

# Gallicism, Anglo-Saxonism and Quebec Education

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French and English Quebecers have long held contrasting views of education. The conventional explanation has it that the situation is a natural outgrowth of language, religious and political differences. Yet what must be appreciated is that there are additional factors contributing to the educational divide, to steering French and English Quebecers in opposite directions. The two peoples are products of different cultural legacies that have left their educational mark. French Québécois are cultural heirs to the Gallic tradition of rationalism, codified law, and centralism, while English Quebecers draw inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon legacy of empiricism, common law, and localism.

Depuis toujours les Québécois d'origine française et anglaise ont soutenu des opinions opposées en matière d'éducation. Traditionnellement on a expliqué ce phénomène en considérant qu'il découlait inévitablement de différences linguistiques, religieuses, et politiques. Cependant il est nécessaire d'évaluer aussi les autres facteurs qui contribuent à cette division en suscitant des orientations divergentes chez les deux groupes de Québécois. Les deux peuples sont les produits de cultures différentes dont l'influence a marqué le domaine de l'éducation. Les Québécois d'origine française sont les héritiers d'une tradition de rationalisme, de droit écrit et de centralisation, alors que ceux d'origine anglo-saxonne s'inspirent d'un passé d'empirisme, de droit coutumier et de pouvoir local.

One of the problems of developing education in today's Quebec is the lack of common ground on which a set of unified policies can rest. French and English Quebecers are profoundly divided on the question of education. Not too long ago, that is before the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, differences in education were less critical, if only because the two peoples went their separate way in education. The existence of two separate and distinct school systems that rarely mingled at any point effectively concealed deep-seated differences. The establishment of a Ministry of Education in 1964 signalled an end to the period of "splendid isolation" in school matters. For the first time in almost a century the two cultures found themselves in the unusual and uncomfortable position of having to talk to one another, of having to establish a working relationship in education. The experience has not been a happy one, characterized more by discord and confrontation than by co-operation and consensus.

Why are French and English Quebecers so badly divided on educational issues? The orthodox explanation holds that the lack of basic agreement is a reflection of social differences, of two peoples separated by language, religion, and politics. Language stands at the head of the list of significant variables, not only because it lies at the heart of the communi-

cative process but because it has been increasingly employed as a weapon of political and cultural change. The recent transformation of Quebec from a bilingual to an officially unilingual French province has widened the linguistic breach and increased tensions between French and English Quebecers. Religion continues to be a divisive element though far less so than in previous years when a person's educational status was nearly synonymous with his religious beliefs. In fact, religion has given way to language as the most dynamic element in Quebec education in spite of the fact that public education remains formally split along denominational (Catholic versus Protestant) lines. In political terms, a government dedicated in the short run to making "Quebec as French as Ontario is English" and in the long run to fashioning an independent state has further divided the two peoples and made educational dialogue more difficult. Quebec's English community, a minority population in the province since Confederation, has never felt more insecure. Thanks to restrictive language legislation in the 1970s the anglophone community has been left dangling demographically and educationally, no longer able to draw freely on the immigrant population, which over the years has been the main source of its growth. These and related factors, it is said, have sown the seeds of misunderstanding and distrust between French and English Quebecers, undermining relations and making educational accord an elusive goal.

While the preceding social and political elements are contributing factors to the educational divide in Quebec, they are not the only forces at work. The educational debate is symptomatic of a wider, deeper, less evident conflict that transcends more perceptible cultural distinctions. The debate represents a clash between divergent schools of thought, of how French and English Quebecers, with different concepts of reality and opposing points of departure, seek to solve their problems and arrange their institutions. In short, if the two peoples think and act differently in education, the answer may be ultimately traced to different philosophical positions. French-speaking Quebec is the cultural heir to the Gallic tradition of rationalism, codified law and centralism, all of which have their origins in France. English-speaking Quebec, for its part, draws inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon legacy of empiricism, common law, and localism, rooted historically in Britain and transplanted to English Canada and the United States.

