

ABSTRACT

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Pressure Group Politics:

The Case of the Federation of Classical Colleges

The study examines the activities of a particular interest group in Quebec - the Federation of Classical Colleges. It attempts to determine the political influence of this group. The framework of analysis is essentially empirical.

The thesis is divided into three sections. The first describes the internal structures and the decision-making centers within the group. The second analyzes the attitudes and the policy positions of the Federation and the government. The final section provides a study in depth of a specific case where the Federation acted as a pressure group - the financial crisis of summer 1965. The case study suggests that the Federation had a decisive influence on the final outcome of the crisis.

Short Title

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Group Politics in Quebec:
The Federation of Classical Colleges

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Pressure Group Politics;
The Case of the Federation of Classical Colleges.

by

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

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Chapter 1:

INTRODUCTION

" When groups are stated, everything is stated. When I say everything, I mean everything. "1

(I)

Eckstein, "boldly" summarizes the "group theory of politics" as follows:

Politics is the process by which social values are authoritatively allocated; this is done by decisions; the decisions are produced by activities; each activity is not something separate from every other, but masses of activity have common tendencies in regard to decisions; these masses of activity are groups; so the struggle between groups (or interests) determines what decisions are taken.²

The formulation of the "group theory of politics" is usually attributed to Arthur F. Bentley, who published his Process of Government in 1908. Though lost on the discipline until the 1930's, this work is often acclaimed

¹ Arthur F. Bentley, The Process of Government, (The Principia Press Inc., Bloomington, Ind., 1935) p.208

² H. Eckstein, "Group Theory and the Comparative Study of Pressure Groups" in Comparative Politics, A Reader, edited by H. Eckstein and D. Apter, (The Free Press of Glence, Collier-MacMillan Ltd.) London, 1963. p.391

as one of the most important contributions to the study of the political process in this century. Enormous claims have been made on behalf of the "group theory" - since the appearance of the Process of Government - by the disciples of Bentley, which are comparable only to the claims made on behalf of Elite theory and Marxist theory.³ In other words, the "group theory of politics" has been treated by some as a general theory of political behavior; hence, the belief that all political phenomena can be understood in terms of the "group concept."

The attitude of many contemporary political scientists tends toward the notion that unless a comprehensive theory of political behaviour can be formulated, no meaningful discussion of political phenomena is possible. Science and the scientific method in search of theory is the goal of modern political science. The search for an explanatory and predictive political science has in fact been a pre-occupation of political philosophers and political theorists

³ The most notable disciples of Bentley and their major works include: David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (1951); Earl Latham, The Group Basis of Politics (1952); Charles B. Hagan, "The Group in a Political Science," in Approaches to the Study of Politics, (ed. by Roland Young 1958); Bertram Gross, The Legislative Struggle (1953) and Pendleton Herring, The Politics of Democracy (1940).

for more than two thousand years. Only in the modern era, however, (operating under the influence of Newtonian Physics and other discoveries in the natural sciences,) has the approach to the study of political phenomena shifted from the normative to the "value-free" scientific method of the empiricists.

It is neither my wish nor my intention to engage in the polemic which has excessively consumed the intellectual energies of social scientists: whether a value free comprehensive theory of social behaviour is possible. To the question as to whether empirical political research without high-level theory is a valid undertaking for the contemporary political scientist, my answer is unequivocally, yes! The present study subscribes to this principle.

Given the nature of this paper, it would be both appropriate and useful to summarize the arguments of the proponents of the "group theory." With this completed, I shall proceed to argue for the approach followed in this study which denies the comprehensive nature of group theory but which assumes at the start that the "pressure group" is an important variable in the decision-making process - an ingredient essential to an understanding of the political process.

(II)

For Bentley, his principal work, the Process of Government "... is an attempt to fashion a tool." The traditional manner of studying political phenomena, the legal-institutional approach, would never be successful in describing nor in explaining the complexities of the political process in a meaningful way. His attitude with regard to the analytical concepts of state and sovereignty may serve as illustrations of this point. Bentley argues that the metaphysical entity of the state standing behind government is unable to explain anything. What did exist was the government itself, and it consisted of the activities of groups and the interests expressed within it. The term "sovereignty" was an equally useless analytical concept. It might prove useful as a weapon in the defence of an existing government or as a legal rationalization of policies and procedures, "but as soon as it gets out of the pages of the law-book or the political pamphlet, it is a piteous threadbare joke."⁴

What then are the essential ingredients for the study of government, the "raw materials?" For Bentley, "it is first, last and always activity, action, something doing, ..." ⁵ It is the "actions of men with or upon

⁴ Bentley, op. cit., p. 264

⁵ Ibid, p. 176

each other."⁶ Government, he argues, is not an amalgam of office holders, constitutional structure, judges and legislatures; it is, rather, a vast network of activities. The process of government is reduced to the pressures, conflicts, rivalries and successes of groups and interests. The group, in Bentley's framework, is "a certain portion of the men of a society taken, ... as a mass activity."⁷ An interest is no more than a group activity viewed from the standpoint of its objective.⁸ Since the two were but different ways of looking at the same phenomena, he often combined them and spoke of group-interests. Hence, he concludes, in reality, government is nothing more than the phenomenon of group interests forming, combining, pushing, competing and working out ways of mediating their conflicts. It is a process of logrolling and practical compromise. Emphasizing his point, Bentley strongly suggests that at no time in American history was legislation enacted by any other means. To hold such methods in contempt, he argues, is to deny reality. This is, after all, the process of government.

David Truman, in his major work, The Governmental Process, quotes Bentley extensively and admits that

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Ibid, p. 211

⁸ Ibid

Bentley's "attempt to fashion a tool" has been the principal benchmark "for his own thinking."⁹ Like Bentley, he denies the existence of the atomized individual and regards the tendency to "explain" the policies of the Soviet Union in terms of Stalin, or the New Deal in terms of FDR as ill-conceived. In common with Bentley, he denies the validity of what is commonly referred to as "the public interest", as standing apart and superior to the various "interests" composing the nation. Moreover, he introduces a new element which Bentley scarcely touches upon. This is the great mass of unorganized interests, or what Truman calls the "rules of the game." They are really attitudes or systems of belief, rather than organized associations or groups. Nevertheless, they are interests, and any serious disturbance of them "will result in organized interaction and the assertion of fairly explicit claims for conformity."¹⁰ Hence, the notion of the "potential group" or the "latent interest" is introduced to group theory. Thus to Truman and other "group theorists" politics and "groups" are synonymous. This fact, they conclude, cannot be ignored.

⁹ D. Truman, The Governmental Process, (Knopf, New York 1951) Preface IX.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 512

Charles Hagan introduces his article on the "group concept" with the following declaration:¹¹

The purpose of this paper is to suggest a descriptive system which, properly understood and employed, can be as useful - and as uniting - for political scientists as the supply-and-demand categories are for economists. The descriptive system I propose is generally known as the "group concept," and is most simply stated thus: values are authoritatively allocated in a society, through the process of the conflict of groups.¹²

Taking David Easton's definition of the central concern of political science as his point of departure, Hagan attempted to combine it with Bentley's tool of analysis, the "group concept." In other words, Hagan's concern was the problem of how values were authoritatively allocated in a society; his answer, through the process of group conflict.

Past efforts employing the traditional-legal approach, Hagan argues, proved inadequate in describing how these values were allocated. No better were some of the later efforts including those dealing with political parties. Psychologists and sociologists opened up new areas of inquiry, but these systems were not adequately ordered. Pendelton Herring's categories of interests, ideas, institutions and individuals as units of analysis

¹¹ Charles B. Hagan, "The Group in a Political Science" in Approaches to the Study of Politics, ed. by Roland Young, (Northwestern University Press, 1958) pp. 38-51

¹² Ibid, p. 40

appears to have achieved little in his search for a "working union" of the four.

"I maintain that the traditional categories, as they play their role in contemporary descriptions of politics, leave a lot to the imagination of the reader, and as a result the communication process is not always precise."¹³

Borrowing from the more sophisticated "science" of economics, Hagan proposes an analogy: that the group struggle is to politics as the supply and demand curve is to economics; and taking this a bit further, that as the chief concern of economics is the allocation of scarce resources, so the chief concern of political science is the authoritative allocation of values.

It is important to note that in common with Bentley, Hagan regards the "group" entirely as an analytical construct not objectified in the real world; the variable to be studied is not the organized pressure group but its abstraction. To be sure, one can locate concrete entities called groups, but not in the conventional sense. A group, for Hagan, as for Bentley is a "mass of human activity," The "activity is the interest. The interest ... is a mass of activity operating in a given direction."¹⁴ Thus the activity is the group, so that the struggle among groups determines what decisions are taken. In these remarks, we have the "group theory of politics."

¹³ Ibid, p. 41

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 45

Without indulging, at this time, in a detailed critique of the group theory offered by its many detractors, suffice it to say that this writer does not regard this "tool of analysis" as expounded by the group theorists as a valid theory of political behaviour.

The absolute minimum requirement for a comprehensive theory of political behaviour is that it should be specific as to the meaning of its key terms. The definitional vocabulary of the theory must be consistent, universally acceptable, precise and, most importantly, falsifiable; in other words, nontautologous. The theoretical vocabulary however, passes none of these tests.

The definitions of "group" range from Bentley's "masses of activity" to the more conventional pressure group which has been loosely defined as an aggregate of individuals acting upon government. Surely Bentley and Hagan are not on the same wave length as Potter, Finer and Eckstein. Moreover, a theory that is non-falsifiable certainly cannot be classified as a "theory." And the claims of "group theory", it seems, are of such a variety. As Eckstein argues:

If we say that politics involves the making of decisions, that decisions are made as a result of group conflict, that groups are the same thing as interests and that both group and interests are masses of activity, then we say merely that politics

is activity. How could such a statement possibly be falsified?¹⁵

Furthermore, scientific theory - it is generally agreed - must be descriptive, have some explanatory value and ultimately be predictive in nature. Group theory, seen in these terms, fails to meet any of these requirements. It neither links nor measures observations; no (measurable) relationship between variables exist; it establishes no cause and effect relationships. When applied to the real world it explains nothing. "When groups are stated everything is stated", but more importantly, nothing is stated. Group theory, then, is not the answer if one is seeking a comprehensive political theory. While I cannot supply the answer, it seems to me that political scientists must look elsewhere if this is to be achieved.

(III)

At the outset, this author suggested that the conventional pressure group was a significant variable in the political system and worthy of scholarly research. It is the "pressure group," observable in reality, which is of concern to me in this paper. A few notes on methodology and terminology would be relevant at this time.

¹⁵ H. Eckstein, op. cit., p. 392. For other critical essays on "group theory", see R.E. Dowling et al, "Bentley Revisited", American Political Science Review, Dec. 1960; B. Crick, The American Science of Politics, 1959; S. Rothman, "Systematic Political Theory: Observations on the Group Approach," American Political Science Review, March 1960; and P. Odegard, "A Group Basis of Politics: A New Name for an Old Myth," Western Political Quarterly, Sept. 1958.

A considerable element of disagreement exists among social scientists as to the meaning of the terms interest group and pressure group. It is not my intention to insist upon my definitions as being of any particular merit.

Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, the following will serve as the working definitions: By "interest group" I mean the interaction of a collection of individuals who are linked together on the basis of some shared attitudes and who are aware that these shared attitudes exist.¹⁶

The term "pressure group" connotes the interest group which is making certain claims upon other interest groups or the political structures in order to realize certain objectives.

In this study the "political pressure group" is nothing more than a "pressure group" with an emphasis; it denotes the degree of involvement in decision-making. In other words, by the term "political pressure group" I mean a "pressure group" which is intimately connected with the political process and which this author considers to be a significant variable in the political system.

Broadly speaking, the task of this paper is to describe the operations of a particular pressure group, the Federation of Classical Colleges,* as a variable in

¹⁶ The definition of interest group used in this study is based largely on those offered by Truman and Almond.

* Hereafter referred to as the Federation or the FCC.

the political system of Quebec and to evaluate its influence on the decision-making process of that system.

The chief influence on my thinking in this regard is derived from H. Eckstein's efforts on pressure groups. While considerably deviating from his model, I have been particularly attracted by Eckstein's style and method of analysis.

According to Eckstein, the researcher should be concerned with a set data that are collected and analysed in answer to the following three questions:¹⁷

- i) What are the determinants of the form of pressure group politics in various political systems?
- ii) What are the determinants of the intensity and scope of pressure group politics?
- iii) What determines the effectiveness of pressure groups?

The present study will attempt to deal with these problems in relation to a particular group.

The scope of this paper is narrower than the whole pressure group universe in Quebec. This inquiry is principally concerned with the activities of one pressure group, the FCC, and one area of public policy, education. Furthermore, the study will limit itself to a definite period of time, 1960-1966. This era ending on June 5, 1966 witnessed the actions of a

¹⁷ H. Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association, (Stanford University Press, 1960) p.15
See also Eckstein, op. cit., pp. 389-397

reform-minded government under the stewardship of the Liberal Prime Minister, Jean Lesage. Elected on the promise that education would be a matter of priority with the new Administration, the Liberal Government undertook a major overhauling of the educational structures in the Province. Moreover, in line with its efforts to "democratize" the process of government, it openly encouraged the various "interest groups" concerned with education to participate in the decisions necessary to effect the reforms in this sector of public concern.

A serious problem of research was posed by the fact that scarcely any published material on the activities of pressure groups in Quebec exists. The theoretical material for this study, therefore, was drawn principally from European and American sources. As a consequence, I have been forced to rely heavily upon source material for my factual data which has been drawn in the main from the archives of the Federation, the press of Montreal, and extensive interviews. Unfortunately, this has led to both theoretical and factual gaps in my knowledge. It has been necessary, therefore, to depend - more than I would have liked to - on the compilation of empirical data, and partly as a consequence of the gap in knowledge concerning the activities of pressure groups in Quebec, much of what follows has had to be of a descriptive rather than an analytical nature.

The author hopes that this attempt will add something to our knowledge of pressure groups in Quebec and if it were to act, even in a small way, as a guide to further research in this area, then the task has been worthwhile.

(IV)

Classical colleges have their origin in the pre-Confederation history of New France.¹⁸ In 1635, the first classical college was founded in Quebec by the Jesuit Order; the type of studies offered were modelled on similar institutions in France. The curriculum consisting of Latin, French, history, mathematics, logic and philosophy was that accepted throughout France as the basis for education at the secondary level. The teaching of morals and religion, from the beginning, occupied a position of primary importance in the eyes of the teaching staff who were often ex-missionaries on leave. Until the end of the French Regime, the Collège des Jésuites alone assumed the responsibility for the education of the elite in the colony.

A second college, le Petit Séminaire de Québec was founded by Monseigneur de Laval in 1668, but after the defeat of New France in 1759, both institutions were forced to close

¹⁸ For the following history of classical education in Quebec, the author has borrowed heavily from volume I of the Parent Report and the FCC brief to the Tremblay Commission, L'Enseignement Classique dans le Québec

their doors. Shortly after the English takeover of the colony in 1760, both of the colleges were able to re-open and a third institution opened in Montreal, le Collège de Montréal, operated by the Order of Saint-Sulpice.

Under the French Regime, all matters concerning education were considered by the civil authorities to be under the jurisdiction of the Church. The political authorities encouraged this situation by special ordinances and more importantly, with financial aid. The fall of Quebec marked the end of these special grants. Thus, in addition to other harrassments, the colleges were faced with financial difficulties. Yet these institutions survived mainly due to the efforts of the French-Canadian clergy who continued to operate them.

In the nineteenth century, the founding of new colleges proceeded at an increasing rate; nine new colleges were opened between 1800 and 1850 and eight between 1851 and 1900.

The colleges in this period were directed and staffed by the clergy under the supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities; not until the present century did the laity begin to play an increasing role in the development of these institutions. Moreover, the clergy and the ecclesiastical authorities assumed the full responsibility for the financing of the private institutions. Although tuition fees were charged, the colleges were not able to meet the total revenue

requirements and it was only because of the existence of a large pool of free labour, the teaching clergy, that the classical colleges could permanently survive.

An important characteristic of the colleges in the nineteenth century was their independence and their diversity. They were founded and developed according to local needs and circumstances, without a comprehensive plan and without being under the overall direction of a general authority. Their programs, teaching methods, examinations and rules of discipline varied according to the desires of the college directors, the teaching personnel and the local community.

The twentieth century witnessed a considerable growth in the number of classical colleges and certain modifications in the traditional concepts of a classical education. The foremost changes occurred with affiliation to the universities of the province, resulting in a tempering of their former academic independence. Other developments included such matters as the participation of the laity in classical education, the evolution and diversification of course programs and the development of new sources of financial aid - fixed government grants.

The eight year classical course of study ends with the convocation of the Baccalauréat ès arts, traditionally an indication of general cultural attainment. While not explicitly predetermined to provide access to university,

it does constitute the normal and often only access to some university faculties.

