



Push or Pull? The Exclusion of Ethnocultural Minorities in Montreal's French School System before Bill 101—A Literature Review

QUESCREN Working Paper no. 16
September 2026

Simon-Pierre Lacasse, PhD



This working paper by the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) was written by Simon-Pierre Lacasse, PhD, Affiliate Professor, History, at Concordia University and Research & Partnerships Manager at QUESCREN.

© Simon-Pierre Lacasse, PhD, 2026

A collaborative network of researchers, community members and institutions, QUESCREN provides opportunities to promote the understanding and vitality of English-speaking Quebec through research, knowledge mobilization, networking, and outreach. It is housed at the School of Community and Public Affairs at Concordia University in Montreal.

Working paper series

QUESCREN's working paper series focuses on English-speaking Quebec. The working papers are timely and written in plain language. These papers are reviewed by affiliate professors on staff at QUESCREN but they are not externally peer reviewed. For questions, contact Patrick.Donovan1@concordia.ca

Production:	Patrick Donovan, PhD, and Simon-Pierre Lacasse, PhD QUESCREN research staff
Adjudication:	Chedly Belkhodja, PhD, and Brian Lewis, PhD QUESCREN co-directors
Content revision:	Patrick Donovan, PhD, and Lorraine O'Donnell, PhD
Design template:	Audrey Wells
Layout:	Fabian Will



Funding for this working paper was provided by



The Secrétariat aux relations avec les Québécois d'expression anglaise and Concordia University also provide funding for QUESCREN.

Any views or opinions represented in this publication are personal and belong solely to the author(s). They do not represent those of QUESCREN or its funders.

Legal deposit – Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 2026

**Secrétariat aux relations
avec les Québécois
d'expression anglaise**



Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Introduction	2
Confessional Structures and Linguistic Segmentation	4
The Protestant Sector as the Institutional Home for Non-Catholic and Non-Protestant Minorities	6
Catholic Schools: From Religious Safeguarding to Francization	8
Between Exclusion and Choice: Scholarly Evidence	13
Ideology, Structure, Administration, and Family Choices	18
Conclusion	20
Bibliography	21
Biography	24

Abstract

This literature review examines whether Montreal's French Catholic schools excluded ethnocultural minorities before Bill 101. Drawing on historical scholarship, it argues that **no single factor can fully explain school enrolment patterns**, whether exclusionary practices or the appeal of English-language education. Instead, a combination of ideological, structural, administrative, and socioeconomic factors shaped these patterns. The social and economic prestige of the English language led many families from ethnocultural minorities to choose English-language schooling. At the same time, archival records, oral histories, and contemporary testimonies show that **some French Catholic schools and administrators redirected students to English schools. While exclusion was not an official policy, it did take place in everyday practice.** There is little evidence of exclusion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It became more significant during the 1930s and the immediate postwar period. During the Quiet Revolution, exclusion declined as concerns about the long-term survival of French grew. Overall, the evidence points to a complex historical reality in which **inclusion and exclusion coexisted in different forms and to varying degrees over time.**

Introduction

At the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, most children from ethnocultural minorities¹ in Montreal attended English-language schools within Catholic or Protestant boards. This led to the creation of language laws, which culminated in the passage of Quebec's Charter of the French Language (Bill 101) in 1977, which initially required that immigrants, their children, and interprovincial migrants enroll at French-language schools.²

Drawing on published historical research, this literature review examines the contested question about the exclusion of ethnocultural minorities in Montreal's French Catholic schools before Bill 101. Both administrative and structural factors shaped student enrollment: **while some schools pushed away ethnocultural minorities, strong economic and social incentives also pulled many toward English-language schooling.**

Ideological discourses, institutional structures, and administrative practices interacted to shape these patterns. Sometimes, they also limited the educational options available to families: the literature indicates that **while exclusion was not an official policy, it did emerge in everyday practice.**

Scholars, politicians, and community advocates have publicly debated whether ethnocultural minorities were excluded from French-language schools before 1977, raising questions about the limits of inclusion in Quebec. Although sometimes dismissed, exclusion practices have been acknowledged by various politicians since the 1960s.³ More recently, in April 2025, Liberal MNA Gregory Kelley submitted a petition to the National Assembly, urging the government to recognize that many children of Italian immigrants were unfairly denied admission to French Catholic schools before Bill 101, and to issue an apology.⁴ Education Minister Sonia Lebel declined this request, arguing that the issue predates the creation of the Ministry of Education, and that the government therefore bears no responsibility.⁵

1 In most of the public and scholarly conversation, the issue is framed around "immigrant exclusion." In this paper, the term ethnocultural minorities is preferred, reflecting the fact that 2nd or 3rd generation children from immigrant backgrounds also faced exclusion.

2 A Supreme Court ruling led to an amendment to Bill 101 in 1984, after which children of interprovincial migrants became eligible for English-language education.

3 During the Saint Leonard School Crisis in 1968, Premier Daniel Johnson acknowledged the exclusion of children of immigrant parents. More recently, Sonia Lebel also acknowledged the phenomenon. See Ralph Mastromonaco, "On Language of Instruction, Lebel Ducks Historic Injustice," *The Gazette*, October 12, 2025.

4 Ibid.

5 The Ministry of Education was established in 1964, more than a decade before Bill 101 was enacted in 1977. Exclusion from French schools is believed to have persisted until then. Furthermore, the responsibility for children's education in Quebec was held by the provincial Département de l'Instruction publique prior to the establishment of the Ministry of Education.

A recent community-based research project, led by journalist and filmmaker Guy Rex Rodgers, gathered testimonies from over 150 individuals rejected by French-language schools and directed to English-language ones between the 1940s and the 1960s.⁶ These stories reinforce a popular view among Montreal minority communities—specifically the Italian community—that French Catholic school boards may have breached the *Loi sur l'instruction publique* by refusing admission to certain ethnocultural groups. Because this study is based on a limited sample, its findings do not definitively establish that exclusion was widespread. Nonetheless, these testimonies bring a valuable perspective to the debate by highlighting what exclusion was like for those who experienced it.

Feelings of injustice run deep because the Italian community has been central to linguistic debates since the Saint-Leonard school crisis in 1968. A recent documentary on this event, *La bataille de Saint-Léonard*, reignited the debate. Critics perceived that filmmaker Félix Rose failed to portray the complex relationship of the Italian community with the French language.⁷ Guy Rex Rodgers notably argued that the film frames the language debate of the 1960s as a zero-sum competition between French and English.⁸ He contends that the Italian community in fact valued French-language education alongside English and that this point is insufficiently reflected in the film and broader Francophone discourse.

Claims about the exclusion of ethnocultural minorities from French schools continue to shape contemporary discussions about Quebec's past. This study examines the scholarly literature to identify key themes and arguments behind these claims.

6 Guy Rex Rodgers, "Freedom of Choice and Exclusion in Quebec's Education System During the Years 1945-1977." Interim report no. 1, November 2025.