#### RATIONALISM VS. EMPIRICISM

Quebec high school graduates aspiring to university study must attend for a period of two years one of the province's CEGEPs or *collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel*. Students in the French-language CEGEPs are required to take a number of compulsory courses, including two years of philosophy. No such requirement in philosophy is imposed on students attending English-language CEGEPs. There is more here than meets the

curricular eye. This subject matter differentiation is reflective of two great strains in western thought: the Gallic tradition of rationalism and the Anglo-Saxon one of empiricism. The legacy of the rational tradition owes much to the influence of the seventeenth-century French philosopher René Descartes, while that of empiricism looks to the English philosopher John Locke of the same century.

The essence of Descartes' philosophy, or Cartesianism as it is commonly known, is a belief in the power of the mind to determine truth and to solve problems through the exercise of reason and deductive logic, all without reference to experience and experimentation. Through the rational process Descartes was able to prove his own existence and that of God without so much as leaving his armchair. Along with secularism and centralism, Cartesianism has been a pervasive force in French education. To this day school children in France are encouraged to think and write like Descartes. In Laurence Wylie's contemporary classic *Village in the Vaucluse* we are witness to Cartesianism at work in a village school in the south of France.

In teaching morals, grammar, arithmetic and science the teacher always follows the same method. She first introduces a principle or rule ... then a concrete illustration or problem is presented and studied or solved in the light of the principle. (Wylie, 1964, p. 73)

It is, however, in the secondary schools of France where Cartesianism is most clearly expressed. The curriculum of the *lycée* has traditionally emphasized such rational, mind-bending subjects as philosophy, mathematics, geometry, and Latin, earning French education an intellectual and academic reputation. French educators have long held that the mind must be developed to show habits of critical and logical thinking, analysis, abstraction and generalization, employing the *explication de texte* and the solving of mathematical problems to develop these traits. On the other hand, it is sometimes charged that Cartesianism is responsible for turning France into a nation of logicians and mathematicians, hostile in spirit and method to science and other empirically based studies. Science of course requires a spirit of mind that begins in doubt or uncertainty and strives to arrive at truth through a process of observation, induction and experimentation. Cartesianism travels a different road, starting with general or self-evident principles from which it deduces particular truths. Is it any wonder few French scientists have won Nobel prizes during the last fifty years?

In both form and spirit Cartesianism penetrated the curriculum of Quebec's now largely defunct classical colleges, which during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century educated French Canada's social and political elite. Cartesianism complemented and reinforced the rationalism of Thomistic Christianity which so marked the Catholic-run colleges. Like the French *lycée* the classical college stressed ancient languages and literature, philosophy, logic, and mathematics. At

the same time, there was little representation of science and other practical subjects. The colleges turned out graduates steeped in the literary heritage of the west, who possessed the mental and technical skills to defend the tradition. At the same time, the same graduates were largely ignorant of the material or scientific developments of the world. They could readily quote from the speeches of Cicero and argue in the deductive mode of Descartes or Aristotle, but the theories of Newton, Mendel or Darwin were little known to them. As a system, the classical colleges disappeared in the late 1960s, absorbed by the newly founded CEGEPs. But in their demise they bequeathed a curricular legacy – the study of philosophy.

As opposed to Gallic societies, over the years Anglo-Saxon countries have demonstrated a greater acceptance of and interest in science, to the extent that today international science speaks with an English accent, with American and British scientists appearing to hold a monopoly on Nobel prizes. Thus in educational terms, it is no surprise to discover that secondary school students in England are exposed to much more science teaching than their counterparts in France (Halls, 1976). This situation pays homage to the strength of the empirical tradition in Anglo-Saxon countries, inspired in part by the writings of the seventeenth-century Englishman John Locke. Locke's assertion that knowledge is derived from experience laid the philosophical foundation for experimental science by re-directing man's interest to the natural world.

Closer to home, the Anglo-Saxon affinity for scientific knowledge and the Gallic attraction to rational knowledge is one of the underlying themes of Quebec educational history. Until quite recently, the training of scientists and the performance of empirical research were largely confined to English-language higher education, particularly McGill University. Until the reformist years of the 1960s, the francophone universities of Quebec produced an abundance of lawyers, theologians, physicians, and journalists but only a handful of scientists. Constrained by an ethic that favoured religious and literary knowledge and a classical college system that did not budge from its humanistic moorings, scientific research was a late arrival to French-speaking higher education. As late as 1954 the University of Montreal showed itself wary of the place of scientific research in higher education. Sounding very much like John Henry Cardinal Newman of a century earlier the university pronounced that "research is not really an essentially university activity ... the role of the university is to preserve and to transmit knowledge much more than to increase it" (Trudeau, 1974, p. 36).