An important social factor to be noted is the role of the classical colleges in the process of elite formation in the province. Virtually all of the most important professional, political and intellectual figures in French-Canadian society today are products of the classical colleges. This has resulted in the creation of certain patterns of elite behaviour based on a common educational background and social outlook. Leading members of the former Liberal Government including the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education were graduates of the colleges. There is little doubt that a common and collective view of "Catholic Quebec" has existed largely as a result of this type of education. Yet while the old elite fragments and is replaced by the new, the role of the classical college in Quebec's political development remains important.

The cultural heritage of French-Canada, the development of a national consciousness, is largely a result of the role played by the classical college, the educational arm of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. As the role of the Church and the classical college in education is diminished and replaced by the secular authority of the state, the elite, currently in power in French Canada will likely be the last

generation of classically educated Quebecers.

(V)

On June 13, 1953 forty-six directors of classical colleges were granted a charter by the Province of Quebec incorporating the Federation of Classical Colleges.¹⁹ By the year 1966, the Federation was composed of ninety-six classical colleges, many of which came into existence after the founding of the organization. On September 15, 1965 forty-nine thousand, six hundred and one students were following classical studies leading to the degree of Baccalauréat ès arts (Bachot), the traditional degree necessary for entrance into a French-language university in the Province of Quebec. Of these, twenty-three thousand, six hundred and forty students were enrolled at the secondary or high school level and twenty-two thousand nine hundred and eighty at the college level. Two thousand nine hundred and eighty one students were enrolled in other types of studies; elementary, commercial, scientific as well as in courses leading to the equivalent Baccalauréat degree in Commerce, Science, Engineering, Pedagogy and Philosophy. The total teaching staff on the same date was four thousand and fifty-two; of whom one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven were

¹⁹Adrien Bluteau, "La Fédération A 5 Ans," Bulletin de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques, vol.III, no.6, juin 1958, p.1.

clerics and two thousand one hundred and fifty-five were lay personnel.²⁰

Long before the founding of the Federation, regular meetings of an informal nature were held among the directors of the classical colleges. Even before the first affiliation of the colleges to Laval University, they met to discuss such common problems as finances, disciplinary matters and the organization of students.²¹

Affiliation to the University lent a more official character to these meetings, which were usually presided over by either the Rector or Vice-Rector of the University. In 1911, a permanent committee was established to deal with the problems of secondary education. This committee, whose president was nominated by the Rector of the University was charged with undertaking preliminary studies of the matters which were to come under discussion at the regular meetings of the college directors.

After the founding of the University of Montreal in 1919, the colleges in this region organized a second permanent committee modelled after the one in Quebec.

Province-wide Congresses had met at different intervals since 1880, bringing together all of the colleges' personnel. The last, held in Montreal in 1947, was concerned with the

²⁰ FCC Annuaire, 1965-66, p. 4

²¹ FCC, Notre Réforme Scolaire II, L'Enseignement Classique, pp. 196-211

problems relating to the religious formation of students. In 1915, the publication L'Enseignement Secondaire au Canada appeared for the first time. Until 1956, all classical colleges in Canada participated in its publication. Since 1956, however, it has become the sole responsibility of those colleges affiliated to Laval University.

The organization and development of the Arts faculties necessitated a closer collaboration among the colleges and between the colleges and the University. In order to undertake the study of scholastic problems, the colleges became dependent upon a permanent staff who were able to carry on this type of research. Moreover, the colleges were called upon not only in the area of research but also in the application of these programs.

Affiliation to the University, however, did not prove to be a panacea to the colleges. It did provide them with the opportunity of closely studying various academic questions as well as demonstrating to the public the value of their kind of education. At the same time, moreover, the colleges were able to maintain virtually their complete autonomy over their internal administration, the hiring of staff and any other services which they deemed necessary to their form of education.

Without duplicating the work of the Arts faculties, the meeting of the directors and other college educators continued on a regular basis. The introduction of Federal

grants to the Universities without a corresponding grant to the classical colleges had made it evident to the directors that a continuation of these meetings was necessary. The idea of meeting on a regular and formally planned basis soon took hold. During the years that followed, the colleges, given the occasion to prepare a brief for the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems in the Province of Quebec took on the form of the Federation as it is presently constituted.

In its original charter of 1953, the Federation saw itself as having six primary functions which still obtained in 1966. They are:²²

1. To encourage the classical colleges to undertake studies of common interest and to take all measures to this end.
2. To facilitate the exchange of ideas and experiences among these institutions.
3. To work to improve the level of education in these institutions including the programs of study and the methods of teaching.
4. To establish and to maintain close relations with the university authorities, particularly with the Arts Faculties of the Universities of Montreal and Laval in order to assure the complete collaboration between the two levels of education.

²² Ibid, p. 203

5. To represent the classical colleges in relations with the civil authorities and other organizations and persons.
6. To acquaint the public with the role of classical education.

Chapter II:The Group - Organization and Tactics

"Pressure groups tend somehow to resemble the organizations they seek to influence."¹

The structural configuration of the FCC closely approximates the institutional patterns of the political system in which it operates. Eckstein suggests that this correspondence of governmental organization and internal organization of pressure groups may be the result of "deeply established 'constitutional' attitudes, not only in government but also in voluntary organizations."²

The governmental structure of the Quebec political system within which the operations of the Federation are carried out are of the British Parliamentary type. Broadly speaking, the organization of political authority in the FCC conforms to a pattern set by the political institutions in Quebec; the Legislative Assembly, the Cabinet (Executive Council), and the Bureaucracy find their counterpart in the General Assembly, the General Council and the Secretariat of the Federation of Classical Colleges.

¹ H. Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics: The Case of the British Medical Association, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1960) p.21

² Ibid., p.22

The author's purpose in this chapter is threefold: first, to describe as fully as possible the internal organization of the group under study from a formal constitutional point of view; second, to analyze the actual power configuration within the group, that is, to what extent the decision-making process conforms to the formal constitutional patterns. This second task is limited by the author's access to the actual levels of the decision-making process. Regrettably, this direct access was not available to me and the conclusions of my research must be seen in the light of this fact. The manner in which important policy decisions are reached by the Federation can only be inferred by the author, through a content analysis of the various publications of the FCC, his access to confidential documents of the group, the timing of decisions in relation to other negotiations, and by discussions with members of the organization. Finally, a brief analysis of the "channels of influence" available to the FCC will be undertaken. A more detailed study of the FCC's pressure group techniques is the task of another chapter.

The supreme legislative authority of the FCC resides with the General Assembly,* a body composed of eighty two regular and fourteen non-voting members.³ Membership in the

* See Appendix I

³ Much of the material used for the discussion of the formal structural pattern of the Federation is based on the following sources: Règlements Généraux de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques Tels Que Révisés En Septembre 1964, FCC Annuaire, 1965-66, Notre Réforme Scolaire II, and Rencontres D'Information de la FCC à l'intention du personnel des Collèges 1^{er} février 1966.

organization is synonymous with membership in the General Assembly. The Assembly must meet at least once a year, but has in practice, convened twice annually, usually in October and May. These regular meetings of the Assembly deal with such matters as the annual report of the Federation, the budget and other financial matters, election of members to the General Council and other general affairs of the organization. In certain periods of stress, however, it has been summoned more frequently, in special session; for example, in the first four months of 1966 it met four times to discuss such urgent matters as government aid to private institutions, Regulations 3 and 4, and the impending Volume V of the Parent Report.

The Assembly is divided into two sections and further sub-divided into four groups, the former according to affiliation and the latter according to classification.⁴ Each section, affiliated either to Laval University or to the University of Montreal and each group, séminaires religieux,

⁴ At a meeting of the General Assembly held on October 12, 13, and 14, 1966, a revision of the general regulations of the organization was effected. For our present purposes, three of the changes are noted:

1. Replacing of the sections of Quebec and Montreal (according to university affiliations), by two sections, secondary and college education (according to the level of education offered by the institutions.)
2. Abolition, at the structural level of the four groups by which the members are classified, be they séminaires

séminaires diocésains, collèges de garçons and collèges de jeunes filles elects its own executive. Only the complete Assembly, however, has juridical powers, the sections and groups concerning themselves with administrative matters which are of immediate concern to them. The subdivisions, moreover, are in effect the pillars of work and consultation within the Assembly as a whole.

Decisions taken by the General Assembly are binding only on members who cast a vote for that decision. In most cases, measures are unanimously agreed to, and on all but one occasion, member colleges have considered themselves bound by Assembly decisions, whether having voted for them or not.⁵

religieux, séminaires - collèges (diocésains),
collèges de garçons, and collèges de jeunes filles.

3. Elimination of the term "classical" to describe the type of education offered by the institutions of the Federation.

Source: Prospectives, Volume 2, Number 5, Nov. 1966

The above changes represent, in the view of the Federation, a more realistic approach to the structural formation of the group. Educational reform in the province, since the appearance of the Report (Vol.II) of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec has necessitated a restructuring of the private educational institutions in the Province, with a commensurate alteration of the private voluntary associations to which they are affiliated. See attitudes of the Federation, in Chapter III.

⁵ On that occasion, dealing with acceptance or rejection of Bill 60, one member publicly dissented from the decision taken by the General Assembly and declared his intention of considering himself not to be bound by that decision.

Assembly decisions, for the most part are adopted without the formal process of voting, the ordinary manner requiring a resolution by the President-General. Unless a vote is demanded, whether open or secret, the resolution is considered adopted without the use of the ballot. Ordinary policy decisions, when voted upon, require a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting to be carried.⁶

The General Assembly, during its semi-annual meetings, draws the broad policy lines of the Federation. All questions, except those of immediate administrative concern, fall under its jurisdiction. It has the authority to consider all questions which refer to one of the goals of the Federation, and to take all measures which are deemed necessary and appropriate to this end, at its own initiative or by that of the General Council. It also has the authority to establish all the necessary committees and sub-committees that it requires and with all the appropriate powers.⁷

The General Council, a body composed of ten college superiors elected by the General Assembly is the administrative organ of the Federation. This body, like the Assembly from which it is elected, reflects the sectional biases of the group.⁸

⁶ See Règlements Généraux, 1964, op.cit., section on General Assembly, Part II, paragraphs 15 and 16.

⁷ Ibid., paragraphs 2 - 19

⁸ Supra, N.4.

The Council includes two sections of five members, each with separate as well as combined executives. The Council, which meets once a month is chiefly responsible for preparing the work of the Assembly and thereafter executing its decisions. The General Council is also the principal representative of the FCC in its official relations. The Council, however, does not hold the power of final decision, nor has it the authority to bind the Federation in matters other than of immediate administrative concern. It is particularly and specifically responsible for the following matters as outlined in the Règlements Généraux:⁹

- (a) To oversee the immediate administrative affairs of the Federation and to supervise the Secretariat in the execution of its work.
- (b) To make preliminary studies of all questions of interest for the Federation and for its members and to report its findings to the General Assembly.
- (c) To convene the regular sessions of the General Assembly and for each time that the circumstances exist or are justified, all special sessions.
- (d) To prepare all studies given to it by the General Assembly and to report on them.
- (e) To this end, to establish all committees and sub-committees, which must contain at least one member from the General Council but of which the others may

⁹ Règlements Généraux, op.cit., paragraph 24.

be chosen from either the General Council or the General Assembly.

- (f) To represent the Federation in dealings with any authority, organizations or persons and to act as an intermediary between the Federation and its membership, on the one hand, and these organizations and persons, on the other.
- (g) In general, to execute as quickly as possible, the decisions of the General Assembly.

The Council, in its role as the chief executive organ, finds under its control the bureaucracy of the Federation, the Secretariat. Always present at Council meetings in addition to the ten elected members are the Secretary General of the FCC, the Assistant Secretary General, the Secretary of the General Council and the Director of Information, as well as others who might be invited to participate when certain matters pertaining to them are being discussed.

An informal body with no legal existence of its own, responsible for the work of the Federation between Council meetings is the Executive Committee, composed of three members - the President General of the FCC, the Vice President General, and the Secretary General. All decisions, taken by this body must later be ratified by the Council to be valid.

In order to aid it in its work of administering the organization, the General Council has established seven standing committees, each with a different task to perform. Each Committee has a specific mandate and has to deal only with the specific matter handed to it by the Council. It is sufficient for our purposes to enumerate these committees. They include: The Financial Administration Committee, the Admissions Committee, the Committee on Ethics, the Co-ordination Committee - FCC/Faculties of Arts, and two joint committees, FCC/F.A.G.E.C.C.Q (students) and FCC/F.A.P.E.C.C.Q. (parents).

The General Secretariat of the FCC is directed by the Secretary General who is responsible to the General Council. The Secretariat at the end of 1966 was composed of forty-one persons of whom thirty-five were full time employees. The position of the Secretary General, the most important permanent official of the Federation is described in the Règlements Généraux of the FCC as follows:¹⁰

- (a) The Secretary General functions as such at meetings of the General Assembly and the General Council.
- (b) He directs the Secretariat of the Federation; the archives and seal of the Federation are in his charge; all documents requiring his signature are signed by him.

¹⁰ Ibid;, Sections on Officers, Secretary General, Part II, paragraph 33.

- (c) With certain reservations, the financial administration of the Federation is his responsibility.
- (d) He brings to the attention of the General Council all matters, which in his judgement, are of interest to the Federation or its members.
- (e) He keeps the members informed of the work of the General Council and the Secretariat.
- (f) He transmits to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Province of Quebec and to the religious orders of the province of which the members of the Federation are part, copies of the principal documents submitted to the membership.
- (g) He carries out all other functions which are conferred on him by the General Assembly and the Executive Council.

The Secretary General, then, in co-ordination with other selected cadres of the Secretariat, including the Assistant Secretary-General, the Director of Information, the Director of Finance, and in certain cases, the Director of Educational Services, constitute the Bureau of the Secretary-General, the inner circle of the FCC Secretariat. These permanent officers form the link between the members of the group and the rest of the permanent staff. It is these officials, for the most part, who act as a transmission belt in decision-making within the Federation, initiating

policy and seeing that measures, once adopted, are implemented. Similar to the permanent officials in a department of government, it is these top level group of cadres who are at the centre of the decision-making process at the Federation.

The General Secretariat of the FCC is at the service of all the colleges and is the permanent link with the educational organizations, the civil and religious authorities and with the public at large.

To facilitate the organization and the functioning of the different bodies of the Federation, the Secretariat performs many services, for example, publications, external relations, the hiring and setting of standards for the professors, the administration of pension and insurance plans for the college personnel, and the organization of library services.

On the research side, the Secretariat has the responsibility of informing the colleges of the most recent scientific developments, of delineating the principal problems confronting them in the area of secondary and college education, of preparing research projects on urgent matters and when directed by the General Council, to conduct within a reasonable period of time a program of fundamental research and inquiry and to thereafter apply their findings. It is also at the

service of all the colleges that wish to consult it concerning particular problems such as construction, financing and studies, as well as to the individual educators who conduct personal research.

Each service of the Secretariat, whether general or specialized has a definite mandate. Each specialized service depends on a commission. The Commission groups together representatives of member colleges and each has an executive composed of six to eight members elected by the members of the colleges. The Commissions are connected to the General Council by the agency of the specialized service of the Secretariat to which it belongs. The Commissions meet as a body once annually and in smaller groups throughout the year.

In the realm of political activity, which is the principal concern of this study, the General Secretariat of the FCC acts as the crucial player in the political arena. The Secretary-General, in collaboration with the cadre corps of the Federation, participate with the aid of the committees and commissions of the group in the formulation and implementation of the policy goals of the Federation. Their role in the internal policy process of the FCC will be investigated later in this chapter and a discussion of their part in the political processes of the Province will

be fully entered upon in subsequent chapters. For the present, it is important to note that the permanent officials of the Federation are the core group in what has developed into a highly organized bureaucratic structure.

The publications of the Federation have grown in size and number with the evolution of the organization into a full-blown "interest group". The founding of the Federation in 1953 as a voluntary organization, interested principally in promoting the cause of classical education in the province of Quebec, did not carry with it the immediate need to reach its membership or the general public with the printed word. In the mid 1950's moreover, the FCC was not a "political pressure group" in any meaningful sense of the term. As the group became established, however, a method of keeping its members informed of current happenings was quickly devised. Within a year of its founding, the first publishing venture of the FCC was inaugurated with the appearance of a small newsletter, entitled, Bulletin.

The impact and significance of Bulletin, in its initial years of publication, was slight and only with the increased intensity and scope of the pressure group activities of the Federation beginning in 1960, did Bulletin take on increased importance.

With the advent of the sixties, and the change of government at the provincial level, the nature of activity at the Federation shifted. Education was now becoming a vital political issue, which resulted in the FCC assuming the role of a central player in the political system of Quebec.

