

**A PROFILE OF TEACHERS ON AVAILABILITY
IN THE PROTESTANT SCHOOL BOARD
OF GREATER MONTREAL**

by

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A thesis
presented to McGill University
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Master of Arts
in
Educational Administration and
Policy Studies

Montreal, Canada, 1987

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RESUME

Le déclin des naissances au Canada a entraîné un déclin considérable des inscriptions scolaires. Ce phénomène de dénatalité se fait d'autant plus sentir au Québec et surtout dans les écoles anglophones. Tout ceci mène inévitablement à un besoin moindre d'enseignants et fait que certains d'entre eux se retrouvent "en surplus" ou, dans le langage de la convention collective, en disponibilité.

La présente étude porte sur la Commission des écoles protestantes du grand Montréal qui emploie le plus grand nombre d'enseignants anglophones au Québec. A partir de documents publiés par des syndicats locaux, un profil professionnel et personnel d'enseignants en disponibilité a été dessiné. Cette étude contient également des détails sur le processus prévu à la convention collective pour la mise en disponibilité de ces enseignants.

Les résultats de cette étude démontrent qu'il s'agit d'enseignants qualifiés, avec une expérience variée dans l'enseignement de toute une gamme de matières, et qu'il s'agit dans l'ensemble de femmes qui, en fonction de leur âge, se situent à l'apogée de leur carrière. Les aspects financier, contractuel et psychologique de la mise en disponibilité sont également abordés.

ABSTRACT

The declining birthrates in Canada have brought a significant decline in school enrolment. That decline is especially noticeable in Quebec, and more particularly in its English-speaking schools. Dropping rolls inevitably translate into a need for fewer teachers, and consequently some teachers are now 'on surplus', or, in the language of the contract, on availability.

This study concentrated on Quebec's largest English-speaking board, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. Using local union files, a professional and personal profile of available teachers has been drawn. Furthermore, there is an explanation of the contractual procedures involved in calculating availability.

The findings revealed that available teachers are well qualified, experienced people, teaching in a wide range of subjects. They are, majoritarily, females, and from an age point of view, would be considered in the prime years as teachers. Financial, contractual and psychological implications of availability have also been discussed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Clermont Barnabé, PhD, of the Faculty of Education, Department of Administration and Policy Studies, McGill University. It was only through his prompting and gentle persuasion that from a diverse pool of ideas and arguments a coherent theme for this thesis could be developed.

The writer is indebted for the help extended by the Montreal Teachers' Association, and especially to the President, Mr. Donald Peacock, and executive assistant, Ms. Ruth Rosenfield. Thanks also must go to the Planning Officer of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Mr. Thomas Blacklock, for the interviews granted and information given.

Finally, the writer owes an enormous debt to Sharon Gubbay, who not only typed the thesis, but persevered with the numerous revisions before the text was completed.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Teaching has been regarded as a secure profession from an employment standpoint. Yet in Quebec today, teachers' job security is a major concern for school boards, government, teacher unions, and most especially, those teachers who find themselves in danger of losing their teaching posts.

The factors leading to this situation are complicated, and in some instances, unique to Quebec. Obviously birthrates play an important part in dictating school enrolment, but to understand the Quebec situation one must grasp the complexities of the language question. Eighty percent of the province are French speaking, and in the sea of English that is North America, they demand that their language and culture be protected. This has required the passing of three pieces of language legislation by three different governments within a ten-year period.

A former Prime Minister of the province, Lévesque (p.17), succinctly sums up this attitude: "At the core of this [Quebec] personality is the fact that we speak French. Everything else depends on this one essential element, and follows from it or leads us infallibly back to it."

That the legislation coincided with falling birth rates is not entirely coincidental. The industrialised world has experienced a decline in births over the past two decades.

There is a multiplicity of factors surrounding this occurrence. More secure contraceptive techniques, more liberal abortion laws, higher divorce rates, greater numbers of women in the work force, all play some role in bringing about a decrease in birth rates.

Canada is part of that experience, and in Quebec the decline is even more notable. The history of Quebec is one filled with a concern for "survival", a determination to maintain and protect its language and culture. Declining birthrates rang an alarm, for politicians and demographers alike felt that it could sound the deathknell for a French Quebec. This reaction from French Quebec has had significant implications for English Quebec.

We cannot, therefore, study birthrates as a single entity, but we must regard them as one feature of a scene which encompasses a range of concerns, which would touch the very heart of Quebec's political and social life.

The changing birthrates will have long term repercussions on employment, pensions, social services, but the initial impact has been on education. Two other important changes will also be scrutinized, the political background which heralded language laws, and the province's migration patterns.

This study will focus essentially on the 'English' schools of Quebec. The term 'English' must be defined a little more precisely. The educational provisions for Quebec are contained in Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867. Although the Constitution was repatriated (the Canada Act of 1982), the Constitution remains precisely the same, with the addition of a Human Rights Charter. Section 93 explicitly defines the school boards as either Catholic or Protestant; there is no reference to language.

Historically, the Protestant boards were overwhelmingly English-speaking, and the Catholic boards were overwhelmingly French speaking. This often leads to boards,

and schools, quite incorrectly, being labelled English or French. Government legislated attempts to alter the educational structure so that boards would represent linguistic rather than religious communities have been declared unconstitutional as recently as 1982. Any further proposed change will require amendments to the Constitution and that will surely be a lengthy process.

Though there is a growing proportion of Protestant schools becoming French speaking, due, in great measure, to the provisions of language laws, still the vast majority of students are English speaking, and the Protestant boards still administer education to the majority of Quebec's anglophone population. The study of the teachers in the Protestant system is, consequently, more a study of English-speaking teachers in Protestant schools, than a study of Protestant teachers in Protestant schools. Throughout the thesis, the emphasis will be on language as opposed to religious issues. However, for legal and contractual reasons, these teachers are considered as Protestant.

School Population

Though it may be stating the obvious, birthrates have a direct impact on school enrolment. In 1970-71, Quebec's public school enrolment stood at 1,588,788 students; by 1983 it had tumbled to 1,070,614, a decline of 33.6%. No other Canadian province showed as significant a decrease. During the same period the English system underwent an even greater shift, plummeting from 248,750 to 136,429 students, a 45.2% decline. That the English sector was hit harder than the French cannot merely be explained by birth rates, for there were two further major blows to English enrolment. One was the enactment of laws during this period, specifically Laws 22 and 101, and secondly, the emigration flow from the province.

Political Background

Since 1969, three different governing parties have enacted laws which affect parental choice in education. Law 63, passed in 1969 by a Union Nationale government, gave parents freedom of choice in the language of education of their children. The law had been passed in an effort to resolve a problem which surfaced in St. Léonard, where a school commission stated that it intended to abolish Grade I in English schools starting in 1969, with a view to eliminating English schooling. Given that religion, Catholic or Protestant, is the only criterion to determine a school orientation and NOT language, the commission was legally entitled to their position. Though the legal arguments will not be debated here, the public furore created stimulated the Government to enshrine in Law 63 the right of parents to choose the language of schooling for their children.

There was a backlash. Many sought a greater role for French, some demanded that it be used exclusively. The succeeding Liberal government was pressured to repeal Law 63, and take a stronger stand on the issue of language. In 1974, the government passed Law 22. This removed freedom of choice, and was probably targetted at immigrant children, whose mother tongue was not English. The law required a "language test" to be administered to five-year-olds who intended to go to an English school. The test was an attempt to ascertain if the children had reached sufficient competence in English. This provoked outrage from a wide spectrum of the population: parents, educators, and the opposition Parti Québécois bitterly attacked the law. That the Liberals fell at the next election was probably due in some part to Law 22.

The Parti Québécois repealed Law 22, and promptly moved to replace it with Law 101. This considerably tightened up entry to English schools. Law 101 clearly outlined those eligible; they fell into four main categories. Firstly, those children who had at least one of their parents educated in an English elementary school in Quebec; secondly,

children whose parents were living in Quebec at the passing of the law (August 1977) who had received an English education anywhere in the world; thirdly, children whose siblings were receiving an English education; and lastly, students who exhibited learning disabilities.

The attacks on Bill 101 were vigorous. They still echo through the media and law courts. Inasmuch as the law has been reviled, it also has many defenders. The storm over language rights, though abated since 1977, is still a potent force. Though Laws 63, 22, and 101 did affect schools, it must also be recalled that educational provisions were only parts of these laws, which were intended to promote and preserve the French language and culture in Quebec.

Immigration/Emigration

One of the great fears expressed in the sixties and seventies was that barring powerful Government intervention, Quebec would gradually become a majority English-speaking province. It was valid to argue that most immigrants chose English rather than French schools. As several writers have noted, the desire to attend an English school was probably based on the feeling that English was the language of business, and provided a basis for business advancement. As it also was the language of North America, if one were to leave the province of Quebec for other parts of Canada or south to the U.S.A., knowledge of English was mandatory. What was even more ominous for Quebec nationalists was that some French-Canadians also opted for English instruction.

However, in the seventies, immigrants moving to Québec became more likely to use French as a mother tongue, rather than English. Indeed in May 1977, Québec concluded an immigration agreement with the federal government (Cullen-Couture Agreement) which gives Québec a greater voice in deciding which immigrants can come to Québec. Despite immigration to the province, since the sixties, Québec has been a net 'loser', though for a short period in the late sixties Québec showed a net gain. Emigrants have outnumbered immigrants. The majority of those leaving were English speakers, and this movement greatly accelerated in the late seventies. It would be simple to blame this exodus on the political atmosphere in the province, which unquestionably was a cause, but it should be viewed against a backdrop of economic opportunity which was appearing in points west of Québec. For those English remaining in Québec, the necessity for French became more evident, and there was an increase in interest in French immersion schools which were in the 'English' system, but overwhelmingly staffed by French speakers. Some too, may have switched to the growing private educational sector which grew both in proportional and real terms during the seventies.

Declining birthrates, restrictive entries, and emigration of English speakers, when added to the attraction for French language education, meant that the English school system moved into the 1980's faced with a plethora of problems. One of those problems is teacher surplus, or in the language of the contract, teacher availability.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The effect of declining numbers on education is complex and recent. It leads to school closings, parental agitation, budgeting and scheduling difficulties, and staffing concerns.

This study will focus on the teachers who are most affected, by drawing a profile of teachers on 'availability' in Quebec's largest English speaking board, the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal (PSBGM).

Availability is a feature of the teachers' contract which is unique to Quebec. Essentially, it requires that school boards retain the services of tenured teachers, even though there are insufficient numbers of students to give those teachers regular teaching posts.

In drawing a profile of those teachers on availability, the following characteristics will be included:

- a) Sex
- b) Age
- c) Seniority
- d) Teaching experience
- e) Teaching category (i.e. subject(s) taught)
- f) Years of schooling
- g) Tasks assigned to available teachers.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Much of the literature dealing with declining enrolment and teacher employment concentrates on the difficulties arising from the 'seniority vs competence' battle. When cutting staff, the authors generally acknowledge the legal pitfalls in fighting against seniority, and the administrative nightmares provoked when establishing acceptable guidelines for competence.

The Quebec situation provides us with an unusual opportunity to investigate a group of teachers, who, because of the availability clauses within their contract, are still employed, despite the significant decline in the school population.

The results should provide us with the personal information such as sex and age, their professional background, ie. schooling, experience and board seniority, and in addition, give an idea as to the tasks assigned to those teaching in the year 1985-6.

This kind of study should provide very pertinent information for negotiators of teachers' collective agreements. The area of job security is becoming one of the principal concerns of teachers. In the government or employer's eyes, of course, it is an economic issue. In negotiating the clauses surrounding this topic, the employer appears to concentrate on the numbers involved; to them it is a matter of finance. The unions' stance often is a traditional one, of attempting to maintain the traditional principle that seniority be the real criterion if lay-offs or cut-backs are imposed.

The profile of the availables could provide some material for both sides to ponder. Are the availables doing valuable work? Are they really the young blood of the profession? Would their departure detract from the quality of teaching? Are certain teachers more prone to availability because of their subjects? These are the questions which should be answered during the debate on availability. Yet answers seem at times to be

conspicuously missing in the discussions, which, all too often, focus on sheer numbers. Any dispute seems to hinge on quantity rather than quality. The study is a partial attempt to remedy that, for in the literature, it appears this kind of study has not been undertaken.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The teachers' characteristics which are being studied, are in some instances defined by the decree, which was passed by the government of Quebec in November 1982. Throughout the thesis, this document will be referred to as the 'Provincial Decree'. References to previous contracts may be called 'agreements', as the parties involved had agreed to the contract. In addition to the Provincial Decree, there are also local agreements, which exist between individual school boards and local teachers' unions.

Some of the characteristics alter with time, i.e. age, experience, seniority; these will be noted as applying in November 1985. Other characteristics may also change; i.e. years of schooling and category of teaching, but again they will be considered as of November 1985.

Provincial Decree: "Provincial Decree" refers to the "Provisions Constituting Collective Agreements Binding on the one hand, each of the School Boards for Protestants contemplated by chapter 0.7.1 of the Revised Statutes of Quebec and on the other hand, each of the certified associations which, on November 29, 1982, negotiated through the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers on behalf of Teachers in the employ of these School Boards." (Amended Edition, August 1983.)

Note: Where the contracts are quoted, the clause number follows.

P.A.P.T.: The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec.

M.T.A.: Montreal Teachers Association

P.S.B.G.M.: Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal.

Q.A.P.S.B.: Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards.

C.P.N.C.P.: Commission Provinciale de Négociation des Commission Scolaires Protestantes, (Employers' Bargaining Committee)

Local Agreement: Between the P.S.B.G.M. and the Montreal Teachers' Association, in conformity with clause 9-5.06 of the entente (C.P.N.C.P.-P.A.P.T.-1983-85).

Years of Schooling: "Every complete year of schooling recognized as such for a teacher by the official attestation of the status of his schooling issued by the Ministère in accordance with the *Manuel d'évaluation de la scolarité* in force or considered in force on the date of the coming into force of this entente." (1.1.04) This classification is for salary purposes, and ranges from 14 years as a minimum, to 20 years, which requires a Ph.D. The status is always in complete years.

Years of Experience: "A school year, during which a teacher taught on a full-time basis or performed a pedagogical or educational function on a full-time basis in a Quebec teaching institution recognized by the Ministère or in a teaching institution under government authority outside Quebec, shall be recognized as a year of experience. However, the academic year during which a full-time teacher under annual

contract taught or performed a pedagogical or educational function for only a minimum of ninety (90) days because of circumstances beyond his control or because of a parental leave by virtue of article 5-13.00 shall be recognized as a year of experience, it being understood that only the days of paid leave provided for in clauses 5-13.09, 5-13.10 and 5-13.22 shall be considered as days when the teacher teaches or performs a pedagogical or educational function." (6.4.02)

The decree indicates in clause 6.4.01 (d) that "the experience acquired in 1982-3 shall not allow for any advancement in step". This was part of a salary cut that the Government enforced. Notwithstanding this salary implication, in the thesis when calculating experience, 1982-3 will be considered as teaching experience.

