

Education in Quebec in the 1970's is being staged against the backdrop of the language question, which may be expressed as the desire of French Canadians to promote the use of their language. The growing importance of language is linked to the disappearance of traditional Quebec before the cultural slants of modernity that swept across the province in the 1960's, leaving French language as the remaining cultural stuff of French Canadianism.

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### **Education and Society in Quebec in the 1970's**

Future historians will in all probability single out the 1960's as a watershed in Quebec history, for it was during this decade that the traditional cultural fabric of French Canada was challenged and changed. Known as the Quiet Revolution, the period saw the Quebec of conservatism in politics, in religion, and in social matters come tumbling down before the cultural onslaughts of modernization and its handmaidens, secularism and liberalism. Above all, the decade was marked by the decline and fall of the Roman Catholic Church as a centre of influence in temporal affairs. When one realizes that every previous major social movement in Quebec was initiated, developed, and maintained by clerical action, the extent of the change is appreciated. Happily though, the church's departure from the temporal sector was not accompanied by the excesses of anticlericalism that tore France apart in the late nineteenth century. Nor was the demise of the temporal church the result of government design to remove the ecclesiastical voice from public affairs. Ironically, the Quebec church saw its power neutralized by modern society's most effective weapon: public indifference. In effect, the church as a temporal authority was declared expendable in the scheme of things and pensioned off. Three centuries of Quebec history had yielded to an emerging secularism.

The decision of Quebec to travel the road of modernization and secularism has had the effect of thrusting the political state into a position of greater power and authority. As an evolving state inherited the responsibilities and social leadership of a declining church, the structures of society have assumed a more public character. The establishment in Quebec in the late 1960's of civil marriage, divorce courts, and a public medical health scheme, testify to a more powerful public authority. One may say that the private and religious man of Quebec past has given way to the public and secular man of Quebec present.

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Growth of state power is most dramatic in education where public authority has displaced private authority. The establishment, in 1964, of the Department of Education as the responsible agency for all education in the province confirmed the fact. The reforms of the 1960's, however, went beyond the purely managerial aspects of education. Of primary importance was the transformation of French-Canadian education from an elitist system serving a limited population to a broadly-based system embracing the total school-age population. Before 1960 the Quebec school system suffered the distinction of having the lowest pupil retention rate in Canada,<sup>1</sup> but by the late 1960's the holding power of Quebec schools was among the greatest in the country.

In 1959-60, on the eve of the Quiet Revolution, only 9.5 per cent of Quebec five-year olds were enrolled in kindergarten. By 1967-68, the percentage of children enrolled in kindergarten had jumped to 62.9. This dramatic increase in the number and percentage of pre-schoolers is partly tracable to a greater willingness of the French-Canadian family to share with the school some of its traditional rearing functions. Increases in secondary school enrolment were less pronounced but still significant. In 1959-60, 61 per cent of Quebec 13-16 year-olds were in school. In 1967-68, the percentage had risen to 96.1, a figure that was bettered only by Ontario. And with the rise in secondary school enrolment came a subsequent increase in the number and percentage of postsecondary school students in Quebec. In 1959-60, 10.2 per cent of the 18-24 age group were attending school on a full-time basis. In 1967-68, the percentage of Quebec postsecondary students had climbed to 18.9, the highest percentage in any single province that year. Looking at university enrolment trends for the period, we find that the Quiet Revolution opened wider the door of higher education for women. In 1959-60, less than 20 per cent of full-time university students in Quebec were women. By 1967-68, women comprised almost one-third of the Quebec university population.<sup>2</sup>

Coupled with an expanding school population were the creation of new schools and the reform of existing ones. Public secondary education became a reality with the abolition of fees in the early 1960's. The following decision to reshape the secondary school along comprehensive lines, brought Quebec high schools in line with those in the rest of North America. Further, an entirely new institution came into being in 1967 with the establishment of public, postsecondary colleges known as CEGEP's (*collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel*), which added a rung to the educational ladder and which saw the public supplant the private authority at this level. Inserted between secondary and higher education, though separate and independent of both, the CEGEP's embrace the comprehensive school principle by offering pre-university and technical programs of study.

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<sup>1</sup>Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Student Progress Through the Schools* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960), p. 28.