In this transitory period in the Federation's growth, Bulletin was transformed from a simple information sheet to the format of a substantial educational review, covering subjects of a general interest in the field of education. By the year 1964, discussions of great importance were taking place within the pages of Bulletin, both editorially and in its various articles, relating, on the one hand to the political climate in the province, and on the other, to the educational progress in general and the classical colleges in particular.

With the appointment of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec and the subsequent publication of its reports (Volumes I and II) with their far-reaching proposals for educational reform in the province, the Federation felt that a greater effort to reach the interested public was necessary. The recommendations of the Parent Report, if implemented, would have had a direct impact on the future of classical education in Quebec with the result that the FCC felt

threatened. At this point, Bulletin was replaced by a larger periodical, Prospectives, published bi-monthly by the Secretariat of the Federation, with a view to presenting more effectively, the position of the organization to the members of the group, the civil authorities and the public.

Prospectives is the major publication of the Federation, an average issue running to about fifty pages, a significant size for a regularly appearing journal. Although not the official mouthpiece of the Federation, policy discussions and decisions often find their way into print via these publications. Official statements of the FCC frequently are reproduced in Prospectives and there can be little doubt that articles authored either by influential members of the organization or by important cadres of the Secretariat at least express the unofficial policy of the group.

As Bulletin and Prospectives were concerned with the larger issues of educational reform in the province, the FCC sought to fill the void by establishing a bi-weekly newsletter, Nouvelles de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques in October, 1964, intended to inform the membership and the public of immediate work and concerns of the group. Appearing on a regular basis through 1964 and 1965, the Information Service of the Secretariat, its time consumed with other matters of a more urgent nature, was unable to continue

publishing the newsletter on a regular bi-weekly basis and, in 1966, Nouvelles de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques appeared from time to time.¹¹

A new semi-confidential publication, with a limited circulation, was released in January 1966. This publication called Information Aux Cadres was to:

... Permettre aux responsables des différents secteurs d'activités de connaître, dans les plus brefs délais possible, les décisions, les orientations, les sujets à l'étude, les interrogations majeures des Commissions spécialisées, des comités, du Secrétariat et du Conseil général de la FCC¹².

As negotiations with the public authorities became more crucial - over the issues of government financing of classical colleges and the new level of education envisaged by the Parent Commission - the Institutes - a more efficient

¹¹ The Information Service of the Secretariat is responsible for all published materials of the Federation including verbal transcripts of all General Assembly and General Council meetings as well as transcripts and reports of the work of their committees and commissions. In addition, the numerous submissions prepared by the Federation are the responsibility of the Service. In 1966, moreover, about twenty percent of the time of the Director of Information was consumed by the work of the sub-committee on the Role of the Church in Education.

¹² Information Aux Cadres, Number 1, January 14, 1966 p.1.

manner of keeping the top personnel of the colleges informed of these events was conceived by this publication which is addressed directly to the administrators of the colleges and is for their use only.

As previously indicated in the earlier part of this chapter, an accurate analysis of the decision-making process within the Federation can only be inferred from my observations of the group, careful scrutiny of the published documents of the organization, and by discussions with the group's officials.

Decision-making in government, whether in Quebec or in any other system of the British Parliamentary type, takes place at several levels. What concerns me here is not the influence or pressures brought to bear on the decision-makers but on what organizational level the decisions are made. Policy initiation emanates largely from the bureaucracy or the elected executive level. The deliberation stage of policy alternatives centres once again at this level with the Executive Council having the decisive voice. Policy decisions having been arrived at by the executive are normally ratified by the legislative branch of government. So, in the Federation, with an internal structure similar to that of the Quebec Government, the

pivotal positions in the decision-making process are exercised by the Bureau of the Secretary-General and the General Council.

Most of the initiatives emanate from the Secretariat which, by its virtual monopoly of the research facilities and thus, its access to information, is best able to articulate the interests of the group. The Secretariat, which has become the nerve centre of the Federation, has been capable, with the aid of able personnel and strong leadership by its Secretary-General, of maintaining the confidence of the membership who have relied upon the permanent officials to provide direction in this area. This is not to say, however, that the members of the organization are without influence in policy initiation. On the contrary, the ten elected members of the General Council exercise a considerable influence in the initiation and deliberation stages of policy creation.

Armed with the technical knowledge of the situation, the Secretariat, represented by its members on the General Council, is in a position to present its views to the Council at its monthly meetings. Concurrently, discussions of the major issues take place in the FCC publications, primarily, Prospectives. Once a decision is reached, at the level of the General Council, its acceptance by the General Assembly is virtually assured.

The General Assembly, or any faction within it, would be hard put to match the technical competence of the Secretariat and is therefore unlikely to be able to put

forth counter proposals that might be accepted. Moreover, dissent and discussion having already taken place at the General Council level, policy decisions taken by the General Assembly are consensual. This is apparent by the virtually unanimous decisions taken by the General Assembly at its semi-annual meetings.

The role of the General Assembly in the decision-making process, then, is largely formal, the Assembly performing the role of the legitimizing agency of the Federation. The supreme legislative authority of the Federation lies nominally with the General Assembly but in practice, it is the other organs of the group which perform this function. In subsequent chapters, we shall demonstrate that in relations with other voluntary associations and with civil authorities, it is the cadre corps of the Secretariat and the members of the General Council who are the spokesmen for the Federation with a degree of autonomy equal to that of the personnel with whom they associate.

In general, it may be said that pressure groups attempt to obtain favourable dispensations by focusing their efforts

on four pressure points in the political system: the electorate, the political parties, the legislature, and the administrative departments of government. In the normal course of events, in a political system of the British Parliamentary type, as borne out by empirical evidence with regard to the FCC and its role in the Quebec Political System, the last of these channels is the primary locus of pressure group activity. It would be erroneous to assume that the other pressure points in the system are ignored by the Federation; for as we shall illustrate shortly, this, in fact, is not the case. It is true, nevertheless, that the primary relationship and the one that has priority with the Federation is with the decision-makers in Quebec, the Minister of Education and the top officials in the Department.

In a political system where the significant decisions affecting educational policy are made in the Department of Education, a "political pressure group" seeking to influence those decisions must not only acquire access to the department but also effect a mutual relationship of need and collaboration in which the desires of both parties are taken into account. Should the relationship fail to materialize, the impotence of the association as a "political pressure group" is manifested.

A close working relationship with the important administrative department, however, may be insufficient for success in every instance. Certainly, the Federation would never claim that it can or should be successful in every undertaking (although, undoubtedly it would like to be.) Nevertheless, the FCC does not rely solely on its contacts with the Ministry to obtain favourable results. The Federation seeks to influence public opinion by indirect and direct appeals to what is broadly speaking, the electorate of Quebec.

The constituency that interests the FCC is made up of two parts. First, the general electorate of the province, and second, those with an immediate concern for the future of classical education in Quebec, the students of Classical Colleges, their parents, former students and the staff. As the interested public forms a substantial proportion of the general electorate, public opinion, once generated, can be and has been used as an important pressure group device by the Federation.

With regard to the remaining points of pressure group activity, the parties and legislature, there is no evidence that these avenues are actively explored by the Federation. Although one can speculate that, considering its past performance and its present views on education, the FCC was not unhappy to see a return to power of the

Union Nationale Government, I have been unable to find any concrete evidence to corroborate this view. To my knowledge, the Federation has not publicly nor privately expressed any party preferences. The FCC appears to be following a politically neutral course seeking to gain for itself the best possible results, regardless of the party in power.¹³

What is true for its position towards the political parties is equally valid for the Federation's relationship with the legislature. The legislature cannot be an effective point of pressure, for, with a tightly disciplined two-party system, the individual members of the Legislative Assembly find themselves with little room to manoeuvre. The legislative program is controlled and directed by the Executive Council and it is on the members of this body that the FCC concentrates its efforts. Support has been sought by the Federation from the members of the Assembly of both parties, but this effort can only manifest itself in the privacy of the party caucus and not on the floor of the Assembly. For the most part, this type of activity is of limited value to the Federation.

¹³

Shortly after the Union Nationale Party was returned to power in June 1966, Secretary-General Beauchemin was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister of Education. After several months in this post, he was promoted to Associate Deputy Minister of Education in charge of pre-university and vocational education.

In an attempt to obtain its policy goals, the Federation employs various techniques designed to influence both public and private opinion. The FCC's efforts in this connection include all of the options that are open to a large, well-organized "pressure group." The corner-stone of the Federation's strategy, as already indicated, is predicated on a policy of close collaboration with the Department of Education. Without an ability to gain access to the center of the decision-making process in the field of education, the group cannot hope to influence in any meaningful way the outcome of policy orientations. That this is true will be illustrated pointedly in the subsequent chapter.

Moreover, there is a continuing effort on the part of the Federation to influence public opinion in support of the programs and policies of the classical colleges. Support for the FCC is sought through the continuous employment of various techniques in the general area of public relations. It will be recalled that the FCC publishes a number of journals and newsletters which are designed to reach the public and the Government of Quebec. These publications assume a number of functions. First, they serve to educate and inform the public and the provincial authorities with regard to the present and future policies of the association and its goal expectations. Second, the publi-

cations are employed by the group to solidify the support of its membership and related interested parties to the views and policy positions of the association. Finally, they have been employed as tactical weapons in the FCC's arsenal for nudging the Ministry into certain positions favourable to the group or for strengthening the inner unity of the FCC in view of the particular policy adopted by it.

The Federation has also undertaken to meet the public in personal encounters in order to acquaint them with the activities and the policies of the organization. These soirees or information meetings are held at member colleges, Home and School Associations, School Boards and other places in the field of education. In addition to a public relations effort to influence the non-affiliated bodies, the soirees are employed to solidify support within the membership itself.

Ces rencontres visent à faire connaître la Fédération et à permettre à cette dernière de mieux connaître les aspirations, les interrogations et les opérations du personnel des collèges.¹⁴

A further public relations effort pursued by the FCC is the employment of the mass media. Appearances on such radio and television programs as Lets Consider and Aujourd'hui are not infrequent.

¹⁴Rencontres d'Information de la FCC à l'intention du personnel des collèges, 1er février 1966, p.1

Broadly speaking, most pressure groups, operating in a political system of the British Parliamentary type, do not habitually resort to public appeals in a conflict with the governmental authorities. Under normal conditions, consultation and negotiation behind closed doors with members of the administrative departments is the norm. Under certain circumstances, however, this pattern of behaviour is altered, much to the chagrin of the government. As a tactical device intended to quickly and decisively influence or pressure the government to act on a given request of the Federation, a public appeal by way of the mass media is probably the single most effective weapon at its disposal. This technique, properly employed by the Federation, which because of the size of its sympathetic following in addition to the societal attitude toward the venerable institution of the Classical College in the province can have an appropriate influence on the government.

In accordance with the Quebec Government's professed desire of granting to the "corps intermédiaires" a participatory role in the formulation of educational policy in the province, the FCC has pursued a policy of seeking to have its most capable personnel participate on the advisory bodies created by the government for this purpose.

The Federation's representation on these bodies consists of from one to three persons, who are normally the Secretary-General, the Rector of a college or Vice-Rector, and the Assistant Secretary-General. In addition, there are what I designate as affiliated representation; that is, those persons not nominated by the FCC but by some other group with an immediate interest in the colleges, for example, the students, their parents or the personnel of the colleges.

By its participation in these advisory bodies, the Federation is in a position - on a personal level - to acquaint the other educational organizations and the public authorities with respect to its views and opinions on such matters as may arise in these meetings. Nevertheless, the work of these advisory committees in the framing of public policy has been called into question from many quarters, having been made the frequent target of criticism by its participating members. The Federation, while not disregarding the potential usefulness of these bodies, is of the opinion that its most useful and successful negotiations must take place in bi-lateral discussions with those who affect decisions, in this case, the Minister of Education and his departmental officials.

In addition to its active participation on a large

number of committees of the Department of Education and Commissions of the Superior Council of Education, individual members of the Federation and various personnel of the Secretariat are members of other extra-governmental bodies and educational organizations. For example, Secretary-General Beauchemin and Assistant Secretary-General Beauregarde¹⁵ are members or have participated in committees of C.E.C.M., P.S.B.G.M., Canadian Catholic Action, A.C.E.C.F., Association of Canadian Universities and Colleges, A.E.Q. and others. In 1966 Assistant Secretary-General Claude Beauregarde was President of Canadian Education Week, a fact which the FCC believed put its members in the forefront of national education.

There has been private as well as public acknowledgement with regard to the unusually high calibre and competence of the Federation's representation on these advisory bodies, governmental and otherwise. This fact has tended to earn for the Federation a reputation of being a well-organized, articulate and active pressure group in the province of Quebec.

Regardless of the actual influence of these bodies in determining policy in Quebec, the FCC is resolved to use them to their fullest advantage. This is largely determined by the quality of personnel sitting on these committees and the degree to which they are capable of

¹⁵Secretary-General Beauchemin was succeeded in his post

representing the Federation. The intricacies of pressure group politics are many and only a highly organized structure whose resources are fully committed in pursuit of their ends can be successful. The channels open to the Federation are varied and chosen with skill to meet an existing situation.

An area where the influence of the Federation can be significantly measured is on those advisory bodies where the FCC encounters other voluntary associations whose interests and policies are often wholly antithetical to its own. If the Federation cannot always affect government decisions by the positions it holds on these bodies, it is nonetheless determined to persuade the other members of these bodies of the merits of its case. It is at this stage that careful planning at the level of the FCC Secretariat proves to be an invaluable tool.

It is recognized by the Federation and the spokesmen for other associations who participate as intermediates in the decision-making process that the ultimate decisions are not taken in these advisory bodies but, in fact, more often than not, go unheeded by the Government. In spite of this situation, the Federation believes that in the long run, in periods of relative tranquility, these

by Assistant-Secretary General Beauregarde when the former was appointed Assistant Deputy Minister of Education by the National Union Government.

advisory committees can assume importance in decision-making in regard to problems of a routine or middle-level nature. With the period of educational reform that is currently sweeping the province, the Federation is keenly aware that regardless of the degree of influence it achieves in these bodies, this alone will not suffice if it is to be successful in fulfilling its aspirations.

The most important channel open to the Federation must remain its access to and close working relationship with the Minister and the officials of the Department of Education. Top level policy decisions in the final analysis can only be taken at the highest government levels and only in personal bilateral negotiations can the Federation hope to be successful.

Whereas, the Federation does not solely predicate its strategy on "in camera" communications with the Department, and has in the past engaged in open conflict with it,¹⁶ it nevertheless believes that a policy of close collaboration and bilateral negotiations is one which must have the most favourable result. The other pressure group techniques discussed in this chapter, based largely on indirect means of influencing the decision-makers at Quebec involve a policy of seeking support and consolidating this support for use in negotiating with the Ministry. As a result, these devices are only ancillary to , and in no way affect the Federation's long-term determination of achieving a collaborative effort with the governmental authorities.

¹⁶ See Chapter IV

Chapter III

The Group - Attitudes Past and Present

It has been said that group leaders- whatever else they may neglect- cannot afford to be ignorant of widely held attitudes which have a bearing upon the prestige and the objectives of their organization.¹

In order to better determine the role of the Federation of Classical Colleges in the Quebec political system, an examination of the FCC's attitudes and policy positions with regard to its environmental setting and certain public issues will be undertaken. Furthermore, it is equally important to examine the attitudes and policy positions of the public authorities in relation to those of the Federation, a group with which it must deal. At the outset, I wish to make it clear that the methodological approach followed in this chapter does not make use of the technique of extensive interviewing or questionnaires in order to study the political attitudes of individuals. What is of interest to this researcher is a broader analysis of issue attitudes as perceived by the two main actors, the Federation and the government. While these attitudes are usually articulated by individuals

¹ H. Ehrmann, "The Comparative Study of Interest Groups", in H. Ehrmann, ed., Interest Groups on Four Continents, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh, 1958.

they are meant, in the present context, to represent a collective viewpoint of the FCC or the public authorities. In this manner, then, I hope to trace the development of the attitudes of both the Federation and the government in regard to educational policy in the province; the extent to which there has been an internal transformation within the Federation with regard to its own role as an "interest group" in society, and the degree to which the Federation is recognized as a legitimate agency of interest articulation in the decision making process in the Quebec political system.

The initial attitudes of the FCC manifested themselves in a manner that can be described as moderate with regard to both objectives and public expressions. It regarded itself principally as a research agency, small and with little resources at that; a body able to co-ordinate research and study among the colleges but neither able to nor willing to regard itself as a "pressure group" as I have defined the term.