Years of Seniority: "Seniority shall be established in terms of years and of fractions of years. However, the time spent as an occasional substitute shall not be calculated. Nevertheless, the time spent by the teacher as an occasional substitute in a position which he now holds shall be calculated." (5.2.04)

"Seniority shall be calculated as follows:

- a) for each school year where the period of employment covers the entire school year, one year of seniority shall be recognized for the teacher;
- b) for each school year where the period of employment does not cover the entire school year, a fraction of a year established according to the following formula shall be recognized for the teacher for such a period of employment: the number of working days included in such period over two hundred (200).

Notwithstanding the foregoing, the period of employment in a position other than that of a teacher shall be converted in terms of fractions of years according to the following formula:

$$x/y \times 200 = n$$

where x = number of days worked in equivalent full-time days

y = number of days in the work year applicable to the full-time employee in the category of employment concerned

n = fraction of year of seniority. When the result of this formula is a decimal and if this decimal is less than 0.5, it is dropped; but, if it is equal to or greater than 0.5, it is rounded off to the next higher number." (5.2.04, 5.2.05)

Though seniority is literally calculated to the day, for the purposes of this thesis, seniority will be considered in the same manner as age, i.e., to the nearest year. It must also be noted that a leave of absence, with or without pay, such as maternity leave or sick leave, does not prevent accumulation of seniority.

Teaching Category: Negotiated at the local level each year. (This will be detailed in the main body of the thesis.)

Teachers on Availability.: The availability clauses cover several pages. Briefly stated, it refers to those tenured teachers who are considered in excess to the school board after all the schools' staffing needs have been met.

Tenure: "Tenure shall be the status acquired by the teacher who has completed two (2) full years of continuous full-time service with the board since his engagement at the board.

For the purposes of applying this clause, continuous service with the board shall also include the time spent, on a full-time basis, performing duties other than those of a teacher." (5-3-03)

Provincial Relocation Bureau: The body composed of the Protestant boards, (the Q.A.P.S.B.) and the Ministère, whose function, among others, is to relocate teachers on availability from one board with available personnel to another which requires a teacher in that category.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

The background of the study required information from diverse pools of literature, and government statistics. To grasp the Quebec situation, one must understand some of its history and concern with the maintenance of its French character and language. More recently, plummeting birthrates and immigration issues have caused the political spotlight to be keenly focussed on the language issue.

The ramifications of the demographic trends and political decisions have had an impact on schools and teachers. More specifically a close scrutiny of the teacher contracts will be made, as it affects job security. This is a very complex contractual area, and though an attempt will be made to simplify contractual clauses, the end result may still appear complicated to the layman.

Specific information on teachers will be garnered from the teachers' union which has its information furnished by the school board. The findings and discussion of the findings will provide the basis of the conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

As can be seen, there is a wide variety of issues that can be raised when discussing the matter of availability. The history and political moods of the province need to be understood, as well as the contractual points which affect teachers' job security. Demographic patterns also have an impact on teachers and schools and they too must be studied. In the present chapter, these matters will be more fully discussed.

The focus of this study is on teachers. A significant proportion of the literature concerns itself with the means of reducing staff caused by an enrolment decline. The argument revolves essentially on the issue of seniority versus competence. As examples, the following writers, (Moore-Johnson, 1982; Morse, 1977) demonstrate clearly the legal and contractual difficulties ensuing when evaluation by administration is preferred rather than seniority.

Moore-Johnson (p.260) notes that "Seniority, then, is an objective standard that protects crucial job decisions from political interferences or administrative abuse and lends itself to orderly procedures". In discussing merit, she recognises the difficulty by quoting an administrator: "It's great, it's noble ... But the question is, who's going to make it work? It's the toughest thing in the world to make work". She finds it impossible to come to conclusions that would solve the problem. She does advocate some flexibility by recognising different teaching subjects and the right to bump. ("bump": when teachers with more seniority can displace colleagues with less seniority) Both these elements incidentally, are included in Quebec's contracts.

Morse (p.76) states the case similarly: "Non-tenured teachers, of course, are the easiest to drop because they have no legal leverage." This too is the Quebec situation. When he speaks of tenured staff being cut, he faces the same dilemma as Johnson. Though Morse is a proponent of the merit principle, he does note (p. 78) that although "most merit systems were not successful in the past ... they deserve examination." Unfortunately he fails to tackle the legal aspects involved in dropping seniority provisions, and the inevitable union positions countering the use of the merit system when determining lay-offs.

Both Johnson and Morse allude to the loss of young teachers because of the seniority provisions, a factor not overlooked by others. As will be seen, this point was raised at the Government's own Superior Council, and remarked upon by the Planning Officer of the P.S.B.G.M.

The literature is a seeming wasteland when it comes to establishing a profile of those teachers being laidoff. Whether the argument of seniority vs competence is settled or not, we still would have teachers becoming unemployed. The literature deals with the method, but does not examine the individuals most affected by the method.

The Quebec situation is interesting, in that no tenured teacher has been terminated because of declining enrolment. Seniority is still the norm, whether in reducing staff or declaring availability, and the pool of teachers on availability presents an opportunity for study, for they remain in the teaching ranks.

The literature on the topic of declining enrolment is comparatively recent. Little was written before 1977. This is not to say that the population problem was unnoticed, but the writings of the early seventies produced significant differences of opinion of the Quebec situation.

The problem of preserving the French language has been gnawing at Quebec's politicians for decades. As early as 1912, Henri Bourassa (p.136) in a speech to the Congrès de la Langue Française au Canada, on the ways to assure the permanence of the French language stated that "The first and most important of all was teaching, that is, the schools" and continued by claiming that "We will preserve the French language and spread it only in so far as we fight for its preservation and growth."

Yet writers point out that English was an economic tool, and French did not provide the necessary key to business success. Léger (1969, p.309) cites a French-Canadian worker whom he quotes as saying: " ... I will go along with you and ask my kids to speak real French only when they earn a living at it, and when it is the language of labour and economy in Quebec."

Magnuson (1980, p.125) makes the same point. "English was perceived as the language of social and economic advancement ... Québec's largest immigrant group ... preferred English economics to French culture."

Joy (1971, p.139), in the epilogue of his book *Langues in Conflict* declares that "Quebec is moving towards a Francophone homogeneity ... French will gradually replace English as the language of work, this will accelerate what now appears to be an irreversible spiral."

This position is sharply contrasted with that of Rioux (1969, p.115) who claims that "considering the rate at which immigrants are being assimilated to the English-speaking minority, and the decline in the birthrate among French speaking Quebecers (down 23 per cent from 1964 to 1968) French Canadian social critics are led to the conclusion that their people will soon be a minority in their own province; according to them, Montreal is sure to become an English speaking city in ten years."

Henripin (1974, p.32) dismissed Rioux's claims, but tempered his statements with the proviso that "unless there is an Anglophone exodus from Montreal, or immigrants radically change their habits in choosing the language their children will speak" the Anglophone population would increase.

It does appear that the politicians were more in sympathy with the views of Rioux and Henripin, as the later legislation would demonstrate.

The population issue had direct repercussions on education. Henchey (1972, p.92) correctly forecast in 1972, that declining enrolments would cause "hiring and retention problems" for teachers. Henchey was a little ahead of his time, for it was not until 1975 that a PSBGM report referred to the problem of student enrolment. In its annual report of that year, the P.S.B.G.M. recognised that in conjunction with its declining numbers, a reorganisation of schools would be necessary. Each report since then has dealt with the ongoing problem of enrolment and facilities.

The issues provoked by declining enrolment are numerous. Indeed, the problems within the PSBGM could be regarded as a microcosm of the whole English school system. In 1979, Blacklock, the Planning Officer for the Board, wrote an article which paints a bleak picture, and comments:

"Since 1975 their annual reports recognise the problems involved in maintaining facilities, closing of schools, financial planning, allocation of human resources, and this occurring when the system had to face the challenge of curriculum change and technological advances. The present policy for staff reduction is based largely on a seniority system. This will rob the personnel of the education system of "youth". Without downgrading the merits of long experience, wisdom and dedication it is difficult to visualize a school without a reasonable balance of youth on its staff."

Availability is still a nagging issue in Quebec, even if teachers are retained. The Superior Council of Education reported in 1984 (p.3) that "On closer examination, we find someone who is of a 'certain age' (often called the best years), is well educated, has a wealth of experience, who in spite of all this, is often in danger of being placed on availability".

The same body, writing more specifically on the status of women in education, claimed that (p.20) "unless special measures are taken, the situation of female staff of teaching institutions is likely to suffer a marked deterioration." This is a particular concern that will be addressed in this investigation.

As indicated in the "definition of terms", the teachers' contract is a central document for the writing of this thesis. Reference to previous contracts will also be made where they have specific implications for availability.

In the past several years, the government has instituted a new "Régime Pédagogique" which defines clearly the subjects to be taught *and* the time allocated to these subjects. Again these changes will be viewed for their impact, if any, on availability.

The overall thrust of the thesis is to provide a profile of availables. Though it is done against the backdrop of declining enrolment, it must be noted that reduction in staff can also occur if governments decide to tighten their purse strings and cut educational expenses.

DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERNS

The population of Canada has grown, and continues to grow, but this fact masks some underlying changes, which will have worrisome social consequences. In 1961, Canada's

population was 18,238,000; twenty-two years later it had grown to 25,848,000, a healthy 36.2% increase (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.51; Table 2.1). During the same period, Quebec's population rose 22.4% from 5,259,000 to 6,438,000. (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.53, Chart 2.6)

A troubling social factor is birthrate. Though the population was increasing, the birth-rate was falling, and most noticeably in Quebec. Throughout the seventies and into the eighties, the province's rate hovered between 1.6 and 1.75, the lowest of all provinces. (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.68, Chart 2.35). The rate had virtually halved in twenty years.

Canadian crude death rates are amongst the lowest in the world so, paradoxically, as the birth rates fall, it is still possible to increase the population as people's life expectancy increases. The profile of the population undergoes a significant shift, becoming proportionately older.

A breakdown of the various age groups clearly demonstrates the fact that Canada is greying. In 1981, the population in the category 0-15 years was 6,380,900 which represented 29.6% of the total (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.56, Chart 2.14); a decade later, the same group had dropped in real figures to 5,481,000 (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.56, Chart 2.14) and proportionally was down to 22.5% of Canada's total population. Conversely, the older segments of the population were becoming larger. By 1981, persons over the age of sixty-five were 10.8% of Canada's people, a climb of 2.8% in just ten years (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.5).

Projections do not indicate any significant change in this pattern. The total population will climb slowly, to about twenty-eight million by the year 2000, and this will be accompanied by a lower birth rate. The death rate will be expected to increase as the population as a whole begins to age. (Statistics Canada, 1978, p.71, Projection 4).

The patterns in the province of Quebec closely mirror national trends. The population will continue to increase throughout the century, but it will be accompanied by a dropping birth rate. In the quarter of a century forecasted (1976-2001) the number of births will fall by 24.9%, and the birth rate, which is now below replacement rate, will tumble by a further 28.2%. (Statistics Canada, 1978c, p.80, Projection 5). Admittedly, these are forecasts, and, as such, there may be discrepancies, but the overall picture strongly suggests that the traits beginning in the 1960's will continue for the remainder of the century.

Quebec's projected population by 2001 is 7,104,959 a climb of 13.9% (Gouvernement du Québec, 1984, Table 3, p.28) over a quarter of a century, slow when compared to the decades of the fifties and sixties. The number of 5-19 year-olds has been estimated to be 20.1% (Statistics Canada, 1982c, p.4) of Quebec's total population by 2001, down from 32.2% in 1970. More significantly, the Montreal Urban Community, which provides the catchment area for the schools in this study, shows an alarmingly sharp drop in this age category, plummeting from 449,115 in 1976 to an estimated 258,936, a percentage drop of 42.3% (Gouvernement du Québec, 1984, p.322).

There may be some explanations for this decline; certainly the possibility of a flight to the suburbs is one. Cheaper housing would encourage the younger family to move, but there is also another view. It is also true that Montreal is the centre of the English population. Is the migration of the English speaking to other provinces also having its impact on the birthrates? This shall be examined when migration patterns are studied.

Have these demographic changes had any implications for the English/French proportions in the province? Since the first census was taken, the French proportion has hovered around 80% and the post World War II figures show no significant deviation from that proportion.

Table 1: NO. OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH-SPEAKING QUEBECKERS 1951-81

	French	English	Other
1951	3,347,110 (82.53%)	558,256 (13.76%)	3.61%
1961	4,269,689 (81.2%)	697,402 (13.26%)	5.54%
1971	4,867,250 (80.75%)	789,185 (13.09%)	6.16%
1981	5,307,010 (82.42%)	706,115 (10.96%)	6.62%

Source: Statistics Canada and Dominion Bureau of Statistics
Distribution of Population by Mother Tongue, 1951, 61, 71, 81

The figures clearly demonstrated that both English and French proportions were dropping marginally in the period 1951-71. The 1970's showed very clearly a marked drop in the English group, with a real decline of 83,070 (10.52%). The French conversely gained in real and proportional terms in this decade. The group which belonged to neither of the official language groups grew slowly but steadily.

As much as birth and death rates were changing, so was the whole concept of family. If technological change could alter contraception techniques, then legislative change affected domestic situations. The arrival of new divorce laws in the late sixties saw a rocketing of divorce rates. From 1964 to 1974 they quintupled (Statistics Canada, 1982a, Chart 4). In 1981, Canada's divorced population reached 500,100, an increase of 65% since 1976 (Statistics Canada, 1985, p.40). As a result we are seeing increasingly the emergence of the single-parent family.

Changes of another kind were taking place in Quebec throughout the seventies. There was great concern over the status of the French language. The age-old long debate over "survival" was thrust into the political spotlight. Was French indeed being submerged in a sea of English? What would ensue if immigrants chose English rather than

French schooling? How would this be prevented? The problem surrounding immigration and the language question is one on which attention will be focussed.

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Canada is a huge country, with relatively speaking, a very small population. Like its southern hemisphere counterpart, Australia, it has traditionally been a country which has attracted immigrants.

Immigration is not open-door. Canada has a policy which it uses to select both the quality and the quantity of its newcomers. As a general rule, immigration is very much tied to economic performance. The booming post-war years in Canada required that the country recruit immigrants to fuel the burgeoning job market.

The immigration numbers were high in the early fifties, close to 200,000 in 1951. The rate fell steadily through the decade to only 71,689 by 1961. Quebec immigration patterns closely matched the national scene. In 1951 the province admitted 46,033 immigrants. This declined to a low of 16,920 in 1961 (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974, Table 3.3 p.38). From that point, immigration began to climb steadily to the latter part of the decade. The high point of immigration was 1967, the year of "Expo", when Canada opened its doors to 222,876, with almost 40,000 heading for Quebec (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974, Table 3.3, p.38). From 1951-71, Canada had given immigrant status to 3,108,000, of which 634,000 (20.4%) came to Quebec.

As stated, there was some agitation in Quebec concerning the protection of French. After a furore erupted in the St. Léonard School Commission, situated in a suburb of Montreal, where an attempt was made to force a predominantly Italian community into French schools, the government passed Law 63. Why was this problem surfacing at this time?