<sup>2</sup>Z. E. Zsigmond and C. J. Wenaas, *Enrolment in Educational Institutions by Province 1951-52 to 1980-81*, staff study no. 25, Economic Council of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970), pp. 96-155.

In the first year of their operation there were twelve CEGEP's serving 14,219 students. In 1971-72, there were thirty-six institutions with a total student population of 74,616.<sup>3</sup> Finally, the establishment at the end of the decade of the *Université du Québec*, the province's first full-fledged public university — with branches in Montreal, Trois Rivieres, Chicoutimi, and Rimouski — was yet another example of state expression at an educational level that heretofore had been the preserve of private authorities.

Although the reforms of the 1960's did not tamper with the dual denominational character (Catholic and Protestant) of public elementary and secondary education — a status that is protected by Section 93 of the BNA act — it would be misleading to suggest that public education in Quebec remains essentially religious. Legal niceties aside, and ignoring the continued provision for religious instruction in Catholic schools, Quebec public education is today secular in spirit and tone. To reason differently would be to turn a blind eye to the unfolding events of the last decade, which witnessed a diminution of the religious presence in all sectors of Quebec life. The church was the loser in the "cultural revolution" of the 1960's because, among other things, it was unable to meet the demands of a society bent on educational expansion and on making education available to all. Lacking the personnel and the facilities to govern and to service a popular system of education, religious authorities were overwhelmed by a numerically superior force of lay representatives.<sup>4</sup>

In conclusion then, the far-reaching educational reforms of the 1960's were marked by the emergence of the state as the dominant authority in Quebec education, by the development of a full-fledged popular system of education, and by the building of a 6-5-2-3 educational ladder, representing four distinct levels — elementary, secondary, postsecondary, and university.

But what of Quebec education in the 1970's? Where is it headed and what will be its character? If the flow of history is cyclical, Quebec education is in for a period of consolidation and stabilization, following upon the fundamental reforms of the Quiet Revolution. Opposing this outlook is a Heraclitian notion of reality that sees change as the stuff of contemporary life, which implies that education may continue to undergo reform. Any projection of things to come cannot discount either of these postures, but before attempting to predict the educational wave of the future, it behooves us to look at developments in the larger society.

French-Canadian culture has traditionally rested on the dual foundation of language and religion, of French and of Roman Catholicism. With the falling away of Catholicism as an institutional and moral force in Quebec, the French language has assumed a new importance as the single most

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<sup>3</sup>Serge Wojciekowski, "Le régime budgétaire des CEGEP," *Education Québec*, Vol. 2, 24 novembre, 1971, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>For a fuller discussion of this point see my "The Decline of Roman Catholic Education in Quebec: some interpretations and explanations," *Culture*, Vol. 30, septembre, 1969, pp. 192-198.

identifiable element of French-Canadian culture. With the cultural spotlight on language, French Quebecers are taking a closer look at the state of their language in the province and they are disappointed and dismayed by what they see. What they see is a fragile language whose limited usage and quasi-legal standing belie the fact that it is the mother tongue of more than four-fifths of the Quebec population. Particularly disturbing to many French Quebecers is the fact that French is not the sole official language of the province, that it is not the language of business, and that it is not the preferred language of the immigrant. For these reasons a growing number of French Canadians are sympathetic to a campaign aimed at making French the dominant language in all sectors of Quebec life. It is clear that the language issue has emerged as the most sensitive socio-political question confronting the province in the 1970's.

Efforts to promote and strengthen the French language within Quebec are linked to a growing belief among Francophones that they are losing the numbers game to English-speaking Canadians both inside and outside the province; that the population of English Canada is expanding at a rate faster than that of French Canada. Traditionally, French, unlike English Canada, has increased its numbers by internal growth rather than by immigration. But increasing public indifference to the moral teachings of the church in the wake of modernization have combined to lower the birth rate so much that Quebec has lost its principal vehicle of population growth. In 1958, Quebec's birth rate exceeded the national average. Ten years later its rate was the lowest in Canada.<sup>5</sup> The problem is aggravated by the failure of French Canada to attract immigrants to its cultural community. The difficulty is not the lack of immigrants to Quebec as such, but rather Quebec's inability to hold them. Most immigrants regard Quebec as a transient station. Indeed, seventy-five per cent of the immigrants who entered Quebec between 1901 and 1961 settled elsewhere in North America.<sup>6</sup> The majority of immigrants who remain in Quebec elect to settle in the English-speaking community. How the immigration rate works against the French-speaking community is revealed by the 1968 figures, which show that of the 35,481 immigrants who came to Quebec that year, only twenty-eight per cent were from Francophone countries.<sup>7</sup>