In fairness, it must be admitted that the scientific gap between French and English higher education in Quebec has been considerably narrowed in recent years. And if the francophone universities have yet to match the scientific output of their English counterpart, science is no longer the sick man of the French university curriculum. In addition, the Quebec government showed its colours by appointing the province's first Minister

of Science and Technology in 1982. Still, it would be both rash and premature to conclude that French Québécois have become converted empiricists. One should remember that those in charge of determining Quebec's political and cultural destiny were educated by a system steeped in a rational-literary tradition.

A corollary to the empiricist-rational division is the Gallic preoccupation with theory and the Anglo-Saxon emphasis on practice. In attacking problems the French mind concentrates on developing a logically satisfying idea, believing that without a sound theoretical base no plan of action will succeed. Indeed, better a bad theory than no theory at all says the doctrine. In contrast, the Anglo-Saxon mind sees things differently, judging events less in terms of their theoretical underpinnings than in their effects or consequences. An idea is only good if it works. It is often said that the pragmatic bent of much of North American education is due to the influential philosophy of John Dewey. What is overlooked in this judgment is that Dewey's philosophy of Progressivism is pure Anglo-Saxonism, reflecting the fierce practicality of the North American mind and its obsession for demonstrable results. Dewey maintained that the ultimate test or validity of an educational idea is whether it leads to beneficial results.

Thus when French and English Quebecers debate public policy in education they sometimes begin in disharmony, separated as much by outlook and approach as by the specific issue under consideration. Indeed, the presence of divergent points of departure may actually carry the day, relegating to the background the question at hand. An educational illustration of this phenomenon, of the Gallic emphasis on theory and the Anglo-Saxon one on practice, was played out in the public arena in 1973. In that year Quebec's Ministry of Education adopted a controversial teacher classification system which aimed at equating salary levels with educational qualifications. Public opinion toward the scheme parted along French and English lines. The French-dominated ministry flaunted the system as a perfect embodiment of rational design, pointing to the fact that all teachers were judged against a uniform set of criteria. The English-language teacher associations declared war on the classification plan, the thrust of their attack being less against the idea underlying the scheme than against its application. Charging that numerous injustices had been committed in the implementation of the system, they judged it unworkable and demanded that the ministry scrap it. In the eyes of English teacher representatives the affair confirmed their suspicions that while the Gallic mind excels in coming up with new ideas and innovations it is poor at applying them.

#### CODIFIED LAW VS. COMMON LAW

Broadly speaking, two great legal traditions are at work in the western world: codified and common law. France and French-speaking lands, and

to a lesser extent her Continental neighbours, may be classified as codified law nations; England and most English-speaking societies qualify as common law countries. Codified law nations emphasize the written law as expressed in codes, constitutions and statutes, the bulk of which originates from legislative bodies. Common law nations pay respect to the unwritten law as reflected in the customs and traditions of society, much of which is formally recorded in case law as created by judicial authorities.

Viewed philosophically, the common law tradition demonstrates a Baconian and Lockian spirit – Baconian because legal realities are arrived at inductively and Lockian because it combines the elements of empiricism and evolution. The essence of common law is that it represents a set of customs that has won favour over a span of time. The application of common law is most clearly seen in the judicial process, whereby courts render decisions based upon unwritten law or precedent. Failing even a written constitution, England qualifies as the purest example of the common law tradition. The codified law tradition of France is, on the other hand, revolutionary in outlook and Cartesian in spirit. Whereas Anglo-Saxon law is deeply attached to history, Gallic law represents, at least in design, a fresh start in law building, unspoiled by custom and usage. The establishment of the Napoleonic Code during the first decade of the nineteenth century and the reality of the five republics, each with its own constitution, testify to the Gallic tendency for constructing new legal and political structures without formal references to the past.

