

CONSEIL DES RELATIONS INTERCULTURELLES

**LAICITY AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY
THE QUEBEC'S APPROACH**

*Report to the Minister of Citizen Relations
and Immigration*

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Research and writing

Sophie Therrien

Collaborators

Micheline Milot et Fernand Ouellet

Myriam Jézéquel

Frédéric Castel

Béchir Oueslati

Translation

Vincent Ross

Document editing and formatting

Martine Jore

Conseil des relations interculturelles
500, boulevard René-Lévesque Ouest, bureau 10.04
Montréal (Québec)
H2Z 1W7

Telephone : (514) 873-8501

Fax : (514) 873-3469

E-mail: info@conseilinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca

Web site: www.conseilinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca

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PRESENTATION

The Conseil des relations interculturelles (CRI) is a research and advisory council whose mission is to advise the Minister of Citizens relations and Immigration on primary matters concerning integration of immigrants and intercultural relations.

In the summer of 2002, the members of the Conseil produced an advisory report on religious diversity. The purpose of this work was to propose a framework to reflect on the subject and suggest avenues which could facilitate the recognition of religious diversity in citizen public civic spaces.

This advisory report was submitted to the Minister of Citizens Relations and Immigration on March 26th 2004. The present document is an condensed version of that report. Readers will also find this summary included in the full version.

Since the publication of this advisory report, we have had several discussions with people across Quebec and elsewhere about the notion of laicity (*i.e.*, the legally formalized secular separation between organized religions and State) and the proper means for taking religious diversity into account. These discussions confirmed for us the degree in which these two issues can be strongly diverse and that religious diversity is growing and it will be posing increasingly greater challenges to Quebec society.

To meet these challenges, it will be essential to consolidate and aim at identifying a commun base for our living together. This will require contributions from all sectors of our society: Government, public institutions, and the civil society. This report attempts to draw attention on some of these sectors to the main issues related to religious diversity. We are aware, of course, that we are urging them to become involved in a long-term undertaking and we know that our recommendations will have to be debated and discussed in depth by the social groups concerned before they get to be translated, even partially, into concrete actions.

Of course, this reflection does not cover comprehensively all of the social dimensions that religious diversity calls into play. They are too numerous and varied for one sole advisory report to exhaust. However, our initial efforts allow us, incidentally, to begin measuring its full scope.

Finally, the report *Laïcité et diversité religieuse : l'approche québécoise* does not propose any pre-established recipes, any linear strategies nor any other ready-made solutions. It must be taken as a starting point from which to pursue and deepen our reflection. We know that we have not dealt with certain critically important sectors of Quebec society just as much concerned by religious diversity (the judicial system, the labour market, etc.). However, by publishing this first report on the subject, the Conseil hopes to positively contribute to a sensitive but necessary debate for Quebec society.

INTRODUCTION

Religious diversity is now a part of the social fabric of all contemporary societies. To various degrees, all nation-states must come to terms with this reality which takes on multiple forms. The maxim *Cujus regio, ejus religio* (“*Such is the religion of the Prince, such is the Country’s*”), which prevailed in Europe for several centuries, no longer fits the complex and multiple situations that now prevail in the world.

Quebec is no exception to this reality which has been, in any case, markedly involved in its history. Did Catholicism, Anglicanism and Protestantism not already cohabit here in the late 18th Century? Were some Jews not already present in Quebec since the first years following the Conquest? Today, of course, this diversity wears other faces, more varied than in the past. Several other religions and religious movements have added themselves to the Christian Churches present on Quebec’s territory since the beginning of the Colony, in a society where the individuals declaring themselves as having no religious affiliation now form the second largest numerical group after the Catholics¹.

The Conseil des relations interculturelles has been doing research and consultation activities on the issue of religious diversity since the fall of 2002. In this context, it organized, on March 17th 2003, a day of reflection on the theme: *Diversité religieuse : inclusion ou exclusion*² that brought together some 20 experts and more than 120 participants. This discussion was an opportunity to collect a broad range of opinions and sound out various sectors (public institutions, NGOs, religious groups, etc.) on this issue.

We were then able to appreciate the value of a civic dialogue on religious diversity. This dialogue is all the more important since, for the past 20 years, the presence of minority religious groups (Islam, Sikhism, Bouddhism) have been raising new issues and questioning Quebec’s institutions. The rise of fundamentalist trends within the different religions, Christian and non-Christian alike³, has also been drawing more attention.

We have also observed that the tragic events of September 11 2001 and their echoes in the media have contributed to lend legitimacy to a negative discourse towards certain religious groups (especially the Muslims). This discourse most especially targets the Muslims but ends up, by extension, including all individuals originating from the Middle East and North Africa countries, independent of their religion. People working with recent immigrants to help them find employment on the labour market have confirmed that their clients originating from those regions have been experiencing more difficulties in finding a job since that date, despite their qualifications and very advanced education.

¹ This data, drawn from Statistics Canada’s 2001 census, is presented in detail in Table 1, page 27.

² A summary of that day’s discussions is presented in the electronic bulletin *@ire interculturelle*, summer edition 2003, at the CRI’s Internet address www.conseilinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca.

³ Indeed, such movements exist in all religions: Protestantism includes the 7th Day Adventists, Jehovah’s Witnesses and the “Born Again Christians”; the Catholics have the Army of Mary, the “Bérêts blancs” and the Opus Dei; Judaism has various Hassidic congregations, while Islam has Wahabism and the Muslim Brothers. And Sikhism does not, any more than Hinduism, escape this tendency, generally characterized by a very literal interpretation of the sacred texts.

These elements seemed especially sensitive dimensions for Quebec society and ones which can influence social cohesion and harmonious relations between Quebecers of all origins and all religions living side by side in the same shared civic space.

Furthermore, since the early 1960s, Quebec society has undertaken a process of formal secularization (*laïcisation*) still, under way. Yet, the complex and sensitive notion of laicity (or legally formalized secularization) itself has not been made the object of a definition clearly positioning it in Quebec's own history and context and thus making it possible to more clearly circumscribe the related debates. The adoption in France of a law forbidding students in public schools to wear ostensible religious symbols, in the name of [republican] secularism, has made us become more aware however, in recent months, of the importance of such a definition.

Also, among the crucial elements in the debate over the formal secularization of Quebec society, the issue of religious education in the schools has proved to be of central importance. Currently and until June 2005, Quebec law authorizes religious education in the public schools only for the Catholic and Protestant faiths, thus contravening Quebec's *Charter of Human Rights and Liberties*. It was only the use of an exceptional waiver clause that permitted the existence of such a law. The Quebec Government will therefore have to re-open this debate before 2005, and the National Assembly will again have to legislate on this sensitive issue.

The comments and reactions concerning this advisory report will no doubt guide us in outlining the avenues to be explored in the future stages of our work. We are therefore inviting you to share your own impressions with us on our Internet site at the following address: www.conseilinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca.

PART ONE: RELIGIONS AND STATES

The relations between religions and States have taken extremely different forms throughout history. During certain periods and depending on which States, these two notions were in fact practically merged together. Ancient Egypt or the Inca Empire readily come to mind, where the sovereigns were considered to be gods. In the Greek and Roman Empires, political power and religious power were also very close. The Persian Empire distinguished itself in this regard, and the Ashemenid sovereigns appear to have applied the principles of religious tolerance toward conquered peoples⁴.

In Europe, during the first centuries of Christianity, State and Church were intimately related. In this regard, the Great Schism (1054), which gave rise to the Eastern Christian Orthodox Churches, did not modify this situation. In fact, until the early 16th Century, Catholicism was in a monopolistic situation. One notable exception however: *Al Andalus*, Andalusia where, for more than six centuries (from the 8th to the 13th), Jews, Christians and Muslims were able to cohabit in relative peace under the authority of the Muslim Emirs⁵. The *Reconquista*, completed in 1492 with the taking of Grenada, put an end to the presence of a Muslim State in Europe. The Inquisition, a religious tribunal charged by the papacy with combating heresies⁶, later contributed to expel, from recently reunified Spain, the Muslims and the Jews refusing to convert to Catholicism.

The emergence of Protestantism (1517) and the appearance of Anglicanism in England (1534) had the effect of breaking the Catholic hegemony. Conversions increased in numbers and the presence of subjects professing different religious convictions on a same territory quickly came to pose new challenges for the royal and the religious authorities. It was only after several confrontations marked by bloody episodes that steps were taken to institute measures for a certain religious tolerance.

Over the same period, Islam, born in the 7th Century, spread rapidly through the Middle East, in Africa and in Indonesia. Confronted with the diversity of religious beliefs in the regions where it took hold, this conquering Islam, after a period of arms-implemented domination, learned to establish itself while demonstrating a relative tolerance, thus allowing a degree of syncretism. The direct contact between God and the believer, as well as the absence of an organized clergy, fostered this flexibility.

After the year 1000, Islam and Christianity confronted each other several times, during the eight Crusades (between 1096 and 1270) but also during the Ottoman expansion into European territory (Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia, Hungary).

⁴ Thus, Cyrus the Great, after conquering Babylon, allowed the Jews, in 537 before J.C., to return to Palestine and rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem.

⁵ At the turn of the Year 1000, Muslim Spain was enjoying a prosperous period marked by remarkable cultural and scientific development. The Muslim men of science of that period greatly contributed to the development of mathematics, medicine, astronomy and philosophy.

