they resembled the other two groups. But this stress on the value of education does not reflect the misgivings many Francophones have had about the actual public school system. For the Anglophone parents, an English-language school presents no conflict of values; the same is doubtless true for the parents of the "other-language" groups who have accepted English as the language of Ontario. For Roman Catholics the importance given to education may be countered by misgivings about the non-sectarian character of public secondary schools, but only for Franco-Ontarians has this misgiving been reinforced by the language question. For them an English-language public school presented more starkly the conflict between the value of education and the value of their cultural identity. Rightly or wrongly, they were likely to see the school as a threat to this identity.

235. This ambivalence may well have been accentuated by other aspects of the secondary schools. Our analysis of the Carnegie data suggests that the schools unconsciously assumed norms inappropriate for Francophone students. We have already noted that the teachers gave them lower ratings on such qualities as reliability, industry, and physical stamina, but that for this group these ratings had a lower correlation with school achievement. The aptitude and achievement tests may also be based on the inappropriate norms. The fact that the tests were all in English is suggestive; it is taken for granted that the graduates of "bilingual" elementary schools will do as well on these tests as the graduates of English-language schools. But there may be a problem of

cultural as well as language differences. With different cultural groups involved, the problem of comparability becomes more complex because experiences will be coloured by institutional and cultural differences. Even if the tests are carefully translated, the results will not be comparable. In South Africa, for example, even on the same non-verbal test, the norms were different for Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking students. Do the higher average marks of one group mean that this group is superior, or that the questions were less difficult for this group because of a cultural bias? Experts disagree on the interpretation of the results, but the example illustrates the difficulty involved in using tests to compare the aptitudes and achievements of students from different cultural backgrounds.<sup>1</sup> Cultural differences can hardly explain the low test marks of the French-language group in the Carnegie study but they may help to explain the relative unreliability of these test scores for assessing its subsequent performance. The inference from our analysis is that the Ontario school system assumes certain norms less appropriate to Franco-Ontarians than to other students in the province.

236. This means that the usual approaches to educational reform will not be adequate for the French-speaking minority. Young Franco-Ontarians have economic handicaps and low aptitude and achievement scores, but there are many other children in Ontario in a similar situation. For the French-speaking children, however, these cannot be dissociated from their distinctive cultural outlook. It will be necessary to dissipate their apprehensions about the school system and to establish comparable norms for these children before they can have secondary school careers which follow the pattern of the other students in the province.

A new approach  
needed

237. The proposed French-language elementary and secondary schools should help to dispel the misgivings of Franco-Ontarians about the provincial school system. The proposed change in the language of instruction, however, will not be enough. The translation of all the instructional materials now available in English would ignore the cultural background of Francophone students. These children are not Anglophones who happen to have learned French by some accident of birth. The courses of study in the proposed schools must take the cultural differences into account. Some efforts will also be required to convince parents, made sceptical by past experience, that these new schools are not a threat to cultural survival.

<sup>1</sup> H. P. Langenhoven, *Intergroup Comparison in Psychological Measurement*, Department of Education, Arts and Science: National Council of Social Research (Pretoria, 1963), describes the experience in South Africa with these tests and argues that the difference in norms must be attributed to cultural bias, because the achievement in school of the two groups does not reflect this difference. Critics of Langenhoven argue that the evidence from school achievement is not reliable.

#### 4. Teachers

A need for  
special  
qualifications

238. No description of a school system is complete without some discussion of teacher training and qualifications. For the "bilingual" elementary schools of Ontario, the teachers have been especially important. Not only have they been responsible for teaching the elementary school curriculum but they have also been faced with language problems which other teachers in Ontario do not encounter. Their students are expected to become proficient in a second language as well as studying French and covering the regular curriculum. Teachers in "bilingual" schools might therefore be expected to have the same qualifications as teachers in English-language elementary schools and, in addition, a special competence in the two languages.

Lower qualifica-  
tions in "bilingual"  
schools

239. In fact the qualifications of "bilingual" school teachers in Ontario are much inferior. The minimum qualification required by the department of Education for a first-class certificate is the equivalent of senior matriculation (Grade XIII) and one year of teacher training. Until very recently, however, a second-class certificate was issued for the equivalent of junior matriculation (Grade XII) and one year of teacher training. Of the teachers in public elementary schools in 1963, 95 per cent had a first-class certificate or better. For the teachers in English-language separate schools the figure was 68 per cent; for teachers in "bilingual" separate schools it was 45 per cent.<sup>1</sup> This startling contrast cannot be explained by the proportionately large number of "bilingual" schools in rural districts. Even in Ottawa, teachers in the "bilingual" schools have inferior qualifications. In 1964 less than 1 per cent of the public elementary school teachers of Ottawa and 6 per cent of the teachers in English-language separate schools had second-class certificates, whereas 44 per cent of the teachers in the "bilingual" separate schools were in this category.<sup>2</sup>

240. The poorer qualifications of separate school teachers have been attributed in part of the inadequate revenues of separate schools in the past; however, this does not explain the disparity between the qualifications of teachers in English-language and "bilingual" separate schools in the same community. Both types of separate school are administered by the same school board.

Too few  
graduates

241. Higher salaries might have attracted better qualified teachers or induced teachers to improve their qualifications, but there are limits to the effectiveness of financial incentives. The real problem is that teachers are drawn from graduates of the secondary school system, and too few graduates will mean too few well-qualified teachers. The lower qualifica-

<sup>1</sup> N. Baird, "Finances of Bilingual Elementary Schools in Ontario," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Table IV-3-b.

<sup>2</sup> According to information compiled by Commission researchers in the course of their study of the Federal Capital.

tions of teachers in "bilingual" schools, who must be French-speaking, cannot be dissociated from the fact that very few Franco-Ontarian students complete Grade XIII. It is one of the anomalies of the Ontario school system that, although "bilingual" elementary schools were supposed to be part of the system, they survived almost in spite of the system.

242. The shortage of well-qualified teachers has been further accentuated by the fact that English has been the major language of instruction in the secondary schools and an education in English is not the ideal preparation for teaching in French. A secondary school graduate may be more at ease in English, even if French is his mother tongue, and may prefer to teach in that language. Probably the majority of teachers in the "bilingual" schools are not even graduates of the public secondary schools but of the private schools where French is still used as the language of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

243. The department of Education has not only relied on private schools for teachers for its "bilingual" schools; in some ways it has encouraged them. Grade XIII is the usual prerequisite for admission to provincial teachers' colleges, and the prospective teacher must attend the college for one year. Very few of the private schools offer Grade XIII. The department has therefore lowered the admission requirement to Grade XII for institutions training teachers for the "bilingual" schools, and has offered a two-year teacher-training programme. Until very recently there was also a one-year programme in these colleges, and graduates of this programme were given second-class certificates, so it is not surprising that so few of the teachers in "bilingual" schools have first-class certificates. The lower entrance requirements have permitted—almost encouraged—lower qualifications for teachers in the "bilingual" schools.

244. The training of teachers for "bilingual" schools has thus reinforced the separation of these schools from the provincial school system. It was possible and not unusual for these teachers to begin their education in "bilingual" elementary schools, to continue in this system for Grades IX and X, to complete Grades XI and XII in private schools, to attend a bilingual teachers' college for one year, and then return to "bilingual" elementary schools as teachers. Even the recent change, which requires two years at the bilingual teachers' colleges after Grade XII, will not disrupt this pattern, although it will end the pernicious system of issuing second-class certificates. This separation from the other schools of the province is further illustrated by the system of

The result of  
secondary  
schooling in  
English

Lower admission  
requirements

<sup>1</sup> See *Les écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes*, brief of the Commission d'étude de l'Association des écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes, presented to the Ontario government, December 1966. Enrolment of students from private schools in bilingual normal schools is given on page 24.

school inspection, with inspectors for the "bilingual" schools usually drawn from the ranks of the teachers in these schools.

245. The proposed French-language elementary and secondary schools offer some hope for the future. Within a decade, new teachers will probably be graduates of a French-language secondary school. But it will be some time before the necessary curriculum revisions can be introduced in these proposed schools. It is also certain that for many years most of the teachers in these schools will come from the present "bilingual" elementary schools and the private secondary schools. The present inadequacies of education for the Franco-Ontarian minority will not be dispelled by making French a legal language of instruction. Special efforts will be required to improve teachers' qualifications and to reduce the isolation of Francophone schools from the provincial school system.

### 5. Universities

246. Elementary school, secondary school, and university form the usual sequence in formal academic education. For the Francophone minority in Ontario, however, this sequence has had one peculiarity. The transition from the elementary system to the secondary public school system has been marked by the transition from French to English as the main language of instruction, but at the university level the student may once again pursue his studies in French. There are now two provincially supported bilingual universities in Ontario—the University of Ottawa and Laurentian University in Sudbury.

Laurentian  
University

247. Laurentian University was founded in 1960, with the objective of establishing one major institution of higher learning, bilingual and non-denominational, for Northern Ontario. Affiliated with the University in the same year were the University of Sudbury, a Roman Catholic institution, and Huntington College, supported by the United Church. In 1963 the Anglican Thornaloe College joined the federation. Laurentian University lists as its cultural objective "the maintenance and promotion of both the English and the French languages and cultures" and aims to be "a place where theories and techniques of co-operation between cultures can be put to the test and taught to the future leaders of Canadian communities."<sup>1</sup> The administration is bilingual and publications are in the two languages. French-speaking students form less than one-fifth of the student body, however, and are decreasing in proportion.<sup>2</sup> Consequently there is a tendency to offer an increasing number of courses in English only, especially at the senior level and in

<sup>1</sup> *Laurentian University Calendar of the Faculty of Arts and Science*, cited in L. Painchaud, "Description du bilinguisme et du biculturalisme de trois universités," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 67.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II, Table 4.

certain disciplines.<sup>1</sup> If French-speaking students are to take full advantage of the opportunities offered, they must be bilingual. The complete range of courses is offered in English, so English-speaking students are less likely to acquire a fluent knowledge of French.

248. The University of Ottawa has a tradition of bilingualism and biculturalism extending over a century. The administration is bilingual and the student body is almost equally divided between Anglophones and Francophones. The language in which courses are offered varies from faculty to faculty and even from department to department. Certain sectors are predominantly French (arts, social sciences, domestic science, civil law). Others are almost entirely in English (science, medicine, common law). Still others, such as psychology, have parallel language divisions.<sup>2</sup> It should be pointed out that the graduate programme at the masters, licentiate, and doctoral levels has been well developed at the University of Ottawa. Some departments such as French, history, and geography offer special doctoral programmes designed to further the study of French Canadian culture. A research centre for French Canadian literature, with archives and a special library of Canadiana, has existed since 1958; it is at the moment publishing five series of studies dealing exclusively with the cultural life of French Canada.