The doctrine of codified law, much like the Gallic preoccupation with rationalism and theory, speaks more to beginnings than to ends, holding that in the good society every situation is legislated or accounted for on paper. Theoretically nothing is left to chance. The values of society are spelled out in more or less precise fashion in laws, codes and decrees, the assumption being that the written law can regulate behaviour. By contrast, there is an empirical quality to the common law mind. The Anglo-Saxon is sceptical of the Gallic view of law which declares that behaviour can be effectively regulated by legislative action. He prefers to play things by ear, to let events unfold naturally – to “muddle through” say its critics – which explains why he is wary of the notion that society can be organized on paper. When disputes arise he looks more to courts than to legislatures for their resolution. Judges, after all, rule from precedent, which is the court’s way of respecting the Anglo-Saxon’s love of tradition.

Quebec is unique in drawing inspiration from both legal traditions. As a province in a country whose political orientation is predominantly Anglo-Saxon, it cannot escape the influence of common law procedures. On the other hand, in keeping with its Gallic origins and personality Quebec is partial to the written or codified law. Quebec is the only entity in Canada whose civil law is codified and its law has been recognized in the province since the Quebec Act of 1774.

One educational implication of the contrasting legal systems in Canada

is that teachers come by their legal duties and responsibilities from different sources. In addition to their academic functions, teachers everywhere have an obligation to protect those under their supervision from harm and injury, failing which they may be liable to prosecution. Outside Quebec the quality and degree of protection that teachers owe their pupils is defined in case law. At the turn of the century a jurist in England, Lord Esher, established the compact rule that "a schoolmaster was bound to take care of his boys as a careful father would take care of his boys" (*Williams v. Eady*). In Quebec, on the other hand, where written law procedures are paramount, the teacher's obligation of care is spelled out in Articles 1053 and 1054 of the Civil Code.

Like other French societies, Quebec ascribes therapeutic properties to statute law, trusting in the written law as an instrument for effecting reform and correcting social ills. True to its character, Quebec has seized on the written law to alter the cultural fabric of society, to making the province a truly French state. Successive governments in the 1970s framed detailed legislation establishing the primacy of the French language in every sector of Quebec life from the classroom to the workplace. The passage of Bill 22 in 1974 and Bill 101 in 1977 reflects unbounded faith in the prescriptive power of the written law. However, the flurry of legislative activity has not gone unchallenged. There is more than a touch of irony in the fact that sections of Bill 101 have since been struck down by the courts, almost as if Anglo-Saxon common law had blown the whistle on Gallic legislative excesses. In 1980 the Supreme Court of Canada declared invalid the provisions of the act making French the exclusive language of the courts and the legislature. Then in 1982 Judge Jules Deschênes of the Superior Court of Quebec ruled that as regards language rights in education the "Canada clause" of the Canadian Constitution took precedence over the "Quebec clause" of Bill 101. The Quebec clause restricts English education to children whose parents were educated in English in Quebec. The more liberal Canada clause extends the right to children whose parents received their education in English anywhere in Canada. Both judicial decisions were interpreted as victories for English Quebecers. They were also triumphs of common over codified law.

The principle of codified law has been increasingly applied to Quebec education in recent years. Anyone who has lived in Quebec during the last two decades cannot help but be impressed (perhaps startled is a more apt expression) by the National Assembly's legislative indefatigability in education. Faithful to the Gallic belief that words are deeds, the legislative engine has rarely been at rest, busy churning out innumerable laws on every aspect of education. A sign of the times, testifying to the growth in the volume of educational law, is that teacher trainees are required by the Ministry of Education to pass a course in school law for certification purposes.

Similarly, the ubiquitous ministerial directive has become as common a part of Quebec school life as slumping enrollments, budgetary cutbacks and teacher strikes. The Ministry of Education seems committed to the policy of regulating every facet of educational behaviour. To that end, schools are flooded with written orders and circulars designed to account for every pedagogical and curricular detail, pleasing only the province's ailing pulp and paper industry. Not even the individual classroom escapes the attention of the ministerial planner as the school day is divided up according to a computer timetable. Still, to the Anglo-Saxons things could be much worse. They are comforted in the knowledge that the Gallic mind is better at making rules than in carrying them out. They know that the administrative distance between the ministry and the local board or school exceeds its geographical distance. What is pronounced *ex cathedra* in Quebec City struggles to find implementation in Lachute and Lennoxville where local school officials have developed a knack for politely ignoring ministerial directives or bending them to suit their own situation.