7 Ibid., 5.

8 Ibid.

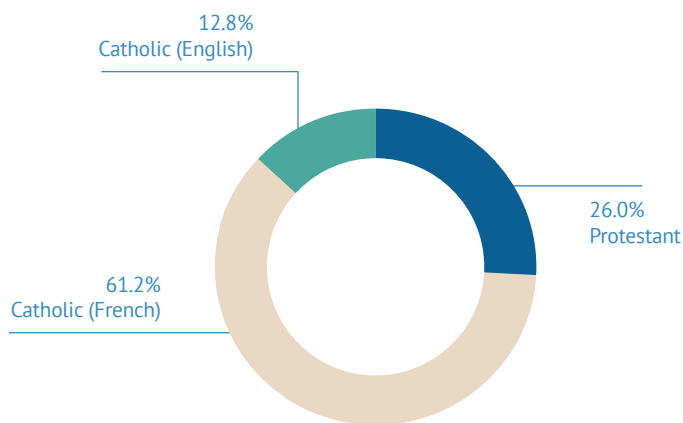
Confessional Structures and Linguistic Segmentation

Under the British North America Act of 1867 (now the Constitution Act, 1867), education fell under provincial jurisdiction (s. 93). The Act also guaranteed the rights of Protestant or Catholic minorities in each province to maintain their own confessional school systems.

In Quebec, this framework produced a dual Catholic-Protestant education system, and legislation allowed non-Catholics and non-Protestants to attend either system.⁹ The significant presence of English-speaking Irish Catholics in Montreal and Quebec City led Catholic boards to provide English-language education. In Montreal, this eventually took the form of a separate English sector created in 1928 within the Montreal Catholic School Commission (MCSC).

As shown in figure 1, roughly two-thirds of Montreal students attended MCSC French-sector schools at the start of the Quiet Revolution. About a quarter were enrolled in the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal (PBSCCM), while one-eighth studied in the English sector of the MCSC.

Figure 1:
Student Distribution by School System in Montreal, 1961



Sources: Annual Report. PBSCCM (1902-1968). Archives of the English Montreal School Board (EMSB); *Statistiques sur les Néo-Canadiens de 1930 à 1967*. Bureau des Études. Comité des Néo-Canadiens. Bureau de l'accueil et de l'admission. ARC-E1 S46 T4- 6152. ACSDM; Cited in Jean-Philippe Croteau, *Les Commissions Scolaires Montréalaises et Torontoises et Les Immigrants (1875-1960)* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016), 284-288.

⁹ Robert Gagnon, "Pour en finir avec un mythe: le refus des écoles catholiques d'accepter les immigrants," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 5, no. 2 (1997): 128.

Until the 1960s, religious authorities dominated Quebec's education system, and the state played a limited role. In the decade after Confederation, a provincial Ministry of Public Instruction, led by an appointed minister elected to the Legislative Assembly, oversaw education policies and curriculum development. However, both the Protestant minority and the Catholic majority petitioned for autonomous school systems, which resulted in the abolition of the provincial Ministry of Public Instruction in 1876 and the transition to a Department headed by a public servant.¹⁰ This benefited both parties: the Catholic clergy wrested authority from the state, and the Protestant minority achieved autonomy from a government composed of and elected mainly by Catholic francophones.

Fundamental educational reforms were only enacted in the 1960s, ending nearly a century of limited state engagement and clerical control. At the onset of the Quiet Revolution, Jean Lesage's Liberal government launched the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (Parent Commission), which led to the creation of a provincial Ministry of Education in 1964. The state gradually reduced the clergy's role in education until it abolished denominational school boards in 1997, replacing them with linguistic boards.

While the Parent Commission focused mostly on internal structural issues in French Canadian schooling, **Quebec's growing diversity strengthened the case for a non-confessional system.**¹¹ The commissioners noted that "the confessional nature of public education was quite compatible with a society that was relatively homogeneous in terms of religion, with the vast majority of the population being either Catholic or Protestant," but that "increasing religious pluralism" called for major reform.¹² During the postwar period, immigration from Italian, Portuguese, Greek, Hungarian, and other European communities diversified Montreal's demographic makeup. The development of educational legislation thus mirrors a broader transition that was happening in the 1960s: the shift away from religion in public institutions and the growing recognition of diversity.

10 Ruby Heap, "Les relations Église-État dans le domaine de l'enseignement primaire public au Québec: 1867-1899," *Sessions d'étude - Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique* 50, no. 1 (1983): 183-199.

11 Simon-Pierre Lacasse, *Les Juifs de la Révolution tranquille: Regards d'une minorité religieuse sur le Québec de 1945 à 1976* (Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2022): 249.

12 Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, *Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, Troisième partie ou tome III: L'administration de l'enseignement. A. Diversité religieuse, culturelle, et unité de l'administration* (Gouvernement of Quebec, 1966), 51.

The Protestant Sector as the Institutional Home for Non-Catholic and Non-Protestant Minorities

Non-Catholic and non-Protestant minorities, notably those from the Jewish and Greek Orthodox communities, were most likely to send their children to PBSCCM schools.¹³ The Protestant School Board aimed to promote British-derived cultural norms among students and to defend the community's Anglo-Protestant identity. At the same time, its founding principles rested more on public, non-sectarian values derived from the United States and Ontario than the more rigidly denominational model in Catholic schools.¹⁴ At the onset of the Quiet Revolution, about 2.5% of the student population within the Protestant school board was francophone.¹⁵ An even smaller proportion was educated in French-language classes within English-language schools.¹⁶

Socioeconomic factors made Protestant schools more attractive. As Robert Gagnon argues, the property-tax-based financing system generally favoured the more affluent Protestant communities, resulting in better-equipped schools and a wider range of educational services.¹⁷ Beyond these incentives, other factors—notably, the religious and cultural conservatism of Catholic institutions—likely pushed non-Catholics to choose English-language Protestant schools.¹⁸

13 David Fraser, "Honorary Protestants": *The Jewish school question in Montreal, 1867-1997* (University of Toronto Press, 2015); Jean-Philippe Croteau, *Les commissions scolaires montréalaises et torontoises et les immigrants (1875-1960)* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016): 238.

14 Croteau, 214.

15 Jean-Louis Lalonde, *Des loups dans la bergerie: Les Protestants de langue française au Québec 1534-2000* (Fides, 2002): 284.