The point is that French Canada lacks the wherewithal for increasing its population at a rate comparable to that of English Canada. The first returns from the 1971 national census confirm the trend. Despite a decade of provincial and national efforts to strengthen the French language, Statistics Canada reported that since 1961 the Francophone population showed a decline in every province except British Columbia.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, it

<sup>5</sup>Ministère des Affaires Sociales, *Registre de la Population* (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, n. d.), p. 32.

<sup>6</sup>Quoted in François-Albert Angers, *Les Droits du Français au Québec* (Montréal: Editions du Jour, 1971), p. 112.

<sup>7</sup>*Annuaire du Québec* (Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, 1970), pp. 175-178.

<sup>8</sup>*The (Montreal) Gazette*, (April 25, 1972), p. 1.

would be a misreading of the statistic to regard it as evidence of the foreseeable disappearance of the Francophone presence in Canada. Richard Joy has pretty well demolished that argument in his study of the French-English language conflict in Canada, in which he shows that Francophone Canada will continue indefinitely, though tending to concentrate itself in and around the Province of Quebec.<sup>9</sup>

The language question came to a head in 1968 in the Montreal suburb of St. Leonard when the local school issued an order making French the language of instruction in its schools. The order produced vigorous protests from Italian-Canadians who wanted their children instructed in English in order that they might better compete in the work world. Appearances aside, *l'affaire* St. Leonard constituted a crushing defeat for French language and culture. First, it demonstrated that English is still regarded as the dominant language of work. Second, Quebec's largest immigrant group — and a latin one to boot — preferred English economics to French culture.

The St. Leonard affair was a watershed of sorts in the unfolding language battle because it *alerted* French Canadians to the frailty of their language by showing that unless Quebec presented itself to the world as a truly French-speaking state the immigrant would continue to be attracted to the Anglophone community, resulting in a further reduction of the Francophone population. The St. Leonard incident served to mobilize Francophone opinion in defense of its language, through a policy of making French the dominant language of Quebec. But there was, and still is, less than full agreement among French Canadians as to how this policy should be realized. In short, should persuasive or coercive means be used to promote the French language?

Judging by events to date, a policy of persuasion has prevailed. In response to the St. Leonard squabble the Quebec National Assembly intervened in 1969 and enacted Bill 63, "a law to promote the French language in Quebec". Ironically, the law did little for the French language beyond kind worlds while giving to English an official status that it previously did not have. For the first time since Confederation Quebec law recognized the right of parents to have their children educated in the language of their choice — French or English. The fact is that there never has been a legal foundation for the existence of English-language schools in Quebec. If English-language schools have prevailed since Confederation in Quebec, it is by dint of custom and because many English Quebecers are Protestants, whose rights are protected by the BNA Act.

Small wonder then that the tabling of Bill 63 in 1969 sparked widespread protests and demonstrations from substantial numbers of French Canadians, who saw the legislation as a threat to French-language schools and an invitation to immigrants to attend English-language schools. For almost two weeks the province was hit by riots, parades, and strikes. Striking students were instrumental in shutting down secondary schools, junior colleges, and

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<sup>9</sup>Richard J. Joy, *Languages in Conflict* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972).

universities, and upwards of 30,000 protesters marched on Quebec City to register their opposition to the language act. The controversy over Bill 63 revealed yet another political dimension to the issue: that as regards a policy for strengthening the French language the traditional political parties of Quebec were at odds with a loose coalition of Parti Québécois members, intellectuals, and students. The established parties prefer a policy of persuasion while the opposing forces prefer a more forceful policy. This suggests that the language dispute is being waged on two fronts: between English and French Quebecers in one sector; and between opposing forces within the Francophone community in another.