The first significant public venture of the Federation took the form of a submission to the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Constitutional Problems in the Province of Quebec in 1954. It was edited by M. Paul Gerin-Lajoie, a lawyer and a renowned authority on the Canadian Constitution, who was the Minister of Education

in Quebec from 1962-66. The principal concern of the FCC in its presentation to the Commission was the difficulties encountered in the financing of the classical colleges. In addition, the Federation re-affirmed the need and the utility of a classical education as given by these private institutions. Although the financial position of the colleges was not in an acute state at that time, the Federation desired a regular statutory grant from the state replacing the ad hoc arrangements common in this period. Substantial educational reform was not then a primary concern for the FCC nor for the government.

The relationship that existed between the Federation and the National Union Government of the 1950's was more than amicable, the political attitudes of both bodies being similar. Moreover, the ecclesiastical authorities during the same period were an influential group, thus little initiative was left for the colleges themselves. The express desire of the Federation was "conserver dans nos collèges la tradition de culture et d'humanisme chrétien qui a fait la gloire de la civilisation occidentale."³

² Fédération des Collèges Classiques, L'Organisation et les besoins de l'enseignement classique dans le Québec; mémoire de la F.C.C. à la commission royale d'enquête sur les problèmes constitutionnels., Montréal, 1954.

³ Bulletin, Volume III, No.2, Oct. 1957, p.2

The patterns of behavior exhibited by the government toward the Federation can best be illustrated by a speech delivered by Yves Prévost, (Provincial Secretary of the Province of Quebec who was at that time responsible for education), to the Federation in 1958 entitled, "Nos collèges classiques demeureront les derniers bastions de résistance contre toute infiltration néfaste."⁴ In his address, Prévost extolled the virtues of the classical colleges and emphasized the determination of the Government to continue to support morally and, more importantly, financially the existence of those great institutions. He pointed with considerable pride to the fact that the National Union Government had granted to the classical colleges relatively more financial aid than to any other sector of education, a one thousand seven hundred and ninety six percent increase. His final note foreshadowed future FCC philosophy: "Vous désirez en effet, j'en suis sûr, conserver votre indépendance."⁵

The Hon. Paul Gerin-Lajoie, (the former Minister of Education, and) author of the Federation's brief to the

⁴ Yves Prévost, "Nos collèges classiques demeurent les derniers bastions de résistance contre toute infiltration néfaste." Bulletin, Volume III, No.2, Nov.1958, p.5

⁵ Ibid., p.7

Tremblay Commission in 1953, was for the better part of the 1950's a sympathizer of the classical colleges. In an address to the Kiwanis Club in Montreal in February 1955 he re-iterated the position taken by the Federation in its submission to the Commission.⁶ Comparing the societal roles of the classical colleges of Quebec with the colleges of Oxford University of Britain, M. Gerin-Lajoie did not question the necessity nor the usefulness of these institutions in both jurisdictions; he did believe, however, that as they were then constituted, the classical colleges were not fully living up to their desired objectives as he perceived them. Two problems in his view, confronted the classical colleges. First, the progress of educational development which he viewed in terms of the lack of physical amenities such as the need for more lay professors, better library facilities and so forth. Second, the problem which concerned the degree of accessibility to the colleges, that is, in democratic terminology, equal opportunity for all to attend the colleges regardless of their ability to pay. Expressing satisfaction that classical sections were established in the public school system a year earlier, he was quick to point out that they augmented but in no

⁶ "Le Collège Classique - Tradition et progrès", texte d'une causerie prononcée par M. Paul Gerin-Lajoie devant les membres du Club Kiwanis - St. Laurent, en hotel Ritz-Carlton à Montréal le 1er février 1955.

way could replace the traditional classical college. The crucial aspect of the situation, as demonstrated in their submission to the Tremblay Commission were endorsed by M. Gérin-Lajoie.

"Les solutions proposées s'inspirent du désir de réconcilier le caractère privé traditionnel des collèges avec une participation importante de l'état au financement de ces entreprises — réconciliation que d'aucuns trouveront au premier abord, inconcevable.⁷

And finally,

Tradition et progrès - telle est l'apparente contradiction dont les deux éléments doivent être constamment réconciliés, en éducation encore plus qu'ailleurs; les propositions de la Fédération des Collèges Classiques sont le fruit d'un effort dans ce sens."⁸

M. Gérin-Lajoie's philosophy with regard to general educational reform in Quebec and toward the classical colleges in particular did not substantially alter until 1958 when he became closely associated with the revitalized Liberal Party led by Jean Lesage. With that association, came close contact with the educational policy brain-truster of the party, Arthur Tremblay, the present Deputy Minister of Education. The 1960 Election

⁷ Ibid. p. 8

⁸ Ibid

Manifesto of the Liberal Party contained the promise of substantial reforms of the system of education.

With the advent of the Liberal Government to power in 1960, and the announced intention of the government to initiate major educational reforms, the FCC realized that it could no longer act as a mere research and information agency.

Le développement social exigeait lui-même que toutes les institutions de même nature unissent leurs forces en une association capable de les représenter de vue. Aujourd'hui ce ne sont plus les forces individuelles qui sont en présence les unes des autres; ce sont, surtout, les forces sociales. Laissées à eux-mêmes, les collèges classiques n'auraient fait que subir les influences sans pouvoirs, à toutes fins pratiques, contribuer à l'évolution et à l'orientation de l'éducation. En coordonnant leurs efforts, ils sont en mesure de développer une pensée commune et d'avoir une action beaucoup plus efficace.⁹

Hence, the existence of the Federation as "pressure group" can be traced to the post-1960 period, as a reaction to the external stresses in an era of change.

⁹ Fédération des Collèges Classique, Notre Réforme Scolaire II, l'Enseignement Classique, Mémoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête sur l'Enseignement, Montréal, 1963, p.198

No longer could the Federation be content to exist as a group on the periphery of the political system. Unless the classical colleges were willing to be the object of change without the corresponding attempt of affecting the decisions taken at Quebec, the FCC by necessity, had to adapt to the existing situation and to take on the appearance of a vital interest group. A co-ordination of efforts was achieved resulting in the adoption of a common front to meet the ensuing challenge. From this time forward, the FCC becomes "un organisme commun d'information et de relations extérieures."¹⁰

Responding to the call of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec the FCC submitted to it a carefully constructed two-volume brief.¹¹ Volume I deals with a general treatment of the role played by the classical colleges in Quebec society and the various units comprising its structures. The main recommendations put forward by the Federation called for a major overhauling of the existing administrative and political structures with respect to education rather than the establishment of a new Ministry of Education. Moreover, the FCC envisaged and called for a greater collaboration and consolidation among the educational structures in society. Volume II of the

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Fédération des Collèges Classiques, Notre Réforme Scolaire I & II, Montréal, 1962-63

submission is concerned with the role and the problems of classical education and the classical colleges in particular. The recommendations of the Federation in this connection were for the most part an advocacy of the status quo; modifications in the technicalities of the course were advocated and increased financial aid for the colleges was requested.

With the appearance of Volume I of the Parent Commission Report calling for the establishment of a new Ministry of Education to replace the existing structures, the amicable relations which had existed between M. Gérin-Lajoie and the FCC ended. The Federation was in opposition to the proposed Bill 60 and with this stand had alienated the new Minister and his chief civil servants.¹²

By virtue of the degree of expertise available to the government in many of the "corps intermédiaires", they were invited by the new Ministry to assist in its establishment, by supplying both advice and personnel. This type of exchange is a common occurrence in Quebec and other jurisdictions. Where the voluntary association is an accepted part of the political culture, a process of information exchange is a regular part of the behavior pattern of governments and these associations. In Britain, for example,

¹² See, Leon Dion, Le Bill 60 et le public, Montreal, L'Institut Canadien d'Education des Adultes, 1966, for an account of the involvement of pressure groups concerned with Bill 60. According to Dion, although the role of the FCC was an active one, it was not influential.

this function is considered to be an important element of pressure group activity. The agricultural lobby, the British Medical Association and others are regularly engaged in such matters as supplying "their" respective Ministries with technical expertise in the form of advice and personnel. This type of reciprocal activity is an essential one if a particular group is to have any influence with the public authorities. The Federation, however, was not a participant in this process after passage into law of Bill 60, and hence, had virtually lost all meaningful contact with the new Department. Its impotence as a pressure group was now manifested.

The latter half of 1964 witnessed a change of attitude on the part of the FCC both toward its own role as an interest group and in regard to its relationship to the new Ministry.

Three factors appear to be responsible for this about face by the Federation and its seemingly sudden realization that an attempt to participate in the decision-making process at Quebec was a necessary prerequisite to its continued existence as an effective pressure group.

1) As perceived by the FCC the degree of financial support the classical colleges were receiving from the Liberal Government was not commensurate with their needs. Many of the colleges had, by this time, reached a critical

state in their financial situation and were in desperate need of public support if they were to continue to operate.

2) The recommendations of the Parent Commission with respect to the establishment of a new level of education, the "Institutes", jeopardized the very existence of the classical colleges as independent institutions. The Federation became acutely aware of the necessity of consultations with the Ministry regarding this proposed reform of the educational system. The need to negotiate the future status of the classical colleges with the public authorities was manifestly clear. Without meaningful contact, this was impossible.

3) By virtue of the first two imperatives and the lack of contact with the new minister and his department, the FCC was a pressure group with no influence in the decision-making process. A group with vital interests to defend and promote must, if it is to function at all, be in a position to maintain access to the vital channels of decision-making. This the FCC now attempted to accomplish.

Concurrent with the re-assessment of its position vis a vis the new Department of Education and its attitude toward educational reform in the province, the Federation was in the midst of an internal re-alignment and development of its Secretariat personnel. This process had the affect

of more closely approximating the two positions in terms of political attitudes. In the process of overhauling the Secretariat, only the position of Secretary-General remained unchanged. The Federation recruited, for the most part, young and progressive individuals who took over many of the key posts in the Secretariat. The new element was largely sympathetic to educational reform in the province but aware of the value of the existence of independent institutions. A basis for collaboration with the new Ministry was established.

Second, the FCC was now in a position, by virtue of the attitudinal change which had emerged from within, to participate directly in the affairs of the Ministry of Education by specific measures such as the lending of staff of a specialized nature to the embryonic Ministry.¹³

Finally, the Federation adopted Deputy-Minister Tremblay's call for collaboration with the Ministry in Operation 55 - a plan to consolidate the school boards and Commissions in the province. Tremblay, addressing the Directors of the Colleges in the autumn of 1964, called for participation of the private sector in the realm of educational reform:

¹³ At the request of the Minister of Education, Ronald Cousineau, Director of Finance and in charge of research at the Secretariat was lent to the Minister to work on statistical research from June to September 1965.

"Ce n'est pas le rôle du Ministère de définir actuellement des cadres ou des structures d'ensemble en ce qui a trait à la collaboration des institutions indépendantes avec le secteur public. Le sens que nous avons donné à l'Opération 55 indique clairement que nous voulons que des suggestions et des hypothèses de travail nous soient fournies par la base par les comités régionaux.¹⁴

The President-General of the Federation, Florian Lariviere S.J. responded to the advances of the Ministry in a speech delivered to the General Assembly of the FCC in the same year. Noting the repeated utterances of the Ministry, he suggested that the "corps intermédiaires" had a duty to collaborate and risked isolation if they viewed their role unilaterally.¹⁵

"Face au ministère nous devons accepter généreusement la collaboration conscients d'abord des besoins impérieux de l'éducation en cette province. Certains institutions devront accepter des responsabilités plus lourdes dans leur milieu. Ce qui importe, c'est de tenir et d'obtenir notre place dans la planification qui s'impose."¹⁶

Moreover, noting the superior organization of the Federation, he envisaged a particular role for it in the collaborative apparatus, as a spokesman for all independent institutions in the province.¹⁷

¹⁵ "Les Collèges Classiques sont à l'heure de demain"
Bulletin, Vol. IX, No.1 Juin 1964, p.4

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 7

Other spokesman for the FCC in their public pronouncements as well as in various articles have repeatedly called for full co-operation and collaboration with the Ministry at all levels of endeavour. To participate in all the committees of planning became the new mode of operation.

In principle, then, the Federation had completely accepted the fact of the new Ministry of Education, the regionalization of school boards, and the new level of education; only in details, albeit important ones, did they sometimes differ. A closer examination at this time of the positions held by the Federation and the Government in respect to the establishment of the "Institute" structure may give us some insights with respect to the current attitudes of the FCC toward educational reform and the present framework of pressure group politics in the province.

The Parent Commission in Volume II of its Report recommended the creation of a new scholastic level of pre-university and vocational education.¹⁸ The following extract from the Report will suffice as a definition of the proposed level:

¹⁸ Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Volume 2, Quebec 1964, p. 159 ff.

This consists of a two-year course of studies following the eleventh year, it is open to any student who has obtained his secondary school certificate and has met admission standards established by the Department of Education. Pre-university and vocational education is intended for all students who propose to go on to higher education, to which it is the only means of access; it supplies vocational training for most students who, at this level, are preparing themselves for specific employment or field of work. Those who have successfully completed this course are awarded the certificate of pre-university and vocational education.¹⁹

Certain modifications of this pattern may exist, such as one-year vocational courses or either summer courses or a third year for those who need additional time.²⁰ Moreover, the Commissioners recognized the necessity to establish a new kind of academic institution to fulfill this need. On the English side, an entirely new set of physical facilities would have to be created; on the French side, the Commissioners envisaged a "far-reaching consolidation and re-organization" of existing facilities.²¹ The new "institutes" would be built up in three stages; the first consisting of some modifications in existing institutions and personnel; the second, a

¹⁹ Ibid, para. 282, p. 176

²⁰ Ibid, para. 282, p. 176; para. 277, p. 172

²¹ Ibid, para. 283, p. 176

gradual centralization of facilities is contemplated; and finally, the third stage would see the organization of the new campus.²²

The Commissioners recommended that the responsibility for organizing and administering of the new structures belong to regional public corporations, controlled by Quebec, "in the makeup of which the various professional, civic and other groups of the region would be regularly asked for their advice."²³

It will be recalled that in its brief to the Royal Commission the FCC called for a consolidation of educational facilities. One aspect of the new level of education - the raising of the level of pre-university studies - is related to this.

Indeed the authorities of the classical colleges acknowledge that their institutions will no longer be able to maintain and raise the level of the "cours collegial" without some consolidation.²⁴

The Commissioners issued an invitation to the classical colleges,

.... to participate in a consolidation perhaps more extensive than that which they have hitherto contemplated; what we propose is that instead of joining forces among themselves, they become

²² Ibid, para. 286, p. 178

²³ Ibid, para. 287, p. 180

²⁴ Ibid, para. 266, p. 184

integral parts of greater and truly comprehensive entities.²⁵

The Commissioners, then, saw the need for the consolidation and amalgamation as fully recognized; what they suggested was a broadening and channeling of this movement. Thus they concluded:

We also know very well that real sacrifices will be asked of both institutions and persons - especially in the private system - of the French and English universities, of the classical colleges, the normal schools, the "instituts familiaux". The universities must give up certain fields of instruction which have traditionally been theirs; the other institutions will have to lose some part of their identity, become integral parts of the larger whole, transfer to the public system some of their freedoms of action.²⁶

What was the Federation's reaction to these proposals of the Parent Commission? In early December, 1964, the General Assembly spelled out the attitude of the classical colleges in a series of resolutions:²⁷

1. The General Assembly adhered unequivocally to the whole of the second volume, inasmuch as it clarified educational structures, co-ordinated diverse types of instruction, and responded to the needs of a modern civilization.

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid, para. 282, p. 176

²⁷ Bulletin, Vol.9, No.5, Jan. 1965, pp. 13-15

2. The Assembly pledged the active co-operation of the colleges in implementing the Commission's recommendations.
3. The colleges accepted their future role as envisaged by the Parent Commission, but they were encouraged that the continued existence of independent institutions was possible. They insisted, however, that there was no question of maintaining or creating a vast network of independent schools on the fringe of the public sector.

Instead they realized that a large number of existing colleges would possibly disappear as entities in themselves, either to integrate themselves into the proposed regional secondary school boards or into the proposed institutes, that is, the physical plants in which the new level of education was to be given. Concerning the remaining colleges, however, the members of the General Assembly had this to say,

Nous croyons cependant qu'un certain nombre d'institutions indépendantes, dûment accréditées et pouvant se situer harmonieusement dans le plan d'ensemble, peuvent et doivent continuer d'exister. Ces maisons suivront les programmes tracés par le ministère, elles recevront l'assistance financière nécessaire, mais garderont une indépendance relative qui consistera surtout dans le choix des maîtres, dans le climat de vie qui y

sera donné en dehors du strict plan
académique.²⁸

An important official of the Secretariat has estimated that of the ninety-six member bodies of the FCC - seventy-eight of which provide instruction at both levels - twenty-five to thirty would be involved in the new level of education. These would provide no secondary schooling. The rest would restrict their activities to the field of secondary education. A few colleges might provide a five-year program leading to a degree, two years of pre-university training and a three year university program.²⁹ Furthermore, it was expected that some of the colleges would disappear altogether at either level of education by selling their assets to the regional school board at the secondary level or to the public corporation responsible for a particular institute. The Federation expected that most of the remainder would enter into some form of agreement with the respective public authorities. The group hopes that there will be provision for the continued existence of colleges as entities unaffiliated with the public authorities, operating as indicated in the above statement.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 14

²⁹ "Collège Ste-Marie" Editorial Comment, Montreal Gazette, March 26, 1966.
"University of Montreal Rejects B.A. Program of College", Montreal Star, April 2, 1966.