#### CENTRALISM VS. LOCALISM

The most centralized system of education in the world is not in the Soviet Union or one of its political satellites; it is in Gallic France. At the same time, Anglo-Saxon England is recognized to possess one of the most decentralized school systems. These two countries and those falling within their cultural orbit provide yet another example of the different values and traditions of Gallic and Anglo-Saxon societies.

Ever since the time of Napoleon, education in France has been a state monopoly, controlled and administered from Paris. Few educational decisions of any importance are made outside the French capital. France's all-powerful Ministry of Education plans, directs, and supervises the nation's schools, designs curricula, prepares examinations, issues diplomas and certificates, and employs the country's public school teachers. School boards are nowhere to be seen and it is only in logistical matters that local authorities have a voice in education. Yet only a channel away is a school system that stands the Gallic one on its head. In spite of a national Department of Education and Science, the control and administration of education is essentially a local enterprise. Save for the teaching of religion, which is required by law, decisions pertaining to curriculum, teaching methods, and evaluation are the prerogative of local officials and individual schools.

Throughout most of its history, Quebec education showed an Anglo-Saxon tilt as local authorities exercised a strong influence in the control of schools. The local school board raised revenues through a tax on property, built schools, engaged and paid teachers, and made important decisions on what was taught and how it was taught. Dating from the great

school reform of the 1960s and the creation of a Ministry of Education a strong centralizing trend has been at work in the province, as witnessed by government attempts to impose a greater measure of control over education at all levels. Such terms as *planification* and *rationalisation* have become mainstays in the Quebec educational vocabulary and the Ministry of Education is increasingly indistinguishable from France's national education apparatus. At the same time, the once powerful and independent school board is only a shadow of its former self. The last two decades have witnessed a sizeable reduction in the number of boards and a systematic diminution of their powers. Salary negotiations, once an affair between boards and their teachers, have since the late 1960s become the concern of government and teacher unions. Deprived of most of their traditional powers, including meaningful taxing powers, school boards in Quebec are today little more than administrative figureheads of the Ministry of Education.

To what may we attribute the centralist thrust in Quebec education? First, it is not an isolated phenomenon, being part of a larger political movement that has been unfolding in the province since the 1960s. The period known as the Quiet Revolution witnessed a repudiation of the traditional ideology in which a spectator government deferred to private and clerical authorities in the social and economic functions of society. Generated by the politics of modernization and nationalism, Quebec moved to reform and reshape society along the lines of an interventionist state, which saw the government displace the private authority in the social domains of health, education, and welfare. Moreover, a more active government translated into a much larger government. Between 1960 and 1966 six new ministries were created and by 1975 a total of twenty-one was in place.

The centralizing tendencies of Quebec education, as with other sectors of provincial life, are not solely explained by modernization and nationalism. Frequently overlooked is the growing influence of France on contemporary Quebec thought and action, an influence which represents something of a cultural turnabout. Over the years, political and cultural relations between France and Quebec have often been described as diplomatically correct but limited and reserved, a situation that even a common language and religion could not overcome. In fact, religion was a disruptive element as Quebec fashioned a society around the principle of confessionalism, while anticlerical France opted for a secular society. France was portrayed in official Quebec circles as a country that had lost its soul to republican government, lay education, and Freemasonry. And if Quebec was distrustful of French public education because it disallowed clerical teachers and religious instruction, so too were Frenchmen wary of Quebec education, finding in its pervasive Roman Catholicism the ingredients of a clerical conspiracy. In addition, the two francophone cultures were divided by political ideology, particularly with regard to the

role of the state. Quebec's traditional fear of the state put the province on guard against France which extolled the virtues of *étatisme*. However, with the decline of the Roman Catholic Church as a temporal power in Quebec in the 1960s and the subsequent reshaping of society along secular and state lines, religion and politics were no longer irritants between France and Quebec, thus clearing the way for a cultural rapprochement.

