



Higher education funding and student activism in Québec: Le Printemps érable and its aftermath

Higher Education, Funding and Access:

Scotland and the UK in International Perspective

Centre for Research in Education Inclusion and Diversity, University of Edinburgh

Par Marie (Aurélie) Thériault, Ph.D.

Professeure agrégée à l'Université de Montréal





Broad themes and questions

Higher Education, Funding and Access:

Scotland and the UK in International Perspective

Centre for Research in Education Inclusion and Diversity, University of Edinburgh

- 
- How should the costs of higher education be distributed between the student, their family and the state?
 - What are the implications of shifts in tuition fee regimes?
 - Is higher education in the developed world a driver of social justice or growing inequality?
 - What are the best means of achieving fairer access?
 - What challenges are encountered by non-traditional students and how can they be supported?



What are the implications of shifts in tuition
fee regimes?

The Québec's *Printemps Érable* in 2012





Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework

- ▶ Landmark event in the history of Québec's student movements

The Printemps Érable movement echoes that which preceded it in the 1950s.



Le Printemps Érable

Political Crisis






Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework

Freedom of association






Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework

Universal access to higher education





Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework

- Youth's greater access to postsecondary schooling
 - The question of national identity
 - The province's aging population
 - Elder's lack of understanding
- 



Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework


- The Québec school system and its protection



Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework The Québec School System

- ▶ Québec's law on public education (L.I.P.)
 - ▶ Five levels of free public education: preschool; primary; secondary; vocational; general adult education; and collegial.
- ▶ The Parent Report (1964)
 - ▶ Ministry of Education
 - ▶ Secularization of the system (which was completed in 1996)
 - ▶ Increase of child welfare
- ▶ *La Révolution tranquille* (the Quiet Revolution)

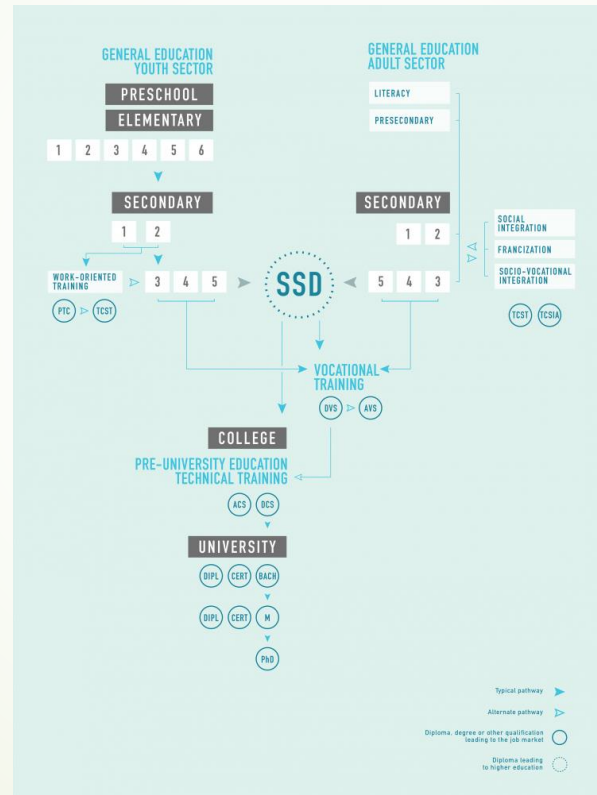
(RF. Du Québec, G. (2010). Loi sur l'instruction publique. LRQ, chapitre I-13.3. QUÉBEC. Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec (1966) Rapport Parent. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.)



Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework The Québec School System (Bill 101)

- A French-language charter penned by Minister of Education Camille Laurin (1977)

Québec's education system (Rf.: <http://www.parentestrie.com/le-systeme-scolaire-au-Québec/> 2017-08-17)






Loans and Bursaries Program

This program is contributive in nature, meaning that students and, if applicable, their parents, spouse or sponsor are responsible for the cost of their education.