Immigration had been running at a high level, and the native birthrates were now beginning to fall, down from 3.70 in 1960 to 2.18 in just nine years (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974, Table 1.8, p.14). Also as shown in Table 1, the French percentage was also marginally waning. This was certainly true in Montreal, where the overwhelming number of the immigrants made their domicile. Though Quebec, as a province, had increased its foreign born component from 11.1% to 14.2% in twenty years (1951-71), Montreal was where that number was most evident. The city's foreign born population increased by 50%, in that period, going up from 12.3% in 1951, to 18.8% in 1971 (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974, Table 1.9, p.17).

Of course, foreign born does not necessarily mean non-French speaking. However, during the 1968-72 period, which was a very politically contentious one, it can be seen that a majority of new arrivals spoke no French (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974, Table 6.3, p.81).

Table 2: IMMIGRATION BY LANGUAGE TO QUEBEC - 1968-72

	<u>%French or Bilingual</u>	<u>%English</u>	<u>%Neither French nor English</u>
1968	35.1	29.9	35.0
1970	30.7	39.1	30.2
1972	29.2	40.0	30.8

Source: Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974, Table 6.3, p.81

Of course, given the blessings of hindsight, it could be argued that throughout the seventies, immigration in Canada and Quebec would decline significantly, so the threat to the French language was not as acute as some politicians and demographers would

argue. But the warnings of Rioux that Montreal would become an English-speaking city by the 1980's did not fall on deaf ears. Ironically, English mother-tongue speakers had been proportionately declining from 1931, the earliest statistics in that category, dropping from 14.9% to 13.1% from 1931 to 1971. French mother-tongue speakers had inched up from 79.7% to 80.7% during the same period (Henripin, 1974, Table 4.1, p.24). In the same document, Henripin notes "we can dismiss the attitude that the Montreal Francophone majority will be overrun in the near future" (p.32). However, he did note that the English proportion of the Quebec population would increase.

Though Bill 63 had made French the official language, the nagging doubts about the solidity of the French language remained. Would immigrants learning English, really swamp French and force it into minority status in Quebec?

The new Liberal government was undoubtedly cognizant of the immigration figures, which did show a decline in French-speaking immigrants. The enactment of Law 22 in 1974, for the first time saw government intervention to force some students into French schools. Without debating the merits of the Law, one of its central themes was to direct non-English immigrants into the French system. The modalities of this caused an enormous political fuss, with five-year-olds being tested for their English ability.

The fact was that the immigration peak had passed, but in 1970 one of the most alarming incidents in Canadian history had occurred. A terrorist group, the Front de Libération du Québec, kidnapped and subsequently murdered one of the provincial ministers, Pierre Laporte. This had provoked the Canadian Prime Minister, Trudeau, to pass the War Measures Act, which suspended habeas corpus. The crux of the incident was over the matter of Quebec becoming an independent state. Politics demanded that the Bourassa Liberals show themselves to be concerned with the preservation of the French fact. They also faced a legitimate political party, the Parti Québécois. The

Parti Québécois promised not merely a stronger safeguard for the French language, but the possibility of an independent French-speaking state.

The election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 also instigated a flight of many non-francophones from the province. The government now severely restricted rights to English schools with Law 101. It also became more directly involved in immigration by a joint agreement in May 1977 (Couture-Cullen agreement) with the federal government. The immigration patterns changed too; as well as declining in numbers, new immigrants were being drawn from different backgrounds.

As Table 3 clearly demonstrated, the steady stream of anglophones leaving Quebec transformed itself into a torrent after the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976. This movement will have an echoing affect on succeeding generations. Many young anglophones were moving out; their children will be born in other provinces, thus further diminishing the possibility of any potential anglophone growth.

Caldwell's (1976) findings clearly underline the problem. In studying the whereabouts of English school leavers in Quebec (1971-75), he found that within five years of graduation, 33% of them had left the province.

The Quebec referendum, asking the people to give the government a mandate to seek sovereignty-association, did not materialize until 1980. Though the proposition was defeated, by this time, many anglophones had already departed.

Table 3: INTERNAL MIGRATION BY LANGUAGE

Net Internal Migration for the Population 5 Years and Over by Mother Tongue, Quebec, 1966-71, 1971-76, and 1976-81

	<u>In-</u> <u>migration</u>	<u>Out-</u> <u>migration</u>	<u>Population</u> <u>loss</u>
1966-71			
Total Quebec	84,900	160,400	75,500
English	46,900	99,100	52,200
French	33,400	46,900	13,500
Other	4,600	14,400	9,900
1971-76			
Total Quebec	79,060	138,475	59,415
English	39,515	89,595	50,080
French	35,225	39,105	3,880
Other	4,320	9,775	5,455
1976-81			
Total Quebec	61,305	203,035	141,760
English	25,220	131,530	106,310
French	31,880	49,940	18,060
Other	4,215	21,565	17,350

Source: The English Fact in Quebec, McLeod Arnopoulos and Clift, p. 232. (McGill-Queen's University Press: 1984)

DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL TRENDS - IMPACT ON SCHOOL POPULATION

The decline of the student population in Quebec began in 1971. By studying the birth-rates of the prior decade the decline was predictable. There was no immediate impact on those seeking teaching posts. By 1973, Quebec still needed teachers; in that year, 1099 employment visas had been issued for Quebec-bound teaching immigrants (Man-

power and Immigration, 1974, Table 5.7, Page 74). The number of public school teachers had reached its zenith in 1971 at 78,000 (Statistics Canada, 1978a, Table 13, p.155). What was important politically, was that in the early seventies, though student numbers were dropping, the English schools were marginally gaining in proportional terms. For the same period the percentage studying in French declined from 84.3% to 83.4%, the English moved from 15.7 to 16.6%. (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1983, Chapter 1-1.) The figures show this change to be very marginal, but other arguments were made in addition.

The francophone proportion in 1971 was 84.3%, and in a sense was over-represented in the school population, but, of course, the same applies to the English system. It was evident that the allophone groups (so-called because they were neither French nor English) overwhelmingly went to English schools. Henry and Sheila Milner writing in 1973 (p.196) stated that:

"The question of immigration and language has been a contentious one throughout Quebec history. There has existed a long-standing and well-founded fear that the language and culture of the Québécois was in danger of being swamped by the massive English cultural presence ... Until not too long ago, the French Canadians in Quebec were able to hold their own in population at least due to a high birth rate. This is no longer the case ... many feared the resurgence of the French language and culture of the sixties was threatened by the large number of immigrants coming to Quebec and having their children educated in English schools ..."

Mr. Milner, later to be on the executive of the ruling Parti Québécois, probably echoes his party's sentiments aptly. Certainly a few years after writing this, the Parti Québécois made it abundantly clear that all immigrants should learn French.

The Quebec government pointed out that: "To ensure his survival in Quebec, he must learn, and rapidly, the official language of his milieu" and ... "The French language becomes for pupils ... a common language, a sort of lingua franca ..." (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère du Développement Culturel, 1979a, p.65)

From the mid-seventies through to the eighties, the school population would fall in real and proportional terms, but that decline was even more notable in the English-speaking system.

Table 4: PERCENTAGE DECREASE IN ENGLISH AND FRENCH SCHOOL POPULATION (1976-82)

	<u>%Rate of Decline</u>		<u>%English in Total</u>
	<u>English</u>	<u>French</u>	<u>School Population</u>
1976-77	-6.2	(-4.1)	16.6
1977-78	-10.1	(-2.8)	16.4
1978-79	-7.2	(-2.5)	15.5
1979-80	-8.9	(-2.5)	14.8
1980-81	-7.8	(-2.3)	13.4
1981-82	-6.4	(-1.0)	12.7

Source: Derived from René le Corr   and Danielle Cot  , La Situation Linguistique dans les Etablissements d'Enseignement, Minist  re de l'Education du Qu  bec (Qu  bec: Juillet 1983, p.11)

This two-pronged threat to the English schools was not the only consequence of an aggressive policy to promote French in Quebec. Many parents, recognising a new social reality, elected for French immersion. Immersion, though almost totally in French, from a legal standpoint is considered as English education. There were 17,406

students in immersion classes by 1981, the majority 13,835 (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Education, 1983, Tableau 15, p.37) in the Protestant system. In addition, there were also some students who were admissible to English schools, who had opted for French schools. This number had grown from 2.5% to 6.9% in the years 1976-81 (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Education, 1983, Tableau 22, p.60).

The allophones' schooling patterns also underwent a change, doubtlessly prompted by the regulations of Law 101. From 1977 to 1981, the movement towards the French system was marked; it virtually doubled, with 48.6% of allophones attending French institutions in 1982, compared with only 26.9% five years previous.

The board which is the focus of our attention is, needless to say, the P.S.B.G.M. How does the board compare to the English situation across the province? Does a study of it provide suitable microcosm of the English system as a whole?

THE P.S.B.G.M. (THE STUDENT DECLINE)

As with the province in general, the P.S.B.G.M. enrolment figure peaked at the beginning of the seventies. In September 1970, the elementary/secondary enrolment was 58,194, 37,110 in the elementary sector and the remaining 21,084 in the high schools (P.S.B.G.M., 1971-2, p.59). The school board had twenty high schools and eighty-six elementary. In the system at that time, there were students attending some schools in French immersion. In one high school, Baron Byng, some 329 students received education in French immersion, and in the elementary sector twenty-three schools offered instruction in French immersion to 2,443 students (P.S.B.G.M., 1971-72, p.59).

Table 5: P.S.B.G.M.: STUDENT POPULATION (1970-83)

	Total		
1970-71	58,194		
1972-73	54,111		
1974-75	50,675		
1976-77	44,930		
1978-79	36,768		
1980-81	33,035	(3,925)*	Total English (29,110)
1982-83	32,900	(4,826)*	Total English (28,074)

*French speaking students

Source. Table 5 is derived from the P.S.B.G.M.'s own figures and illustrates the decline in their student population.*

N.B. Before 1980, the P.S.B.G.M. did not indicate in its annual general reports how many French-speaking students were attending its schools. In 1980, that number was reported for the first time. It is obvious that the number had been increasing throughout the seventies, but it is difficult to plot the exact increase. The reports of the late sixties and early seventies seem to point to the fact that virtually all students going to the P.S.B.G.M. schools were English-speaking.

If we assume that all students in the P.S.B.G.M. were going to school in English in 1970-71, then the English school population dropped by 51.75% from 1970 to 1982. The provincial population over the same period declined by 45.2%.

What is especially revealing are the elementary figures. If we extrapolate the picture from the elementary decline from 1975-76 to 1978-79 which was 27,509 to 18,655 (32.2%); it would not be until the early to mid eighties that the enrolment problem engulfs the high schools.

FRENCH IMMERSION EDUCATION

There must be a differentiation between immersion and French schools. When Law 101 passed, it required that many students, who were non-Catholic, go to French schools, in greater number than had previously been seen. In order to accommodate this new clientele, Protestant boards, long considered the bastion of English education, had to shift towards a new educational reality and, as the figures will clearly indicate, French schooling is on the rise.

French immersion was an interesting development. When interviewed in November 1985, Mr. Don Peacock, the President of the M.T.A., said he recalled the situation vividly. According to him, there was much interest in developing the better teaching of French, especially after Law 63 passed in 1969, which made French Quebec's official language, but permitted freedom of choice in schooling. Indeed, he pointed out much of the pressure came from English-speaking parents, and this resulted in the board setting up the immersion programme. This occurred ahead of the Laws 22 and 101, which began to restrict entry to English schools, in order to defend the French language in the province.

The immersion programme continued to grow. The 2,443 students following that profile in 1971-2 represented only 6.6% of the elementary enrolment. By 1978-9 this had almost tripled to 18% (Blacklock, 1979, p.24).

Peacock's recollections are supported by McLeod Arnopoulos, Clift (1980, p.87). They note that "Parents wanted to save their children from difficulties they were experiencing. Consequently they pressed the school system to rapidly reform its French language programs. Immersion rapidly became a permanent feature of the English school system in Montreal."

There was, according to Peacock, some discontent expressed, which was difficult to quantify. Though the teachers' union position was one of support for the immersion education, it pointed out that text books and programmes were lacking, and appropriate teacher training was sometimes absent. This situation would improve, but the need for French teachers increased, which caused some disquiet amongst the unilingual anglophone teachers, unable to work in French.

STAFFING AND CONTRACT ISSUES

The staffing decline has been notable, especially in the elementary sector. In September 1971, the P.S.B.G.M. had a total teaching staff of 2,668 (excluding principals and vice-principals). Of this number, 1488 taught elementary and 1180 high school. By 1981, this total had slipped to exactly 1,800 (1001 high school and 799 elementary) (P.S.B.G.M., 1971-2, p.65). There were a further 191 teachers working in Social Affairs Institutions.

The Social Affairs Institutions were placed under the jurisdiction of the P.S.B.G.M. during the 1970's. There are sixteen of these institutions. They deal primarily with children who are unable to attend regular schools. Many of the students are mentally and/or physically handicapped, but some have been institutionalized for delinquency problems. The teachers in these institutions had not been included as part of the P.S.B.G.M. teaching force in 1971, hence they are shown as a separate group for reasons of clarity.

The question must be posed as to why the student decline is not equivalent to the teacher decline. The answer lies in the contractual issues of the sixties and seventies. Until the passing of Law 25 in 1967, school boards negotiated salaries and conditions

only for their own board. Hence there was wide disparity from board to board. Law 25 eradicated this to some extent by bringing in provincial salary scales. Teachers struck on the issue and were eventually legislated back to work (many problems unresolved) and the seventies proved a turbulent era.

In 1972, Yvon Charbonneau, the French teachers' union leader, was sent to jail because of his fight against the imposition of a new contract. In 1976, teachers successfully defied Law 23, and gained a large salary increase. In 1979, a negotiated settlement was achieved.

Workload was a major issue during this period. The Protestants had had higher workload than the Catholic teachers, especially in the high schools. The seventies brought two main changes to the workload of Protestant teachers, time taught and class sizes. In terms of workload, it can be argued that it relates to both the number of students taught and the amount of time spent teaching. A decrease in one or both of these will constitute a cut in workload - with a consequent increase in teacher requirement.

Until 1975, this had been negotiated locally between the P.S.B.G.M. and the M.T.A. Unlike succeeding contracts, until 1975 the contracts did not spell out clearly the precise workloads. However the 1969 agreement (p.10, Section 8.5.32) shows that secondary teachers had a 'non-teaching' time of five (5) fifty-minute periods from a thirty-period week (or its equivalent). This can be calculated as a teaching load of 1250 minutes/week. The elementary sector could only be given non-teaching time if there were specialists in the school, who would take their classes for that subject.

The number in classes should not be more than thirty-two (32) from Grade II - to XI. Exceptions were to be Grade I (30 pupils), practical and technical/vocational classes (20 pupils). The numbers were guidelines: the pertinent clause 8.3.64 (p.10) stated

that these numbers "As a general rule, ... the number of pupils ... shall normally not exceed ..."

The following contract in 1972 contained more precise clauses. Maximum class sizes had to be respected, though they were higher numbers than the guidelines of the previous contract. Possibly the guidelines had been lightly regarded?

The high school teachers had their maximum teaching set at 1240 min/week, but the average was to be 1125 minutes. In other words, workload was calculated by including all the teachers, and their average workload could not exceed 1125 min/week; a marginal improvement over the 1969-72 contract. The elementary teacher did not seem to receive an ameliorated workload. Now stipulated at 1380 min/week it still was tied to the availability of specialists; if they were not hired for a particular school, the 1380 minutes could be exceeded in these cases.