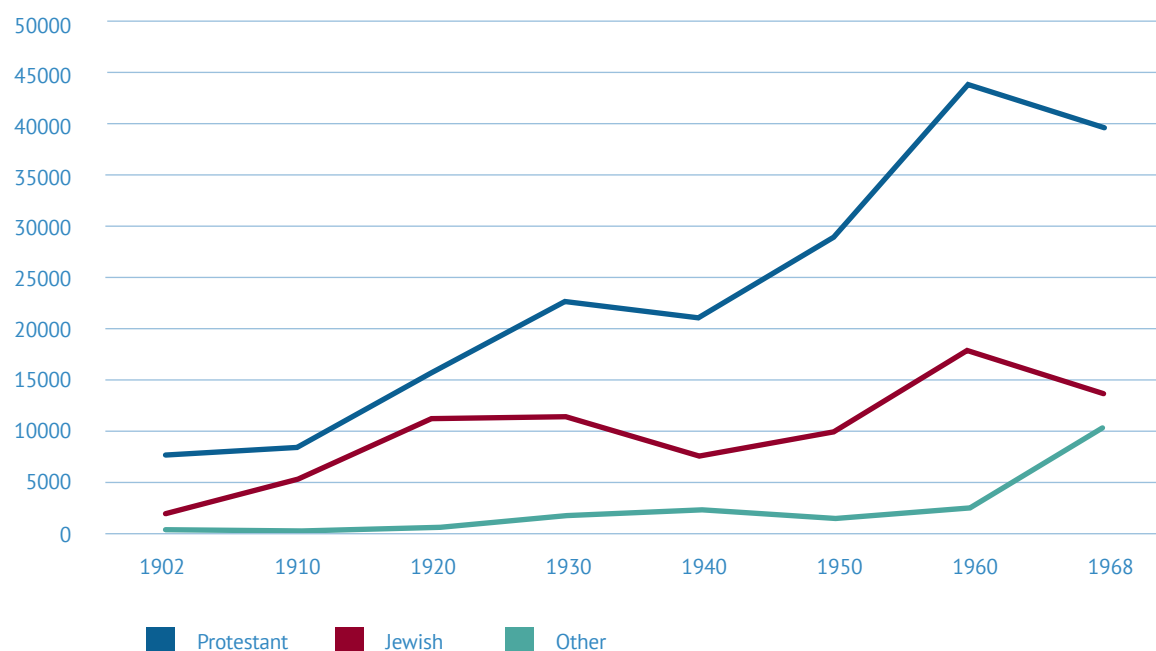
16 Lalonde, 284.

17 Gagnon, "Pour en finir avec un mythe: le refus des écoles catholiques d'accepter les immigrants."

18 Michael D. Behiels, *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985*. Booklet no. 18, *Canada's Ethnic Groups Series*. (Canadian Historical Association, 1991): 6-8.

Figure 2 shows that Jewish students made up a substantial part of the PBSCCM student body. Their proportion peaked at over 40% in 1920 and averaged about one-third between 1902 and 1968. Other non-Jewish, non-Protestant groups—including Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, and Chinese Buddhists—made up between 2% and 6%. Their proportion grew during the 1960s, reaching 16% by 1968.

Figure 2:
School enrolment in the Protestant School Board by religious affiliation (1902–1960)
(Selected years)



Source: Annual Report. PBSCCM (1902-1968). Archives of the English Montreal School Board (EMSB). The PBSCCM does not break down the student population by language. Cited in Jean-Philippe Croteau, *Les Commissions Scolaires Montréalaises et Torontoises et Les Immigrants (1875-1960)* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016): 284-288.

Catholic Schools: From Religious Safeguarding to Francization

In the first three decades of the 20th Century, the Catholic school board operated as a single system that offered both French and English education. During this period, the share of English-speaking students declined sharply, from nearly one-fifth to less than one-tenth of total enrolment.¹⁹ As their numbers fell, English-speaking students were placed in English-language classes within French schools. These classes often faced teacher shortages, limited materials, and weaker programs. **The limited availability of English-language Catholic schooling may help explain why a larger share of Catholic children from ethnocultural minorities attended French Catholic schools in 1930 (53%), including most Italians.**²⁰

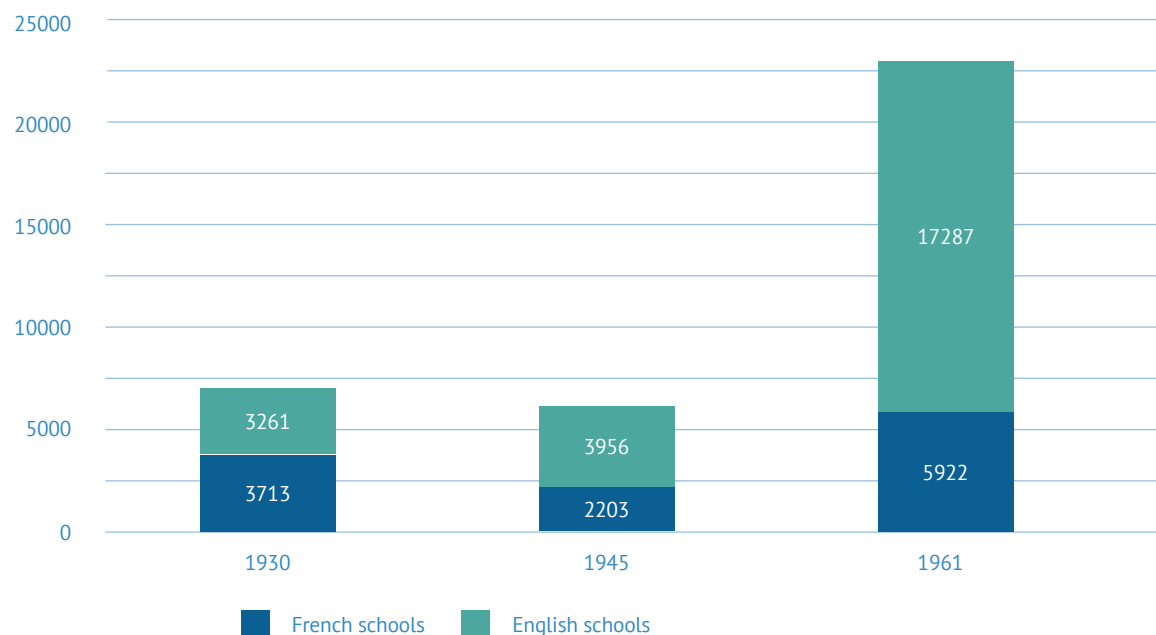
This trend began to shift after the MCSC created a separate English sector in 1928, with more autonomy over school administration. Figure 3 shows that by 1945, just over one-third (36%) of students of ethnic origin other than French and English were enrolled in French-language schools. By 1960, that share had dropped to a quarter (26%).²¹ Over the same period, this population in the MCSC more than tripled, from 6,974 to 23,209. Most of these students attended English-language schools.

19 Robert Gagnon, *Histoire de la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal : le développement d'un réseau d'écoles publiques en milieu urbain* (Boréal, 1996), cited in Croteau, 183.

20 Croteau, 188.

21 Figure 3 presents data according to ethnic origin, as collected by the Montreal Catholic School Commission. The category "English" refers broadly to the British Isles, including Irish, Scottish, and English ethnic origins.

Figure 3:
Distribution of schoolchildren of ethnic origin other than French and English attending French and English schools of the MCSC (1930-1961)



Sources : *Statistiques sur les Néo-Canadiens de 1930 à 1967*. Bureau des Études. Comité des Néo-Canadiens. Bureau de l'accueil et de l'admission. ARC-E1 S46 T4- 6152. ACSDM. Cited in Jean-Philippe Croteau, *Les commissions scolaires montréalaises et torontoises et les immigrants (1875-1960)* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016): 284-288.