(RF. <http://www.afe.gouv.qc.ca/en/loans-and-bursariesfull-time-studies/loans-and-bursaries-program/>)



Le Printemps Érable: A General Framework The Québec School System

- ▶ Preschool and primary education (7 years)
- ▶ High school goes from 1st to 5th grade
 - ▶ High school diploma (*diplôme d'études secondaires*), known as D.E.S.;
 - ▶ Vocational diploma (*diplôme d'études professionnelles*), known as D.E.P.
- ▶ Attending school is mandatory up to the age of 16.
- ▶ Adult education
- ▶ College or cégep (*collège d'enseignement général et professionnel*)
 - ▶ D.E.C. (*diplôme d'études collégiales*): university programs or workforce
 - ▶ Around 50 colleges on the all Québec territory (1967)
- ▶ Creation, in 1968, of the Québec university network (1968)

(**C-29** - Loi sur les collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel. RF. Du Québec, G. (2010). Loi sur l'instruction publique. *LRQ, chapitre I-13.3.*)

Universities in Québec (WIKIPEDIA) "In Québec, universities are independent from government and autonomous in managing their affairs. By means of legislation or constitutional charters, lawmakers have granted each university the freedom to define its own curriculum and develop its own teaching and research programs. The university has full responsibility for setting admission standards and enrolment requirements, awarding degrees and recruiting its personnel."


- ▶ Bishop's University — Sherbrooke
- ▶ Concordia University — Montréal
- ▶ Institut national de la recherche scientifique (INRS) — Québec
- ▶ McGill University — Montréal – Founded by James McGill in 1821
- ▶ Université Laval — Québec – established in 1663
- ▶ Université de Montréal — Montréal – established in 1878 (Permanent Education Faculty)
- ▶ Université de Sherbrooke — Sherbrooke
- ▶ Université du Québec — Québec
- ▶ Université du Québec en Abitibi-Témiscamingue (UQAT) — Rouyn-Noranda
- ▶ Université du Québec en Outaouais (UQO) — Gatineau
- ▶ Université du Québec à Chicoutimi (UQAC) — Chicoutimi
- ▶ Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) — Montréal
- ▶ Université du Québec à Rimouski (UQAR) — Rimouski
- ▶ Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières (UQTR) — Trois-Rivières
- ▶ École Polytechnique de Montréal — Montréal
- ▶ École de technologie supérieure — Montréal
- ▶ École des hautes études commerciales (HEC) — Montréal
- ▶ TÉLUQ –All Québec

(RF. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_universities_in_Canada)




The Student Movement in Québec – A Historical Perspective

- The events of Printemps Érable sparked essayists to retrace the history of the student movement in Québec.
- Bélanger (1984) historiography, published under the banner of the ANEEQ (*Association nationale des étudiantes et étudiants du Québec*)
- Lacoursière (2006)
- Simard (2013)
- Theurillat-Cloutier (2017)



The Student Movement in Québec – A Historical Perspective


- Theurillat-Cloutier (2017) reports that Québec students have gone on strike on twelve separate occasions since 1957.
- Most of the province's governments have seen students take to the streets – Duplessis, 1957; Johnson, 1968; Bourassa, 1974; Lévesque, 1978; Bourassa, 1986, 1988, 1990; Parizeau, 1996; Charest, 2005, 2007, 2012; Couillard, 2015.
- PM Pauline Marois
- Student organizations have gone through several alterations over these past decades: UGEQ; ANEEQ, RAEU, FAECQ, FEUQ, FEEQ, ASSÉ, CLASSE are among the most important of them.



The Student Movement in Québec – A Historical Perspective

- At the time of the Printemps Érable, the youth of Québec didn't analyze that hiking tuition fees was a viable solution for financing higher education.