By 1979, the workload had been cut significantly. In the 1979-82 agreement, high school teachers were working a maximum teaching time of 1000 min/week (clause 8.3.05, p.173). The elementary teaching load of 1380 minutes in 1979 would be cut to 1260 min/week by the end of 1982. Class sizes were down too! Regular high school classes would average 30 students (8.2.05, p.166) and elementary classes 25 (Grades I-III) and 27 (Grades IV-VI) (2.04, p.163). So from 1969 to 1982, workload cuts had been achieved by the unions. In the high school, it was an equivalent of a 25% decrease (1250 to 1000 min/week). The pupil:teacher ratio across the province declined from 20.2:1 in 1972 to 16.8:1 in 1985 (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Éducation, 1986, p.21). The elementary teachers did not fare as well, but would see a decrease of about 11% (1380 to 1230 min/week).

As previously stated, during the seventies the P.S.B.G.M. also undertook to provide education services to students who had been institutionalized in various medical and correctional centres, even though some of the centres are not in the boards' catchment areas. This coupled with new lower ratios for special education students meant the board would be able to hire more teachers. The successful tactics of unions to improve workload were more than offset by the plummeting student enrolment. The decline had been more pronounced in the elementary sector, and was still moving through the system in the seventies. It seems that high schools will be facing difficult times throughout the eighties.

The 1983 decreed contract ended the improvement in teacher workload. Secondary teachers saw an increase of about 2.5% in time taught, and elementary remained the same, salaries were slashed by 19% for three months in 1983, and after that increases were very slim. The future prospects for improvement look dim, as the government argues that economic realities must be faced and this constitutes tough times ahead on the issues of workload, salary and job security.

COMPARISONS OF THE P.S.B.G.M. TO THE PROVINCIAL ENGLISH ENROLMENT

The P.S.B.G.M. student decline is greater than that of the English as a group, by 6.5% (51.75 vs 45.2%). The fact that the board accounts for 20.5% of all English students, mathematically indicates that the other boards would have declined even less than 45.2%. What would be the explanation?

If we look at the Island of Montreal, there are two Protestant Boards. To the west is located the Lakeshore Protestant Board. Interestingly, it has no availables, and has

been hiring, albeit very few, teachers in the past few years. According to their executive assistant, their teacher population has remained fairly steady, standing around 700 for the last five years. It does seem that there has been an internal migration of anglophones to the West Island, and nearby off-island communities, away from the higher-taxed central area.

The available statistics also show some peculiar variations. According to their respective executive assistants, of the total number of English availables in the province in 1985-86, 477 belonged to the Provincial Association of Catholic Teachers (P.A.C.T.), which represents English teachers in Catholic boards, and slightly over 200 are affiliated to the P.A.P.T. Of the P.A.P.T. group, almost one-half are from the M.T.A. Why have the Protestants in general not suffered the fate of their Catholic counterparts, and why has the M.T.A. fared so poorly?

In fact, if we consider the P.S.B.G.M. as part of an English system, rather than the Protestant, we would note that the board has approximately 20% of the student population, and that the teachers are 16% of the total English availables, which is statistically quite close.

This does not explain why there is an imbalance in the Catholic:Protestant figures. The explanation is somewhat tangential to the problems of the P.S.B.G.M. The case is that off the island of Montreal, many Catholic boards have come to agreements with their Protestant colleagues, to transfer English students, who may be Catholic, to the Protestant boards. As enrolments dwindled, it became increasingly difficult for Catholic boards to maintain adequate services to English students, which only represented a fraction of the Catholic population.

In a study done for P.A.C.T. by the Council of Quebec Minorities in 1979-80, the figures clearly show that the cross-over occurs least on the island. The average for the province showed that 13% of students in Protestant schools were, in fact, Catholics which, if we use a working ratio of 17:1 (student:teacher) would have given the Catholic teachers over seven hundred posts. Of course, this does not create any openings, it would merely allocate them differently.

On the island, there is an adequate network of schools for both groups, and consequently the cross-over effect is not that much in evidence, and as a result the P.S.B.G.M. recruited few Catholic students, and saw a westward drift take some of its own students to the Lakeshore Board and the suburban off-island boards.

The future prospects, too, are daunting. The P.S.B.G.M. was the flagship of the Protestant boards. In 1971, in its heyday, it had twenty high schools and eighty-six elementary schools in operation. By 1982, of the twenty high schools, two were French, one half French and one was operated jointly with another board (P.S.B.G.M., 1982-3, p.45). Of the elementary schools, only forty-five remain, and close to a quarter of those operate in French or French immersion.

In her statement of 1979, the board's chairperson, Joan Dougherty writes that "The years ahead will not be easy. The stormy political and social climate of Quebec will continue to involve us in language debates, continuing struggles with the Government for the control of educational decisions ..." (P.S.B.G.M., 1979-80, p.3).

The years ahead, of course, were not easy, especially for those teachers who would find themselves on availability. The complex matter of the calculation of surplus is a matter which will now be examined.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The methodology does not lend itself to a theoretical approach. The study, which is empirical, was based entirely on the information obtained from teachers' union files and the board's own figures, published in their own reports. Interviews with board and union officials were carried out to clarify these documents. There is the necessary attempt to simplify some complicated contractual issues which surround the availability problems.

All the information on teachers working for the School Board is kept not only by the board itself, but also forwarded to the teachers' local affiliated union. Thus, it is possible to obtain the pertinent information from the union as well as from the employers. As some of the information revealed may be considered of a personal nature, in the letter to the union president, requesting help, it was stated that no individual names would be used, and all personal information would be considered as confidential.

The union executive agreed to the request for permission to research their files, but also asked that an early analysis of the figures be shown to them for information purposes. This was also agreeable.

The lists of available teachers had been drawn up; this was divided essentially into secondary and elementary teachers, the teachers being listed by their seniority as of 30th January 1985.

The relevant files are issued each year and contain the names of every teacher working in any capacity for the board. The names are listed in alphabetical order, and contain all the information necessary for the research.

There are a few snags. Among the female teachers, many are listed under their married names, whilst on the available lists they may be listed under their maiden name. In these cases, a further file had to be checked showing their maiden names and employee's code number. Using this number it was then possible to cross-index, to locate the pertinent information. The executive assistant was also available to explain the filing system and answer any queries which arose as information was sought.

Information was gathered from the board through the Planning Officer, who was also able to furnish the annual reports from the board from 1969 through to the 1980's. He additionally supplied extra information based on his own projections of the board's student numbers.

AVAILABILITY - HOW IT IS CALCULATED

Despite the lengthy and complicated system of declaring availability, the eventual outcome depends essentially on two criteria.

Firstly, the number of teachers permitted to be hired by a board, is related directly to the budgetary rules laid down by the provincial government. The rules dictate the ratios of teachers to students. The rules which are a little too complex for an in-depth discussion, at present allow boards to hire one teacher per 16.3 students at the secondary level and one per 17.9 in the elementary sector. The ratios are not contained within the teachers' contracts, so unions cannot argue their specifics. It would seem that boards do attempt to have as many teachers as legally possible.

The second criterion relates not to numbers of teachers to be placed on availability, but to the modalities of determining who they are. The underlying principle, a long-standing union tradition, uses seniority as the key issue.

The process takes several months, but essentially begins in January. At this stage, all teachers know into which teaching category they have been placed. In March, the board forecasts the number of teachers it requires by category. This is done by consulting with each school principal, who has, in turn, consulted with the staff council (8.8.06, p.165, Provincial Decree).

This, in reality, produces two lists of teachers. 'List One' contains the names of teachers who are in excess because they have the lowest seniority at the board level, and are considered as "excess to the board" or "pre-identified excess" (5.3.12-5.3.13, Local Agreement, p.36). The second group or 'List Two' indicates who are "in excess at the school level" (5.3.15, p.35).

It is possible to be on one list and not the other. This occurs because a teacher with low seniority is in a school where there may be no excess in his category, whereas another teacher may find himself in a school where, despite his seniority, he is still the lowest in his teaching category.

These two lists are completed by April. During that month, all vacancies within the board are posted, and these are filled by order of seniority within the teaching category. This procedure is completed by mid-May (5.3.19, p.37).

After filling all vacancies, the board moves into the 'bumping' phase. The teachers who can be bumped were those in List One - i.e. excess at the board level, and they can be replaced by teachers from List Two - excess only at the school level. These were teachers who had high seniority at the board level, but were in a school where seniority was high.

To this stage, bumping only takes place within the specific categories. Teachers, who were from List Two, may now bump into other categories, provided that they have the requisite qualifications or experience. These prerequisites are clearly laid out in the decree (8.8.03, Provincial Decree, p.164). At this stage any untenured teacher may be bumped by any teacher on either of the two lists.

On July 1st, all those teachers who were List One 'Excess to the board', who are still unplaced, are now declared as surplus, or, in other words, on availability. Those teachers from List Two, who are not yet placed, are *not* placed on availability but placed in a special category called 'permanent supply.' Their functions will be discussed later.

By the end of June, all teachers should be aware of their tasks for the following September. Though many local arrangements differ in some clauses, the M.T.A. and P.S.B.G.M. do have an additional consultation period in September, when additional transfers of excess personnel takes place, and any new vacancies can be filled. Again seniority is the principal criterion guiding the placements.

There is one specific exception to these rules. The decree contains the clause: "When the board decides it is necessary to have *particular requirements*, they must be determined beforehand after consultation with the union" (8.8.03, Provincial Decree, p.164). Consultation does not mean agreement. Indeed the very sentence has led to several grievances - against the P.S.B.G.M, also the Lakeshore School Board, and the South Shore Protestant Board. The decisions did not apparently clarify the position entirely, for there were decisions both for and against the union. Nonetheless, Mr. Donald Peacock indicated in a discussion in November 1985, that the problem was not considered too severe, and the board, in his judgement, were not invoking the 'particular requirements' provision too widely. In 1985-6, in the P.S.B.G.M., about fifty teachers were considered to be in this category.

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE AVAILABLE TEACHER

As previously stated, the machinery to declare surplus begins in March, with the final declaration taking place on July 1st.

Between July 1st and October 15th, the surplus teacher is now on availability but in a 'limbo land'. The decree stipulates clearly that from August 1st, those on availability *must* accept an offer to teach within a fifty kilometre radius of his or her home or school (5.3.30, Provincial Decree, p.41). Failure to do so constitutes a resignation. Though it cannot be stated categorically here, it does not appear that any teacher has suffered loss of a job because of this clause.

The problem is one for a board too. According to the same clause, a teacher *even if* offered a position has a right to recall to his/her own board, if they so require that teacher. Additionally, during the month of September, the school board is establishing its real enrolment for the year. The original calculations done in March had been a projection.

School board projections traditionally have been pessimistic. They recognise that the budgetary rules for teachers are tied directly to student enrolment, but if insufficient numbers of teachers have been declared surplus in June, they cannot retroactively place teachers in that category, and the government will not pay for them. Conversely, it is a simple matter to recall a teacher from the availables. As an example of over-kill, the P.S.B.G.M. in 1981 declared 309 teachers on availability, (P.S.B.G.M., 1981-82, p.35) yet by October this number had dwindled to 53. More recent calculations seem a little more accurate.

The board themselves are reluctant to formally assign their available teachers until October when their final enrolment figures have been ascertained. Therefore, it is not until October that the real available figures become evident.

Permanent Supply Teachers

There is a small group of teachers, in October 1985 it was actually ten, who find themselves in a strange position. They are not on availability, but neither have they a regular teaching schedule. They have been placed in a category called permanent supply.

They were initially placed as being excess to the school, because they have low seniority at their schools, but have reasonably high seniority when viewed board wide. Normally, they would have been able to 'bump' other teachers from another school. However in some few cases, for a complex of reasons, this has not occurred. As they have not been placed on the first list, i.e. 'surplus to the board', they cannot be put on availability, hence they find themselves in a special category.

Their tasks are, as the name suggests, to act as supply teachers, whenever the board needs them for replacements. Arguably, they could be considered as being on availability for practical purposes, but it would be legally incorrect to consider them so. Hence, other than for clarification purposes on the procedures, they will not be discussed in our profile of available teachers. Those who are now considered on availability have their names referred to the Placement Bureau.

Provincial Placement Bureau

The teacher on availability in June has his/her name forwarded to the Teacher Placement Bureau. This is in reality a clearing house for availables. Its principal function is to provide the boards with names of suitable teachers for any vacancies that cannot be filled by the board's own personnel. A detailed clause 5.3.39 (Provincial Decree,

p.45), which has eleven sub-sections, defines how a board must act when filling vacancies. The power of the Bureau, it seems, is very limited, for when one board, the South Shore Protestant Board, did not hire from the teachers on availability, an ensuing grievance was lost. The arbitrator ruled that the board was entitled to act that way, despite the provisions of 5.3.39 (Gouvernement du Québec, Tribunal d'Arbitrage, 1985b).

After October 15th, a teacher remains with his/her board unless openings occur within the 50-kilometre radius, when the teacher is still obliged to attend interviews. The following chapter shall be entirely concentrated on these P.S.B.*G.M. teachers, who were still available on October 15, 1985.

CHAPTER 4

THE FINDINGS

In November 1985, when the P.S.B.G.M. surplus lists were examined, a total of one hundred and eleven teachers were on availability. Their profiles will now be sketched using several characteristics: teaching category, seniority, age, experience, sex, and teaching tasks.

TEACHER CATEGORIES

There are mechanisms at every board which after consultation with local unions, permit a drawing-up of teaching categories. There are marginal differences from board to board.

At the P.S.B.G.M., there are categories for both elementary and secondary levels, the latter having two broad groupings, and a special education area which partly embraces the students in Social Affairs schools, which are operated by the P.S.B.G.M. At the secondary level, there are the Academic categories and those of Technical-Vocational. The French sector has similar though not identical categories. As there was only one French teacher on availability, the list of French categories will be ignored.

Table 6 indicates not only the teacher category, but also the number of teachers in that category, and the number of teachers on availability there. As can be noted in the ele-

mentary, French immersion has no availability, whilst in the regular English sector, approximately 16% are available. Even the specialists are affected in some, though not all, categories.

The secondary schools show an enormous range of categories. There appears to be no specific pattern that can be gleaned from the figures: no category reaches double-digit availability. In the academic area, the physical sciences have the largest proportion of availability, and maths and computer sciences, too, seem to be overly represented. English teachers again are much more likely to be on availability than French teachers.