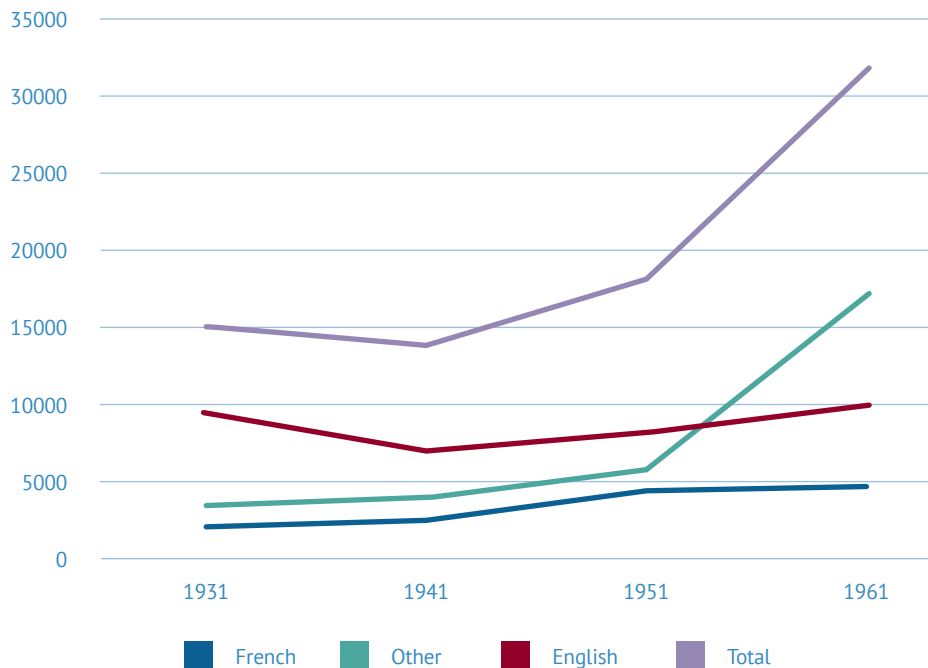
Figure 4 shows that **the number of schoolchildren of ethnic origin other than French and English in MCSC English schools increased steadily between 1930 and 1960.**²² Its share increased **from a quarter to more than half** between 1930 and 1960.²³ In contrast, the share of ethnocultural minorities in the French sector stayed stable at about 3% between 1930 and 1960.²⁴ The gap is clear: the French Catholic sector, which educated over two-thirds of children in Montreal, remained mostly homogeneous, while the English sector became more diverse. **Nevertheless, in 1961, French schools had nearly 6,000 students who were of neither French nor English origin; a small proportion of the overall population, but a significant number nonetheless.**

22 Figure 4 presents data according to ethnic origin, as collected by the Montreal Catholic School Commission. The category "English" refers broadly to the British Isles, including Irish, Scottish, and English ethnic origins.

23 Croteau, 202

24 Croteau, 188.

Figure 4:
Enrolment in the English sector of the MCSC by ethnic origin (1931-1961)



Sources: *Statistiques sur les Néo-Canadiens de 1930 à 1967*. Bureau des Études. Comité des Néo-Canadiens. Bureau de l'accueil et de l'admission. ARC-E1 S46 T4- 6152. ACSDM. Cited in Jean-Philippe Croteau, *Les commissions scolaires montréalaises et torontoises et les immigrants (1875-1960)* (Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016), 284-288.

Despite cultural differences, English- and French-speaking Catholics shared a common concern for the first half of the twentieth century: keeping people from leaving the faith.²⁵ Before the 1960s, Catholic school authorities integrated Catholic minorities in either French- and English-language schools to protect religious tradition. Since many immigrant parents preferred English-language education for their children, fear of losing members led commissioners to direct Catholic newcomers to English-language Catholic schools rather than risk their enrollment at Protestant institutions.²⁶ Leaders from several minority communities also requested English-language Catholic schooling. These requests came in part from Catholic priests representing Slovak, Polish, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian communities.²⁷ Together, these factors

25 Croteau, 183.

26 Donat Taddeo and Raymond Taras, *Le débat linguistique au Québec, la communauté italienne et la langue d'enseignement* (Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1987), cited in Miguel Simão Andrade, "La Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal et l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités ethniques à l'école française de 1947 à 1977," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 60, no. 4 (2007): 457.

27 Mélanie Lanouette, "Penser l'éducation, dire sa culture: Les écoles catholiques anglaises au Québec, 1928-1964" (PhD diss., Université Laval, 2004), 155-156.

helped shape the English schools of the MCSC as an “ethnic sector” tasked with keeping Catholic minorities and their children within the Church.²⁸

Over time, the focus of the MCSC’s French sector shifted from protecting the Catholic faith to promoting the French language. This change reflected broader postwar debates about nationalism and immigration. Historian Miguel Simão Andrade described this shift as a turning point:

[From 1947 to 1977,] the MCSC played a key role in redefining the French school as the main place of reception and integration for ethnic minorities into the Francophone majority by gradually adopting a more assertive stance on the language of instruction, and by developing a genuine policy of francization and reception.²⁹

During this period, the MCSC created a committee tasked with the integration of “néo-canadiens” in French schools. **The French sector introduced trilingual programs that allowed students to study in French, English, and their native language. They were mainly offered in schools with large Italian populations,** though there were unsuccessful efforts to extend them to Ukrainian, Polish, German, Hungarian, and Slovak communities.³⁰

Andrade, Michael D. Behiels and Mélanie Lanouette argue that **the English sector opposed these programs**, as they threatened to reduce its student population.³¹ This resistance curtailed the expansion of the trilingual programs and helped ensure that the English sector remained the main destination for students from ethnocultural minorities.

Behiels further summarizes the challenges faced by this initiative:

Many Neo-Canadian parents did not want their children segregated [in separate language classes]. The principals did not want to be responsible for the administrative complexities of the special classes. Many French-Canadian principals were eager to divert Neo-Canadian children to English sector schools where the principals appeared only too happy to accommodate them.³²

Over time, children from ethnocultural minorities became less present in French Catholic schools. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, when immigration was smaller in scale and the Catholic system still operated as a unified body, schools were somewhat more diverse. However, as immigration increased and diversified, the English sector of the MCSC and the Protestant board took on a larger role. **By the Quiet Revolution, English-language schools had become the main destination for students from ethnocultural minorities, while the French sector remained comparatively homogeneous.**

28 Andrade, 457.

29 Andrade, 455. Our translation.

30 Michael D. Behiels, “The Commission Des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Neo-Canadian Question: 1947-63,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques Au Canada* 18, no. 2 (1986): 49.