From \$1625, fees would soar to \$5000 -the Canadian average- over the next five years. (PM Charest)

- 
- This last point would prove critical during this time period, as the average family income was lower in Québec than in the rest of Canada.
 - In 2010, for example, Québec families earned on average \$68,000, as opposed to \$76,000 in the rest of Canada.
 - Individuals living alone could only expect to earn \$28,000 a year (Stéphane Marin, *La presse canadienne*, 2013).
 - Québec also boasts a high number of women-led, single-parent families (one in five). In 2015, in Montreal, the average income of these was only \$45,600.
(Statistics Canada, 2016)



Some Historical Landmarks



The 1950s

Population: 4 million. Average age: 23.
(*Institut de la statistique du Québec*, p.1,
p.3.)



The 1950s: The Three Braves

- The first general student strike took place in 1958, under Duplessis' administration
- Their demands concerned:
 - Access to and financing of the province's higher education institutions (Duplessis was refusing all financing from the federal government for Québec's universities),
 - Tuition hikes that were being applied
 - Attribution of student bursaries
 - Public inquiry on Education.

(Theurillat-Cloutier, 2017)




From 1961 to 1973

- Population: 6 million. Average age: 25.
(*Institut de la statistique du Québec*, p.1,
p.3.)



From 1961 to 1973: The Rise

- The Liberal Lesage government (1960-1966) and the Parent Report – which to this day remains the foundation of Québec school system
 - Published in 1964, the Parent Report endorsed free education all the way to the college level (cégep).
- Tuition fees were frozen at \$500 per annum.




From 1961 to 1973: Loans and Bursaries (1968)

- 1968 strike would prompt new legislation targeting the loans and bursaries system.
- The *Loi sur le système des prêts et bourses* (loans and bursaries) is conceived as a transitory expedient meant to lead to the abolition of all tuition fees.



From 1974 to 1980

Population in 1980: 6.3 million. Average
age: 27 (*Institut de la statistique du
Québec, p.1-3*)



From 1974 to 1980

- LOANS AND BURSARIES STRIKE (1974)
 - Admissibility criteria and parents' income



From 1974 to 1980

- Loans and bursaries strike (1978)
- 33 student associations (lost of momentum)




The 80's

- Three successive strikes during this decade:
 - 1986 : unfreezing of tuition fees
 - 1988 : loans and bursaries
 - 1990: unfreezing of tuition

From 1990 to the Printemps Érable: 20 years of history

Population in 2000: 7.2 million. Average age: 37 (*Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2016, p.1-3*)

- ▶ Three main issues:
 - ▶ Access to higher education
 - ▶ Financing of postsecondary studies through a universal loans and bursaries
 - ▶ Increasing of student debt



From 1990 to the Printemps Érable: 20 years of history (context)


KNOWLEDGE-BASED ECONOMY

- OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development)
- World Bank
- NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement)
- The Axworthy Reform (Canadian Liberals)




From 1990 to the Printemps Érable: 20 years of history

- Tuition fees go from \$500 to \$1200 per year + ancillary fees (mid-1990's)



From 1990 to the Printemps Érable: 20 years of history

- The 1996 and the 2005 strike
 - freeze of tuition fee
 - Loans and bursaries



From 1990 to the Printemps Érable: 20 years of history

- In 2011, PM Charest puts into motion a plan for the indexation of university tuition: from \$1 625, fees would soar to \$5000 (the Canadian average) over the next five years.



Le Printemps Érable

Population in 2012: 8.08 million. Average age: 41 (*Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2016*)

- “*Rapport Ménard*”, the report of the *Commission speciale d’examen des événements du printemps 2012* was made public in March 2014
 - Facts
 - Chronology
 - Analyze
 - Recommendations



Principals and Chronology of Events

- ▶ These three main student associations led the Printemps Érable fight:
 - ▶ the FEUQ, the university association that was then led by Martine Desjardins;
 - ▶ The FECQ, the college association that had Léo Bureau-Blouin at its head;
 - ▶ and the ASSÉ, an association representing both university and college students that, under Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois' leadership, would eventually organize into a larger coalition called the CLASSE.