The University  
of Ottawa

249. In its general aspects the University of Ottawa is a bilingual institution, but at the same time students are restricted in their choice of courses depending on the language of instruction. This is a particular handicap for French-speaking students desiring to register in such professional courses as medicine or nursing. The two bilingual universities of Ontario do not offer French-language education for Franco-Ontarians to the extent that the three English-language universities of Quebec offer English-language higher education to Quebec Anglophones.<sup>3</sup>

## 6. Summary

250. The education provided for the French-speaking students in Ontario is presumably intended to give them educational opportunities equivalent to those available to English-speaking students: it attempts to foster their knowledge of their mother tongue and to give them a good knowledge of English. These are commendable objectives, but the edu-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, Table 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix II, Table 6.

<sup>3</sup> The University of Ottawa has encouraged the extension of education in French by accepting the affiliation of private colleges in Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Quebec: Collège Bruyère (since 1925), Petit séminaire d'Ottawa (since 1925), Collège Notre-Dame (1932-59), all in Ottawa, and Collège de Sudbury (1916-28), Collège Mathieu de Gravelbourg (since 1924), Collège Saint-Jean d'Edmonton (since 1928) and Collège de Rouyn (1954-64).

cational régime has never been consistently structured on the basis of these objectives. French-speaking students have sometimes been given the special consideration which these objectives imply, but at other times they have been lumped together with the Anglophone majority as if no distinction needed to be made. Even more serious were the gaps in continuity and the lack of co-ordination between one level and the next. In spite of increasing recognition of the need for a more adequate education for the official-language minority in the province, French-language education in Ontario has not been organized in a co-ordinated sequence comparable to English-language education.

251. Recent legislation marks a dramatic change in educational policy. Provincial authorities have tended to emphasize the diversification of educational opportunities at the secondary level, and spokesmen for the Francophone minority have stressed the importance of instruction in the mother tongue. The proposed French-language schools may make it possible to combine these two objectives. Agreement has been reached on the language of instruction. It is now possible to concentrate on providing an education in French which will be equivalent in academic standards and in variety to the education now provided in English.

### *B. New Brunswick*

#### The Acadian community

252. The province of New Brunswick deserves special attention in our study of minority-language education. Here the Francophone minority—most of whom are Acadians—can scarcely be considered a minority in the same terms as Francophones in the other English-speaking provinces. Francophones form more than one-third of the total New Brunswick population, and are an overwhelming majority in many counties.<sup>1</sup> As a group they are quite distinct from other Francophone Canadians, and their evolution has been gravely marked by their historical experience. Almost from the time of their arrival in 1604 they were the victims of the conflict between France and England for possession of the new world, a conflict which culminated in the Acadian expulsion in the middle of the 18th century. The resettlement was accomplished in the face of incredible hardships, in a hostile environment, by a people devoid of all resources. It is against this background that Acadian education has to be examined.

#### A changing system

253. Today New Brunswick is of special interest because dramatic changes are being introduced. But these changes are being introduced so rapidly that no one can speak with assurance about the new system

<sup>1</sup> According to the census of 1961, 35 per cent of the population of New Brunswick was French by mother tongue, and 38 per cent was of French ethnic origin.



being created. A pattern of a French-language education for the Acadians from elementary school to university seems to be emerging, although there are still some gaps and some policies which have not yet been fully implemented. The administrative and financial organization of provincial education is also in the process of almost revolutionary change, and again the implications for the linguistic minority can only be deduced. Any detailed description of the present situation would soon be out of date. Fortunately, our concern is with the major aspects of French-language education in the province and, although even here some of our conclusions may have to be qualified, the broad outline seems clear.

### 1. *Elementary schools*

254. Most of the French-speaking children of New Brunswick attend elementary schools in which French is the language of instruction. In communities with a significant majority of Acadians, public schools have probably always been French, although there is no precise information because the statistics of the department of Education do not distinguish between schools on the basis of the language of instruction. In communities with an Acadian minority, the struggle to obtain French-language education has been long and difficult. The department of Education permits but does not guarantee French-language schools. The decision rests with the local authorities. In Moncton, where the Acadians now constitute more than one-third of the population, the first French-language classes in a public school were established in 1909 and the first public French-language elementary school was opened in 1923. The first public "bilingual" school in Fredericton opened in January 1967, offering French instruction in the first four grades.<sup>1</sup> A public "bilingual" elementary school is planned for Saint John in the fall of 1968. Acadian access to minority elementary schools has therefore depended upon an Acadian majority in the community or on the willingness of the English-speaking majority to agree to French-language education.

Decision of  
the local  
majority

255. Today these minority-language schools provide a predominantly French environment for the pupils but until the 1950's the official purpose of these schools was to teach the children to study in English. Although this objective was not always explicit, it can be deduced from two facts—only English textbooks were provided, apart from

A changing policy

<sup>1</sup>In 1963 the Acadians in Fredericton asked that one of the new classrooms to be provided that year be set aside for French-speaking children in the first three grades, with a bilingual teacher using the same curriculum as the minority-language schools of the province. The Fredericton School Board refused. La Société nationale des Acadiens subsequently collected money to open a private French-language school in Fredericton in 1966. Cited in H. G. Thorburn, "The Political Participation of the French-speaking Population of New Brunswick," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., 77.

those used for the teaching of French, and the students were expected to go on to public secondary schools where English was the language of instruction. Over the last two decades, however, the official policy has changed. Today almost all the textbooks, apart from those used for the teaching of English, are in French, although many of them are translations from English. Examinations may be taken in French, and the language of instruction is French. The major difference between the curricula of English- and French-language schools is that English is taught from the first year in the French-language schools, but French is not introduced until the fifth year in the English-language schools. Francophone children are required to study the same material as the other students in the province, and at the same time are expected to acquire a higher degree of competence in the second language.

256. Why has the official concept of "bilingual" schools in the province shifted from predominantly English-language to predominantly French-language schools? There is no simple answer to this question. If Acadian children were to be effectively taught in English it would have been necessary to prepare special programmes for the "bilingual" schools, to prepare special textbooks and examinations, and to train teachers specifically for this purpose. These steps were not taken.

257. The teachers in Acadian schools were almost invariably Acadians, and it was natural that they should communicate with their students in French. The use of French in these schools was also reinforced by the determination of Acadian parents to preserve their mother tongue. Under these circumstances, the objective of preparing Acadian pupils for English-language secondary schools was unrealistic. The official shift to the acceptance of French as a language of instruction was an admission of this fact. The first step in educational reform for the Acadian population was to provide an education acceptable to Acadians. The official acceptance of French-language elementary schools in recent years can probably be accounted for by the recognition of the need for improving the educational level among Acadians and a greater willingness to accept their aspirations to preserve their language.

## 2. Secondary schools

### Permissive teaching in French

258. At the secondary level, generalizations on minority-language schools are more difficult because bilingual secondary schools are a recent development in New Brunswick. Two decades ago, Francophones might be grouped together in separate classes in the school, but with minor exceptions they used the same textbooks and wrote the same examinations as English-speaking students and the language of instruction—at least officially—was English. Since that time, significant steps

have been taken to provide a complete education in French for French-speaking children. In 1949 special textbooks were adopted for the teaching of French to Acadian students in public secondary schools; a year later a special programme for the teaching of English was introduced. In 1959 permission was given to teach history in French; a Quebec history textbook was officially approved and examinations could be written in French. In 1965 the department of Education announced that mathematics and science could also be taught in French—always, of course, at the option of the local school authorities. These changes suggest that what is now being developed in New Brunswick is a bilingual secondary school curriculum in which textbooks, examinations, and the language of instruction will be predominantly French.

259. It is not easy to describe the actual situation in such a period of transition. In many schools French was used in the classroom even before French textbooks were approved, but in other places the school boards have been reluctant to adopt the new courses of study. Possibly the easiest way to show the implications of the changes is to trace the modifications introduced in a single community.

260. Ten years ago in Moncton, children graduating from an elementary school had no opportunity for a bilingual education in the public secondary schools. The special programmes in French and English for bilingual students had been approved by the provincial authorities but they had not been adopted by the Moncton School Board. As an alternative to the public secondary schools, boys could attend the Collège l'Assomption, a private classical college founded in 1943, and girls could attend the Collège Notre-Dame d'Acadie, established in Moncton in 1949. Both these schools followed the provincial curriculum for academic and commercial subjects at the secondary level. The two colleges existed because they alone provided an education which was confessional in character and in which French was the primary language of instruction.<sup>1</sup>

**The example  
of Moncton**

261. Since that time there have been dramatic changes. Bilingual classes were organized in one public secondary school in 1960 and at another in the following year. Francophones could then follow the special programmes of French, English, and history designed for bilingual students and, at the same time, they could benefit from the presence of Francophone teachers who could give explanations in French in other subjects if necessary. In 1963 a new school was opened—the Vanier High School for Francophone students—in which all classes permitted

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<sup>1</sup>The Collège l'Assomption was built by the French-language parishes of Moncton and the costs were met by student fees and contributions from the parishes. The Collège Notre-Dame was built by the nuns of the order of Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur and the expenses were again defrayed in part by student fees. The two colleges also received federal grants for post-secondary instruction.

in French are taught in French. The significance of this development can be seen from the decision of the provincial department of Education two years later to allow students at this school to study physics from a French textbook and to let them write the examination in French as an experiment. The establishment of a bilingual high school, by grouping the Francophones together, has drawn attention to their special needs and has made it possible to test new programmes designed to meet these needs.

262. The impact of Vanier High School can also be seen in its effect on the two private colleges in Moncton. With instruction given in French in most subjects in a public secondary school, one of the major reasons for the private schools was eliminated and, although Vanier High School is non-confessional, the teaching staff is at least predominantly Roman Catholic.<sup>1</sup> The Collège l'Assomption was closed in 1964 and the Collège Notre-Dame discontinued instruction at the secondary level in 1967. These developments suggest that the provincial school system is offering a curriculum corresponding more closely to the aspirations of the Acadians in Moncton.