⁶ In a system where political power and religion merged, popular opposition often took the form of heresy, contesting religious dogmas. The millenarist movements awaiting the end of the world at the turn of the year 1000, the Cathars (or Albigensians), and the Vaudois sheperds are all examples of heresies harshly repressed by the papacy and the royal authorities. Judaism and Islam were also attacked as forms of heresy.

It is worth mentioning that between the 14th and the 16th Centuries, the Ottoman Empire developed its own model for taking account of religious diversity. It was based on a segregated form of community life wherein the different religious groups (the majority Muslims, Jews and Christians) lived in parallel, under the authority of their respective religious leaders (the *millets* system).

The French Revolution of 1789 marked historic turning point in the relations between the State and the religions. For the first time in Europe, the State asserted its independence from the diety and the clergy and asserted the primacy of human rights over State or religious power. A few years earlier, on another continent, the United States of America had taken, in another context and for quite different reasons, a similar position⁷. These two States took their inspiration at that time from the Enlightenment movement, which largely contributed to the development of the republican ideology.

Today, in the Western World, we can observe a diversification of the models of relations between States and religions. These relations are often marked by the diversity of faiths cohabiting within a same territory, as well as by pluralism.

Of course, in other parts of the world, like China, Japan, Southern Asia, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Hinduism, to name only these have also evolved, developing relations just as complex with powerful political institutions. Much could also be said about the development of Islam in those regions as well as in Africa and the Middle East. However, in order to avoid complexifying the present text, we shall concentrate on the models that exist in the West.

We observe certain differences in the ways in which these relations are structured, and find that those variations are explained by the specific history of each country. Thus, certain countries assert in their constitutions the separation of State and Church. This of course is the case in France, but also in the United States, Mexico, Portugal and in Turkey. Others maintain a State religion (England, Denmark, Finland), while extending a certain recognition to other faiths. Certain States (Belgium and Holland) have adopted the so-called “Pillars” system, where a few organized faiths are officially recognized and receive direct financial support from the State. Spain, after a period when Catholicism was the State religion, recently recognized the Muslim religion. In Canada’s constitution, there is no mention of relation between State and religion, although during two centuries, two great religions cohabited there without any major confrontations.

On the following page, a comprehensive table presents the main features of these different systems.

⁷ For further details concerning the differences between the French and American situations, please see *Appendix I* in the full version of this report.

Comparative table of relations between State and Religion in selected Western countries

Systems	Country	Context in which the system originally emerged	Main historic religions ⁸	Present-day characteristics
Constitutional laicity (legally prescribed independence of State and organized religions)	France	Revolution of 1789, struggle against a Catholic clergy hostile to the republican ideals	Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Islam	Secularized civil society; Distrust toward religions
	United-States of America	Determination of Protestant minorities, persecuted in England, to avoid any one religion being officially established	Protestantism, very diverse; Catholic, Jewish and Muslim minorities	Importance of religion in civil society
	Mexico	Constitution of 1917	Catholicism, a small minority of Protestants	Importance of religion in civil society
	Portugal	Constitution of 1976, after the end of the Salazar regime	Catholicism, a small minority of Protestants	Importance of religion in civil society
	Turkey	Constitution of 1923	Islam, small Christian and Jewish minorities	Importance of religion in civil society
The “Pillars” system	Holland	“Pillars” system : institutionalization of some religions; in 1983 it moved toward the constitutional equality of the different religious faiths	Protestantism Catholicism	Secularized civil society, but Protestantism still has some weight
	Belgium	“Pillars” system : institutionalization of various religious groups, especially since the School Pact in 1958	Catholicism Protestantism Laicity /legal secularism Islam	Secularized civil society, but Catholicism still has some weight
Official Religion	England	Anglicanism is the established religion; the Head of State concurrently holds civil and religious responsibilities	Anglicanism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Islam	The society’s institutions are officially interlinked with the established religion; this is tempered by a strong tradition of religious liberalism
	Greece	The Constitution recognizes “the religion of the Oriental Orthodox Church of Christ as the dominant religion”	Orthodox Church; Muslim, Jewish and Catholic minorities are «tolerated»	Religion, language and citizenship are closely tied together. Importance of religion in the civil society
	Denmark Sweden, Finland	Progressive liberalizing of systems that had originally established national Protestant Churches	Lutheranism	Secularized civil society, but Protestantism still has some weight
Privileged granted to a religion	Spain	A constitutionally pluralist and non-denominational State since 1978. Public authorities however may support religions	Catholicism, with an historic presence of Islam and Judaism	A society increasingly secularized, but where Catholic institutions still have great weight
	Germany	Has been a secular State since 1948, but allows a system based upon treaty agreements (concordat) with different Churches	Protestantism Catholicism Islam	Secularized civil society
Judicial and constitutional silence	Canada	The Constitution is silent about the place of religion; an obligation of reasonable accommodation is included in the Charters of Rights	Catholicism Protestantism Anglicanism	Secularized civil society

⁸ We have given priority to religions directly involved in the origins of the pact between the State and organized religions. It goes without saying, however, that all these countries are marked, to various degrees, by religious diversity. Judaism, for instance, has often been present there for centuries. When necessary, in some cases we have mentioned certain minority religions more recently arrived because of special situations, either with respect to their numbers or because of the adjustments brought about by their diversity.

PART TWO QUEBEC AND THE RELIGIOUS DIMENSION : A CHANGING REALITY

The Place of Religion in Quebec: A Bit of History

A society anchored in the North American continent and benefiting simultaneously from a French heritage and a British influence, Quebec finds itself at the converging point of several very different traditions with respect to State-Church relations. It is therefore necessary for us to gain a better understanding of the manner in which these have evolved in the specific context of Quebec's history.

The French Regime

The colonization by Europeans of the territory that would become Quebec truly began with the arrival of Jacques Cartier in 1534. In 1608, Samuel de Champlain established a fort and a warehouse at Stadacone, thus founding the City of Quebec. Later on, in 1642, Paul Chomedey de Maisonneuve, leading a group of devout believers calling themselves the *Société de Notre-Dame*, founded Ville-Marie on the Island of Montreal. More than a settlement colony, this was an undertaking aimed at the conversion and evangelization of the Native People.

In such a context, one better understands why official history recorded few traces of the beliefs and rites practiced by the Amerindians, as these were considered by historiographers (often themselves members of the clergy) to be pagan customs that had to be fought against and eradicated in the name of the true faith.

1760-1867

It was the defeat of 1760 and the arrival of the British that marked the early beginnings of religious diversity. At first, the representatives of the Crown put an end to the *Coutume de Paris* and compelled the Catholics to share their churches with the Protestants. Part of the clergy went back to France, and relations between the Church, French Canadians and the State changed dramatically.

The British were very few in numbers however, and their motherland was far away. In those last years of the 18th Century, echoes from the American Revolution found their way to the North. Fearing that the *Canadiens* might join sides with France who was supporting the revolutionaries and might rebel against the new British governing powers, the British quickly adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward the "Papists". The latter, wishing to see their freedom of religion maintained, accepted the compromise, and a tolerance of coexistence came to prevail. As early as 1763, the Treaty of Paris recognized freedom of religion. In 1791, Upper and Lower Canada were created. A section of the Constitutional Act forbade members of the clergy, whether Catholic or Anglican, to be elected.

This situation of tolerance prevailed without too much difficulty for more than half a century. It allowed the Catholics of the "*Province of Quebec*" to obtain rights that the Catholics in Ireland did not enjoy at that time.

However, the rejection of the 92 Resolutions, the Rebellion of the *Patriotes* that followed, and which was harshly repressed, and especially the Union Act between Upper and Lower Canada modified this stability, not only between the colonial power and the French Canadian society

but also between the clergy and the political elites. Deprived of their project for a political and territorial space in which they could ensure the survival of a French Canadian nation and reduced to a minority within the Union Act, the French Canadian politicians were ready to form a strategic alliance with the clergy. The Church, at that time influenced by the religious ideology of ultramontanism⁹ found itself in a good position to impose its views on a weakened bourgeoisie in search of an ally. From that moment on, the interests of the French Canadians thus became intimately tied to those of the Catholic clergy, for practically the following century.

What we see from that period is an omnipotent Church, imposing its views on politicians, dominating not only the schools, hospitals and orphanages, but also peoples' consciences and lives. However, according to Micheline Milot, people "*tended to often confuse the influence between an ideological organization such as the Church and its real political power*"¹⁰. In her opinion, although the clergy's attempts at hegemony were obvious, these efforts did not yield the full success hoped by the clergy.

In fact, in all the areas where the State wished to maintain its rights (e.g., management of cemeteries, women's right to vote, civil marriage), it proved able to maintain its autonomy, even against the opinions of the Church. On the other hand, with respect to the schools and the hospitals, it was by common agreement that the State entrusted their management, for several decades, to the Churches. Moreover, while the Union Act of 1840 was generally favourable to Upper Canada, it also reiterated religious freedom and recognized no official status to either one of the religions present.

1867-1960

This situation was not modified by the signature of the British North America Act in 1867. As mentioned above, the first Canadian Constitution was indeed silent on the issue of Church-State relations. There was no mention of God in the preamble (contrary to the Constitution of 1982) and no religion acquired any official status.

We can perceive in that silence the logical continuance of the tolerance of coexistence that was instituted at the very beginning of the British colony. Besides, the Constitution limited itself to permitting the Protestant minority in Quebec to manage its own schools.