31 Andrade, 463; Lanouette, 170-171; Behiels (1986), 59.

32 Behiels, “The Commission Des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Neo-Canadian Question: 1947-63”, 59.

This fact, and the belief that the pull of the English language was more important than exclusionary practices, helped shape the language laws that define where newcomers can send their children to school today. This idea was central to the 1977 white paper *La politique québécoise de la langue française*, which laid the groundwork for Bill 101. In this document, Camille Laurin, a minister in the first Parti Québécois government, discussed the place of immigrants in the school system as follows:

It is necessary to question the reasons that motivate these immigrants [to integrate into the English-speaking group].

According to some, a supposed xenophobia among French-speaking Quebecers has driven immigrants toward the English-speaking minority. Others mention the confessional nature of the French-speaking school system, which allegedly pushed non-Catholic immigrants toward the English-speaking school system and thus led to their assimilation into the minority.

*Aren't these explanations too simplistic?*³³

For Laurin, a better explanation is that “the dominant group has greater power to assimilate others.” He also argued that English had a strong appeal because it was the language of business and often required for employment and social mobility.³⁴ These factors played a central role in shaping the policies that led to Bill 101.

*The spontaneous integration of immigrants into the Francophone community can only occur if Quebec society itself is broadly francophone. It is only possible when most immigrants come to see that their own interests lead them to align with the Francophone community.*³⁵

33 Camille Laurin, “La politique québécoise de la langue française,” presented to the Quebec National Assembly (March 1977): 6. Our translation.

34 Ibid., 6. Our translation.

35 Ibid., 7.

Between Exclusion and Choice: Scholarly Evidence

Most academics accept the fact that some ethnocultural minorities were excluded from French-language schools. However, its effect on the composition of the school population remains unclear in the literature. In most scholarly work on the topic, pull factors—the appeal of English-language education—are given more attention than push factors.³⁶

There was little written about this topic before the 1990s. In the 1960s, anthropologist Jeremy Boissevain, from the University of Amsterdam, conducted a study of Montreal Italians for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.³⁷ It included a community survey revealing that **two-thirds of parents cited economic reasons for educating their children in English.**³⁸ This study therefore emphasized the role of pull factors in shaping educational choices.

Conversely, a 1984 study by sociologist Henry Milner emphasized push factors. Before the Quiet Revolution, French Canadians were often defined as a nation based on the French language and Catholicism.³⁹ This view encouraged efforts to protect institutions, including schools, from outside influence. **Immigration was often seen as a threat, especially during the interwar years.**⁴⁰ **According to Milner, this ideology was instrumental in shaping French Catholic schools as exclusively French-Canadian spaces and in informing exclusionary practices.**⁴¹

In the early 1990s, debates over racism and antisemitism in Quebec triggered intense public controversy. In 1992, writer Mordecai Richler openly criticized aspects of Quebec society, provoking strong reactions and sparking broader discussions about racism in Quebec.⁴² Around the same time, political scientist Esther Delisle published a controversial thesis arguing that the influential nationalist thinker Lionel Groulx held antisemitic and fascist views.⁴³ Her work received wide media attention and deepened an already tense debate: while some saw it as exposing an uncomfortable truth, others criticized her

36 Croteau; Gagnon, *Histoire de la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal*; Taddeo and Taras; Andrade; Lanouette; Jeremy Boissevain, "The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society," *Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, 7 (Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970).

37 Boissevain.

38 Ibid., 38.

39 Frédéric Boily, *La pensée nationaliste de Lionel Groulx*. (Septentrion, 2003).

40 Martin Pâquet, *Toward a Ministry of Immigration, 1945-1976*, booklet no. 23 in Canada's Ethnic Groups Series (Canadian Historical Association, 1997).

41 Henry Milner, *La réforme scolaire au Québec*, translated by Jean-Pierre Fournier (Les éditions Québec-Amérique, 1984), 23.

42 Mordecai Richler, *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec! Requiem for a Divided Country*. (Penguin Books, 1992).

43 Esther Delisle, *Le Traître et le Juif: Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le délire du nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec, 1929-1939*. (L'Étincelle éditeur, 1992).

methodology and dismissed her work.⁴⁴ Despite these disagreements, the controversy left a lasting mark, shaping how many people came to understand the province's past and its relationship to racism and antisemitism.

This broader debate set the stage for questions about the exclusion of minorities from French-language schools. In 1996, historians Jack Jedwab and Marc Anderson, executives of the Quebec branch of the Canadian Jewish Congress, published a commentary in the *Bulletin d'histoire politique* on Quebec's newly released high school history curriculum.⁴⁵ They echoed other English-language historians' argument that this curriculum did not reflect Quebec's ethnic pluralism.⁴⁶ The authors linked this gap to the idea that, prior to the Quiet Revolution, French Canadians constituted a homogeneous community with limited avenues for outsiders to integrate. In their view, school textbooks offered a limited explanation of this phenomenon: students were taught that ethnocultural minorities freely chose English schools, while francophones supposedly sought in vain to integrate them.⁴⁷ Jedwab and Anderson pushed back on this interpretation, which overlooks the fact that some Catholic schools rejected non-Catholics. They noted that before 1977, "francophone Catholic schools were uniform and had only a small number of pupils from cultural communities."⁴⁸

Historian Jean-François Cardin, the main author of the school textbook criticized by Jedwab and Anderson, issued a rebuttal.⁴⁹ He highlighted the constraints imposed by the Ministry of Education in writing a textbook, arguing that a synthesis cannot satisfy everyone. On schooling for ethnocultural minorities, Cardin pushed back, insisting that they mostly chose English schools. He did not deny that exclusion occurred, but contended that "the textbook, by its very nature, cannot provide all the details or fully capture all the complexities of a historical phenomenon."⁵⁰

Historian Robert Gagnon also responded to Jedwab and Anderson, aiming to debunk what he called the stereotype suggesting that immigrant communities chose English schools because Catholic schools rejected them.⁵¹ Based on his recent book on the history of the Montreal Catholic School Commission, Gagnon argued that schools were open to non-Catholics and Catholic

44 Jean-François Nadeau, "Esther Delisle, Le Traître et le Juif: Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec 1929-1939," *Recherches sociographiques* 35, no. 1 (1994): 121-24; Pierre Trépanier, "Esther Delisle, Le Traître et le Juif: Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le délire du nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec, 1929-1939, Montréal, L'Étincelle, 1992, 287 p." *Études d'histoire religieuse* 60 (1994): 158-60; Gary Caldwell, "The Sins of the Abbé Groulx," *Literary Review of Canada*, blog (July 1994).

45 Jack Jedwab and Marc Anderson, "Retour vers le futur, ou un commentaire sur le rapport du Groupe de travail sur l'enseignement de l'histoire," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 5, no. 1 (1996): 48-54.

46 Brian Young, "Teaching About Racism and Anti-Semitism in the Context of Quebec's History Programs," *Canadian Issues* (Fall 2006): 91-96.