263. However, there are significant limitations to the opportunities available to French-speaking students at the secondary level, even in Moncton. Vanier High School offers an academic programme leading to university entrance as well as a four-year general course and a commercial programme. It does not offer a technical or an industrial programme, or a programme of domestic science. Acadian students wishing to follow these courses must attend schools in which English is the language of instruction. Nor is this limitation on vocational training confined to the Acadians of Moncton. The province of New Brunswick has established five regional technical institutes for students who have not completed secondary school, but the programmes, textbooks, and instruction are normally in English. In the New Brunswick Institute of Technology at Moncton, for example, we were told of a class in which 23 of the 25 students were Francophone, but which had to follow an English programme.<sup>2</sup> The Institute at Bathurst, with more than 80 per cent Francophone enrolment, is an exception: much of the instruction is given in French, although even here English textbooks are used.

Low achieve-  
ment of  
Acadians

264. Undoubtedly one reason for these changes at the secondary school level was a growing concern about the large proportion of Acadian children who dropped out of school at an early age, and about the low academic achievement of the Acadians who did complete secondary school. We have already referred to the difficulty of comparing academic standards because of the problem of weighing various socio-

<sup>1</sup> At the same time the establishment of the University of Moncton duplicated the post-secondary education which these colleges had provided.

<sup>2</sup> Brief of the Société l'Assomption.

economic factors. Nonetheless, the results of the province-wide departmental examinations written at the end of secondary school are at least a useful indicator. These examinations are prepared and marked by the department of Education and in many cases the same examination is written by both Francophone and Anglophone students. They are not standardized achievement tests in a technical sense but—since the student's marks largely determine whether he receives a high school diploma, is admitted to university, and is eligible for a university scholarship—these examinations are obviously treated as tests of academic achievement in a very real sense. Therefore, it is instructive to compare the marks attained by Francophones and Anglophones in the province.

265. Such a comparison was made for the years 1959 to 1961 in a thesis presented at the University of New Brunswick in 1965.<sup>1</sup> Schools in the province were classified as having a primarily Francophone, Anglophone, or mixed enrolment and a comparison was made of the average marks attained by the students in these three categories of schools.<sup>2</sup> The analysis would have been more exact if the actual marks of each student had been accessible, but the contrast between the Francophone and Anglophone schools was so great that further statistical refinements would not have affected the general conclusions. Students in Francophone schools were significantly less successful than those in Anglophone schools. The difference was most marked in mathematics and science subjects, where all the students in the province wrote the same examinations. On the language examinations, the average marks were higher on the papers prepared for the Francophones than on those prepared for the Anglophones. For language subjects, however, the two groups of students wrote different examinations so the results were not comparable. In any case, the combined average of students in Francophone schools was far below the combined average of students in Anglophone schools in spite of the higher marks on language examinations. For mixed schools, where no distinction could be made between Francophone and Anglophone students, the marks in all subjects tended to fall between the two groups.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the most striking comparison deals with students receiving honours certificates for having a general average of 75 per cent or better on departmental examinations. In the

<sup>1</sup> Jean-Pierre Michaud, "Academic Standards of French-language High Schools of the Province of New Brunswick" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1965).

<sup>2</sup> The distinction was based on the language examination written, since different sets of language examinations are prepared for French-speaking and English-speaking students. Mixed schools were those where at least two of each set of examinations were written.

<sup>3</sup> 1961 was an exceptional year because in that year the mixed school averages in mathematics and science were higher than those of the French- and English-language schools. See Michaud, "Academic Standards," 69.

three-year period covered by the analysis, only one honours certificate in eight was awarded to a Francophone. When it is recalled that more than one child in every three is French-speaking, the disparity in the marks on departmental examinations is obvious.

The Byrne report

266. New Brunswick authorities are well aware of the existing inadequacies of the secondary schools in Acadian communities. In 1963 the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation, under the chairmanship of E. G. Byrne, described the great variation in the level of educational services throughout the province and commented on the glaring disparity between the services provided for English-speaking and French-speaking students.<sup>1</sup> To the extent that expenditures on education reflect quality, the commission showed that Acadian children were receiving an inferior education.

267. The available statistics are not conclusive because educational costs of English-language and "bilingual" schools are not separated in provincial accounts. A rough comparison is possible, however, because of the geographical concentration of the two language groups.<sup>2</sup>

268. One basic financial statistic for any school system is the average expenditure per pupil. In 1960, for the three predominantly French counties this average expenditure was \$147; for the six predominantly English counties it was \$208.<sup>3</sup> In essence, these two averages sum up the contrast between Acadian schools and English-language schools in the province. The main reason for this disparity is that the predominantly French counties are poor counties. To the extent that local property taxes finance education, the schools in the French counties were handicapped. The provincial operating grants did not compensate for this; indeed, many of the grants benefited schools which already had larger budgets. For the three predominantly French counties the average operating grant in 1961 was just under \$40

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1963), 20, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Over 80 per cent of the population of Gloucester, Kent, and Madawaska counties is French by ethnic origin, whereas over 80 per cent of the population of the counties of Albert, Carleton, Charlotte, Kings, Queens, and York traces its origin to the British Isles. A comparison between the educational costs of these two groups of counties will reflect fairly accurately the average expenditures on French- as opposed to English-language students in the province. The comparison is all the more convincing because these counties contain almost half the population of New Brunswick, and because the population of the three predominantly Francophone counties is not far short of the population of the other six. The reliability of the statistics is also suggested by the fact that in the six counties not included, where the population is more mixed, the expenditures on education usually fall between the extremes of these two groups of counties. The figures are based on the 1961 census. The total population of New Brunswick was 597,936; in the three counties whose inhabitants are predominantly of French origin the total population was 131,993; and in the six of predominantly British origin, it was 151,497. On the basis of mother tongue rather than ethnic origin, the percentage of French or English per county would still be more than 80 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick*, 126, Table 8:1.

per pupil; in the six predominantly English counties it was just over \$55 per pupil.<sup>1</sup> Acadians thus spent less money on education, not because they were Acadians but because they were poorer.

269. It must be remembered, however, that the education system on which these comparisons were based is now virtually undergoing a financial revolution. In broad terms, the provincial government has undertaken to meet the costs of education with the objective of ensuring a minimum standard of education in all parts of the province. School expenditures will no longer be determined by municipal tax revenues. The great financial disparity between French- and English-language schools is to be eliminated. To the extent that expenditures determine the standard of education, Acadian students should not suffer a disadvantage in the future.

### 3. Teachers

270. Schools may be improved by changes in departmental policies or by financial reforms, but the teacher remains the focus of educational change. Raising the qualifications of teachers is complicated by the fact that prospective teachers are themselves the product of the existing educational system; training institutions must compensate for the weaknesses of the existing schools. In New Brunswick a good deal of attention has been given to the problem of teachers for official minority-language schools and significant changes have been introduced or planned.

Teacher  
qualifications

271. The financial plight of Acadian schools has been reflected in the lower academic qualifications of teachers in these schools. School boards could not offer high enough salaries to attract or retain well-qualified teachers. In 1961 almost 25 per cent of the teachers in the predominantly French counties did not have a permanent teacher's certificate; in the English counties the figure was slightly under 4 per cent.<sup>2</sup> At the same time teachers in the French counties were teaching significantly larger classes, with an average enrolment of 26 compared to 22 in the English counties.<sup>3</sup> With less adequately trained teachers teaching more students, it is safe to assume that academic standards were significantly lower. When it is recalled in the Acadian schools the teaching of English as a second language is added to the normal course load, the contrast with the English-language schools becomes even more marked.

272. Money, of course, is only part of the problem. Teachers must also be adequately trained to teach in the minority-language schools of

Training courses  
unsatisfactory

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 80, Table 4:12. In this table pupils in Grades VII to XII were considered to be the equivalent of one and one-half elementary pupils. The averages given above for the two groups of counties are unweighted averages.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 127, Table 8:2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 93, Table 4:14. These figures refer only to rural schools.

the province; most of these teachers will be Acadians, because few Anglophone teachers will be prepared to teach in French. Until recently, high school graduates who wished to obtain a permanent teacher's certificate had to attend the Teachers' College in Fredericton for two years. An effort was made to accommodate Acadian students who expected to teach in the "bilingual" elementary schools of the province; half of their courses were taught in French and there was a special methodology course in the teaching of English. However, the efforts of the Teachers' College were not entirely successful. Acadian educational leaders argued that Fredericton was an alien milieu for French-speaking students and that Acadians were reluctant to go there.<sup>1</sup> It was clear that these procedures did not meet the cultural needs of the minority-language group and that not enough elementary teachers were going to be trained at Fredericton to meet the needs of the French-language schools in the province. The importance of the milieu is also suggested by the popularity of Francophone institutions in the province where summer school courses permit teachers to improve their qualifications.

273. The situation was even less satisfactory at the secondary level. All training for this level at the Teachers' College was given in English because traditionally all secondary school teaching was to be in English—the increasing use of French in the "bilingual" secondary schools was not immediately reflected in the college programme. Very few Acadian students entered this secondary school programme. There are many possible explanations for this. Again, there was the fact of the English milieu of Fredericton, coupled this time with the difficulty of competing in English on equal terms with Anglophone students. It is also possible that the graduates of French-language high schools were less adequately trained in other academic subjects than other students attending the College.<sup>2</sup> However, students with a university degree were not required to follow this two-year programme at the Teachers' College and could qualify for a permanent certificate at summer school. It is interesting that in the three predominantly French counties the proportion of teachers with a university degree was close to or even above the provincial average, whereas in all of the six predominantly English counties it was below the provincial average.<sup>3</sup> The French-language schools were thus in the anomalous position of having a higher proportion of teachers without permanent certificates and also a higher proportion with university degrees. It is obvious that the Teachers' College was not adequately serving the needs of the secondary schools in the Acadian area.

<sup>1</sup> Brief of the Association acadienne d'éducation du Nouveau-Brunswick.

<sup>2</sup> The brief of the Société l'Assomption includes a discussion of Fredericton Teachers' College.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation in New Brunswick*, 126, Table 8:1. Figures for 1961.



274. The provincial government was not unaware of this problem. In 1962 the Royal Commission on Higher Education in New Brunswick, under the chairmanship of John J. Deutsch, suggested the location of teacher-training facilities on the campus of the proposed University of Moncton.<sup>1</sup> The government officially accepted this recommendation, and courses began in the fall of 1968. This new institution is expected to attract more prospective teachers from among the graduates of Acadian high schools and should be able to provide a programme tailored to suit the special needs of teachers for Acadian schools. It will also, incidentally, make it possible for teachers in the schools for French-speaking students in the other Atlantic provinces to obtain this special training. To the extent that this institution can train the needed teachers, one of the major problems of the Acadian schools is on its way to being resolved, not only for New Brunswick but for the whole region.