After the Second World War however, the Church's hold on things began to disintegrate. Within the Catholic Church itself, new vocations became less numerous and the members of religious orders were struggling to meet all of the Church's responsibilities (schools, universities, hospitals, orphanages, etc.). Lay Catholics (persons who were not members of a religious order nor of the regular clergy) began to play an increasingly important role in the institutions managed by the clergy and started to demand changes. Meanwhile, several sectors of society were simultaneously contesting the conservative government of Maurice Duplessis and the antimodernist positions of the clergy. Deep changes were in the making.

⁹ A doctrine originating in France, which extolled the primacy of papal authority and therefore the Church's involvement in temporal affairs. It was fiercely opposed to liberal ideas such as the sovereignty of the people.

¹⁰ M. Milot, *Laïcité dans le nouveau monde : le cas du Québec* / préface de Jean Baubérot. - Turnhout : Brepols, 2002, p.110 (our translation).

1960-1975

The Quiet Revolution was set in motion. At the turn of the 1960's, Quebec developed its own Welfare State, with the creation of the Social Welfare and Youth Ministry (1958), the Hospitalization Insurance Act (1961), the setting up of Ministries of Cultural Affairs (1961), Education (1964) and Immigration (1968), and the nationalization.

Cultural and social transformations manifested themselves at the same time. There was an accelerated movement to secularize structures previously run by the Church, initiated not through a conflict between the religious authorities and the liberals but, rather, by lay Catholics engaged in social movements within the Church itself (the Jeunesse ouvrière catholique, women's Christian associations, etc.). Throughout all these changes, the vision that French Canadians had of themselves was undergoing a process of redefinition. The ethnic and religious anchorings of identity began to lose their relevance. The "French Canadians" disappeared, replaced by the "Québécois", a name that has gradually come to include also those who, though not born in Quebec, have chosen to make their lives there. Language and culture have become the paramount unifying elements and the poles of reference for identity.

Immigration, however, which for more than a century now had brought thousands of people (Europeans essentially) to join the French Canadians and the British settled in Quebec, became a sociopolitical issue for the Francophone society. For a host of historic and sociological reasons, the great majority of these immigrants in fact chose English as their language of communication of education.

The adoption in 1977 of the French Language Charter, making French the official language of Quebec and compelling immigrant children to go to French schools, transformed this reality. This had two main consequences: it forced the State to take its responsibilities with respect to the integration and French language training of the newly-arrived immigrants, and it led Quebec society to fully accept its diversity, in its cultural as well as its religious dimensions.

Another major change had preceded this transformation: the adoption in 1975, by the National Assembly, of the *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*.

From 1975 to Today

The following years were thus marked, among other trends, by the rise of a culture on individual rights, by the adjustment of Quebec's institutions to ethnocultural diversity and by the ongoing secularization of the society. For, although the French Language Charter had created the obligation for immigrant children to go to school in French, it had in no way changed the denominational structure of the school boards in the Montreal region.

This transformation was achieved progressively, at the price of prolonged debates, which brought about the creation of the linguistic school boards in 2000. However, in order to spare the sensibilities of certain sectors of opinion, the Government maintained Catholic and Protestant religious instruction in the public schools. In order to apply this measure which contravenes the *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*, which prescribes equality between religions, the Government had to call upon the Notwithstanding clause to shield it from the primacy of the Charter. This clause, of limited duration, is due to expire in 2005. We shall take up this issue again further on, in Part Three of this advisory report.

The Religions in Quebec: Some Numbers

Quebec's religious diversity manifests itself in various ways. Table 1 on the following page presents the distribution of the main religious groups. However, beyond the relative weight of each group, certain salient facts are worth noting.

The Rise of Religious Disaffiliation

- The second numerically largest group in Quebec after the Catholics is made up of individuals declaring that they have no religious affiliation whatsoever. The growth of this group over the past 40 years was gained mainly at the expense of the three historically major churches (the Anglican Church¹¹, the United Church and the Presbyterian Church). Thus, 6,4 % of Quebecers of French origin have no religious affiliation, while that rate rises to 11,3 % among Quebecers of English origin.¹² We must hasten to add, however, that under that label some very different individuals are included, ranging from atheists to New Age followers.

The Impact of Immigration upon the Catholic Group

- Immigrants, including the visible minorities, are largely Catholic, which makes Catholicism the most ethnoculturally diversified religion.
- The Swiss, the Germans, the Dutch and the Ukrainians, although originating from countries with Protestant majorities (or Orthodox, in the latter case) are Catholics, for the most part, in Quebec. Another notable observation is the relative size of the numbers of Catholics within ethnic groups usually little involved with Catholicism (Russians, Chinese, Indians, Tamouls, etc.)¹³.

A Plural Christian Orthodoxy

- The Orthodox are made up of two Christian families, often confused with one other, which makes the assessment of their respective weights uncertain. In the one, called the Seven Councils Church, we find the churches issued from the byzantine tradition, born in Greece and Eastern Europe, as well as the Orthodox Church of Antioch which appeared in the Middle East. The other family, called the Four Councils or "monophysite" Church, belongs to a very old branch of Middle-Eastern Christianity and includes the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church.

¹¹ In Québec and in Canada, Anglicans are generally included in the family of Protestant churches. However, historically as well as doctrinally, the Anglican Church is an entity quite distinct from the churches emanating from the Reform.

¹² This situation can be explained by the fact that the Franco-Catholics lived in a family and school environment dominated solely by the Roman Catholic Church, which was furthermore intimately involved in Quebec's history. This was a second reason for the identification with the Catholic Church to transcend actual religious practice, limited to the rites of passage (baptism, marriage, funerals) for the great majority of the faithful. By contrast, the Anglo-Protestants lived in a plural and fluid denominational environment, a very fragmented one even, and went through debates opposing the different denominational lines (Castel, p. 5-6). This specificity of the Anglo-Protestants explains why many of them increasingly define themselves simply as "Protestants" or even as "Christians".

¹³ A first hypothesis is that Quebec Catholicism, because of its omnipresence tied to the multiplicity of its parishes, gain the faithful within ethnic groups whose countries of origin do not have Catholic majorities. Another hypothesis posits that Quebec has disproportionately attracted Catholic minorities from various countries in Europe, the Middle East, as well as those converted by missionary action in Third World countries.

Table 1- Denominations numbering at least 1 000 faithful*, by gender (Quebec, 1991-2001)

DENOMINATIONS	1991			2001		
	W	M	Total	W	M	Total
CATHOLIC CHURCHES TOTAL (1)	3 001 515	2 859 690	5 861 205	3 057 945	2 881 775	5 939 720
Adventist	2 655	2 120	4 775	3 755	2 930	6 685
Anglican	50 785	45 280	96 065	44 630	40 845	85 475
Baptist	14 525	12 980	27 505	18 985	16 470	35 455
Jehovah's Witnesses	18 195	15 225	33 420	15 845	13 195	29 040
Church of Latter-Day Saints	1 840	1 655	3 495	2 255	2 190	4 445
Lutheran	5 490	5 210	10 700	4 955	4 680	9 635
Evangelical Missionary Church	1 845	2 105	3 950	3 935	3 635	7 570
Pentecostalist	15 465	13 485	28 950	12 250	10 425	22 675
Presbyterian	9 995	8 870	18 865	4 680	4 090	8 770
Unitarian	705	665	1 370	685	455	1 140
United Church	33 260	28 775	62 035	28 535	24 415	52 950
PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS TOTAL (2)	209 580	189 145	398 725	177 965	157 625	335 590
Greek Orthodox Church	26 485	27 455	53 940	25 120	24 900	50 020
ORTHODOX CHURCHES TOTAL (3)	43 385	45 900	89 285	50 000	50 370	100 370
CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS not included elsewhere (4)	—	—	—	28 620	28 130	56 750
JEWS	50 405	47 325	97 730	46 075	43 845	89 920
MUSLIMS	18 015	26 910	44 925	48 840	59 785	108 625
BUDDHISTS	15 590	16 045	31 635	20 860	20 515	41 375
HINDUS	6 490	7 635	14 125	11 610	12 920	24 530
SIKHS	2 020	2 505	4 525	3 650	4 570	8 220
BAHA'I	565	625	1 190	550	605	1 155
OTHER ORIENTAL RELIGIONS (5)	550	595	1 145	1 080	1 190	2 270
PARARELIGIOUS GROUPS (6)	765	1 135	1 900	1 735	2 140	3 875
OTHERS, not included elsewhere (7)	560	540	1 100	2 890	4 120	7 010
NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION (8)	116 415	146 385	262 800	184 975	228 215	413 190

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1991, no. 93-319 in catalog; 2001, no. 97F0022XCB2001001 in catalog.

(1) Besides the Roman Catholic Church, are included here the Oriental Catholic Churches (the Maronite Church and the Melkite, Syriac, Chaldean, Armenian and Coptic Catholic Churches) and various European Catholic Churches (Ukrainian and Polish National). The Melkite Church was counted among the Orthodox churches until 1991. Notwithstanding the inaccurate data of Statistics Canada and the churches unrecorded by that agency, these churches, except for the Coptic and National Polish Catholic Churches, all number between 1 000 and 10 000 faithful, and in some cases even more.

(2) Statistics Canada lists some 30 other Protestant churches numbering less than 1 000 faithful in Quebec. See "Christian denominations".

(3) This statistical category merges the Orthodox Churches of the Four Councils and the Orthodox Churches of the Seven Councils. The first group includes the Armenian Church, the Apostolic Armenian Church, the Orthodox Coptic Church and the Syrian Orthodox Church. The second group includes the Orthodox Church in America, the Greek Orthodox Church of the Old Calendar as well as the Antioch, Russian, Ukrainian and Serbian Orthodox Churches. Contrary to the data of Statistics Canada, these churches certainly number between 1 000 and 10 000 faithful each.