Lest one be misled by developments arising from the St. Leonard incident and Bill 63, it should be emphasized that the jury is still out on the language issue.<sup>10</sup> Quebecers are anxiously, and in some cases, nervously, awaiting the report of the Gendron Commission, which was established by the provincial government in 1968 to enquire into the status of the French language in Quebec. While there is little doubt that the commission will call for making French the dominant language of Quebec, there is considerable speculation as to the means it will propose to effect such an aim. Nevertheless, it is highly unlikely that the Gendron Commission will challenge the right of English Quebecers to have schools in their own language, though it is likely that English schools will be called upon to increase their instruction in French. Indeed, not even the Parti Québécois, the political voice for Quebec independence, questions the right of English Quebecers to maintain their own schools. The party's leader, René Lévesque, has repeatedly explained that were Quebec to achieve independence, English-language schools would be allowed to exist.

While Quebec searches for a long-term solution to the language problem, we should pause to note that over the last decade French has made measurable gains as the language of use in Quebec. No longer are letters and communications originating from French-speaking sources and directed to English-speaking persons written in English. No longer are government documents and publications automatically issued in both languages. With growing regularity new government documents are initially issued in French with the English version appearing later, sometimes after considerable delay.

One also observes among English Quebecers a greater ability and willingness to use French in everyday life. Surely one of the reasons for this development is the recent improvement of French-language instruction in English schools. As late as five years ago French was regarded as one of the poorest-taught subjects in the English school curriculum. A partial explanation was the pedagogical restrictions imposed by a dual-denominational school system that kept Catholic and Protestant schools in harsh separation. In short, French-Canadian instructors, who were invariably

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<sup>10</sup>The St. Jean Baptiste Society, one of Quebec's leading defenders of French-Canadian rights, announced in June 1972 that it had collected 123,425 signatures in Montreal calling for the repeal of Bill 63 and for making French the sole official language of Quebec. *The (Montreal) Gazette*, (June 30, 1972), p. 5.

Catholic, were not permitted to teach French in English Protestant schools. The absurd pedagogical result was the phenomenon of English-speaking instructors teaching French to English pupils and French-speaking instructors teaching English to French pupils. Thanks to a relaxation of religious barriers in education in the late 1960's, paving the way for Catholics to teach in Protestant schools and vice versa, the quality of second language instruction, particularly in English schools, has vastly improved.

Yet it must be reported that the teaching of English as a second language in French schools is today less than satisfactory. The reason for this situation, however, is not pedagogical or religious but political. French-Canadian students, many of whom are sympathetic to the politics of nationalism and separatism, view the English language with indifference at best and with outright hostility at worst. The perennial argument that says a working knowledge of English is necessary for making one's way in the work world has little appeal for today's French-Canadian youth. This form of behaviour is clearly a sign of the times in present day Quebec, an example of role reversal. Until very recently, it was the English, rather than the French, pupil who resisted second language instruction.

While the French language has made recognizable gains as the language of use in Quebec in recent years, it has made few inroads in the business community. Although, as a French-Canadian sociologist quipped, "Bell Canada in Montreal no longer answers calls first in English as it did in the 1950's",<sup>11</sup> English continues to be the unchallenged language of business, a situation that is a persistent source of discontent among French Canadians. Historians and sociologists, it would seem, never tire of reminding us that business is little regarded in the French-Canadian value system. This view ought to be laid to rest because it no longer expresses the reality of contemporary Quebec. The problem is not the lack of French Canadians in business but, rather, that relatively few of them are in managerial or executive positions. In a study of salary levels in thirty-six manufacturing firms in the Montreal area in 1964, it was found that at the \$6000 level there was an equal proportion of Anglophones and Francophones. However, of those earning in excess of \$15,000 83 per cent were English and 17 per cent French.<sup>12</sup>

That French Canadians are under-represented in the higher echelons of business where English is the working language suggests to many Francophones that language, not ability, is the passport to success. As the B and B Commission noted, French Canadians are increasingly resentful of having to hang up their language with their coat when they go to work.<sup>13</sup> Of late, the Quebec government has approached a number of large corporations with an aim to increasing the use of French at the managerial level. That

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<sup>11</sup>Remarks of Hubert Guidon quoted in *The (Montreal) Gazette*, (April 28, 1972), p. 11.

<sup>12</sup>Angers, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>13</sup>*Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, Vol. 3a (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 3.

this policy of persuasion has been less than successful leads one to believe that following the report of the Gendron Commission more forceful government action will be forthcoming to make French the language of business in Quebec.