Moves in the direction of closer political and cultural ties between the two states formally date from 1961 when Quebec's premier Jean Lesage paid an official visit to France. For its part, Quebec was in search of more direct contacts with the international community of French-speaking nations, while selecting France as the country with which it sought to forge a special relationship. Although General de Gaulle is best remembered for his politically explosive "Vive le Québec libre" speech from the balcony of Montreal's city hall in June 1967, his warm reception of Jean Lesage at the Elysée Palace six years earlier was probably more politically significant. During the latter, de Gaulle publicly manifested his support for Quebec, championing France's wish for closer ties by receiving the premier in a manner befitting a head of state. It may be recalled that the event produced diplomatic shock waves in Ottawa. Protocol aside, France and Quebec were jointly committed to working more closely together, and concrete steps were to follow. Of paramount importance was the signing of the Franco-Quebec Entente of 1965 by the French and Quebec ministers of education, which laid the foundation for a vast program of exchanges and co-operation. The accord stimulated the flow of traffic between the two states. To date no small number of Quebec and French students, teachers, researchers, and civil servants has crossed the ocean to study or teach in the other country's secondary and higher schools, or to serve a *stage* at one of its research institutes or government ministries. Between 1964 and 1976 alone some 38,000 Frenchmen and Quebecers participated in the exchange programs, including 7,000 in education (Gouvernement du Québec, 1976).

Increasingly, Quebec has turned to France for inspiration, direction, and confirmation of its own political and educational development. Quebec has shown itself receptive to Gallic *étatisme*, to the notion that the state can do no wrong, that in the good society control and leadership are synonymous with the centralized state. France offers the example of a nation in which public initiatives come not from private groups or local authorities, as tends to be the pattern in Anglo-Saxon societies, but from the central government. The political state in turn is seconded by a highly organized, hierarchical system of administration or bureaucracy that reaches down into every corner of ordinary life, giving Frenchmen the dubious distinction of being the most governed people in the west. Quebecers attending France's celebrated civil service school, *Ecole nationale d'administration*, have come away well versed in the gospel of centralization and trained in the techniques of the bureaucratic arts. They

have learned their lessons only too well claim their detractors. Quebec's civil service has become Canada's largest provincial bureaucracy, matching after a fashion the record of France, which boasts the largest permanent government in Western Europe. The Gallic stamp is apparent in Quebec's *Ecole nationale d'administration publique*, founded in 1969, and which, like its namesake in Paris, is in the business of training civil servants.

Unfolding cultural and educational developments in Quebec lend further evidence to the reality of the "French connection." As part of the Franco-Quebec accords a full range of television programs from France is piped daily into Quebec households, though the experiment cannot be hailed as one of France's more successful exports. To Quebecers weaned on North American commercial fare French television elicits a mixture of indifference or bewilderment. And regional news reports from the Pyrenees or the Ardennes are not likely to change viewer habits. The French influence is also evident in Quebec's campaign to purify the language, to rid it of its many anglicisms. It promises to be a long and probably futile struggle. However, it is in the educational domain where the Gallic influence has been the strongest in Quebec, reflected partly in the fact that French and Quebec ministers of education have met regularly since the 1960s. Quebec has warmed to the Gallic notion that education is national in scope and thus too important to be left to the whims of local authorities. The result is that in terms of institutional behaviour and accumulation of power, Quebec's Ministry of Education increasingly resembles France's top-heavy national education authority.

The ministry's apparent determination to model itself after its counterpart in Paris is reflected in the adoption of the *régime pédagogique*, the name for major curricular reforms currently being implemented in the province's elementary and secondary schools. To judge by the detailed character of the *régime*, Quebec's education minister will shortly be able to duplicate the feat of his equal in Paris, who reportedly glances at his watch and confidently announces what is being studied in the nation's classrooms. Not only does the *régime* prescribe what is to be taught, it spells out in detail the content of every subject, the specific objectives to be met, and the evaluation procedures to be followed.