The Deutsch  
report

#### 4. *The University of Moncton*

275. The University of Moncton is one of the key institutions in the developing system of education for the French-speaking citizens of New Brunswick. The establishment of this university was recommended in 1962 by the Deutsch Commission, which pointed out that "There is no reason to suppose that the French-speaking high school graduate is less interested in higher education than his English-speaking counterpart. Indeed, the available evidence indicates that the rates for continuation to higher education among English-speaking and French-speaking high school graduates are now approximately equal."<sup>2</sup>

A key institution

276. The commission also pointed out that very few Francophones attended the English-language universities of the province. At that time there were three French-language universities in the province. The Université du Sacré-Cœur at Bathurst and the Université Saint-Louis at Edmundston were classical colleges operated by the Eudist Order; the Université Saint-Joseph at Moncton, operated by the Holy Cross Order, offered the classical course and also programmes in commerce, science, education, and engineering. The Deutsch Commission concluded that the pressure for enrolment in these institutions would increase very quickly; not only was a higher proportion of all secondary school graduates likely to attend university in the future, but in New Brunswick a higher proportion of Acadians would also be graduating from secondary schools. Since the expanded facilities could not be provided on a

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Higher Education in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1962), 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

voluntary basis by the religious orders or by the Acadian community, the commission recommended that they be provided by the provincial government. Specifically, it proposed a new institution, the University of Moncton, which would build on the specialized programme then offered at the Université Saint-Joseph with the three then-existing universities offering only the classical courses. The new university, which received its charter in 1963, is thus designed to become the French-language counterpart of the provincial University of New Brunswick at Fredericton.

A central role  
in teacher  
training

277. The creation of the University of Moncton was a recognition of the special needs of Francophone students at the university level. The new campus is being built, and already the central role of this institution in Acadian education can be seen: it is expected to train the teachers for the French-language elementary and secondary schools. The establishment of the university made possible a predominantly French-language public education from elementary to university level. Its creation drew attention to the incongruity of a secondary school system in which English was still the predominant language of instruction and doubtless accelerated the changes already referred to in the secondary programme.

### 5. Summary

278. Although many of the changes described are of recent origin and although the minority-language school system is still at an early stage of development, New Brunswick has more explicitly recognized the special educational needs of its Francophone minority than has any other English-language province—with the possible exception of Ontario, which has through its recent legislation shown an increased concern for the needs of its minority.

279. No responsible observer could argue that all the problems of minority-language education in New Brunswick have been solved. The pattern of French-language education is still developing and much remains to be done. The effects of past neglect will take a long time to eradicate, and Acadians, for whom these options are new, may be slow to take advantage of them. Many reforms are still at the planning stage. Much will depend on the acceptance by the Anglophone population of the concept of equal opportunity in education for both language groups. It is clear, however, that the emerging pattern is a radical change from the past and that it represents a coherent and logical plan for French-language education. This pattern is one of two parallel systems, one for Francophone and one for Anglophone students. The apparent enthusiasm for the plan, among both Acadian and Anglophone educators, augurs well for the future.

### C. *The Other Atlantic Provinces*

280. There are French-speaking communities in the provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. In each province, however, the Francophone population is too small to make a distinct French-language educational régime feasible. A French-language university is out of the question for any of these provinces, for example, because there would not be enough students. The University of Moncton in New Brunswick could conceivably become the centre of higher education for all Francophones in the Atlantic region and even some secondary institutions in New Brunswick might supplement the educational opportunities available to Francophones in other provinces. Interprovincial co-operation in connection with teacher training at the University of Moncton suggests that Acadian education may develop along regional rather than provincial lines in the Atlantic area. At the moment, however, the French-speaking students in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland are part of provincial educational systems primarily designed for English-speaking students.

A regional  
situation

281. In all three provinces there are schools in which French is the language of instruction. The educational systems assume that English is the normal language of instruction but concede that children need to be taught in a language they understand if they are to learn anything. The policy of English-language school systems has not been rejected, but it has been modified to allow a period of transition during which French-speaking students learn English. In practice, however, this policy has never been rigorously implemented in any of the provinces, and little effort has been made to solve the difficult pedagogical problems involved in teaching a second language so effectively that Acadian students could study in English without being handicapped. At the same time, these Acadian communities have not fully accepted the policy and have tended to resist the emphasis on English without presenting a clear alternative. The result is that most of the "bilingual" schools operate on the fringe of the provincial systems. Recent reforms of these systems, such as the consolidation of secondary schools and the diversification of the secondary programmes, have accentuated this isolation. Unless these schools can benefit from such reforms, their students will be further deprived of educational opportunities and the Francophone minorities, as well as the provinces as a whole, will be the poorer as a result.

#### 1. *Nova Scotia*

282. English was assumed to be the normal language of instruction in Nova Scotia public schools as far back as Confederation. French

French-language  
teaching introduced

apparently continued to be used in schools in Acadian communities, however, and an official policy for "bilingual" schools was adopted soon after the turn of the century. In 1902 a provincial Royal Commission was appointed to report on the schools situated in the French districts of the province. The commissioners reported:

Your Commissioners find that the fundamental error in dealing with the French schools, which must be held responsible for many of their shortcomings, has been the assumption that they must be taught exclusively in English. They find that with startling uniformity and persistency attempts have been made and are being made to educate children from French-speaking homes and with none but French-speaking playmates by means of the English language alone, sometimes from the lips of teachers who can speak nothing but English.<sup>1</sup>

The commission recommended a programme for these schools in which all subjects except English would be taught in French for the first few years of school. It also recommended the preparation of a series of French readers. For teachers there was to be a bilingual summer course at the provincial normal school and for the Acadian schools there was to be a special inspector. "Bilingual" schools became formally recognized in Nova Scotia when the government adopted these recommendations.

Instruction in  
French—prepara-  
tion for an  
education

283. It is important to note, however, that these schools were to use French as the language of instruction only for the first few years and were intended ultimately to prepare French-speaking students for an education in English. The commission itself had been established to investigate the best methods of teaching English in these schools, and one of its recommendations was that English be taught from the first grade and that it be the sole language of instruction as soon as the students had learned the language. The bilingual summer course for teachers was designed with this objective in mind. In the words of the *Manual of School Law* of 1921:

A bilingual course of a few weeks shall be given free each year during vacation time in the Provincial Normal College of Truro, to French-speaking teachers to prepare them to teach English colloquially to French pupils coming to school without a knowledge of English; in order that by the time the pupils have completed the first four grades of the public school program, all work of instruction can be carried on effectively thereafter in English.<sup>2</sup>

The programme of these schools has changed since that time, but not the official purpose. It was conceded by 1939 that Acadian pupils could not master either language adequately in the first four years of school and a new programme of studies introduced a more

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Acadian Commission*, April 28, 1902; quoted in G. Rawlyk, "Acadian Education in Nova Scotia," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B., Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in *Ibid.*, 55.

gradual transition, with English becoming the sole language of instruction in Grade IX.<sup>1</sup> The schools remain bilingual only to the extent that teaching in French is necessary to permit Acadian students to do their school work.

284. Even with this clearly stated objective it may be questioned whether the "bilingual" schools of Nova Scotia are really integrated with the provincial school system. If French-speaking pupils are to reach Grade X with an adequate knowledge of both French and English, and at the same time with an adequate knowledge of all the other subjects on the provincial curriculum, it is obvious that they must be given special attention. There is little evidence to suggest that departmental officials have done much planning or paid much attention to the unique problems of "bilingual" schools. The bilingual summer course for teachers at the normal school and a subsequent course at the Collège Sainte-Anne were abandoned. A decision has recently been made, however, to assist teachers of "bilingual" schools to attend the proposed normal school at the University of Moncton, although even as late as 1959 the department of Education rejected a similar proposal to assist these teachers to attend a French-language university outside the province.<sup>2</sup> "Bilingual" schools exist in Nova Scotia, but they exist as isolated, neglected, and almost forgotten appendages of the provincial English-language school system. Only the private Collège Sainte-Anne has offered an education in which French was the normal language of instruction. It is revealing that the Acadian schools were never the subject of articles in the Nova Scotian *Education Office Gazette* or the *Journal of Education* between 1954 and 1965, and were never mentioned by the Royal Commission on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation of 1944 or by the Royal Commission on Public School Finance in Nova Scotia of 1954. No doubt the department of Education has been concerned with educational and administrative reforms for the provincial school system, but these reforms apparently did not reach out to include the schools for the Acadians as an integral part of the system.<sup>3</sup> The Acadians themselves, lacking the strength of numbers of their compatriots in New Brunswick, have mainly stressed the need for a special course in French for Acadian students, while accepting the assumption that these students should at the same time learn

An isolated  
régime

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, 72.

<sup>2</sup> Nova Scotia Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1959* (Halifax, 1960), 50.

<sup>3</sup> The speech from the throne at the opening of the legislature of Nova Scotia on February 22, 1968, repeated the stand taken by the Premier at the Federal-Provincial Conference on constitutional matters held earlier in the month in Ottawa, namely, "that French-speaking Canadians outside of the Province of Quebec should have the same legal rights in education as English-speaking Canadians have in Quebec." It further stated that the legislature would be asked to consider "facilities for teaching children whose mother tongue is French in areas where the number of French-speaking people makes it appropriate to improve facilities."

English.<sup>1</sup> If they are insisting that educational reforms must be compatible with the preservation of their mother tongue, an enlargement of educational opportunities for the Francophone minority in Nova Scotia will certainly involve more than a special *cours de français*.