Table 6: NO. OF TEACHERS ON AVAILABILITY BY TEACHING CATEGORY IN 1985

<u>Elementary</u>	<u>No in category</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
1. Regular	359	58
2. French Immersion	154	nil
3. Physical Education	15	2
4. Music	3	nil
5. Arts	0	nil
6. Gifted	3	nil
7. Science	3	nil
8. Micro-Computers	6	2
9. Special Education	64	7
*10. French as first language	-	1
**11. Social Affairs (elem)	97	nil
Total Elementary	559	70

* This particular teacher was on leave of absence in 1985-6. It appears that placing her on availability was more of a technical decision than an indication that the French sector was experiencing problems of availability

** See note at the end of Secondary category

<u>Secondary (Academic)</u>	<u>No. in category</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
1. English	116	7
2. French (2nd lang)	116	1
3. Physical Education	49	1
4. Music	13	nil
5. Arts	19	nil
6. Math and Computer Science	103	9
7. Physical Science	51	8
8. Human Science	48	2
9. Moral/Religious Education	30	1
10. Domestic Science	16	nil
11. Initiation to Technology	4	1
12. Greek	1	nil
13. Technical Drawing	6	2
14. Woodwork	14	nil
15. Metalwork	3	1
16. Electricity	4	nil
*17. Graphics	-	nil
*18. Power Mechanics	-	nil
*19. Black Studies	-	nil
*20. Italian	-	nil

<u>Technical Vocational</u>	<u>No. in Category</u>	<u>Surplus</u>
*1. Applied Arts	-	nil
2. Health Services	7	nil
3. Furniture and Construction	2	nil
4. Electronics	4	nil
5. Hydrothermics	2	nil
6 Motorized Equipment	10	nil
7. Machine Shop Technology	5	nil
8. Food	6	nil
9. Beauty Care	6	nil
10 Fashion	1	nil
11. Business Technique	52	6
12. Printing	5	1
13. Drafting	5	nil
14. Special Education	91	1
**15 Social Affairs	44	nil
(sec)		
Total Secondary		41
* No teacher allocated in the category.		
** These are the teachers who belong to Social Affairs schools, referred to on p 32		

The figures above represent the number of teachers in each category and the number

on availability. Strangely enough there are categories with no teachers allocated to them. This may well be an indicator of a student decline, as certain subjects do not draw a sufficient number of students to warrant the opening of a class.

The characteristics of the people in the teaching categories presented above is the question to which we will now turn.

Sex

Unquestionably, the overwhelming majority of available teachers in elementary schools are women, but it was difficult to establish precisely if this represented the ratio of women in elementary schools. Certainly in the high schools, the figures show no particular bias, and again this may be representative of the total secondary situation.

Table 7: NO. OF TEACHERS ON AVAILABILITY BY SEX

	<u>Elementary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>Total</u>
Female	66 [94.3%]	22 [53.7%]	88 [79.2%]
Male	4 [5.7%]	19 [46.3%]	23 [20.8%]
Total	70	41	111

The number of women on availability significantly outnumbers the number of men, and especially so at the elementary level.

Of the seventy from the elementary sector, only four were men (5.7%). In the secondary schools, nineteen out of forty-one were men [46.3%].

Schooling

There did not appear to be any obvious surprises when judging availables by level of schooling. Twelve teachers had less than sixteen years of schooling, which is the equivalent of a B.A. and teacher certification. Twenty-two teachers had schooling at eighteen years or nineteen years, which would probably indicate either a Masters level degree or several degrees.

Table 8: NO. OF TEACHERS ON AVAILABILITY BY LEVEL OF SCHOOLING

Years	Number	Percent
18 - 19	22	19.8
16 - 17	67	69.4
15 and less	12	10.8
Total	111	100%

The average number of years of schooling was 16.4, which clearly demonstrates that available teachers are graduates with teacher training, which, using national or provincial criteria, would make them well-qualified.

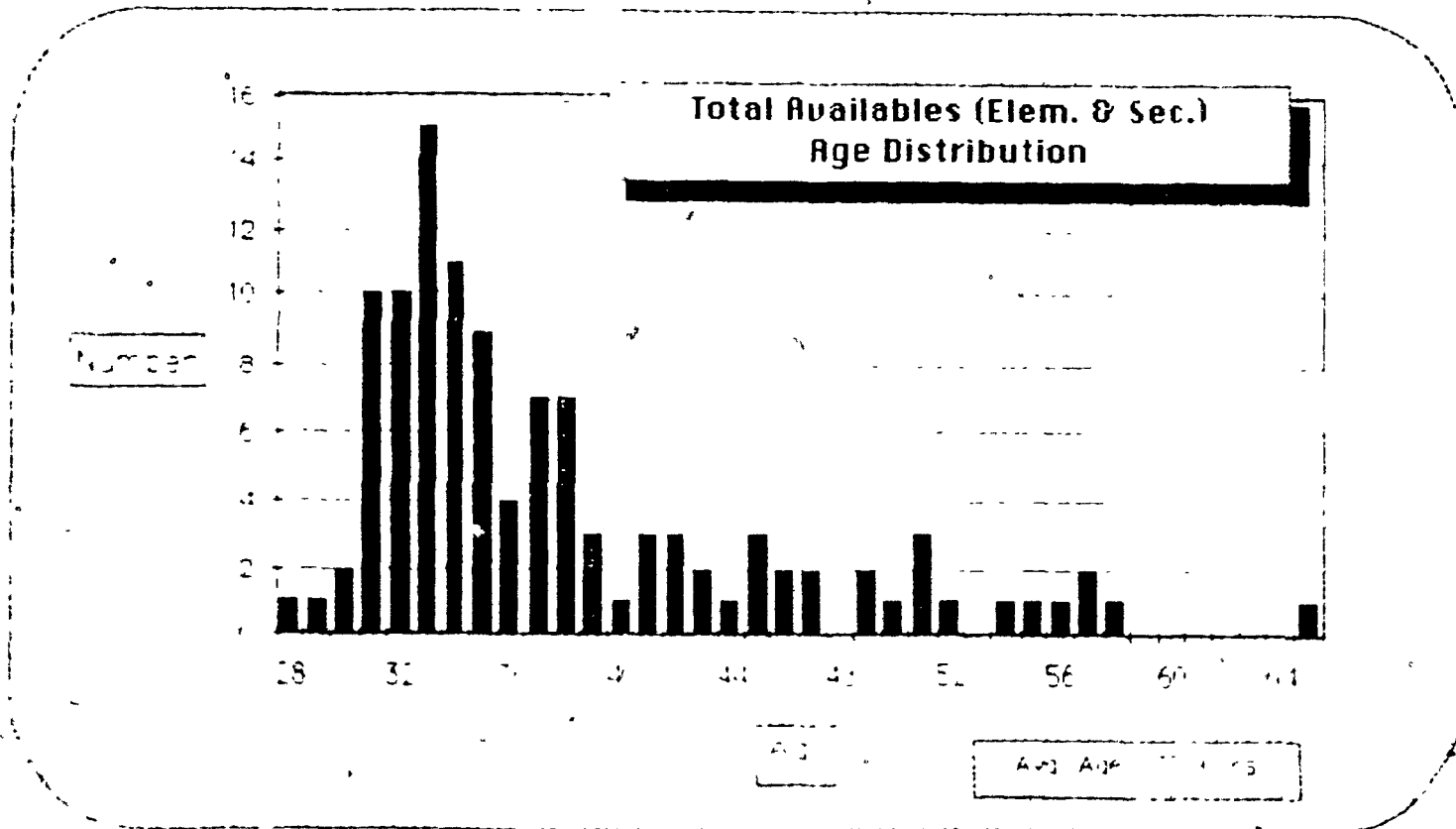
Age

Of the 111 teachers studied, the age range is quite wide. The youngest is twenty-eight, and the oldest sixty-five. As can be seen clearly from Figure 1, the large proportion is clustered in the the thirties. The average age is 38.6 years, but within that average some further calculations and comments should be made. The broad division between elementary and secondary reveals that there are differences between elementary teachers and those from high schools.

As Figure 2 shows, the elementary teacher is most likely to be in his/her thirties; fifty-eight out of seventy being under forty years old (82.8%), whereas among the secondary teachers only twenty-three out of forty-one (56.1%) are under forty. Figure 2 also indicates that the elementary teacher is more likely to be in his/her *early* thirties, the secondary statistics show no such clustering.

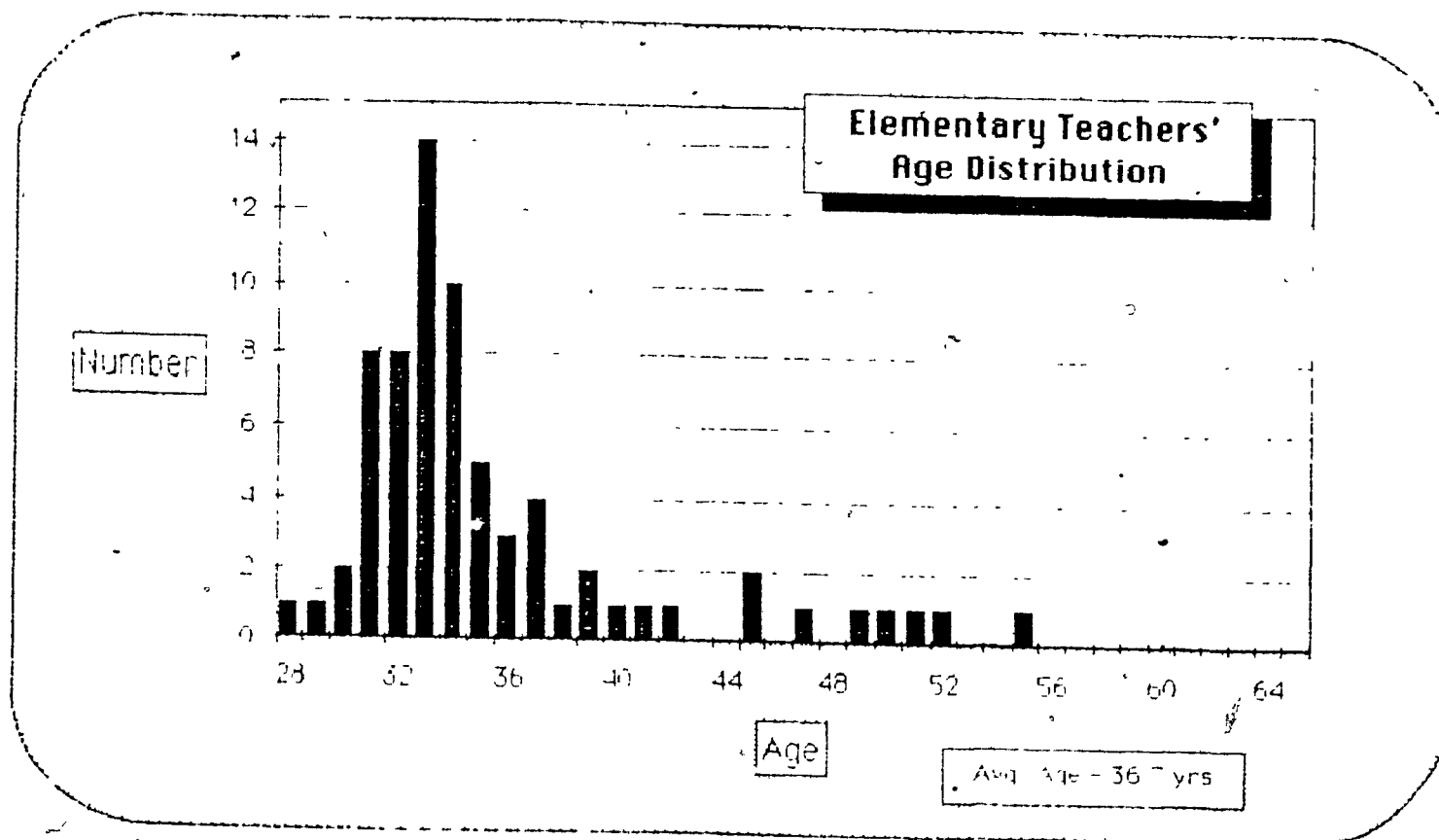
The averages do vary. The average age of the elementary teacher is 36.6 years. The secondary teacher's average age is 42.1 years.

FIGURE 1: AGE DISTRIBUTION - ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY



Elementary	
Age	Number
28	1
29	1
30	2
31	8
32	8
33	14
34	10
35	5
36	3
37	4
38	1
39	2
40	1
41	1
42	1
43	0
44	0
45	2
46	0
47	1
48	0
49	1
50	1
51	1
52	1
53	0
54	0
55	1
56	0
57	0
58	0
59	0
60	0
61	0
62	0
63	0
64	0
65	0

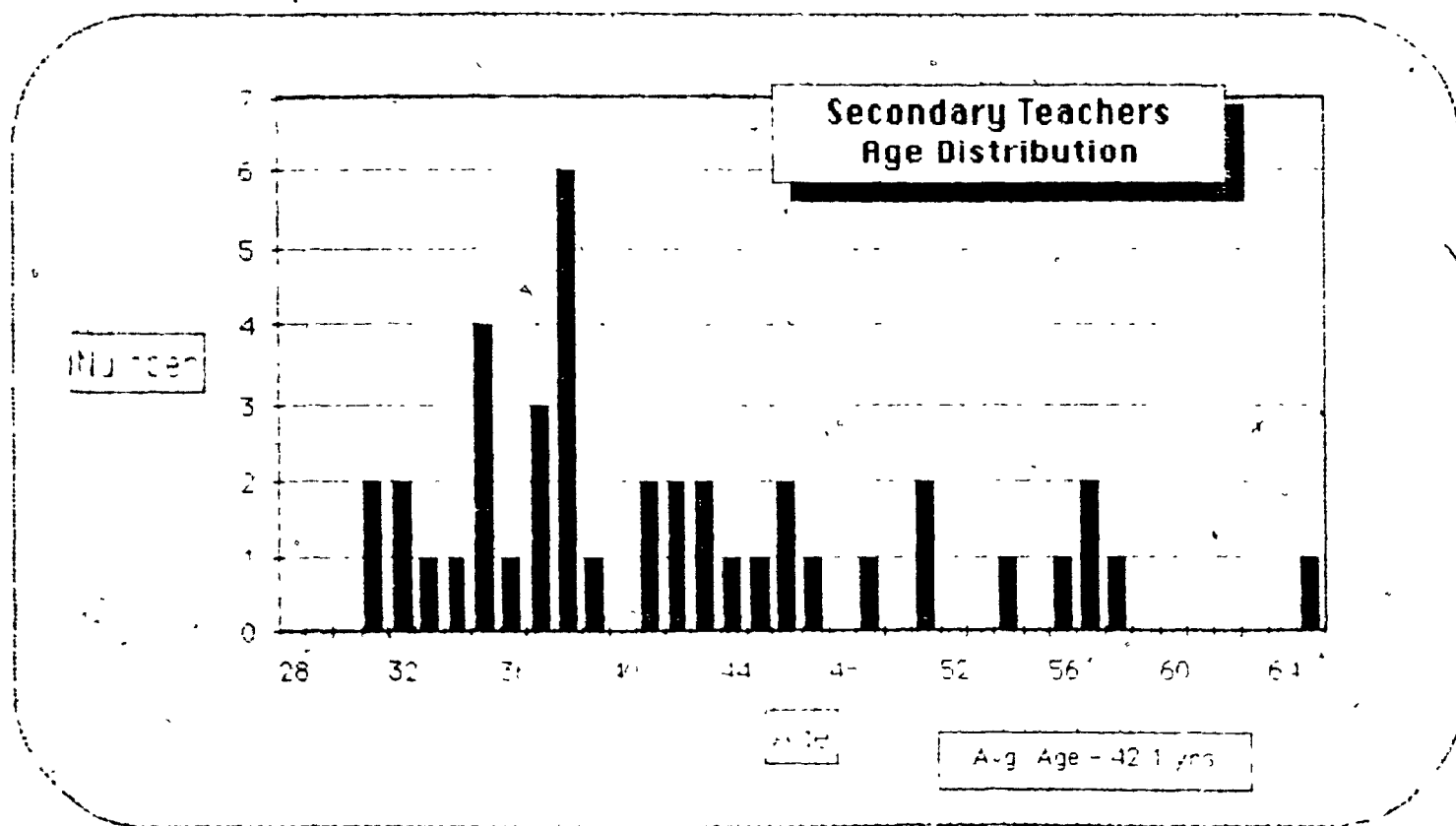
FIGURE 2: AGE DISTRIBUTION - ELEMENTARY TEACHERS



Statistics compiled by James Wilson - from November, 1965

Age	Number
28	0
29	0
30	0
31	2
32	2
33	1
34	1
35	4
36	3
37	3
38	2
39	0
40	0
41	0
42	2
43	2
44	1
45	1
46	2
47	0
48	0
49	0
50	0
51	0
52	0
53	0
54	1
55	0
56	1
57	2
58	1
59	0
60	0
61	0
62	0
63	0
64	0
65	0