(4) A heterogenous group including "Apostolic", "Evangelical" or simply "Christian" denominations. It certainly contains a majority of Protestant denominations, but no doubt also some Third World Christian denominations. Note: Individuals identifying themselves simply as "Christians" were included among the Protestants until 1991.

(5) Are included here the Taoists, the Confucianists, the Caodaists, the Zoroastrians, the Djains and the Shintoists.

(6) And "other religions", including aboriginal cults, pantheism, the wicca-related so-called "pagan" cults, probably Voodoo practitioners, Rastas, practitioners of satanism, Scientologists and no doubt the Raelians.

(7) Unclassifiable religions, probably in part fantastical.

(8) Barely 0.1% of the people included in this category identify themselves as atheists. They are therefore mainly people who are affiliated with no particular religion. This is where we must look for the practitioners of "à la carte" and New Age religions, merging Christian and Oriental religious tendencies together. Those rare individuals affiliated with a specific organization are classified under the category "parareligious groups". This category also appears to include the Chinese and Vietnamese practitioners of San Jiao.

The Diminishing of Numbers Protestant

- Protestantism includes four major categories: the three great historic churches (the Anglican Church¹⁴, the United Church and the Presbyterian Church), the Evangelical Churches (Pentecostalist, Baptist, Adventist, Evangelical Missionary, and Jehovah's Witnesses) and the Lutheran Churches. Note that the historic churches have been constantly losing ground in Quebec, while the Evangelical Churches are progressing.
- Most of the non-Catholic groups long settled in Quebec and forced to send their children to English schools (the Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks, Lutheran Germans, and most of all, the Jews) have sustained major losses through inter-provincial emigration.
- In the Evangelical Churches, the native-born represent 69 % of the total of the faithful.
- The upsurge of the Pentecostalists and Baptists in Quebec is simultaneously a result of West Indian and Central American immigration and also of the participation of Francophone Quebecers more or less recently converted. A similar conjunction can be found among the faithful of the Jehovah's Witnesses.

The Demographic Decline of the Jewish Community

- The Jewish community is experiencing a demographic decline caused by a lowered birth-rate and by inter-provincial and international migrations and elderly population. This decline is more pronounced among the Jews of European origin. The latter make up some 75% to 80% of the community, while the Jews from North Africa and the Middle East, who began arriving in the 1960s, now make up about 20% to 25% of the community.
- 67 % of the Jews in Quebec are natives of Canada, a characteristic that distinguishes the Jews from the other non-Christian communities.

The Growth and Diversity of the Muslim Community

- The Muslim community has experienced a growth rate of 141,7% over 10 years, to the point that it has now surpassed the Jewish community in absolute numbers.
- The national communities originating from the various countries of the Arab world represent 56% of the Muslims in Quebec¹⁵. There are also Muslims who came from South-East Asia, Malaysia, Black Africa, Central Asia and the Balkans.
- The relative size of recent immigration within the Muslim group must not obscure the fact that 22,3% of them are natives of Quebec.

A Remark:

- The weighted assessment scores given to French-speaking candidates for immigration has indirectly fostered in Quebec an upsurge of Evangelical Protestantism, of Oriental Catholic Churches, certain Orthodox Churches of the Seven Councils (the Antioch Church and the Romanian Church), Orthodox Churches of the Four Councils, Jews from North Africa, of Islam and Indochinese Buddhism.

¹⁴ In Quebec and in Canada, the Anglicans are generally included in the family of Protestant Churches. However, historically as well as doctrinally, the Anglican Church is an entity quite distinct from the Reform Churches.

¹⁵ According to the doctoral research by F. Castel.

Table 2- The Evolution of Religious Diversity and Denominational Disaffiliation in Quebec (1961-2001)

Denominations	Years					
	Total Population	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
		5 259 211	6 027 765	6 369 070	6 810 300	7 125 580
Catholics (1)		4 635 610 87.5%	5 251 085 86.7%	5 618 365 88.0%	5 861 200 85.9%	5 939 710 83.2%
Protestants (2)		462 428 8.7%	510 105 8.4%	407 070 6.3%	398 725 5.8%	335 590 4.7%
Orthodox (3)		32 297 0.6%	59 910 0.1%	73 275 1.1%	89 285 1.3%	100 370 1.4%
Christians not included elsewhere (4)						56 750 0.7%
Christian Churches (% of total)		97.5	96.5	95.7	93.2	90.2
Jews		104 727 2.0%	110 885 1.8%	102 355 1.6%	97 735 1.4%	89 920 1.2%
Muslims		(700-900)	(3 000-5 000)	12 120 0.1%	44 930 0.6%	108 620 1.5%
Buddhists		548	1 130	12 000 0.1%	31 640 0.4%	41 375 0.5%
Hindus		(100-250)	(1 000-2 000)	6 695 0.1%	14 120 0.2%	24 530 0.3%
Sikhs		(30-50)	(500-1 000)	1 785	4 525	8 220 0.1%
Other Oriental Religions			(25-50)	1 735	2 335	3 425
Non Christian Religions (% of total)		2.0	1.9	2.1	2.8	3.8
Parareligious Groups (5)				745	1 895	3 870
Others, not included elsewhere				215	1 100	7 015
Without any Affiliation (6)		7 000 0.1%	76 690 1.2%	132 720 2.0%	262 800 3.8%	400 325 5.6%

Source: Canada Census of 1961; 1971; Statistics Canada 1981, 1991, 2001. In parentheses: our estimates.

(1) Includes the Roman Catholic Church, Oriental Catholic Churches and the other European Catholic Churches.

Note: The Greek Catholic Church was included among the Orthodox Churches until 1991.

(2) The respondents who declared themselves as "Evangelicals" were included among the "Christians not included elsewhere".

(3) A statistical category that merged the Orthodox Church of the Four Councils with the Orthodox Church of the Seven Councils.

(4) Includes mainly, those individuals who described themselves as simply "Christians", "Apostolics", or "Evangelicals".

Note: Those identifying themselves simply as "Christians" were counted among the Protestants until 1991.

(5) And "Other religions".

(6) Appears to include the Chinese and Vietnamese practitioners of San Jiao.

Laicity in Quebec

In Quebec, the concept of *laicity* or secularism often turns up in opposing contexts. It carries a set of representations and an emotional charge that evoke polarized reactions. Its anchoring in the history of France, together with a certain anticlericalism present amongst the French Canadian elites, have contributed to make it appear rigid, if not antireligious. Is that enough to give up using the notion of laicity altogether? How should we best refer to it by anchoring it in Quebec's own context?

Before answering these questions, it seems appropriate that we should submit a few definitions in order to specify the meanings given to certain concepts that are often used as synonyms, but which in fact correspond to different realities.

Laicization, Laicity and Secularization

In the current literature, it is difficult to discern any true consensus with respect to the meanings that should be attributed to these different terms. For many English-language writers, the term *secularization* corresponds to the conceptual equivalent of the French *laïcisation*, because the French word *laïcité* until quite recently had no corresponding translation equivalent in English¹⁶.

We shall be using the definitions worked out by Micheline Milot and Jean Baubérot, definitions which complement each other and make it possible to shed some light on the models of State-Church relations previously described in Part One.

Secularization defines the internal process in a society whereby religion gradually loses its previous all-encompassing ascendancy over the influence of other social fields (culture, the economy, etc.). Religion can remain relevant for individuals, but can no longer impose itself upon society as a whole. Secularization does not exclude the fact that manifestations of religious revival and demands for recognition on the part of religious groups may occur. It presents itself as a progressively unfolding sociocultural process, whereas laicization, which formally regulates the functioning of institutions, often gives rise to debates and tests of strength.

Laicization refers to the deliberate actions and legal means initiated by the State for the purpose of maintaining neutral relations with religions and to prevent any direct interventions by religions in the management of the State. These elements are either formulated by means of constitutional provisions, by judicial decisions, or through the

¹⁶ Translator's note: The translation problem here, of course, derives from the fact that French-language writers use both "*sécularisation / sécularité*", understood in a broad sociocultural sense, and "*laïcisation / laïcité*" in a specifically political and legal sense, whereas English-language writers generally use the even broader single corresponding terms "*secularization/ secularism/ secularity*" to discuss both of those conceptual meanings. Yet the difficulty is not insuperable, for English dictionaries already include some potentially relevant corresponding terms such as "*laicization / laical / laicized*". "*Laicity*" is not yet in the dictionaries, but a recent special issue of *Social Compass* (vol. 47, # 3, 2000) used the term in its title: "Les méandres de la laïcité./ Twists and Turns of Laicity" (reference in M. Milot, *Op. cit.*, p. 28).

cumulative determinations of common law. With laicization, “*the autonomy of political regulation goes together with the autonomy of religions with respect to State power*”¹⁷. This process also includes “*the principles of rights and justice that must be implemented by the political order in a liberal democracy under conditions of pluralism*”¹⁸.

Laicity describes the result of the process of laicization. It can be defined as “*a progressive development of social and political institutions with respect to the diversity of the moral, religious and philosophical preferences of citizens. With this development, freedom of conscience and religion are guaranteed by a neutral State with respect to the different conceptions of the good life, on the basis of commonly shared values that make encounter and dialogue possible.*”¹⁹.