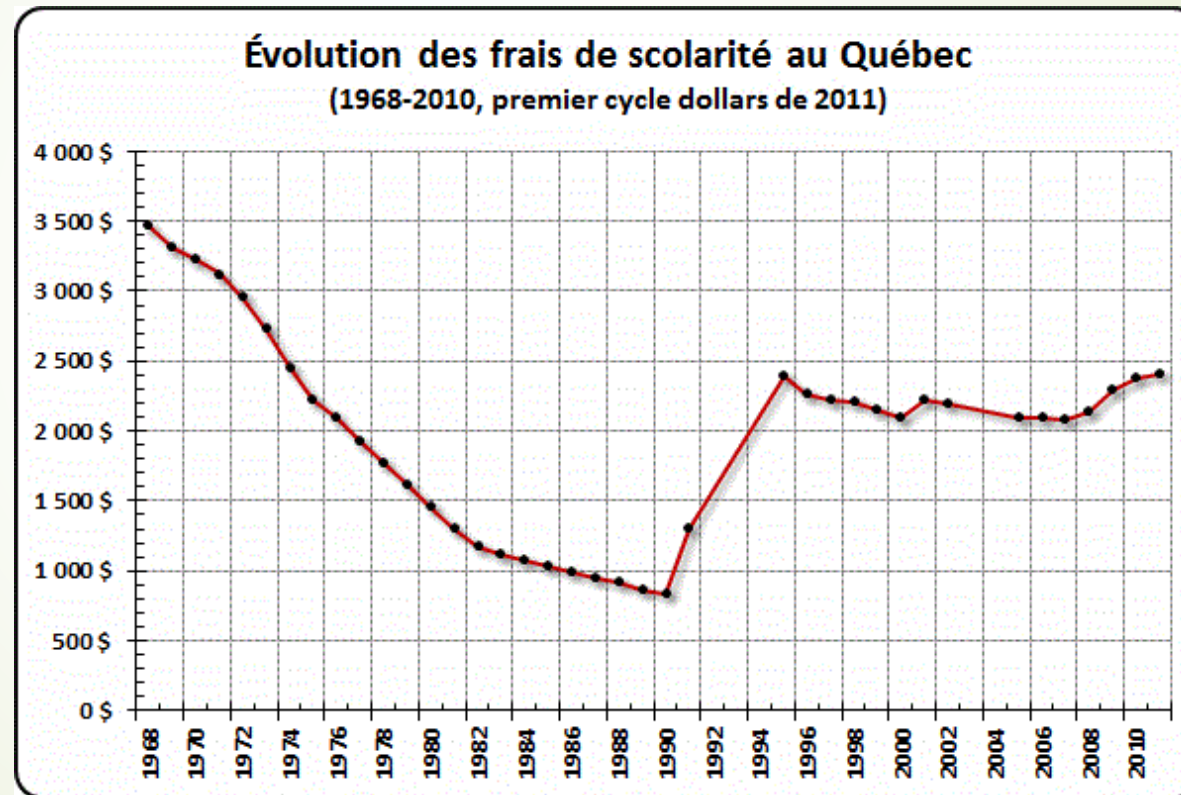


Principals and Chronology of Events

- February events
 - March events
 - April events
 - May events
 - Bill 78
 - Summer events
 - General Elections
 - Role of Prime Minister Pauline Marois
- 