FIGURE 3: AGE DISTRIBUTION - SECONDARY TEACHERS



Statistics compiled by James Wilson - from November 1985

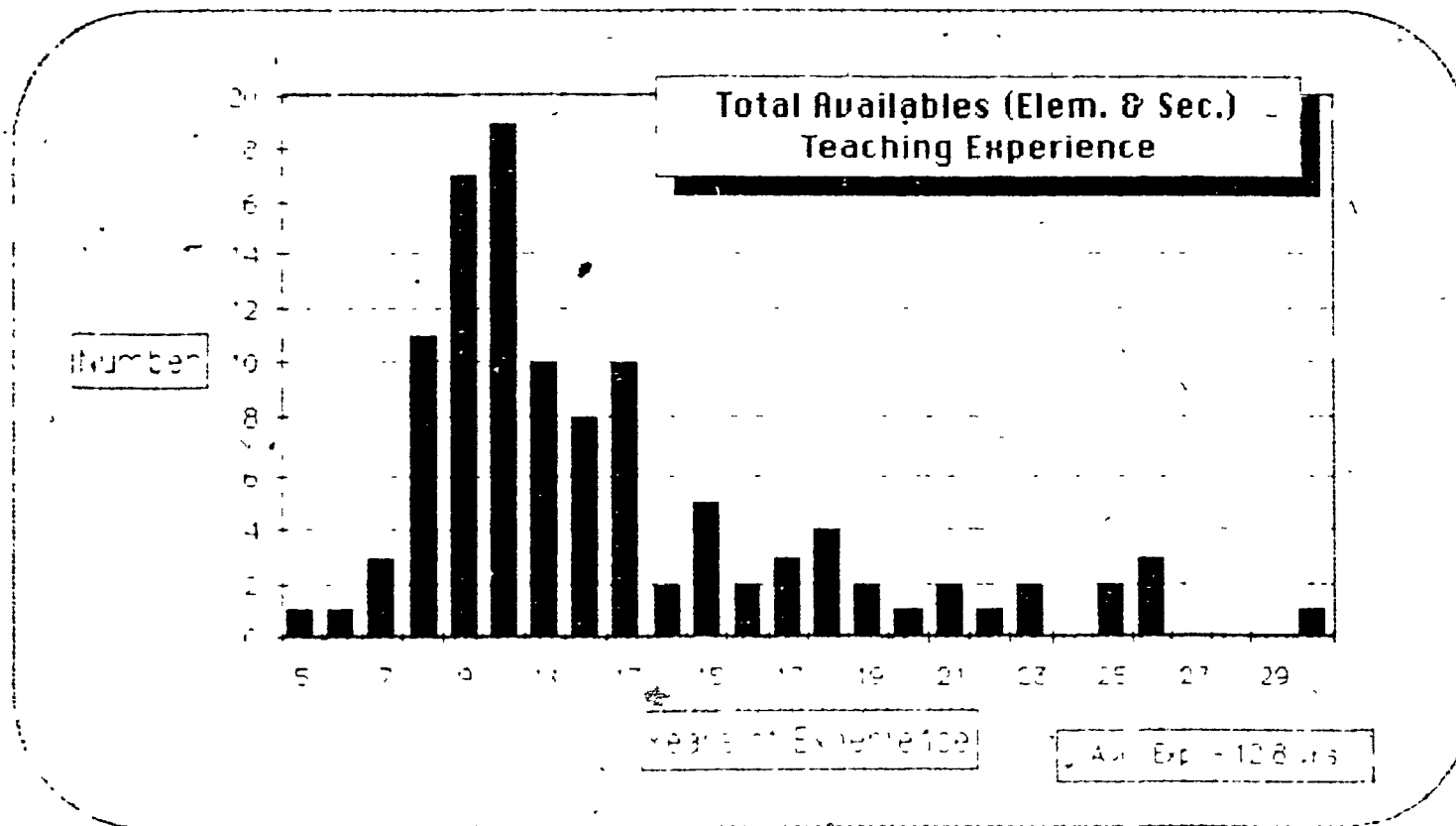
Experience

The average teaching experience of this group was 12.8 years. The highest, as shown in Figure 4, was thirty, and the lowest five years.

As with age, there is significant difference between elementary and secondary. The average for the former is 11.3 years, while the high school have 15.3 years. There is also a marked similarity to the clustering of age and experience, as can be witnessed in Figure 2 and Figure 5.

T. J. Exp
 Year Number

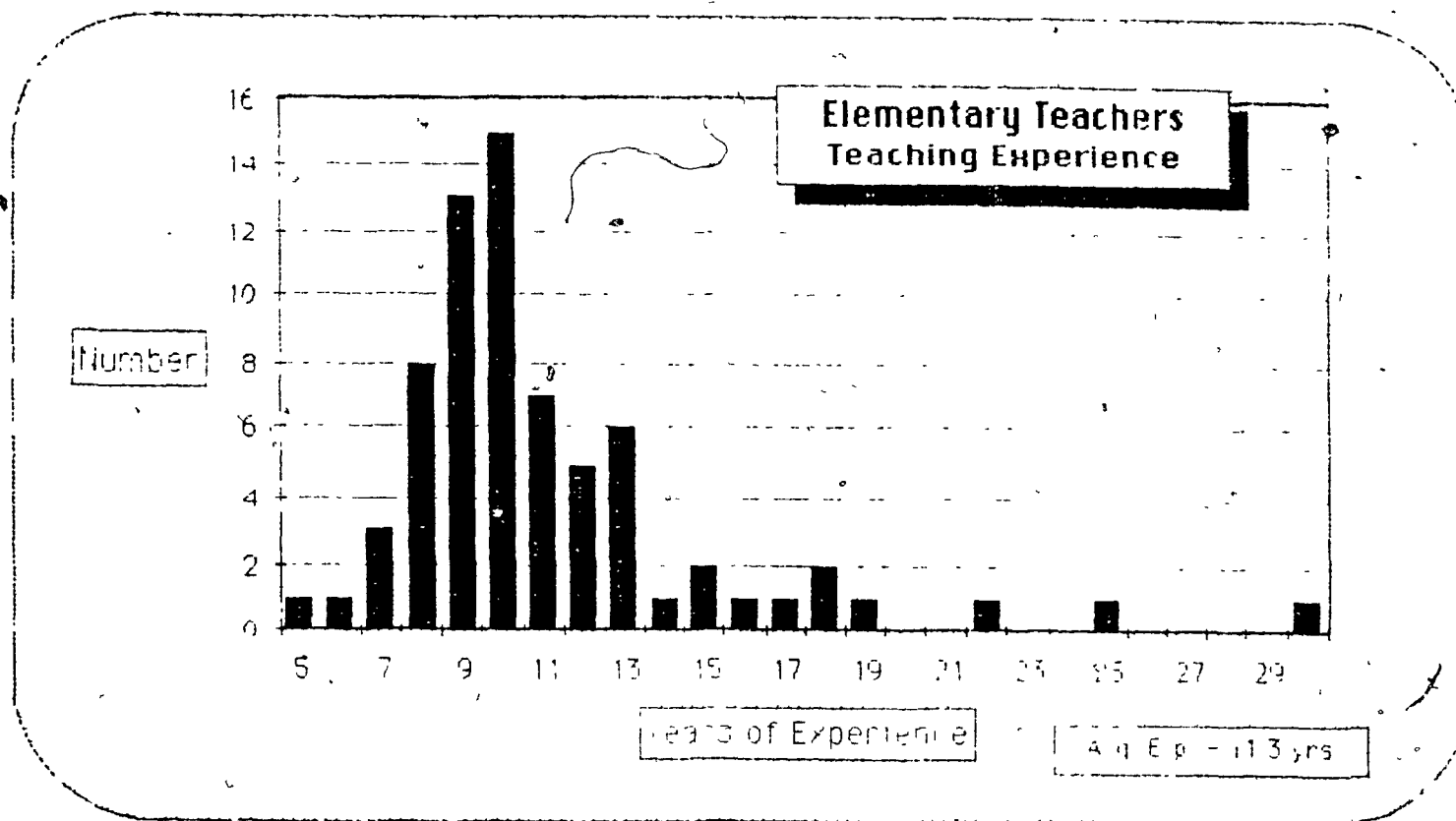
FIGURE 4: YEARS OF EXPERIENCE - ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY



Statistics compiled by the Bureau of Education, 1955

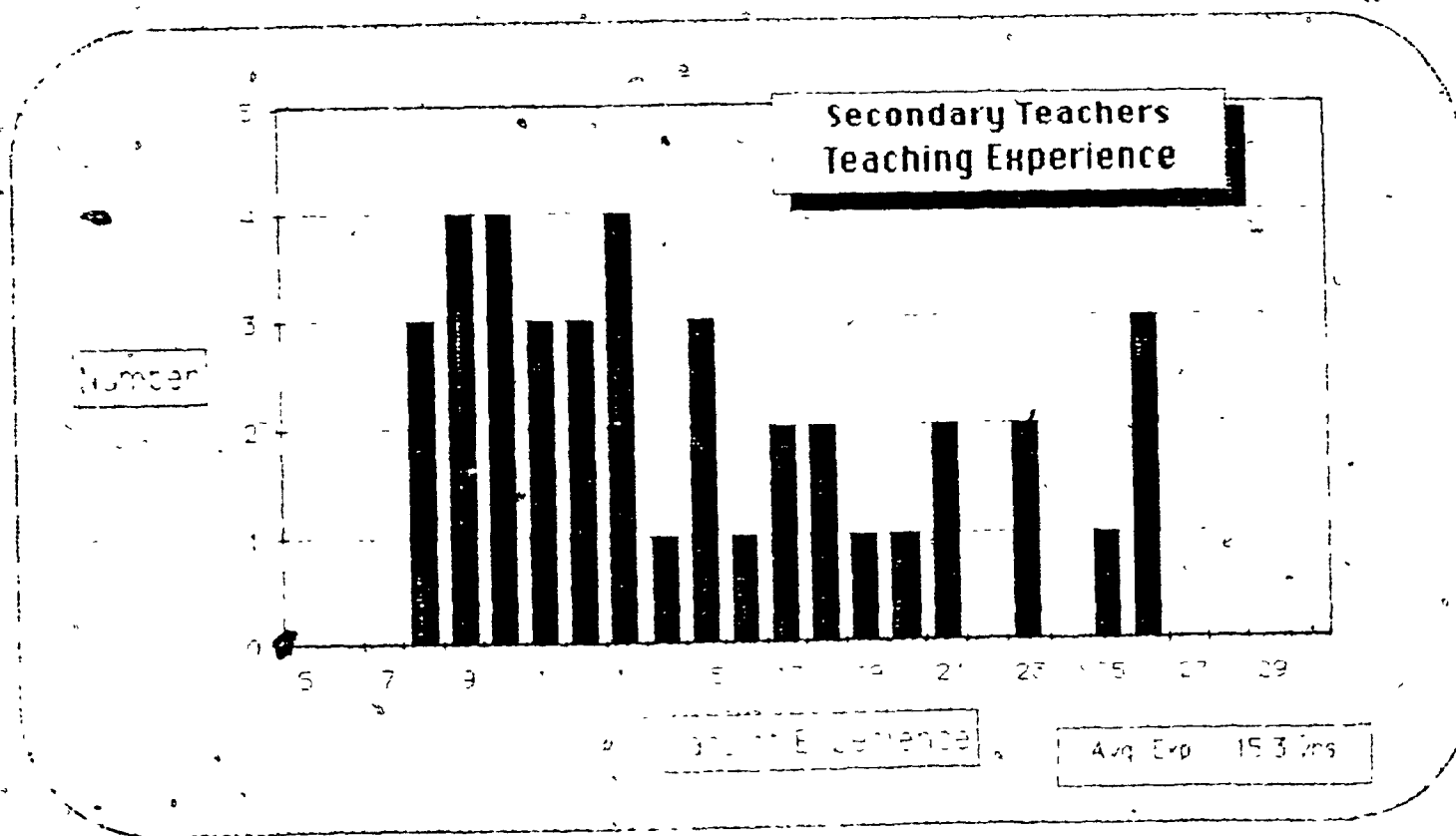
Elementary /	
Years	Number
5	1
6	1
7	3
8	8
9	13
10	5
11	7
12	5
13	6
14	1
15	2
16	1
17	1
18	2
19	1
20	0
21	0
22	1
23	0
24	0
25	0
26	0
27	0
28	0
29	0
30	1

FIGURE 5: YEARS OF EXPERIENCE - ELEMENTARY TEACHERS



Statistics compiled by James Wilson from November, 1985

FIGURE 6: YEARS OF EXPERIENCE - SECONDARY TEACHERS



Statistics compiled from Wilson - from November, 1945

Seniority

Table 9 shows the range of the years of seniority of teachers on availability, by category. The teacher with the highest seniority is shown in the middle column, the lowest is given on the right.

Availability amongst the high school teachers seems to touch teachers with higher seniority than in the elementary school. When we look at the lowest seniority it seems similar at both levels, around eight to ten years, with special education in the elementary sector being as low as five.

What is startling is that teachers with this level of seniority are being placed on availability.

Table 9: RANGE OF YEARS OF SENIORITY BY TEACHING CATEGORY OF AVAILABLES

<u>Elementary</u>			
	Number of Teachers	Highest	Lowest
Regular	58	11 yrs	8 yrs
Phys. Ed	2	9	8
Computers	2	11	10
Special Ed	7	10	5
French (1st lang)	1	4	-
<u>Secondary</u>			
English	7	14	8
French (2nd lang)	1	9	-
Phys. Ed	1	9	-
Maths and	9	15	10
Comp. Science			
Gen. Science	4	15	9
Chemistry	3	12	9
Physics	1	11	-
History	2	10	9
M.R.E.	1	10	-
I.T.T.	1	12	-
T.D.	2	12	8
Metal work	1	16	-
Business Tech.	6	10	8
Printing	1	14	-
Spec. Ed.	1	9	-
Total	111		

TASKS OF AVAILABLES

The assignment of tasks for availables is at the discretion of the principal or the Personnel Department. There is no mechanism of consultation to establish who does what in any particular school. The role of the available is clearly laid out within the contract: "the board shall assign him to duties compatible with his qualifications or experience" (5-3-28, Paragraph 6, p.40).