Thus, laicity can be viewed as:

- The independence of the State from religions, as well as the autonomy of Religion with respect to the policy. In other terms, religions do not directly exercise any political power and the State exercises no religious power, leaving the Churches to freely organize themselves in the public space. This separation, never entirely tight, does however allow the State to ensure that it is able to carry out its functions without being suspected of any favoritism or bias towards any one set of beliefs.
- A principle that must necessarily rest upon individual rights. Laicity is in fact a corollary of rights and freedoms. It does not mean, that the various religions and beliefs should no longer have any legitimate place in the public space, any more than it could mean that manifestations of beliefs could be forbidden in the public space. Individuals, as bearers of beliefs and convictions, have the right, recognized by the Charters, to exercise their freedom of conscience and religion in the public space. Laicity therefore imposes itself upon institutions so that individuals may be able to fully enjoy their rights and their freedoms.

In a context where religious diversity is part of the social fabric, this separation between the State and religions is what makes it possible to ensure a fair treatment for each individual. In the administration of justice, for example, it contributes to guarantee the religious impartiality of the courts. The notion of laicity is part of the theory of democracy. The laicity of the State and of the common institutions of a democratic society are precisely what guarantees a pluralistic treatment of the religious diversity (potentially vulnerable to discrimination) within it. Obviously, *laicity* so defined is quite different from a rigidly restrictive form of secularism (“*laïcisme*” in French), the doctrine that aims at removing religion, in all its manifestations from the entire public sphere.

¹⁷ M. Milot, *Op. cit.*, p. 32. (Our translation).

¹⁸ M. Milot, *Op. cit.*, p. 32. (Our translation).

¹⁹ Comité sur les affaires religieuses, *Rites et symboles religieux à l'école; défis éducatifs de la diversité*, Avis au ministre de l'Éducation, March 2003, p. 21.

Although the concept of laicity does make certain public manifestations of religion possible in some States, which would not be tolerated elsewhere, we should not perceive in this fact, according to M. Milot, “a more or less “pure” situation of laicity but, rather (...) a different interpretation of it by the social actors. Theoretically, both attitudes are possible in a secular context, but the second one is clearly more restrictive and reveals a great concern on the part of the State toward the differences that manifest themselves in the public space. (...) we can therefore discern different types of laicity, ranging from the most assimilationist to the most integrationist”²⁰.

Such a definition of laicity, which includes certain elements of the French approach while remaining at some distance from it, goes some way toward specifying the roles and responsibilities of the main protagonists, namely the public institutions, the religious institutions, and the citizens. So defined, it provides a normative framework capable of sustaining reflection and action in taking account of religious diversity in Quebec today.

Laicity in brief:

<p>What it is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ A form of pact²¹ between the State and the various religions in the society ✓ The result of a historic process particular to each State in its relations with the various religions ✓ A reality constantly in movement, tied to the evolution of the society ✓ A requirement for institutions ✓ A normative framework permitting the expression of religious pluralism²² 	<p>What it is not:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ An opinion about belief or religion ✓ An ideological system ✓ A synonym for atheism, anticlericalism or anti-religiousness (although these may sometimes be found to be associated) ✓ A requirement for individuals
<p>What it entails:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ The non-interference of the State in religious affairs ✓ The non-interference of any religions or clergies in the management of the State ✓ Respect for individual rights 	<p>What it does not entail:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Being banned from manifesting one’s beliefs in the public space
<p>What it can permit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ An even-handed recognition of religious diversity 	<p>What it cannot permit:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Unfair treatment for the various religions or groups of conviction

²⁰ M. Milot, *Op. cit.*, p. 36. (Our translation).

²¹ According to Jean Baubérot, «The sociological notion of a pact involves – contrary to the common sense use of the term – neither equality between the parties nor the conclusion of any explicit agreements. It is enough that a situation of “war” can be countered by the organization of a formally peaceful scheme for living together that takes into account the constitutive elements of the identity of each of the parties involved.” (Cited in M. Milot, *Op. cit.*, p. 68. Our translation).

²² Pluralism is understood here as the manner in which the State takes diversity into account.

PART THREE: RELIGIONS IN THE CIVIC SPACE

The Legal Framework

Freedom of religion is a right guaranteed by Section 2 a) of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and Section 3 of Quebec's *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*. Freedom of religion is an individual right that is applied collectively as the right for members of a same religion to gather together and manifest their faith. Freedom of religion includes the right to profess it, teach it and propagate it, and therefore, consequently, the right for the faithful to go to a place or worship and, collectively, the right for the religious community to build and possess a place of worship to gather together and practice the rites of their religious beliefs²³.

In general, a judge is not concerned with the validity of a doctrine or its conformity with dogma. The fact that a person solemnly states that a given practice or symbol are parts of his, or her, belief is enough to justify the validity of the request. As well, the rareness of a practice or the fact that it is not very prevalent among the faithful of that religion does not invalidate the request.

When an employer is cited in a complaint for a discrimination criterion forbidden by the Charter, such as religion, it is for the employer to prove that he, or she, used all the available means to correct the situation and avoid its causing any detriment to the individual. The complainant, for his or her part, must show good faith, but also be ready to accept certain compromise solutions.

Lastly, it is important to remember two essential dimensions of the logic of human rights: the rights of the ones end where the rights of the others begin. Furthermore, my rights only exist in as much as others recognize them as mine.

The expression of freedom of religion, including its achievement through the negotiation of a reasonable accommodation, cannot be done at the price of denying another right protected by the Charter. For instance, the jurisprudence recognizes for individuals opposed to blood transfusions by religious conviction the right to refuse such a treatment for themselves. However, in the case of parents who have this conviction and want to refuse this same treatment for their under-age child, the Court has chosen to protect the child's right to life and authorize the treatment against the parents's will. In other words, a person cannot claim the exercise of a right if, by doing so, he, or she, is thus harming the right of another person.

Let us further add that the tribunals have adopted a broad definition of religious freedom and do not make any prior distinction between a religion and a sect. In the view of Canadian law, respect for freedom of religion and conscience does not permit the State to decide by itself what a religion is and what a sect is.

THE OBLIGATION OF REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION

The obligation of reasonable accommodation in cases of indirect discrimination first appeared in Canadian law in 1985, in the judgment rendered in a case (*Ontario Human Rights Commission c. Simpson Sears Ltd* [1985] 2 R.C.S. 536) involving a conflict between religious convictions and a work timetable.

²³ Jézéquel, p. 4.

It may be defined as “the obligation to adapt a rule originally designed for a majority, for the purpose of meeting the specific needs of certain persons or of a group so that they will not be victims of discrimination because of certain characteristics that differentiate them from the majority. This requires making exceptions to some general rules or modifying them in such a manner as to accommodate the special needs of certain groups or persons, in order to respect their right to equality²⁴“. This prescription requires, on the part of employers, that they “*take reasonable steps to come to an agreement with the complainant unless this causes them undue hardship; in other words, it is a matter of taking measures that can be reasonable to come to an agreement without thereby unduly hindering the operation of the employer’s business and imposing excessive costs upon it*²⁵“.

The obligation of reasonable accommodation flows from the right to equality and from freedom of religion, recognized by the laws related to human rights and by the two Charters. They can therefore apply to public or private employers and to suppliers of goods and services as well as to the Legislator and the rule-making authority.

Since its appearance on the Canadian judicial scene, reasonable accommodation has been the subject of several research projects and publications. Let us mention especially the work done by Professor José Woehrling²⁶, those by the CRI²⁷ and, of course, those by the CDPDJ²⁸. These publications have forced us to become aware of a few realities that we too often forget:

- Equality in actual fact does not always mean equality of treatment. Differential treatments are sometimes required in order to achieve conditions of fairness between persons.
- Accommodations are made on the basis of individual rights, in relation to a specific context. They do not constitute collective rights recognized for religious groups.
- The rights recognized in the Charter are so recognized for all citizens and do not concern solely the ethnocultural minorities.

With the development and the refinement of jurisprudence, different organizations and institutions have gradually learned to incorporate the notion of reasonable accommodation into their everyday practices. This has been the case, for instance, in the Montreal schools, which we shall now discuss.

²⁴ Drapeau, M. « L'évolution du droit du travail à la lumière de l'arrêt Meiorin », *Revue du Barreau*, printemps 2001., p. 306.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

²⁶ Woehrling, J. « L'accommodement raisonnable et l'adaptation de la société à la diversité religieuse », in *Revue de droit de McGill*, (1998) 43 R.D. McGill, p. 325.

²⁷ CCCI, *La gestion des conflits de normes par les organisations dans le contexte pluraliste de la société québécoise*, Avis, 1993., and also: *Gérer la diversité dans un Québec francophone, démocratique et pluraliste*. Étude complémentaire, 1993.

²⁸ Bosset, P., Cloutier, G., Garon, M., Lortie, M. et Rochon, M. *Le pluralisme religieux au Québec, un défi d'éthique sociale*, février 1995, Official document – 30 p. See also: Bosset, P. *Pratiques et symboles religieux : quelles sont les responsabilités des institutions?* août 2000, 27p., Speech presented during the continuing education day jointly organized by the Quebec Human Rights Commission and the Quebec Bar concerning “Les 25 ans de la Charte québécoise”.

The School Environment

Schools find themselves in a delicate position with respect to religious diversity, for reasons that derive from its own mission as well as from its clientele. During the 2002-2003 school year, two situations involving high school students²⁹ thus highlighted certain issues related to this question.