In a resolution, adopted by the General Assembly, the reasons for favouring the operation of some unaffiliated colleges are given.

Attendu que les parents ont le droit de choisir les institutions qui, selon leur conviction, assurent le mieux le respect des droits de leurs enfants;
 Attendu que les personnes et les groupes ont le droit de créer des institutions d'enseignement autonomes et, les exigences du bien commun étant sauves de bénéficier des moyens administratifs et financiers nécessaires à la poursuite de leur fins; L'Assemblée ... constate, avec satisfaction que le Rapport Parent reconnaît la possibilité de créer, de maintenir, et de développer divers types d'institutions indépendantes.³⁰

In private, however, the Federation, admitted to the charge that its attitude in this matter was influenced by a consideration less moralistic than concern for the rights of parents to choose the educational institutions as they saw fit. The following hypothesis has been posited by the group as framing its thinking in this regard. If, in five years time following the revamping of education at the secondary school level and the creation of the "institutes", it is seen that no useful purpose is served by the existence of unaffiliated colleges, than those in operation will sign the same type of agreement with the public authorities as did the others; if on the other

³⁰ Bulletin, op.cit. p. 14

hand, there is dissatisfaction with the turn of events, then the existence of even a few private bodies will facilitate either the re-drawing of the agreements or the refusal to renew the arrangements when they expire. The existence of some private colleges, then, would be the springboard from which to make the decisions of the future.

What the FCC was seeking, then, was not a widespread network of private institutions but a principle, maintained by the existence of even a few such bodies at either level of education, a position which can explain the behavior of the group as outlined above. This does not mean, however, that the FCC had dispensed with caution.

Il faut aussi se rendre compte qu'à l'instaur des autres groupements intéressés à l'éducation, la FCC n'entend pas pour autant moment abdiquer ses droits et ses devoirs et qu'elle sera toujours soucieuse de faire connaître à qui de droit et en temps opportun ses critiques, ses objections, ses commentaires et ses suggestions. A ceux qui seraient portés à comprendre le mot "collaboration" dans le sens de "soumission beate", il ne semble pas inutile de rappeler que le mot "collaboration" suppose une attitude ouverte, une volonté de travailler; ce qui n'exclut aucunement par ailleurs la critique constructive et le travail en profondeur.³¹

³¹ Ibid. p. 20

Nonetheless,

il faudrait rappeler que les collèges classiques ont été et demeurent pour l'instant au service de l'éducation dans le Québec et que leur attitude et prises de position continueront d'être orientées en fonction de ce but.³²

There are two important facts which seem to lend credence to the FCC's explanation of its position:

1. Apart from the principle of the existence of private institutions, the group has been keenly concerned with the establishment of an accreditation body at the new level of education which would certify that the institutions at this level were providing an adequate standard of teaching. The issue here is the flexibility of instruction; such a body could make the involved institutions less subservient to the functionaries in the Department of Education with regard to the teaching programs offered by each. The FCC's concern with the quality of education seems to imply that the group is sincerely concerned with educational matters in general, and not only with the particular status of the classical colleges.
2. There is a distinct possibility that a slow evolution has begun which will eventually change the composition and the organization of the Federation.

Discussions have taken place with respect to the possible admission to the General Assembly of a "normal school". Moreover, discussions are currently being carried out within the Secretariat in an attempt to clarify future positions. It has been suggested that a re-organized Federation might concern itself in the future with either the interests of all the private institutions at both levels or all Catholic institutions, or possibly the institutes at the new level. This seems to suggest that an active element within the Federation is not committed to the status quo.

Another consideration molding the attitude of the Federation, over and above, the two cited above may well be the group's previous experience in opposition to an intractable situation. It will be recalled that the FCC had vigorously opposed the creation of the Ministry of Education. As a result, relations between the two were non-existent, at the time of the establishment of the Department. It appears that the FCC came to realize that upheavals in the realm of education were inevitable and that a more positive attitude on its part would better help it meet the uncertainties of the future. In other words, the Government's favourable reception of Volume II of the Parent Report showed that

this was no time to be isolated from the Ministry of Education; hence, the policy of collaboration.

The Government, for its part, on receiving volume II of the Report announced a schedule of study to be followed by the Department of Education and the Government. The plan of study was to include five stages in a six-month period.³³ First, analysis; second, major decisions and preparations of regulations; third, submission of draft regulations to the Superior Council of Education for consideration; fourth, submission of the draft regulations to the Executive Council and fifth, announcement of the first decisions to enter into force. One of the priorities to be studied was the pre-university and vocational "institute".

The Government, moreover, emphasized its determination of pursuing a policy of collaboration and consultation with those sectors and groups in society which might be affected by these decisions. To quote M. Gerin-Lajoie: "In this area, it is of utmost importance that the institutions and groups should participate in the development of new policies."³⁴

In a major address, delivered by the Deputy -

³³ Education Weekly, Vol.1, No.30, December 4, 1964, p. 139

³⁴ Education Weekly, Vol.1, No.39, February 19, 1965, pp.205-210

Minister of Education, M. Arthur Tremblay, to the opening of Education Week at Laval University, on March 6, 1965, the Government's attitude on participation and collaboration was put forward.³⁵ Tremblay, discussing the theme of education and democratic progress, and its relationship to the policy of collaboration stated:

... for all groups whose social interest may be otherwise divergent, education becomes a subject of common concern. It is around this theme that a true dialogue may begin and continue between the diverse elements of society, an active participation by all groups and all levels in the building of a social order.³⁶

Thus,

To establish liaison with society at the formative stage of educational policies, the Department has undertaken to associate itself with committees of such composition as to enable all socio-economic groups concerned to participate directly in the shaping of projects having to do with the general policies of the Department.³⁷

For example,

Following the publication of the second and third sections of the Parent Report, the Department decided to take no action on the recommendations contained therein

³⁵ Education Weekly, March 12, 1965, Vol.I No.42, pp. 205-210

³⁶ Ibid, p. 205

³⁷ Ibid, p. 206

until there had been consultation in advance with all persons and groups concerned. This is why the Minister founded two planning committees during January and February.³⁸

The Deputy-Minister, continuing his explanation of the democratic-nature of the decision-making process as it pertains to the initiation and implementation of educational policy, advised the audience on the attitudes and the atmosphere necessary for a successful dialogue at all levels of this process. He then proceeded to assure the audience of the good intentions of the Department and the sincerity of its policy of consulting at a meaningful level, the diverse elements in society, ending with what he considered to be the proper relationship.³⁹

We shall have to establish once and for all, the participants in the dialogue are responsible persons and not the lobbyists of pressure groups. Simple, unilateral demands are the reverse side of the autocratic paternalism coin. This paternalism is content to disappear; let us hope that with it will disappear the claims for particular advantages, which have no place with the perspective of the common weal. It seems to me that, right here lies the fundamental prerequisite for truly democratic dialogue and participation.⁴⁰

³⁸ Ibid, p. 207

³⁹ Ibid, p. 209

⁴⁰ Ibid

The implication here is quite clear. The "proper relationship" according to the Deputy-Minister requires the assimilation of group representatives into the bureaucratic decision-making structure. Members of advisory committees nominated by a particular "interest group" were not to act as spokesmen for these groups. M. Tremblay was advocating the primacy of the public interest over private interests which, although a commendable proposition for a decision-making body such as the cabinet, is less tenable when applied to advisory bodies whose main function is, after all, to provide a forum for the views of the representative organizations.

In due course, the prerequisites for co-operation and collaboration were developed. The Federation was not going to be an isolated group wandering in the wilderness; it preferred to become a full participant in the ensuing "dialogue".

Hereafter, a new era of pressure group politics began for the Federation as an accepted and active "corps intermediaire" in the Quebec political system. The techniques employed by the Federation since 1964 in its attempts to influence the decision-makers has been looked at in a general way in the preceding chapters of this study. An attempt will now be made by the author to bridge the gap

between the general and the specific. The general problem confronting the Federation since its founding has centered on the methods and sources of financing the classical colleges. What we shall investigate is a specific problem of the Federation - one which affected the very existence of its member institutions - the "exceptional cases" crisis of the summer of 1965. This case study can be better understood when seen against the background of the exposition just completed.

Chapter IV

Case Study - The Financial Crisis of Summer 1965

The financing of the classical colleges has consistently been an area of primary concern for the FCC from the date of its founding in 1953. Its submission to the Tremblay Commission in 1954 dealt at length with this problem, particularly with the Federation's proposals for rationalizing and stabilizing government grants to these institutions.¹

It was not, however, until 1960 that the FCC seriously began to direct its attention and its resources towards a solution of this problem. M. Jean-Marie Beauchemin, who was at that time Secretary General of the FCC, in an article in Bulletin, claimed that the colleges' sources of revenue had been virtually exhausted and that a substantial increase in government grants was an immediate necessity to meet this crisis.² In an attempt to bury the "myth" that the colleges were affluent, he pointed out that they were, in fact, the poorest sector of education in the province, with a forty million dollar real debt and two million dollars a year interest to pay off.³

¹ Fédération des Collèges Classiques, l'Organisation et les Besoins de l'enseignement classique dans le Québec, mémoire de la FCC à la Commission Royale de l'Enquête sur les problèmes constitutionnels, Montréal, 1954.

² J.M. Beauchemin, "Les Collèges Classiques ne sont pas Riches", Bulletin, Volume V, No.5, April 1960, p.2

³ Ibid

Once again, in the Federation's submission to the Parent Commission, the assertion was made that the need for increased government grants was urgent. Nevertheless increased government aid was not to mean the integration of the independent institutions into the public sector, for "we must allow diversity of study and schools in our society."⁴

The principal burden that the colleges were required to bear grew out of the secularization of education that was affecting even the classical colleges. With the ever increasing proportion of lay staff which had to be paid the going salaries, the colleges were no longer capable of raising the required revenues to meet their increased expenditures. By 1965, over twenty colleges were on the verge of closing their doors unless increased government aid was forthcoming.

A number of meetings were held with Ministry officials in early 1965, in order to seek a solution to this problem. A brief was invited by the Minister, and on April 22, 1965 a submission containing a financial proposal was tendered to the Minister by the General Council of the FCC.⁵

⁴ Notre Réforme Scolaire II, Jan. 1965, p. 19

⁵ Nouvelles de la FCC; Vol. 1, No.13, Juillet 8, 1965, p.2

The financial difficulties encountered by the classical colleges could not be resolved in isolation from the recommendations of the Parent Report concerning the future of these institutions. That this was true appears to have been recognized and accepted by both the FCC and the Department of Education. As a result, both sides talked in terms of a short-run solution.

An early indication of the FCC's attitude is found in a communique issued by the General Council on January 15, 1965,⁶ approximately a month after the December 10-11 General Assembly, which had endorsed the proposals put forward by the Parent Commission. The Council announced that the classical colleges would continue to provide normal services until such time as they were called upon to participate in the implementation of the new level of education. Moreover, the Co-ordinating Committee of the FCC and the Faculties of Arts of the universities of Montreal and Laval had requested a meeting with the Deputy Minister of Education in order to clear up certain points concerning the 1965-66 school year (such as enrollment of students, hiring of teachers etc.) Despite their support for the recommendations of the Parent Commission, the colleges let it be known that they had no intention of abandoning rapidly or unilaterally the fields of education occupied by them at that time.

⁶ Bulletin, Vol. 9, No.5, Jan. 1965, p. 19

Another indication of the FCC's stand at this time is seen in a statement of the Information Directorate of the Secretariat.⁷ In outlining the larger questions with which the classical colleges would have to concern themselves in the light of the Parent Report's second volume, the Directorate cautioned that the final section of the Commission's recommendations - Volume IV - would have to be available before any discussion could ensue concerning the future financing, of independent institutions.

Secretary-General Beauchemin himself appeared to have noted the distinction between a final solution to the financial problem and a temporary expedient when he authored an article revealingly entitled, "Le financement des colleges classiques: une probleme immediat a resoudre". Here he argues that while it is normal for the long-range plans to capture the attention of the legislators and planners in a great period of upheaval (such as being currently experienced in the realm of education) it is important that certain other objectives not be obscured. Thus:

... il faut aussi se rendre compte que l'instauration d'un nouveau système, que la planification de changements à moyenne ou à longue échéance ne nous libèrent pas de l'obligation d'offrir dès à présent, les possibilités maximales d'éducation à

⁷ Ibid, p. 12

tous les étudiants qui frappent
à la porte de l'école.⁸

Even more important, he made this statement concerning the financial formula submitted by the FCC to the Government in late April 1965.

Si dans les années à venir le portrait d'ensemble de l'éducation dans la province devait se modifier considérablement, si le secteur privé devait prendre une place qu'on ne connaît pas encore, il est bien évident que le ministère de l'Education aura toujours en mains les pouvoirs et les leviers nécessaires pour reviser la formule de financement en tenant compte de la situation.⁹

The implication here is quite clear; inasmuch as the formula could be changed, the FCC solution was considered to be temporary.

Two months following the Federation's submission of its proposal, the Minister opened the study of his departmental credits with a general statement of aims. Included therein were some extensive remarks relative to the Classical Colleges.

The problem of financing the classical colleges appears today in a new context. We have been examining with growing insistence since the publication of the second section of the Parent Report, the future independent institutions, more

⁸ Prospectives, Vol.I, No.3, June 1965, p. 43

⁹ Ibid, p. 48

particularly, the future of classical colleges.¹⁰

But apart from the larger question of the future needs of these institutions, the Minister recognized that there was an immediacy to the financial difficulties of the colleges.

For the classical colleges, it would appear that the most serious problems at the moment, are financial ones. This is why we shall endeavour to bring appropriate solutions to the financial problems in exceptional cases in which it will appear that immediate action on our part is imperative.¹¹

The Minister, however, clearly indicated that his "exceptional" cases solution was designed merely as a temporary expedient.

The emergency solutions which must be arrived at in certain cases must not, however, make us lose sight of the need for a comprehensive policy. We must take into account the fact that the fourth volume of the Parent Report will set forth recommendations on the financial plane, for education at all levels. It is only logical that we should await these recommendations before establishing a new policy regarding the financing of independent institutions.¹²

¹⁰ Education Weekly, Vol. 2, No. 8, July 2, 1965, p.66

¹¹ Ibid, p. 68

¹² Ibid

The next day, in the Legislative Assembly, the Minister explained what he meant by "exceptional case" and how such cases would be resolved. Colleges were to

submit their case to the Department of Education where we should study it and where we should endeavour to reach a conclusion in the perspective of the common good... In such a situation in which a college should deem it necessary to increase its tuition fees (we must evidently deduct all living expenses: that is a separate matter) by \$50, by \$75, we certainly would not consider such a case an exceptional one; this we might as well mention right away. Should a college find it necessary to increase its tuition fees by \$100, \$125, or \$150, I should not want to give an opinion on such a situation at this time.¹³

And, he emphasized the expression "exceptional character".

I would not like to be confronted tomorrow with an avalanche of requests from classical colleges. This should not be taken as an announcement that the Department is prepared to distribute balancing grants to half of the classical colleges of the province: such is not the case.¹⁴

It was apparent from all this that the formula advanced by the FCC had been rejected. This irked the Federation, but it was much more disturbed by certain remarks made by the Minister in his statement to the Assembly. These remarks centered around a number of points which were viewed by the FCC not only as accusations but as implying a direct threat to the colleges.

¹³ Ibid, pp. 86 & 87

¹⁴ Ibid

The Minister in his statement contended that,

- 1) The colleges intended to impede the establishment of the new level of education for the following year.
- 2) Part of the colleges' budgets were submitted to defray expenses for supplementary services not available to the public sector.
- 3) The colleges were building certain amenities such as swimming pools and arenas at public expense.
- 4) The colleges, by their student selection policy take the best of the students in a given region.
- 5) The colleges and the Federation had refused (in 1962) to take a position concerning the question of grants to defray the expenses in the hiring of lay teaching personnel.

Faced with this situation and fully cognizant of the public nature of his remarks - the minister's statement was widely covered in the press - the FCC reacted quickly. The Secretariat initiated a study of the minister's remarks which was to result in a public declaration refuting his remarks. This was not, however, released until July 8. In the interim it was left to the individual college to attempt to correct the situation created by the Minister.