## 2. Prince Edward Island

An English-  
language system

285. In Prince Edward Island there are no "bilingual" schools by law; officially, at least, French-speaking children attend non-confessional public schools where English is the language of instruction. In 1963 the department of Education did approve a special programme prepared by Acadian organizations for the teaching of French, beginning in Grade 1. This programme has been introduced only in schools where the student body is almost entirely Acadian and therefore is restricted to some schools in Prince county and not offered in urban schools. Even in the Acadian areas, the students continue to follow the regular school curriculum, with textbooks and examinations in English, so this French programme is really extra-curricular—an additional burden that teacher and student undertake voluntarily because of the importance they give to the French language. Teachers in these schools may resort to explanations in French when teaching other subjects, but the shortage of Francophone teachers and the constraint of having to prepare for departmental examinations in English doubtless limits even this unofficial use of French.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Newfoundland

Limited  
opportunities

286. French settlement on the island of Newfoundland goes back to the 17th century and French fishing rights on the Treaty Shore survived until the 20th century. However, the small French settlement had no political guarantees. From the middle of the 19th century, the community was served by an Irish priest and, in the words of the brief submitted to this Commission by Memorial University of Newfoundland:

Thereafter, the Irish influence dominated the church on the West Coast as it had from the beginning in the East. The consequent decline in the use of the French language was hastened by the influx of English-speaking settlers from Nova Scotia and from other parts of Newfoundland. By the time the

<sup>1</sup> Brief of the Association acadienne d'éducation de la Nouvelle-Écosse, and the transcript of Commission hearings for the Société Saint-Pierre du diocèse d'Antigonish.

<sup>2</sup> The speech from the throne at the opening of the legislature of Prince Edward Island on February 22, 1968, announced that the government "approved in principle the recommendations of the 'B. and B.' report . . . [and] . . . proposes to encourage measures to improve instruction of, and in, the French language in appropriate circumstances."

area came under the direct control of the Newfoundland Government the process of assimilation was well advanced and this process has not been reversed, nor even checked.<sup>1</sup>

The educational system of Newfoundland still recognizes sectarian but not linguistic differences. On the island there are no French-language schools. But in the new community of Labrador City on the mainland, there is an English section and a French section in each of the two elementary schools, with the French-speaking students following the course of study prescribed by the province of Quebec. These are the only "bilingual" schools in Newfoundland.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. Summary

287. The prerequisite for any improvement of the "bilingual" schools in these three Atlantic provinces is clarification of the purpose of these schools. The departments of Education have tended to think of them in the context of the provincial educational systems. Since post-secondary and often secondary education in each province can only be provided in English, these schools were seen as transitional institutions, preparing French-speaking students for an education in English. The French-speaking minority, however, saw this as a policy of assimilation, which doubtless accounts in part for the high dropout rates in Acadian communities. Most Acadian parents concede that their children must have a sound knowledge of English, but not at the cost of losing their mother tongue.

288. Minority-language schools which would ensure a balance between the two languages could meet the aims of both the provincial authorities and the minority groups. But this solution cannot easily be achieved by these provinces acting independently. The retention of a mother tongue in a minority situation requires special programmes and specially trained teachers. To instil a sound knowledge of a second language also requires special programmes, complete with textbooks and audio-visual aids, and bilingual teachers trained to teach these programmes in the classrooms. It is doubtful whether any of these three provinces alone has the resources required for an adequate régime of French-language education. Geographically, however, the region

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<sup>1</sup> Brief of Memorial University of Newfoundland, § 23. It should be noted that this process is by no means complete. Of the 3,150 persons in Newfoundland giving French as their mother tongue in the census of 1961, 1,571 live in the census division which includes this west coast area, and only 965 live in Labrador.

<sup>2</sup> The speech from the throne at the opening of the legislature of Newfoundland on February 21, 1968, announced that consideration was to be given to legislation "designed to give to all Canadian citizens in this province whose mother tongue is French rights equal to those enjoyed by law by Canadians in the Province of Quebec whose mother tongue is English."

is small and many of the problems are similar. By regional co-operation a great deal could be accomplished. The provincial departments of Education are aware of the situation; they have adapted textbooks prepared for French-language schools in other provinces, and have expressed interest in sending prospective bilingual school teachers to the new Teachers' College at the University of Moncton. Closer liaison and joint programmes among these three provinces and with New Brunswick would further reduce the duplication of effort and make it more feasible to prepare programmes designed specifically for the needs of the Francophone minorities in the Atlantic region.

#### *D. The Four Western Provinces*

A new and  
diversified  
society

289. The French-speaking minorities of the four western provinces differ in many ways from those of the other provinces. They naturally share many of the characteristics of their English-speaking western neighbours. They belong to a relatively new society which took shape with the coming of the railway and mass migration to the Prairies, even though some Francophones in the West are descended from fur-traders and settlers of an earlier era. On the Pacific coast, Francophones are often recent arrivals, having moved from the Prairies like many other West Coast residents. As part of a broader migration pattern, the French-speaking Canadians in the West are more widely dispersed and there are no large areas comparable to counties in Ontario and New Brunswick where they form a dominant majority. And at the same time that western Francophones tend to have closer contacts with Anglophones, they are also more remote from the centre of French-speaking society, the province of Quebec.

290. Even more important, western Francophones are only one linguistic or cultural minority among many, and often not the largest minority group. In every English-speaking province from Ontario to the Atlantic—including Newfoundland—the Francophones are by far the largest minority group. In the West they are outnumbered by Canadians of Ukrainian mother tongue in each of the three Prairie provinces, by Canadians of German mother tongue in all four western provinces, and are only slightly more numerous than some groups of other mother tongues. In the West, therefore, seen as a regional group, they appear as part of a larger minority situation. At an early stage in their history the western provinces were faced with the problem of creating common political and social institutions for citizens with a multiplicity of languages and traditions. Almost inevitably English was adopted—often with the warm approval of members of other language groups—as the common language to make such institutions possible and workable.



In the eyes of many westerners, French-speaking Canadians were a minority group just like any other, and were subjected to many of the same pressures.

291. Even in the western provinces, however, the Francophones have received some special recognition. In education, equality of opportunity is still usually interpreted to mean the opportunity to learn English and then compete on equal terms with other English-speaking Canadians. But recognition has been given to French-speaking students and there is no comparable recognition for other language groups. In the three Prairie provinces, for example, there is an official programme of French for these students for one school period each day, beginning in the first grade.

Some official recognition for the French language

### 1. *British Columbia*

292. In British Columbia, French-speaking Canadians until very recently received no official recognition in the school system. There are no publicly supported denominational schools and so there has been no concentration of French-speaking children in separate Roman Catholic schools. In addition, the Francophones are predominantly urban, so few public schools have a largely Francophone student body. Since children from French-language homes have almost invariably learned English before going to school, English can be and is the language of instruction from the first grade. There are three private schools financed by French Canadian parishes in the Vancouver area, and the experience in these schools is that the children of French-speaking parents are often more at ease in English than in French. Thus, administrators of the public schools in the province saw no reason to adapt the curriculum or the language of instruction for the benefit of French-speaking students.

293. For many Francophones in the province, the pervasiveness of English is seen as a threat to French even as a second language for their children, and the school system has been the focus of their efforts to preserve their mother tongue at least to that degree. The Francophone community in Vancouver has been strengthened by the arrival of new families from Quebec but it has always had to depend on financial assistance from Quebec and on teaching orders in Quebec to keep the parochial schools open. In 1965 the Fédération canadienne-française de la Colombie-Britannique proposed that the provincial government should in effect replace these parochial schools by public, non-denominational schools in which French should be a language of instruction.<sup>1</sup> In a speech delivered on October 18, 1967, Premier

Efforts to retain a degree of French

<sup>1</sup>Brief presented to the provincial minister of Education by FCFCB, December 14, 1965.

Bennett, while insisting that there would be but one school system in British Columbia, left the way open for school boards to establish classes in which French would be the language of instruction where the demand was sufficient.<sup>1</sup> The Fédération canadienne-française accordingly presented a brief to the Board of School Trustees of Coquitlam on behalf of the Francophone population of Maillardville, requesting a programme of French instruction. The Coquitlam School Board advised the Fédération on March 1, 1968, that their request had been approved, and a request for the necessary authorization forwarded to the minister of Education. The text of the resolution stated:

That the Board wishes authority from the Department to proceed with an experimental project in French language instruction in September 1968, and the acceptance of the normal costs of operating classes as shareable expenses of the Board.

That the Board proposes to establish one or more kindergarten classes to be instructed through the medium of the French language, with the prospect further of establishing a similar program to carry children through the three primary years of elementary school.

That in the course of development of the four-year program such as indicated above, directions for later development will become apparent.

On July 24, 1968, the chairman of the Coquitlam School Board announced that approval had been granted by the provincial government to proceed with this programme, subject to certain conditions. Therefore, it is apparent that, in British Columbia, as elsewhere in Canada, the place of French as a language of instruction in the school is being reappraised.

## 2. Alberta

Some instruction  
in French  
permitted

294. There have been "bilingual" schools in Alberta for many years. These schools may be classified as public or separate schools but, whatever the official designation, the student body is usually Roman Catholic and Francophone. The provincial School Act states that "all schools shall be taught in the English language," but this was qualified by a section of the Act allowing a school board to authorize instruction in French under certain conditions. The language usage in these "bilingual" schools was described in the annual report of the provincial department of Education for 1952:

Eight of the Superintendents reported that there are bilingual schools in their divisions in which French is used as the language in which instruction is given during a part of the school day. . . . In schools where all of the pupils in Grade 1 are members of French-speaking families, French is used almost entirely in the teaching of this class in the early part of the school

<sup>1</sup> See report in *The Columbian*, October 19, 1967.

year, and to a decreasing extent in the latter part of the first year. The standard plan for Grade II is that French may be used for teaching for half of the school day. In Grades III to IX the daily period for instruction in French is one hour. In one of the reports [the Superintendent noted] a tendency to exceed these time-limitations, which are as given in the authorized Primary Course in French for Bi-lingual Schools. . . . As the pupils come to the senior grades there are evident benefits to the pupils from their reading, oral work, composition and grammar studies in both English and French. . . . In general, the teachers in the bilingual schools show a very favorable aptitude for the work which they carry on in two languages.<sup>1</sup>

295. French thus has a privileged position in Alberta schools compared to other minority languages, since no other language is authorized as a language of instruction. Even French-speaking students, however, are taught mainly in English after two or three years in school, and are expected to compete on equal terms with English-speaking students. In subsequent years, however, a limited amount of French is taught in the classroom with the objective of helping Franco-Albertans retain the use of their mother tongue.