47 Jedwab and Anderson, 53.

48 Ibid., 50.

49 Jean-François Cardin, "Le programme d'histoire et les manuels: Réplique à MM. Jedwab et Anderson," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 5, no. 2 (1997): 115-119.

50 Ibid., 117.

51 Gagnon, "Pour en finir avec un mythe: le refus des écoles catholiques d'accepter les immigrants," 121.

immigrants seeking schooling, and that their growing presence in English schools resulted from their own decisions.⁵² In sum, Gagnon made the bold claim that Francophone Catholic schools never rejected children from ethnocultural minorities.⁵³

In their final response, Jedwab and Anderson cited the case of Sephardic Jews, who immigrated to Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s.⁵⁴ Children from this community, seeking education in French due to their North African background, were nevertheless sent to English-language Protestant schools, suggesting that even French-speaking newcomers could not integrate into the French-Canadian community.

There are significant temporal gaps between these arguments. Whereas Gagnon emphasized the late 19th Century and early 20th Century in his arguments, Jedwab and Anderson focused on the 1950s and 1960s. The data presented above demonstrate that French schools were more diverse in the earlier period.

The discussion went beyond scholarly forums: in May 1999, Gagnon and historian Pierre Anctil debated in *Le Devoir*.⁵⁵ Anctil, a specialist in Quebec's Jewish community, responded to an op-ed by Gagnon, which reiterated that Jews had not been excluded from French Catholic schools. Anctil countered that, even though the law let communities choose Catholic or Protestant school boards, it did nothing to curb antisemitism among the Catholic clergy, which in turn drove the Jewish community towards the Protestant system.

Until recently, the issue of exclusion from French schools has barely surfaced in the francophone public sphere since the 1990s, despite ongoing research. The question resonated most strongly at a time when Quebec intellectuals—and, by extension, the public—adopted a more self-critical lens.

Sociologist Jacques Beauchemin pushed back against this trend in *L'histoire en trop : la mauvaise conscience des souverainistes québécois*.⁵⁶ In this 2002 essay, Beauchemin argued that debates over the national question had become dominated by narratives portraying the francophone majority as inherently exclusionary, producing a sense of shame and bad conscience. Robert Gagnon's position can be read as an earlier challenge to this portrayal of the francophone majority as historically intolerant.

52 Ibid., 135.

53 Ibid., 121. In original French: "Cette étude infirme totalement l'idée que les écoles catholiques ou francophones ont refusé les enfants des immigrants catholiques ou non."

54 Jack Jedwab and Marc Anderson, "Retour vers le futur 2: l'intégration et les manuels scolaires: réplique," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 6, no. 1: 62-70.

55 Robert Gagnon, "Pour en finir avec le mythe," *Le Devoir*, May 1, 1999; Robert Gagnon, "L'école anglaise: le choix des immigrants," *Le Devoir*, May 3, 1999; Pierre Anctil, "Rien de plus qu'une tolérance légale," *Le Devoir*, May 6, 1999; Robert Gagnon, "Les immigrants et la confessionnalité scolaire," *Le Devoir*, May 14, 1999.

56 Jacques Beauchemin, *L'histoire en trop: la mauvaise conscience des souverainistes québécois* (VLB éditeur, 2002).

The intensity of this debate in the 1990s reveals more about the period's sociopolitical context than about the school question itself. Disagreement illustrates how researchers often read the past through the concerns of their own time. As historian Henry Steele Commager stated in 1967, societies search “for a usable past” to promote national identity, foster reconciliation, or to justify present-day interests and actions.⁵⁷ Although scholars continue to debate questions of inclusion in Quebec society, questions of race, colonialism, and religion have taken precedence over language and ethnicity. This does not mean that language debates are no longer relevant—quite the opposite—but that conversations about systemic racism and laïcité now occupy more space.

Beyond these highly polarized exchanges, a quieter body of scholarship emerged in the 2000s. Many studies—including work produced by Robert Gagnon's students—identified evidence of both push and pull factors, suggesting a more complex reality than the 1990s debate initially allowed.

Historian Jean-Philippe Croteau published a comparative study of immigrants in Montreal and Toronto school districts.⁵⁸ In this work, he focused on the MCSC efforts to integrate ethnocultural minorities and the limited success of those initiatives. By focusing primarily on inclusion efforts and devoting comparatively little attention to evidence of exclusion, this scholarship tends to reinforce the importance of pull factors in shaping school enrolment. This is a common trend in the literature.⁵⁹

At the same time, historians also acknowledge the existence of push factors. As Miguel Simão Andrade notes, “the fact that the choice of an English school is mainly linked to the social and economic strength of the English language should not prevent us from recognizing the existence of exclusionary practices in Franco-Catholic schools.”⁶⁰

*The gap between official policy and school-level practice varied from one school to another. In general, however, the Franco-Catholic schools, which were more homogeneous, appeared ill-equipped to deal with growing diversity. The autonomy of school principals would probably explain why some immigrants were directed towards the English network, whether Catholic or Protestant, for reasons of convenience, religious zeal, or indifference.*⁶¹

57 Henry Steele Commager, *The Search for a Usable Past, and Other Essays in Historiography* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1967).

58 Croteau.

59 Andrade, 463; Lanouette, 170-171; Behiels, “The Commission Des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Neo-Canadian Question: 1947-63,” 59.

60 Andrade, 476. Our translation.

61 Ibid., our translation.

Mélanie Lanouette provides the most direct evidence of exclusion from French-language schools in the 1930s and 1940s. Her doctoral thesis focuses on English Catholic schools in Quebec and draws on internal sources from the MCSC.⁶² In particular, Lanouette cites a 1948 report published in *L'école canadienne*. The report suggests that a key reason for the growing number of ethnocultural minorities in English schools is an established tendency among school principals to direct these populations towards English schools “almost systematically.”⁶³

Croteau provides additional evidence by analyzing a report from the MCSC Comité des Néo-Canadiens, which was involved in integrating Catholic minorities into French schools. In 1947, the committee mentioned the attitude of the administrative staff of the MCSC who, in the past, allegedly refused ethnocultural minorities access to French schools, diverted them to English schools, or simply showed little interest or eagerness to welcome this clientele.⁶⁴

Testimonies from those who lived through the interwar period echo this practice. Filippo Salvatore, professor of languages at Concordia University, conducted oral history interviews within the Italian community during the 1990s.⁶⁵ Maria De Grandis-Marrelli, a former student interviewed by Salvatore, revealed that during her schooling years (1920-1924), “some French schools did not accept Italians. It was a policy.”⁶⁶

In 1936, an organizer of the Association de la jeunesse canadienne-française sent a letter to a MCSC superintendent to decry the small proportion of immigrants in French Catholic schools. Members from this association reported that “*without your knowledge*, a strong propaganda, not to say a strong pressure, is being exerted to direct *all immigrant children* towards English-language schools” (our emphasis).⁶⁷ This account suggests that **exclusion might have occurred either without the knowledge or approval of senior officials**. Lanouette, Croteau, and Salvatore do not present similar reports from the 1950s or early 1960s.