On June 30, one week after the Assembly debate, a private communique was issued by the Information Service of the Secretariat, for the attention of the college directors. A suggested program of action was outlined:¹⁵

1. To publicly point out to the population, if possible, the errors of the minister's statement concerning college budgets.
2. To publicly explain to the population with documented facts, if possible, the development plans of the institution for which government grants approved by the minister of education were received.
3. Make public all other relevant facts which might throw light on the particular situation always supporting the statements with documented proof.
4. In all cases, the Secretariat of the FCC was to be informed of the actions taken so that strategy could be better coordinated.
5. The Secretariat was to be informed of all matters relating to the current situation, including the specific impressions and opinions of the college directors.
6. The college directors were to inform the Secretariat of the nature of the conclusions of the various Regional

¹⁵ FCC - Unpublished Communique, June 30, 1965.

Planning Committees with specific reference to the place of the classical colleges in their total plans.

7. The name of the institution singled out by M. Gerin-Lajoie for particular criticism was to be revealed to the Secretariat. This point was considered to be of the utmost importance if the Secretariat was to be given the opportunity to refute the minister's accusation or at least to explain and comment on it.

This, then, was the immediate reaction of the FCC to the minister's remarks. It is obvious that a particular appeal was going to be made by way of the public. The minister had made his charge publicly; the FCC was determined to retort publicly. Until a concerted FCC effort could be launched, (its "Statement of position", released on July 8) it was left to the individual colleges to initiate the public debate. The fact that public opinion was to be the vehicle through which the Federation hoped to achieve its purpose, is a significant departure from the normal pressure group activity of the FCC. Only in times of serious crisis do groups of this type and in this political system operate directly on the population. When all else fails, it is to public opinion that one appeals.

The Federation's response to the situation was its "Statement of Position" regarding the ministerial remarks of June 21-22. The document - published on July 8 and obviously aimed at the general public through the press and other news media - centered around five points:¹⁶

1. The FCC claimed that the two months between the April 22 submission of its formula and the June 21-22 announcement of the "emergency cases" solution were void of any discussion between the two sides. Thus, one of the Minister's major policies - consultation and participation - was now a dead letter. Significantly, the Federation reiterated that it wanted a temporary solution, having realized that the financial problems of the colleges could not be solved without reference to the future. The colleges, the statement insisted,

ne voulaient qu'instaurer un régime
de financement temporaire pour répondre
aux besoins actuels (pour septembre 1965)
en attendant les fruits de l'Opération 55,
la réorganisation de l'enseignement pré-
universitaire et le quatrième tome du
Rapport Parent.¹⁷

¹⁶ "Mise au point de la FCC en marge des récentes déclarations du Ministre de l'Education." Nouvelles de la Fédération des collèges classiques, Vol.1, No.13, July 8, 1965.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.6

This aspect is important, for it appears that the FCC had construed the Minister's remarks as meaning that he felt that his solution was temporary while the FCC formula was of a long-term nature. Hence the group felt obliged to clarify what it thought was a misunderstanding by the Minister of its position.

2. The FCC took exception to the Minister's explanation as to why the 1962 scheme of the Department of Youth grants for lay professors in the classical colleges had been abandoned. The Minister had blamed the colleges and had claimed that the seeds of their current financial straits were sown in the failure of this plan. The FCC maintained that it had been agreeable to the proposal and that this was known to the Minister. In forceful terms, the Federation claimed that the Minister's explanation was contrary to the facts of the situation and it accused him of having let the scheme moulder for more than three years.

3. The Minister had referred to the "generosity with which the Government had enabled the colleges to expand."¹⁸ The FCC, however, maintained that Quebec had not responded adequately to the needs of the institutions. It argued that governmental grants for operating costs - at the secondary and college level - had not been increased since

¹⁸ Education Weekly, op. cit. p. 87

their inauguration, on the other hand, the cost of education had increased considerably. Thus, the per capita yield of these grants had, in fact, diminished year by year, and Quebec's "generosity" had not been increasing with the needs. Concerning the costs, the FCC recalled that the Government had decided not to accord grants for them to the colleges at the secondary level. Any generosity in the area of capital costs at the college level can be explained, the FCC insisted, by the fact that the authorities found it less expensive to give these grants to the colleges, (on whose shoulders had been placed the burden of education at this level,) than to build new institutions.

4. M. Gerin-Lajoie had implied that the colleges were guilty of some reckless spending habits and he warned that "we shall have to be very strict, with the regard to the analysis of classical colleges' expenditures,"¹⁹ in the examination of any budget which was submitted for classification as an "exceptional case". He claimed that some colleges had obtained facilities which school boards did not allow themselves and which the Department did not permit. Included here were swimming pools, and arenas and bowling alleys. The

¹⁹ Ibid

general tenor of his remarks were that the colleges had exhibited reckless spending habits and some belt tightening to preclude any hike in tuition would be necessary. In its statement of position, the FCC pointed out that, to receive assistance from the government, a college must have had plans approved by Quebec. In addition, it defended expenditures on such facilities on grounds that for the most part they were open to the public, several were constructed with the help of public financial subscriptions, and all were quite legitimate, given the concern for physical education.

5. In the Legislature, Gerin-Lajoie postulated that there could be a possible "skimming off" of the better students in a region by the classical colleges if the independent institutions were to enter agreements with the regional school boards, which would be called on to pay the cost of education without any other conditions being contained in the agreement. The FCC in turn, maintained that its norms of selection were not superior to the classical sections of the public schools.

Thus, the debate had been joined. The tone of the Federation's statement was noted by an education reporter.

La Fédération des collèges classiques a rendu public hier un document de 21 pages dans lequel elle répond avec une fermeté étonnante et inhabituelle dans les milieux de l'éducation en Québec, à certaines déclarations que le ministre... a faites récemment en Chambre lors de l'étude des Crédits de son ministère. Le document apporte un démenti catégorique à certaines affirmations que M. Gerin-Lajoie a alors lancées.²⁰

Before continuing, it would be useful to note that there appeared to be a significant distinction between the FCC's outward attitude and its private feelings. The financial difficulties existing in the colleges, it seems, were not as widespread as they had been made out to be. Privately, the organization appeared to have been satisfied with the Minister's announcement that "exceptional cases" would receive government aid. It remains, then, to inquire into the reasons why the group advanced a complicated mathematical formula instead of proposing a scheme as simple as that put forward by the Minister. This question is much more pointed when one learns that M. Gerin-Lajoie was of the opinion that the formula was not designed as a temporary expedient but rather as a permanent solution. Three possible answers may be posited:

First, a high official of the Secretariat maintains that the group suspected that the Royal Commission's

²⁰ Jules LeBlanc "La FCC réplique durement à Gerin-Lajoie," Le Devoir, July 10, 1965

recommendations regarding the new level of education would not be implemented immediately. Thus, an alternative to a temporary scheme based on a hand-to-mouth principle was required; a more satisfactory arrangement would be something of a short-run or even medium-term nature, such as the formula advanced by the FCC. One can appreciate that this thesis can be easily defended or rejected. The Parent proposals for the new level of education were brought down in late 1964. Attempts were made by the Department of Education to inaugurate the new level for the 1965-66 and the 1966-67 school years; both efforts were unsuccessful. This evidence can be cited to demonstrate that the future of the colleges was uncertain and hence a more stable arrangement of financial support was needed until such time as the future pattern was settled. The FCC, of course, held up its formula as that arrangement. On the other hand, one can argue that the elapsed time between the recommendations and their implementation would not have been of such long duration that the colleges could not have managed with some "belt-tightening" and a few annual arrangements for financial aid.

Second, it may well be that the FCC, in advancing its formula, was simply "aiming high" in order to avoid

falling too low. In this respect, the Minister's "emergency cases" solution - a not unwelcome provision - can be seen as the dividend of some clever strategy on the part of the group.

Third, there may have been a deeper, and more significant logic to the FCC's standpoint. As reporter Jules LeBlanc perceptively noted, the group's "Mise au point",

prend l'allure d'un véritable coup
de canon, le premier de la bataille
qui se prépare pour la survie des collèges.²¹

Evidence for this point of view may be found in M. Beauchemin's statement, noted above, that the formula could be "revised" in the future if circumstances warranted such action. This can be taken to indicate that the FCC was striving for a position of strength from which it could face the challenges of the future. It appeared that a more secure position could be achieved through the use of a legally constituted formula, applicable on a uniform basis to all colleges, rather than a continuation of the status quo - with major problems being met on an ad hoc basis such as the "emergency cases" solution. Good strategy from the group's viewpoint, might well have involved the revision of an operating formula rather than the inception of a new arrangement for the financing of independent institutions.

If all this is valid, it would account for the forceful reply made by the FCC following the Minister's address in the Legislature. At stake was not so much the immediate financial straits of certain of the colleges, but the very future of all these institutions. The first round of the "Bataille qui se prépare pour la survie des collèges" may have been lost by the FCC if one interprets the rejection of the formula as a victory for the Minister of Education. It was necessary, then, to mobilize public opinion in defence against an aggressive government. This may explain the concern shown by the group's "Mise au point" with the general tone of M. Gerin-Lajoie's remarks and not just those dealing with the "exceptional cases" solution. All the while, however, it appeared that this solution was quite appropriate to the problem at hand.

With the release of the FCC's "statement of position" on July 8, events began to move more quickly. In a confidential communique issued by the Information Service of the Secretariat for the express attention of the college directors, the sequence of events during the next few weeks was outlined.²²

According to this document, on July 9, the day

²² Unpublished Communique from the FCC's Information Service to the College Directors, August 3, 1965.

following the release of the FCC "Mise au point" M. Arthur Tremblay was in telephone communication with M. Jean-Marie Beauchemin. The Deputy-Minister claiming to be unaware of the "Mise au point de la FCC" asked the Secretary-General if it would be possible for the General Council of the FCC to meet with the Minister of Education the following Monday (July 12) in order to discuss matters of a "mutual interest." M. Beauchemin replied that he would be in a position to answer on the following day after having established the necessary contacts. The next day (July 10) the two were unable to establish telephone contact.

On July 12, M. Beauchemin was able to reach the Deputy-Minister. He reported that the General Council of the FCC was unable to meet with the Minister that day but would be able to do so in two or three days. The Deputy-Minister, having by that time become aware of the FCC's "Mise au point" at least by what he was able to read in the papers, believed that the Minister would reply in a short time regarding the FCC's request for a later meeting. M. Tremblay believed that the Minister would wish to spend several days studying the document with the officials of the Department of Education. Because the Minister of Education had a previous commitment to participate in a

Federal-Provincial Conference, it would be necessary to wait at least fifteen days before fixing a new date for a meeting between the Minister and the General Council.

There was apparently no communication between the two sides for the next two weeks. However, on July 26, M. Jean Paré, Press Secretary to the Minister of Education telephoned to the FCC Secretariat. In the absence of the President-General and the Secretary-General, he advised an official of the Secretariat that a document prepared by the Minister, in response to the "Mise au point de la FCC" would be sent to the FCC the following morning.

In the early afternoon of July 27, there was another call from M. Paré indicating that the document would arrive that evening. In the late afternoon, M. Jean-Claude Sauvé, the Director of Information of the FCC, contacted M. Paré by telephone in order to obtain some additional information concerning the Minister of Education's document, the Minister's press "briefing" scheduled for Thursday, July 29, and the program "Aujourd'hui" (on which the Minister and a representative from the FCC were to appear) also scheduled for the 29th. At the same time, M. Sauvé asked M. Paré to verify the facts and the circumstances which surrounded the allegation of M. Gérin-Lajoie that he was "only able to procure a copy of the 'Mise au

point de la FCC on Wednesday, July 13." M. Sauve told M. Pare that all the copies of the document had been mailed Thursday night July 8 about 10:30 p.m. He was informed that addressees in the Quebec region had received their copy on July 10. The FCC therefore could not be held responsible for the delay in the text reaching the Minister.

That same afternoon an invitation was received by the FCC from the producers of the program "Aujourd'hui" to delegate a representative to the program on Thursday night, July 29, in order to meet with M. Gerin-Lajoie.

That night (July 27), at 10:00 p.m. the text of the "Mise au point du ministre de l'Education" was delivered to an official of the FCC.

On July 28, the Minister and the Deputy-Minister held a press conference with respect to the "Mise au point du ministre de l'Education."

In the afternoon of July 29, the "statement of position of the Minister of Education" was tabled in the Legislative Assembly. Included with the "Mise au point" was the text of the "Proposition de la FCC" (April 22), the text of the "Mise au point de la FCC" (July 8), an edition of Hebdo-Education which reported on a number of

the remarks of the Minister to the Legislative Assembly and a copy of a letter from the Minister of Education to Mgr. Lucien Beauchamp P.D., Rector of the Seminary of Valleyfield, concerning the increase of tuition fees in that institution.

The "Mise au point" tabled by the Minister on July 29, was intended as a reply to the FCC's "statement of position". The Minister stated that he regretted the publication of the FCC document, claiming that it was justified neither by the text of his speech in the Legislative Assembly nor by the general meaning of his remarks in support of his Departmental credits.²³ The argument in M. Gerin-Lajoie's statement touched on six points:²⁴

1. Concerning the two months of silence by the Department which, according to the FCC, followed the presentation of its proposals on April 22, there was in fact a dialogue which took place especially within the Planning Committee for Educational Development. The implication of the FCC statement, however, was that there had been no direct communication or consultation between itself and the Minister and that they were only one part

²³ Education Weekly, Vol.2, No.12, July 30, 1965, p. 102

²⁴ Ibid, p. 102-111

of a large forum. The Minister defended himself with this statement.

I could hardly bring myself to believe that the Federation would have preferred a closed meeting with the Minister of Education rather than an open study which was undertaken by the Planning Committee on Educational Development, or in other situations, on some aspect of its proposals and always in the presence of its representatives. The era of quiet little arrangements on the side is very definitely in the past.²⁵

2. M. Gerin-Lajoie repeated his analysis of what had transpired regarding the abandonment by the Department of Youth of its plan to establish grants for lay professors in the colleges. And again he placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the FCC.

The Minister in his version of the incident reveals quite clearly that he had cordial relations with the FCC, mostly as a consequence of his previous contact with the group at the time of the Tremblay Commission. It is interesting to note that the FCC, in its "statement of position", had accused M. Gerin-Lajoie of having allowed the scheme to languish for more than three years, from February 1962 to July 1965. It is quite conceivable that the Minister's enthusiasm and effort on behalf of the classical colleges in this matter was severely dampened

²⁵ Ibid, p. 103

by the FCC's hostility toward the creation of his Department. The Minister, however, explained the abandonment of the project as resting on the failure of the FCC to adopt a position concerning the government's stipulation that any system of grants must take into account the ratio of the number of lay teachers to the total number of teachers, so as not to discriminate in favour of institutions which were being laicized. Where the FCC accused the Minister of having changed his mind, M. Gerin-Lajoie in turn, leveled the same charge at his protagonist.

3. The Minister defended the comments he made in the Assembly concerning the "Government's generosity" towards the colleges, and concerning the services which they had been able to obtain "thanks to this contribution out of public funds." He maintained, on the one hand, that the expression ("generosity") was not used in connection with grants for operating costs, for which,

The present system of annual grants could certainly be improved, so that it might correspond more closely than it does now to the increasing cost of education. I shall merely say that if in 1962, the colleges had accepted the proposal which the Minister of Youth made to them through their Federation, they would find themselves in a much more advantageous position today.²⁶

²⁶ Ibid, p. 105

Instead, he held, he was referring to the investment grants, as evidenced by the table he produced in the Assembly. Specifically, these were the grants awarded between 1961 and 1965, and they were a "generous" contribution. Regarding the "exceptional services which the colleges have been able to obtain," he insisted that his statement during the presentation of his Departmental credits contained "no accusation of dilapidation." The difficulty was that these benefits were not enjoyed by the public sector.

The only well-grounded criticisms which might be formulated with regard to the policies carried out during recent years, would consist of a reproach for having, on the contrary, granted in certain respects, more advantages to the private sector.²⁷

4. The Minister was, perhaps, most forceful in discussing the impact of the FCC financial proposal of April 22 which, he claimed, constituted a project for a long-term solution rather than one of a temporary nature. It will be recalled that the FCC, in its "Mise au point", had stated that the financial proposals put forward at the end of April were merely a system of temporary financing designed to meet present needs (for September 1965) while awaiting the results of Operation 55, the re-organization of pre-university education and the Volume IV

²⁷ Ibid, p. 106

of the Parent Report. The Minister was quite firm in insisting that this was not the case.

On the contrary, we find in the text of the "proposals" neither indication nor suggestion that the FCC was soliciting the establishment of a "system of temporary financing in order to meet present needs." No restriction limits to 1965-66 the putting into effect of the proposals submitted. There is no reference, either to Operation 55, nor to the re-organization of pre-university education, nor to the fourth volume of the Parent Report.