The campaign to promote the French language has had the effect of uniting English Quebecers to a degree that was missing a few years ago. Contrary to a widely-held belief, the English-speaking community of Quebec has not traditionally been a neat cultural monolith. The division of education along strict denominational lines has served to keep English-speaking Protestants and Catholics at a distance. But the declining importance of religion as a social force, coupled with the implied threats of a strengthened French language, have produced a new-found unity among English Quebecers. Interestingly, the rapprochement of English-speaking Protestants and Catholics is being effected in the educational arena.

In 1970, St. Joseph Teachers College, the province's only English Catholic teacher training college, merged with McGill University's Faculty of Education, itself responsible for preparing the province's Protestant school teachers. The practical result is that McGill University has become the main teacher training centre for the English schools of Quebec.<sup>14</sup> In another higher education development, Sir George Williams University, a non-denominational English-language institution, and Loyola College, a Catholic English-language institution whose degrees are granted by the *Université de Montreal*, are in the midst of serious negotiations with a view to amalgamation. Finally, some moves in the direction of a realignment of teacher associations may be reported. Presently, there are three teacher associations in Quebec: one representing French Catholic teachers; one representing English Protestant teachers. At this writing the two English associations are exploring the idea of forming a single association. The preceding developments are offered in support of one of the principal thesis of this article: that increasingly language, not religion, is the separating element between English and French Quebecers.

While the language question continues to be at once the most important socio-political and educational issue of present day Quebec, there are other educational developments that deserve mention. Two in particular are here examined because each seems to illustrate a basic change in the character of Quebec education. One deals with a trend toward educational centralization and the other touches on the emergence of a new French-Canadian educational ethic.

One of the visible trends in Quebec education is the drift toward centralization as reflected by government attempts to impose a greater measure of control and direction over schools at all levels, and by legislative action to replace small administrative school units by larger ones. A brief look at university developments, Department of Education practices,

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<sup>14</sup>Two other universities in Quebec, Sir George Williams University and Bishop's University, together prepare a small number of English-speaking teacher trainees.

and school board reorganization, illustrates this trend.

The era of "rugged individualism" for Quebec's universities is over. There can be no doubt that the universities have recently suffered a reduction in institutional autonomy at the hands of the provincial government. What remains to be decided is the extent of government intervention in university affairs. Currently, all universities in Quebec are heavily subsidized by government grants, which has understandably led to closer government scrutiny of university budgets. Although the universities still have considerable freedom in managing their own affairs, there is a lingering belief in higher education circles that the provincial government is bent on destroying policy seeks neither to suppress nor to usurp the traditional rights of universities, but rather to promote co-operation among the universities in order to protect against the costly duplication of facilities and resources. One gets the impression that university-government relations, though better of late, have not reached their final form.

When the Quebec Department of Education was established in 1964 its sponsors saw it less as a move to vest educational power in a central authority than as a step to bring order to a chaotic educational setup. There is a growing suspicion today that the policy of order is a euphemism for educational centralization by concentrating power and authority in the Department of Education. Increasingly, by its actions, the Department resembles the all-powerful and top-heavy Ministry of National Education of France. The resemblance may be more than coincidental. Since the adoption of the Franco-Quebec Agreement of 1965 there have been close ties between educational representatives of Quebec and France. In any case, like its French counterpart, the Quebec education authority apparently feels that its mandate is to regulate every aspect of school life. And so, with disturbing regularity, the schools are flooded with Departmental directives and circulars, nominally designed to explain provincial educational policy. (One expects that before long the Department will issue a directive regulating the temperature of classrooms.)

While educational centralization as such is neither good nor bad — in France they swear by it but in England they swear at it — one wonders whether it can be reconciled with the underlying spirit of the Quebec school reform of the 1960's which, among other things, declared war on formal classroom procedures and teacher-centered schools. In its place the reform called for a child-centered school free of the restraints of traditional school organization. But as power accumulates in the Department of Education and regulations are issued in the name of uniformity and equality, it becomes increasingly difficult to see how the aims of the child-centered school can be met, implying as they do, freedom of action and flexible classroom organization.