By May 1986, the original number of availables had dwindled only slightly; it was down to 107 from the original 111. From this group, fifteen were on leaves of absence - twelve of which were unpaid leaves. The three paid absences were for maternity purposes. Of the twelve unpaid leaves, eleven of them were taken by females. Without checking each individual case, it is possible that the majority were for extended maternity leave which is permitted within the contract, but is unpaid. Only three teachers were on paid leave due to medical reasons.

Of the remaining eighty-nine, in the elementary sector, twenty-seven were assigned to daily substitution. These teachers are attached to a particular school, where they report on a daily basis to cover any absent colleague. It is impossible to know precisely how much work is being done on a daily basis, without verifying each individual schedule for each day of the year.

A further twenty-seven from the elementary division were involved in long term substitution. Here the teacher takes over from another teacher who will be absent for a lengthy period. However, this does not mean a teacher who will be absent for a year, for this would require the re-integration of an available. In the secondary schools, seven teachers were doing a long-term replacement, with twenty-six working on daily substitution.

In the elementary sector, there were four teachers doing special projects; one involved doing part of her schedule to work with the integration of Downs syndrome children in a regular class, another doing a computer project, one doing gifted education and the fourth working on training secretaries to do office automation. Two teachers also had partial assignments and additional unspecified duties.

Of course, depending on the individual schools, ~~av~~ailables can be required to do many tasks, such as free-flow teaching, team-teach and remediation, but without doing individual surveys it cannot be stated that, in fact, this was done, and if it was, to what extent.

We can assume that those thirty teachers who were doing long-term substitution were working for the most part as any regular teachers would, and due to the fact that the P.S.B.G.M. was hiring part-time and substitute teachers during 1985-6, that those fifty-three teachers doing only daily substitution were kept occupied.

DISCUSSION

In 1979, the then Minister of Education, Jacques-Yvan Morin produced a document entitled "The Schools of Quebec, Policy Statement and Plan of Action". The publication was arrived at after extensive public discussion with virtually all groups with an interest in public schooling. The final text has thirteen chapters and touches on virtually all aspects of schooling, from pre-kindergarten to the end of high schools. It also lays down the blueprint for allocation of individual subject time within the curriculum.

The implementation of these decisions would take a great deal of time, in some instances close to a decade, others a good deal less, and most have already been put in place. The allocation of subject time is of vital interest to teachers. If the time given to a subject is increased or diminished then the number of teachers required in the subject category will be affected. When we look at Table 6, there does not appear to be any noteworthy statistic for a given teaching category. At the elementary level, the specialists on availability are probably due simply to the decline in overall numbers. There are two categories in high school statistics which seem slightly high - those of science and business education. Both of these subjects involve student options. In the government document, neither subject has been cut back in a noticeable way; it could be a simple matter of the students simply not selecting them.

The number of females on availability in the elementary sector does not come as a surprise. It is well known that elementary teachers are overwhelmingly women. However, 94.3% (Table 7) still appears high for female availability. There are no current figures on the breakdown of male:female in the P.S.B.G.M. schools, but there are figures in their 1978-9 Annual Report, the last occasion when this was done. At the time there were 145 male teachers to 1176 women, the female percentage was 89.02%. The females therefore are slightly over-represented, but there could be explanations. Most probably, the more recent hirings were women, therefore they would have lower seniority, but the 1978-9 figures reveal an astonishing bias. Of the administrative posts, i.e., principals and vice-principals, of which there were eighty-one, no less than fifty-six were held by men. Though men constituted only 11% of elementary teachers, they held 56.8% of administrative posts. It can be deduced that males are more likely to be promoted: they would, therefore, be more likely to avoid availability.

In the high school sector, the breakdown for availability was 46.3% male and 53.7% female (Table 7). Again using the P.S.B.G.M. 1978-9 figures, the breakdown was 655 men (51.1%) compared to 627 (48.9%) women. The administrative positions are again overwhelmingly held by males: forty-five men (73.8%) compared to sixteen women (26.2%).

One of the issues brought up in the literature on declining numbers is the loss of young teachers. The study shows this to be true, inasmuch as the average age of availables is less than the average age of the profession in Quebec. What is surprising is establishing just how old and experienced these teachers are. These are not young teachers, in the conventional sense, but seasoned professionals. Their average age is the late thirties. The conclusions of the Superior Council of Education that the available teacher is "well educated, has a wealth of experience", is entirely supported by these findings.

The tasks of these teachers were impossible to determine precisely. Many of them were doing daily substitution for absent colleagues, some replacing teachers who were out for lengthy periods. This can be considered as a financial saving for the board, but the full financial implications will be discussed in the next chapter.

Of the one hundred and eleven teachers, fifteen would be on leave of absence and not be teaching in 1985-6. This appears to be a higher proportion of leaves of absence than would be expected in surveying the teaching profession as a whole. Daily substitution is a difficult and psychologically draining assignment. Each day, the availables arrive, not knowing to which classes s/he will be assigned, and knowing too, that long-term rapport with the group cannot be considered as a possibility. Are teachers taking leaves of absence, having spent some time on availability, and finding it wearisome?

Of course, our profile shows the available most likely to be a female in her thirties. This is a time when many women have children. The contract gives them twenty weeks of paid leave, but also permits an automatic extension (unpaid), if desired, for a further year. Of the fifteen on leave of absence, fourteen are female. This could provide an explanation which would also fit the facts.

The findings do provide us with some speculations as to the implications of the availability issue. Those implications provided the basis for the final chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The object of the thesis has been to draw a profile of the available teachers in the P.S.B.G.M. The findings in some instances are not unduly suprising. They do, however, contain some worrisome concerns about the teaching force in the "English" school system.

The findings clearly show that the Protestant teachers in the English sector of the P.S.B.G.M. are experienced and well-qualified but are also aging. There appears to be little opportunity to bring young blood into the profession. If these availables represent the younger segment of the teachers, it is indicative that many teachers must be in their fifties and moving closer to retirement. Ironically, if there were to be an exodus from teaching due to retirement, the present surplus could become reversed; boards would be looking for teachers. That scenario will not occur that quickly, and in the interim there are other implications.

In an ideal world, educators could ignore the stumbling block which impedes many educational undertakings: finance. When drawing conclusions on availability, financial considerations stand at the forefront.

Until 1985, the contract stipulated that all teachers, irrespective of status, be paid according to the scale appropriate to their qualifications and experience. The 1983 decreed contract contained a significant change. Those on availability were to be paid

100% in their first year of their availability, but in the subsequent years this could be reduced to 80%. The determination of the precise percentage could only be arrived at after the number of availables had been calculated. The theory behind the system was that the lower the number of availables, the higher their salaries, a kind of sliding scale which ranged from 80% to 100%. In fact, during this decreed contract, no teacher was paid less than 100%.

The drawback to the calculation, from a union standpoint, was that it was contained in the annex of the decree, and not in the main body of the contract. Legally, articles contained in the annex are not grievable, and though all availables had been paid fully, if they had not, the union would have had a difficult case in court, if they had attempted to fight any cut.

However, in September 1986, the Government did begin to cut salaries for availables by 20%. The 1983 contract had expired on January 1st 1986, but, at present, no new contract has been signed so the old one remains in force and the Government has acted within the stipulations of that contract.

FINANCIAL COST OF AVAILABILITY

If we use the present scales, and establish costs based on our figures, we would find out that availables in the P.S.B.G.M. have an experience of 12.8 years, and scholarship of 16+ years.

However, this mythical individual cannot fit on the salary grid; but if we could transpose these figures onto the salary scale, it would amount to approximately \$31,000.

This is only salary. Pension contributions are an additional 7 1/2% of salary, and there are further fringe benefits. These contributions include sickness and disability costs, social leave, maternity provisions, unemployment contributions, and medical contributions. According to the government figures in 1984-85, the fringe benefits, excluding pensions, were 6.9% of salary, or 205 millions as compared to 2,967 million for salaries (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Education, 1986, Tableau 1.2, p.17.).

Thus, in addition to salary, a further 14 1/2% (pension and fringe benefits) can be added. Using the P.S.B.G.M. available teacher profile of schooling and experience, their salary would average about \$31,000, with the additional 14 1/2% added, this would total \$35,677. For the P.S.B.G.M. alone, this cost would be $111 \times 35,677$, equalling \$3,960,147. However, as twelve are on unpaid leave of absence this would total \$3,532,023. If we extend this figure to provincial education, using the P.S.B.G.M. available as the norm, the provincial cost can be estimated.

Taking recent figures, indicated in a Government circular of January 1986 (see appendices), there were a total of 1,901 teachers on availability. Again if we assume that approximately 10% are on unpaid leave of absence, the total provincial cost would be $1,901 \times 35,677 - 10\% \text{ for unpaid leaves} = \$61,043,347$.

To put this figure in another perspective, the provincial cost for education in 1985-86, was approximately 4.4 billion (Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de l'Education, 1986, p.17). The cost of paying availables is 1.39% of the total education expenditure.

There are some savings. If a teacher is sick, available teachers can cover the class without the need of a substitute. It must be noted however that substitutes' pay is considerably less in salary and benefits as compared to an available; it corresponds to

about \$100/day, or approximately 60% the amount paid to the average available (approximately \$175. per day including fringe benefits). However, boards have been able to reduce their costs for substitutions by using availables.

Notwithstanding the obvious financial cost of availability, the very existence of availability has other oblique financial consequences. It is obvious that if there are teachers on availability, then there is no demand for new teachers. But as teachers age, they also climb the salary grid. Admittedly, after fifteen years, the salaries stop increasing automatically, but it now appears that the vast majority of teachers in the "English" system of Quebec are at the step of maximum salary. There are virtually no new teachers entering the profession, hence there is an increase in the cost per teacher. The salaries of teachers make up the largest proportion of the educational expenses, so any increase in teachers' costs has significant implications. It may cut into other educational spending, if the government refuses to increase the global amount proportional to the teacher costs, or the employer group may cut down on salary increases for teachers, or attempt to increase workload to reduce cost per teacher.

WAYS OF REDUCING AVAILABILITY

The government has attempted to encourage teachers to leave the profession by offering them a severance pay. The amount has varied according to a variety of conditions, but it has ranged from 50% to 100% of a year's salary. The problem here is that severance cannot be guaranteed unless the resignation brings about a reduction in availability. This presents no real obstacle if the teacher is actually on availability, but if a non-available resigns (s)he cannot be given that severance unless the vacant post is filled by an available. The contract has a major loop-hole which does not require the board to use the Teacher Placement Bureau from which an available could be engaged.

This has been shown in the Mitchell arbitration case (Gouvernement du Québec, Tribunal d'Arbitrage, 1985b). As a result, if a teacher leaves she/he does not automatically cause a decline in availability.

The picture was further muddled in April 1986. The boards were given greater autonomy of their budget, which includes discretionary rights over the payment of severances, previously made by the provincial government.

When a teacher leaves a school board, his board may pay his severance. However the money is forwarded to his board by the board which is actually sending an available to fill the vacancy. The logic is that the board which has a reduction in availability is benefitting, therefore it transfers money to the first board to pay the severances. This can create difficulties, as it involves some bookkeeping with possible resulting delays. If the "sending" board does not transfer the money, the first board is still legally obliged to pay the severance to its departing teacher. However, if no available is hired, no severance payment is made, because availability has not been reduced, but this provokes great annoyance from several quarters. Firstly, the departing teacher receives no money, availables feel a post has been denied them and the unions who represent them have arguments about process. This appears to be a clear case of the contract needing tightening up, as well as giving clearer guidelines to schoolboards on the matter of severance.

A possible, but little used avenue of approach to reducing availability is contained within the contract: "it [the board] may also be [able to assign an available] to a place outside the jurisdiction of the board provided that the teacher give his consent" (5.3.28, Paragraph 6, p.40). This is called a "loan of service". It appears to have some drawbacks, hence its lack of implementation. The board which utilized that teacher would necessarily pay his salary. This is undoubtedly more expensive than hir-

ing an untenured teacher to perform the task, but it does mean that available teachers are not being utilized by other boards who may have need of teachers (generally for long-term disability reasons) for a period of time. The board would not be offering the available a permanent contract, but could return them to their original board when the specific assignment had been completed. As it can be done only with the consent of the teacher, it could provide several positions of interest to an enthusiastic available.

A further measure open to boards is the sabbatical leave with deferred salary. In essence, it offers teachers plans of three, four or five years. In that period, a teacher may take a sabbatical, and be paid a proportion of his/her salary. All pensions, seniority and employment security are maintained as if the teacher worked full-time for the period.

Examples

3 year plan - 66 2/3% of salary received each year

4 year plan - 75 % of salary received each year

5 year plan - 80% of salary received each year

In their sabbatical year, their salary continues to be paid at the same rate as when they were teaching. The scheme can really help reduce availability, but as with any idea there are snags. Unfortunately, the plan excludes those on availability and those who the board judge to be likely to be placed on availability during the plan. The reasoning is that the boards are not certain precisely what the salary of availables will be in the future, hence it is impossible to calculate the proportion of salary to be lowered before the sabbatical. Of course, boards wonder if the availables will have any employment ties at all in the future.

LEVELS OF BILINGUALISM OF AVAILABLES

An enormous barrier to available teachers seeking other teaching jobs or alternate careers in Quebec is their lack of French-speaking skills. As French becomes increasingly the language of work, unilingual availables simply cannot easily opt for new careers in Quebec. Also, openings in French schools or immersion French schooling cannot be filled by them. This situation stands out starkly when examining a study done by the Ministry of Education on October 16th, 1984.

The survey, which was given to all English speaking teachers on availability at that time, consisted of twelve questions. One asked: "Do you feel competent enough at this time to transfer to the French sector or Immersion sector of your school board, if you are judged capable of teaching in these sectors?"

From the P.S.B.G.M., there were seventy-seven respondents from a possible one hundred and ten available at that time. This seventy percent response would be considered statistically significant. Of the respondents to this question: "Do you feel competent enough at this time to transfer to the French sector or Immersion sector of your school board, if you are judged capable of teaching in these sectors?" only eight replied positively [10.4%]. To a further question "If you do not feel competent enough at this time, would you be interested in transferring to the French sector of your school board if you were given French-language courses and pedagogical orientation in the French sector?", fifty-three [68.8%] answered that they would.

As the majority of these availables felt incapable of working in French schools, they, too, would not be able to function in a French-speaking business world. However, it does indicate that French courses for availables would be much appreciated and could be influential in reducing availability.

The government is also in the process of offering availables a year's salary to study, provided that at the end of that period the teacher resigns. It is difficult to criticise or applaud this approach as it is still in the embryonic stage, but it does, on the surface, meet some demands made by teachers who seek alternate careers.

Though availability exists and is growing, there is unquestionably an impetus to reduce the number by innovative and flexible approaches.

GROWTH IN AVAILABILITY AT THE P.S.B.G.M.

From statistics it can be determined that there has been a steady growth in availables at the P.S.B.G.M.