The media overexposure of these cases may have left the impression that the schools were resourceless when facing requests for reasonable accommodations. However, at the Ministry of Education's Direction des services aux communautés culturelles, at the beginning of 2004, no other recent contentious situations were reported involving religious diversity in the schools. Such calm lead us to believe that cases that do come up are generally resolved in the local environments where they appear and that, over the years, the school managements and the teachers have developed the skills required for responding appropriately to such requests.

However, compared to other contexts where religious diversity can manifest itself, schools have certain specific features, related to their very nature, which make conflicts more probable there. Thus, schools are generally considered to have three major missions: that of transmitting a body of knowledge, that of socializing everyone to commonly shared values and, lastly, that of enhancing equality of opportunity between the students, developing a critical sense, and enabling everyone to distance themselves from the identities imposed by their original backgrounds, in order to gain access to their shared identity as citizens.

On the other hand, schools also distinguish themselves by the manner in which the parties to a reasonable accommodation come into conflict. Here, it is not a case of a business confronted with a request by an employee, or a client exercising his or her rights with a full understanding of the case but, rather, two third parties, namely parents and professional educators who, on both sides, wish to defend the rights of the child. In such a context, the parents are of course justified in exercising, in the name of their child, the right to religious freedom. Seen from the professional educator's perspective, the request can also be conceived as a religious constraint imposed upon the child, whereas the school, by forbidding some religious practices, will be viewed as ensuring more room for the child's freedom³⁰.

In fact, schools play a role as connecting joints between the private sphere and the public sphere and, in that capacity, they must be open to accommodations. Today the crucial question that must be answered is not so much "when" or "on what" to accommodate, as to decide "how far" and "how" best to do it.. Now, whatever else may be said in the school context, the guidelines do exist and they are reasonably clear.

For instance, in school as elsewhere, an accommodation should not directly interfere with any of the student's other rights or to the rights of any other students nor, of course, should it impose any undue hardship upon the school with respect to its functioning or its budget. In general, in a school context, the negotiations relating to a reasonable accommodation should be framed by an overall strategy for taking diversity into account. It should aim at avoiding

²⁹ These were the cases of the young Sikh who wished to wear his *kirpan* in school and the young Muslim girl who was expelled from her private school for wearing her *hijab*. At this time, these highly media-exposed cases have not yet found any definitive conclusion. Regarding the young boy, his case is presently pending an appeal before the Supreme Court. In the case of the young girl, an opinion was expected for the spring of 2004 from Quebec's Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission.

³⁰ M. McAndrew, *Option CSQ*.

any forms of discrimination or exclusion, as well as an approach to integration designed to avoid the risk of withdrawal into a minority group identity as well as the risk of anomie.

In fact, in that sort of situation, one should prefer solutions that make it possible to simultaneously respect the school's mission and respect the family's convictions. For instance, some adolescent girls who refused to wear athletic shorts during physical education classes were allowed to wear light, loose pants that did not hinder their movements while at the same time respecting the religious scriptures on modesty in clothing.

However, it is difficult to imagine how, in the name of the parents' religious convictions, a school could accept that a student not take a compulsory course or refuse to go to class because the subject discussed that day is not aligned with his, or her, convictions. In this regard, the *Public Education Act* as well as academic regulations formulate rigorously stringent requirements addressed to school managers and teachers. Students may not be forced to take positions running counter to their convictions, but nor may they refuse to hear out those opinions, any more than they may be refused the right to state their own reservations. An effective teaching strategy will promote a fruitful confrontation of ideas that illustrates the value of listening, tolerance and critical thinking. It is by such means that democratic debate can be nurtured and that young people can be trained in peaceful conflict management.

However, the very logic of accommodation calls for compromise on the part of both parties. Now, among school professionals, certain obstacles of a perceptual nature interfere with the implementation of accommodations. To deal with those obstacles, Marie McAndrew suggests a dialogue with the families where the emphasis is placed on the child's best interest and success. She further suggests negotiating the accommodation in the presence of the persons concerned, including the student. She also argues, for the attention of school leaders, the long-term gains for the family's own integration. Lastly, the teachers are also encouraged to show creativeness so that their pedagogical choices will take religious diversity into account.

The Health Services Sector

We focused our attention more specifically on the Public Health sector which performs information-gathering tasks while monitoring the population's state of health, how it applies its expertise in disease prevention and health promotion in cooperation with the CLSCs, certain community organizations and certain sectors in the hospital system. We contacted the *Culture et migration* team at the Direction de santé publique in Montreal, who has developed a broad expertise on issues related to cultural diversity and is currently cooperating with various CLSCs in carrying out research projects. In the public health sector, the issue of religious diversity does not appear to come up in a specific manner. It is perceived more as one of the elements that make up cultural diversity.

Besides, the very nature of CLSC activities (front-line health services, social services, home health care), personalized and focused on people's individual needs, creates a context that is open to negotiation and makes it easier to resolve conflicts case by case. Our respondents therefore had no concrete examples to give us where religious diversity had raised some special challenge.

They are aware, however, of the fact that the level of sensitivity varies a lot among health professionals. Thus, while certain CLSCs located in multiethnic areas have developed a very broad expertise, others appear to be only just discovering this reality. Moreover, those CLSCs where a sensitive approach had previously been developed in order to appropriately respond to the reality of a numerically larger group (for instance, the Italians in St. Leonard) today are experiencing difficulties in transferring while further expanding their expertise to people coming from the more recent waves of immigration.

Special situations occasionally present themselves. For instance, a Muslim woman wearing her *hijab* presented herself for a first-stage pregnancy medical examination. When the moment came to set an appointment for an echography, she asked for a guarantee that a woman would be available to perform that examination because, if not, she would not go for the appointment. The attending physician, a woman, therefore performed her examination without the benefit of the technology because she was unable to provide the guarantee that the patient had asked for.

As one female health professional mentioned during a discussion workshop on religious diversity in health care, this is a field that can prove to be very sensitive, because it comes into play at moments that are highly charged with meaning in human lives: birth, death, and suffering. This special dimension of health care requires greater sensitivity on the part of health care practitioners than from professionals and volunteers in other fields.

In the hospital context, it is worth mentioning some adjustment efforts implemented by the Montreal Jewish Hospital for the benefit of Orthodox Jews, who must not personally operate any electric or electronic equipment during the Sabbath. For instance, elevators were programmed so that, during this period, they automatically stop off and open at each floor, which allows these strict religious believers to avoid having to choose between climbing many stairs or not respecting their religious obligation.

Chaplaincy services in hospitals have also adjusted to the diversification of beliefs, and Catholic priests are no longer the only religious figures who bring comfort to people who show the need for it. Similarly, efforts have been made so that places of worship or meditation are no longer directly associated with any particular faith and may be used by the believers of different religions.

This too brief incursion in the health services sector has allowed us to see that resources for integrating diversity do exist, but also to realize the difficulty of maintaining the necessary expertise. In the mid-1990s, in the wake of the projects financed by the Initiatives Fund³¹, the Ministry of Health had set up an ambitious training program for the management of diversity, along with an employment equity program, of which there no longer appear to be any traces.

³¹ In the early 1990s, in the wake of the *Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration*, the Government had also adopted an Action Plan aimed at implementing a set of measures designed to promote the adjustment of Quebec's public institutions to their immigrant clientele. A special fund, called the Initiatives Fund, was then created for a three-year period, in order to financially support the various projects submitted by institutions.

The Municipalities³²

The diversification of religious practices (Islam, Sikhism, Hinduism, Buddhism) and the emergence of new trends (Baptists, Adventists, Pentecostalists) is giving rise to an increasing demand for building places of worship, converting old churches or enlarging existing religious buildings. It has been estimated that in 2002, of the 800 places of worship listed on the Island of Montreal, 35% belong to ethno-religious communities or groups. Sometimes, such places are occupied clandestinely; while others are located in unexpected places (former businesses, etc.) or shelter community and cultural activities.

In the Mile-End district, some religious buildings have changed owners and religious callings several times. Installation strategies vary depending on the need for space, the size of the community and a congregation's search for visibility or invisibility. At the City of Montreal, we were told: "We receive many requests for setting up places of worship in buildings not originally designed for that purpose, especially in the boroughs, on commercial streets, in office spaces, on ground floors, in commercial buildings, in abandoned industrial sectors, etc."

The disaffection of Catholic or Anglican and Protestant parishes is increasing concomitantly with the proliferation of small religious institutions originating from the new religious communities. Far from solving one problem with another one, they add themselves onto each other, the first ones struggling to preserve their religious heritage, while the others struggle for new places of worship. In addition, the diversification of religious practices is taking place in a landscape marked by Quebec's own cultural and religious heritage.

The context of an increasing proliferation of places of worship is leading municipalities to fear a concentration of places of worship in residential neighbourhoods. The willingness of the municipalities to respond to the needs of religious communities on their territories is coming up against a certain saturation of reserved spaces. Hence the multiplication of requests for setting up places of worship in buildings not intended for that purpose.

This generates a competition for space and a competition on the real-estate market in a context of scarcity of real estate properties and changing demographics. This real estate context raises the issue of space sharing in a limited space where the proximity of a religious cult affects the sales value of homes located in residential neighbourhoods.

The issue of setting up places of worship is addressed in a context marked by the laicization of public institutions. Local battles for the dividing up of territory often serve to fuel controversy about the meaning and scope of laicity and about the application of the principle of neutrality in the public sphere. In this regard, the affirmation of religious identity through the architectural forms of buildings parallels, in some respects, the debates over the visible signs of religious affiliation (*hijab, kirpan, etc.*).