More evidence is needed to confirm whether this practice was widespread across the system, but these sources provide clear indications that it occurred.

Since the issue of minority exclusion was not the main focus of previous historical research, a targeted search at the MCSC, in schools, or in parish archives could uncover additional evidence. In this context, oral history and testimonies offer further insight: many parents and former students recently shared their stories of facing exclusion from French-language schools.⁶⁸

62 Lanouette, 170-171.

63 Ibid., 125.

64 Croteau, 198.

65 Filippo Salvatore, *Le Fascisme et les Italiens à Montréal : Une histoire orale* (Guernica, 1997).

66 Ibid., 208.

67 Lanouette, 127. Our translation. Original French: “À votre insu, une forte propagande, pour ne pas dire une forte pression, s'exerce pour orienter tous les enfants des immigrants vers les écoles de langue anglaise.”

68 Rodgers.

Ideology, Structure, Administration, and Family Choices

Historical literature typically does not focus on exclusion as a primary subject of analysis. However, evidence suggests a hierarchy of factors shaping school populations before Bill 101. Beliefs about language, religion, and nationhood shaped institutional structures, which resulted in legislation and school board policies, which, in turn, influenced the administrative practices of school boards and principals. Families exercised their choices within these constraints.

The process was not always coherent or predictable. **School-level decisions could be arbitrary and did not always follow formal rules or official policies. As a result, school enrolment for ethnic minorities cannot be understood as simply a matter of exclusion or free choice.**

The first factor is **ideology**, the framework of beliefs that establishes the principles for belonging in a community. It is shaped by intellectual and political elites, who promote nation-building narratives. After the Second World War, **French Canadian political and religious leaders shifted from an insular view of the nation—where immigration was seen as a threat to national integrity—to seeing immigration as essential to linguistic survival and socioeconomic development.**⁶⁹ This shift was partly due to the declining fertility rate, which was a major concern for policymakers during this time. From 1945 to 1960, fertility averaged about four children per woman, but with weakening Church influence and the sexual revolution of the 1960s, fertility rates were the lowest in Canada by 1966.⁷⁰ The Catholic Church led early efforts to integrate Catholic newcomers while maintaining their faith.⁷¹ During the Quiet Revolution, the state took on this role with an emphasis on language rather than faith. By the 1960s, integration into the francophone community was a central objective, even as previous concerns about cultural survival continued to shape practices on the ground.

The second factor is **structural**, meaning the legislation and policies that shaped educational practices in Quebec. Most historians, notably Gagnon, Andrade, Croteau, and Lanouette, focus on this aspect because their analyses rely heavily on archival sources. Since clear, written evidence that some schools violated the law by refusing admission is limited and primarily based on testimonial evidence rather than documented policies, this scholarship does not make exclusion a central object of analysis. **This methodological reliance on official records tends to understate the role of administrative discretion.**

69 Pâquet.

70 Denyse Baillargeon, "Quebec Women of the Twentieth Century: Milestones in an Unfinished Journey," in *Quebec Questions: Quebec Studies for the Twentieth Century*, ed. St phan Gervais et al. (Oxford University Press, 2011), 242.

71 Michael D. Behiels, *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985*. Booklet no. 18, *Canada's Ethnic Groups Series* (Canadian Historical Association, 1991), 12.

The third factor, the **administrative practices of school boards and schools**, is potentially the most impactful yet also hardest to see in archival records. Sociologists J. C. Vrooman and Marcel Coenders argue that people and organizations “are not merely rule takers, but also rule makers,” meaning that they may adapt legislation and policies to fit their interests, preferences, and ideals.⁷² This suggests that **research analyzing only formal policies and legislation may overlook or downplay instances of dissent. In practice, discretionary decisions at the school level resulted in redirecting minority students to English-language schools.** Miguel Simão Andrade and Mélanie Lanouette depict such practices as common, even though their exact impact is hard to measure due to limited evidence.⁷³

The final factor is the **sociological context within which families exercised free choice**, which often—but not always—**led ethnocultural minority families to choose English-language or multilingual schools as a pathway to social mobility.** In the mid-twentieth century, sociologists studied how various white European communities negotiated their inclusion into the American mainstream, building social capital through recognition by the dominant Anglo-Protestant group.⁷⁴ Most historians highlight this phenomenon as a determining factor in shaping student populations.⁷⁵

The fact that many ethnocultural minorities wished to educate their children in English is uncontested. However, many of these groups also recognized the value of learning French and sought bilingual or trilingual education.⁷⁶ This reality underscores the specific sociolinguistic reality of Quebec: learning French made everyday interaction with the majority possible, while English carried greater social prestige.

Taken together, these four factors suggest that **the question cannot be reduced to a matter of exclusion or free choice alone.** School enrolment patterns were shaped by the interaction of ideologies, institutional structures, administrative practices, and family strategies. This framework also highlights an important methodological limitation: because historians rely mainly on official and archival records, they are more likely to capture formal policies than informal practices at the school level. As a result, exclusion may appear less significant in the literature than it is in the popular memory of the communities involved.

72 J. Cok Vrooman and Marcel Coenders, “Institutions of Inclusion and Exclusion,” *Social Inclusion* 8, no. 1 (2020): 178–83.

73 Andrade, 59; Lanouette, 127.

74 Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1964). The sociological notion that immigrants merely assimilated into the mainstream was contested in the 1970s, when emerging literature documented a process of negotiated identity formation. See Peter N. Stearns, “Encyclopedia of Social History,” in *Garland reference library of social science* v. 780 (Garland, 1994), 341–342.

75 Behiels, *Le Québec et la question de l'immigration*, 12; Andrade, 59; Lanouette, 127; Gagnon, “Pour en finir avec un mythe: le refus des écoles catholiques d'accepter les immigrants.”

76 Boissevain, 39.

Conclusion

The historical literature does not support the claim that French Catholic schools systematically refused admission to ethnocultural minority students before Bill 101. Research shows that after 1947, the MCSC developed programs to accommodate and integrate Catholic newcomers, including bilingual and trilingual programs. At the same time, it appears that school administrators often directed ethnocultural minorities toward English-language schools. In this sense, exclusion was not a policy, though it did seem to emerge in everyday practice.

While the French sector remained comparatively homogeneous, the English sector of the MCSC and the Protestant School Board took on an increasingly important role in educating children from minority communities. This pattern cannot be explained by xenophobia or free choice alone. It reflects the combined effects of institutional structures, unpreparedness in the French sector, local administrative practices, and strong socioeconomic incentives linked with English-language mobility. Over time, these dynamics reinforced the role of English-language schools as the main pathway for immigrant integration.

The evidence challenges simple, binary interpretations. Ideological debates, policy changes, and school practices did not evolve at the same pace. The shift from religious protection to state-led language policy changed how integration was framed. However, institutions, administrative decisions, and labour-market forces continued to shape school populations in decisive ways. More detailed data on school-level enrolment would help clarify how often students were redirected and what effects this had over time.