Table 10: GROWTH IN AVAILABILITY

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Availables</u>
1980	29
1981	53
1982	76
1983	94
1984	110
1985	111

Source: Derived from Montreal Teachers' Association files.

Though the figures clearly demonstrate a leveling off in actual numbers, they also mask another problem. Because the teaching force in the board is also declining, the availables represent a growing proportion of the teaching numbers, and, hence, a growing problem.

PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF AVAILABILITY

A recently published study (Lemon 1986) done for the Montreal Catholic School Commission attempted to describe the conditions for an available teacher. The data was gathered by a personal interview technique of about thirty minutes. The researcher spoke with 18% of availables (33 out of 184).

Some of the results are scarcely surprising. Teachers cited a sense of professional and financial insecurity. One of the more interesting findings concerned the tasks which were being assigned. Where teachers were given long term substitutions they appeared to be reasonably satisfied. They knew who, and what, they would be teaching and felt part of the regular school life. This attitude was not shared by those availables who did daily substitutions. "Frequent changes in milieu, classes, and subject taught make it difficult to establish a working routine ... having no specific working assignment at all is a humiliating experience" (p.16).

The report pointed out strained relations between some availables and administrators. Many availables also felt that as the decision to give long term substitution or special project work was in the hands of the administration, it could be used as a reward for certain teachers.

Seyforth and Bost (1986) report other findings of psychological pressures on teachers. Though they were investigating teacher turnover, they note that "Efforts to upgrade the quality of the teaching force .. must take into account the quality of the teachers' work-lives" (p.2).

The growth of availables is a sure sign that the pupil decline has not passed, though it seems the worst has occurred. This also means that there are far fewer opportunities for teachers to move into other kinds of educational positions. Fewer posts of depart-

ment heads, vice-principals, principals, and board positions ensue as a consequence of fewer students. The lack of advancement may well cause some stagnation at all levels of the educational process, as individuals feel a career containment with little prospect of change.

For the teachers near the bottom of the seniority ladder, the pressure is all too easy to envisage. The threat of availability with its uncertain future looms large, and there seems little possibility of avoiding it. How do those teachers feel? The psychological pressure can do little to augment their teaching performance; recognising, as they do, that seniority is the principal factor determining their status as regular teachers or availables. Availability could still claim them, and force them to consider other careers.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

The present government's position on educational spending has been steadfastly tough. It is determined to cut or retard the growth in public spending, which embraces education. The central fights at the negotiating table ultimately centre on money, and as the government is both the employer and lawmaker, it has formidable weapons to bolster its negotiating position. A failure to come to a collective agreement can be solved by a legislated settlement as has been the case several times since provincial bargaining began in 1967.

The method of combatting availability is, on the surface, relatively easy. A simple, but expensive remedy, would be a reduction in the teacher:pupil ratio, which could virtually wipe out the surplus teacher issue. However, as pointed out, that ratio did fall very significantly throughout the seventies, and that scenario being repeated is so unlikely

that it can be virtually dismissed. The cost is simply not going to be borne by the government.

A renewed increase in enrolment would also alleviate the problem of availability. Unfortunately, the English sector is peculiarly blighted. The law which restricted entry to English schools is still standing. This specifically prevents immigrants from attending English schools, and a growing number of native English speakers from Quebec are opting for French or immersion schools. There appear to be no strong reasons for the government to radically alter the law on English school admissions; indeed, if this were tried, there would surely be an outcry against its implementation. The still widely-held belief, that the maintenance of the French language in Quebec requires government support or intervention, means that any significant relaxation of language laws is, in the short term, very unlikely.

The unions' support for the availables is unaltered by economic conditions. Teacher salaries have remained virtually static since 1981; indeed, according to calculations, they have not kept pace with inflation. With this in mind, unions, though fighting for job security as a fundamental right, see their salary fight being weakened by availability, which after all is a cost factor, albeit only 1.39% of total educational expenditure. The unions, then, are in a classic dilemma; not to fight for either would see them condemned as betraying sacred principals, but in fighting for both it weakens its case. Less salary for smaller increases could ease the job security issue, but considering the recent years, a further diminution in salary increases would have union leaders incurring the wrath of their members.

The French teachers' union, the C.E.Q., though having more actual availables, has a far less proportional number on availability than P.A.C.T. and P.A.P.T. The English-speaking unions have a combined membership of about 8,000, vis-a-vis the C.E.Q.

which has approximately 65,000. Yet the available situation, according to the January 1986 calculation, shows only 1,169 francophone (1.8%) compared to the English speakers of 694 (8.6%) are on availability. Of course, these figures are constantly in flux, but they do show clearly the difference in impact of declining numbers in the two language sectors.

Consequently, the C.E.Q.'s negotiations are less affected by its concern for its available; but because of their numerical superiority compared to the English speaking unions, their voice is much more powerful. This, too, could be a further influence in negotiating a collective agreement on the availability issue.

FUTURE RESEARCH

In the case of the French teachers, there appears to be no research on establishing a profile of French availables. Are they similar to the results established in this thesis? Indeed, Crespo and Haché (p.95), who specifically studied the Quebec situation, conclude in their research paper that "the quasi-absence of consideration for educational goals in the development of decline management strategies ultimately points to a decrease in the level of educational goal attainment."

On the position of an aging profession, it is possible in some years hence to have a profession with a large number in their fifties and new comers in their twenties, and with virtually nobody in between. Does this have any educational implications?

At the moment, teachers are significantly older than the students they teach, and this age gap is increasing. Is this an advantage, a drawback, or is it meaningless? Though Grambs and Seefeldt conclude (1977, p.261), "that an older teaching faculty is to be prized", they suggest that weak teachers be weeded out, and surplus be retrained.

Unfortunately they offer few guidelines to achieve their aims. Does the threat of availability or the proximity of retirements dampen the zeal of the teachers? The study did not seek to answer these questions, but they should be posed in the present circumstances.

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Appendices

CHRONOLOGY

- 1961** Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education. (Parent Commission)
- 1964** Education Bill (Law 60) is passed, bringing about educational reform. Ministry of Education is set up.
- 1965** Union Nationale defeat Liberals in provincial elections.
- 1967** Founding of Mouvement Souveraineté-Association (later to become the Parti Québécois)
Beginning of provincial bargaining for teachers - results in Law 25.
- 1969** Law 63. Gives parents freedom of choice in language of Education, makes French the language of work.
- 1970** Liberal party defeats Union Nationale.
Proclamation by the Federal Government of the War Measures Act after kidnapping of a British diplomat and the murder of a Quebec minister.
- 1972** Strike by public sector workers.
Leaders are arrested and jailed, contract is decreed.
- 1973** Liberals win re-election. Parti Québécois becomes official opposition.
- 1974** Official Languages Act (Law 22). Five-year-old children tested for their language skills to determine if they can attend English schools. French becomes the official language of Quebec.
- 1976** Teachers strike and ignore back-to-work law (Law 23); eventually settle their contract by negotiation.
Parti Québécois elected on November 15th
- 1977** La Charte de la langue française (Law 101) is passed. This significantly reduces the number of those who would be eligible for English language instruction.

Quebec signs an agreement with the Federal Government giving the province some jurisdiction in the field of immigration.
- 1979** After a short strike, teachers sign a new collective agreement.
- 1980** Referendum on sovereignty-association is defeated.
- 1981** Parti Québécois returned as government

- 1982** Bill 40 passed - attempts to organise school boards on a linguistic basis. Later declared unconstitutional.
- 1983** Teachers' strike. Laws 70, 105 and 111 passed to end stoppage and decree new salaries and conditions. Challenged on constitutional grounds, the Laws are now being studied by the Supreme Court of Canada.
- 1985** Liberal party defeats Parti Québécois and forms new government.

4825 St. Kevin
Montreal, P.Q.

21 May 1985

Mr. Don Peacock
President
Montreal Teachers' Association
5585 Monkland Avenue
Montreal, P.Q.
H4A 1E1

Dear Mr. Peacock,

I am completing my M.A. at McGill University. In general, my thesis topic will deal with the decline in the student population in Quebec. More specifically, I would like to do a case study of the teachers in the P.S.B.G.M. who have been most noticeably affected by the enrolment decline, i.e., the available teachers.

To obtain the relevant information, I would hope I could use your files. Their characteristics would include age, schooling, sex, seniority, teaching category, qualifications and level of bilingualism, though it may not be possible to gather all this information from your files. I do recognise that some of this information is personal, but you do have my assurance that it will be treated confidentially and no individual's name will be referred to in any manner.

This study is academic, but I hope the findings can prove useful to your organisation. If you and your executive approve of my request, I will arrange an appropriate time to visit your office and commence the work.

Yours truly,

James Wilson

James Wilson

L'ÉTAT DE LA SITUATION AU

6 JANVIER 1986

2.1 LES DISPONIBLES

SITUATION AUX DATES MENTIONNÉES CATÉGORIE DE PERSONNEL	1er JUIL.	12 AOÛT	26 AOÛT	18 SEPT.	2 OCT.	15 OCT.	15 NOV.	15 DEC.	6 JANV.					
● ENSEIGNANTS	4450	3932	3320	2497	2238	1990(3)	1933(3)	1907	1901					
● CADRES ET GÉRANTS	78	74	64(1)	54	52	46(3)	44(3)	44	43					
● PROFESSIONNELS	193	177	172(1)	159	155	142(3)	140(3)	139	139					
● EMPLOYÉS DE SOUTIEN	268	219	214(1)	194	180	167(3)	161(3)	157	156					
TOTAL:	4989	4402	3770(2)	2904	2625	2345(3)	2278(3)	2247	2239					

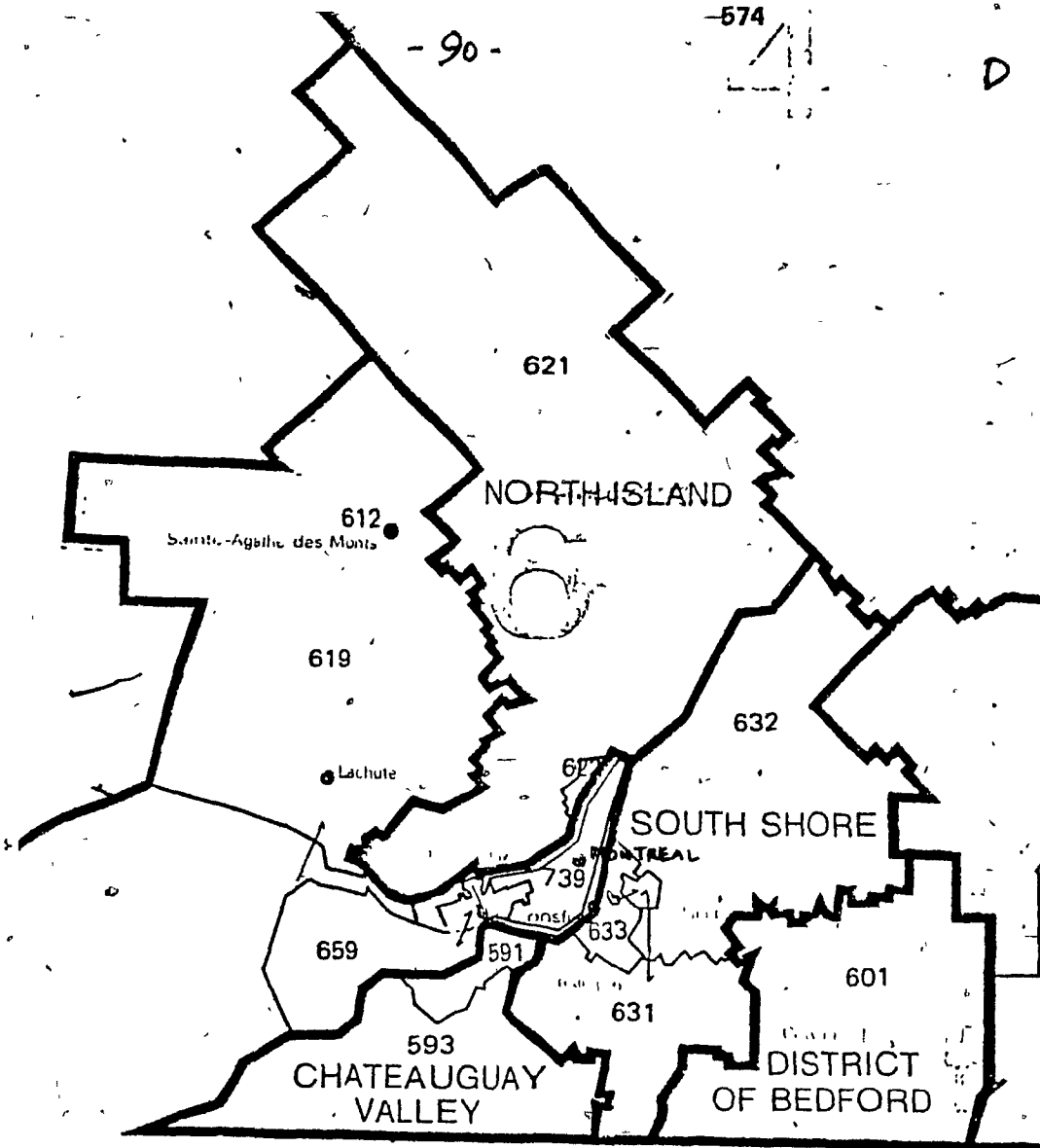
(1): Durant la période du 1er juillet 1986 au 6 janvier 1986, nous avons relevé de nouvelles inscriptions chez les employés de soutien (12) et 1 chez les cadres. De plus, notons que 3 inscriptions ont été annulées chez les cadres et 1 chez les professionnels.

(2): Pour comprendre plus facilement la relation entre le nombre de mises en disponibilité, les mesures de résorption appliquées et le nombre de disponibles, voici les données à considérer:

Mises en disponibilité au 1er juillet 1985 : 4989
Ajouts entre le 1er juillet et le 6 janv. 86 : + 13
Annulations de dossiers : - 4
Mesures de résorption : - 2759
Nombre de disponibles au 6 janvier 1986 : 2239

D.S.A./D.G.R.

(3): Données révisées le 6 janvier 1986.



**REGION 6
MONTREAL**

- 593 CHATEAUGUY VALLEY, la C. s. r. p. de
Lake St. Louis-Chateauguy, La C. s. de
Ormstown, La C. s. d'
- 601 DISTRICT OF BEDFORD, la C. s. r. p.
Cowansville, La C. s.
- 619 LAURENTIENNE, dans le comté de
Laurentides - Labelle, Les syndicats
d'écoles pour la municipalité de
- 612 LAURENTIAN, La C. s.
- 621 NORTH ISLAND, la C. s. r.
Laurenville, La C. s. p. de
Laval, La C. s. de
- 632 SOUTH SHORE, La C. s. r. p.
South Central, La C. s. p. de
Richelieu Valley, La C. s. de
St. Lawrence, La C. s. p.
- 659 LAKESHORE, La C. s. de
- 739 GRAND MONTREAL, B. des é. p. du

Explication des abréviations:

- La C. s. La Commission scolaire
La C. s. p. La Commission scolaire protestante
la C. s. r. la Commission scolaire régionale
B. des é. p. Bureau des écoles protestantes