According to the *Act respecting land use planning and development*, a by-law may not absolutely prohibit places of worship throughout the whole territory of a municipality. It must provide for zones where certain constructions or uses are authorized. These zones and sectors appear in detail on a map: the *Zoning Plan*. The **zoning by-law** may contain provisions

³² Quoted from the research report by M. Jézéquel, *Cadre d'analyse juridique en matière d'aménagement ou de reconversion des lieux de culte par les municipalités du Québec*, produced for the CRI.

dealing with three broad categories of restrictions: norms concerning usage, norms concerning building site development, and all the other types of norms. Building-site norms may vary by zones or by categories of use. In all cases, it must respect the provisions of the Working Scheme and the City Planning Scheme.

The authorization to build a place of worship therefore depends essentially upon the zoning by-law authorizing certain uses in certain zones. In the absence of available sites for building a place of worship, the petitioners may request a **modification of the zoning by-law** by the City Council who will refer it to the consultative City Zoning Committee for an opinion.

“The zoning by-law is certainly the most familiar and the most constraining of the urban planning by-laws of a municipality” (Beaulieu et al., 1995).

In the 1990s, several municipalities “froze” their zoning by-laws in order to restrict the sites where places of worship might have been set up in a wholly legal fashion. A study by Annick Germain’s research team thus revealed that in the City of Longueuil, the zoning by-law was modified in such a way that the number of permissible zones fell from 311 to 75 since 1999, and then to 25 zones³³. Other municipalities adopted a **moratorium on places of worship**. “This change, which indeed protected the established churches, amounted in fact to a serious freeze put on the establishment of new places of worship, unless the petitioners found a way to make use of older Catholic churches (generally oversized as compared to the size of the new congregations)”³⁴. Indeed, municipal authorities have no control nor any right of oversight over the owners or occupants, inasmuch as the activities carried out in each zone are in accordance with the municipal by-law governing uses.

Although zoning by-laws have become more rigid, certain technicalities have made it possible to loosen this rigidity, such as conditional uses, minor departures that rely more broadly on the notion of discretion, namely making decisions case by case on the basis of general criteria. With the reorganization that followed the municipal mergers, the *Act respecting land use planning and development* was modified to extend to all cities in Quebec, including the City of Montreal, the powers that existed in the former City of Montreal; and its boroughs which in certain cases can authorize places of worship.

Teaching Religion in School: The Choice of Consistency

The issue of the place of religion in schools set off a wide debate in Quebec society after the abolition of the constitutional provisions that had prevented Quebec from restructuring its school system on a non-denominational basis. The publication in 1999 of the report *Laïcité et religions* and the debate in parliamentary commissions provided an opportunity to observe the polarization of opinions on this issue.

In 2000, the Government’s position for all of Quebec’s public schools are common and open schools. These schools with no denominational status are defined in terms of a neighborhood or a village and are service all the children in a territory. There cannot exist any public schools with a special project of a religious nature. The denominational structures that previously oversaw the place of religion in the schools were abolished. The pastoral services

³³ Annick Germain et al., *L’aménagement des lieux de culte des minorités ethniques : enjeux et dynamiques locales*, INRS, February 2003, p. 16.

³⁴ *Idem*, p. 17.

were replaced by a common organization of services for spiritual animation and community involvement.

However, Bill 118, which created the linguistic school boards, also allowed the exclusive maintenance of Catholic and Protestant religious teachings in Quebec's public schools. However, according to the Charter, no religion should benefit from privileges unavailable to other religions. The Government therefore had to resort to a waiver clause in order to shield its law from the authority of its own Charter. As the duration of this clause is 5 years, it is in June 2005 that the Government will again rule on the issue of religious teaching in the schools.

The Government therefore finds itself faced with three options:

- Resort once again to the derogatory clause;
- Widen the privileged to all religious denominations;
- Put an end to denominational religious teaching in Quebec's public schools.

To give a solid basis to its position in this debate, the CRI has asked a research team to conduct a qualitative study aimed at learning the opinions of religious leaders on this issue. Twenty-one religious leaders accepted to take part in this study.

The interviewed leaders pronounced themselves in favour of maintaining a teaching *about* religion in the schools, in favour of openness to diversity and in favour of non-discrimination. Most of them showed great interest in setting up a single and common teaching program about religions.

The current system of options is generally perceived as uselessly dividing children and a source of discrimination. While Catholics and Protestants show themselves to be more comfortable with this system, which is normal, many are nevertheless critical towards it and are aware of the negative effects caused by the current judicial freeze. In that sense, the derogation to the Charters of rights to allow the teaching of only two denominational faiths is widely contested.

The religious leaders are aware that the mission of the schools is different from that of families and religious communities. Most of them consider that transmitting a faith or a religious identity does not have its place in schools, and they are very much aware that religious organizations have an important role to play with their members. Only a few leaders (one Catholic and one Evangelical Protestant) believed the contrary. For all of them, the understanding of one's own religion and of the religions of others is important, for it opens out onto a better integration of diversity.

This study, as mentioned above, does not claim to be "representative" of the point of view of the total number of religious leaders. It does express, however, a sufficiently broad range of sensibilities that we can consider the opinions expressed as serious indicators of the current changes in mentalities. Visibly, since 2000, positions have become more relaxed.

While the derogation in 2000 was viewed at that time as a pragmatic compromise that avoided increased polarization between the supporters of a denominational system and the supporters of total laicity, it appears, in light of this study, that other avenues can now be considered.

Considering the current state of change in Quebec society, attested by the study conducted by Micheline Milot and her research team, the Conseil believes that the compromise in the spring of 2000 no longer represents an acceptable solution for a democratic and diverse society such as Quebec.

The option of offering each religious group a denominational religious program in public schools does not appear realistic, for reasons involving administrative difficulties and the geographical dispersion of religious groups throughout Quebec's territory. Moreover, it tends to contradict the process of laicization already under way and does not respect the logic of living together that moves Quebec's schools and, more broadly, its society as a whole.

The CRI therefore pronounces itself in favour of putting an end to denominational religious teaching in Quebec's public schools, and in favour of providing, instead, a course in ethics and religious culture.

PART FOUR: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The State and religions: Independence but not-indifference

As the foregoing has shown, religious diversity is subtle and complex. Indeed, the statistical data emphasize a paradox typical of many modern societies: the rise of religious disaffiliation and the rise of small religious communities, some of them recognized (such as the evangelical missionary churches), while others are more often described as sects (such as the Raelian or New Age movements). The religious landscape is therefore engaged in a process of reorganization under the cross-influences of several distinct and sometimes opposed forces: a partial eclipse of the heretofore dominant religions, an interest in a sort of spirituality experienced on a smaller scale and, of course, the growth of religions such as Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism and Hinduism, mainly sustained by recent immigration.

Taking account religious diversity is part of a healthy management of social relations. On the one hand, it is important to avoid belief becoming an excuse for exclusion and, on the other hand, it is important to create conditions to promote the full participation of persons of all denominations in order to also avoid self-exclusion. Now, it is clearly the Government's responsibility to ensure that all the necessary conditions are brought together so that all Quebec's citizens, whatever their religious convictions or their ethnic origins may maintain between themselves relations marked by respect, tolerance and openness.

On the other hand, the emotionality that situations involving religious diversity inevitably arouse reminds us that Quebec society has perhaps not yet resolved all of its conflicts and inner contradictions with respect to religion. It will therefore still be necessary for us to face the fears, the negative perceptions and the symbolic obstacles that create obstruction, resistance and, in the end, intolerance and exclusion, namely:

- The fear of seeing the civic space become religious once again, whereas the laicization currently under way is generally seen as a gain over the previous situation and a bulwark against any abusive influence on the part of the clergy;
- The fear of seeing a rise in fundamentalism, with certain groups eventually imposing upon everyone their norms considered to be unacceptable;
- The impression that the rights recognized for some (the minorities) are in fact taken away from the others (of the majority);
- The dangerous confusions created in popular imagery between certain religious groups and terrorist threats, whereby any believer is summarily transformed into a potential assassin.
- The lack of knowledge or the misunderstanding about the concept of laicity among the majority group as well as among the different religious groups.

In order to take up these challenges, Quebec can count on certain resources, but it must also become more aware of the gaps that must be filled in.

Among its resources, Quebec can count upon:

- A judicial framework that imposes no official religion and has long recognized freedom of religious practice;

- Charters of rights that recognize freedom of religion, including the right to manifest it in the public space;
- A policy model for the integration of immigrants that recognizes differences while valuing integration;
- A host of institutional and community practices that combine the recognition of differences, a sense of the paramount importance of living together, and the refusal of discrimination.

Certain further elements must emerge, however, for more significant results to be achieved:

- An explicit definition of laicity adjusted to Quebec's context, in order to provide institutions, citizens and organizations in the civil society, including religious groups, with a common framework that will make it possible to arbitrate relations between religions and the State.
- Mechanisms for managing diversity, to promote greater flexibility within businesses and institutions.
- A human rights culture shared simultaneously by the institutions and by all the citizens, whatever their origins or the moment when they arrived in Quebec.
- A practice of reasonable accommodation.

It is important for Quebec's state to develop and maintain peaceful relations with the various religious groups that now make up Quebec society, which is not to deny the possible excesses that can be committed in the name of a belief, nor to close one's eyes on certain factions, present in all faiths, who want to politicize faith.