Another example of educational centralization is reflected in government policy to abolish small school boards, a trend, incidentally, that is at work throughout North America. The rationale of such a policy is the belief that

small administrative units lack the size and the financial base to support schools with adequate educational programs. Since 1964 when education in rural Quebec was reorganized under fifty-five regional school boards, the small board has been on the way out. The small board was delivered the *coup de grâce* in 1972 with the passage of Bill 27, which reduced the number of boards in the province from 1,100 to 189. To offset the charges of creeping centralization implied by the legislation, the act granted voting rights to the general electorate in school board elections (previously it was restricted to property owners) and assigned parents a consultative role in school matters. Bill 27, however, did not touch the administrative structure on the island of Montreal, which in recent years has been the object of two abortive legislative attempts to reduce the number of its school boards. The proposed legislation for the Montreal area failed for several reasons, not the least of which were Protestant fears that the survival of their schools was at stake.

Over the years, the French-Canadian ethic has put a higher value on religious, literary, and theoretical knowledge at the expense of practical and applied knowledge, which meant that many French-Canadian university students studied religion, medicine, law, and literature, but few of them studied science, engineering, and commerce. The secularizing and modernizing tendencies of the Quiet Revolution issued a challenge to the traditional value system of French Canada, with the result that the ethic of the 1970's reflects an increasing sympathy for, and interest in, practical and applied knowledge, and a declining interest in religious and theoretical knowledge.

In a recent study involving 823 French-speaking Quebec post-secondary students bound for university, they were asked to list, in order of prestige, fourteen professions.<sup>15</sup> The top-rated professions listed, in descending order, were medicine, university teaching, engineering, and law. Not only was the priesthood far down on the prestige scale (ninth place), but it was preceded by commerce and the social studies, two professions traditionally little regarded in the French-Canadian value system. It would appear that yesterday's priests are today's sociologists.<sup>16</sup>

The study also asked the students to distinguish between their own academic plans and the professional needs of Quebec.<sup>17</sup> While scientists were singled out as Quebec's most pressing need, few students said that they would be studying science at the university. Rather, about half of them said they would pursue studies in education, commerce, or the social sciences.

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<sup>15</sup>Roland Ouellet *et al.*, "Les orientations des étudiants du cours collégial," *l'Étudiant Québécois, Defi et Dilemmes, Rapport de Recherches* (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1972), p. 81.

<sup>16</sup>A sharp drop in the number of first university degrees awarded in Catholic theology testifies to a declining student interest in religion. In 1965-66, 307 bachelors' degrees in Catholic theology were awarded by Quebec universities. But two years later the number of degrees issued fell to 160, which is the lowest number awarded in any year since 1951. Zsigmond and Wenaas, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-185.

<sup>17</sup>Ouellet, *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.

The personal rejection of science as a field of study is at once disappointing and clarifying. For it was long believed that the low regard for science in French Canada was linked to the strength of the religious ethic, which paid little respect to things of the material world. And so it was also felt that in the wake of a rising secularism, a greater interest in science among French-Canadians would result. Apparently this has not been the case.

Jacques Lazure is probably correct in pointing out that today's French-Canadian students see their academic choice as primarily between theoretical and applied knowledge, and less between religious and secular knowledge. What they categorically reject, maintains this French-Canadian sociologist, is "*savoir contemplatif et doctrinal*".<sup>18</sup> In other words, Franco-phone students have lost their taste for an education steeped in theory and pure knowledge. Their growing interest in such applied sciences as engineering and commerce not only demonstrates a rejection of a traditional ethic, but reveals a consuming concern for the practical life, where actions speak louder than words.

Of what significance is this unfolding value system? Two interpretations, it would seem, are possible. On the one hand, it may augur ill for the preservation of an identifiable French-Canadian ethic. By embracing practical and applied knowledge French Canadians are flirting with values indigenous to English Canada, thereby narrowing the lines of difference between the two cultures. In short, are French Canadians inviting anglicization of their culture by embracing what are regarded as traditional English-Canadian values? On the other hand, the adoption by French Canada of more practical and applied activities may be the key to a more culturally self-sustaining society, less dependent on outside support. For if French Quebec can produce sufficient numbers of engineers, economists, and businessmen, not only will she be in a stronger position to determine her own economic destiny, but her efforts to make French the language of work would be greatly facilitated.

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<sup>18</sup>Jacques Lazure, *La Jeunesse du Québec en Révolution* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1971), p. 80.