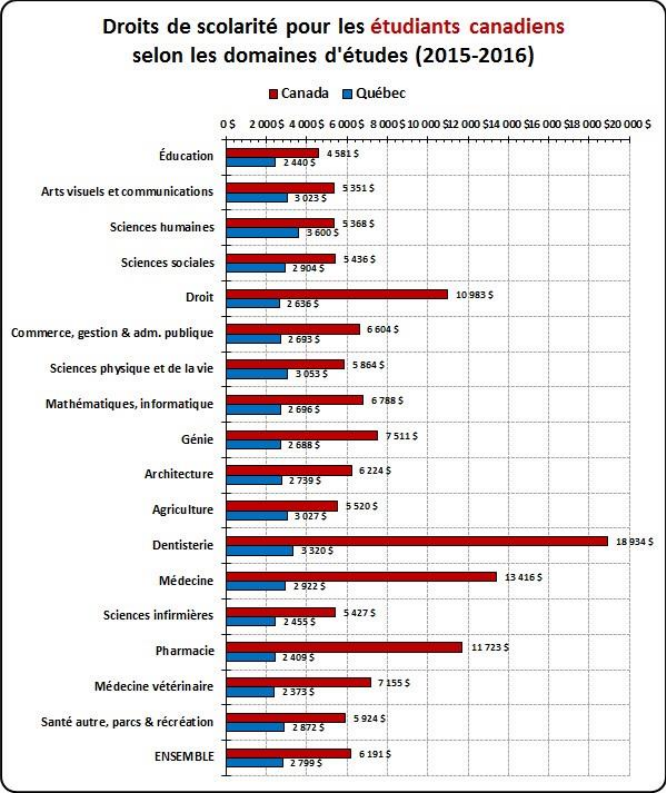
Québec's Tuition Fees Evolution

(Rf. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/110916/dq110916b-fra.htm> (récupéré le 28 août 2017))

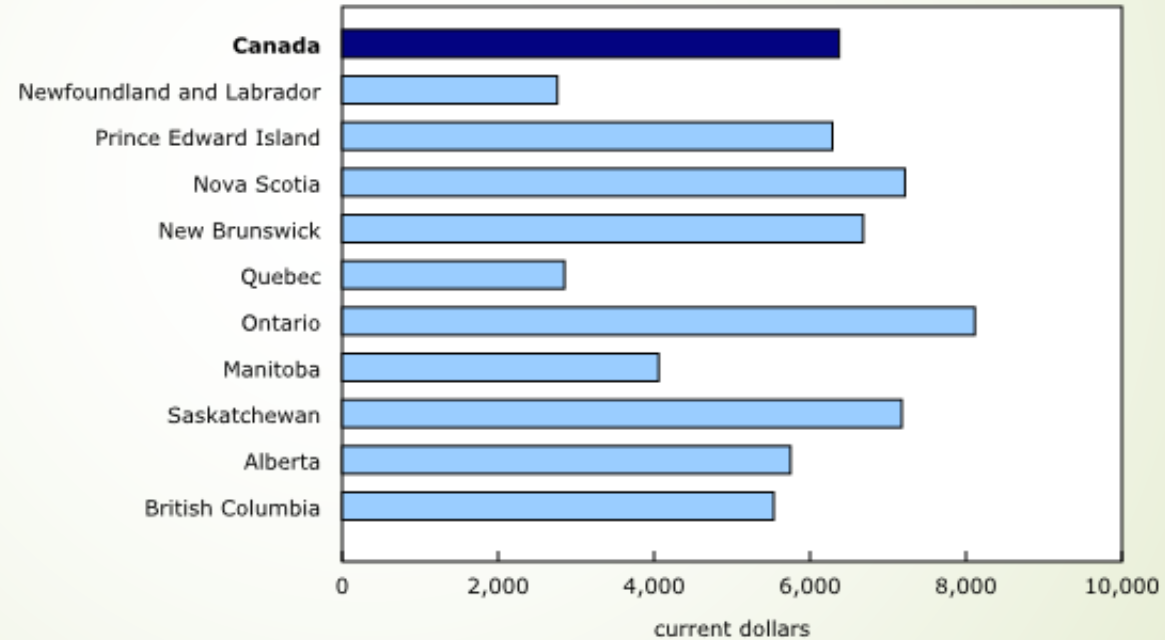


Tuitions Fees in Québec and in Canada (fields of study)

(Rf. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/110916/dq110916b-fra.htm> -28-08-2017)



Weighted average undergraduate tuition fees for Canadian full-time students (Source: Statistics Canada -2016)