At the same time, the *régime* represents a turning away from the philosophy of specialized education, of the view that the school ought to reflect the diverse interests and needs of its clientele. Implied by the *régime* is the Gallic notion of *culture générale*, which emphasizes likeness rather than difference between youngsters and proclaims that they should undergo a common educational experience. As a result, vocational and other specialized programs in Quebec's high schools are scheduled to be severely reduced or dismantled entirely. All secondary school youth will be required to follow a common, essentially academic, course of study that will allow for few electives.

Whereas the principle of centralism, whether in education or other sectors of public life, has become an integral part of the philosophical arsenal of French Quebecers, it remains an alien concept among English Quebecers who continue to look to local arrangements and informal relationships as solutions to their problems. Like Anglo-Saxons elsewhere they exhibit a healthy disrespect for too much power in central hands, fearing that it will lead to arbitrary or dictatorial decisions. Aggravating their concerns are the size and ethnic composition of the province's civil service. Though English Quebecers constitute from 10–15% of the provincial population, they are strongly under-represented in the bureaucracy. Less than 1% of Quebec's civil servants claim English as their mother tongue and of this number only one is at the deputy minister level. To be sure, the situation is partly self-imposed as English Quebecers have never aspired to government service in the province. On the other hand, as Reed Scowan, Liberal member in the National Assembly, points out, the government for its part has been derelict in recruiting English candidates for the bureaucracy or in appointing them to government boards and commissions (*The Gazette*, 1982).

Even as this article is being written, the issues of centralism and localism are the subject of heated debate in Quebec in the context of a government white paper on educational reorganization published in June 1982 (Ministry of Education, 1982). At the heart of the controversial document, closely identified with the minister of education, Camille Laurin, is a proposal to abolish school boards, as they are currently constituted. Accordingly, boards would be transformed into service or logistical bodies and their educational or pedagogical powers ceded to the schools. In addition, the number of boards would be reduced and their membership appointed rather than elected by universal suffrage as is now the case.

In a rare show of unity and political assertiveness Quebec's English-speaking community has strongly attacked the white paper, describing it as a power grab by the government, which if adopted would deprive them of the ability to control their own schools. As if to confirm anglophone fears in this matter, the highest ranking English civil servant in the Ministry of Education resigned, unable to defend government policy. From the perspective of the English community, the white paper smacks of centralism since the shift of pedagogical power is between the boards and the schools. The Ministry of Education comes away unscathed and its considerable powers intact. In the absence of protective school boards, say the plan's critics, the individual school will be highly vulnerable, unable to stand up to the power and authority of the ministry. As long as the Ministry of Education maintains the responsibility for curriculum, methods of evaluation, and school financing, claim its detractors, talk of the autonomous school rings hollow.

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Seit langem haben die französischen und englischen Quebecker entgegengesetzte Ansichten über das Bildungswesen. Die herkömmliche Erklärung ist, daß dieser Zustand ein natürliches Ergebnis der sprachlichen, religiösen und politischen Unterschiede ist. Was jedoch auch richtig geschätzt werden muß, sind die zusätzlichen Faktoren, die zu der pädagogischen Spaltung, der Steuerung der französischen und englischen Quebecker in entgegengesetzte Richtungen, beigetragen haben. Die beiden Völker sind Produkte verschiedener kultureller Erbschaften, die ihr pädagogisches Merkmal hinterlassen haben. Französische Quebecker sind kulturelle Erben der gallischen Tradition des Rationalismus, des Gesetzbuches und des Zentralismus, während die englischen Quebecker ihre Eingebung von der angelsächsischen Erbschaft des Empirismus, des Gewohnheitsrechtes und der örtlichen Eigentümlichkeit bekommen.

Tanto los franceses como los ingleses de Quebec han siempre tenido ideas opuestas en cuanto a educación. La explicación convencional es que esta situación es el resultado natural de las diferencias de idioma, religión y política. Sin embargo, debe tomarse en cuenta también que hay otros factores que contribuyen a la gran divergencia educacional, y a llevar a los franceses e ingleses de Quebec en direcciones opuestas. Los dos pueblos son producto de legados culturales diferentes que han dejado su huella educacional. Los franceses de Quebec son los herederos de la tradición gálica del racionalismo, del código legal y del centralismo, mientras que los ingleses de Quebec toman su inspiración del legado anglosajón del empiricismo, del derecho consuetudinario y del poder local.

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