Moreover, how could we consider as a "temporary" solution a project which is based on assumptions which have the appearance of general and permanent principles? To support this observation it would be necessary to quote here the complete text of all these assumptions. None of them was proposed as valid for the year 1965-1966 only; they are all expressed in terms which leave no doubt as to the impact which they are meant to have.²⁸

Moreover, how could we consider as a "temporary" solution, a method for calculating solicited assistance which one submits, taking care to indicate precisely that certain elements of this formula will vary over a period of 7 years. It must be admitted that the project submitted corresponds to a plan extending over at least 7 years...²⁹

The Minister contended that his policy provided, for the year 1965-66, a solution which corresponded to

²⁸ Ibid, p. 106

²⁹ Ibid

the "usual notion" of "temporary solution."

5. The Minister defended his suppositions that the better students were "skimmed off" by the independent institutions.

6. The Minister reviewed the financing of classical colleges for 1965-66 and recited the perspective from which the future of the classical colleges was to be viewed.

It should be recalled here, that at the same time as tabling his reply to the FCC, the Minister made public some correspondence from himself to the Rector of the Seminary at Valleyfield. On June 29, the Rector had sent a circular letter to the parents of students enrolled in his institutions. In it Mgr. Beauchamp had announced a "substantial increase" in tuition fees at both the secondary and college levels. In addition, the letter advised parents to insist that the regional school board increase the \$200 grant and that free tuition be provided at the secondary level. For the college level, they were advised to contact the Department of Education, asking for an increase in student burseries.³⁰ In very firm language, the Minister stated his reaction.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 115

... It is not the question of your institution's exact financial needs that I intend to discuss here. Instead, I would like to ask you a very direct question: how could you decide to impose a radical increase... when eight days before, I had clearly stated before the Legislative Assembly the government's policy for financial aid to independent institutions, particularly to classical colleges, for the year 1965-1966?³¹

The Minister called the Rector's action "a unilateral gesture made in contempt."

Given M. Gerin-Lajoie's attitude, as expressed in his "Mise au point" of July 29, it is surprising to note that the very next day he announced in the Legislative Assembly, the formation of a special committee to investigate the financial situation of any college which submitted its case for inspection.³² Moreover, while the committee was to be chaired by the Deputy-Minister, the colleges and other concerned "interest groups" were given an opportunity to designate representatives. The first important point to note, then, is that "exceptional cases" were not to be examined unilaterally by the Department of Education, as had been intimated by the Minister during the presentation of his credits.³³

³¹ Ibid, p. 113

³² "Un comité spécial est institué pour l'examen des "cas exceptionnels". Le Devoir, July 31, 1965.

³³ Education Weekly, No.8, op.cit. p. 86. There appears to be some confusion on this point. In Education Weekly

In addition, it is important to recognize that the very vague definition established for "exceptional cases",³⁴ and the absence of definite criteria for the settlement of them,

ne laissent rien présager de trop encouragement. Les collèges voyaient revivre dans ce propos nébuleux, le spectre d'une époque où le pouvoir se vantait de les faire manger dans ses mains.³⁵

Now, however, it appeared that all this had changed.

Pourvu que ce comité puisse agir vite, qu'il soit laissé libre de définir des critères objectifs pour le règlements dans cas qui lui seront soumis, et que le gouvernement soit prêt à dégager les crédits supplémentaires que requerra la mise en vigueur de ses recommandations, il y a lieu d'être confiant de voir, dans cette nouvelle, l'expression d'un désir positif d'action de la part du ministre de l'éducation.³⁶

Vol. 2, No. 37A (Special Number), February 10, 1966, the Minister stated that "Education Weekly of July 2 announced that I was setting up a special committee for the purpose of searching for an emergency one-year solution to what might be considered as exceptional cases of classical colleges which were in a financially untenable position for the current year." This is in fact, contrary to what he actually did say; he stated that special cases were to be submitted to the Ministry. Claude Ryan in an editorial entitled, "Vers un climat plus serein", Le Devoir, July 31, 1965, also saw special cases as being decided by the Minister.

³⁴ Ryan, op. cit.

³⁵ Supra, n. 13

³⁶ Ryan, op. cit.

It can be seen from all this that the Minister went much farther than he had during the presentation of his Departmental credits in establishing a method of providing temporary relief for the colleges. The FCC has disclaimed responsibility for this about face; on the contrary, it insisted that there was no contact between the two sides in this "debate" from the time of its submission of its financial proposal in late April. The decisive factor could well have been the television program "Aujourd'hui" on which the Minister appeared in the evening of July 29.³⁷ On that occasion, he was faced by capable discussants, including Le Devoir's Claude Ryan who were largely sympathetic to the plight of the classical colleges.³⁸ A reading of the transcript of the program suggests that the Minister was put in a difficult position by the panel. It became evident to the television audience by way of the discussion that aid was desperately needed to save some of the colleges from closing their doors in September 1965. Moreover, M. Gerin-Lajoie could no longer avoid clarifying what he meant by the expression "exceptional cases."

³⁷ Jean V. Dufresne, "Gerin-Lajoie: le secteur public est prioritaire," Le Devoir, July 30, 1965.

³⁸ Transcription of "Emission Aujourd'hui", C.B.C. T.V. July 29, 1965.

Le College qui est oblige d'imposer des frais de scolarite augmentes de \$100 ou plus. C'est tout de suite exceptionnel au point de depart.³⁹

This was a far cry from his rather hesitant declarations of June 21-22. With regard to the overall impact of the program on the Minister's statement of July 30, one official of the Secretariat has suggested that the Minister was shaken by this encounter. But it is unlikely that this alone caused his announcement of the following day. A more valid interpretation of the succession of events might be this: the Minister, committed to the "exceptional cases" solution he promised on June 21-22, was caught off guard by the aggressive tone of the FCC's "Mise au point"; it took some time to study this document and then prepare a reply; this would partly account for the delay between the publication of the FCC statement on July 8 and the tabling of the Minister's reply on July 29; (it should be recalled here that the Minister was also involved in a Federal-Provincial Conference during this time;) having made his position clear, the Minister could then go ahead with his temporary solution, which he announced in its final form on July 30. The two major modifications, however, would indicate that the outcry launched by the group had

³⁹ Ibid

achieved some result. Inasmuch as college budgets were to be examined by a committee of representatives of concerned groups rather than the Department of Education, it would appear that the Minister was disturbed by the FCC's accusation that his policy of participation and consultation was in fact a dead letter. Evidence which can be cited to support this point of view would include reference to the great lengths to which the Minister went in his own statement of position to deny the Federation's charge. The second modification of the Minister's original scheme - the relaxing of conditions prerequisite for financial aid - can likewise be interpreted as a result of the FCC charge that the classical colleges were not receiving a "fair shake" from the government.

That the FCC action in the matter was a classical example of the potential of arousing public opinion there can be no doubt. Indeed, the fact that public opinion had been aroused by the FCC could not have been lost on the Minister and might have had a significant bearing on his final solution. A reading of the Minister's "Mise au point" shows that he regretted the public nature of the controversy.

.... I would like to express my concern for the fact that the Fédération des Collèges Classiques" statement of

position has aroused public opinion on those aspects of my remarks in the Legislative Assembly to which, from all evidence, it is most susceptible, without stressing or commenting on the positive attitude which I have expressed on behalf of the Government, with regard to the financing of classical colleges.⁴⁰

But the result of the FCC's efforts was a compromise by the Minister, and not a complete or partial submission. M. Gerin-Lajoie indicated quite clearly that the financial formula was considered to be a long-term project and as such was to be studied by the Planning Committee on Educational Development; but he did significantly expand his original provisions for meeting the financial plight faced by some colleges.

With the Minister's decision of July 30, and his wish that the public debate be closed, the General Council of the FCC met on August 2, to consider the recent events and in particular the Minister's "Mise au point."⁴¹ It was agreed that the General Council would acquiesce in the Minister's request to refrain from further public debate - for the time being - and to concentrate their efforts on the forthcoming work of the "comite special." In the meantime the Secretariat would prepare a private

⁴⁰ Education Weekly, No. 12, op.cit. p.111

⁴¹ Unpublished FCC Communique, op.cit. August 3, 1965.

"commentary" on the Minister's "Mise au point" for the college directors.

The "Commentary" on the Minister's "Mise au point", prepared by the FCC Secretariat attempted a point by point refutation of the Minister's remarks.⁴² Of particular significance was the Secretariat's disposition to deal at length with the Minister's policy of consultation and participation and his conception of the expression "dialogue." The officials of the Secretariat were highly critical of the Minister's actions in this whole matter and expressed grave doubt that what had in fact transpired was a "dialogue". In forceful terms, the Report warns that the Minister must either alter his tactics, amend his vocabulary to conform to his actions, or, as the FCC concludes, "Notre politique d'action devra alors être bien différente."⁴³

The "Committee on Exceptional Cases" - as it was known - was constituted in August 1965 and consisted of seven people under the chairmanship of the Deputy-Minister: two designated by the FCC, two by the Fédération des Commissions Scolaires Catholiques, one by the Fédération des parents d'étudiants des collèges classiques, one by

⁴² Unpublished FCC Document: Commentaires en marge de la "Mise au point du ministre d'Education sur la déclaration de la Fédération des collèges classiques en date du 8 juillet, 1965," et de la mise sur pied du "Comité spécial," chargé d'étudier les "cas particuliers," August 19, 1965.

⁴³ Ibid

the Syndicat professionnel des enseignants - which includes the professors of the classical colleges, and one designated by UCEQ.⁴⁴ The committee examined the financial situation of twenty-six colleges, and on March 4, 1966, the Minister announced that 17 colleges were to receive \$753,175 in exceptional subsidies to balance their budgets in 1965-1966.⁴⁵ The Minister also credited the FCC for being most co-operative and for serving as a liaison between the colleges and the committee.

On August 11, 1965, the Information Service of the FCC released a press communique which revealed to the public the General Council's decision of August 2, that the FCC would make no reply to the Minister's announcement of July 30, mainly because of a ministerial request that the public dialogue between the two sides be ended.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Education Weekly, No. 37A op.cit. pp. 9-10

⁴⁵ Brian Upton, "Classical Colleges to get Assistance," Montreal Star, March 5, 1966

⁴⁶ FCC Press Communiqué, August 11, 1965, Also headlined in Le Devoir: "La FCC ne répondra pas au ministre de l'Education," August 16, 1965. In the same communique the FCC urged that the Minister should state his policy regarding the expected financial needs of 1966-67 and that effort should begin as soon as possible to see that they are implemented.

Chapter V:Conclusions

(I)

The FCC was understandably happy about the results of their efforts which enabled it to bring to a successful conclusion the "exceptional cases" crisis. The financial solution, recommended by the "Committee on Exceptional Cases" and accepted by the government was sufficient to permit the colleges to continue their activities for the 1965-66 school year. With this solution as a precedent, the government re-established the committee for the following year which proposed a similar temporary solution.

With a view to a longer-run solution, M. Gerin-Lajoie in April 1966 announced a plan which would provide the colleges with the option of associating themselves with the public school boards at the secondary level or remaining private at both the secondary and college levels of instruction. In the case of the first option, the colleges would be financed by the local school boards; should the colleges decide to remain independent, they would receive an additional government grant of \$150 at the secondary level and \$400 at the college level.

The defeat of the Liberal Government in June 1966 forestalled the implementation of this policy. The Union National Government, however, implemented essentially the same proposals; the grant offered being somewhat larger. An additional \$100 was granted at the secondary level and an additional \$150 at the college level. Thus a modus vivendi had been achieved. Those colleges which opted for an independent status were given the financial resources to survive.

(II)

At the outset of this study, I indicated that the "group theory of politics" is incapable of adequately explaining all political behaviour. Indeed, to explain the politics of education solely in terms of competing group pressures - one of which is that of the FCC - is to ignore what Odegard suggests cannot be excluded, the role of reason, knowledge and intelligence in the political process.¹ This does not mean that pressure, force, intimidation, self-interest and even group interests do not account in large part for many decisions that are made, but "they do not account for them all."² Although it

¹ P.H. Odegard, "A Group Basis of Politics: A New Name for an Ancient Myth", The Western Political Quarterly, September 1958, p. 699

² Ibid, p. 700

seems evident that the influence of the FCC on the outcome of decisions was not inconsiderable, it is insufficient to observe only the activities of "pressure groups" to account for all decision-making. The political phenomena of policy initiation and policy implementation require the positive actions of individuals who are not mere pawns in the pressure group game but who are participant agents in the process. LaPalombara contends that the Italian experience confirms this hypothesis.³ I suggest that it is equally true in Quebec. To deny the active decision-making role of the government and the bureaucracy is, in my opinion, to deny the reality of the political process. To consider the brokerage function of government alone is to disregard the fundamental human qualities of reason, principle, ambition and the like. These too, I suggest, must influence decisions.

(III)

The study of the FCC has revealed some interesting and possibly significant facts regarding the activities of pressure groups in Quebec. In the first place, it has been

³ J. LaPalombara, "The Utility and Limitations of Interest Group Theory in Non-American Field Situations", in Eckstein and Apter, Comparative Politics, A Reader, 1963, p.429

presented as an incident in the political modernization of the province. Public policies taking into account the emerging urban and industrial character of Quebec resulted in social and institutional changes in the province. The reform-bent Liberal Government attempted to alter the traditional social, economic and political climate of Quebec with the result that potentially no institution was protected from change. Education, an area where former governments feared to tread, became the key instrument of reform. Traditional institutions of the province, such as the classical colleges became threatened by a disturbance of the status quo. Government action produced in these once sacrosanct institutions, the need to respond. What developed was a keen political awareness on the part of the FCC that it could no longer remain aloof from "political" activities if it were to influence the politics of change. And the Federation was not alone among interest groups to develop this political consciousness that change was forthcoming. To stand aside was to invite unilateral action by the government.

(IV)

The development of the "positive state" has given

to the various social groupings in society a greater stake in the outcomes of government decisions. It has also, however, made government increasingly dependent on the interest group for its advice and technical competence in many specialized areas. As I have pointed out earlier, this type of collaboration between interest groups and the government is a two-way pattern of information exchange based on a reciprocal functional necessity. With the complexities inherent in a modern society, and with the increasing functional differentiation operative in the advanced political system, the expertise of the specialized group has become a useful adjunct to government. The establishment of the Department of Education in Quebec in 1962 resulted in the development of a co-operative relationship between the Ministry and these specialized interest groups. With the acceptance of this pattern of behaviour on the part of the government and the FCC, the reciprocal functional relationship between the two parties was cemented.

Moreover, this attitude of government, which openly invites the participation of interest groups in the decision-making process facilitates the acceptance and the legitimization of government decisions. Although

it is readily acknowledged by the representatives of interest groups that their participation on advisory bodies is not always fruitful, it is seen as a potential area of influence. If influence is not real in the short run, in a period of reform, its potential in the long run is not minimized.

In a pluralistic democratic society, where government is strong and centralized decision-making is the norm, it is not surprising to witness the development of the countervailing power of well organized pressure groups as accepted parts of the political culture. Although vigorous government intervention in the education sector of the province resulted in the development of the "political pressure group" in this area, it is still uncertain as to whether the pressure group has been accepted as a legitimate vehicle of expression in Quebec. It should be recalled that Deputy Minister Tremblay did not envisage the interest group representatives as lobbyists for special interests but as responsible persons in search of the "public interest." The principle of democratic pluralism is not solidly based in Quebec society. Are we then observing a facade disguised in a corporatist form or the legitimate recognition of the rights of divergent interests in the state? The answer to the above question may be important

in the near future. The Government of Quebec has suggested that the upper chamber of Parliament, the Legislative Council, be replaced by a new body composed of the representatives of special interest groups. The implementation of this proposal and its relation to the activities of pressure groups would be worthy of further research.

(V)

The case study demonstrates that the FCC is a significant variable in the Quebec political system. This is not to say that as a "pressure group" it is always successful. Indeed, the group has such a wide range of specific interests that it would ^{be} unlikely for it to see its wishes acceded to in every instance. And even apropos a specific instance, the FCC is likely to find a mixed bag of success and failure.

Consider the question of government aid to the colleges. The Minister's original decision to establish a special committee which would then employ limiting criteria for analyzing the budgets submitted by any college was not what the group had hoped for; that is to say, the financial formula. Nonetheless, it is necessary to ask: Why did the government act at all? It appears to have

been moved to action as a result of a low to medium key campaign launched by the Federation in its own widely read publications, direct submissions to the government and declarations to the general public by way of the mass media. It can be said, in fact, that the government was nudged, if not pushed into action by the activities of the group. Once the government's course of action had been declared, the FCC saw another reason to act. On the one hand, the restrictive criteria for financial aid were extremely damaging; many needy colleges were to receive either no aid at all or not enough. On the other hand, the FCC had been chastized by the Minister on various counts. Thus, the pressure exerted by the group was not relaxed; instead, it was continued, but now it was of an indirect nature. The Federation put its case to the public by criticizing the government's established criteria and by vigorously defending its position against the Minister's charges. The result of this effort was complete success. The Minister requested that the public dialogue cease and he expanded the operating terms and widened the membership of the committee.