For now, the literature points to a more complex reality, where inclusion and exclusion overlapped in different ways across different periods. **Exclusion was relatively limited in the late nineteenth century, increased during the interwar and immediate postwar years with the expansion of the English Catholic sector after 1928, and diminished again as the Quiet Revolution brought falling birthrates and heightened anxiety over the long-term survival of the French language.**

Bibliography

Government Publications and Official Reports

Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, Troisième partie ou tome III: L'administration de l'enseignement. A. Diversité religieuse, culturelle, et unité de l'administration (Gouvernement of Quebec, 1966).

Laurin, Camille. "La politique québécoise de la langue française" presented to the Quebec National Assembly, March 1977.

Statistics Canada, "150 years of immigration in Canada," Catalogue no. 11-630-X, 16 June 2016.

Theses and Dissertations

Lanouette, Mélanie. "Penser l'éducation, dire sa culture : Les écoles catholiques anglaises au Québec, 1928-1964." Ph.D diss., Université Laval, 2004.

Books and Monographs

Beauchemin, Jacques. *L'histoire en trop: la mauvaise conscience des souverainistes québécois*. VLB éditeur, 2002.

Behiels, Michael D. *Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985*. Booklet no. 18, *Canada's Ethnic Groups Series*. Canadian Historical Association, 1991.

Boily, Frédéric. *La pensée nationaliste de Lionel Groulx*. Septentrion, 2003.

Boissevain, Jeremy. "The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society," *Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, 7. Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970.

Commager, Henry Steele. *The Search for a Usable Past and Other Essays in Historiography*. Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.

Croteau, Jean-Philippe. *Les commissions scolaires montréalaises et torontoises et les immigrants (1875-1960)*. Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016.

Delisle, Esther. *Le Traître et le Juif: Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le délire du nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec, 1929-1939*. L'Étincelle éditeur, 1992.

Fraser, David. "Honorary Protestants": *The Jewish school question in Montreal, 1867-1997*. University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Gagnon, Robert. *Histoire de la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal : le développement d'un réseau d'écoles publiques en milieu urbain*. Boréal, 1996.

Gordon, Milton M. *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 1964.

Lacasse, Simon-Pierre. *Les Juifs de la Révolution tranquille : Regards d'une minorité religieuse sur le Québec de 1945 à 1976*. Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2022.

Milner, Henry. *La réforme scolaire au Québec*. Translated by Jean-Pierre Fournier. Les éditions Québec-Amérique, 1984.

Pâquet, Martin. *Toward a Ministry of Immigration, 1945-1976*. Booklet no. 23, *Canada's Ethnic Groups Series*. Canadian Historical Association, 1997.

Richler, Mordecai. *Oh Canada! Oh Quebec! Requiem for a Divided Country*. Penguin Books, 1992.

Salvatore, Filippo. *Le Fascisme et les Italiens à Montréal : Une histoire orale*. Guernica, 1997.

Taddeo, Donat, and Raymond Taras. *Le débat linguistique au Québec, la communauté italienne et la langue d'enseignement*. Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1987.

Articles and Book Chapters

Andrade, Miguel Simão. "La Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal et l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités ethniques à l'école française de 1947 à 1977," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 60, no. 4 (2007): 455-486.

Baillargeon, Denyse. "Quebec Women of the Twentieth Century: Milestones in an Unfinished Journey". In *Quebec Questions: Quebec Studies for the Twentieth Century*, ed. Stéphan Gervais, Christopher Kirkey, and Jarrett Rudy, 231-248. Oxford University Press, 2011.

Behiels, Michael D. "The Commission Des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal and the Neo-Canadian Question: 1947-63." In *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes Ethniques Au Canada* 18, no. 2 (1986): 38-64.

Caldwell, Gary. "The Sins of the Abbé Groulx." *Literary Review of Canada* (blog). July 1994.

Cardin, Jean-François. "Le programme d'histoire et les manuels : Réplique à MM. Jedwab et Anderson," *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 5, no. 2 (1997): 115-119.

Gagnon, Robert. "Pour en finir avec un mythe : le refus des écoles catholiques d'accepter les immigrants." *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 5, no. 2 (1997): 120-141.

Heap, Ruby. "Les relations Église-État dans le domaine de l'enseignement primaire public au Québec : 1867-1899," *Sessions d'étude - Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique* 50, no.1 (1983): 183-199.

Newspapers and Community Research

Ancil, Pierre. "Rien de plus qu'une tolérance légale." *Le Devoir*, May 6, 1999.

Gagnon, Robert. "L'école anglaise: le choix des immigrants." *Le Devoir*, May 3, 1999.

Gagnon, Robert. "Les immigrants et la confessionnalité scolaire." *Le Devoir*, May 14, 1999.

Gagnon, Robert. "Pour en finir avec le mythe." *Le Devoir*, May 1, 1999.

Jedwab, Jack, and Marc Anderson. "Retour vers le futur, ou un commentaire sur le rapport du Groupe de travail sur l'enseignement de l'histoire." *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 5, no. 1 (1996): 48-54.

Jedwab, Jack, and Marc Anderson. "Retour vers le futur 2 : l'intégration et les manuels scolaires: réplique." *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 6, no. 1: 62-70.

Nadeau, Jean-François. "Esther Delisle, Le Traître et le Juif : Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec 1929-1939." *Recherches sociographiques* 35, no. 1 (1994): 121-124.

Trépanier, Pierre. "Esther Delisle, Le Traître et le Juif. Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le délire du nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec, 1929-1939, Montréal, L'Étincelle, 1992, 287 p.23." *Études d'histoire religieuse* 60 (1994): 158-60

Vrooman, J. Cok, and Marcel Coenders. "Institutions of Inclusion and Exclusion." *Social Inclusion*, 8, no. 1 (2020): 17883.

Young, Brian. "Teaching About Racism and Anti-Semitism in the Context of Quebec's History Programs." *Canadian Issues* (Fall 2006), 91-96.

Mastromonaco, Ralph. "On Language of Instruction, Lebel Ducks Historic Injustice," *The Gazette*, October 12, 2025.

Rodgers, Guy Rex. "Freedom of Choice and Exclusion in Quebec's Education System During the Years 1945-1977," Interim report no. 1, November 2025.



Simon-Pierre Lacasse is an Affiliate Professor in the Department of History and Research and Partnerships Manager at the Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) at Concordia University. His research focuses on Quebec society, minority histories, and questions of diversity, memory, and belonging. He holds a PhD in History from the University of Ottawa and is the author of *Les Juifs de la Révolution tranquille*, an award-nominated study of activism among the Jewish community in postwar Quebec. He teaches at McGill University and Concordia University and previously worked as an analyst at Statistics Canada.



QUEBEC ENGLISH-SPEAKING
COMMUNITIES RESEARCH NETWORK

Concordia University
7141 Sherbrooke St. W., CC-219
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
H4B 1R6

514-848-2424, x4315
quescren@concordia.ca

WWW.QUESCREN.CA