296. This policy has sometimes been criticized. The majority report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta in 1959 conceded that "French should (and does) enjoy special status in our public schools generally" but went on to argue that "there are many languages represented in Alberta, some of which have ethnic value and academic status equal to those of French." This report therefore recommended that the special provisions for French to the end of Grade VI should be extended to other minority languages in the province and that the period devoted to this study be reduced to one-half hour per day; after Grade VI students would follow the courses prescribed by the department of Education.<sup>2</sup> The minority report, on the other hand, argued that French should not be considered as just another minority language because "it is a fact that French is the language of the second culture in Canada," and argued that there was no valid reason for restricting the time allotted to the teaching of French.<sup>3</sup>

297. The differences of opinion within this commission doubtless reflect differences to be found among citizens of the province. However, the policy of the department of Education continues to give French a special status. A primary course in languages other than English or French has recently been authorized, but French remains the only minority language which can be continued after the early grades. An amendment to the School Act in 1964 confirmed this situation and made it more precise. By this amendment French may be the language of instruction in the first two grades, although English is to be taught

Report of the  
Royal Commission  
on Education in  
Alberta

Increasing  
opportunities  
for instruction  
in French

<sup>1</sup> Alberta Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1952* (Edmonton, 1953), 38-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta* (Edmonton, 1959), 125-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 425-7.

for at least one hour a day; in the third grade, teaching in French is permitted for a maximum of two hours a day and in subsequent grades in French courses in literature and grammar, for not more than one hour a day.<sup>1</sup> Provision for this instruction in French is dependent on the approval of local school boards. We were assured by Francophone educators from Alberta who appeared before us at our public hearings that the provincial officials were increasingly sympathetic to the teaching of French in "bilingual" schools. At the same time, these educators agreed that Francophone children in Alberta must learn English.<sup>2</sup> As in many other provinces, both the departmental officials and the minority appear to be agreed on the need to teach the two languages in the minority-language schools and the differences of opinion that do arise represent differences of emphasis.

**An optional programme**

298. The French taught in these schools is of primary importance to the minority because the retention of the mother tongue depends to a large extent on the quality of the French taught in the schools. The original programme was prepared under the initiative of the Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta. It covers the 12 years of elementary and secondary school and the annual province-wide *concours de français* conducted by ACFA is still closely associated with it. The organization and the administration of the programme are now the responsibility of a voluntary organization of teachers, the Association des éducateurs bilingues de l'Alberta. The students, too, follow the programme by choice because it is an option and is at a more advanced level than the French programme on the curriculum for the other students of the province. The programme is now officially approved by the provincial department of Education. The importance of the French language to the Francophone minority in Alberta is suggested by the fact that thousands of students participate in the *concours de français* each year.

299. Neither the teachers nor students involved are completely satisfied with this programme, however. The courses of study have placed a strong emphasis on reading and translation skills and it is

<sup>1</sup> Since this writing, an act to amend the School Law in Alberta (Bill 34) was passed on April 4, 1968, providing that: the board of a district or division may by resolution authorize that French be used as a language of instruction in addition to the English language, in its school or schools in Grades I to XII inclusive but in that case

- a) in Grades I and II at least an hour each day shall be devoted to instruction in English
- b) in Grades above II the total period of time in which French is used as a language of instruction shall not exceed 50 per cent of the total period of time devoted to classroom instruction each day, and
- c) the Board and all schools of a district or division using French as a language of instruction pursuant to clause (b) shall comply with any regulation that the lieutenant Governor in Council may make governing the organization and application of the use of French as a language of instruction.

<sup>2</sup> Transcript of presentation of the brief of the Association des éducateurs bilingues de l'Alberta.

generally agreed that the oral skills require more attention. But the Franco-Albertan associations do not have the resources to prepare new courses of study complete with the audio-visual aids which are essential parts of such a programme.<sup>1</sup> The department of Education, however, has accepted more responsibility for the teaching of French to Francophones since the 1964 amendment to the School Act; a new syllabus, prepared by the department, was introduced for the first two grades in 1965, and extensions of this syllabus are expected.

300. Inevitably there have been difficulties in ensuring that this programme is available to all French-speaking students who wish to follow it. In linguistically mixed communities, separate classes must be organized and bilingual teachers must be provided. At the secondary level especially, these arrangements posed serious problems in the past. The consolidation of school districts into divisions with larger school enrolments has made the provision of separate classes and specialized teachers more feasible in many areas, although this consolidation was at first opposed by some minority spokesmen. Their opposition was based on two criticisms. When divisions were formed, little attention was given to the cultural and linguistic composition of the communities involved, and in some cases it was felt that division boundaries could have been designed to concentrate French-speaking communities in a single division rather than dividing them between two divisions. More serious was the fear that the administrators of the consolidated districts would be unsympathetic to the bilingual programme. In many local communities the majority on the local school board were Francophones, but at the district level the Francophone representatives were in the minority and there was no assurance that the French programme would be provided for French-speaking students.<sup>2</sup> In practice, however, most divisions have been sympathetic to the requests of the minority and, although instruction in French remains dependent upon the goodwill of the majority, the process of school consolidation does not seem to have seriously restricted the teaching of this programme. In the long run this consolidation may well make it easier to offer the programme, especially at the secondary level.

301. A recent development in the city of Edmonton deserves special mention. The Edmonton Separate School Board groups French-speaking students in separate classes in elementary schools where the number of students makes this possible, and these classes are given instruction

The effects of  
school con-  
solidation

A successful  
experiment in  
Edmonton

<sup>1</sup> For appraisals of the programme, see Sister Saint-Sylva, "An Investigation of the Teaching of French in the Bilingual Schools of Alberta and Saskatchewan" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1960), and also replies to a questionnaire submitted by AEBBA to its members in preparation of its brief to the R.C.B. & B.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, reports prepared for the meetings of the Association des commissaires d'écoles catholiques de langue française du Canada, in 1959 and 1960.

in French as authorized by the School Act. At the junior high school level, however, specialization made it impossible to keep these students in the same class, and many could not take the French programme. In 1965 the Board of Trustees, in consultation with the French Canadian Association of Edmonton, decided to rent classroom space in two private French-language schools in order to offer its French-speaking students both the regular junior high school programme in English and the French programme. This arrangement has the additional advantage of providing a school milieu in which French is spoken outside the classroom. Some students now have further to go to school, but the response has been encouraging. The programme seems to be working satisfactorily and may even be extended in the future to the senior high school level. It is felt that this special arrangement gives French-speaking students a better chance to retain and improve their French and so become truly bilingual.

#### Teacher training

302. The French programme in the public schools of Alberta is naturally dependent on qualified bilingual teachers. In the past, the provincial department of Education took no responsibility for providing language training for these teachers. School boards of "bilingual" schools in the province had to rely on finding teachers who were French-speaking in addition to their formal qualifications. Inevitably most of them came from Francophone communities within the province and, although some had studied French as a subject at the university level, few had any special training in the teaching of French. Since 1963, however, students at the University of Alberta in Edmonton have been allowed to take the first two years of the three-year teacher-training programme at the private French-language Collège Saint-Jean, whose education faculty is affiliated with the university. This programme imposes an additional burden of a year, since certification is possible after two years in the normal programme, but it does at least provide special preparation for the responsibilities of teaching in "bilingual" schools. The graduates of this programme should have a better knowledge of French as well as of methods of teaching French in provincial schools. It is of course too soon to tell whether this training programme can hope to supply the demand for bilingual teachers.

### 3. Saskatchewan

#### A limited status for French

303. In Saskatchewan schools the recognition given to the French language is much more limited. The first grade was once considered a transitional year in French-speaking communities, with French being used as the major language of instruction. In 1931, however, the School Act was amended to read that "English shall be the sole lan-

guage of instruction and no language other than English shall be taught during school hours." The same amendment did allow the teaching of French as a subject for one hour a day but was careful to state that "such teaching shall consist of French reading, French grammar and French composition."<sup>1</sup> This created an anomalous situation: French could be taught but presumably it had to be taught in English. After considerable pressure from French-speaking parents, the Act was amended in 1967 to allow French to be "taught or used as the language of instruction" for one hour a day.<sup>2</sup> This use of French is more restricted than that allowed in Alberta schools, but it does give French a status which no other minority language has in Saskatchewan.

304. As in Alberta, the course of study for this special French programme began as a result of the initiative of French Canadian voluntary organizations. The Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan and the Association des commissaires d'écoles franco-canadiens developed and administered both the programme and the examinations. The course was an addition to the standard curriculum, although it could be taught during school hours. At one time no academic credit was given for this programme, even at the high school level, although credit was given to those who took the provincial French programme designed for students studying French as a second language. In 1958, however, the provincial government accorded academic recognition to the ACEFC programme at the high school level and has subsequently assumed some of the financial and administrative responsibility for the programme.

An optional programme

305. This special French programme is permitted by the School Act, but once again it can be offered in a school only with the authorization of the local school board. Again it appeared that the number of students taking the course would be reduced when school districts were consolidated, and Francophone leaders complained that the boundaries of the larger districts were drawn with little regard to ethnic factors. They feared that the Anglophone majorities in the larger districts would show little sympathy for the desire of the Francophone minority to study their language, but a few years of experience have modified these fears. The consolidated schools do provide a predominantly English milieu, in contrast to the smaller "bilingual" schools, but the larger student body also makes it possible to place French-speaking students in separate classes. Although no accurate statistics are available, it is generally agreed that at least

Effects of school consolidation

<sup>1</sup> The School Act, R.S.S. 1965, c.184, s.209.

<sup>2</sup> An Act to amend the School Act, S.S. 1967, 15-16 Eliz. II, c.35, s.10. The same amendment also allows a daily half-hour of religious instruction to be "given in a language other than English."

as many students are following the special French programme now as before the consolidation of the school districts.<sup>1</sup>

Saskatoon parents  
protest

306. The contrast between the position of the French-speaking minorities in Saskatchewan and Alberta is more obvious in the urban centres. The Francophones in Saskatchewan are more widely dispersed throughout the province and there is no significant French-speaking community in any of the cities. In Edmonton, as we have seen, the Separate School Board has made special provisions for Francophone students. In Saskatoon, however, the Separate School Board felt that the number of Francophone students was too small to justify any significant changes in its school administration. The stated policy of the Board was to allow two half-hour periods per week outside of the regular school hours for the teaching of the French programme, with the students' parents paying one-half of the money given to the teacher for teaching the class. A controversy arose when a group of French-speaking parents asked to have the programme taught during school hours, with the Board arguing that the number of students involved did not warrant separate classes in each grade and that to separate these students from the regular classes for the French periods would cause too much disruption in the schools. In the spring of 1965 the French-speaking parents withdrew their children from school for a few days as a protest.