The account of the Federation's activities regarding the financial crisis demonstrates that the tactics employed

were not limited to a pre-determined pattern; rather they were flexible, involving subtle pressure through group publications, a diplomatic-yet forceful direct approach to the Minister, and finally, an impressive public relations effort. That the FCC's pressure techniques in this case were as varied as this indicates that a capable leadership was in charge. And the speed with which the group switched to the third of the three modes of operation so quickly after the Ministerial assault indicated that this leadership was in firm control. Such an efficient leadership is a necessary requisite for effective action.

The financial resources of the organization are an important contributing factor to the general effectiveness of the group. It has money with which to hire a capable bureaucracy and to maintain several expensive communication devices. Furthermore, the group enjoys considerable prestige, with both the government and the public. The public is impressed by virtue of the important societal role played by the classical colleges; the government thinks of the number of voters who, have either a vested or a sympathetic interest in the fate of the member institutions.

The fact that the effective control of the administration of education and the direction of educational reform is vested in the Department of Education has channelled

the Federation's pressure tactics in the direction of the Minister and the high officials in the Department. That this is true is evidenced by the change in attitude effected by the group upon the establishment of the Department. The most significant change was brought about by the comprehensive replacement of the permanent staff. This change in attitude (from opposition to acceptance of the fact of the Department of Education) is also found in statements of FCC officials recorded in the press and in the group's own publications.

The FCC then, has demonstrated that it is well endowed in terms of physical resources, organizational cohesiveness and political skills.⁴ In comparison with the other interest groups working with the FCC on various ministerial committees and the Commissions of the Superior Council of Education, the group appears to well deserve this description. The initiative shown by the Federation on these bodies, the greater frequency with which the group submits to the Minister sophisticated briefs and the reputation accorded to the group by the representatives of other interest groups would tend to support this observation.

⁴ H. Eckstein, Pressure Group Politics, (Stanford, 1960) pp. 34-37

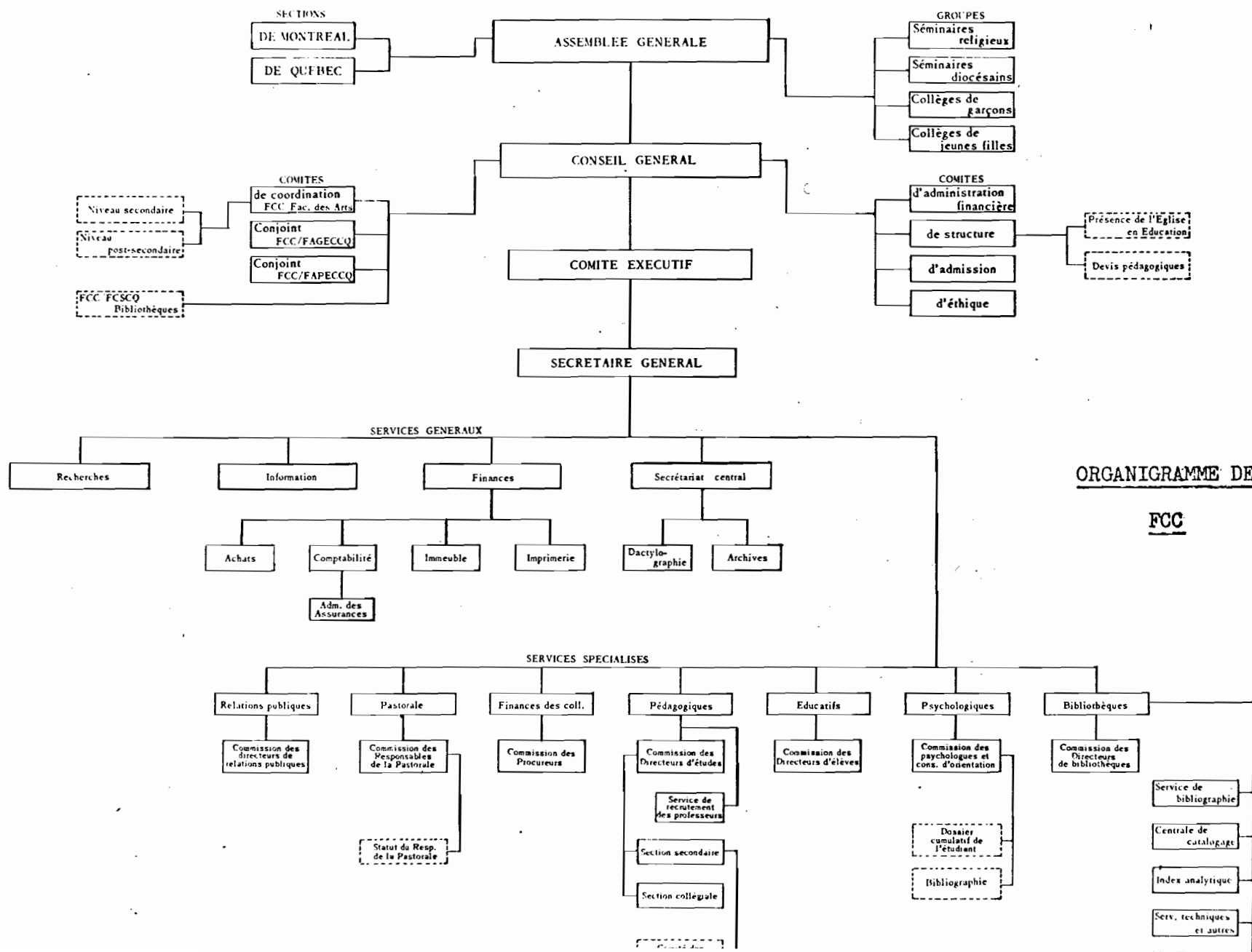
(VI)

In June 1967, the Union National Government passed Bill 21 into law creating a network of "general and vocational colleges" which were to open in the fall of the same year. At the same time, the rights of the independent institutions were entrenched. The FCC's objective in this regard had been realized.

The Federation as it has existed to the present will have to change; the direction it might take has been discussed elsewhere. The realities of the new situation will likely be reflected in early 1968.

The courting of the "interest group" by the present government opens up new areas of inquiry for the political scientist. This research, however, will have to be left to others. Suffice it to say that the "interest group" has played a significant role in the political development of Quebec since 1960 and is likely to be an even more important variable for study in the future.

A P P E N D I C E S



Student Enrollment

<u>Year</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Total</u>
1960-61	19,602	10,636	30,238
1961-62	22,495	12,843	35,338
1962-63	23,147	14,687	37,834
1963-64	23,284	17,175	40,459
1964-65	23,246	19,175	42,844
1965-66	23,640	22,980	46,620

The stationary figures of the secondary level due to:

1. better organization of secondary public education.
2. the opening of new classical sections (public).
3. the necessity for the colleges to use more space for college courses.

The increasing college figures due to:

1. the public sector unable to meet the demand at this level.
2. the classical colleges allow secondary school students to take a special course which will lead to the B.A.
3. more girls.

Clerical and Religious Teaching Personnel 1965-66

	<u>Priests</u>	<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>	<u>Total</u>
Full-time	986	95	341	1422
Partial	341	30	104	475
Total	1327	125	445	1897

Lay Teaching Personnel 1965-66

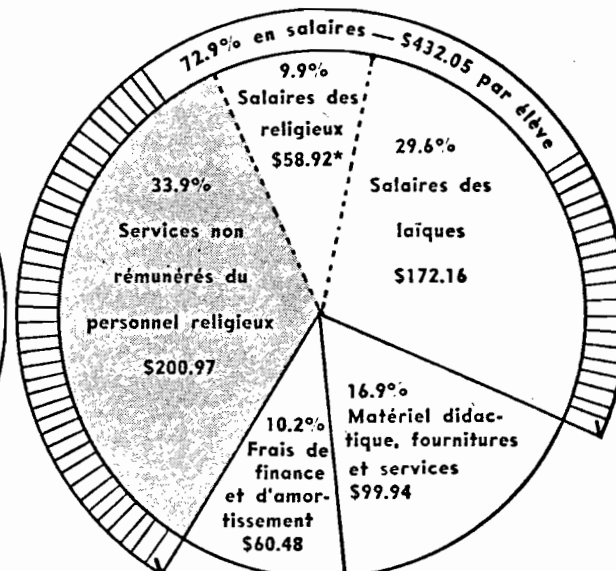
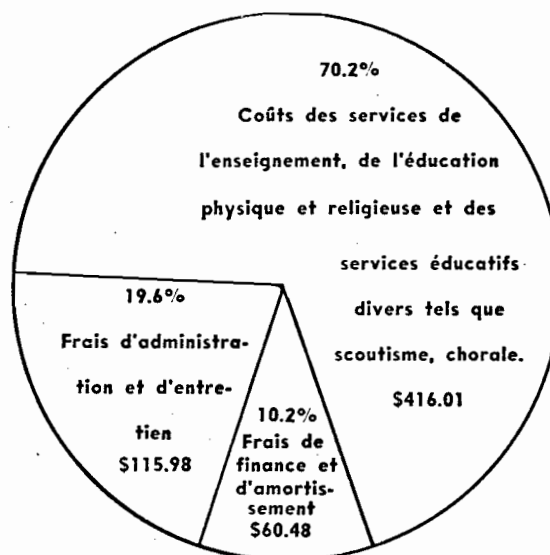
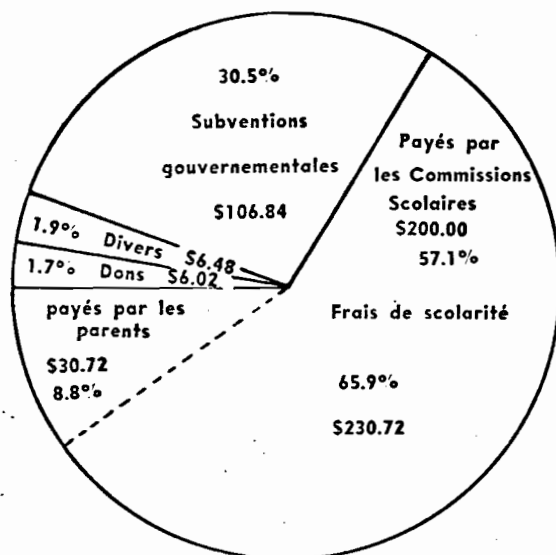
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
Full-time	1352	208	1560
Partial	443	152	595
Total	1795	360	2155

REVENUS : \$350.06

COÛT BRUT DE L'INSTRUCTION : \$592.47

DÉPENSES PAR SERVICE

NATURE DES DÉPENSES



*c'est à même ce salaire que les religieux payent leur chambre et pension.

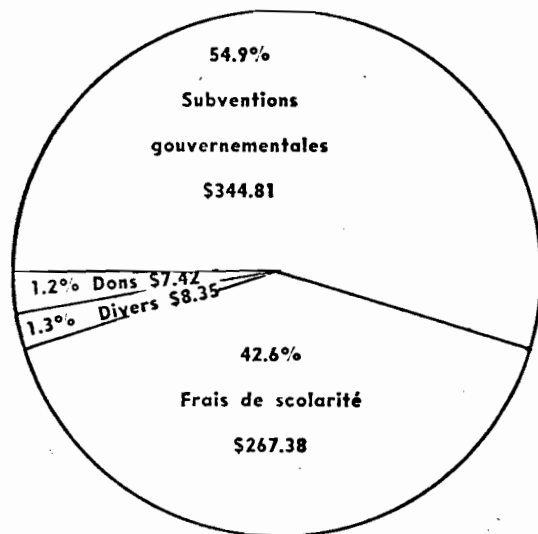
Revenus et Dépenses de l'Instruction

moyenne par élève 1962-63

niveau secondaire

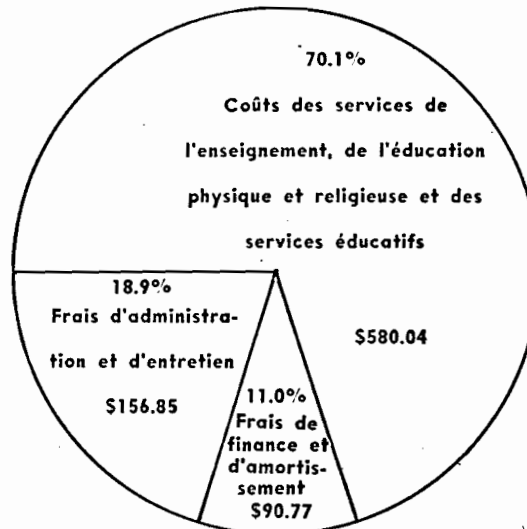
COÛT BRUT	\$592.47
Moins Valeur des services non-rémunérés	200.97
COÛT NET	\$391.50
Moins REVENUS	350.06
DEFICIT	\$ 41.44

REVENUS : \$627.94

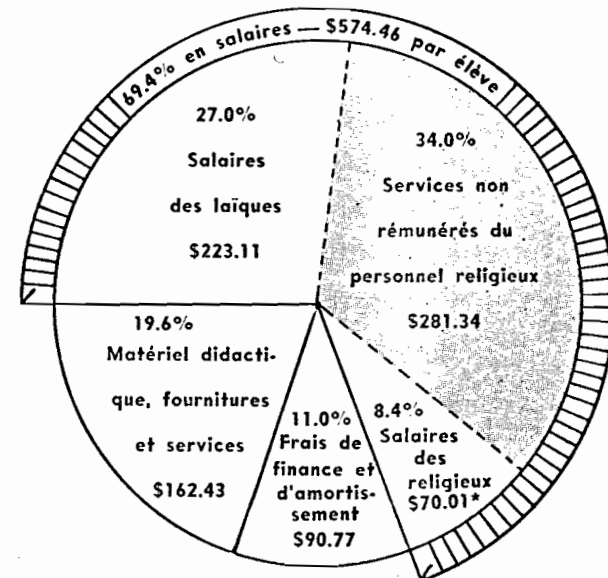


COÛT BRUT DE L'INSTRUCTION : \$827.66

DÉPENSES PAR SERVICE



NATURE DES DÉPENSES



*C'est à même ce salaire que les religieux payent leur chambre et pension

Revenus et Dépenses de l'Instruction

moyenne par élève 1962-63

niveau collégial

COÛT BRUT	\$827.66
Moins Valeur des services non-rémunérés	281.34
COÛT NET	\$546.32
Moins REVENUS	627.94
SURPLUS	\$ 81.62

Financial Formula of the F.C.C. Submitted to the Ministry
of Education, April 22, 1965:

I. Relating to the law of aiding Independent Institutions:

- abolition of the two thousand dollar grant per grade to the independent institutions.
- replacing this grant by an enlarged per capita grant from seventy five dollars to approximately one hundred and ten to one hundred and twenty dollars.
- the law should be amended to produce an equal yield for all the institutions and it should not favour those institutions having more than one class of the same grade.

II. Relating to the law Concerning Higher Education:

- maintaining this grant for the colleges as long as a new formula of financing post-secondary education is not established.
- stabilizing the grant by the Quebec Government to maintain the per capita grant.

III. Relating to Students' Bursaries:

- increase their value and number for less fortunate students.

IV. Relating to the Aid of the School Commissions:

- Adoption by the Ministry of Education of a formula calculated on precise factors.
- utilization of this formula by the School Commissions after recommendation on the part of the Ministry and abolition of the clause in the law which prescribes the maximum given to independent institutions be two-hundred dollars.
- Approval, by the Ministry, of the expenses of the School Commissions resulting from the aid given to the independent institutions by virtue of the formula.
- the following method of applying the formula by the School Commissions:
 - (a) calculating the cost per student in the institution following the formula.
 - (b) multiply this cost by the number of students of this institution, from the eighth to the eleventh grade inclusively.
 - (c) subtract the total government grants to this institution for the secondary level.

The Formula:

$$C = \frac{S(1 - X + XZ)}{KZ}$$

Explanation of Symbols:

- C- cost of instruction of a student in a college which is authorized by the Ministry.
- Z- proportion of the budget of the institution for teaching salaries. (about 60%).
- S- average salary of lay personnel at public secondary level. (about \$7000.00)
- X- Proportion of religious personnel in relation to all personnel in a given institution.
- Y- proportion of Religious teaching salaries.

We propose the following proportion:

- 1965-66 - 60%
- 1966-67 - 68%
- 1967-68 - 75%
- 1968-69 - 82%
- 1969-70 - 88%
- 1970-71 - 94%
- 1971-72 - 100%

- K- average number of students per professor. (according to the Ministry, it is seventeen in the public secondary schools.)

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