References

- Du Québec, G. (2002). Politique gouvernementale d'éducation des adultes et de formation continue tout au long de la vie. Québec, publications officielles.
- Du Québec, G. (2010). Loi sur l'instruction publique. LRQ, chapitre I-13.3.
- Du Québec, G. (1982). L.R.Q., chapitre A-3.01, Loi sur l'accréditation et le financement des associations d'élèves ou d'étudiant
- QUÉBEC. Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec (1966) Rapport Parent. Québec: Gouvernement du Québec.
- Institut de la statistique du Québec, rétrospective du 20^e siècle; extrait de la situation démographique au Québec -extrait 1999 Louis Duchesne , direction des études sociodémographiques. (Sources :Statistique Canada, Recensements, Estimations de la population.
- Institut de la statistique du Québec, Thibault et Gauthier (1999), Projections de la population.)
- Gouvernement du Québec, G. (2016). Le Québec chiffres en main.
- BÉLANGER, P. (1984). Le mouvement étudiant: son passé, ses revendications et ses lutte (1960-1983). Montréal: Association Nationale des Étudiantes et Étudiants du Québec.
- Gérard Dion "L'origine de la formule Rand." Industrial Relations 304 (1975): 747-760. DOI : 10.7202/028662ar
- Anthony Glinoe "Marc Simard, Histoire du mouvement étudiant québécois 1956-2013. Des Trois Braves aux carrés rouges, Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2013, 313 p.." Recherches sociographiques 551 (2014): 147-148. DOI : 10.7202/1025657ar
- Girard, C. (2014). Le bilan démographique du Québec. Institut de la statistique du Québec.
- Lacoursière, B. (2007). Le mouvement étudiant au Québec de 1983 à 2006. Benoît Lacoursière.
- Jean Lamarre, Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois, Jacques Portes, JeanPhilippe Warren and Bernard Pudal "L'avant-gardisme du Printemps 2012 au Québec : continuité ou rupture avec le mouvement étudiant des années 1960 ?." Bulletin d'histoire politique 231 (2014): 161-174. DOI : 10.7202/1026508ar

References

- ▶ Samuel Larochelle, La Presse, <http://affaires.lapresse.ca/finances-personnelles/201407/22/01-4785826-les-tanguy-simposent.php> entrevue avec La Presse Affaires s'est entretenue avec Katherine Scott, vice-présidente de la recherche au Conseil canadien du développement social.
- ▶ Leclerc, R. (1989). *Histoire de l'éducation au Québec des origines à nos jours*. R. Leclerc.
- ▶ Marin, Stéphane. <http://affaires.lapresse.ca/economie/macro-economie/201309/11/01-4688168-le-revenu-des-quebecois-inferieur-a-la-moyenne-canadienne.php>
- ▶ <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l02/cst01/famil107c-fra.htm>
- ▶ Ménard, S., Grenier, B., Carbonneau, C., & Marcil, A. (2014). Rapport. Commission spéciale d'examen des événements du printemps 2012. Québec: *Gouvernement du Québec*.
- ▶ Pacte international relatif aux droits économiques, sociaux et culturels (PIDESC)
- ▶ RAPPORT SUR L'UTILISATION DES BALLES DE PLASTIQUE LORS DE MANIFESTATIONS Ligue des droits et libertés 14 mai 2002, révisé mai 2012.
- ▶ Ratel, J. L., Recherchiste, C. A. D. E. U. L., & Verreault-Julien, P. (2006). Le financement des universités québécoises: histoire, enjeux et défis
- ▶ Savard, A. (2017). Comment le mouvement étudiant démocratise les structures du militantisme. *Nouveaux Cahiers du socialisme*, (17), 159-164.
- ▶ **RÉFÉRENCE** : Morasse c. Nadeau-Dubois, 2016 CSC 44, [2016] 2 R.C.S. 232).
- ▶ Statistique Canada. *Tableau 111-0009 - Caractéristiques des familles, tableau sommaire du revenu de la famille de recensement, annuel (nombre sauf indication contraire)*, CANSIM (base de données). (site consulté :)
- ▶ <http://www.tvanouvelles.ca/2017/06/06/gabriel-nadeau-dubois-modifie-le-serment-a-la-reine>