Some minor  
changes

307. Partly as a result of this protest the provincial government appointed a committee later in the year to inquire into the existing programmes of French instruction and to assess the educational implications of instruction in languages other than English in the provincial schools. The committee reported in July of 1966.<sup>2</sup> It argued that restrictions on teaching in languages other than English were originally imposed because of the great need for all children to learn English, but that today this justification is no longer valid because most children entering Grade 1 can speak English. The committee considered that, of the languages other than English, French deserved a special status because of its national and international utility. Nevertheless, the committee did not recommend sweeping changes in the curriculum. It did point out the anomaly of restricting the French programme to the study of reading, grammar, and composition in view of the present emphasis on oral French, and proposed an amendment to the School Act to allow French to be used as a language of instruction during the period set aside for the French programme. It also suggested that the department and the school boards should make a special effort to offer this pro-

<sup>1</sup>Brief of the Association culturelle franco-canadienne de la Saskatchewan et l'Association des commissaires d'écoles franco-canadiens.

<sup>2</sup>Report of the Saskatchewan Committee on Instruction in Languages other than English.



gramme wherever it was administratively feasible. The committee did approve the idea of experimental programmes in which instruction in French might exceed one hour a day, but on the whole its recommendations implied only minor changes in the existing situation. Its report suggests, however, that there is some sympathy for the demands of the Francophone minority in the province and, as we have noted, the provincial government has already adopted the proposal that French be permitted as a language of instruction for one hour a day.<sup>1</sup>

308. The French programme in Saskatchewan is further hampered by the lack of training facilities for the teachers. Until recently no course was offered in teaching methods for this programme. One of the briefs presented to the Committee on Language Instruction proposed that a special college of education be established for the training of these teachers, but the committee concluded that the cost and the limited number of teachers involved made this impossible; they felt that newly established courses on the teaching of French at existing institutions would be adequate. The problem still remains of ensuring that the teachers' knowledge of French, and especially of oral French, is adequate for a special French programme. Few people would argue that one or two university courses in French are adequate, even for a teacher who may have followed the special French programme in school as a child.

Lack of teacher-training facilities

#### 4. *Manitoba*

309. The status of French as a language of instruction in the public schools is changing even more rapidly in Manitoba than in Saskatchewan or Alberta. The situation in Manitoba has differed in part for historical reasons. As we have seen, provincially supported denominational schools disappeared in the 1890's, but after a prolonged controversy the Laurier-Greenway compromise allowed a period of religious instruction at the end of the school day and some instruction in a language other than English in "bilingual" schools. There was no special status for French in this arrangement and, when the provincial government abolished the "bilingual" schools in 1916, all languages of instruction other than English, including French, officially disappeared. Until 1967 the law still gave no special recognition to French; the Public School Act stated that English was to be the language of instruction and other languages might be used only during a period of religious

English the official language of instruction

<sup>1</sup>The speech from the throne at the opening of the Saskatchewan legislature on February 15, 1968, stated that: "You will be asked to approve legislation permitting the use of French as the language of instruction in the schools of certain areas, where the number of French-speaking students makes such a program economically feasible."

teaching or a period authorized in the programme of studies for the teaching of a second language.<sup>1</sup>

Local "under-standings"

310. In practice the use of French in the schools after 1916 was less restricted than the law implied. The Francophone population was more concentrated than in the other Prairie provinces and in French-speaking communities it was often possible to ignore the law. The local school board, composed of Francophones, could hire a Francophone teacher who would then use French in the classroom. Since the students often understood no other language when they first arrived at school, French was inevitable for the first grades in any case, and the provincial school inspectors tolerated the situation. A community study of the 1930's reported that "recent 'understandings' allow the use of French as the language of instruction during the early years in a few of the closely segregated French Canadian districts."<sup>2</sup> The appointment of Francophone inspectors for French-speaking areas facilitated such understandings.

311. This situation virtually isolated many rural schools from the provincial school system. Given the desire of a community to preserve the French language and the willingness of departmental officials to overlook irregularities, it is not surprising that French was often used as a language of instruction. Nothing was done, however, to develop a special programme for these schools. Textbooks were in English and the examinations at the end of elementary school had to be written in English. Evidence suggests that for many years only a small proportion of Francophone students from these schools even attempted this final hurdle; certainly, few of them went on to secondary school.

French-language instruction declining

312. Over the last two decades the use of French in these schools has steadily declined. Part of the reason is that even teachers of French Canadian origin will have taken their secondary schooling and teacher training in English. These teachers are often more at ease in English than in French, and they have tended to use English as the language of instruction when faced with a classroom situation in which they teach from English textbooks in preparation for examinations in English. The shift to English may also represent the increasing importance given by the parents to advanced education, and the realization that the provincial school system is an English-language system. The isolation of the schools in French-speaking communities has been gradually breaking down, but at the cost of a declining retention of the French mother tongue.

313. French could be taught as a subject in the elementary schools, as well as being used for religious instruction. As in the other Prairie

<sup>1</sup>Public Schools Act, R.S.M. 1954, c.215, s.240 (amended in 1967).

<sup>2</sup>C. A. Dawson, *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, VII: Group Settlement—Ethnic Communities of Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936), 371.

provinces, a special course of study to teach French to Francophones was initiated by a voluntary association of educators, the Association d'éducation des Canadiens français du Manitoba. This group is still directly involved with this programme, although today the provincial department of Education has taken over the administrative and financial responsibility. Again, this special French programme can be interpreted to mean that French has had a special status among languages other than English in the provincial school system.

314. The situation in the metropolitan area of Winnipeg is more complicated. Some French-speaking families are to be found in most districts, but most of them live in St. Boniface. Even there the population of French mother tongue no longer constitutes a majority, although they are the largest cultural group—36 per cent in 1961. In the public schools in St. Boniface, the special French programme is normally offered to Francophones. In 1965 the St. Boniface School Board decided to build a "French option" elementary school which would enrol only French-speaking children. The provincial department of Education approved the plan and the by-law received the necessary majority, although there was organized opposition to the plan from a predominantly Anglophone subdivision. The aim was to create a milieu which would foster the use of French while adhering strictly to the legal requirement to use English as the language of instruction.<sup>1</sup> However, for many Francophone parents in the metropolitan area, restrictions on the use of the French mother tongue—added to their concern for religious as well as linguistic and cultural values—have resulted in the resort to private rather than public schools for their children, with the attendant financial sacrifice.

St. Boniface—  
a special  
situation

315. At the secondary level, the language requirements resemble those for elementary schools. Again, a special advanced French programme can be offered as an alternative to the course designed for learning French as a second language. The consolidation of the secondary schools in Manitoba created no serious complications, because the provincial government paid careful attention to the linguistic factor in establishing the boundaries of the consolidated districts. Most of the French-speaking students are concentrated in certain secondary schools, and the large majority are probably enrolled in the special French programme.

French-language  
instruction in  
secondary schools

316. One consequence of the fact that the special programme in French was an unofficial administrative arrangement is that little has been done to train teachers specifically for the teaching of French to

Teacher training  
in English

<sup>1</sup> See *St. Boniface Courier*, January 19, 1966. The provincial minister of Education subsequently announced that the special French programme was open to all students who wished to take it; *Winnipeg Free Press*, March 15, 1966.

Francophone students. All teacher training is in English and, although the Collège de Saint-Boniface is affiliated with the University of Manitoba, there is no arrangement comparable to that in Edmonton whereby prospective teachers of this programme can pursue part of their studies in French.

The School  
Act amended

317. In 1967, an amendment to the provincial School Act<sup>1</sup> significantly changed the status of French in Manitoba schools. French is now officially accepted as a language of instruction, and may be used as such for as much as one-half of the school day. But the exercise of this right is subject to certain restrictions: the school board must first submit a proposal for teaching in French, stating the subjects to be taught and the number of hours involved, and the minister of Education has absolute discretion to approve, modify, or reject the proposal. But even if school boards and the minister of Education show enthusiasm for the increased use of French as a language of instruction, a great deal must be done before the legislation can have any significant effect. Textbooks and teaching aids in French will be required, and trained teachers who can teach other subjects in French must be available. The new amendment suggests that the provincial government intends to extend the use of French in minority-language schools but it is still too early to assess all the implications of the new policy, and it will be some years before the policy can be effectively implemented. It is clear, however, that the way has been opened to provide Franco-Manitobans with greater access to an education in their mother tongue in the public school system.

### 5. Summary

318. It is difficult to summarize the educational situation for French-speaking Canadians in the four western provinces, because this situation varies from province to province depending on patterns of settlement, the historical background, and the attitude of the Anglophone majority. Nevertheless, the Francophones in the West face common problems in their efforts to preserve their language. In each of the four provinces they are relatively few in number, they are scattered geographically, and they do not constitute the largest minority group. As a result there are few places or institutions in which French is the normal language of communication. In addition, the Anglophone majority has been reluctant to consider the situation of the French-speaking minority in the context of the place of French language and culture in Canada.

319. The aspirations of Francophone westerners are tempered by these facts. The initiatives taken by their voluntary associations illus-

<sup>1</sup> An Act to amend the Public Schools Act (2), S.M. 1966-67, 15-16 Eliz. II, c.49.

trate their determination to preserve their mother tongue and to pass it on to their children, but at the same time they recognize the necessity of a sound grasp of the English language. In other words, the French Canadian organizations assume that the objective of the education régime for Francophones in the West is to graduate bilingual students. Departments of Education have in general responded to this aspiration with an arrangement whereby the French language may be taught in a special course for an hour or so a day in each grade. All other instruction is in English.

320. The consequences of this régime should be obvious. The present system assures an adequate knowledge of the English language and the gradual disappearance of the French language. When English is the dominant language within the school, it is not surprising that English becomes the common language of communication in the school yard. English is so pervasive in all areas of the child's life that it can almost be said that it is becoming the first language of the French Canadian minority in the West.

321. Francophones want their children to learn English but they also want them to speak French. The present system will not graduate students with an adequate knowledge of their mother tongue. One period a day in French is not enough to counteract the linguistic pressures of the community, and improvements in the language courses alone will not achieve this aim. In a study done for the Commission, a comparison was made between the knowledge of French of Grade XI students enrolled in the special French programme in each of the three Prairie provinces and French-speaking students in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick. In general, the achievement on the tests declined as the distance from Quebec increased.<sup>1</sup> Improvements can certainly be made in the courses of study for the special French programme and in the training of the teachers who teach this programme, but the hours of exposure to French in the classroom must also be greatly increased if future students are to retain the use of their mother tongue, even to the extent of being bilingual.