In order to do this, the State must first take a stance concerning two especially sensitive issues in public opinion: the laicity of Quebec's institutions and the teaching of religion in the public schools. By ruling on those two issues, the State will be able to create a framework that will make it possible to peacefully pursue the debate on the place of religion in the public sphere.

From this framework, where the expression of religion in the public sphere is accepted as a social reality, as the expression of rights recognized for everyone by the Charters and as one feature of living together, certain responsibilities must follow for public institutions: developing expertise, training, adjusting services to the diversity of their clientele, etc. These adjustments will then be made not in the name of some ill-defined "tolerance", which may resemble an abdication of responsibility, but in the name of the laicity of those institutions.

Reasonable accommodation, as we have seen, is a legal obligation that requires an attitude of negotiation where each party must recognize the Other in his, or her, specificity in the name of living together. Over the years, several communities have developed a precious expertise, which must be shared, further developed and deepened. However, because it has a strictly individual dimension, reasonable accommodation cannot, by itself alone, be enough to ensure a healthy management of religious diversity. Religious identity needs not only to be accommodated, it also needs to be recognized as a part of the identity of citizens, a part that does no harm to the quality of living together.

Taking account of religious diversity in Quebec therefore follows two levels of intervention:

- A general level, which addresses the society as a whole, through governmental and institutional actions;

- An individual level, more sensitive, which aims at ensuring that Quebec's citizens be able to fully exercise all of their rights.

Taking all of these elements into account, the Conseil des relations interculturelles submits the following recommendations.

Recommendations

TO THE GOVERNMENT

Considering the importance for Quebec society of maintaining a harmonious social climate where each person, whatever be his or her origin or religious affiliation, is called upon to contribute to Quebec's development;

Considering the very sensitive dimension of religious affiliation and the fact that it can be used as a motive for discrimination;

Considering Quebec's historical development as well as the expertise acquired in taking religious diversity into account,

The Conseil recommends to the Government:

- To support reflection on a definition of laicity relevant to the specific context of Quebec by initiating a dialogue with the different religious groups, by supporting research, and by considering, as an outcome flowing from these discussions and studies, a governmental declaration on laicity in Quebec's context.
- To set up the necessary means for an ongoing collection of information about the dynamics at work in the various religious groups, their characteristics and how they are perceived and treated (discrimination, racism, integration on the labour market, etc.), in order to be able to act on any potentially ominous changes of course (*e.g.*, the emergence of any fundamentalist or extremist discourse) and to avoid any tendency to withdraw into closed community identities.
- To initiate and maintain contacts with the various religious groups present on the territory by developing an approach that includes interventions with three distinct groups, namely:
 - o Religious leaders with a strong reputation of legitimacy in the eyes of their followers;
 - o Individuals and leaders of community organizations who belong to these groups and know them well;
 - o Rank and file members.
- To initiate, through these contacts, a dialogue with the religious groups, in order to arrive at a definition of laicity identifiably relevant for Quebec, a definition which can later on become the focal theme of a governmental declaration.

Considering the crucial importance of the accessibility of public institutions and their connective role in the relations between the State and its citizens, and considering the importance of conveying through these institutions a message of inclusion, openness and neutrality,

The Conseil recommends to the Government:

- To ensure that the various ways and means set up for the purpose of taking into account the religious diversity of Quebec society will be managed by an entity not solely concerned with the issues of immigration and integration, in order to avoid associating religious diversity systematically and solely with the phenomenon of immigration.

- To encourage, in each ministry and agency, the development of the necessary expertise for supporting the adjustment and negotiation efforts of the various service units in matters involving cultural and religious diversity.

Considering the strategic importance of the labour market in the integration process of citizens and the tragic effects that discrimination can produce when it occurs in this area, in particular for reasons involving religious affiliation or the wearing of religious symbols,

The Conseil recommends to the Government:

- To sensitize employers to the competitive advantages that can accrue from hiring individuals who are part of our society's ethnocultural and religious diversity.

- To spread and encourage the practices of diversity management within businesses in order to enhance the employment stability of individuals who are part of our society's ethnocultural and religious diversity.

Considering the crucial importance of the issue of religious teaching in the public schools, and the fact that the derogatory clause that makes denominational Catholic and Protestant religious teaching in Quebec's public schools legally possible is due to expire in June 2005,

The Conseil recommends to the Government:

- To replace the denominational Catholic and Protestant teaching in the public schools with an ethical and cultural course about religions, and to immediately consider the option of not further extending the derogatory clause that exempts religious teaching from the Charter; and to also rule out the idea of extending denominational religious teaching in public schools to all denominations.

- To examine the option of modifying Section 41 of Quebec's *Charter of human rights and freedoms*, as recommended by the CDPDJ in its *Bilan après 25 ans : la Charte québécoise des droits et libertés*, so that it will no longer impose upon the public schools a positive obligation to provide denominational religious teaching.

TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS WITH CITIZENS AND IMMIGRATION

Considering the importance of the increased degree of religious diversity among recently arrived immigrants, and considering the efforts that must be made to prevent these new arrivals from encountering barriers related to their religious affiliations or their ethnic origins along their path towards integration,

The Conseil recommends to the Minister:

- To ensure that future practices to facilitate the integration of new immigrants will take better account of their religious diversity, especially with respect to the sensitizing and training of facilitators.
- To ensure that the difficulties experienced by recent immigrants in trying to enter the labour market, especially by people originating from North Africa, will be followed up and given special attention, in order to counter any forms of discrimination based on religious affiliation.
- To focus special attention on those recently arrived communities which, for various reasons (absence of a diaspora, recent immigration, fragmentation of their origins and opinions), encounter greater difficulties in achieving a level of organization capable of ensuring some community financing. In this regard, special access to training programs in the field of community organization could be offered to certain key persons within these recently arrived communities.

Considering the critical importance of full participation for all citizens in Quebec's democratic life, and the risks of social tensions generated by discrimination and exclusion, and the further fact that support for civic participation and the fight against racism come within the scope of the Minister's specific jurisdiction,

The Conseil recommends to the Minister:

- To support studies for the purpose of developing and deepening reflection about laicity and religious diversity in Quebec society.
- To update the part of the 1991 *Policy Statement* dealing with intercommunity relations in order to take into account recent developments in Quebec society and the increase in religious diversity, and to promote the exercise of a citizenship based on living together.
- To ensure that subsidy programs will encourage a better knowledge of rights and responsibilities for EVERYONE.

TO THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION

Considering the sensitive nature of education with respect to religious convictions and the critical importance of taking religious diversity into account in the public schools,

The Conseil recommends to the Minister of Education:

- To examine the conditions that must be brought together to develop a program for the teaching of an ethical and cultural course about religion in Quebec's public schools.

- To allocate for this program a sufficient number of hours to allow the achievement of its learning objectives.
- To support the creation of places for learning democratic life and community involvement in order to build a social fabric that is respectful of its human participants and thus facilitate living together.
- To mandate the Conseil supérieur de l'éducation and its Committee on religious affairs to collaborate with the Conseil des relations interculturelles to study in greater depth the impacts of possible changes in the public school sector for the future of the denominational private schools.
- To ensure, until then, a fair access for the different religious groups to the financing of denominational private schools.

TO THE MUNICIPAL WORLD

Considering the basic importance of the common sharing together of public space by different groups and, more especially, the challenge of setting up places of worship for all the communities concerned, considering the by-laws in force in municipalities and the freedom of religion protected in the Charters,

Considering the crucial importance of ensuring that the various religious groups will all enjoy a fair access to available sites, while respecting the specific zoning vocations of the sectors concerned,

The Conseil recommends to the municipal world:

- To examine the various practices followed in the zoning of places of worship in order to ensure that they will not take solely into account the urban development dimension, but will also guarantee that religious diversity will be taken into account at the local and regional levels.
- To call upon municipal intercultural councils or administrative units specialized in such issues, wherever they happen to exist, to take part in the search for solutions or in mediation processes.
- To provide for support by the Ministry of Municipal Affairs so that the smaller municipalities who do not have the needed resources may gain access to expert advice.
- To develop authoritative negotiation bodies at the regional level in order to limit the perverse effects of the "Not in my yard" syndrome and the distortions related to the political and economic context.
- To introduce greater flexibility for facilitating the installation of places of worship also in mixed-zone spaces (i.e., sectors zoned concurrently as residential and commercial), rather than exclusively in areas specifically designated as residential zones.

TO THE MINISTER OF HEALTH

Considering the critical importance of accessibility and fairness for all citizens in the field of health services, it is essential that the various service professionals or volunteers involved be provided with the necessary tools so that they are able, when the need arises, to properly take religious affiliation into account in delivering health services.

The Conseil recommends to the Minister of Health and Social Services:

- To pursue the sensitivity training of health personnel at all levels and ensure that they will take into account the dimension of religious diversity.

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³⁵ For a more complete list, please see the *Liste des sources consultées* in the full original version of this advisory report.

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ANNEXE - THE CONSEIL DES RELATIONS INTERCULTURELLES

President : Patricia Rimok

Members : Raymond Chrétien
Honey A. Dresher
Shah Ismatullah Habibi
Pierre-Gérald Jean
To-Chi Kwan
Micheline Labelle
Johanne Maletto
Stephan Reichhold
Helena Seckarova
Uma Shanker Srivastava
Babakar-Pierre Touré
Linda Marienna Valenzuela

The secretary Louis-René Gagnon (without the right to vote)
and Raymonde Saint-Germain,
the deputy minister of the ministère
des Relations avec les citoyens
et de l'Immigration (without the right to vote)