### *E. Federally-administered Schools*

322. Although the B.N.A. Act states that education is primarily a provincial responsibility, there are exceptional circumstances which involve the federal government directly in providing elementary and secondary education. In the Yukon the schools are operated by the territorial government. In the Northwest Territories, however, schools are a

Three areas  
of federal  
responsibility

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix II, Table 7.

federal responsibility. The federal government also has a special obligation for the education of Indian and Eskimo children, even if they live within provincial boundaries; it may operate federal schools or it may arrange to have these children attend schools administered by provincial governments or religious organizations. It also assumes responsibility for the education of some dependents of Canadian Armed Forces personnel and again may provide schools or may arrange to have the children attend provincial schools.

323. In each category of federal schools, the total enrolment is relatively small and widely dispersed. The federal government must often rely on provincial systems to provide some educational services, especially at the secondary level, and in some cases this reliance on provincial systems is increased by the deliberate policy of the federal authorities to send children to provincial schools whenever possible.

### *1. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development*

324. In 1966 some 60,000 Indian students were attending schools under the supervision of the Indian Affairs branch. This included students in every province except Newfoundland, and in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. Not only are these students dispersed over a vast area but they differ greatly in their cultural and linguistic background. No single curriculum could be appropriate for such a diverse group of students, even at the elementary level. At the secondary level, the difficulties are compounded by the small number of students involved. Comprehensive Indian high schools, even on a regional basis, are out of the question. The Indian Affairs branch could not operate an effective separate educational system for Indian children even if it wanted to.

Integration into  
the provincial  
school system

325. In fact, the federal government has no such intention. Its policy is to integrate these students as completely as possible into the existing provincial school systems. Almost half the Indian students are enrolled in provincial schools. At the secondary level the proportion is much higher. The Indian Affairs branch accepts financial responsibility for these students and co-operates with provincial authorities in developing special programmes to meet their cultural and linguistic problems. Federal schools are maintained only when provincial schools do not offer a convenient alternative, and even these schools follow the provincial curricula.

Language use  
in Indian schools

326. In provinces where English is the official language of instruction, this means that English is taught to Indian students as their second language. The Indian tongue may be used during a preliminary transitional period, but the transition to English is made as quickly as possible. In Quebec and New Brunswick, Indian bands may choose

between English and French as the language of instruction. English has been widely used in Indian schools, however, partly because many of the first Indian schools were established by Protestant missions.

327. The pattern is different for schools in the Northwest Territories. Here the Northern Administration branch is responsible for providing schools for Indians, Eskimos, and the white population. In 1966 the enrolment was just over 7,000 students, drawn from an area of 1,000,000 square miles. The school programmes are usually based on the curricula of the provinces immediately to the south—Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario for the Districts of Mackenzie, Keewatin, and Franklin respectively.<sup>1</sup> For Arctic Quebec, where the branch also has schools, the curriculum of the Protestant committee of Quebec is followed. There is a special social studies programme which includes some material on native cultures of the north, and special language programmes have been developed to meet the needs of Indian and Eskimo children. English is the official language of instruction in accordance with the Northwest Territories Ordinance. In recent years this has created some difficulties in Arctic Quebec, where the provincial government argues that French should be the language of instruction. No final decision has been made as to whether the Eskimos of this region should be taught in English or French or in both languages. It is generally agreed that the Eskimos themselves should be consulted, but how the final decision should be arrived at is still not clear.

In the  
Northwest  
Territories

328. The designation of English as the sole official language of instruction in federal schools in the Northwest Territories runs counter to the Commission's principle of two official languages, and of the moral right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice. Here as elsewhere we believe that parents should have the right to choose French or English as the language of instruction for their children, and that this right should only be qualified by minimum enrolment requirements. Federally administered schools should scrupulously respect the principle of equal partnership, and should provide comparable opportunities for an education in either French or English whenever it is possible to do so.

## 2. *The Department of National Defence*<sup>2</sup>

329. The federal government has no legal obligation to provide for the education of the children of Canadian Armed Forces personnel. In practice, however, the department of National Defence must accept

Education  
arranged through  
local schools

<sup>1</sup> In the Yukon the programmes are based on the British Columbia curriculum.

<sup>2</sup> Recommendations concerning the education of dependents of Armed Forces personnel will be included in the chapter devoted to the Armed Forces in the Book of our *Report* dealing with the work world.

some responsibility. As an employer, the department expects service personnel to accept postings to isolated military establishments in Canada or abroad, and married servicemen could not be expected to accept this condition of employment unless there were nearby schools or the costs of sending their children to more distant schools were defrayed. Wherever possible these children are enrolled in a local public school. If there is no public school in the area, or the local school is too small to accommodate the dependents of servicemen, the department usually provides the required educational facilities. Only in exceptional circumstances has the department contributed to the cost of sending dependents away to attend school.

Financial  
arrangements

330. The financial arrangements differ greatly from one military establishment to another. If the service personnel live off the base and send their children to a local school, there is no problem—the school tax is levied on their residences in the normal way and the department of National Defence is not involved. If the servicemen live in quarters provided on the base, however, their residences are not subject to municipal taxation. In this case the department normally makes a grant to the municipality in lieu of the school property tax, or pays non-resident school fees for the dependents who attend the public school. The department is also prepared to contribute to the construction costs if a local school must be expanded to accommodate the children of service personnel. If a school is provided on the base, the department may pay for its construction and operation or the provincial government may operate the school and charge the department of National Defence an agreed-upon fee for each student. In each case the federal contribution can be seen as a compensation for the exemption of Crown lands from the usual property taxes.<sup>1</sup>

Provincial  
curricula  
followed

331. These arrangements ensure that elementary and secondary education is provided for the children of service personnel. It is important to note, however, that in each case the arrangements are made within a provincial context. The department of National Defence does not determine the curricula or the language of instruction of these schools; each school conforms to the curriculum and school regulations of the province in which it is located. Servicemen have access only to the

<sup>1</sup> In 1966-7 there were some 90,000 dependents of Armed Forces personnel attending elementary and secondary schools. Of these, 40,000 were attending National Defence schools in Canada and overseas and 10,000 were attending civilian schools on the payment of non-resident school fees. The cost to the federal government was some \$19,000,000, of which \$4,000,000 was recuperated from provincial school grants. (Most of the schools operated in Canada by the department of National Defence are organized as public schools and are therefore entitled to these grants, thereby reducing the cost to the federal government.) The parents of the other 40,000 dependents were not living on National Defence property, and their children attended the local schools at no expense to the department.



kinds of schools available to citizens of that province. This means that children of military personnel will encounter the complications which all children face when they move from one province to another, because the provincial curricula are different. English-speaking children will at least be able to attend schools in which they will be taught in their mother tongue. French-speaking servicemen, on the other hand, may in all likelihood be moved to a province in which English is the only language of instruction. In this case, belonging to the Canadian Armed Forces means that their children will not be educated in their mother tongue and, unless extraordinary measures are taken, they will assimilate to English.

332. Some servicemen have sent their children away to school when local educational facilities were not considered suitable. In the past the department of National Defence has rarely contributed to the heavy additional costs involved. There are precedents for financial assistance to parents who have sent their children to private denominational schools in provinces where the public schools were non-denominational. There are also precedents for special consideration for English-speaking children where the local school was a French-language school and for French-speaking children when the local school was English.<sup>1</sup> These were exceptional cases, however, and even then the financial assistance was limited to an amount equal to the non-resident fee which would normally be paid for a student attending the local public school. The parents paid any costs of transportation, residence, and fees in excess of this amount. In February of 1968 the department announced a new policy. In the future, dependents will have a right to be taught in either French or English, depending on the normal language of the dependents. If education is not provided by the local educational authorities, the department will grant an allowance of up to \$1,300 for tuition fees, board and lodgings, and transportation costs to permit these children to attend a school where these facilities are available. Some complications will arise in the administration of this new policy. It will not always be easy to determine the normal language of the child; if one parent is Anglophone and the other parent is Francophone, for example, both languages may be spoken regularly in the home. In other cases, dependents from a French-speaking home may now be attending English-language schools because there has been no alternative, and again the normal language of the child will not be easy to establish. It is to be hoped that the new regulations will be interpreted liberally in such exceptional cases and that the wishes of the parents will weigh heavily in the final decision. It is clear, however, that this new

A new policy

<sup>1</sup>D. Kwavnick, "The Education of the Dependents of Servicemen in Canada: The Administration of Non-Resident School Fee Payments" (unpublished M.A., thesis, Carleton University, 1964).

policy is a clear recognition by the department of National Defence of the right of dependents of servicemen to receive an education in their mother tongue, and we warmly approve of the initiative which the department has taken.

Outside Canada

333. The arrangements are modified for the dependents of Canadian Armed Forces personnel serving outside Canada. For these children, the federal government accepts the responsibility of providing an education equivalent to a Canadian standard, whether or not the parents live in married quarters provided by the department of National Defence. The department provides English-language schools which use a composite curriculum for the first years, in an attempt to minimize the differences between provincial curricula. From Grade VII on, the Ontario curriculum is followed, because the province of Ontario has agreed to grant the appropriate certificates and diplomas to these pupils. For the French-language schools, the curriculum of the French Catholic schools of Quebec is used. The teachers are brought from Canada and are on leave of absence from their respective school boards.

334. These arrangements depend on the number of children in the area. The number of French-speaking children in any area depends to some extent on the units posted there at any given time, but the average is probably one-quarter of the total number of dependents. Both French- and English-language elementary schools are provided, but there are no French-language secondary schools. French-speaking students may take the special *cours de français* as in the Ontario secondary schools, but otherwise they follow the English-language curriculum. The National Defence schools begin the teaching of the second language in kindergarten and they have experimented with a bilingual elementary school in which both French and English are used as languages of instruction. The opportunities for an education in French, however, are more limited than the opportunities for an education in English. In the smaller Armed Forces establishments abroad, no French-language schools are provided.

The need for  
equal opportunity

335. It is obvious that the federal government has a special responsibility for the children of the men of the Canadian Armed Forces, whether at home or abroad. Members of the Forces are transferred according to the needs of the service, and the educational requirements of their children should not be jeopardized because of such transfers. At the present time, the lack of a firmly defined policy—coupled with the reliance on provincial schools—results in a situation whereby schools for which the federal government has a direct responsibility do not offer equal educational opportunities for French-speaking and English-speaking children.